

# NEW MILITANT

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

VOL. 1, NO. 25

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

## N. P. L. D. to Appeal Criminal Syndicalist Case in Sacramento

NATIONAL ISSUE

### Campaign Planned in Labor Movement of Entire Country

First steps to raise the recent Sacramento criminal syndicalism convictions to the level of a nationwide fight with broad, aggressive labor backing, were announced yesterday by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Termed a national "test case" by the Hearst press, and hailed by the California reactionaries as a "model for all states," the Sacramento convictions have become the basis of a drive for new anti-labor laws. The N.P.L.D. has called a conference for Monday afternoon to seek united labor action on behalf of the eight Sacramento prisoners and against the type of prosecution which convicted them.

The N.P.L.D., representing Norman Mini, who refused probation and is now serving a 1 to 14 years sentence in San Quentin, has invited to the conference the International Labor Defense, which represents Mini's seven fellow-prisoners; the National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Party, charged with the S. P.'s defense work; the American Civil Liberties Union; and the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. The Workers Party, of which the defendant Norman Mini is a member, and many trade unions have already endorsed the work of the N.P.L.D. in the Sacramento case.

If progress is made at this meeting and basis for cooperation laid, expansion of the united defense movement should be relatively easy to achieve, the N.P.L.D. announcement states. Thus far acceptance of the invitation to the conference have been received from the A.C. L.U. and the Socialist Party. The G.D.C. has not yet reached a decision but has acknowledged receipt of the invitation. The I.L.D. alone has not answered the invitation.

**Socialist Party Reply**  
In replying to the N.P.L.D., Paul Porter, National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Party, underlines the N.P.L.D.'s view of the Sacramento fight as one on behalf of trade union and democratic rights which can be won only by a combined legal and mass defense. After outlining S. P. activities in support of the trial defense in Sacramento, Porter goes on to say:

"Despite the fact that we have no political agreement either with the members of the Communist Party or the one member of the Workers Party among the defendants, we are prepared to participate in joint action to aid their appeal against the infamous verdict of Sacramento. Whether or not practical arrangements satisfactory to your organization (N.P.L.D.), to the I.L.D., to our party and to the other organizations you mention, can be made, remains to be seen. Our California comrades, after their experiences in the Sacramento trial, are very sceptical of the possibility of joint work with the I.L.D. We are not without such scepticism ourselves. So important is the issue at stake, however, . . . that we do not wish to close the door on the possibility of joint action. Only a conference such as you suggest can answer the question practically."

Porter's letter concludes by asking the N.P.L.D. to convey the greetings of the National Labor Committee of the S. P. to the Sacramento prisoners, and by naming as delegates of the S. P. to the joint conference Murray Baron, New York trade unionist, and Jack Altman, Business Manager of the Socialist Call.

The N.P.L.D. provided the trial attorney, Albert Goldman of Chicago, and a complete defense for Norman Mini, who was convicted along with the seven others due to the superior pressure on the jury of the labor-hating forces of the state. The N.P.L.D. also bailed out two Communist Party defendants, after the I.L.D. failed to do so for six months; got wide publicity and considerable union backing for all the defendants; built a unified defense movement in California, including the state organization of the S. P., which was soon disrupted by the I.L.D. and C.P. The N.P.L.D. after the trial obtained from a

### Radio Symposium Brings Thousands of Letters

Thousands of letters commenting on the symposium between Thomas, Dennis and Muste have been received by the offices of the League for Political Education under whose auspices the radio broadcast was held. Comrade A. J. Muste defended Communism against his Socialist and Fascist opponents. In a brilliant address, printed in the last issue of the New Militant, Muste pointed to the glaring defects of capitalist society and the need for communism. Workers from many parts of the country have written in, displaying keen interest in the program of the W. P. and commending him on his masterful treatment of the subject.

## Slug Pickets in Brutal Sally on Packing Strike

### Mayor Praises Police After Attack in Columbus

(Special to New Militant)  
COLUMBUS, Ohio.—Eight weeks of grim picketing of the Columbus Packing Co. were climaxed Friday, May 31, by one of the most disgusting instances of flagrant strike-breaking ever perpetrated by any police force.

The meat cutters, members of Local 346, struck when the company refused to sign a new closed shop contract to replace the one which had expired. Conditions in the plant had driven the workers to a state of desperation. Even under the closed shop, the maximum wage had been about \$8.00 per week, a terrible speedup had been instituted, and many had been forced to apply for supplementary relief.

Immediately, Truck Drivers Local 413 went out on a sympathy strike. The picketing lagged at a slow pace until the entrance of the Franklin County Unemployed League revitalized the strike. Arthur Wedemeyer and James Van Meter, members of the Workers

(Continued on Page 3)

## Mass Picket Line For Hallet Defense

ALLENTOWN, Pa., June 7.—A mass picket line thrown around Cedar Crest College campus on Monday, June 10, Commencement Day, will be the answer of the trade unions and the Unemployed Leagues to the summary dismissal of Professor Winslow N. Hallett. Plans were completed today for a mobilization of a thousand workers to confront the college authorities and demonstrate to graduates and visitors the indignation of organized labor against the college's refusal to reinstate Dr. Hallett.

ALLENTOWN, Pa. June 6.—With impressive backing from the trade unions, a mass protest meeting was held last night to defend Dr. Winslow N. Hallett, recently dismissed by Cedar Crest College authorities because of his pro-labor activities. Professor Sidney Hook, chairman of the Department of Philosophy of New York University, and Felix Morrow, secretary of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, were the chief speakers. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Hallett Defense Committee, on which the Central Trades and Labor Council and the leading unions of Allentown are represented.

Earlier in the day, the Cedar College Board of Trustees held a meeting and refused to permit Dr. Hallett to appear to defend himself. The trustees issued a resolution denying that Dr. Hallett was dismissed because he organized the Allentown Local of the American Federation of Teachers and was active in the Pennsylvania Unemployed League, but giving no other reasons why he was fired. To date requests of various professional and labor organizations for a statement of charges against Dr. Hallett have not been answered by the trustees.

## Drive Begins for Eight-Page New Militant by August First

Interesting Features and Educational Articles Will Be Attraction in Enlarged Paper; Members, Sympathizers Urged to Support

Beginning August first, Anti-War Day, the New Militant will appear as an eight page publication in an enlarged eight-column format.

With this change we will make a new and a great leap forward. Double space will be available for more news from the field of the class struggle, about the activities of the trade union militants, and for new features as well as for analytical and theoretical articles. The New Militant should become doubly effective—in reality a popular paper and fundamental in character.

The need for this change is obvious. Throughout the country the workers find themselves today face to face with new attacks upon their standard of living and new attacks against their organizations. Momentous battles are on the order of the day. Great events are in the making on an international scale where the extension of Fascism is threatening and the imperialist powers are rushing headlong into another world war. To us this can mean only a much greater responsibility necessitating first of all the strengthening of our party press. This we have accepted as a duty that brooks no delay.

To measure up to this responsibility we will need the most complete cooperation from every party member, from every friend and from every supporter.

Our plans call for a two months campaign to strengthen the party press and to lay the foundation for the eight page weekly. Comrade Swabeck has been placed in charge of carrying this out. During the campaign we aim to accomplish the following:

1. To establish a SECURITY FUND through pledges of monthly payments for a period of one year or six months, with the first installment payable when the first issue of the eight page weekly appears. The goal for this security fund is to be \$50.00 monthly for the first six months at least.

2. Collection of \$2,000 cash contributions for launching the eight-page weekly, including the acquisition of needed additional machinery. To help us reach this goal we make the following requests:

a. That each Party member who is employed contribute a DAY'S PAY to the eight-page weekly.  
b. That all our readers and supporters solicit ADVANCE SUBSCRIPTIONS for the eight-page weekly at \$2.00 for a yearly sub, \$1.00 for six months and 65c for three months. One feature of the advance solicitation will be a special three

months subscription in clubs of four, purchasable at \$1.50, prepaid, and selling at 40c each sub.  
c. Solicitation of GREETINGS TO THE EIGHT PAGE WEEKLY to be printed in the first issue at 25c per name and \$1.00 per column inch greeting adv.

d. Solicitation of specially increased bundle orders of the first eight-page issue with efforts for effective distribution made accordingly and followed up by increased bundle order sales. The price for single copies will be 5 cents and in bundle orders to agents 3 cents a copy.

e. Special affairs to be arranged by the party branches to greet the appearance of the eight-page weekly and with proceeds to go to the New Militant.

f. Systematic efforts to obtain regular advertisements for the eight-page weekly.

Plans are now being worked out for the establishment of a first class editorial staff and for proposals for the contents and the new and additional features to be carried by the eight-page weekly. Announcements of these plans will be made during the progress of the campaign.

There will be premiums, in the form of valuable books, offered for the best sub getters during this campaign and special inducements for the prospective subscribers as well as for those who send in the most greetings to the eight-page weekly or otherwise carry on particularly effective work for its realization. Announcements will be made in respect to this aspect in future issues.

Material for this campaign will be in the mails within the next couple of days. Meanwhile those of our comrades, readers and supporters who are especially interested in seeing the greatest possible speed applied in reaching the goal set for the eight-page weekly, do not delay! Get to work right away and forward your contributions. Send in your suggestions for the campaign. From this end we shall meet our promise. We feel sure that we are in a position to produce an eight-page weekly that will become a worthy and an authentic spokesman for the revolutionary forces in the United States—a real weapon in the class struggle and an effective organizer for the American and world revolution!

Forward your contribution to lay the foundation for the eight-page weekly. Make all checks and money orders payable to the New Militant, 55 East 11th Street, New York, N. Y.

## Ohio Jobless to Meet on June 7

### Protest Splitting Move by W.A.A. Chairman In State

(By Special Correspondent)

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—The Executive Committee of the Ohio Unemployed League, in pursuance to a proposal by President Wm. R. Truax, has called a state-wide conference to meet here on June 7-8.

The chief business will be the consideration of the new work relief set-up and the most effective way to combat the latest attempt of the Roosevelt administration to break down wage standards. The last conference of the O.U.L. in March of this year brought over 400 delegates from all parts of the state.

The O.U.L. office reports that it is receiving indignant protests from leagues throughout the state over the announcement that the Workers Alliance of America, David Lasser, chairman, is to hold a state "convention" in Columbus later in June. "What is the idea," writes one county U. L. secretary, "of the W.A.A. coming into Ohio where a state league with tens of thousands of members has existed for over two years and a hundred militant struggles have been fought by the workers under its leadership? Is this promoting unity among the unemployed? What is the difference between the tactic of the Socialist Party leaders of the W.A.A. and the tactic of the now defunct Unemployed Councils who talked united front and practiced disruption? The W.A.A. will no more be able to serve the workers or even to survive at all on this false basis than were the Councils."

Local leagues in the mining section of the state, where Bill Green is well and not favorably known, the asking what kind of an understanding there is between Lasser and Bill Green!

Proposals for a state-wide strike for union rates on relief jobs and for a mass convention of thousands of unemployed and relief workers in Columbus next month, will be considered at Saturday's conference of the Ohio Leagues.

BOSTON (FP).—A New England regional council of teamsters' unions looms as the result of the recent successful strike which tied up motor transportation in western Massachusetts, Connecticut, etc.

## N. C. of W. P. to Hold Plenum

The second regular Plenary Session of the National Committee of the Workers Party of the U.S. will be held in New York City, June 14-16.

The meeting will be devoted chiefly to the discussion of fundamental political problems which confront the working class today. Among these are the relations of the Party to the parties and groups in other countries standing on the same program and what steps can and should be taken, in view of the war danger, toward building the Fourth International; developments in the Communist and Socialist parties and the relation of the W. P. towards these organizations; the meaning of recent events in the Soviet Union with special attention to the Franco-Soviet pact; the collapse of the NRA and the perspectives before the American working class.

The work of the party in the trade union field, the unemployed movement and in labor defense will be evaluated and the policy of the Party in these fields elaborated. On the basis of the political decisions, the organizational problems before the party will be dealt with and plans for the summer period outlined.

In this connection careful attention will be given the campaign to make the Party's weekly organ, the New Militant, an eight-page paper by Anti-War day, August first. The Political Committee has already approved this proposal and the National Office is giving the fullest support to the editorial and business staff of the paper in carrying it into effect.

## LUMBER STRIKERS WIN INITIAL VICTORY

BREMERTON, Wash. (FP).—The strike of 40,000 men in the logging and sawmill industry in the Pacific northwest got its first taste of victory when the McCormick Lumber Co. settled on a 40-hour week and 50c an hour minimum scale. The previous rate was 45 cents. It has mills in Washington and Oregon.

The strike is still spreading. Federal mediators and union higher-ups are having a hard time in negotiations because there are 1,500 employing firms and because the men, having taken a lot of dirt the last ten years from the bosses, are in no mood to settle unless they get real gains.

## Terror Is Used Against Bakers

### Solidarity Will Win Strike, Union Leader Says

The third week of the strike of Local 50 of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers International Union finds organized labor pledged to help the men carry on. Financial aid has already come in from many locals in the International. Other A. F. of L. locals have also voted similar aid. The strike is directed against the Gottfried Baking Co. plants of Manhattan and the Bronx. The Baking Trust is lined up solid to smash the strike.

Plans for a mass picketing demonstration are now being worked out as an answer to the attacks of the company's thugs on strike pickets. Such attacks coupled with arrests, police intimidation and fake advertisements in the boss press are the means employed by the company in an effort to overcome the splendid solidarity and spirit of the strikers. On May 22, two strikers, Irving Bach and A. Mueller, were first fired on and then brutally attacked with blackjacks by a gang of gorillas led by two of the Gottfried brothers.

## Face Smashed In

Bach whose face was smashed beyond recognition is still in the hospital. In other cases where the strikers were not so badly outnumbered the Gottfried gangsters met with such a reception that they will think twice the next time before attacking the fighting men of Local 50. Several strikers have been pinched on cooked-up charges.

Herman Gund, manager of Local 50, interviewed at his office at 799 Broadway, stated that the spirit of the strikers was not only not dimming in face of the boss's terror but rather that it was increasing. Workers throughout the city are refusing to buy the scab bread and many stores, after being picketed, are refusing to handle the scab made products of the Gottfried Baking Co. Mr. Gund paid high tribute to the solidarity of the men on strike. Aid from other sections of the labor movement is coming in, and, he added, "With a continuation of this spirit and solidarity plus the support of organized labor we will be sure to win."

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

## Toledo Edison Strike Is Called Off After Paralyzing Industry

Article on Franco-Soviet Alliance on Page Three

On page three of this issue of the New Militant we print a lengthy analysis of the Franco-Soviet Alliance by the International Secretariat of the International Communist League. The impending war will place all working class parties to the highest test. But even today these organizations are laying the groundwork for their future position. The Stalin-Laval communique has definitely committed the Communist parties to a position of social patriotism, i.e., defense of their capitalist fatherlands. We recommend the careful, deliberate study of this article to every revolutionary worker who wants to know how to cope with the problem of war when it comes.

## A.F.L. Leaders Split Ranks of Canton Strike

### Succeed After Bosses Guns, Clubs and Gas Fail

By JACK WILSON

CANTON, Ohio, June 3.—After successfully resisting for over a week the ruthless terrorism of the Republic Steel Co. here to break up the picket lines, nearly 7,000 steel workers at six plants found themselves split by a more insidious force than the clubs, guns and gas bombs of company thugs—the treachery of A. F. of L. bureaucrats whose misleadership was directly responsible for the "go-back-to-work" vote passed by over half the strikers.

Although 75 workers were sent to hospitals, victims of five brutal provocative company thug attacks, the determination of the pickets to win union recognition was undaunted and firmer picket line was established after each attack than before. Public sympathy was entirely with the strikers as even bourgeois journals criticized the terrorism of the company.

Instead of crystallizing the anti-steel baron sentiment and building a more solid strike movement which spread spontaneously for two days to four plants, the A. F. of L. sent the notorious Akron rubber organizers, who betrayed the rubber workers, into the scene and they permitted the city officials to hold an "independent" vote of workers on the question of returning to work, giving the company ample opportunity to propagandize for "peace" and thus breaking the back

(Continued on Page 4)

## New Castle WP Gains In Intensive Drive

NEWCASTLE, Pa., June 1.—After several weeks of intensive activity the Workers Party Branch of Newcastle held a mass meeting May 28 on the "Purpose and Program of the Workers Party." It was enthusiastically received by a good crowd of workers present. The speaker at the meeting was Comrade George Papcun, Akron branch organizer. Comrade Papcun became known for his activities in Newcastle when he helped in the picketing of the relief office by the unemployed who are organized in the "Co-operative Workers of America."

The mass meeting by the Workers Party was a culmination of a series of mass meetings and demonstrations held by the unemployed of this city at which he spoke. As a result of this meeting and the work of the branch in Newcastle, the Workers Party succeeded in organizing a Spartacus Youth Club and has taken into the Party several new members with prospects of gaining more. The workers who came in were some of the most active and advanced from the picket line. The branch expects to open a headquarters in Newcastle this week.

Comrade Slavin of Youngstown came down to help in the organization of the Spartacus Youth Club, and he busied himself with the details necessary in putting the Spartacus Youth League on the Newcastle map.

## PRESS FRANTIC

### Enormous Pressure Causes Cave-In of Strike

BULLETIN  
As we go to press news comes from Toledo that the power strike which threatened to shut down power in a radius of 800 square miles and affecting twenty-three cities in three states has been called off pending negotiations on their demand for a 20 percent increase in wages. It is understood that these negotiations are to start Monday with officials of the Henry L. Doherty Company in New York, parent company of the Toledo Edison. Oliver Myers, business agent of the union, attributed the sudden termination of the strike to pressure "from many sources." The union workers voted 237 to 22 to end the strike. The men are to be paid in full for the day of the strike.

(Special to New Militant)  
By ART PREIS

TOLEDO, Ohio, June 5.—A strike of employees of the Toledo Edison Co., which supplies the electrical power for Toledo, northwest Ohio, northeast Indiana and southeast Michigan, including a score of communities, began at 7:00 A.M. this morning. 500 maintenance, production and technical workers, members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 245, were the first to walk out. 125 office workers also struck and picketed the Toledo Edison Building. Plans for the strike, announced by Oliver Myers, business agent of the local, indicated that it will not be totally effective until tomorrow morning, as the shut-down will be progressive, only a portion of workers having been called on strike today.

Hysteria has struck the local press, as well as all the other agencies and groups of the capitalist class of the city. Operation of industrial plants, street cars, street lights and other major sources of electrical consumption has not as yet been seriously curtailed.

## Frenzied Attack on Strike

There is a strong possibility that the strike may be suspended or terminated before morning. Terrible pressure is being exerted from every side, press, government, "outstanding citizens," business and church groups—and the international officers of the union—upon the local strikers and their representatives to suspend the strike for arbitration or pending negotiations. A meeting of striking electrical workers will be held at midnight tonight to act upon the suggestion of the international officers that the strike be suspended pending further negotiations.

The striking office workers have already voted in meeting tonight to return to work if the maintenance, production and technical workers decide to accept the proposal of the international officers.

There is a strong feeling in organized labor circles here that such a move may prove to be disastrous for the strikers, as arbitration or negotiations without picket lines will mean another shell-game settlement which will give the workers nothing. Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor, and notorious government strike-breaker who did such effective work here just three weeks ago in the Chevrolet strike, is expected on the scene momentarily.

## Press Demands Violence

The company has already announced its intentions of operating the power and transmission plants in the face of mass picket lines. The newspapers are openly calling for police force and demanding that the plants be operated under any conditions. Should the strike continue and go into full effect, a certain amount of power will be brought into the city from outside Ohio communities. This will be sufficient only for emergency maintenance of electric power for hospitals and similar institutions, it is believed.

The question of the maintenance of the strike rests largely at present upon the position taken by Oliver Myers, in whom the almost sole leadership of the strike now rests. While Myers has been known to

(Continued on Page 3)

# Comments

## On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

**Peace on Earth . . .**

Hitler proclaims: "Germany needs peace and wants peace." . . . The title of Nazi General Werner von Blomberg was changed from Defense Minister to Minister of War. . . . On Nov. 1 German youths of twenty will be conscripted for military training. . . . The New York Herald Tribune emblazons: DER REICHSFUHRER WOULD HUMANIZE WAR. . . . Six students, three technicians and two instructors were expelled from Columbia University for anti-war activities. . . . In 1931 Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia U., was awarded the Noble Peace Prize. . . .

**Captains of Industry . . .**

Vice President Arthur Young of the U. S. Steel Corporation swears: "I will go to jail or be convicted as a felon rather than obey the provisions of the Wagner Bill." . . . The Iron and Steel Institute awarded him a gold medal for his "outstanding and creative" work in promoting company unions. . . . President Eugene Grace of Bethlehem Steel says: "Business is being halted by undue emphasis on reform, unsound, biased and perhaps even unconstitutional legislative proposals, political maneuvering, unrestrained public expenditures, currency tinkering and increasing tax burdens." . . . President William A. Ervin of U. S. Steel, states: "Under the code, our filed prices are less than those ruling in 1926; our rates of wages are now 7 percent higher than those of 1929. The financial return under these conditions has been disappointing." . . . During the first quarter of 1935 the steel industry reported \$8,300,000 profits.

**Labor . . .**

Six hundred destitute miners in western Germany staged a hunger strike in the mines, refusing to come out until concessions were granted. They were routed with tear gas. . . . On May Day millions of Germans celebrated the "great improvement of labor's condition since Hitler came to power." . . . Illinois adopts a 3 percent sales tax to pay for relief. Labor leaders endorse the tax "in order to get federal relief funds back to Illinois." . . . Henry Ford announces a raise in minimum wages from \$5 to \$6 a day. With the first pay envelop came an announcement of a five day layoff for 81,000 workers. . . . A surplus of \$580,000,000 has been accumulated by the Ford Motor Company. . . .

**Majesty of the Law . . .**

The Russell-Cramer Bill now in committee makes it a felony to issue literature proposing change in Federal and State governments by other than parliamentary procedure. . . . Governor Earle of Pennsylvania signs a bill requiring all relief recipients to post a cash bond of \$500. . . . 20,000 cans of government beef intended for distribution to the unemployed exploded in a New Orleans warehouse. . . . Mail contracts awarded to the U. S. Merchant Marine last year cost the government \$28,000,000. Operating expenses of the entire fleet amounted to \$28,460,000. . . . Though dead, William Humphries, Federal Trade Commissioner, ousted by Roosevelt, was awarded \$3,043.06 back salary. . . . Mayor LaGuardia of New York City, addressing a woman's conference against the high cost of living proclaimed: "The economic system is wrong. I would like to be in Congress where I could do something about it." . . .

**Population . . .**

Arthur Brisbane advises all women "to have six good children." . . . More than 12,000,000 young people have reached the employable age since 1929. "Few have been able to take their place as producing and contributing citizens in our society," states J. W. Studebaker, U. S. Commissioner of Education. . . . "Five million youths of mating age are unemployed," sighs Mrs. Grace Sloan Overton of the National Council of Federated Church Women. . . .

**Wonders of Science . . .**

Scientific experiment carried out at the International Convention of Beauty Shop Owners: Ten beautiful girls exposed one unit of the body after another—hair, eyes, legs, lips, breast—to a selected group of men in order to determine woman's crowning glory. An acoustophone registered the effect on the men. "Body-as-a-whole" won. . . . "Teensy Weensy Razors" can be obtained for shaving eyebrows and nostrils. . . . "Baby's Tidy Didy Service, Inc." of New York offers "an economical and unstinted flow of scientifically cleaned, soft swell diapers." . . . A toilet seat which weighs the sitter when he lifts his feet is on the market. . . . A new pretzel twisting machine enables two men to twist as many pretzels as formerly twisted by ten. . . .

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

# INSIDE STORY OF TOLEDO STRIKE

(Ed. Note: This is the last of a series of three articles by Art Preis on the great Toledo strike. Art Preis was the editor of "Strike Truth," the Chevrolet strikers' bulletin.)

By ART PREIS

From the outset of the Chevrolet strike, the line-up of opposing forces was clear-cut and marked. On the one side were the strikers, a minority of the strike committee and the progressive forces in the union local. On the other, were General Motors, the organized commercial and industrial interests such as the Chamber of Commerce and Merchants and Manufacturers Association, the capitalist daily press, the "leading citizens" including prominent socialites, university and school officials, ministers, public officials, etc., the government, and finally, certain union officials themselves, particularly those representing the national leadership of the A. F. of L.

The strategy of the union progressives was first of all to maintain the Toledo strike on a militant, mass action basis, to keep the leadership of the strike in the hands of the elected strike committee, and to prevent the settlement of the strike by Francis Dillon and the A. F. of L. officials over the heads of the strikers. Further, the progressives realized the necessity of spreading the strike to every General Motors plant and, if possible, to inspire a general auto walk-out.

**No Try at Scabbing**

For the first four days of the strike, under the aggressive leadership of the progressives, the strikers pushed forward with irresistible power. Apart from the newspaper propaganda—anti-strike stuff thinly disguised under a veil of impartiality—and misleading advertisements on the strike paid for by General Motors and the Chamber of Commerce, no effective counter-attack was launched. No effort was made by the company to run scabs into the plant, for memories of the Auto-Lite strike still provokes sleeplessness among the industrialists in Toledo. Mass picket lines kept a 24 hour vigilance about the deserted plant. Plant managers and officials were forced to beg the permission of the strike committee to enter upon their own premises. The company was compelled to pay the strikers off the property and while on the picket line. By keeping one step ahead of the company, by taking the aggressive, the strikers prevented the company from carrying through a co-ordinated counter-offensive. The company simply did not know how to deal with progressive labor leaders of the caliber of a Jim Roland.

**Combating Company Propaganda**

Moreover, from the standpoint of demoralizing propaganda, the strike committee began to show the "public relations councils" of General Motors a thing or two. When the company issued lengthy statements to the public through press channels, the strike committee promptly replied through the same channels with equally lengthy but extremely devastating prepared statements that quickly forced the company to change the substance of its propaganda. Further, the strike committee issued a strike bulletin, "Strike Truth," which had wide-spread distribution among the Chevrolet workers and workers in other auto-parts plants. The militant tone, the factual material and the clear-cut analysis of the strike issues contained in this single bulletin tremendously strengthened the morale of the strikers and laid the basis for the progressive principles which strongly directed the further conduct of the strike and the negotiations.

One primary consideration motivated the union progressives as they mapped out their tactics. They understood well enough that in this particular situation the most dangerous forces they had to combat were within their own camp. They knew they were dealing with inexperienced, uneducated (from a working-class standpoint), inarticulate workers, fearful of "public opinion," subject to confusion in the welter of rumor and misleading propaganda, raw with indoctrinated prejudices against "radicalism," suspicious of everything they could not understand—but nevertheless anxious for competent guidance and willing to make a stand-up fight. The real enemy they would have to combat would be the A. F. of L. top officials, Bill Green and his lieutenant, Francis Dillon, whose policies were opposed to strikes and militant action, who believed in asking favors of the bosses and keeping on friendly terms with the labor exploiters and the government. In every major industry these elements had succeeded in curbing necessary militant action by reliance on compromising methods of arbitration and the diversion of action into the deadening channels of endless conferences and government boards and agencies which were promptly converted into instruments for the protection of the interests of the employers.

**The Negotiations**

From the outset, the progressives put forth the idea of direct negotiations between the elected committee

## Told by a Leading Participant in the Battle with General Motors

of the strikers and the employers. They impressed upon the strikers the dangers of permitting the government to direct the terms of the strike settlement, or to allow other than those from their own immediate ranks to have final authority in negotiations.

The first move of the company had been to proffer counter-proposals to those contained in the union contract. These proposals were in effect the acceptance of company-unionism, the notorious "merit" and "proportional representation" clauses of the now defunct Automobile Labor Code, "conditional" promises of slight wage increases, all hidden behind neat sounding phrases. Francis Dillon did not arrive in Toledo until four days after the strike was under way. Even had he desired to, he could not have forced the company's proposals down the strikers' throat. For the time being he had to appear to go along with the sentiment of the strikers, in order to gain their confidence by a display of militancy and to seize in his own hands the leadership of the strike. At a mass meeting of the strikers, held on the day of his arrival, he urged them to vote down the company's offer. This they did unanimously.

**Conflict Sharpens**

Once Dillon arrived on the scene, the conflict of forces within the union ranks, between the reactionaries and progressives, became more sharp. The company refused to deal further with the strikers' representatives or to negotiate until the men returned to work. This left the situation in Toledo at a complete stand-still. It was obvious that the strategy of General Motors (and Francis Dillon, who was equally anxious to have the strike terminated) was to keep the strike isolated, undermine the morale of the strikers through propaganda and the threat of permanent closing the plant and starting operations elsewhere, demoralize them through inaction and subversive methods and, if possible, starve them out.

The next move of the progressives was to spread the strike. On the day of Dillon's arrival in Toledo, a group of Chevrolet strikers had gone to Detroit where copies of "Strike Truth" were circulated at the Chevrolet plant there, and the office building of General Motors was picketed until the group was arrested by Detroit police. Although the closure of the Toledo plant threatened shortly to stop production throughout the entire Chevrolet Corp. because of shortage of transmissions, every effort was being made by General Motors and the press to keep news of the strike from reaching outside of Toledo. Francis Dillon had safely concealed and ignored for some time the vote of numerous auto union locals throughout the country in favor of strike action. The nation's auto workers, speeded up and exploited to the hilt, wanted action. Telegrams had been sent by the strike committee to numerous other locals telling of the strike and urging them to take similar action.

**Strike Spreads**

Dillon moved north, following his first mass meeting in Toledo, to confer with the Detroit union officials. The strike committee and the Toledo union progressives went south, to Norwood, Ohio. They succeeded in persuading the workers in two General Motors plants there to strike, without benefit of Dillon. At the same time, plants in Cleveland and Atlanta, Ga., were shut down by company officials just prior to strike action. Other strikes threatened, involving important key plants. Each day reports of plant closures due to lack of parts were received. The next move of the progressives was to Flint.

While the representatives of Bill Green were moving in on the strike from the outside, there were numerous elements within the local union, particularly the executive board members and the business agent, Fred Schwake, who were opposing the progressives and attempting to undermine the influence of Jimmy Roland and the strike committee. Under the pressure of Dillon and T. N. Taylor, another of Bill Green's organizers, they began to obstruct progressive moves. They withheld funds from the strike committee and prevented the further publication of the strike bulletin. In the mass meetings and on the picket-lines they attempted to edge the strike committee out of the leadership. A red-scare was started by Schwake who induced a small group of the more backward strikers to chase individuals distributing literature of other working-class organizations. Representatives of the Communist Party received the brunt of this attack, due in large measure to the stupidity and tactlessness of some of the statements contained in an initial leaflet.

**Welcome W. P. Literature**

Members of the W. P. reported these reactionary actions to the Joint Action Committee which immediately sent a strong protest to

go on strike the next morning at a meeting held several days before when a delegation of Toledo union militants headed by Jimmy Roland had visited the Flint local. Dillon influenced the Flint workers to postpone strike action until after the vote by misleading statements regarding the courage and strength of the Toledo strikers. The progressives, once the vote had been called for, started a drive to defeat the company's proposals. A huge mass meeting of Toledo labor was held. Another issue of "Strike Truth" was published, under a different editor, somewhat weakened, but following the general form of the first one. When the vote was taken three days later, the union won hands down.

**Turn Down Proposal**

Dillon did not cease his stalling tactics. He came to an agreement with the G.M.C. representative, through the agency of McGrady, for another line of attack. The company agreed to meet with the representatives of the strikers for further negotiations. Dillon used the pretext of the negotiations to again restrain the Flint local from striking until after the negotiations. During the negotiations all but one member of the strike committee refused to accept the company's second proposal, which included only some minor concessions and no guarantee of union recognition or seniority rights. The one member of the committee who fought on the side of Dillon, McGrady and the G.M.C., was Ben Bonner. This is the same Ben Bonner whom the Daily Worker described on May 13, the day of the betrayal, as a leading "militant" and "progressive."

The progressives began to organize the strike militants in preparation for the meeting on May 13, when the question of the company's second proposal was to be presented. Dillon, breaking an agreement made with the strike committee, issued a widely featured statement to the press telling the strikers to accept the company's proposals and, by indirection, denouncing the loyal members of the strike committee as "reds." The newspapers put on an extra heavy barrage urging the strikers to follow Dillon's advice. On May 12, A. J. Muste addressed an open meeting on the strike, in which he vigorously scored Dillon, Schwake and the other reactionaries, and urged the strikers not to accept the company's terms. Many of the leading strikers and picket captains attended the meeting.

**The Showdown**

So strong had the sentiment be-

come against Dillon, that at the May 13 meeting the strikers first voted to refuse the floor for discussion on the company's proposal to anyone but the strikers and members of the strike committee. Dillon went into a tantrum and stormed from the hall, loudly declaring that he would withdraw the union charter. The subsequent developments of the meeting, with its disquieting results for the strikers, can be attributed solely to the inexperience of the strikers and the inarticulateness of the members of the strike committee.

The executive members of the union local, fearful that Dillon had power to carry out his threat and still largely under conservative influences, induced Roland and the other committeemen, from the standpoint of union loyalty, "fair play," "free speech," etc., to secure a vote permitting Dillon to speak. Dillon spoke, using every device of cajolery, alarm and threat to induce the strikers to accept the company's terms. He was roundly booed during the entire course of his speech, and it is generally admitted that his remarks carried insufficient weight to capture the strikers. But when Fred Schwake, whom the strikers considered one of their own and whom a great number still had confidence in because of his public appearance of militancy, spoke in favor of acceptance while the voting was going on, a great number of the strikers, who shortly thereafter bitterly condemned their own capitulation, became discouraged and confused and voted, against their own desires, for acceptance. The vote resulted in favor of acceptance and the strikers returned to work the next day.

**Role of Parties**

One of the important and significant phases of this strike was the role of the various working-class political parties. The Socialist Party was conspicuous by its complete absence from the strike. As Tim McCormack, one of the local S. P. leaders, exclaimed on the day of the settlement to the organizer of the Toledo W. P. branch, "Jesus Christ! The S. P. hasn't done a goddam thing during this strike."

The same can be equally said of the Communist Party. Aside from the usual passing out of leaflets which were largely illiterate and illegible and usually making suggestions on policy three days after the progressives of the union had already taken steps to put them into effect, the C. P. had neither direct nor indirect influence on the strike. Officials of the S. P. and C. P. came to representatives of the W. P. on the afternoon of the settlement and for two hours begged and pleaded with the W. P. for a "united front." When the W. P. pointed out that this was a rather belated step in view of the imminent crisis and that these other groups were in disrepute with the strikers and the W. P. was not, the representatives of these groups agreed that such a "united front" would act to hurt the progressives rather than help them.

The final consideration of the effectiveness of the organization of the progressives has come since the strike. The night following the settlement the Chevrolet union members again met in full force. There was no demoralization. Dillon and his machine were denounced by the entire body. Representatives of the Central Labor Union spoke at this meeting and likewise denounced Dillon.

**Progressives to Meet Soon**

Today the union is stronger than ever in the Chevrolet plant. The progressives in the entire local are more influential and organizing more strongly than ever. A conference of auto union progressives from all sections of the country will be held definitely in the near future. Local 18384 passed a resolution last week, which all the locals in the country will be asked to adopt, demanding that Dillon be fired as an A. F. of L. organizer. Schwake's star has dimmed and he will undoubtedly be deposed from his position in the union very shortly. The Chevrolet workers have conducted several inside strikes since their return to work, all of them completely successful.

The Chevrolet strike must be regarded as merely the preliminary skirmish of a greater battle to come. The progressive program, which the W. P. has been advocating, the militant policies, are becoming more strongly ingrained in the union. From the standpoint of the immediate gains secured in the strike, the strikers suffered a partial defeat. From the standpoint of the development of the progressive forces, the strengthening of the union, the splendid fight that is being made against the union reactionaries, the Chevrolet strike must be regarded as a magnificent victory.

At the end of 13 years of glorious fascism in Italy under the direction of that greater leader of men, Benito Mussolini, the Italian Debt had increased 32,000,000,000 lire.

# Progressives Map Plans for Strike in Silk

Ed. Note: Below is the substance of a resolution to be presented by progressive workers in the Paterson local of the American Federation of Silk Workers. The importance of the set of proposals contained therein cannot be understated. They merit careful and deliberate study on the part of every member of the union in view of the coming strike which promises to be a long battle. Victory can only be won if the union pursues correct and militant policies. The resolution follows:

**Fellow-workers:**

The Supreme Court ruling that found the NRA unconstitutional is bound to have tremendous repercussions in our industry. It is now necessary for the union to appraise the situation and prepare to act.

It is our opinion that, taking the cue from what they consider to be a tremendous victory, the manufacturers throughout the silk industry and especially in Paterson are going to launch a concerted drive, in order to increase the hours of work, lower our wage standards, shatter and destroy the power of our union. Already the first signs are here, and the first attempts are being made to feel our strength before launching the campaign against us.

In such a situation the union can only take one of two possible stands. Either wait for the offensive of the manufacturers to get in full swing, thus reducing ourselves to a position of defense; or else courageously assume the leadership and the offensive ourselves, keep one jump ahead of the manufacturers, and force them into a defensive position.

**Assume Offensive**

There is no doubt in our mind as to which stand the union must take. The defensive is at best a losing game, and we should not consider even for a moment the possibility of playing it. We must assume the offensive.

We must, on the other hand, analyze the situation so as to know what we are going to do beforehand, and in order to have a clear perspective of the situation in the coming months.

This is manifestly a slack season in our industry. The number of employed union members is falling steadily, while many of those still working are only working part time. We must therefore not delude ourselves with any thought of a swift strike and of an early settlement. We must prepare ourselves for a long siege, and for a real test of strength.

It is obvious that the manufacturers are going to make of the coming struggle a well organized attempt to get rid of the union once and for all time. We must make of the coming strike a well organized struggle to establish and entrench the union firmly and solidly. Actual, not only nominal, recognition of the union must be our basic slogan.

But if we are to have an even chance of success, we must organize for it. The struggle that we foresee cannot be local in scope. Immediate organizational steps must be taken immediately to mobilize the workers throughout the industry. We therefore recommend that our local request the national office:

- Proposals**
1. To call a series of mass meetings and membership meetings with a view to organize the sentiment of the workers;
  2. To secure the support of all organized labor for our coming struggle;
  3. To launch a vast organizational campaign in the unorganized districts, to take place immediately;
  4. The establishment of local, regional and national strike committees elected directly from the membership and acting in conjunction with local, regional and national officials;
  5. Preparation for the issuance of a daily strike bulletin, to offset the influence of the boss-controlled press;
  6. Immediate steps for the raising of a war chest of \$500,000.
- As for demands, we propose to stand by the demands already submitted to and adopted by the membership: union recognition locally and nationally, the 30-hour week, the \$25 average wage for weavers, with other wages graduated accordingly.
- In view of the extremely changing and shifting situation in Paterson we advocate as a measure for keeping tabs on the situation as well as to keep high the morale of the workers the calling of shop-chairmen's meetings every week. We must in the meantime enforce the prevailing standards and resist all attempts on the part of the bosses while we prepare for the national strike.

U. S. Steel Guards Data on Executives' Salaries—headline. Because they were so low?

# Stalinists Disrupters Routed in Ill. Meeting on Hunger March

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Contrary to the reports in the Daily Worker under date of May 18 to May 25, the Communist Party and the Unemployment Councils had nothing to do with the hunger marches recently held in Springfield, Ill. The marches were led by the Illinois Workers Alliance and to deny this is going W. R. Hearst one better. The Stalinists, who faltered so badly in their conspiracy to "capture" the hunger marches, have resorted to the old tactics of united fronting from below. Monday, May 27, Stalinists from several parts of Illinois converged at the meeting of branch 128, Illinois Workers Alliance, of Springfield. They came there boldly with a resolution proposing to censure Gerry Allard and Kempton Williams and the whole leadership of the Illinois Workers Alliance for rejecting a treacherous united front offer.

**Stalinist Scapling Party**

The Stalinists tried their best to provoke physical combat as one of their number was reported to have possessed a pistol for that purpose. The riot squad of the police department appeared at the meeting when some unknown person turned in an alarm. The police left shortly. Not having sufficient forces in Springfield or any other one spot of southern Illinois the Stalinists came in from Thayer, Chicago, Franklin county and other parts. Few of them were I.W.A. members. They were given the floor anyway to start their offensive of getting Gerry Allard's scalp.

The Stalinist offensive was soon turned into a defensive because the rank and file voted overwhelmingly to reject the resolution. A counter motion to condemn the C. P. and their defunct Unemployment Councils for disruptive tactics was unanimously carried when Stalinists left the hall completely routed, both in the logic of arguments and in voting strength.

**Solid Support**

Tuesday, May 28, the Auburn, Ill., branch of the I.W.A. met and voted unanimously to endorse the policies outlined by the Alliance at the demonstration. Allard and Kempton Williams were given unanimous votes of confidence. The branch has 420 members.

The role of the Stalinists in the Illinois relief crisis practically ends that group among the Illinois unemployed. Where they previous-

ly connived to gain the favor of the Workers Alliance by glib phrases their treachery was exposed at a time when sincere deeds were necessary. Desperation seems to have suddenly gripped the Stalinists in these parts. They pussyfooted for a couple of months only to break themselves to pieces because it remains an evident fact that they continuously follow the tail of the kite in the enormous struggles that are taking place in strategic southern Illinois.

**CORRECTION**

An unfortunate typographical error slipped into the reproduction of comrade Muste's address over the radio in the last issue of the New Militant. Instead of reading "I am setting forth the historic Communist position . . . which constitutes the program of the Workers Party of the United States."

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

**WORKERS**

Protect Yourself Against the Hazards of Life. Join the WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S.

1884-1935

Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose: to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers.

About 60,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserves \$3,400,000.

Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick Benefit payments from \$30 to \$900—to men and women, according to classes.

Monthly assessments from 45c to \$2.50.

For further information apply to Main Office: 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.

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

# Stalin Has Signed the Death Certificate of the Third International

## Open Letter To the World Proletariat

Ed. Note.—Turbulent conditions in France occasioned by the fall of the cabinet, new aggressions by Italy against Abyssinia, generally the growing tenseness in the world, daily driving humanity nearer to the new imperialist holocaust, make it imperative that the working class be armed with a revolutionary policy before its outbreak. The following appeal of the International Secretariat of the International Communist League with which the Workers Party has established fraternal relations in its basic agreement with the statement of the National Committee of the W. P. on the Franco-Soviet Alliance printed in the last issue of the New Militant, and sheds valuable light upon many of the questions being asked by the workers in connection with these epoch-making events.

Stalin together with the renegade Laval has signed the death certificate of the Third International. Today, there is not a single worker, even the most politically backward who is unaware that the Soviet bureaucrats have just publicly, decisively betrayed the international proletariat. For the first time Stalin has openly said what is, i.e., in full view of the entire world he has repudiated revolutionary internationalism and passed over to the platform of social patriotism. He has informed his lackeys in France of his open betrayal through the medium of a bourgeois minister, who is himself a traitor to the working class in his own country. The hired bureaucrats of French Stalinism have immediately drawn from it all the necessary conclusions, and Vaillant-Courtourier (an editor of l'Humanite, organ of the French C.P.—Ed.) in his article adds ignominy to betrayal.

While the proletarian masses mobilize themselves on the revolutionary road, while the peasant strata are seething and are vigorously intervening in the political struggle, while the petty bourgeoisie, directly hit by the economic crisis which is steadily deepening, is becoming radicalized as a whole, this bureaucrat has the audacity to write that there is no longer any room for the independent activity of the proletariat in its revolutionary struggle against its own bourgeoisie, that all efforts are to be averted and that to stave off the invasion of the U.S.S.R. nothing remains except to place faith in French imperialism. Crawling on his belly he consummates the betrayal of his master.

In the eyes of everyone the Third International has become the diplomatic agent of Stalinism loaded down with blunders and crimes, which has just openly taken the decisive step on the road to civil peace.

## Let us review the facts. Brest-Litovsk and the Franco-Russian Pact

The Stalin-Laval pact rests on the same plane as the Brest-Litovsk peace. The Soviet government enters into a military alliance with an imperialist government not at its own whim, but in order not to be annihilated. In any case, that is its only justification. The Brest-Litovsk peace was a defeat; while the Franco-Russian pact has been proclaimed for all those who care to listen a great victory for the U.S.S.R. It is unnecessary to attempt a comparison between the relation of forces in 1918 and at the present time. The facts speak for themselves. Whatever the differences in the world situation and in the relationship of forces, the Franco-Soviet treaty from the standpoint of principles and politics rest entirely upon the same plane as the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Should, then, the Communists and Socialists vote in parliament for the ratification of the Franco-Soviet agreement? And this too regardless of the question of whether or no Soviet diplomacy was really forced to sign this treaty?

Let us recall the historic example of Brest-Litovsk. The German Social Democrats voted in the Reichstag for ratifying it, claiming that since the Bolsheviks had accepted it there was no reason whatever for their opposing it. The Bolsheviks replied to them, "You swine. We are objectively compelled to negotiate in order not to be annihilated, but as for you—you are politically free to vote for or against, and your vote implies whether or not you place confidence in your own bourgeoisie."

If we allowed that the Soviet Government is really compelled to conclude a military alliance with French imperialism, the proletariat of the latter country does not at all have to do so. By their votes in parliament the Socialist and Communist deputies are not called upon to express themselves upon the reason and motives for the action of the Soviet government but solely upon the reasons and motives of the Laval-Laval government. If they vote confidence in it, they are the same swine as

the German social democrats of 1918.

Only yesterday, Thorez and Co. (leader of French C.P.—Ed.) swore that "We love our country, but we cannot countenance national defense under the capitalist regime." If this formula has any meaning it implies that we cannot confide to the hands of our bourgeoisie the task of defending "our country" (which besides is not "ours"). Today we are told, "with throbbing hearts we shall make common cause with our bourgeoisie in the defense of the U.S.S.R." We want to know, "how is it that the French bourgeoisie which is not good enough to defend 'our deeply loved country,' proves itself good enough for the defense of the U.S.S.R.?" This is the nub of the question. There can be no middle-of-the-road. The very same people will be obliged to proclaim, "with throbbing hearts we shall make common cause with our bourgeoisie to defend our people against the barbarism of Hitler, because the French people has the right to call for the same sacrifices on the part of its heroes as the Russian people."

## There is nothing new in the new position of the Communist Party. It is social-patriotism. Has the War Danger a National Address?

"But the immediate danger comes from German fascism," it will be said, "so it is necessary to make a bloc against it." Such an argument suffices for this or that diplomatic combination of the Moscow government. But this conception has nothing in common with Marxism. We have always maintained that the danger of war is the inevitable product of world imperialist antagonisms. German fascism as well as the dangers of war are the products of the colossal productive forces of German capitalism that seek for outlets, and that must seek for outlets, whatever the political regime of the country. The most progressive capitalist regimes of Europe are stifling within the framework of the national state. France is marching hand in hand with fascist Italy and with quasi-democratic England against fascist Germany.

Have we forgotten that the revolutionary activity during the last war consisted precisely in denouncing the propaganda of the allies who spoke in the name of democracy against the Prussian Junkers and the Hohenzollerns? The old catchwords are being refurbished to camouflage imperialist antagonisms by means of sham conflicts between political systems.

## On this road one quickly arrives at the idealization of French democracy as such counterposed to Hitler Germany.

Here again, there is no middle-of-the-road. We repeat: "It is the policy of social patriotism."

The conception of the "aggressor" is very handy for the fendish work of diplomacy, but it is fatal or the orientation of the proletariat. To checkmate the alleged aggressor France protects Mussolini, allowing him a free field for action in Abyssinia, and also as regards Austria. And it is precisely the tightening grip of Italy on Austria which may fan to white heat German nationalism and lead to the outbreak of the war. Involved here are the permanent antagonisms which are deepening and sharpening. On the other hand their inevitable explosion and the preventive measures of the capitalist states can and must cause the catastrophe.

## Social Patriotism Is Driving the U.S.S.R. to Ruin

We will be told in answer, "All this may perhaps be true, but isn't it necessary all the same to save ourselves from the most immediate danger which is the very same Hitler Germany?" Let us observe first of all that only yesterday the Comintern advanced in Germany the slogan of "national liberation" which is impossible without a war. Today the Communist International wants to defend the Versailles status quo in order to escape war. He is lost who abandons the position of the class struggle and of the international revolution and who begins to seek safety outside of the revolutionary struggle against one's own government in one's own country. Today the betrayal will be covered by the plea of the need to "save peace," tomorrow when war breaks out nevertheless, the betrayal will be perpetuated in order to save democracy or to save the U.S.S.R. But neither peace nor democracy nor the U.S.S.R. can be saved by the surrender of the French proletariat.

If after Germany has been annihilated for the second time, France, Italy and England turn against their temporary ally, does anyone believe that it will be possible on the spur of the moment to sever at a single stroke the proletariat from the bourgeoisie which, with the aid of the working class parties will have succeeded in raising itself as the master of the nation, and that has gagged and demoralized the

### Announcement of Betrayal!

"And now I answer a question that has been put to me: 'In case of such a war launched by Hitler against the U.S. S. R., would you apply your slogan: transformation of the Imperialist war into the civil war?'"

"Well, no! because in such a war it is not an imperialist war that is involved, a war between two imperialist gangs, it is a war against the Soviet Union."

Extract from a speech by Maurice Thorez, leader of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, delivered in Paris on May 17, 1935, and reproduced in the party's official organ, l'Humanite of May 24, 1935.

working class through civil peace? To fritter away the only capital we possess, the revolutionary independence of the proletariat, in return for precarious, equivocal, and unstable diplomatic combinations would be tantamount to walling up the avenue to the revolutionary future. The basic crime of reformism lies precisely in the fact that chasing after the shadows of reforms, it castrated the proletariat by class collaboration. This policy is ten times, one hundred times, a thousand times more criminal at a time when it is a question not of a peaceful period of parliamentary combinations but of a war which concentrates all the instruments of oppression and destruction in the hands of the bourgeoisie and leaves the proletariat only its sole and only weapon: its political independence, its hatred of the bourgeoisie, its revolutionary will.

Moreover, who has the right to declare that the docile submission of the French proletariat to its own bourgeoisie must inevitably frighten German fascism and force it to retreat? Not only would this be a gratuitous assertion but just the contrary would prove the case in the long run.

## Hitler has not yet morally crushed the German proletariat. In order to succeed in this, his propaganda revolves around the weighty argument, "we are encircled, we are hated, they seek our destruction." It is a question of the race struggle. Already the fact that the workers' state was compelled to fraternize with the French bourgeoisie against Germany has strengthened the position of the Nazis against the German working class. Should the French proletariat deliberately participate in this alliance by surrendering its class independence the theory of the race struggle will make great headway in Germany to the detriment of the theory of the class struggle. Driven by the irresistible national spirit which he has himself incited, Hitler may be compelled to unleash the war.

On the other hand the open, irresistible, thunderous opposition of the French proletariat to its own imperialism will be a disavowal of racism and will give a powerful impetus to the German revolution.

## The Betrayal of Stalin And the Crises in the U.S.S.R.

The U.S.S.R. participated actively at Geneva in the elaboration of measures against terrorism and terrorists. The assassination of the King of Yugoslavia was the reason for this incident. We, Marxists, have always been the opponents of individual terrorism, but we have also assumed the defense of national terrorists against imperialist oppression. This elementary tradition has now been abandoned, the U.S.S.R. has taken its place in the sphere of national struggles as the pillar of the established order and of the status quo.

In the light of the Stalin-Laval communique, the international working class is beginning to gain a better understanding of why Stalin undertook a new persecution of the Bolshevik-Leninists and of the Zinoviev group. Before finally delivering the Kremlin to the bourgeoisie he found it necessary to overwhelm and exterminate all those who might raise their voices in protest.

## Stalinism to the Rescue Of Social Pacifism

The enemy is Stalinism! But the point in question is not to forget or overlook reformism. The treacherous policy of the Stalinists provides them with tremendous support. From now on Blum and Paul Faure (leaders of French S. P.—Ed.) openly spread the idea of the defense of the "national soil" because these phillistines themselves, likewise, do not approve of "unconditional" defense. This stupidity of wishing to "condition" the defense of the national bourgeoisie or of the proletariat state is clear to everyone. If our country as it is, is worthy of being defended, it must be defended no matter what the origin of the war may

be: it would be absurd to punish "our country" for the idocy of Laval and his colleagues. To us, it is the class character that is decisive and not the policy of the government. We are committed to oppose the war budgets of the most democratic governments of the bourgeois states, and we are pledged to defend the U.S.S.R. despite and against Stalin and his infamy.

But the absurdity of the "conditional" defense of the bourgeois state, bears, nevertheless, a grave political meaning. Were Blum to render to the bourgeoisie all that the latter demands, he would be unable to differentiate himself from Herriot, or even Louis Marin. He would lose the confidence of the working class, and become a cipher. By resorting to pacifism right up to the outbreak of the war he retains the possibility of rendering a double service to the bourgeoisie during the war; a large section of the working class will say to itself: "If this tried and true pacifist now joins the ranks of 'civil peace,' it is because the war has been foisted upon us, it is because the defense is just." In order to be able to achieve this mission Blum must reject as invalid the orders of Stalin. This perfidious game is enormously facilitated by the social patriotic turn of the Stalinists.

## The League of Nations And Blum's Faith

Leon Blum and Co. lament that the communique does not sufficiently conform to the statutes of the League. Yet the C.A.P. (National Committee of the French Socialist Party—Ed.) as early as January elaborated its famous program which proclaims the necessity of destroying the bourgeois state and of opposing to it the interests of the working people including the interests of the country. What is the League of Nations? It is also the mechanism of the bourgeois state, or of several bourgeois states, acting jointly, and at the same time antagonistic to one another. If the mechanism of the bourgeois state deserves only to be destroyed how can anyone stake the hopes for a better future upon the League of Nations which is the by-product of this very same mechanism?

It is the doctrine of Jauresism that democracy or the democratic state ("the bourgeois mechanism") envisages constant improvement of its fate and advances slowly but surely toward socialism. Viewed in this perspective the League of Nations must naturally have its place to regulate the international relations of the democrats.

Today not only Pivert and Zyromsky (prominent "lefts" in the S. P.—Ed.) but also Blum and Paul Faure are obliged to recognize the necessity to overthrow and destroy the mechanism of the bourgeois state. Under these conditions how can they maintain their faith in the League of Nations?

The same question presents itself on the subject of disarmament. Zyromsky expresses his regrets at the sight of his newly acquired friend Litvinov abandoning the slogans of disarmament in favor of collective security. The very same Zyromsky refuted in his last article, "social pacifism" in domestic politics, i.e. the hope of settling the social question amicably. Zyromsky is unable to understand that external social pacifism is the reverse side of the coin of internal social pacifism. If the bourgeoisie allows itself to be disarmed in order to secure peace it will be at the same time disarmed in the struggle against the proletariat. We find here the same contradiction as in the question concerning the League of Nations. We have at least the verbal recognition of the need for the proletariat to arm itself and to gain powerful strongholds in the bourgeois army in order to lead to the victory of the internal class struggle. At the time one busies oneself with securities peace under the capitalist regime through general disarmament. Why then make a revolution against a humanitarian bourgeoisie which will be disarmed through a covenant of the League of Nations?

The solution of this enigma is quite simple. These people haven't the slightest confidence either in a

revolution or in the destruction of the mechanism of the bourgeois army. Moreover they demonstrate this by reiterating the slogan "disarm the fascist leagues." Zyromsky is unaware that this famous revolutionary demand is the most stupid incarnation of social pacifism.

## Must We Support Alliances Useful to the Workers Gov't?

In refutation it will be said, "Yet you Bolshevik-Leninists yourselves recognize the right of the Soviet government to conclude alliances with imperialist states for its immediate safety. Is it then not our duty as the French workers to support these alliances insofar as they are useful to the workers' government?"

No, never! We have already pointed out why the German socialists were duty-bound to fight against the Brest-Litovsk peace although it was absolutely necessary for the continued existence of the Soviets at the given moment.

Let us take this very same question more concretely and more practically. Revolutionary defeatism doesn't at all imply the sabotage of the sham national defense by an active minority. It would be absurd to attribute to revolutionary workers the idea of blowing up bridges and railroads, etc. etc. . . . in case of war. The revolutionary workers, insofar as they are the minority, participate in the war as the slaves of imperialism who are conscious of their enslavement. At the same time they prepare through agitation the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war.

Should the U.S.S.R. succeed in securing the military assistance of the French bourgeoisie in the event of aggression on the part of German imperialism (which is by the way by no means certain) this assistance supplied by the bourgeoisie in power will in no way be hindered by the fact that the revolutionary minority will continue to fulfill its duty in incessantly preparing for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, whatever may be the military assistance of the imperialist general staff (and it will always be precarious, equivocal and perfidious).

The revolutionary repercussions which will be engendered in Germany by the revolutionary movement in France will provide another sort of effective assistance for the salvation of the U.S.S.R. as well as for the development of the world revolution.

Should the revolutionary movement in France, in the event of

war, gain such force as to directly threaten the military machine of the bourgeoisie and imperil its alliance with the U.S.S.R., it would imply that the French proletariat is capable of seizing power at the height of the struggle. Should they perhaps be restrained in such a situation? Let them say it. Will we run the risk of defeat? Obviously. Revolution, like war, carries risk with it since danger is the essential element in it. But only wretchedness of an international situation which is brimful of mortal dangers without incurring any risks whatsoever.

Thus revolutionary defeatism does not prevent the Soviet government on its own responsibility from profiting by such and such a pact or this and that imperialist military assistance. But these fleeting transactions cannot and must not in any way commit the French and the world proletariat whose task is, above all during the time of war, to prepare for the liquidation of imperialism through the victorious revolution.

## The Pact is the Consequence of the Defeats Of the World Proletariat

The pact indicates weakness and not strength on the part of the U.S.S.R. This new treaty is the product of the defeat in China, in Germany, in Austria and Spain.

Since the world revolutionary factor has been weakened, the government of the U.S.S.R. found itself forced to adapt itself to the imperialist factor. That is the only correct formula for the Franco-Soviet treaty.

The Kremlin bureaucrats, who see only the strengthening of the U.S.S.R., thereby posit the independence of the workers' state from the world working class movement; the stronger the latter suffers the stronger becomes the international position of the U.S.S.R. These are the statements of charlatans—they must be nailed to the pillory.

But if because of annihilation of the proletariat in a number of countries the Soviet government is compelled to fraternize temporarily with the oppressors of the French working class—this cannot be the ground for further weakening the latter by demoralizing it and thus still further worsening the international situation, of forcing the revolution to retreat and consequently placing the U.S.S.R. directly in danger.

## Safety Lies in the Revolutionary Policy of the Proletariat

When events of world-wide importance are at stake, the revolutionary party has no right to permit itself to be motivated by secondary, episodic, conjunctural and always problematic considerations. It is necessary to be farsighted, prepared and accumulating the revolutionary strength of the class; it is in this manner that one can also best exert influence on all secondary questions: revolutionary policy is always the most practical. The enemy is Stalinism! It weakened the U.S.S.R. because it delivered the Chinese workers and peasants to the bureaucracy of the Kuomintang, the English workers to the bureaucracy of the trade unions, etc. . . . Frightened by the consequences it sought to play the card of adventurism, "third period." The results proved themselves even more fatal. Today Stalin and Co. have lost all confidence in the revolutionary forces. They resort to

pure diplomacy, that is to say, to the filthiest sort. They refuse to see anything except combinations with this or that imperialism against some other. They are above all afraid lest the French workers compromise their combinations. Thorez and Co. subscribe to this disgraceful attitude. They also denigrate the revolutionary movement to be an obstacle to the safety of the U.S.S.R. They accept the order to penalize and hamstring the revolution.

They openly become the Stalinist police over the French proletariat, and what is more, the Stalinist police become at the same time the police of French imperialism.

## Socialism in one Country Ends in Civil Peace

When we, the Bolshevik-Leninists, began our struggle against the theory of socialism in one country it may have seemed that only an academic question was under discussion. Today the historical function of this formula may be clearly seen; it has for its task to sever the fate of the U.S.S.R. from the fate of the world proletariat. It has created a national base for the Soviet bureaucracy which allowed it to concentrate all the power in its own hands. The new law which extends capital punishment to children 12 years old reveals with fearful eloquence not only that the U.S.S.R. is still at a considerable remove from socialism but that under the domination of the omnipotent bureaucracy the social decomposition of wide strata of workers and peasants has attained formidable proportions despite all the technological conquests bought so dearly by the workers and peasants. And it is precisely at the moment when the war danger threatens the state founded by the October Revolution that the Government of the U.S.S.R. draws the final conclusions from the theory of socialism in one country, prostituting the A B C of Marxism and degrading the Comintern to the role played by Scheidemann, Noske, Renaudel, Vandervelde and Co.

## The Third International Is Dead! Long Live The Fourth International!

When after the capitulation of the Communist International before Hitler, we proclaimed: it is the "August 4th" of the Third International, we met with not a few protests. "August 4th," we were told was a conscious betrayal while the capitulation before Hitler was the inevitable consequence of false policy. Today we see how superficial are such purely psychological evaluations. The capitulation was the expression of the internal degeneration, a consequence of accumulated blunders and crimes. This degeneration implied in its turn the capitulation to imperialism war and a prelude to the capitulation before the imperialist bourgeoisie which is preparing for war. That is why the "August 4th" of the Third International was already lodged in the capitulation to Hitler. It is the great merit of the Bolshevik-Leninists that they stated this in time.

Leninism is betrayed and vilified by Stalinism.

The urgent task of the hour is to reconstitute the ranks of the vanguard of the international proletariat. For this a banner and a program are necessary, and they can only be the banner and the program of the Fourth International.

The Third International is dead. Love live the Fourth International! —International Secretariat of the International Communist League.

## Pickets Slugged in Brutal Police Sally

(Continued from Page 1)  
Party and Ohio U.L., were among those on the strike committee and a written agreement was signed between the union locals and the League. The morale of the strikers rose; evidences of militancy broke out despite the pacific attitude of the Columbus Federation of Labor.

### Bosses Understand

If the tremendous importance of the strike was not apparent to the labor leaders of Columbus, it was certainly clear to the Chamber of Commerce. They realized that if the strike could be broken, union labor in Franklin County would be smashed. Therefore, every resource of the police force was placed at the disposal of the plant.

The fighting spirit of the strikers mounted to a furious pitch that forced recognition from the union leaders of the demand for action. It was decided to stop all trucks and scab cars on Thursday night. Over 200 cops and plain clothesmen were massed to meet the pickets. However, the 150 workers, Unemployed Leaguers, and sympathetic students who were on the picket line managed to stop and smash every scab car that tried to enter. Arthur Wedemeyer led the picket line all through the night.

When it seemed that the plant would be effectively throttled, the hired thugs, masquerading under

the name of police, decided to step in. A police cruiser bore down upon the strikers, knocking a picket down. Instantly, the police charged from all sides. Clubbing and black-jacking indiscriminately, the police slowly forced the strikers back. Many women were slugged to the ground; strikers were badly beaten. No resistance could be offered by the unarmed and unprepared workers. The workers of the Columbus Packing Co. learned from the end of a club just what is the role of the police. They learned that the police, the entire city administration were tools of the Chamber of Commerce who were trying to crush

### Mayor Whitewashes Police

A march to the City Hall was organized and a delegation visited the Mayor and Safety Director Pealer. Mayor Worley, former member of the Socialist Party, who still carries a union card, stated, "As far as I am concerned, the strikers have forfeited their right to picket. From now on, only 12 pickets will be permitted at the plant." Major Pealer "impartially" exonerated the police and lauded the remarkable "restraint and good judgment" they employed.

What must be done by the militants of the Columbus Packing Co. now? The lessons of Toledo must be followed. A strike bulletin must be issued immediately; street corner meetings must be organized to acquaint the workers of Columbus with the true facts of the strike; pressure must be brought to bear upon the Columbus Federation of

## Toledo Power Strike Ended by Pressure

(Continued from Page 1)

have strong progressive and militant tendencies, it is felt that his long association with the old-line A. F. of L. officialdom may influence him to agree to suspension of the strike under this terrific pressure.

The strike was called following lengthy negotiations with the Toledo Edison management, when union requests for a 20 percent wage-increase were flatly turned down. The Toledo Edison Co. is one of Henry L. Doughterty's holdings. It has been making enormous profits and has been exacting terrifically high rates from the consumers.

Failure of the strikers' representatives to issue statements or a strike-bulletin or leaflets to offset the unrestrained lies and frenzied distortions of the press has been a distinct weakness of the strike tactics so far.

Labor to actively support the strike; mass picketing of an effective character must be resumed; the power of the Chamber of Commerce and its hired strike-breakers, the police, must be smashed.

Sunday, June 9—Hike to Pallsades, Broadway line to Dyckman St. Meet at Dyckman St. Ferry, 11 A.M. Auspices: Spartacus Youth League.

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT Published weekly by the New Militant Publishing Co., 2 West 15th Street, New York City. Phone. ALgonquin 4-9058

Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES P. CANNON .....Editor HARRY A. HOWE .....Associate Editor

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c six months. Canada and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle Rates: Two cents per copy.

Vol. 1 SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1935 No. 25

The Sacramento Appeal

Six weeks ago our comrade, Norman Mini, refusing to accept the mercy of the court, was sentenced to San Quentin for the crime of organizing workers into a union. Along with seven members of the Communist Party, he has been imprisoned for one to fourteen years. The Judge refused to set bail pending appeal, and Mini is now prisoner 57606 in San Quentin. His conviction was the result of an illegal horse-trade in the jury room, forced upon jurors who wanted to acquit him and other defendants, but who succumbed to the pressure of reactionary propaganda and reactionary fellow-jurors. The conviction is not simply "illegal" in a technical sense: it is a crime against labor's right to organize and defend its economic interests, and against the democratic rights of the people at large.

Reactionary elements are delighted with the verdict. William Randolph Hearst sees it as an example for other regions to follow, and is advocating the adoption by every state of laws which will make it possible to imprison union organizers just as Mini and his fellow-workers were imprisoned. Labor should show no less consciousness of the meaning of this verdict than do the anti-labor forces: reaction has won a victory and a fight must be made to regain the lost ground.

Through the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which handled his trial fight, Norman Mini is going to appeal his conviction. An able attorney, armed with the affidavit given to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense by Juror McIntire and revealing the illegality of the verdict, can make a powerful argument for a reversal. If he makes his argument against the sounding board of a great mass movement of protest, the appeals court of California will think twice and three times before it sustains the railroad-verdict of the Sacramento court.

At this time there comes news both good and bad about developments in the appeal struggle. The trial fight was carried on almost entirely as a California issue. For a long time the Communist Party and its instrument, the I.L.D., had sole control of the defense. During that time, the prisoners were kept in the county jail although bail was readily available, and publicity about the case was sabotaged. All this because a number of the prisoners were guilty of disputing the authority of Sam Darcy, District Organizer of the C. P., and one of them, Mini, even challenged the authority of the Communist International.

Not until the N.P.L.D. entered the case, hiring a lawyer for Mini and providing bail

for Jack Warnick and Caroline Decker, did the Sacramento case become known outside California to any wide extent. When the New Militant began to print a series of articles about it, the Daily Worker was compelled to give the case some publicity.

The N.P.L.D. held Sacramento defense meetings in New York, Chicago and Boston and won trade union backing for the defense in a number of cities. Nevertheless, the struggle was largely confined to California.

It is heartening, therefore, to learn, as is reported in our news columns, that the N.P.L.D. plans to make the Sacramento appeal a national issue. It properly should be: Hearst has proclaimed it to be one and nobody can deny that the imprisonment of workers for organizing and holding certain political beliefs is an action which calls for nationwide resistance of all workers and honest democratic elements. The fact that the N.P.L.D. has called a conference of national organizations will be good news to all real friends of the Sacramento prisoners. The Workers Party, of course, will support the struggle on a national scale. The fact that the Socialist Party, through its National Labor Secretary, has appointed delegates to the forthcoming conference is additional reason for hoping that a really broad and powerful defense fight can be developed.

On the other hand, the attitude of the I.L.D., while no surprise to anyone acquainted with C.P. policies at this stage is far from being good news. These wreckers apparently are not through with their sabotage of the Sacramento struggle. They have studiously ignored invitations to the forthcoming conference, and give every reason to suspect that in the appeal fight they will follow the same splitting tactics which they introduced into the trial fight. True, the West Coast Stalinists, who for months denounced Norman Mini as a stool-pigeon, now have been forced to back-water to the point where they characterize him as "an honest, misguided class prisoner." But these vandals kept class prisoners who were in their own party in the county jail for six months, and they certainly will not hesitate to wreck the whole appeal struggle if it suits them to do so.

The record of the I.L.D. in the Sacramento case is thus far one of the most shameful in all labor defense history. Its splitting of the united front in California hamstrung the statewide campaign, as has been testified by the Northern California Civil Liberties Union, the California Socialist Party and other elements which aided the defense. Its treachery to Mini called forth the earnest protests of Jack Warnick, union leader and acquitted defendant who has now been expelled from the Stalinist swamp for the crime of "Trotskyism," i.e., for refusing to knife in the back a fellow-worker and fellow-defendant.

If the I.L.D. wrecks the possibility of building a nation-wide, multi-partisan, aggressive defense movement on behalf of the eight Sacramento defendants, it will bear the responsibility for whatever disasters may follow. The Workers Party pledges itself to fight to the finish for a unified movement and a militant struggle for liberation of the eight victims of the California plunderbund. We call upon all party members to publicize the Sacramento case in their localities and to stand by for directives for concrete work to build the defense movement.

Letters to the Editor

When Gold Turns to Mud or a Letter The Daily Worker Failed to Print

Editor New Militant: The other day Mike Gold wrote a whole column in the Daily Worker telling all about the letters he receives, there is one he didn't mention. Maybe the New Militant can use it. —G. A.

March 9, 1935

Mr. Mike Gold c/o Daily Worker 50 East 13th Street New York, N. Y.

Your series of articles in current issues of the Daily Worker in re Trotsky prompts me to write these lines.

I have been following your stuff for several years, both in the Communist press and books. Politically I've always thought you were a second grader. Since I read your articles in the Daily Worker in answer to a "young Philadelphia worker," I know you are politically haywire.

What are you trying to do? Make good for the "mistake" you made in stating that the Communist Party had little to do with the San Francisco general strike? Does the spanking you received from the Daily Worker editorial board compel you to make good by becoming the foremost literary assassin of Trotsky and Trotskyism?

Broken Bone Stuff You're swell when it comes to writing about broken bones, blood, heroic breasts and thunder, but when you enter the field of polemics you sound like George Bungle explaining Einstein's theory of relativity.

Your recent faux pas in regards to Scott Nearing only goes to prove that you are very gullible. There you had to eat 46,000 copies of your column. Perhaps it is not too improbable to predict that you will one day retract a lot of the things you are saying about the analysis and program of the Left Opposition.

What you said about the San Francisco general strike and the G. P. is true. The same admission can be found in the June 1934 issue of the "Communist," in an article by Sam Darcy. You who pretend to be so courageous, silently accepted the falsity of the Editorial Board's statement. To date you have failed to state whether the

Board is correct or not. The Communist Party did not have one single member on the water front, stated Sam Darcy. This is just prior to the general strike. Not that it makes any difference, but I still believe that Lenin was right when he said: "Less bourgeois sophistication, more proletarian honesty."

Mike's Union Sq. Miners

When I started out as a kid in the coal mines of Illinois some Jugoslavians Communist presented me with a copy of "The Damn Agitator and Other Stories." The Agitator story was good, but the "Breaker Boy" was a pile of junk and rot.

At that time you insinuated that adult miners were a bunch of morons who tried to seduce a young miner by having him spend his first pay on booze and whores while his mother wept at home. I've lived in a coal mine and near one all my life. I know the cultural backwardness of the mining folks. But I've never seen the morals of coal miners descend so low as the spectacle I've observed at New Masses balls and other bohemian revelries. Probably when it comes to morals and plain decency coal miners handle young people with more decency than your type.

A case in point: I was going home the other night accompanied by the president of my local and his 16 year old son. We stopped to get a glass of beer. While we went in the boy refused to enter. His father stated that he should not enter the saloon. We came out five minutes later, the father had a nickel bar of candy for the kid. This proves that coal miners in their primitive ways don't want their kids to go into saloons any sooner than they have to.

Learn a Few Things, Gold

Now on this Trotsky business and "A young Philadelphia worker." You write as if he were the only young man in the United States who has guts enough to doubt the correctness of Stalin's role. In the Illinois coal country you can go into scores of towns and meet young coal diggers who probably know more about Stalin's socialism in one country, the Chinese experience of 1927, etc., than you do, despite the fact that you have all the facilities

to research at your disposal.

We have seen the policies of Stalin and his American counterparts work out in the field of struggle. We tried for years through countless methods to get rid of Lewis and his cohorts. We tried to build a clean union. Many times we were on the verge of doing the job only to be stifled by the bureaucracy of the C. P. in New York and Moscow. Countless numbers of us who were members of the C. P. were expelled without trials or the permission to issue a statement. We were expelled with the same dirty work a la Lewis.

Just Not Recognized

Since then we've gone out and kept up the struggle. We've seen several of our fellows shot down like dogs. Six of them, all young men, are now in prisons of Illinois serving life. The Daily Worker has never mentioned one line about this. Anything that is connected with Trotskyism is condemned irrespective of how great the struggle is.

In the Illinois coal fields, Minneapolis, Toledo, etc., the bosses called us sons of bitches. The Communist Party seconded the motion all the way through. You are on the wrong road, Mike Gold. Your devotion to the cause is not questioned. But you are doing the work of retarding progressive revolutionary action.

Something Fishy Here

While you're at it you might as well feel sorry for about five hundred young Illinois coal diggers who feel the same or perhaps are more enlightened than the Philadelphia comrade. The tide is going to turn. The switch of the C. P., over night, from trade union isolation to "build the A. F. of L.," and the policy from "a labor party is counter-revolutionary," to "a labor party will expedite the road to revolution," is fishy. It proves more than anything else that the C. P. membership today is new and inexperienced and that the remaining old guard are nothing but a bunch of goose steppers. This is rightly proven by the fact that the repercussions within the C. P. over such a crazy policy has been null and void. Were it a real Communist Party built on and living up to the Leninist tradition there would be plenty hell within the C. P. over such a shift.

When labor fakers juggle the hell out of funds and public responsibilities, when the trade union movement refuses to join the C. P. in a L.P. venture, all you'll have left is a mess of pottage.

Yours in disgust, GERRY ALLARD.

Progressives To Meet in N.Y. Needle Trades

NEW YORK.—A conference of progressive groups in the needle trades is called on June 8 for the purpose of organizing a progressive center. Such a conference that could lay down the main lines to be followed by the various progressive groups, and a center that would coordinate the work of the progressives, are long past due.

Situation in the Industry

What we have now in the needle trades is an offensive of the bosses. This offensive has been developing gradually. The appetites of the bosses have been whetted by the almost unbroken chain of defeats suffered by labor throughout the country as a result of the cowardly and treacherous conduct of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. With the revocation of the NRA the bosses have gained enormous self-confidence. The best illustration is the attitude of the cloak bosses. They demand a revision of the agreement negotiated in 1933 in face of the rising cost of living and unabated unemployment.

They challenge the workers openly and, shaking a finger, they say: "This is not 1933, my boy."

Situation in the Unions

The big gains in 1933 not only transformed the unions and made them what they are today but also rehabilitated the old leadership which had been discredited by its expulsion and splitting policies. Their glory is now waning. In face of the stubborn opposition of the bosses they will not be able to hide their impotence.

Confronted with the offensive of the bosses what do these worthies do? They go back on their memories. "In 1933 we used to call NRA meetings. Everything was rosy then. So let us call an NRA meeting in 1935. Maybe the good old days will come back!" They call a meeting for a bigger and better NRA. They enact a cheap show. They threaten, plead; they fool themselves and fool the workers. Dubinsky, the president of the Ladies Garment Workers Union, who is introduced as a man with Napoleonic traits, said "we won collective bargaining through a strike. Must the workers continue to strike or should the community take the responsibility? We say the community should take the responsibility," etc.

Six days later the news comes that the NRA is dead. The situation in the industry making the failure of class-collaboration policies more obvious from day to day, calls for a new leadership.

Progressive Leadership

The progressive group can be this leadership if they develop an uncompromising struggle against the bureaucracy. The Stalinist "left wing" groups are discredited and isolated. The progressives should steer in a clear independent course. They must organize and develop the struggle against the class-collaborationist leadership. The consolidation of the progressive movement is on the order of the day. —B.F.

A Holy Father

His tongue is starched with silver, his hands adorned with gold; an iron cross leans on his navel, his Holiness is bought and sold.

The air—a spiritual accessory navigates his elocution; the Catholic gentlemen—including the Ministry invest in Retribution.

The radio—it's humble soul licks at his chatter and chaffs; while used to promulgate a stern role it's virtues include some laughs.

The Corporations bewitch with Ad's the working folk and unemployed; gaining with prizes the fervent lads who shoots the guns and save their' Joys.

The men of god—go their way filling the sinners with a little more sin, shrewdly appraising for a turbulent day when martial needs begin.

They preach from pulpits to the flock assembling death—when war begins; protesting verily, 'indeed it's a shock' 'the earth's not freed from sins.'

'Holler than thou' is the Corporation—paying his Holiness—the dividends; sanctimonious prelates of all persuasion who kill with the Christ their chest suspends.

Christ is love and their souls are money, their heavens blend with usury; brethren of the word that is filled honey the workingman is his enemy.

His tongue is starched with silver, his hands adorned with gold; an iron cross leans on his navel, his Holiness is bought and sold. —ANON.

S. Y. L. Takes Leap Forward Mid-West Conference Shows

CHICAGO, Ill., May 14. — Inaugurating a Spartacus Youth League district in the middle west, 22 delegates, representing 125 members in four Spartacus branches and one nucleus, convened in Chicago on May 11 and 12.

The main task before the conference was the setting up of a district apparatus in the form of a Regional Committee and a Chicago Resident Committee. The Resident Committee elected at the mid-west conference is composed of Irving Bern, Al Garber, Yetta Barshesky, Sid Scott, Karl Kaspsh, Nathan Brown, Sam Shapiro, Dave Grubman and Ben Goldberg. The out-of-town members of the Regional Committee are Jim Cross from Gillespie, Herman Beck from Detroit and Herbert Passin from Champaign. Alternates to the committee are Dan Golden, Marion Landau and Hy Stone from Chicago and Baxter from Gillespie.

That the Spartacus Youth League is rapidly transforming itself into a mass organization was clearly pointed out by the delegates to the conference. Chicago was represented with 17 delegates, Gillespie with two delegates, Detroit with one delegate, Champaign with two delegates, and the Indiana Harbor nucleus with one delegate. Minneapolis and Waukegan with Spartacus nuclei were absent.

Grows in Outlying Territory

In the report on the district Irving Bern stated that the Chicago organization gained over 35 members since the first of the year; added another club to the Chicago branch, which now has six clubs in the city; and was directly responsible for the creation of the branch at Champaign as well as the Indiana Harbor group. The discussion showed that 103 mem-

bers are enrolled in Chicago, 6 in Champaign, 8 in Gillespie, and 8 in Detroit. Three months before no branches existed in Champaign, Gillespie, or Detroit.

The opening report was delivered by Nathan Gould, National Secretary, who recorded similar growth of the Spartacus nationally. Comrade Gould pointed out that the S.Y.L. has had a 144 percent increase in membership since January 1 and that an active National Committee, which issued bulletins and circular letters, now exists. The delegates greeted with enthusiasm the information that the National Committee initiated a call for an international youth conference of youth organizations moving toward a new youth international which is to be held in December in Paris.

Table R.O.T.C. Motion

On the most important political point confronting the conference, the endorsing of the National Committee slogan "Abolish the R.O.T.C.," the delegates decided to table the question until they would be in a position to commit themselves on the point. The majority of the representatives felt that there was inadequate information and inadequate discussion on the question. Instead the conference recommended that the National Committee set up a commission to do some research on the R.O.T.C. and that a wide-spread discussion follow in the Spartacus.

Joe Giganti, the Workers Party representative to the SYL, made the report on the relation of the Party to the youth. After an inspirational report on the situation confronting the youth internationally, Comrade Giganti pointed out that the Party must pay particular attention to the youth. In the Chi-

cago local of the W.P., he stated, the Party has correctly reacted to the necessity of building and assisting the Spartacus Youth League.

Report from Gillespie

Jim Cross, a member of the National Committee who has built a union of the youth working on relief jobs in Gillespie, reported on the unemployment situation. Tremendous possibilities for the Spartacus open themselves in the Illinois Workers Alliance. A limitation of time, however, prevented any discussion on the point which was turned over to the incoming regional committee.

To the tune of the "International" the conference ended.

Aside from the regional conference the Spartacus Youth League recorded the most active week-end of activity in its history. On the evening of May 11 an affair was held to welcome Comrade Gould back to his home town and to provide sufficient funds so that he would be able to continue his tour across the country. Over seventy-five people attended the affair at the West side headquarters where twenty dollars was raised. Fifteen dollars was given to Comrade Gould and the remainder was used to pay the expenses and to feed and house the out-of-town delegates.

Gould Speaks at "Y"

The following evening, after the adjournment of the conference, Comrade Gould spoke at a mass meeting in the Central Y.W.C.A. on the "Future of the American Youth." The meeting was the largest in the history of the Chicago S.Y.L.; over one hundred twenty-five attending. Raised, Gould receiving \$27.50. Arrangements are being made for another affair when Nathan Gould returns in the middle of June.

Relief Administrator Harry Hopkins got \$10 a minute for a talk near Chicago. He will pay unskilled workers near Birmingham

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Leaders Split Canton Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

This development came after a week of militant struggle by the workers whose heroism was unexcelled by that of any strike group since the inception of the NRA.

When the first strike was called at the Berger Manufacturing Co., a subsidiary of the Republic Steel, 250 out of 400 workers answered and formed picket lines which company thugs and armored trucks tried to smash, sending 40 workers to hospitals last Monday. Grimly determined to win, the strikers reformed their lines as soon as the tear gas cleared away.

Five plants walked out in sympathy strikes during the next two days of last week as indignation arose over the continued company attacks. The workers came out under the slogan of "Avenge the Massacres." So strong was sympathy with the strikers following the outrages, that city police arrested four thugs one morning and fired at a company car when the strike breakers began the fifth assault on the workers.

Then city authorities proclaimed a virtual martial law on the strike scenes and declared they would hold a vote for the strikers to see if they wanted to continue. Meanwhile influence of the rank-and-file was isolated to two "outlaw" lodges of the A. A. under Clarence Irwin's control and while they boycotted the vote, other unionists went to the polls with tacit permission of the leaders who criticized the strike as a "wildcat" since official A. A. approval hadn't been asked or given.

In this manner was labor's forces split since today found more than half the workers going back into the plants while others who maintained a picket line were herded about by heavily armed police. Attempts of local union leaders to set up a general strike committee had been foiled by the bureaucrats and this marked the beginning of the split. The division of the "leadership" on boycotting the vote, further widened the breach and now the return of many strikers to work has apparently broken the back of the strike.

FRANKFORT, Ky. (FP).—The seven Harlan miners, framed for the murder of mine guards in 1931, are still in prison although Gov. Ruby Laffoon has paroled several hundred men in the past few months on the recommendation of the department of public welfare. Among the pardoned men were some convicted of murder, manslaughter and robbery, but Kentucky's governor seems to think that striking is the greatest crime.

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE YOUTH

With the above slogan as its watchword the Spartacus Youth League has launched a movement which is rapidly spreading from Coast to Coast. Since the National Convention of the S.Y.L. in December, 1934, the membership of our organization has more than doubled! New branches are cropping up everywhere; others are gaining steadily.

The task before us is indeed colossal. No less is involved than the dangers of war and fascism. How can they be coped with except by a revolutionary youth organization which will vaccinate the youth of the nation against this virus of capitalism? This is the goal of Spartacus whose revolutionary clarity stands out against the bankruptcy of the other working class youth organizations.

Most vital of the needs of the S.Y.L. in this regard is a newspaper which appears regularly. Shortage of funds has prevented the regular issuance of "Young Spartacus," the 8-page monthly of the S. Y. L. Every month missed and every issue skipped, let us remind our friends, is another opportunity lost.

We appeal to the readers of the New Militant to transform their certain moral support into actual contributions for "Young Spartacus."

We are confident that you will respond to the call of our growing movement. Friends, don't delay.

Send all donations to Business Manager, Young Spartacus, 55 East 11th St., N.Y.C.

ILLINOIS WAGES SAG IN APRIL

CHICAGO (FP).—Jobs in Illinois went up 1.3 percent in number during April but total wages went up only 0.1 percent, making a net loss in wages, according to the Illinois department of labor's monthly report. Women's wages actually dropped 1.3 percent. Weekly earnings averaged \$22.67 for men and women. In manufacturing the average was only \$21.94 a week, of which men got \$24.03 and women \$14.42.

Illinois has been operating under both a state and federal NRA but wages in some industries remain very low. The average in men's shirts and furnishings was \$13.96 in April. In fruit and vegetable canning it was \$13.45 a week.

In coal mining employment was 44.7 percent of normal, compared with 72.3 percent in April 1934. Wages were at 17.9 percent of normal, compared with 17.65 percent in 1934, figuring total payrolls in each case.