# NEWMILTANT Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

VOL. 1, NO. 15

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

# Strike Struggles Grip Toledo ONLY A SPARK **IS NEEDED!**

**HE** inevitable world carnage is drawing near with a speed and precision that is reminiscent of the months that preceded July 1914.

Hitler Germany has taken the last defiant step in denouncing the provisions of the Versailles Treaty which were calculated to keep the vanquished foe of the Allied powers in a state of virtual disarmament. Not only has Der Fuehrer proclaimed that universal conscription is once more to be introduced, but he now openly demands of the other powers the right to increase Germany's heavy ordnance, to legalize her secret air fleet and expand it, and to make her a dominant sea power once again, at least in the North Sea.

Fascist Italy, using its African punitive expedition and the highly charged European atmosphere as its pretext, has announced that it intends to put additional hundreds of thousands of armed men in the field.

Schussnigg, chancellor of Austria, has asked the European powers for the right to multiply the armed forces of the country to the point where it will have 200,000 men at its command, with corresponding increases in arms and equipment.

The French Chamber of Deputies has voted almost unanimously for a sharp increase in military credits.

Once more the fuse has been lighted that may blow up the powder barrels of the Polish Corridor, for which Germany is now renewing its claim, and Memel, where the antagonism between Germany and Lithuania is only a formal expression for a deeper antagonism among all the rival imperialist powers of the Old World.

The whole continent is being overrun by the diplomatic advance agents for the more substantial and ominous armed forces. From London to Paris to Berlin to Vienna to Budapest and the Balkan capitals and to Warsaw and Moscow-the lines are being kept feverishly busy with the activity of wire-pullers who are setting the stage for the impending war, jockeying for most favorable positions and the greatest and most potent set of confederates.

The imperialist rulers, themselves subject to laws of development beyond their control, are plunging headlong into a new world war, and dragging the masses of the working people along with them, as the cannon fodder to be sacrificed on battlefields in order to determine which of the imperialist bandits, or which set of them, shall exercise the more dominant position in world finance, in world markets, in world politics. The friction among gas bombs, and are planning to run the competitors for leading position has reached that overheated | in scabs, if necessary to smash unstage where the tiniest spark throws the accumulated tinder ionism once and for all, company into blazing flames. Yesterday, the preliminary shifting for position exploded a bitter civil war in Greece. The day before yesterday, an incident provoked a full-sized military expedition passed and hundreds of workers against Ethiopia. Tomorrow, the contest for Memel, or an have been laid off, the unions are episode in an even more obscure locality, may prove to have the significance of a Sarajevo—the last straw to break the back of the hitherto more obscure locality is a strain to be a strain the significance of a Sarajevo. The last straw to break the back of the hitherto maintained armed truce, which is the closest spokesmen that the battle will be that world capitalism can ever come to a peaceful situation.

With striking force, which must cut to the very heart of every workingman, it is being demonstrated that modern im-perialism cannot even approach a solution of the workers involved in the three facperialism cannot even approach a solution of the social and tories in their membership is ex-

**Bosses Import 3 Thousand Hired Thugs** As Union Girds for First Test in 20 Years

### BULLETIN

AKRON, O., March 28 (By wire) .- Big three unions are delaying strike action pending approval from A. F. of L. on overwhelming strike votes at the Goodrich and Firestone plants.

The Goodyear has been granted the right to take a strike vote this Sunday.

3,000 deputies have been sworn in by the companies and organized into Vigilante committees. The bosses are preparing for a long siege.

### By JACK WILSON

AKRON, March 24.-Akron's rubberworkers' unions were swiftly mobilizing their growing forces this week for a walk-out on Monday, April 1, in what promises to be the most bitter struggle of labor for its rights since the great strikes of last spring and which should mark the rise of a great strike wave this year.

Unions at Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone plants, the big three of the tire industry, have made strike plans and are preparing to be the spear-head of an industry-wide fight against the arrogant and notoriously open shop rubber barons.

The unions are demanding recognition, abolition of the company unions and a 30 hour week. These have been insolently turned down by Goodyear. Firestone and Goodrich are expected to follow. A simultaneous strike is expected

to begin at Los Angeles, Cal., where

**Thomas Offers** the big three companies maintain their most important plants outside of Akron. **Olive Branch** 

The companies have already hired thugs from strike-breaking agencies in Youngstown, Ohio, supplied the sheriff with a large stock of tear

spokesmen have admitted. Although the peak production season of the tire industry has

a real one. the N.E.C. demands; the expulsion The fact that the unions have not of revolutionary socialists is au-

This retreat came as a surprise

Morale of Workers High As Strong Picket Lines Surround Shops

B U L L E T I N LOS ANGELES, Cal. (by wire). -After four days of picketing the morale of the milliners is skyhigh and the strike in an excellent position.

The militant work of the blockers' section has proved very effective in keeping shops closed.

Support has been promised by other labor unions in town. Fulfillment of this promise would guarantee speedy victory.

An effective demonstration organized by Sam Myers in the Downtown shopping section gave testimony to the power of the strike front. It also called forth loud squeaks from the bosses and their scabby friends.

#### By SAM MYERS

LOS ANGELES .--- When this story sees daylight 1,200 milliners will have quit their benches in a general strike for union recognition and

better working conditions. After several weeks of negotiations with the Millinery manufacturers Association it became obvious that the bosses never intended to renew the old agreement or come to a new one. The milliners had but one resort-the strike. They have taken it and mean to win. The militant strike of a year ago wrested an agreement from the

On March 20 this agreement expired. Emboldened by vigilante activities throughout the state and the promises of Captain Hynes' "Red Squad", the bosses broke off the agreement in dispute over the right to hire and fire at will. Equal division of work is another right refused by the bosses although incorweek-end, delayed final action in porated in last year's agreement. the case and attacked the Left wing Negotiations with the bosses Socialists. The Old Guard is alhave come to naught. Last minute lowed six weeks to comply with efforts of the Regional Labor Board have proved futile. The workers are on their feet and will set them in motion on the picket line with the firm conviction that strike ac-

their bitter struggles with the poon alone will force the lice, the growers or the charities very effectively. **Evading Fundamentals** But on the question of the proletarian revolution they gave full Fargo Drivers But expression to the new reformist policy of the Communist Party. Almost everyone of them became indignant and repudiated the idea of proletarian revolution. Martin Milson, section organizer of the I.L.D., said he never talked about revolution, only the American revolution and the principles forts. of 1776. Jack Crane denied that the nec-

Akron Workers Set For Siege in Rubber General Strike Hat Industry Joint Action Committee Established "March of Labor" Takes the Field. W. P. Members Active

> BULLETIN TOLEDO, Ohio, March 25.-The eight-day old milk drivers' strike ended late tonight when 350 union men voted 277 to 48 to accept the agreement drawn up earlier in the day by the Toledo Milk Distributors Association, Union representatives and the Toledo Regional Labor Board. The agreement provides for increases of wages ranging from 14 to 24 percent for the lower paid men. Adjustment of the wages of the higher paid men is to follow. The worse feature of the agreement is a provision leaving the re-employment of strikers arrested and convicted on charges arising from their strike activities to the "option" of the employers. Under such a provision the most militant strikers can be victimized.

> The failure to develop the sentiment for sympathetic strike action and to secure a better agreement can be attributed to the pressure exerted by the conservative section of the Central Labor Union and representatives of the Teamsters' International. An-

# **C. P. Members** Take Stand in Sacramento

SACRAMENTO, March 23 .- This week the I.L.D. ended its defense in the Sacramento Criminal Syndicalism case by putting all of its defendants on the stand. After over three months of testimony by state stool pigeons and of reading from the "theory" of Bittleman and Browder and Stalin, the de-

fendants were finally given the chance to stand up before the world and tell what they stood for. On the subject of their immediate local struggles they made a good showing. All of them told of called the "March of Labor".

other factor was the inexperience of the leadership of the Milk Drivers Union, which is a comparatively new body, and their failure to understand the possibilities of the situation. An organized progressive force in the Central Labor Union could have successfully mobilized support for the idea of broadening the strike along the lines advocated by members of the W.P. and the Unemployed League. The organization of the progressive labor forces will be given an impetus by the present experiences.

TOLEDO, Ohio, March 21 .--- Toedo is seething with labor revolt. The cauldron of discontent which caught the eyes of the entire country last year is overflowing again. Five strikes are in progress at

this writing: 1500 FERA workers in a general walkout on all projects-

800 milk drivers in 23 dairies\_

650 metal workers closing down the four plants of the American National Co.---

500 building trades men working on the docks of the Empire Construction Co.-

25 grocery employees of the Overmyer Wholesale Grocery Co. At the suggestion of members of the Workers Party a Joint Board of Strategy was set-up to coordinate the activities of the various strikes and direct picketing. This Joint Board of Strategy includes representatives of the striking unions and Sam Pollock of the Joint Action Committee of the FERA strike. The FERA Joint Action Committee previously established is composed of 7 members from the Building Trades Council, the Lucas County Unemployed League and the Relief Workers League.

### "The March of Labor"

Flying squadrons, the battering rams of the Minneapolis and textile strikes of last year, are the official strike method in the current Toledo strikes. Here, however, they are

This "March of Labor" which might also be called the "Drive for Victory" consists of a mass picket line which concentrates on all the vital and danger points of the various strikes. In two run-ins with professional strike-breakers employed by the Overmyer Grocery Co. and the large dairy establishments the "March of Labor", under the leadership of Comrade Sam Pollock and other W.P. members, and Tim McCormick, militant Socialist and a leader of the Relief Workers' League, success attended their ef-The scabs were physically driven from the job and the plants

Scabs Ready To Old Guard In face of the flagrant defiance of the National Committee by the Old Guard, including its refusal to appear before the Committee and show cause why the New York State Socialist Party should not be reorganized, the National Committee, at its Buffalo meeting last

thorized without delay.

economic problems that wrack it, without flinging the million-pected to be overcome when the to many militant Socialists, partic headed masses into a horrible massacre carried on with all the cruel refinement of a diabolically exterminative war technique.

No longer is the "coming war" to be visualized as something that may or may not appear in the remote future. The "coming war" is at the very top of the order of the day in A.M. Europe.

How it will start is really a matter of little moment. Capitalism is naturally pregnant with war of conquest. Any spark may touch it off at any time. The fact that Hitler asks for re-armament rights in the name of the Holy War against Bolshevism, that he pretends to put himself at the service of world imperialism in the role of a super-Wrangel, that he really wants to begin Germany's imperialist re-expansion by exterminating the Workers' State-does not mean that if the war started as a reactionary crusade against the citadel of revolution, it would end that way. Quite the contrary. The conflicts in the camp of the imperialists make a war among themselves inevitable, regardless of the manner in which the hostilities commence.

Nor is it conceivable that the imminent war could be confined to the Old World. The first lesson of the last world war was that there could no longer be a purely European war. The evolution of world politics since 1914 has only accelerated the tendencies which draw every nation inexorably into an interdependent world system from which none of them can escape. In the first place, no war in which the Soviet Union's existence would be at stake, is thinkable without the participation of Japanese imperialism. In the second place, no war of such scope is thinkable without the participation of the world's mightiest imperialist power: the United States.

There could be no greater self-deception practiced in the American working class than that which consoles itself with the illusion that the United States will not enter the coming world war! American imperialism has interests in Europe and Asia far too vital to its preservation and expansion for it to allow them to be affected by the outcome of a new world war without its own, that is, America's active and direct intervention.

It is precisely in this connection that the direct problem of the American working class arises. In the struggle against imperialist war, as, basically, in all other important struggles, the central axis of working class policy revolves around the need of fighting its own ruling class. More than ever, imperialist war puts the question of the principles and policies of this fight in the most acute and inescapable manner. Evasions and half-heartedness which are sometimes possible in "normal" times, become impossible in the struggle against war. Every of persons directly affected by the party, every group, every tendency, is here put to its highest unemployment of these wage earntest!

It is in the struggle against imperialist war that a firm (Continued on Page 4)

terms walkout is begun since the plants ularly since it came close on the work in three shifts and militant heels of the forceful eviction of the pickets can prevent anyone from New York Yipsels from their office

entering on the second or third and the suspension of the organiz shift with the picket lines being ation. However, little else but a compromise in the internal strugestablished on the first shift at 7

City Tense and Expectant

Such an outcome was forecast in The city is tense. The entire the New Militant editorial. "The city, predominantly union labor in Socialist Party", March 16, 1935.

character, can be swung to firm solidarity with the strikers if a The New York question was the determined and militant course is main point on the agenda of the meeting. A seven point decision pursued by the strike leadership. Highly-bribed "company union" was adopted by a majority vote. with Hapgood and Daniels abscabs will try to work and will be guarded by the out-of-town thugs. staining from the left, and Oneal A call for National Guards is felt abstaining from the right. The to be a matter of a day or so after | decision made advocacy of armed insurrection incompatible the strike is called. And this will with

Dan Tobin Rats on gle was possible with the present **R**'anks Remain Firm composition of the leading groups FARGO, N. D.-Last week the charter of General Drivers Local 371, Fargo, was revoked by Danie Tobin, president of the Teamsters International. At Tobin's suggestion, the striking union was also expelled from the Fargo Trades and Labor Assembly; and to top Tobin's attack on the workers, the labor-hating Fargo Forum, at Tobin's request, printed statements

essity of the revolution was taught closed in the Workers School. of Labor" is being called. All of Hougardy, C.P. section organizer, Toledo union labor will parade denied that the Communist Party

wanted to set up the dictatorship through the city. The morale and

(Continued on Page 4)

On Saturday a giant mass "March

(Continued on Page 4) (Continued on Page 4) (Continued on Page 2) (Continued on Page 4) Starvation Faces Million New York Jobless

### ReliefInadequate,ConditionsAppalling Is Finding of Mayor's Committee

One of every three wage earners employed in New York City in 1930, one year after the crash, is now totally unemployed! This is only one of the truly ap 666.000.

palling figures revealed in the report of the Mayor's Committee on unemployment made this week. The survey shows that there were

approximately 1,000,000 unemploy ed wage earners in March of last year. With small increases the remains substantially the figure Let us quote the report: same. 'There are approximately one and

a half workers in an average New York City family, so that the 1,000,-000 unemployed wage earners live little over four. Thus the number ers must be estimated at 2,644,000

-37 percent of the entire population of New York City!" To date, the report further re-

veals less than half the unemployed have applied for relief. On Feb. 4 this year there were only 245,000 families on relief as compared with a possible total as seen above of

To quote again: "Approximately 325,000 families in which wage earners are unemployed but not on relief constitute a reservoir (a reservoir of misery) from which a constantly increasing number will, as the reserves of these families and their friends and relatives are exhausted, be iorced to seek relief."

The Mayor's Committee made a further report on the quality of ued up to the present time, although in 666,000 families. The size of the relief now extended. We shall a committee of experts recommendthe average New York family is a quote without comment, none is ed on Jan. 22 that the food allowneeded, the treatment that part of ance be increased to meet the 11 "the reservoir" which has already come to the attention of our benevolent government receives:

"Private agencies use their budgets as guides with the provision that a case worker must in each

the family. The Home Relief Bureau uses its budgets as inflexible schedules, regardless of the facts of the case . . . In addition, part of the home relief budget is still paid in voucher rather than cash which discounts its value to the client. Malnutrition Rife

"When the Home Relief Bureau was first set up a committee of expert nutritionists drew up a schedile of minimum food allowances which would maintain health stan dards **if every penny were well** spent. Due to lack of funds the Bureau could not apply the schedule, and frequently granted only one half the minimum requirement. In October 1933 a new food allow ance was set up which allowed the then current minimum standards . This schedule has been contin

percent increase in the retail food that here again the actual increase dosts .

"Interviews with the administrators of the thirty-four precincts throughout the city showed that in only one precinct was the

cash determine the actual needs of | food allowance adequate for | lief allowance for healthy pers maintaining health standards, that it was found barely adequate in three precincts, and inadequate in the remaining thirty precincts. . .

"Under the present food budget the allowance to each person is eight cents per meal . . .'

The report includes a table showing the percentage of malnutrition (starvation in plain words) found among school children. It is startling to find the figure 13 percent even in 1927. It increases to 21 percent in 1932, with a slight drop in the last two years.

Quoting again: "Under a ruling made in the past year an additional allowance for food is made to individuals for whom a special diet

has been recommended either by a physician or a clinic. The extra allowance, however, is based on the assumption that the basic home relief food allowance is adequate, so

n the cost of food is not met." The Sick Allowance

Perhaps the full meaning of these formal phrases is not quite clear. In plain language: the re-

is not sufficient to maintain their health. They become sick. The allowance which originally destroyed their health is then used as the basis for their sick allowance. Thus the insufficiency of their allowance is twice visited on them, once while they are healthy and once when they become sick. This system is nicely calculated to drive person either to death or insanity. "The thirty-four precinct administrators with one exception reported that the home relief rental allowances were not sufficient to meet the average rentals in their districts. . . . The maximum home relief rent allowance is \$25, while average rents in most districts were reported to be from \$30 to \$40 month.

"To get an accurate picture of the housing situation the homes of 2,201 home relief families were studied. The survey disclosed appalling conditions. Many of the houses were old law fire traps.

"The survey showed that 883 of the 2,201 families studied had no private toilets, 647 had no steam

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### NEW MILITANT

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# PAGE 2 Need for Unity Is Leading Issue at Coming Steel Workers Convention Allard Calls on the P. M. A. Convention

# Trendof Steel Union Depends Solidarity Forever **On Action of Progressives**

On April 23 the sixtleth annual | steel industry remains a key quesconvention of the Amalgamated As- | tion for the trade union movement sociation of Inon, Steel and Tin Upon the solution of the problem Workers is scheduled to convene at it presents depends the firm estab-Canton, Ohio. It will have before lishment of unions in other basic it issues of unusual importance. and mass production industries. Chief among them is the question Unity Chief Issue

of whether or not to make a serious attempt to organize the industry. Of course, this question between the Tighe officialdom and involves the fate of the union it- the A. F. of L. Executive Council self. It is now split wide open by the expulsion actions of the union sives on the other. Without the officialdom, and any approach to progressives nothing will be done the problem of organization would about organization, and there is of necessity be connected directly little inducement for the steel with the issue of restoration of unity.

of other questions that are pending unity of the union. Unity in this before the convention the progressive forces are naturally particularly intérested. Much depends on how well they are prepared.

We need not expect that the official union leadership of Mike Tighe and his cronies will be deeply concerned about the organization of the industry. All past experiences have refuted any such expectations. Nor can it be expected that they should show any interest in restoring the unity of the union. For them the present siuation means the elimination of a militant opposition. many of the regularly constituted lodges now operate under a suspended charter as a result of the high handed action taken by the Tighe administration following the Feb. 3 progressive conference.

A total of 78 local lodges were represented at this conference, called jointly by several district organizations of the Amalgamated Association. All were since declared liable to expulsion. A much smaller number have been actually expelled; but they were the ones operating in the most important steel mills. Most of the leading tent to which they influenced recent progressives have been read out of the organization.

All indications so far point to the strenuous exorts being made by the union officials to unseat all delegates coming from these lodges. If successful that would remove from the agenda any serious consideration of the organization of the industry.

So far Tighe has succeeded in dealing the union a heavy blow. From its promising revival and growth last year it has been reduced to the old negligible tin mill division. However, the issue is not yet finally settled. Much still depends on what the progressive forces are ready and able to do.

All Promises-No Action



But the organization forces are divided owing to this open breach on the one hand and the progresmorning to watch and see that no scabs go through. A voice is raised. Big Tony workers to join the union. The shouts and the line straightens; progressives therefore have as their weary voices are refreshed anew as main duty the fight to restore the they sing their song of strength

and unity . . . case means to fight for reinstate-.... Solidarity For-e-e-ver! ment.

Tony In our opinion there can be no evasion of this vital issue. Any attempt to obscure the fight for refelt and straw, and steams and instatement can only introduce new confusion. This appears to be the lines in the hats that later on case in the announcement coming from the sixth district, calling upon the steel workres to join the rank and file Amalgamated Associdays he made his eight to ten dolation. It fails entirely to make lars a day. But Tony sighs. He clear to the steel workers that the works much harder now and faster. first job is to fight for unity of the His once proud shoulders are bent union forces. It attempts to put and lifeless. His boss has cut his before the steel workers something wages down 'till Tony does not that is unreal, when it is necessary know how he can ever feed the to name things by their right name. many mouths at home. So he is When speaking to the steel workers out on strike. At home his poor today in the name of the locals bambinos cry some more-but Tony that have been declared expelled, is on strike!

\* \* \*

"Little Annie"

that he could brow-beat her. And

or calling upon the steel workers to support them, it is necessary The line is filling. Big Tony that the support be conditioned on raises a hand in welcome. Annie, carrying on the fight for reinstatement, that is, carrying on the fight is right! When the boss first saw to restore the unity of the union. her he was glad because he thought heat of the strikers' cry . . .

Stalinist Parades The other policy will become only a duplication of the sorry role played by the Stalinists in the ex-

events in the steel workers' union. They were chiefly interested in parade maneuvers to further their own momentary aims with no con-

cern for the actual organization of the steel workers. In this they Bureau and its maladministration has stood calmly by. became a purely disruptive force preventing the progressive moveis, roughly, 250,000. Calculated on | Harlem, the Bureau gives the Nement from attaining a genuine mass basis.

holding jobs, 80 percent are unem- | trate: Every precinct supervisor is Only a movement having a genuine mass basis can appeal effecenough to have work earn misertively to the steel workers. A able wages. Yet only 15 percent of in that precinct's territory, can exunion to be successful in the industhe population is on relief. try must show that it can mobilize It is almost unbelievable but a the power of solidarity and of simple calculation reveals that  $65\,|\,
m clothes,\,etc.$  The rents vary within united action of the workers. The Amalgamated Association leaderpercent of the 250,000 are without any means of support either from ample is a single man or couple; ship has not shown this at all. But the progressives have the opportun- work or relief. In Harlem where the real-estate month (1 or 2 people get the same ity still. Their fight has just begun.

Those who looked to the A. F. of It should have reasonable prospects is almost exclusively owned by amount) deepnding upon the dis-L. for any support to the organ- once they solidify their own ranks white landlords (the bankers) rents cretion of the individual supervisor. party which, although it has con- acy by wholesale mobilization and ization of the steeel workers' union and establish a genuine mass basis are 40 percent higher in relation to

By FLORENCE WYLE The interesting story printed iso he could-and did. But Annie's brother is on the bum now that he is black-balled after the seamen's strike and Annie's father can still be called upon to tell the story of the Railroad strike --- so Annie knows the ways of bosses and when

they called the strike Annie stopped her endless scurrying between the The tiny line moves slowly 'round and 'round. From tired various benches and went out with the others. Her boss yelled and throats comes a weary wasp of song. It is very early. Only strik- raved and then was dumbfounded because she didn't listen. Annie is ers with eager hearts would venture forth this cold California on strike!

### The Old-Timer

The line is full now, even to old Morris. Morris can tell you all about hats- (if you understand Yiddish because Morris speaks no other tongue). For you see, Morris has been bending over the machine for thirty years. So now his

shoulders are humped and misshapunion is to survive depends upon Big Tony gave the shout. Big en and his chin has made a wellthe policy which we set forth on Tony is a blocker. He takes the worn niche in his chest. Many the strike situation. Thousands of times has Morris been on strike our members have been on strike shapes them and brings forth the and few were victories. But Morris for nearly three years. What they wouldn't scab and is the first to have gone through is almost indesaleswomen will gushingly call- leave his shop. Each defeat finds scribable. it would take an artist "Panama", "Bolero", "Rhumba". him more misshapen, more humpof unusual gift to portray the woes, Tony is a good blocker. In the old backed, more weary than the lastsufferings and tribulations which our people have undergone in the but Morris is on strike! past many months. The remarks of Surging Hopes

delegate Centers, of Kincaid, Ill., 'Round and 'round the endless moved me very much. He is from line goes ,and no longer weary. the striking territory. He spoke There is Evelyn whose mother has with unusual eloquence as to the T.B.; and there Manny who is quite conditions in the strike field, and sure that now he'll have to wait dare say he expressed the fervent another year before he's got enough wishes of the rank and file there. for college; and there is Joe and I do not choose at this time to Jake and Mike and Everyone-all with their little woes but each big deal with the emotional aspect of

enough to see the common struggle. the situation in the strike fieldalthough that is important. That Their hopes are surging now and part of the question has already they are singing. And the ears and the little floor girl is here. Little eyes and minds of the craven scabs been covered.

Union.

What I want to do is to attempt and bosses are full with the steady in the little time alloted me to . . . Solidarity For-e-e-ver! analyze the situation to date and

The following is the substance

of a speech delivered by com-

rade Gerry Allard at the scale

convention of the Progressive

Miners of America which met at

Gillespie, Ill., Feb. 12-17. Com-

rade Allard made the speech ex-

temporaneously in the course of

\* \* \*

Allard's Remarks

**Poverty and Discrimination** 

### THE HARLEM EVENTS **BEHIND**

The recent riot in Harlem is Negro petty-bourgeoisie and sup- discriminatory artists of the Dept of Public Welfare have invented a closely linked to the Home Relief posedly interested in welfare work, new color. On the basis of color, applicants are classified as white of relief. The population of Harlem In face of the high rents in black, and Porto Rican!

The question which Marxists basis of 65,000 adults capable of groes the minimum rent. To illusmust ask is: How does the Home ployed and almost all who are lucky allowed a budget in relation to the Relief Bureau get away with its malpractices? Of course, the gensocial pressure which groups, witheral answer is that it has behind ert. A strong unemployed movement means more blankets and of Negro misleaders, agents of Tam- ing their conditions through the a small margin: the simplest exmany or Fusion, can not be over- Progressive Miners of America. We looked. • They spread confusion, cannot meet this situation by silthey can be allowed \$14 to \$16 a utopian and quack ideas. Secondly, the impotence of the Stalinist as a union, counter-act this conspir-The Iron Starvation Rule cause of its theory in regard to the

on that basis present proposals for | President Keck has raised the the successful termination of the question: "How are we to help the strike. An issue which will deter- striking miners by striking the mine whether our organizationthe Progressive Miners of America, jurisdiction?" In answer to this is to perpetuate itself as a medium question let me state that the P.M. for the defense of the interests of the American coal miners.

For United Struggle in Coming Coal Strike

#### Two Roads

discussion on the question of the There are two roads open to us strike situation in the Illinois t this time on the strike situation. coal fields which involves about Firstly, to militanize the strike and 8,000 miners victimized because carry it forward backed by the full of their opposition to John L. resources of the P. M. of A., or, Lewis and because of their allegsecondly, to plan to call off the iance to the Progressive Miners strike and strategically retreat in an organized and honorable fashion. There is no third road nor middle road. We must frankly face This question is, indeed, the most the situation and set forth a prorucial question to come before the gram just as courageously as the scale convention of our union. As rank and file have fought during view it, the question whether our the many months of bitter struggle.

I said there were one or two roads open for us at this time. Being a Marxist, a revolutionist, it is my opinion that we should militanize the strike, revamp the Women's Auxiliary along the original lines, augment our forces by seeking the organizational support of the powerful unemployed movement in Illinois, seek allies in the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America, and go forward once again with the same determination that built this union. This is the road of struggle, not the road of least resistance. This is the only correct road, and a program contrary to the one that has been pursued in the last twenty months.

### Unholy Alliance at Work

Today's newspapers report that Lewis is to begin negotiations with his cronies in Washington-the coal operators and the NRA agents. Significantly timed with this and the meeting of our convention here this week is the fact that newspapers report that federal authorities from the department of justice are to begin wholesale arrests of min-

ers in connection with a mysterious "\$1,000,000 bombing ring" which has for months terrorized the countryside of the Illinois coal country. And along with this, we have the intensified efforts of Ray Edmundson, Lewis spear-head in Illinois, to win our membership back to the United Mine Workers. These developments are no accidents. They are well organized and planned to wreck the Progressive Miners of America. The alliance of local and it all the repressive machinery of federal agents along with Lewis and capitalism. Briefly, however, the the coal operators is a conspiracy enormous influence of the handful to prevent the miners from improv-

On this point I might state that

Rank-and-File Holds Key

The key to the situation is the

the line. This is a problem for the

Mine Workers and the Progressive

Miners. On the basis of this need

it is possible for us to arrange some

sort of unity on the demand for

ence. We must, if we are to live centrated in Harlem for years, be-preparation for strike if necessary. strike of 8,000 of our members. a medium by which A union is

Negroes has accomplished nothing. wage earners fight to advance or

Nor is the Unemployed Union free protect their economic interests. It

noticeably sapped the militancy of and advance the cause of our class

the workers within its ranks. Our when the situation is favorable.

The Negroes all over the United that, we have the chance to increase

miners that are working under our of A. is attempting for the first time, and rather late at that, to meet the strike problem. A convenion of this kind to discuss the strike situation should have been called twenty months ago. There was a greater chance for us to rejuvenate our forces then there is now. It would have been easier to answer Keck's question twenty months ago. Now the forces of reaction

have had their breathing spell. They have gained new courage and are knocking at our doors with unusual boldness.

#### Strikes Looming Everywhere

Let me point out further, in anwer to Keck's question, that there are other forces and developments to look at then our own situation. Look at the steel, rubber, textile and auto situation! Strikes are again on the order of the day. No greater opportunity have the Illinois miners had than the present one. Strikes will ogain boom up from one end of the country to the other. There is tremendous pressure being brought on the government for social security legislation and the 30-hour week that is unequaled. The working people of this country are beginning to feel the thrill of their power as never before. The Progressive Miners of America can lead the way for the shorter work week. It's going to take strikes, and plenty of them, to complete the pressure for enactment of the six-hour day.

And if we take advantage of this situation we will steal the thunder from John L. Lewis. We can start the ball rolling that will not only save our own situation but immeasurably increase our standing with the workers throughout the United States. A spark now on the shorter work day will have profound repercussions in the American labor movement. The possibilities of spreading the strike to other coal sections of the country and other heavy industries, such as rubber and automobiles, are great.

There is always time to retreat. Now we must examine the possibility of advance. The proposition to retreat at the least opposition of the coal operators with whom we have contracts must be repudiated. We must initiate the movement for less hours and more pay with unflinching determination.

Plan of Action Proposed

My time to speak has elapsed. Let me say this, however, in conclusion. I have hurriedly scribbled several points which briefly embodies what I think ought to be done to win our demands and the

the rest of the cities. have been disappointed. Nothing which is easily possible. The first

has come of its much heralded San- step toward an accomplishment of Francisco convention decision to this objective is to take up an eforganize the steel industry. It is fective fight for restoration of unreported that plans for organization ity of the union, that is, to fight were laid before the February Ex- for reinstatement while keeping the ecutive Council meeting; but the expelled locals intact as the force craft union officials insisted that to back up the fight.

The fight for unity will have to not one penny of the A. F. of L. funds be spent on any campaign be instituted inside the Amalgawhich did not assure separate un- mated Association, through the still ions for the machinists, pattern existing lodges and the organized makers, electrical workers and the districts as well as through the other crafts. The plans were contacts available in the A. F. of L. city central bodies and all the shelved. Still the organization of the way up to the Executive Council.

# **Plentywood Leads Drive**

Plentywood has led the way in real achievement on the circulation dnive. By March 31 the drive will reach the half way mark. All branches should have at least a 50% score by that time.

Cincinnati, Minneapolis, Davenport, Louisville and Youngstown should have no difficulty in surpassing this 50% mark during the next week.

Greater effort is needed in the other branches and districts. New York has not given the drive sufficient support. Chicago and Philadelphia are still behind. These Branch es must get solidly in line with the

campaign and push it to a successful conclusion. Only if every one does his part can this be done.

Bundle orders have increased also, but not enough. New bundles are going to California, Oregon, Arizona, Illinois and Canada, but here again the New York branches have fallen down. Their bundles have decreased. Fortunately this decrease has been more than compensated by the gain in the rest of the country. However, it is about Arch Street. time for New York to get busy again and show the way.

What is your answer? What are you going to do about it during the next two months?

The answer must be a vote of support expressed in increased subs and bundle circulation. Your 15th St., 3rd floor. The date has scores here will indicate your will- been postponed from March 30. ingness to lay a solid basis for the

movement.

#### . . . **Donations**, Contributions

From G., New York....\$5.00 From H., New Jersey .. 2.00 This does not begin to be enough. We need real help and again ask for regular pledges of weekly or monthly amounts. Send them now

to the Business Manager: NEW MILITANT 2 West 15th Street New York, N. Y.

WHAT TO ATTEND

#### Philadelphia, Pa.

March 31, Sunday evening-A .J Muste, National Secretary of W.P will speak on "Coming Struggles in the Wicks Law an applicant for re- ion has held firm in the face of Grand Fraternity Building, 1626 dence in the state the last year of strike headquarters, of the arrest

New York City

P.M.—General Membership Meeting. N. Y. headquarters, 2 West 15th St. Report on Pittsburgh Conference. April 6, Saturday evening-Tri-Branch Dance. Headquarters, 2 W. April 13, Sat. evening-Spartacus Youth League Dance.

Rates are nominal.

April 20, Sat. evening-Chess Contest and Spring Frolic by New Red Cabaret tickets given out Feb. the 13th because of the S.Y.L. dance through pressure and workers'

A dance class has been estabon Tuesday and Friday evenings.

Death Stalks the Streets Price-levels are, even on essential commodities, like bread, 7 to 30 percent above the city level. Is it any wonder, then, that four or five Negro families are crewded into a one-family apartment with no heat, no bathing facilities, no air—no room to live?

The death-rate for tuberculosis through the city is 60 per 1,000 dead. In Harlem it is 250 per 1,000, and in the "lung-section" between Madison and 5th Avenues, 116th Street to 125th Street it is 275. In 1934, the Harlem Hospital

in examining clients found that 6,000 had syphillis and had to turn away 5,000 of these because it had no adequate facilities to treat them.

Home Relief Discriminates What have the Home Relieb Bu-

ceaus done? In the first place it is of interest to point out that two precinct supervisors, a Mr. Courtney and a Mr. Swarz, have been transferred to different sections of the city after their open discrimination against the Negroes on the

staff of the Home Relief Bureau and the local leadership. had brought a strong protest from

the Employees Association. The Bureau has deliberately rejected thousands of Negroes on the tasis of no residence proof. Under tries of Fargo-Moorhead. The unlief must establish two years resi-

which must be spent in New York City. The Negroes, because they Local 371 out on strike, of the most March 31, Sunday afternoon, 2:30 live jammed together, because they place to preserve letters, cards, etc., place long enough to register and anything but sit still and breathe. to vote, because the rude hand of It was precisely at this point that poverty compels them to live in the bureaucratic Mr. Tobin chose chaos, find it difficult to prove residence.

Special Rules for Harlem In every part of the city notarstrikers.

ized letters saying that Mr. So and So knows that the applicant has far the strongest and most militant ers to get relief, and participated quarters, 2 West 15th St. All paid lived at such and such addresses union in North Dakota, was fol- in the organizational work. In for such a period of time are ac-The date has been postponed from where except in Harlem. Only Tobin, Green, Woll and Co. For the signal for a standing cheer the Northwest to a new high level. 16th will be honored at this affair. cepted as residence proof. Every-

demonstrations have notarized charter, workingmen and women lished and is now meeting regularly statements been accepted. The

In Harlem the iron rule handed down to the investigators is pay \$14. Of course higher rents can be paid for "case-work reasons". discover a "case-work" reason for Home Relief Bureau like one char- union is a fighting instrument, day And it is always an easy task to petty-bourgeois who happens to ity organization, with another, has by day, to protect our conditions snow the local ward healer, but not for a Negro worker.

comrades in the W.U.U. have got Further, the Negroes on hometo propagandize and agitate for there is a great possibility for us when it is a question of filling a mass action. It is the only way to gain the six-hour day and \$6 work-relief project. This particu- the discrimination can be smashed. basic wage scale. And more than lar discrimination is, to a degree, States are a crucial problem for the prestige of our union and probcracy's stand against admitting the American revolutionists. We ably in the course of the fight for rooted in the A. F. of L. bureau-Negroes on an equal basis into the have little European experience to rade unions. One of the main tasks go by. The Workers Party must undertake this task by intensifying to complete victory. of progressive unionists must be to

**Dan Tobin Rats** 

its work among those who are the nammer down this bar. most oppressed and downtrodden, New Color in Spectrum the scorned, the insulted, the in-Naturally, the same discriminajured-the Negro workers and tenions are used against the Porto Ricans. As a matter of fact, the ant-farmers.

March 23, at 4 P.M. Three hours later the new union had recruited four hundred members, and a queue of men and women was still waitng down the steps from the headquarters and out on the street. Today the Fargo-Moorhead Local 173 confidently faces the bosses across the picket line, with every assurance that the Local can quickly force a favorable settlement from the Associated Industries. week of a heroic struggle against

Through the efforts of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the Fargo strikers have had for the past two

shorter hours and more pay. weeks the services of one of the

functioning in the Twin Cities and throughout the state of Minnesota. are evicted wholesale and have no Forum and from local pulpits, of a been in Fargo, he has abruptly The Workmen's Circles in this terrecent injunction prohibiting the checked the high-handed tactics of ritory are appealing to their membership for financial aid for the Fargo strikers. Tag days, dances and card parties are being given in Minneapolis to popularize the fight and to raise funds. Socialists, Farmer-Laborites, comrades in the Workers Party, trade unions, fraternal groups, etc. have been drawn into the defense movement.

In short, it can be truthfully said short, he is everything that a labor action from that hoped for by attorney should be. His name is

They are as follow 1. Strike every mine in Illinois and elsewhere for the six-hour day from criticism. Its tactic of iso- is not something to be set on a and five day week and \$6 basic lated case-work, conferring with the pedestal and worshipped blindly. A wage.

2. Offer to the members of the United Mine Workers of America a proposal for joint action on the basis of these and other demands. 3. A referendum vote of all Illinois miners to determine what union the Illinois miners want to belong to.

4. Lifetime compensation for the dependants of all victims slain in the mine war.

shorter hours and more pay, pull 5. Release all prisoners now our striking forces out of the rut serving prison sentences.

6. Unity in Action of our forces with the Illinois Workers Alliance which is now organized 150,000 strong.

rank and file of the Illinois miners 7. Call an extraordinary convenirrespective of what union they betion of the rank and file of all Ilong to. We might differ as to what union we want to belong to, linois miners to finally consummate but I know that there can be no the aforementioned program.

This is the program that will disagreement as to the need or the shorter work day and the \$6 basic win for us. This is the program that will save the situation for our scale. We coal miners know that already striking brothers. This is we cannot continue to live even the program that will get us our meagerly in the face of the steady demands. There is no other course. inflationary measures of the feder-If there is I would like to hear it al government and subsequent sharp before this convention adjourns. rises in the cost of living all down

rank and file of both the United WORKERS

> Protect Yourselves Against the Hazards of Life, Join the

WORKMEN'S SICK AND 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 50,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserves \$3,400,000. Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick Benefit paythat the conduct of the Fargo ments from \$360 to \$900-to men strike has contributed to raising and women, according to classes. the entire trade union movement in Monthly assessments from 45c to \$2.20.

> For further information apply te Main Office:

714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

ended by the numerical very few tee began recruiting on Saturday, tive Fargo Defense Committee is INVLITIN HIL OL HARDSANS

lowed by exactly the opposite re-

**On Fargo Union** (Continued from Page 1) attacking the union, Miles Dunne, This treacherous blow to the Fargo workers came in the tenth

N.P.L.D. Attorney At Work the reactionary Associated Indusvigilante terrorism, of a raid on

crack labor lawyers of the country,

of practically the entire section of Francis Heisler of Chicago, a formvicious attacks from the Fargo er I.L.D. man. Since Heisler has because thousands never live in one union and all its friends from doing Judge Paulson and States Attorney Bergeson. A 30-day extension has been granted the 16 defendants now

> to perform his signal service for All strikers are out of jail for the the employers by revoking the has not only functioned in the

Tobin's attack on Local 173, by courtroom but has also aided strik-

under sentence from 2 to 6 months

charter and bitterly attacking the first time since January. Heisler

hard labor for' 'inciting to riot".

The example, and the direct aid, of

hours after the revocation of the everywhere in Fargo. To raise money to finance the Local 574 has been the decisive

walked around stunned and grim appeal to the State Supreme Court, factor in the Fargo resurgence. Urban League, and organization with rage. A provisional commit- and to further the struggle, an ac-

### NEW MILITANT

### PAGE 3

QUESTION

BOX

QUESTION: How do you ac-

count for the fact that Hearst

makes use of Trotsky's pamphlet

the purpose of discrediting union-

The bureaucrats never attempt to

eply to this criticism on its merits,

.e., are the charges true or not;

# **MARCH OF EVENTS**

### By JACK WEBER

. . .

Nothing would suit the French

The AAA and the Tenant Farmer | whites and blacks alike, thereby Just as the development of cap-Italist industry results in the ever ing them and throwing them on the greater concentration of wealth in starvation relief handed out by the the hands of the few fabulously government. Meantime, while its rich financiers, so the development policies result in this wholesale of capitalist farming exhibits also the concentration of land ownership farmers off the land, the governin the hands of fewer and fewer ment makes empty gestures of esland barons. By means of its complex control of the market for agricultural products, of the prices this is the reactionary solution ofcharged to farmers for the goods fered by the Committee on Minority they need, and of the credit system, monopoly finance capital exploits talism, can really set out to solve the small farmer more intensively the agricultural problem, by organthan under any previous economic izing the farmers into collectives system. Helpless against the gi- and giving them a fair exchange in gantic forces not of nature but of manufactured goods and services monopoly capitalism, the farmer for their crops. gradually falls into hopeless debt through the process of mortgaging The Attack on Trotsky his land, his home, even his future crop in his desperate struggle to more vicious attacks made in the keep from starving. Stalinist press on Comrade Trot-

The bankers' mortgage system is merely a stage in the degradation of the independent farmer to land tenancy and into share-cropping and the status of farm laborer. The capitalist ruling class in the adinto believing that Trotsky can, by vanced countries observe this inevitable process with dread, for it creates the allies of the proletariat creates the allies of the profetariat in the struggle for power and thus memory the "region dephilite". Am erican capitalism is now face to lice agents, the Stalinists form a menaces the "social stability". Amface with the problem of "stabiliz- real united front with bourgeois ing" agriculture and subsidizing reaction. farmers so as to maintain them for reactionaries more than to see this use against the working class when it becomes necessary. The Bolshevik-Leninist snuffed out of AAA was created with this in view existence. They recognize that the and was intended to aid in "solv- real menace to French capitalism ing" the farm problem. Actually comes from those revolutionsts who its attempts reveal, leaving aside are working to create the Fourth the hypocrisy of every ruling class International. The New Internawhen dealing with the exploited tional would at the same time be and oppressed, the utter inability of a menace not to the Soviet Union capitalism to solve the farm prob- to the defense of which it would be devoted, but to the corrupt bulem.

\* \* \* Driving Farmers Off the Land

The report by the Committee on workers in the countries of Western Minority Groups in the Economic Europe for the creation of the Recovery, just issued, shows how Fourth International, as symbolized the AAA has worked not in the in- by the building of the new Dutch terests of the actual farmers, but Revolutionary Party, the Stalinists in those of the exploiters of these feel it necessary to discredit Comfarmers through the well-estab- rade Trotsky. lished modes of usury. The bankers have been enabled to borrow Kirov assassination-through a letfunds at low rates of interest and ter that the GPU had hoped to obto loan out these same funds at tain with the aid of a foreign conthe usual extortionate rates. Far sul-fell through. But this makes from "stabilizing" the farming in- all the more likely a new and worse dustry, the policy pursued by the attempt in France where the Soviet government under the New Deal has bureaucracy feels its whole oppor- lution. The vanguard workers, the had the effect of degrading the lot tunist policy jeopardized by the of the tenant farmer even more, revolutionary course pursued by and of actually driving him off the the Bolshevik-Leninist fraction of land.

Curtailment of crops to raise growing and concerted attacks in prices has put out of employment such sheets as the Daily Worker hundreds of thousands of tenant | thus merely serve to set us on our farmers in the South. It pays the guard against the danger of a new landlord to evict these tenants, frame-up against Comrade Trotsky.

Dutch Parties Raise Banner of Fourth International

### By A. J. MUSTE

Fellow-Worker:

evading all responsibility for feedbuilding a Marxist revolutionary allow that it is not "counter-revowave of evictions and driving of party to lead the workers and their | lutionary" for the workers to build allies in doing the job. You have, a new International? however, a member of the Commutablishing "subsistence homesteads' nist (Stalinist) party in your shop Communist Party in Germany. Here and "peasant proprietorships". And Third (Communist) International since the war a powerful Commun-Groups. Only socialism, not capithe only international revolutionary organization. You are against the many. Yet this movement collapsed Soviet Union, according to him, if like a toy balloon at the advent of you are against the C. P. The C.P. Hitler-without a gesture of reis the party that is doing the fight- sistance, without a single fight in

The constantly growing and ever Hearst and others is helping Fassky, assume more and more the ascism and attacking and underminpect of a widespread preparation. ing the Soviet Union, and is no for new efforts of the Soviet bubetter than Hitler himself." The reaucracy to perpetrate a frame-up Workers Party is ready to meet against him. In their desperate that argument and to meet it in no eagerness to trick the working class uncertain terms.

> We hold that the C.P. and C.I. are no longer revolutionary organizations. They have in recent years organized and are now organizing defeats and not victories for the working class. Insofar as they have influence, they retard the building of a healthy and vigorous revolutionary movement everywhere. Furthermore, the policies of the Stalinist leadership which dominates the Soviet Union and the C.I. do not strengthen the defense of the Soviet Union, the one workers' state in the world; they are weakening and destroying those defenses; they are preparing the way for the overthrow of the workers'

state.

reaucracy that has ruled in Russia We must not be deceived by the since Llenin died. In order to paper programs of the C. P., by scotch the growing movement of the claims it makes for itself, or the fact that it still has a considerable number of members and adherents. The Social Democrats called themselves Marixans, claimed to have the only way to establish Socialism and maintained big parties of the Second International in Their effort at a "plant" in the various countries after the betrayal of the masses into the hands of nationalism in the Great War of 1914-18. But the Social Democracy had ceased to be a progressive force, had become a hindrance to the onward course of the workers' revobest fighting elements left the S.P. Under Lenin's leadership the perspective of building the new, Third, the French Socialist Party. The International was raised. Although the number of those who accepted this line was at first small and they were apparently isolated from the mass movements which had plunged into support of the war activities of the imperialist powers, the future was with the forces looking toward the new International. Very soon, in the crisis in Russia in ified revolutionary leaders of the state in the world. It is the work-1917, they demonstrated their soundness and their power by giv-

### Letters to a Worker Correspondent

You say that quite a few of the revolution? How many more years against a "labor" party. Browder vilest of all creatures, one who unmen you have been talking to have have to go by without a Congress steps off the boat; just 'returned der the disguise of a revolutionist been impressed by my arguments of the C.I. before the C.P. will ad- from Moscow. He hurries to would destroy the Soviet Union and about the need of overthrowing the mit that in reality there is no Washington. A non-party gatherpresent economic system and of longer a C.I. and will graciously ing, the Unemployment Insurance Congress, is in session there. Some Lovestoneites (whose main aim in life, curiously enough, is still to | in the S. U. as evidence of how 2. Consider the debacle of the get back into the C. P.) distributed

and he says that the C. P. is the we had the mightlest Communist a labor party. Using the type of only revolutionary party, and the Party in the capitalist world. Ever argument at which they shine most brightly, the Stalinists tore up the leaflets and beat up the Lovestoneist movement had existed in Gerite distributers! Then the meeting for the masses than capitalism can. opened and Browder made them a speech informing them that they were now for a labor party!

ing for the workers, the Negroes, the streets. Surely this is evidence etc. Of course it has made some of a terrible degeneration in the the comrades turned pale momenmistakes, but it has corrected them, C. I. How many debacles like that tarily and experienced that sick and "any one who attacks the C. P. in Germany do we have to permit feeling at the stomach. There had to be some explanation in the Daily or builds another party now when before the workers have a "right" the C. P. is being attacked by to call a halt, brush the C. I. aside, Worker. The nature of this explanation is the best evidence anyand build a new International? one could ask of the low intellec-3. All the leading policies of the

tual level which has been reached C.P. of the U.S. in recent years in the C. P., and that includes the have proven bankrupt and have re-"intellectuals", critics, novelists, cently been tossed overboard. The poets, artists, social workers, A. F. of L. unions are company preachers, etc. who are C. P. memunions and must be smashed: "revbers or stooges. olutionary" unions dual to the A. The Daily Worker explained: The

tics not principle, so we can change

the line without much ado. Any-

cussion does not precede action-

though Stalin gave the order,

Browder obediently repeated it, the

would have had a word for). Na-

erged from a "discussion" conduct-

ed on that level was that "Trotsky-

5. Many an honest worker in

F. of L. must be built: a federation of labor dual to the A. F. of L. must be stablished; we do not enter into a united front with the S. P. etc. but only into a "united front way, it was not really a change of abolished, classes done away with, from below" with the members of the S. P.; Socialists are social-fascists, "Social Democracy is the twin for having a party discussion before in all other lands. It is natural of Fascism"; those who advocate a labor party are simply trying to keep the masses out of the C.P.-these have been the basic policies of the C. P. in this country for six ears. They were reaffirmed by a inanimous vote (all votes are unanmous in the C. P.) at a party convention last June. Any who quesioned any of these policies were

denounced in the most vicious and scurrilous manner as counter-revoutionists and social-fascists. Today all these policies are tossed overboard without even the formality of a party convention. A somersault in fact has been executed. Stalinists have to go into A. F. of L. unions. C. P. leaders fawn upon trade union bureaucrats and S. P. leaders. They are silent as the grave about the dearly beloved united front from below. It seems that a fulsome flattery which Lenin there are no more social fascists on the earth. The C. P. takes the inturally enough about all that emitiative in building a "labor" party -a mass, class, federated, classstruggle, not reformist, not revolutionist, highest form of united front at your house will "fall" for this olutionary plot to assassinate C. P. "conversion", a conversion like that of the habitual drunk at Kirov! the Rescue Mission; and for the years ago. Even we see it now. runs something like this: The

working class!"

Why Join the Workers Party? doing just what Hitler does: he lines up with Hitler, he is an assassin of Soviet leaders, he is that

> the October Revolution. We too believe that the Soviet

"The Kirov Assassination" to at-Union is a workers' state. We point tack the Soviet Union so that the to the achievements of the workers Daily Worker of March 20, pointing to this fact, is able to claim planned socialist production even that Hearst and Trotsky are ala leaflet calling for the building of in the face of the greatest obstacles and when as yet only the begin-ANSWER: To clarify the question nings of the foundations of a solet us first consider an analogy. cialist system exist alongside of ves-When a trade union bureaucrat is tiges of capitalism, can do more proven to be corrupt, the capitalist press, identifying the corrupt union We stand, and we alone, for the bureaucracy with the union itself, real defense of the Soviet Union. points to the facts with glee for

To hold that you can defend What happened? True, some of the S. U. and advance the interization in general. From the workests of the Soviet workers only ers' viewpoint, however, which by accepting the Stalin regime makes a distinction between the unand not criticizing Stalin is like ion as a workers' organization and saying that in order to defend its corrupt bureaucracy, it is necunionism in the U.S. and advance essary that the progressive elethe interests of organized labor ments within the organizations unyou have to accept the regime of ceasingly expose such corruption so Bill Green, John L. Lewis, Matty as to correct it, and only in this Woll and Dan Tobin and have way can it be corrected and the to regard any criticism of these corrupt leadership replaced. bureaucrats as treason. Our contention is precisely that in both cases the interests of the workers can be advanced only by defeatthat is too dangerous. Identifying ing the present leadership. Labor Party question is one of tac-

themselves with the union to divert The Stalin theory is that Socialfrom the real issues, they usually ism can be built-that is, poverty answer as follows: "By attacking us you people are attempting to deline; we always were for a labor etc .- in the Soviet Union alone and stroy OUR union. See! Even the party under proper conditions. As although capitalism still holds sway press of the boss is using the information you are spreading to dischanging the line, in the first place that under these circumstances credit us so that workers will quit in the C. P. the members have such those who believe this and especialthe organization or refuse to join." confidence in the Political Commit- | ly office-holders in the S. U. should As a matter of fact many workers, tee that the Committee can act become lukewarm about the revoluunder the pressure of the capitalist without consulting the membership; | tion in other countries, should conpropaganda, are repelled by the in the second place, in the C. P. dis- centrate all their attention on dishonesty of many trade-union bu-"building Socialism" in the S. U., reaucrats, and consider unions as we discuss and act at the same and tell the Communist parties in rackets, but the responsibility for time (though to the eye of the other countries that their only job this lies, not in the necessary critisimple-minded outsider it looked as is "defending the Soviet Union". cism of the left-wing workers, but in the DEEDS of the bureaucrats. What is the result of the working-out of this theory? The inter-Except that it is on a much highparty leaders and members blinked national revolutionary movement is er historical plane and therefore their eyes, swallowed hard, accept- emasculated. Not a Congress of more difficult to visualize, the deed the order like the robots they the C. I. has been held in seven generation of the Stalinist bureauhave become, and only then in- years, as we have pointed out. The dulged in a little "discussion", a Communist parties in capitalist cracy in the Soviet Union might be very little "discussion" in which no countries are forced to change cy of the trade unions in the capione breathed the least doubt of the their line mechanically as the extalist countries. Identifying themomniscience of Stalin, "the beloved | gencies of the foreign and domesselves with the Workers' State, the and genial leader of our party and tic policies of the present leader-Stalinists consider and label any of the working class", as he is now ship of the S. U. dictate. Upon attack on their mistakes and described in the Soviet Union with parties thus weakened Fascism incrimes as an attack on the workers' flicts one defeat after another. fatherland itself. In this they The Soviet Union not being able stand on the same premise as on the backing of any powerful Hearst, who also identifies the revolutionary force in capitalist Stalinists with the Soviet Union

countries, the Stalinist leadership and attacks the latter through the "labor" party! I cannot imagine or criticism of the way in which the leads it further and further into a misdeeds of the former, using if that this group of workers meeting turn in the party line had been swamp. In order to postpone war, necessary the fact that Trotsky, effected was part of a counter-rev- the S. U. enters the League of Na- who does not identify the Stalinist tions which Lenin described as a clique with the proletarian dictaleague of imperialist robbers, and torship and sharply criticizes their Stalin proclaims this as a victory bureaucratic machinations in an for the workers. A military alli- attempt to correct them. (It is to to American workers: "We have a lows all its mistakes and crimes ance or "understanding" is entered be observed that Hearst does not our policies. Everybody else saw it accepts the C. P. argument which various countries. "Leagues against same purpose, but the Daily Work-War and Fascism" mainly composed er conveniently ignores this fact.) of middle class intellectuals, are The Stalinists have not answered state in the world. It is the work-ers' fatherland. It is in terrible danger today. Our main, practic-4. A Dictatorship of one man, danger today. Our main, practic-be maintained by these means. But even though they on thin ice) even that is not the worst that have devoted much space to slandering it. The attempt of the Stalinism can do and has done. The Bolshevik party in the S. U. Daily Worker to draw an equation has been destroyed. Of the Politsign between Hearst and Trotsky is ical Bureau of the party in Lenin's merely a smokescreen to divert from the real issues, a procedure time no one but Stalin remains. All the rest are in prison, exile or re- in no way differing from that used by corrupt trade union bureaucratirement. Party opponents of Stalin are sent to Siberia or shot. In cies. their place men like the present The gist of the matter is this: Soviet ambassadors to London, Analogous to the case of the trade Paris, Berlin, Washington, who unions, any discredit which may were bourgeois professors or Mencome to the Soviet Union flows, not sheviks or actually engaged in counter-revolutionary activity at from the necessary and correct the time of the October revolution criticisms launched against the are elevated to office, and along Stalinist bureaucracy by the revolutionists, but from the DEEDS of with professors and social workers in the U.S. who discovered Russia this bureaucracy itself.

Conference of the Left Socialist and Independent parties the two revolutionary organizations of Holland, the Independent Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party, strongly defended the slogan of the Fourth International, and urged that steps be taken to further the movement for its constitution. The Socialist Workers Party of Germany (S.A.P.) appeared as the chief sabotagers of the slogan which they once publicly espoused. We print below a polemic on the question from the columns of De Baanbreker, official organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland in response to an editorial in Het Volk, the organ of the reformist Social Democrats. We hope in the near future to have more complete reports of the Paris Conference as well as of the fusion of the two Holland parties under the banner of the Fourth International.)

#### TRANSLATION OF ARTICLE IN DE BAANBREKER (March 2, 1935, on the Paris Conference of Feb. 14)

Het Volk under the heading "Splitters Hold Congress" states: "The New Leader (British) contains a report of the conference of so-called left Socialist groups recently held in Paris. Holland was represented by the O.S.P. and R.S. P. The chief point on the agenda was the question of the building notion that we have simply to "proof a New International. The re- claim" the Fourth International in port indicates the greatest differ- order to establish it as a factor in ences of opinion on the subject the political life of the working exist among the various parties and class. Neither, however, is there groups. The Hollanders were for anyone among us who cherishes the proceeding as rapidly as possible sickly notion that in the process with the building of the New In- of bringing the Fourth Internationternational. Representatives of the al into being we can dispense with German S. A. P. remarked that it the banner which symbolizes the would be an illusion to suppose new idea. For our part we do not that the workers are waiting tire of presenting the evidences of tional. The Poles regarded a New | cy of the Second and Third Inter-International as desirable but nationals. opined that the question still re-

(Ed. Note: At the recent Paris | Left Socialists and Norwegian Left Socialists, voted against, and the remainder abstained." .

" indicated in 1 previous issue, the German S.A.P. was chiefly concerned with bringing together the greatest possible majority for a purely platonic uterance on the New International. a tachod so much im-

portance to this activity that it against the resolution of the S.P. and R.S.P. Since the editor of Het Volk eulogizes the "wisom" of the S.A.P. in this connection we wish to make it known in mertam manner that the pion-

work for the regeneration of he revolutionary working class movement we do not appreciate such "wisdom".

Official Communists and Social Democrats are naturally of one mind in combatting the idea of the new growing Fourth International. Nothing else can be expected from them. Entirely incorrect is the view of those workers who use the formula that the New International will stand "between the Social Democracy and the official C. P." He who cherishes this idea is obsessed in the same way as those confused element who think of a fusion of the Second and Third International and consequently, so far as possible, avoid facing the question of rallying the forces of labor in the Fourth International.

No one among us has the foolish Revolutionary Marxism remains for us the living fountain from which spring the ideas that must serve as the basis of the Fourth International. There is continuity in the development of the working class pression in the movement this continuity obtains. Whereas the Second International presents a hope-Marxism and the Third Internabreathlessly for the New Interna- the progressive and rapid bankrupt- tional has falsified revolutionary this pressure the party kept the Marxism, the fighting proletariat will nevertheless understand that But we are not defeatists. We it must carry through its internamained a theoretical one. In the do not go on utopian voyages of tional battle in the Marxist spirit voting three groups, namely, the discovery after brand new ideas and that its organization, the com-O.S.P., R.S.P. and Youth Bureau, which would have only one charac- ing Fourth International, must be voted for the New International; | teristic, namely, freedom from any | a revolutionary Marxist organiza-

three, the English I.L.P., Swedish "taint" of traditional Socialism. tion.

ng the final blow to Czarism, overthrowing the middle class and establishing the Workers' State. Even so, the future today is with the parties and groups looking toward the Fourth International.

I do not have the space in this letter to go fully into all the evidence to back up our estimate of the C. P., the C.I. and the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union. We have dealt and will deal with them in the New Militant, the New International and in pamphlets and ooks. Here I want to list just few points which I am sure will convince you and which you can use in discussion with workers who are still under official C. P. influence. 1. The Third International has not had a Congress since 1928 seven years! Why not? Back in the days when the Soviet Union was being attacked on a dozen fronts World Congresses of the C.I. were held in Moscow every year.

If the leadership of the C.P.S.U. prevents the holding of World Congresses now, it must be because it loes not care to or dare to face a World Congress-or both. What kind of a vanguard international party of the working class of the world is it which in these years of the triumph of Fascism, in these days of war preparations everywhere, holds no World Congress? What evidence is there that the present leadership of the Soviet Union is interested in the world

tional. Earl Browder, secretary of Save the Soviet Union and all is the C.P.U.S. is his messenger boy. saved; lose it and all is lost. "At-Under these conditions the C. P. is tack" the C. P. today and you atutterly incapable of correcting its tack Stalin; attack Stalin who has mistakes. It can only execute zig- the full support of the workers in zags. Consider what happened a the S. U. today and you attack the month or two ago. The C. P. is S. U. Any one who does that is

Consequently, we are the only qual- | Soviet Union is the only workers'

Stalin, exists in the Third Interna- ally our sole task, is to defend it.

The Right to Vote for Stalin Is Granted "Soviet Democracy"

In order to erect some sort of a (all of its acuteness. Even today the partial screen to counteract the dictatorship is inconceivable withrepulsive impression which has out the hegemony of the proletaripeen created by Stalin's manhand at over the peasantry. But the inequality in the electoral rights beling of his political opponents, untween the workers and peasants has der the guise of waging a struggle lost its real content, in so far as against terrorists, much publicity has been given to a great demothe bureaucracy has completely deprived both the former and the latcratic reform: collective farmers, as members of a socialist society. have been given equal electoral Bonapartist regime the apportionrights with the industrial workers. Upon this score the flunkies have solutely no significance. The buraised a hullabaloo about the entry into te kingdom of genuine demopeasant ten times as many votes as cracy [but what was there yesterday?]. very same result, for each and all

#### The Role of the Party

The inequality in the electoral rights between the workers and peasants had its social reasons. The dictatorship of the proletariat in a peasant country found its nec-

oppose his own candidacy to the essary and open expression in the electoral privileges of the workers. The inequality of rights presupposed, in any case, the existence of rights. The Soviet system provided the toilers with a genuine possibilimovement. Even in times of de- ty for determining the fate of the country. The political power was concentrated in the hands of the vanguard-party. Through the Sovlessly crippled version of the fun- iets and the trade unions, the party damental truths of revolutionary was always submitted to the pressure of the masses. By means of Soviet bureaucracy subordinate to itself.

It is utter nonsense that the peasantry has seemingly succeeded in proletarian vanguard all constitu- or the utter breakdown of modern done only if we understand the reeducating itself socially during the two to three years of collectiv- partist charlatanry.

ization. The antagonism between the city and village still preserves February 10, 1935

yesterday, become authorities on how to defend the Soviet Union! | tions that the destruction and de-Recently one of these 1935 model feat of imperialist powers is their Bolsheviks, Troyanovsky, Soviet aim mean no more than the declarambassador to Washington, spoke ations on peace and socialism of to the big shots of the Bond Club the Social Democratic leaders beof New York about non-aggression fore 1914. The defense of the Soviet ter of political rights. From the pacts (with capitalist powers) as Union today and the liberation of standpoint of the mechanics of the a means to preserve peace. He ar- the masses in capitalist countries gued that the nations must go fur- depends today upon the building of ment of electoral districts is of ab- ther-"dig to the bottom of con- new revolutionary parties and the new International.

temporary troubles". How? "It is Sometimes workers have protestreaucracy might have given the necessary to work out practical ed that these are "Russian" quesplans for the economic rehabilitathe worker-we would obtain the tion of the world, but especially for tions and do not concern American workers. But it is clear that noth-Europe." In order to make it pering can concern American workers possess in the last analysis the one fectly clear that he meant rehabilimore directly than questions of the tation under capitalism he added: The secret ballot may at first "Probably the advice of broad-mind- trade union policy, labor party, war, and on all of these the situaed business men would be available tion in the C. I. determines the cession. But who would dare to and useful in this connection." Thus the way is prepared for policy which the C. P. tries to impose on American workers. Whatever weakens the revolutionary some imperialist nation when war anywhere directly concerns us, in comes on the ground that this na- this world where peoples do not live within sky-high national walls, where the workers must build a a masquerade is unmistakable tes- destruction of the workers' state in nationalists and imperialists.

It is just because it is so trerevolutionary movement in this country from the domination of the C. I. and the C.P.S.U. That can be fundamental reasons for the de-All the policies of the present generation which has taken place

direction. Their paper protesta- inism.

official slate? An oppositionist, if Communists (Stalinists) to work elected by "secret ballot", would, for the rehabilitation, not the overindeed, be declared an open class throw of capitalism and to fight for movement and strengthens Fascism enemy, immediately after the elections. Thus the secret ballot cannot effect any real change. tion is allied with the Soviet Union The entire reform represents a and that failing to fight for it will Bonpartist masquerade-and noth- mean to weaken the "defense of new international economy or pering more. The very need of such the Soviet Union". Thus also the ish in the slaughter created by the

and only right: to vote for Stalin.

sight appear to be a genuine con-

timony to the growing sharpening the Soviet Union is prepared, for a in the relations between the bureau- war in which the S. U. is involved, mendously important that we build cracy and the toiling masses. Nei- while the revolutionary working a powerful revolutionary party in ther the workers nor the peasants class movement is demoralized and the U.S. that we must deliver the have any need for democratic fic- impotent can only end in the overtions. So long as Stalin keeps both throw of the workers' state in the his hands upon the throat of the S. U.-and the triumph of Fascism

tional reforms will remain Bonacivilization. leadership of the S. U. lead in that in them under the regime of Stal----L. T.

### **SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1935**

### NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT Published weekly by the Workers Party of the U.S. West 15th Street, New York City Phone: ALgonquin 4-9058

matered 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 HAWTHORNE WINNER ......Business Manager

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

SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1935 Vol. 1 No. 15

### W. P. on the Firing Line

THE pages of this issue of the New Militant are alive with direct reports of labor action on many fronts. Everywhere the American workers are stirring. The third great strike wave under the New Deal is in the making. From all indications, the strikes breaking out in various parts of the country are simply preliminary skirmishes which presage the deeper and more widespread labor rebellion to come in the next few months. And what is of excentional significance in the situation is the active role of the members of the Workers Party in the struggles now under way and in the course of preparation. Our reports are not written in the office; they come direct from the firing line, from party members in the midst of the actions.

In the strikes at Los Angeles, Fargo and Toledo-three of the hot spots at the moment -party members are in the forefront, playing an active and, to a certain extent, a leading part. Our comrades are on the job at Akron where a great rubber strike impends. At St. Louis they are busy in the preparations for a strike of gas workers. In cooperation with other progressive and militant forces they are leading the turbulent left wing movement in the Illinois coal fields. Party members are the mainspring of the Unemployed Leagues, the most imposing movement of the unemployed in the entire country which only recently held a state convention in Ohio with 400 bona fide delegates.

This remarkable activity in the class struggle on so many fronts is a heartening sign of the times and a magnificent prospect for the future. The party of revolutionary theory is revealing itself, from the start, as the party of action. That road will lead unfailingly to a rapidly increasing strength and expanding influence of our party. Clarity of principle and resolute, energetic action-this combination is the formula for victory. Our activity under this sign during the first period of the party's existence has already brought gratifying results and has started the party on the right road. Nothing can stop us if we stick to this line.

0-0-0-0

### The Socialist Party Crisis

**TF** THE Socialist Party is turning revolucionary, as some conscientious people believe and some conscious deceivers maintain, nothing happened at the Buffalo meeting of the National Executive Committee to support the contention. On the contrary, the leading body of the party demonstrated once again at Buffalo that it has sufficient political affinity with the reactionary Old Guard to overlook its splitting provocations and allow six weeks longer for a reconciliation. At the same time the N.E.C. showed no less hostility to revolutionary ideas than that which animates the Old Guard itself. And what else was to be expected from this body? The motion declaring the advocacy of the overthrow of capitalism by revolutionary means to be "incompatible with membership in the party" was not a reversal of position or a betrayal of principles previously held by the N.E.C. majority. The party leaders were simply reaffirming the Detroit Declaration as they understand it, and not as pseudo-lefts and apologetic ex-communists explain it. Louis Waldman, spokesman of the Old Guard and champion of bourgeois democratic "socialism" without one percent discount, branded the action of the N.E.C. as a "capitulation" to the Old Guard. That, however, is an unjust accusation. The left reformists in control of the National Committee only remained true to their own color by their motion to purge the party of the troublesome "reds". Red is not their color. What are they fighting about?---the perplexed and disappointed radical workers in the Socialist Party may well ask themselves. Not over principles, but rather over methods of coping with the radical sentiments of the socialist workers which have been given a powerful impetus by the debacle of social reformism in Europe and the sharpening class struggle in the United States. Not over roads to power in the struggle against capitalism--the N.E.C. majority is no less devoted to "democratic" methods than the Old Guardbut over power in the party. That is why the struggle against the Old Guard centers around organization questions and such abstractions

as "unity"; the real political blows are directed against left wing tendencies in the party. What is the political tendency of the dominant leaders of the party which is so extravagantly-and so falsely-advertised as the "party of revolutionary unity"? They have made it clear long ago for those who judge aid in crystallizing resentment actions politically and report them honestly. against the companies. The mem-It was written in deeds once again at Buffalo. orles of Toledo, not over 100 miles The Oklahoma Guardian, that priceless repre- workers' minds. sentative of Detroit Declaration socialism, gives over its columns to a campaign for a has heartened the unions and given third party to include Huey Long and the them much additional strength. LaFollettes and carries articles from the facile while they are still far short of the pen of the democrat, Upton Sinclair. That is percent of the workers were in the O.K. with the N.E.C. of the revolutionized A. F. of L. then), the long-promised party; there is no censure for Ameringer. The action is finding a warm welcome New Leader dares-at this day, after Germany among the workers. One local and Austria !- to present the Scandinavian the last two weeks. socialists in the governments of capitalist States as comrades in arms. There is not even workers has been pledged and union a suggestion of criticism from the party lead- leaders declare that the A. F. of L. ership. But the five Buffalo party members, the same time. Along with this, the appealing to the N.E.C. against their expul- rubberworkers will need the backsion, are cynically referred back to the State ing of all organized labor through-Executive Committee-the very body which out the country in the forthcoming instigated their expulsion! And mention the struggle. A victory at Akron appalling fact that there are people of "Trotskyist", that is, revolutionary Marxist tendencies in the party-as Oneal did accusingly at the meeting—and Norman Thomas promptly most to help win this strike. Our

retorts: "Point them out to us and we will kick them out." In these acts of omission and com- forefront of the struggle. mission the political tendency of the leaders of the "party of revolutionary unity" is revealed. All this is not to deny that there are profound political causes for the internal strug-

gle in the Socialist Party. At the bottom of the whole conflict is the impulse of the proletarian and youth sections of the movement for a revolutionary policy. But these elements have not yet clearly formulated their program or found leaders worthy of their cause. That is why their sentiments can be exploited so street to roar its defiance of the shamelessly; that is why they are made into pawns of an unprincipled struggle for place and position.

The Buffalo comedy warns the revolutionary to action. The Central Labor Union elements again to formulate their own program and begin a real fight on principled lines. Such a fight will necessarily be directed against the born resistance of the conservative present pseudo-left majority of the N.E.C. as well as against their reformist kin of the Old stem the tide-and then with the Guard. It will reject out of hand the treacherous formula of "unity" with scoundrels, reformists and labor fakers masquerading as socialists. The first plank in such a revolu- New Deal since the last strike tionary program of the socialist workers will wave. Word has come that the be: Revolutionary unity !-- Break with reformism and reformists and unite with the revolutionary forces of the Workers Party!

### The Paradox of New York

0-0-0-0

IEW YORK CITY contains one of the demands of the O.U.L. in this progreatest anachronisms of modern times.

It is at once the richest and poorest city in /hour; the thirty-hour week for the land. Here is concentrated the greatest wealth in

all the universe.

Here are amassed the croesus treasures of Rockefeller, Vanderbilt and Astor.

Here the "400" form an aristocracy as

### **Starvation Faces Millions Akron** Labor Set for Siege **Of New York's Unemployed**

(Continued from Page 1)

heat. . . away, are still fresh in Akron

A rapid increase in membership alone reported 625 new members in

Support of the organized auto unions in Detroit will walk out at would greatly strengthen unionism throughout the country.

It is the duty of class-conscious workers everywhere to do their utparty at Akron has been prepared for the strike and will be in the

# **Toledoin Grip** of Strikes

(Continued from Page 1) solidarity of the strikers will reach a new high when the organized working class comes out into the

open shop bosses. The sympathetic strike movement s in the air. Several unions are standing by, waiting for the call has met to consider a general strike. All of Toledo is tense with expectation and only the most stubleaders of the central bodies car greatest difficulty.

Toledo can touch off the powder keg that has been gathering with resentment over the results of the Ohio Unemployed League plans t extend the FERA strike on a state wide scale. Bill Truax, President of the O.U.L., has addressed a let ter to the State Federation of La

bor asking that a joint action com mittee be set up to initiate a state wide strike on FERA projects. The posed strike action adopted at its March 10 conference are: \$1.00 pe

common labor and the highest pre vailing rate for skilled labor, and others which cover conditions of work.

As has been indicated above, the W.P. members are carrying on the tradition they established in the ot Auto Lito striko 9 re in the forefront of all activities, in the thick of the battle with scabs in the action committees. They are giving the party a reputation that it well can be proud of.

(Continued from Page 1) year for a family of five. . . . Dur . It also revealed that 24 ing the year 1934 the average Home percent of the families were crowd-Relief Bureau allowance for clothing was \$16.20. ed together so that there were more than two persons per room, ex **Clothing Inadequate** 

cluding the kitchen. "Month after month appropriaions originally intended for cloth-"The rent allowance for 386 of ing were subsequently assigned to these families was being supplemeet the additional food and rent mented definitely from the food allowance. In other words, 17 requirements of new families added to the rolls. . . . Occasional and inpercent of the families on relief adequate allowances for clothing were using money sorely needed work a particular hardship in famfor food to keep a roof over their lies where there are small chil-"In still other cases it was disdren who need clothing in order to

attend school. . . overed that the family was meet-"A survey of every Home Relief

heads.

ing additional rent from boarders and part-time earnings. Upon disprecinct in the city resulted in adcovery of this fact the Home Reditional evidence that the Bureau lief Division proceeded to deduct has never been able to allow suffisuch income from the family relief cient funds to cover even the barbudget, thus making it necessary est necessities in clothing for either for more families to turn to the adults or children. The failure to food allowances to make up the provide clothing has been a vital differences.' factor in the breakdown of the

morale of the unemployed. No man Thus resulting, although the report does not mention it, in further or woman can expect to remain employable or seek work if he is malnutrition and sickness, demanding a larger food allowance, and in not decently clothed."

the end costing the Home Relief Bureau just as much as if they had origially permitted the family to supplement its relief allowance. But fails to maintain a proper supply such an economy is far beyond the ability of the penny clutching rep-

resentatives of capitalism who administer relief. "The private agencies include a

325,000 more who will be forced regular clothing allowance in their on relief as the months pass. budgets which average \$200 per This in New York City alone.

# Only a Spark Is Needed

rises in an overwhelming mountain.

There are 245,000 families on

relief now. There are at least

### (Continued from Page 1)

adherence to revolutionary Marxist principle reveals its patently enormous superiority over phrase-mongering, lack of principle and playing with principle. It is in the struggle against imperialist war that the "big" parties and the "big" institutions, built up on a weak or rotten foundation, crumple like a house of cards.

What can be expected of the Socialist Party in the form of leadership in the struggle against war? Worse than nothing! Right at this moment, when the sound of war drums become ominously louder, the parties of the Second International are preparing to play the same despicable part that made them so hated by class conscious workers during the war of 1914-1918. In the Scandinavian countries, the social democracy is in the government, taking over in advance the job of mobilizing the working class for the capitalist powers-that-be and restraining them from revolutionary action. In France, as in other so-called non-Fascist lands, the socal democracy is preparing to head the war recruiting drives under the slogan of "Defend democracy against Hitler Fascism!"-as the Allied social patriots of 1914 defended France and Russia from German Kaiserism and their Entente brothers under the skin defended Germany and Austria from Russian Czarism and Japanese autocracy.

Blind also would be the worker who trusted to the Stalinist party to conduct an effective struggle against imperialist war. The crew which has lost one battle after another, which has destroyed the revolutionary and labor movements in one country

after another, which has made an art of capitulation, is hardly the one to lead a fight under the conditions of war. The party which retired from the field without the firing of a shot Hitler took over power, and which made such an ignominious showing in the battle of the Saar, will not prove to be a bit abler in a sterner test. The party which cannot think or act for itself, which is a mere puppet of the Soviet foreign Office will not be able either to combat imperialist war or fulfill the elementary obligation of a class conscious proletarian: effectively defend the Soviet Union. The party which has already committed itself in part to the piratical League of Nations, and in whole to the misleading pacifist nonsense about "disarmament" as a preventive of war, will wilt and collapse at the first serious moment. Now more than ever, therefore, must the basic principles of Marx and Lenin in the anti-war struggle be emphasized. The imperialist war can be conducted only on the basis of revolutionary principle, of the consistently pursued class struggle. All talk of fighting imperialist war which does not proceed from the need of utilizing the crisis of the ruling class for the purpose of carrying the class war into its camp and ending the war by overthrowing the imperialist war-mongers-is so much wind. All talk of class war against imperialist war is so much | upon the New York State Commitmore wind unless it is based upon a correct revolutionary policy of mobilizing the workers NOW, TODAY, in their every-day battles, in their unions, in their strikes, for a growing movement against the capitalist enemy. The struggle against capitalist war is an extension and enhancement of the struggle against capitalism-not something apart from it. They will not fight capitalist wars who do not NOW fight capitalism and its labor lieutenants at every step in the road—and that means the Socialist Party. They will not be able to fight capitalist wars who are not NOW able to fight capitalism and its labor lieutenants, who by their stupid and opportunist policies actually aid the latter to consolidate themselves-and that means the Communist Party. If the fight against war demands a fight in the class war today, then the latter demands a militant working class party capable of organizing, coordinating, planning and carrying out this class war. The fight against imperialist war, which now rified radicals of the N.E.C. based clouds the whole world horizon, boils down basically to the work this action on the precedent set by of redoubling and multiplying tenfold all energies to build up the revolutionary party of the working class, the party of consistent Marxism, the Workers Party of the United States, and the Fourth International which it heralds.



### British Bourgeois Hypocricy

"It is our difficult privilege to be the torch bearers of ordered freedom in Europe"-said Stanley Baldwin, actual leader of the British government. Why so modest? Why only Europe? How about India? And Africa? And why forget the war to bring "ordered freedom" for the peddlers of opium and religion in China? Uriah Heap should have entered politics. He'd have been a great statesman, almost the equal of McDonald or Baldwin.

#### Britain, Hitler and Peace

The London Times, commenting on the recent moves of Hitler, says: 'Though Hitler's action in introducing conscription was most provocative, the deed has been accompanied by words strongly expressive of peace. Whatever happens the statesmen of Europe are now at work in a new spirit." That should be consoling to the cannon fodder! Again the Times says: "Germany is peace-minded in this sense, that The report goes on. In sumshe would rather get her way

mer the little food spoils for lack peacefully than by violence." In of ice. In winter the relief bureau this sense a rattle snake is a veritable pacifist. of coal. The misery and oppression \* \* \*

### The "Great Engineer" Tries a

Comeback "Ex-President Hoover breaks self-imposed silence to defend fundamental American principles"---News items. This is the same guy who said in 1928 that if he was elected President "with the help of God we will be in sight of the day when poverty will be abolished in these United States". God must have sabotaged him. And lest we forget-in March 1930 this selfsame American fundamentalist said within 60 days everyone will be back to work." He continued to feed the starving American workers with similar statements until he found himself flat on his "American fundamental principle" at the foot of the White House steps. His recent statement was read before the California Republican Assembly and enthusiastically cheered. 'Hoover never had a chance when he was president," sobbed the Republican chairman. Neither did the starving bonus marchers who were gassed and bayoneted at Washington. Today with the Roosevelt smile changing to a paralytic grimace, even Hoover hopes for a comeback.

### Justice In Harlem

An 18 year old Negro girl screamed when she saw a boy being beaten in Kress 5 & 10c store. She was arrested and taken before Magistrate Rinaud. This "most learned and upright judge" said he "did not think she screamed with malicious intent" but fined her \$10 or three days.

#### Harmless Substitutes All

"Yerba Mate is a harmless substitute for coffee and tea. . . . With each package of Mate we will send you a copy of Goldman's booklet 'From Communism to Socialism'.' -Advertisement in the Socialist Call. The Socialist Call itself substitutes "turning the other cheek" where real blows are required. It is the organ of the Militants in the S.P. and is as pacifist in its attitude to the hard boiled Old Guard as the New Leader, organ of the Old Guard, is militant in its attack on the Militants. A "harmless substitute" sums up the entire policy of the Militants and the Socialist Call, to say nothing of Goldman's pamphlet.

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would make the kings and nobility of old green with envy.

Here lies the center of the Morgan empire and gunmen and in leading posts whose money power holds the million masses of the world in its grip.

The capital of the United States is in truth in Wall Street and its symbol is the almighty dollar.

New York as is commonly known has the largest population of any metropolis in the world and the plutocratic "400" form but an infinitesmal portion of it.

A report by the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, of how the "other half", the 5,999,600, live tells a ghastly tale of rich and poor, of have and have-not. A same observer partially saved by the testimony of from Mars would rub his eves with incredulity Jack Warnick and Caroline Decker over this striking comparison. Here they are summarized:

One million wage workers are unemployed. One out of every three workers employed in ers must be organized and given a New York in 1930 is unemployed.

With their wives, children and other dependents the grand total of those affected by have to get this education in their unemployment is 37 percent of the entire popu- own schools because, being a unilation of New York City.

Of the 666,000 unemployed families only 245,000 are on home relief.

Another 325,000 stricken families haven't applied or can't get near the government dole. Those on relief don't live a kingly existence had the courage to mention that a either-EIGHT (8) cents is the allowance per person per meal.

It is therefore not unnatural that 18.1 percent of New York's school children are suffering from malnutrition. That is, one out of every five border on starvation.

And piling suffering on misery, the allowance for rent is so meager that 17 percent of the others. It also lies in the conthe families on relief were using food money fusion in the minds of these memto keep from being evicted.

New York is indeed the capital of the world --- in poverty as in wealth. This it is because program to the policy of "revoluit most graphically epitomizes capitalism itself. tionary unions", of united fronts

reservoir of misery----

# C. P. Members on Stand in C.S. Trial

### (Continued from Page 1)

of the proletariat, a soviet government. but only an abstract "Workers and Farmers Government". The honor of Communism was Warnick took a bold and uncom promising stand. He said that he had been among the instigators of the Workers' School, that the workcommunist education in preparation for the proletarian revolution. He stated that the workers would versity graduate himself, he knew they could never be anything but miseducated in the capitalist con-

trolled schools. Decker took up a position much to the left of the others and even a certain stage of the struggle soviets might be set up.

What is the cause of this mise able showing on the part of the defendants? It lies partly in the cowardly testimony of Sam Darcy,

listrict organizer of the C. P., who testified as an "expert" on Communism and laid down the line for bers of the Communist Party as to

what Communism really is. They were committed by the old party

Our news story on the Mayor's report re- from below, of social fascism, of cism, no unemployed councils. the Townsend Pension groups. fers to a large section of the jobless as a unemployed councils, and a central They all realize that the policy of Faced with an abrupt change of slogan of soviet power. But all of the Communist Party in California front like this the defendants only

them know that there are no more is now a labor party based on Sin- carried out "discipline" and went Let us add, a combustible reservoir of revolt. revolutionary unions, no social fas- clair's EPIC, on the Utopians, on along with the new line.

### **Thomas Offers Olive Branch**

#### (Continued from Page 1)

membership in the party; called tee to accept the Declaration of Principles; reiterated the clause of the constitution permitting Yipsels 18 years or over to join the party; called for the reinstatement of the suspended Yipsel organization on the basis of party discipline without obliging them to support any particular party paper; called upon the New Leader to pledge its allegiance to the Socialist Party of the U.S. and, if this is complied with, the N. C. will advise the suspension of the Socialist Call. The Old Guard was given six weeks in which to act on this decision.

Among other matters dealt with at the meeting was an endorsement of the reorganization of the Indiana state organization. The unterthe Hillquit machine in expelling the Left in 1919! A decision was made to propagate for a Farmer Labor Party though not taking immediate steps in its organization. The five Buffalo party members who appealed to the N.E.C. against their expulsion were referred to the State Committee-that is, to the body which directed their expulsion in the first place.

### SPEAKER: Max Shachtman

THE CRISIS IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Saturday, March 30, 8 p.m. Labor Temple 14th St. & 2nd Ave.