working class brothers.

and prosecuted the paper.

ed into the hall.

was held during working hours, a

large number of young people

crowded into the courtroom of the

The Trial

The press box was filled. The

judge summoned the accused. He

fense of "its fatherland"

The Reformists "Defense"

#### PRICE 3 CENTS

# Lift Strike to Tie-up New Areas if Realty Board Stays Adamant

# tion Pervades Workers' Ranks in 2nd Week

The Building Service Union enters the second week of the strike with ranks firm. The strike has been extended by stages until forty thousand workers are now affected. James J. Bambrick announced today that if the Mayor's peace proposals are not accepted unconditionally by the Real Estate bosses -twenty-five thousand additional service workers in four thousand buildings including department stores will be called out.

Many conferences of Union representatives and bosses have been held in Mayor LaGuardia's office, sometimes with the attendance of Edward McGrady of the U.S. Department of Labor. No progress toward a settlement was reached by these conferences until today when the proposal made by the mayor was accepted unconditionally by the union and with many conditions and strings attached by the bosses

#### La Guardia's Proposal

The mayor's proposal provides "(1) Acceptance of the tentative definition herein below quoted in reference to union recognition. It is the same definition which was tentatively accepted the other morning, provided an increase of wage would be granted. (2) The matter of wages, hours, conditions and duration of contract be submitted to arbitration, both sides agreeing to abide by the decision. (3) The ar bitrator to be agreed upon by representatives selected from each side. (4) All employees to return to work on the selection of the arbitrator. Arbitrator to be selected within twenty-four hours.'

The formula referred to above provided for no discrimination against union members and vacancies created by the discharge or withdrawal of a union member are to be filled by other members of the

Enthusiastic young union members battled with strike-breakers and bosses thugs in innumerable clashes. Many strikers have been arrested, many injured but the spirit of the union rises above diffi-

Large numbers of tenants are In some cases tenant organizations join with the strikers on the picket line. Others supply pickets with refreshments and still larger numbers withold rent from the landlords.

The union has repeatedly announced its willingness to arbitrate differences but the Real Estate operators determined to smash the union once and for all have rejected all overtures. At the same time numerous individuals have signed up with the Union as have also several companies owning strings of apartment buildings.

## Statement of Local 22

support to the building service strikers and denouncing the "ruthless" attitude of the realty interests, was issued today by Dressmakers Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., an organization of 30,000 members:

"The strike of the thousands of building service workers of New York deserves and must get the full and wholehearted support of the entire labor movement, of the from twenty Northwest Ohio cities tenants and of all fair-minded and towns participated in the people generally. These workers, Northwest Ohio WPA Workers Con- Wisconsin News, which is one of including some of the most exploited elements in the city, toiling long basis for a wide spread unified that unofficial "feelers" have alhours under intolerable conlitions for miserable wages, have at last unemployed. The conference was strikers with a suggestion of a setcome to realize that organization is their only salvation, that only Union of Lucas County and the through a strong union can they hope to achieve standards more fit for human beings. That is why the realty interests, organized in the Real Estate Advisory Board, determined to maintain the inhuman conditions of exploitation in the building service trades, are so savagely ated with the general unemployed set upon smashing the building and WPA movement. service union and depriving the men of their only protection. The out- call another enlarged conference right refusal of these interests even before March 30 as the beginning to listen to the more than reason- of a drive to organize throughout able proposal of the building service the entire state of Ohio. It also union for arbitration, shows that launched a campaign for the organtheir attitude is one of ruthless disregard of everything but their own 24 N. W. Ohio counties and into profits, of cynical indifference to southern Michigan. the rights of their employees or the welfare of their tennants."

workers to give every possible sup- Workers Union, Unemployed League throughout the country. port to the strike. Tenants should and Workers Alliance. The disbring every pressure upon their ruptive tactics of the Communist landlords for quick settlement. All Party in joining the local Workers workers should be ready to assist Alliance to prevent unity between the New York Guildsmen. Support out. The demands of the union at on the picket lines whenever such it and the Unemployed League is has been pledged and is being given that time were (and still are): 1. assistance is requested by the union. now thoroughy exposed.

## Militant Spirit and Ac- 574 Pledges Aid to Milwaukee Strikers

More than 2,000 pickets, drawn from all the leading sections of the labor movement in Wisconsin, marched last Saturday in a mass line around the plant of the Hearst Wisconsin News where the American Newspaper Guild unit is fighting a courageous strike battle against Hearst sweatshop conditions.

Farrell Dobbs, secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Local 574 called on Heywood Broun in New York early this week to offer the full cooperation of the Minneapolis truck-drivers to the striking Specific plans for guildsmen. organizing Minneapolis support for the Milwaukee struggle were discussed.

Labor organizations throughout the country will make this fight against the Fascist Hearst their own and back the men on the picket-line with a national boycott of the Hearst press. Boycott Hearst!

Support the American Newspaper Guild in its fight to organize Hearst editorial employees!

# *IW A Leader* IsFramedon expected to ease the difficulty of the News management in keeping its

# Blind for Four Months Sentence of James Cross

By GERRY ALLARD

GILLESPIE, III., Mar. 1-James Cross, youth director of the Illinois Workers Alliance and a member of to drop and the management has the national committee of the Spar- resorted to the device of free copies tacus Youth League, is at the Vandalia Penal Farm beginning a four ers have made bundles of the free month sentence on a charge which copies and dumped the bundles in indirectly grew out of hi labor the circulation office. activities.

Cross gained the enmity of the Macoupin county Democratic machine because of his courageous leadership in several strikes. A year ago he led a strike of six hundred h gh school tudents against a member of the faculty who had carried a gun against striking steel workers at Alton. The scab teacher was removed from his job. Later, Cross, as chairman of the Hod Carcompelled the contractor of a local po t office job to grant union recognition and 75 cents an hour for

These incidents, and the fact that Cross had been arrested at Belleville, Ill., along with A. J. Muste and C. H. Mayer, on charges of use of both by the presiding Judge A vigorous statement, pledging George and States Attorney Seyfrit. (Continued from Page 2)

# Hold Ohio

TOLEDO, O., Feb. 23-Representatives of WPA workers groups tions. ference held here today to lay the Hearst's less profitable ventures, movement of the WPA workers and sponsored by the WPA Workers organization similar to that of Lu-touch the scab money. A few jourcas County which would be coordin- nalism school students were found

The conference went on record to ization of WPA unions throughout

There is widespread opinion here that there will be a complete fusion pledges are pouring in from Guilds the Company offered the men a The New Militant calls upon all effected shortly between the WPA and other labor organizations

# Hearst News Gripped in Milwaukee Hitler Makes Bid for

#### Bottom Drops out of Advertizing as Guild Continues Strike

MILWAUKEE, Wis., March 6.-The Milwaukee Newspaper guild in its strike against the Hearst owned Wisconsin News won an important victory in the circuit court here Friday when Judge Charles L. Aarons held that the guild under certain conditions coud continue its secondary picketing of department stores, theaters and other adverisers of the News.

The News management had peitioned the court for a blanket injunction forbidding all secondary picketing, relying on an earlier decision of the court holding that such picketing was illegal.

Judge Aarons held, however, that such picketing could continue, if the picketing was not directed at the advertiser. The court said the pickets could carry signs stating that the News was unfair to organized reporters but not signs urging customers to cease buying from advertisers of the News.

#### Advertizing Drops

Gene L. Green ,attorney for the of Revolution which proclaimed its guild, argued that the intent of the solidarity with the heroic fighters anese foreign minister, was named izing the News, not to harm the business of the advertiser.

The presence of guild pickets in front of places of business is not News management in keeping its our posters entitled "Brest and advertisers in line. Many of them Toulon"; the T.S.F. (government army's man. He is known as one

Auto Accident Used as election is only four days away and issued orders for its confiscation all as foreign minister, he pursued with hundreds of candidates are in the over France, searched for it in the particular skill the policy of comfield, not a line of political advertising has appeared in the News, except for an ad of the Electric Co. which is opposing a municipal ownership referendum.

The News circulation continues to stem the tide. Some of the read-

The feeling of organized labor lingered on the case of Maria Craiagainst Hearst's refusal to bargain peau, 19 year old member of the collectively with his reporters and J.S.R. 'So young and already so photographers has compelled the noted for her revolutionary proone ear of the front page. The man- for a similar motive," he said in agement by printing this label is astonishment. hoping to escape the anti-labor brand that has been placed upon it. The strike will enter its fourth week Monday, unless the News riers Union, led a strike which publisher has a sudden change of heart and agrees to bargain. The striking reporters and photographers are holding firm.

## 2,000 On Picket Line

MILWAUKEE, March 4, - The strike of the Wisconsin News News paper Guild against Hearst today cr minal syndicalism, were made reached its 15th day. Last Saturday's mass picket demonstration. when more than 2.000 marched behind a brass band provided by the Musicians' Union showed the extent to which labor organizations of this whole region have lined up are gratefut to Marceau Pivert, but perialism watched, poised, the reacin solidarity with the 29 Wisconsin | the solidarity of the Socialist Party | tion on all fronts. WPA Meet News editorial workers who are striking for a closed shop contract and an agreement for a living wage and decent working condi-

The strike has already cut so sharply into the circulation of the ready been extended toward the

Hearst has gone to Madison Wisto function as strikebreakersshowing that the Guild will have to reach down into those schools to scabs instead of newspaper work-

## Wide-Spread Support

popular support for the strike, and enabled them, under the guise of the support of the Milwaukee labor efficiency, to discriminate against movement in particular. Financial union men. Then, on November 6th

pledged and is sending nearly \$400 through their union, and when the a week paid out of the pockets of men rejected this they were locked (Continued on Page 5)

# Anti-Soviet Alliance Class Fight

#### |SolidaritywithBrest-Toulon | 'Moderate' Cabinet Stop-Strikers Evokes Repression | Gap Until Road Is Clear by C. P. Allies for Final Lunge

By LO SEN (From Revolution, Paris, France) After being coddled and coaxed PARIS-On February 6th, three of our comrades were placed on the for three day while they held pubdocks of bourgeois justice. Their lic buildings in the heart of Tokyo, crime? One of them, Brun, was the the military insurgents who last former business manager of Revo- week assassinated three Japanese lution, organ of the Revolutionary government leaders were politely Socialist Youth (J.S.R.) and the ushered back to their barracks and Bolshevik-Leninist Group. The two jittery chancellories all over the others, Maria Craipeau and Jean world were assured that the crisis Meichler had sold the special issue in Japan was "over".

On March 5 Koki Hirota, Japsecondary picketing was to influ- of Brest and Toulon, which brand- premier to succeed Keisuke Okada, ence the advertiser to cease patron- ed as assassins the radical-reaction- who calmly rose from the grave to ary ministers and called upon the which the world had consigned him, young soldiers not to fire upon their thinking him assassinated, but who had to make way, nevertheless, for The reply was immediate. The a premier more acceptable to the police were ordered to tear down High Command.

Koki Hirota is essentially the Fake Charge have already ceased advertising in the News for the duration of the strike and others will follow suit. The Minister of Justice confiscated the Minister of Justice confiscated the Minister of Justice confiscated to the general strike and others will follow suit. Although a municipal primary Revolution (or at least tried to!), erals. During the past two years, barracks, arrested two salesmen bining diplomatic with military pressure upon China. His results That is why although the trial were far from negligible. All of North China came in this period under the direct sway of the Japanese Empire. The time was well 14th Chamber and a long line of employed, meanwhile, in Manchuothers, who could not get in, crowd- ria in completing the strategic net of railways and roads branching north, east and west toward the borders of the Soviet Union and Hunger Only Solution of Outer Mongolia,

## The Stop-Gap Solution

As premier, Koki Hirota represents a temporary compromise between the "aggressive" and the News to display the label of the paganda! Her husband already "moderate" representatives of Jap-Allied Printing Trades Council in sentenced by the same 14th Chamber anese imperialism. He will unquestionably be more subject to War Office pressure than his pre-Then the witnesses were called. Of the cited witnesses only Maurice Thorez, secretary of the C.P., and Empire. Internal contradictions, as tute indicates the extent to which Malraux, novelist were absent. the whole episode of the military the Roosevelt administration takes Malraux excused himself by letter | coup showed, will sharpen and the As for Thorez how could be solidwhole forward pace of Japanese arize himself with the revolutionary imperialism toward new military defeatists when his party at this adventures on continental Asia will be accelerated. Hirota will be no very moment is preparing the debetter able than Okada to deal with Japan's insoluble contradictions. Marceau Pivert took the stand. His very accession to power indi-He greeted the action of Revolution cates that the time for the inevit-tial percentage. Every such action the impetuousness of youth (?!)

The delay of six days between agents of the capitalist class have The J.S.R.," he said, "have left the surrender of the insurgents in no solution for the problem of unour socialist party; but they have Tokyo and the appointment of Hirheld to the same doctrine, which ota was by no means accidental. is socialist and not anarchist." We Having shot one bolt, Japanese im-

with revolutionary defeatism is Clearly for long, surcharged indeed a little too much! At the hours the whole world waited for (Continued from Page 2)

# very time the bourgeoisie was houn- the thunder to break. In those (Continued on Page 2) St. Louis Kroger Clerks Ask Labor Aid for Long Strike

ST. LOUIS, Mo., March 1-Fight-lity right; 3. Elimination of the ing one of the most important bat. | Dyer system; 4.A closed shop work-Lucas County Unemployed League. consin looking for scabs and offered tles in the history of the labor Fraternal delegates from Detroit, newspapermen \$75 and \$100 a movement here, one hundred and Southwestern Michigan and Indiana week for jobs which he pays his forty six men-members of the attended the conference and indi-regular workers \$15 and \$18 for! Warehouse Workers Union 667, Recated their intention to push for Not a single newspaperman would tail Clerks International Protective Ass'n, affiliated with the A. F. of L. -have been on strike against the Kroger Grocery and Baking Co. for the last sixteen weeks.

> The trouble started when weeks the Kroger Company at the St. Louis Warehouse, expired. The Kroger Advertisers are already cutting Company instituted what was contract which would have practically denied them all gains they The New York Guild alone has had made in the two years previous The forty hour week; 2. Full senior-

ing agreement, and 5. A wage increase of 7 and one half cents an hour,

## Fink Agencies Used

Since the beginning of the strike. the Kroger company has resorted to the most vicious tactics imaginable; they have employed the A. A. Ahner and Pinkerton strike-break gathering the oranges and picking ing detective agencies; they have the cotton. In order not to make used the radio and the daily news | the wholesale revision of the rolls prevent the growth of newspaper before, the agreement under which papers to spread their malicious too flagrant, Hopkins declares, of the union men were working with propaganda of lies, slander and course, that some of the discharged hate. Besides this, they are now workers will be returned to direct conspiring with the police force to relief. frame several members of the union down under the pressure of mass known as the Dyer system which on false charges of bombing and attack couched in terms of statisvan**d**alism.

On the other side of the picture, answer is struggle on the part of the union has gotten and is getting all workers' organizations so that the support of many unions in this not one relief client shall be vicinity and the strike has been dropped from the rolls, not one endorsed by the central labor bodies WPA worker discharged! During lish administration" which resulted of St. Louis, East St. Louis, Belle the next four months, the unemville. Jefferson City, Staunton and ployed struggle must draw in greatmany other cities in Missouri and er masses and reach greater heights. Illinois. One of the union's chief Otherwise, every working-class dis-(Continued on page 4)

# Jail French New Japan Invasion of Rhine Drives Bolsheviks in Gov't Tool Nailinto Versailles Coffin

# Army Italy Holds Trump Cards as Powers Face Alternative of United Front Against USSR or Anti-German Block

Nazi Germany this week ripped the paper bottoms out of the Versailles and Locarno treaties by marching troops, guns and tanks into the demilitarized Rhineland.

This move, long heralded and sedulously prepared, brings French and British imperialism face to face with the alternatives of mobilizing once more against Germany or accepting Hitler's offer of a united front against the Soviet Union.

Faced with the Italian threat to support the Reich in its denunciation of the Locarno pacts, Britain, which has just launched the mightiest armament program the world has ever seen, has given ample indication that it would far sooner make terms with Hitler than risk war at a time when it could have little confidence in the outcome.

French imperialism, uncertain of British support, desperately desirous of winning Italy back into the concert of Powers, is meeting the crisis with hesitation and indecision. All its careful years of diplomacy designed to keep Germany vanquished and impotent have come to naught. Across the border a mighty, rearmed Reich has once more hurled its challenge for a place in the imperialist sun.

In this explosive situation, Mussolini holds the whip hand. It was with Mussolini's encouragement that Hitler unilaterally denounced the Locarno treaty and marched across the Rhine. At the same time, almost to the moment, Mussolini accepted Geneva's "peace" proposal-which is only a formula for bringing the Powers once more to the negotiation table for a division of the spoils and a choosing of sides. In demanding his pound of flesh, Mussolini holds over London and Paris the menace have already ceased advertising in radio station) announced that Fred of the leaders of the ultra-national-Bulgaria into its orbit, demanding as his price a complete relaxation of pressure on his East African conquests.

# .D.Sharpens

# Capitalist Politicians for and Italy. Unemployment Crisis

By JAMES EVANS

receive the axe at the hands of cessions to Germany. Federal Administrator Harry L. Hopkins within the next four decessor, who was not precisely at months. This vicious onslaught loggerheads with the chevaliers of against the impoverished and destiits orders from the larger taxpayers and the commercial associations. It is a positive indication of the government's determination to cease all relief by gradual stages.

The immediate effect of this decision will be to increase the ranks of the unemployed by a substanand of our comrades "led on by able explosion has drawn nearer. demonstrates that the political employment except slow starvation. And not alone will these luckless half-million be directly affected. The proportionate increase in unimployment decreed by Rocsevelt and Hopkins means proportionate decreases in the wage and living standards of those workers still hanging on to ill-paid jobs.

Hopkins expresses the hypocritical desire that the majority of those fired from the WPA will find private employment. This reminds one of the custom of some primitive tribes who beg the bear's forgiveness before they apply the knife to his throat. It must be remembered that the spring and summer crops are soon to be harvested; and in this connection. Hopkins is simply following the time-honored procedure of forcing workers into the fields at below subsistence wagelevels. But this time there will be no relief set-up to take care of these workers after they have finished

There is but one answer to this ics and slobbery sentiment. That

(Continued on page 4)

#### Hitler's Trump Cards But Hitler is by no means only

Mussolini's trump. He is playing cards of his own. .While tanks trundled across the

Rhine bridges and planes swooped jubilantly over Rhineland cities, Hitler stood in the Kroll Opera House in Berlin and offered a 25year non-aggression pact to France, Belgium, Lithuania and all states bordering on the Reich, to be guaranteed by Britain and Italy.

He offered a western air pact to France, Belgium, Britain, Holland

He offered to come back to the League of Nations if promised the junking of the Versailles Treaty Half a million relief workers will and the granting of colonial con-

All this he offered-if would break its pact with the U.S. S.R. and if the Powers would help satisfy Germany's land hunger at the expense of the Workers' State. Hitler bluntly declared that for him the world is divided into "two halves." a truth that cannot fail to strike chords of sympathy in leading currents of both the French and British ruling classes.

## The "Two Halves" of the World

"That half which is built up of ndependent, self-sustaining national States of the peoples with whom we are bound a hundredfold through our history and culture, and with whom we should like, for all the future, to remain bound just as with the free and independent nations of other than European continents (in other words Japan).

"And in the other half, that which lays claim to general international rule, a doctrine which preaches destruction even to the most eternal and sacred values of this life and the life hereafter, in order to build up another world, which, to us, appears horrible as regards culture and the appearance of its contents."

Hitler made a passionate appeal for European "cooperation," with Germany functioning on a basis of complete armed equality with all the other Powers. He offered cooperation to all Europe on a straightforward anti-Soviet basis.

"I refused and refuse cooperation not with Russia. but with Bolshevism. . . . I tremble for Europe and the thought of what would happen to our old, over-populated continent if the chaos of a Bolshevist revolution should be successful. . . . '

He appealed directly to France on the basis of a threat of proletarian revolution in that country to drop its alliance with the Soviet Union and joined that appeal to an open threat of independent action 'in Germany's own interests' if his

terms were not met. Hitler extended the hand of friendship to Britain, congratulating the "realistic sense of an Engin the conclusion of the Anglo-German naval accord last year.

#### Fire on France-Soviet Pact He centred all his fire on the

sources of support financially, mor- trict in America will become an in- Franco-Soviet pact, marking it off (Continued on Page 5)

# Reichstag Fire Defendants Persecuted THE CASE OF POPOV--TANEV

# New Light Shed on Comintern "Helmsman"

heroic Dimitrov" on this second anniversary, the courageous defense put up by Dimitrov, it would remain within the framework of a revolutionary task. And it would be shabby of us to polemize with it on this occasion.

ly different, to which it attributes party of Bulgaria regarding this informative. He writes: confession of error. Quite the orstands at the present time in the good graces of the Comintern because he is alleged to have led, together with Dimitrov the Bulgarian September uprising-thinks differently. In the last issue of the Communist International he writes, "The two documents published herewith are of extraordinary international interest: not only because they deal with the Leipzig trial and the role of the comrades involved in it, but also because the questions dealt with are of tremendous importance for our struggle against fascism in general and against German fascism in particu-

#### What Is Their Crime?

In short, we are concerned here with something of extraordinary international interest, of tremendous importance. Modest question: Dimitroff would become the helms-Can the confession of Popov and Tanev really acquire such import- World Congress. This and this ance? Not at all. Popov and Tanev merely defend and explain their position before the court. They condemn Torgler and praise Dimitrov because he executed his Bolshevik line calmly and courageously. Besides that they do not say anything Tanov from their leading functhat could in the slightest soil tions." The criticism of Popov and the method of selection in the Comthe top bureaucrats, Popov's and nished the pretext that was needed Tanev's declaration betrays an un- to give Dimitroff satisfaction broken pride. Such characteristics against the old Bulgarian central are not very pleasing to the bur-committee which many years ago eaucrats. Confessions of guilt once dared to be against him. That which do not drag those condemned to be sure is an experience which to them in the dust and the mud. have a low rating with those gen- interest. tlemen. Whoever risks such a course, nevertheless, faces complete disgrace or else a new declaration whatever was omitted. And to be sure Kolarev issues just such a threat: "Popov's and Tanev's confession of guilt can in no case be

What are Popov and Tanev guilty of? Along with Dimitrov they were accused in the Reichstag arson trial. Tanev, a robust peasant type, arrived in Berlin only several days before his arrest. He literally did not speak a single word of German. Popov, a sickly, chronically tubercular man, had been there for some time previous. But he spoke only broken German, In no case could he be considered capable of even a short speech in the German language. They were thus restricted in advance in their

considered as satisfactory.'

## Tanev's Attempt at Suicide

In the first few months, in the course of the investigation, they were placed in chains, just like Dimitrov and subjected to the most excruciating cross examinations. The Gestapo knew very well that the three Bulgars had nothing to do with the Reichstag fire. It was therefore their intention all along to link them up under all circumstances with German contacts, in order to at least make possible a juridically motivated conviction on the grounds of high treason. If the Gestapo did not succeed in this case, that was not so much because of Dimitrov but of Popov and Tanev. Because during the months long hardships of the investigation they remained mum about everything. Tanev for instance, surrendered the address of his rooming house only after three months, and then only because it was necessary from the point of view of the conduct of the trial and because he could be sure by then that he would endanger no one by it. The Gestapo had a much easier time with Dimitrov: They found the address of his rooming house in his

But suppose the Gestapo methods in the course of this investigation were to destroy the power of resistance of the Bulgars? It was probably in consideration of such a possibility that Tanev made an attempt to evade it by suicide—he slashed his wrists.

pocket.

We do not defend suicide, but what repulsive bureaucratic arrogance it is to accuse Tanev of act-

On the second anniversary of the ing thus out of petty bourgeois, ro- influential members of the Balkan if such patent hopelessness can be that they should be doing so. Leipzig trial, which was forced to mantic sentiment. This insufferable parties were of the opinion that called hope. exonerate the communists accused cynicism may be found literally in Dimitroff should be expelled beof the Reichstag fire, the Comintern the resolution of the C.C. on the cause of conspirative unreliability. press of the entire world is pub- Popov-Tanev case. Popov and Tan- Popov and Tanov's arrest were unlishing memoirs dedicated to "the ev are further accused of not having doubtedly due to Dimitroff's un-Dimitrov's understood the political significance heard of lightmindedness. Besides achievements before the fascist of the trial. They had not declined that many addresses were found on court will not be disputed by any- the services of the two official de- Dimitroff's person upon his arrest. one—not even by us, his political fense attorneys and two more such At any rate the Balkan parties took opponents. Had the Comintern trifles which are not worthy—two the conspirative work very seriouspress restricted itself to recalling, years after the trial—to even be ly. Dimitroff's lightmindedness in

#### Kolarev Sheds Some Light

And all this shall arouse today extraordinary international interest? Perhaps the bureaucrats do est? Perhaps the bureaucrats do not know what they are writing! certain amount of contempt of Dimitroff's methods Today naturally

2,000 in Guild Unfortunately, however, there is Perhas this is just a lot of big itroff's methods. Today naturally in this case. The Comintern itself real interest begins at another the purest Bolshevism and the critlinks these up to something entirepoint, where simple-minded persons ics of these methods are called would never suspect. To be sure, the very greatest significance. This there is not even an indication of other something is—a confession of it in the resolution of the Bulgar- Dimitroff did not want to forego error on the part of Popov and ian C.C. But Kolarev in his com- his petty revenge. Bureaucratic Tanev and a resolution of the Cen- mentary, and naturally with the luck had fallen into his lap and he tral Committee of the Communist approval of Dimitrov, is much more

"The significance of the resoludinary thing, one might object, and tion of the incoming C.C. of the as old as the Stalin regime itself. Communist party of Bulgaria lies Most assuredly. But Kolarev—who not in the condemnation of the un-Bolshevik conduct of comrades Popov and Tanev but in the sharp criticism of the sectarian position which the previous C.C. of the C. P. of Bulgaria had adopted in con-er." They know why. Dimitroff ducting the campaign in the Leip- is just as responsible for the bloody zig trial. The sectarian course, ag- defeats of the Bulgarian proletagravated by the factional blindness of the party leadership, made it im- | China, etc. For he was a member possible for it to utilize the effective weapons furnished by comrade intern. Not a word of protest has Dimitrov not only by his conduct ever come from him. On the conin the Leipzig court, but by his whole long revolutionary struggle the oppositionists who warned them at the head of the Bulgarian just as much as Stalin's other workers.'

These, then are the crimes of the old Bulgarian Central Committee; in the course of the entire long revolutionary past of Dimitroff these communists in a sectarian Jugoslav Communist of great revoblindness did not even dream that man of the Comintern at the 7th alone is the whole nub of the complaint against Popov and Tanov. That is why they are being spat furnish the Balkan leadership with upon. That is why the new central committee, by the grace of Dimitroff, decided "to remove Popov and Yet despite the editing of Tanov's conduct in court only furreally should arouse international

# Dimitroff as a Leader

of guilt which has to make up for old Bulgarian Central Committee's that is one who understands the per Guild has ever expected or askact, before Dimitroff made his mark, gets, support of the imperialist

this work was not accidental. Long before Hitler took power it had become a veritable system with him. That's why people used to speak even at that time with a these same Dimitroff methods are

As chairman of the Comintern made the most of it. That it was precisely the Bulgars who delayed in showing the customary subordination to the "beloved leader" was something his pride could not stand. The old Bulgarian Central Commit tee was sloughed off.

The Methods of the "Helmsman'

This is the Dimitroff they call their "great and remarkable leadriat as for the defeats in Germany, of the highest organ of the Comtrary. He slandered and persecuted henchmen. We can recall here an occasion which is not unimportant for a characterization of Dimitroff. With his approval (most likely also at his instance) a raid was arranged in the house of a well known lutionary integrity, because he was suspected of being an oppositionist. Two "functionaries" forced their way into his Berlin lodging with police credentials, searched his trunks and drawers in order to the suspect oppositionist documents. These are methods which were not strange to Dimitroff even at that time. (By the way, whoever knows intern, knows that Dimitroff was advanced to the rank of "leader" precisely because of those characteristics, and not at all because of his conduct at the Leipzig court.)

And today? Today Dimitroff not only bears an equal share of retreacherous course of the Comin-What was the occasion for the tern. Can a serious person believe member of the Milwaukee Newspaopposition to Dimitroff? It is nec meaning of the proletarian struggle ed for more than the moral support vealed in Italy's war of aggression essary to go into this even though -that revolutionary cadres for the of the Allied printing trades union against Ethiopia, the brittle charit does not fit into the whole Dim- overthrow of the bourgeoisie can in this struggle of editorial work- acter of the promises made by the itroff cult. Before the sessions of be created with peoples fronts, class the Leipzig trial, that is to be ex- truce, approval of the military bud-

Many workers, even some intel-

This is the truth: The Comintern is morally, politically and organi- But the Soviet Union was quite anzationally destroyed not in spite of

but because of the Dimitroffs. The top bureaucracy had hoped with the aid of Dimitroff. The tremendous propaganda serves this purpose unmistakably. It is used viet pact was therefore a thing as a means of stifling the very last apart which had to be done away oppositionist voices at a moment with if "peace" was to be pre when the policies of the Comintern are becoming open betrayal.

# Picket Line

(Continued from Page 1)

to the strike by the Milwaukee for support of the strike.

#### Strike Morale High

The spirit of the strikers and supporters has been magnificent. Picketing goes on at freezing temperatures. Last week a call for mass pickets was answered one morning at 7 A.M. by 150—although the temperature was 16 below zero!

This strike, which involves 29 edtorial workers of the News is teaching the Guild a mighty, demonstrative lesson about the value of affiliation to organized labor. Here the Guild is winning for itself the actual concrete support of the organized labor movement, out- Bolshevistic international world opside of which it could never hope to move forward a step.

There is another lesson—what industrial union organization would mean to this strike. The technical workers, split into craft organizations can do little more than offer moral encouragement. A natures of the typographers, pressmen's, photo engravers', mailers' one plant!) expressing sympathy with the strikers but pointing to Hearst as a reason for the absence

of any more substantial support. in all categories and departments der and Gil Green. of the Wisconsin News. United in dictate their own terms-even to a Hearst!

### A National Fight

This has created a somewhat embarrassing position involving mutual recriminations between some is in mortal danger. of the non-striking union printing

labor-hating Fascist who symbol- of the Soviet Union. izes everything rotten and reactionary in American life. The Guild is fighting a finish fight. Supporters everywhere must aid by fighting Hearst too-by boycotting Hearst conducting anti-Hearst neetings, collecting money for the Wisconsin News strikers and helping the American Newspaper Guild

## GRAND AFFAIR

given by the LUMEN CLUB Dance, Entertainment, Refreshments and Good Jazz Band. Saturday, March 14, at 8 P.M. 94 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. I.W.W. Hall Subscription: 25c in advance:

35c at door.

# even Bernstein had such illusions. For he did not even want a revolution. Hitler Seeks Anti-Soviet Alliance

of Stalinist policy must have cost al interests and it was reasonable

"Germany does not desire to attack these states..."he went on and "democracy." other matter. First of all, repreo assure itself of papal infallibility the revolutionary philosophy of life" —and, of course, Germany does desire to attack it. The Franco-Soserved in Western Europe.

Hitler thus evidently does not found contradiction between the democratic and fascist states of Europe. He boldly envisages a united front of capitalist nations, harried dreams. fascist and democratic alike, directed at the heart of the Soviet state. Britain always has and still does Trades Council and the State Fed- nurture this same notion. It was eratio of Labor. Even Bill Green the central tenet of France's forhas pitched in with a letter calling eign policy up until 1933, and it is not at all beyond the realms of possibility that France may revert to it tomorrow.

> Hitler sees one fundamental contradiction in the modern world, the contradiction between the capitalist states and the Soviet Union. He also sees what Stalin sees far less clearly and with far less interest, the contradiction between the proletariat and capitalist classes of all nations. His appeal is against Rolshevism and on that appeal be has staked his whole regime.

"That I . . . pass for one of the greatest enemies in the eyes of the pressors is for me a great honor and justification for my dealings before posterity," he said.

#### The Logic of Hitler's Position

For capitalism there is a profound logic in Hitler's- point of civil war. view. It is possible that his logic statement was issued over the sig- may be unable to surmount the complicated tangle of inter-imperialist contradictions at the outset and stereotyper's unions (all in but when tomorrow or even in the course of the imperialist war that may finally break, the Third Reich, existing contractual relations with Britain, France, Italy and their satellites sit around a table to decide on the destruction of the So-Together with the Guild there viet Union, this logic may be finally are six unions among the workers driven home, even for Stalin, Brow-

What is the immediate prospect: a Wisconsin News Union they could Hitler's move into the Rhineland may drive the imperialist powers helplessly into the cauldron of war. But that an effort will be made to arrive at some compromise is al ready unmistakably clear.

# Either way, the Workers State

The whole sweet dream of nasponsibility but a very highest kind workers and strike sympathizers, tional socialist security founded of responsibility for the openly requiring the Milwaukee Guild to upon a system of European allicome out with a statement that "no ances is crumbling before our very Soviet Union's allies, the imminent Trade union support for the Wis- threat that these promises will be consin News strike must extend be washed away and withered in the yond Milwaukee to all parts of the storm, must be driven home, even country where newspaper and all to the hopeless bureaucratic cenother workers know Hearst as the trists who today rule the destinies

## New Turn in Preparation?

There is ample evidence of a new lurch by the bureaucracy under the pressure of these events. About two months ago Radek, in Izvestia, regretfully admitted the futility of the League of Nations' sauctions. His conclusion: Russia must rely upon its own national forces. Included in these "national forces" are the border patrols abroad.

In the last few weeks the Stalinist International, which threw all its forces behind the League, whose sections in all the "allied" countries fervently promised complete support of capitalist armies, and offered support in advance to with the Soviet Union, has now, in classic centrist manner, staggered back another step. Kuusinen comes

lectuals, understanding the revisionist course of the Comintern, from France's other alliances which doughty hero of social-patriotism, Jail French have placed all their political hope he said were perfectly acceptable fades a little (a Prague Socialist upon a man who did his duty as a to him because these other states, paper even reported he had gone off revolutionist in a trial. Poor hope! like Poland and Czechoslovakia, to the Crimea for a "rest cure") What devastation that ten year era were only serving their own nation- and the Stalinists are reminded that the struggle for bread has not exactly been entirely suspended in ding us for our anti-militarist profavor of the struggle for "peace"

> The Stalintern hesitates. The revolutionary defeatism. fate of the bureaucracy's system of senting Bolshevism, it is "the con-capitalist alliances wil determine stitutionally organized exponent of whether this slight leftward lurch wil turn into a rout.

#### Our Policy is Unmistakeable

explosion in the furnace of imperi- of republican defense." alist contradictions. Twenty years a war. Today the imperialists are soldiers to remain at the service of share the notion of the Stalini t infinitely more conscious of the national defense outside the conbureaucracy that there is a 3:10- price that is to be paid for a new flict. They are against national October Revolution out of the ashes join ranks with the proletarians." of the last one still haunts their

Only by working to guarantee the Octobers of tomorrow, by guaranteeing irreconcilable and consistent struggle against all imperiailst ruling classes, will we in the crises to October of yesterday.

evolutionist? To every worker? pace, just as the imperialists are revolutionary will. hastening theirs. It means that we must unite all those committed to the overthrow of capitalism, generator of wars, in the ranks of a firmly knit revolutionary party, united in a revolutionary international, free of the social and national reformist and patriotic garbage of the existing internationals, dispel all illusions of "democratic" security, carry on the struggle to paper was banned, she would have organize the workers for the essisold it. She defended the right of tablishment of the dictatorship of young workers to call upon their the proletariat, and if war over- brothers in uniform to fraternize, takes us, to fight against all odds to refuse to serve the capitalists and with the utmost clarity to de- and proved that this is a fundafeat our own imperialist ruling mental doctrine of communists. classes, to turn imperialist war into That is what the Revolutionary

# Nippon Army Holds Reins "Long tional!"

(Continued from Page 1)

hours the men who guide the des tinies of the Japanese Empire decided that for the moment a stopgap arrangement which in reality sentenced our three comrades to strengthened the hand of the Fas- one month in prison and 100 francs cist and military elements while fine each. ing the crisis was needed. The angiving the appearance of attenuatswer was Hirota. The tactic of the moment will be-consolidation.

Gen. Kawashima, who was relatively "moderate", has retired from the War Office in favor of Gen. Chuichi Terauchi, who is relatively "aggressive" Gen. Sadao Araki, while intoxicated." Cross was arment into the background.

"Incidents" Cease Temporarily Michiavellian smoothness, There

can be little doubt that the "moderate" pressure on the Emperor was great. It was great enough to bring about the apointment of Hirota rather than Baron Hiranuma. who is the outspoken leader of a frankly Fascist organization. It are out to get Cross out of prison was not great enough to enable by appealing his case to a higher Prince Konoye, a "moderate" to court; more than that—the militant take the reins of power which the workers of Macoupin county will Emperor offered to him.

Meanwhile on the actual potenial war fronts another temporary shift has taken place. The series of incidents on the Outer Mongolian frontier, which we described last veek as provocative "feelers" by the Japanese military who wanted to know the extent to which Mos-U.S.S.R. would come to the support activities. any nation which would line up of the Outer Mongolian republic in the event of a clash.

## Support for Outer Mongolia

Potential support for Outer Mongolia is coming from another direction as well. An army of 10,000 Reds under Mao Tse-tung has of the defense group said, "but it'll marched northward from Szechwan take the radicals to get him out. and Shensi into Shansi, with the So we don't want to take any apparent intention of making its chances. We want this case to be way into Suiyuan and there provid- handled along the real labor, class ing a military buffer on Japan's struggle lines." left flank and hindering the tooeasy advance of Japanese-controlled dalia Penal Farm, Vandalia, Illinois. forces into Inner Mongolia.

These Red forces, dislodged from any permanent base and more than sympathizers and members of the ever cut off from the Chinese pro- Workers Party and SYL to immedletariat in the urban centers of the liately rush funds to Tom Sorbie, Yangtzse Valley and the South, Treasurer, James Cross Defense have been converted into another Committee, 1406 South Macoupin instrument of the politico-military St., Gillespie, Ill. Joe Burrell, left tactics of the Soviet bureaucracy. wing mine leader, is chairman of Under the "new line", which in the committee. volves the return in China to the At least a hur disaster-ridden concept of a bloc ed for the initial expense of the deof classes to "fight" imperialism, fense. Cross is in jail because he Stalinism has cynically abandoned fought for labor. Tomorrow the even its lip service to the hope of Macoupin county reactionaries may proletarian revolution in China, imprison our brave left wing minwhich will alone ensure the forging ers. Let's all put our shoulders to of an alliance in Asia stronger than the wheel by raising money and the Japanese imperialism which is getting Cross out of jail and eventnow sharpening its sword for the ually absolved of the rotten frameinevitable clash.

# **Bolsheviks**

(Continued from Page 1)

paganda the S.P. was expelling us from its ranks for our struggle for

Challaye followed, declaring his solidarity. His remaining arguments were those of a pacifist. 'The army", he said, "must not be diverted by national defense. These Germany's reoccupation of the young people are acting in the best Rhineland is the latest and loudest tradition of Jaures, that is to say,

"Hold on!", the judge interruptago it took far less to precipitate ed. "the accused do not want the conflagration. The rise of the defense and call upon the soldiers to

> Revolutionists on the Stand The bourgeois judge is very well

ware of the class struggle. Then a few words from Deglise, revolutionary socialist, in which he described the misery of the soldiers come preserve the conquests of the in the barracks: the judge interrupted him, cutting him off and calling upon the attendants to re-What does this mean to every move him from the stand.

The floor was then given to the It means that he must quicken his accused, all of whom affirmed their

G. Brun, former business manager of Revolution, admitted his responsibility. "I am a socialist," he stated, "and not an anarchist." Meicheler read a statement admitting guilt for his revolutionary action.

Maria Craipeau declared that even if she had known that the Socialist Youth fight for today under the banner of Marx, Lenia and Trotsky. She concluded with the slogans:

"Long live the J.S.R.! "Long live the Fourth Interna-

After a plea of Leo Lagrange for G. Brun Rous and Gerard spoke of the bloody policy of the decree-laws. On Thursday February 13th, the

judges rendered their verdict. Fearing the spread of the affair they

# in III. Court

(Continued from Page 1) Technically, Cross was arrested and charged with "driving an aute The total damages amounted to \$4 The damages were paid. No one was injured; not one of the persons All this does not take place with whose car was damaged complained or prosecuted. Yet States Attorney Seyfrit, notorious for his "red-baiting and frame-up of unemployed workers brazenly stated he would

'get" Cross The "getting" is not one sided, however. Labor is aroused and they render a verdict in the coming elections for states attorney by retiring Michael Seyfrit for his anti-labor

## Organze Defense Committee

A committee has been organized composed of members of the miner's union, Illinois Workers Alliance and other labor organizations. Local 1, Progressive Miners of America has cow would back Mongolia, have already pledged its support after abruptly ceased. Stalin, in his own John Battuello, left wing leader, way, gave Tokyo the answer when delivered a fiery speech flaying he flatly told Roy Howard that the Michae Seyfrit for his anti-labor

The defense committee has retained two local attorneys, but a desire that Albert Goldman, noted socialist attorney, be retained for the case was expressed by the majority of the committee. reactionaries put Cross in jail," one

Cross can be contacted at Van-

## Funds Needed

The defense committee urges the

At least a hundred dollars is need-

# Two Pamphlets

## "THE ROAD FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS"

War and the Workers is written by John West. He needs no introduction to you. The Road for Revolutionary Socialists is written by Fred Zeller. He is the acknowledged leader of the French Socialist youth.

Fred Zeller was expelled from the Socialist youth organization by the agents of Leon Blum and his Old Guard some time ago, together with twelve other youth comrades. The young Socialists, however, remained supporters of the revolutionary position presented by Fred Zeller and his co-workers. They remained supporters in the continuation of the struggle for this position. How this struggle has been carried on and how comrade Zeller and his co-workers came to a revolutionary position, and came to he supporters of the Fourth International, is described in this little pamphlet. The introduction is by Leon Trotsky.



# "WAR AND THE WORKERS"

The pamphlet, War and the Workers, presents a searching analysis of the nature and causes of modern war. It deals with the problem of sanctions, neutrality, and the rôle of the League of Nations. It presents a scathing indictment of the various forms of pacifism and social-patriotism and outlines a concrete program of struggle against imperialist war. The price of this pamphlet is 10c per copy; in lots of ten

or more, 7c per copy. The price of the Zeller pamphlet is 5c per copy; in lots of ten or more, 3c per copy. Here is an opportunity. Take advantage of it.

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# CONVENTION

# RESOLUTIONS

# Adopted by 2nd National Convention of the Workers Party

Statement on the War Crisis

(Adopted Unanimously)

more than a year of deliberate, with demoralized liberals, reformpreparation the armies of Italian Fascism have driven their attack against the Ethiopian peoples. Impelled by the intolerable strains of internal social and economic contradictions, Mussolini and the Italian bourgeoisie have sought a solution in open imperialist aggression against the last of the independent nations of Africa.

2. The war in' Africa demonstrates that the conflicts of world to war-loving capitalist nations, like imperialism have reached the stage, the idea that one or another nation of armed struggle for a re-making is "guilty" in an imperialist war, is of boundaries, and a re-division of at best formalistic ethical sentimenterritories and colonial possessions. tality, not political realism. The Though the Italian campaign in causes of war are to be found in Ethiopia may not lead immediately the internal structure of world Stalin-Laval communique, the conand directly to a world struggle of capitalism, operating within all can prove no more than temporary

The war in Ethiopia must be understood as the prelude to the new imperialist world war.

3. In the preparation for the during the course of the conflict, the League of Nations has once state, to the death. more demonstrated beyond any pos-League is not in any sense whatimperialist powers. From the time Ethiopia first invoked League asdefensive preparation by Ethiopia. The League has been utilized, throughout, above all to serve the ends of British imperialism. Behind its cover, the agents of Great Britain, France and Italy have hagto pay to preserve its own interests. The threat and use of League sanctions have been made not to save Ethiopia—which the League itself the support of "Neutrality Legisla trality Legislation on the part of has repeatedly offered to sacrificebut to safeguard British colonial support of Neutrality Legislation the world the Communist Internapossessions and lines of communication, to try to close the opening for Germany in Central Europe, and in general to uphold the needs of the government, and thus can be condominant member-states. The League of Nations is in every respect the agency, not of peace, but of imperialist aggression.

The struggle against imperialist war demands the unremitting exposure of the role of the League of Nations.

4. No less than the European fect to the events in Africa and to ing class to the class enemy, by in the closest solidarity with its the new world conflict which they espousing the cause of national de- comrades in all countries. herald. The sentimental dream of fense and patriotism, by a truce Against the betrayers, the Work-U. S. isolation, Roosevelt's promises with the bourgeoisie in the interests ers Party rejects every form of sothat the U. S. will remain "free and of "national unity", by going over cial-patriotism and social-chauvinthan the unctuous phrases of Wil- chauvenism. Already, before the national unity and national de- tion, and the betrayal of social-dedecorated counters in the imperial ternational, together with the major ic or fascist; it exposes the role of ist game, sugar-coated formulations of different phases of the U. S. war ready preparing to turn over their of the imperialist member states: policy. The U.S. will, on the contrary, play the dominant and decisive role in the new imperialist ling for government applied sanction; it rejects the sentimental ilstruggle. Behind its pacifist covering, the Roosevelt government is pouring more funds into its war line of the Baldwin government, its attacks against the enemy at machine than any other nation in has once again taken the position home, against U.S. imperialism. the world. Both navy and army are of national unity (that is, solidarconstructed on a purely offensive strategic basis. The U.S. bourgeoisie, waiting and preparing, expects to intervene in the later stages of the world struggle, when the other powers are mutually exhausted, to achieve the world domination of U. S. finance-capital.

The struggle against imperialist war is above all the struggle against U. S. imperialism.

5. The U.S.S.R. cannot avoid implication in the world conflict. cisive importance for the future of the struggle on this basis. This The very life of the workers' state the revolutionary movement in this is threatened by the approach of country. A new stage was reached was accounts for the numerous vacillations in the policy of the Left Wing and the repeated compressions with war. A central task of the struggle in the internal party struggle with against war is the defense of the against war is the defense of the U.S.S.R. But, in the last analysis, ganization. The gradual extension ization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to the struggle to questions of the strugg the revolutionary advance of the international proletariat. Stalinist diplomacy, on the contrary, to an forces. Such shifts are an inevitly to disorient the international pro- precise outcome cannot as yet be letariat, break up the revolutionary predicted with certainty. With the struggle against imperialist war, approach of the Socialist Party conand thus to undermine the real defense of the U.S.S.R. Basing itself not upon the international working class, but upon military velopment will reach its culminapacts with bourgeois states, upon tion at the convention itself. diplomatic deals, appeals to pacifist and liberal anti-war sentiment, and democratic reformism in the crudest the maneuvers of the League of form. The standpoint of this osmotes the most disastrous illusions in the minds of the workers, ham- basically class- collaborationist. Its out, by political criticism, to aid pers and disrupts their struggle against the exploiters at home, and acts in effect to further the interests of French and British imperial-

The struggle against imperialist war requires the constant exposure of the foreign policy of Stal-

illusions fostered by the diplomacy 1. For the past six months, after of the Soviet Union, in company

Roosevelt himself is the notion that of last year, the Executive Commitand "war-loving fascist" nations, full-blooded social-patriotism. This notion is part of the prepara tion for support of the "peace-loving nations" in the coming war. Marxism rejects and dispels this illusion or any form of it. The idea that there are peace-loving as opposed

capitalist nation, without exception. is the political instrument of the class enemy, the first and implacable enemy of that nation's proletariat. The revolutionary party can make no distinction between "good" Italian seizure of Ethiopia, and and "bad" capitalist states. It is do the hangman's job of turning not the sanctions of finance-capital

7. Equally illusory and disastsible doubt its true role. The rous is the belief that the struggle war, in return for paper promises against war can be aided by support of protection for the borders of the ever "the defender of peace." It is of governmental "sanctions against Soviet Union. In England, the Comthe maneuvering of the dominant individual capitalist states directly, of the Labour Party; in France, the Nations, which is nothing else than astically the worst betrayals of the bourgeoisie through the nationsistance in December, 1984, up to the puppet instrument of the imper- Blum and Herriot; in Czechoslo- al state, but in ever sharper attack the actual outbreak of the war, the ialist powers. Support of govern-vakia, the Communist party votes League negotiations served to per- mental sanctions in any form—no for Benes and openly calls on the tional state. mit uninterrupted preparations for matter what the "modifications" masses to fight for the Czechoslothe hostilities by Italy, and to deter and "criticism"—necessarily means vakian bourgeoisie and thus for its collaboration with the sanction- master, French imperialism; in the applying capitalist state. Such col- U.S., the Communist party repeatlaboration, in turn, necessarily edly declares its pledge to support means support of the war policy of the government in a war against the given capitalist state. The re- Japan. The C.I. and its sections volutionary struggle against war is take the lead in demanding League gled over the price in terms of always the struggle against the and governmental sanctions against treaties, guarantees, protection and capitalist state. Collaboration of "aggressor" nations; in calling for territories, which each was willing any kind is always, and must be, support of democratic nations social-patriotism and betrayal.

> with equal force with reference to ism; in pushing "vigorous" Neution" in this country. Once again, the U.S. government. Throughout necessarily means the attempt to tional prepares the sacrifice of the conduct the struggle against war in working class on the altar of impercollaboration with the imperialist ialism. ceived as nothing else than a form of social-patriotism. Imperialism, which makes wars, can never be an ally in the struggle against war. The struggle against war must be everywhere and always the independent revolutionary struggle against imperialism itself

> imperialist war, the Second Interity with the class enemy) before liance on the "peaceful" intentions the war danger, and of fully devel- of bourgeois-democratic nations, nor oped social-patriotism—to defend upon spineless "united fronts" of

"democratic nations" against "facists, pacifists of all shades, and cist nations". As early as August the world is now divided between tee of the Socialist and Labour In-"peace-loving democratic" nations ternational adopted a program of

> The struggle against imperialist war means the struggle against the Second International.

10. During the past two years, the Communist International has passed from a policy which weakthe Seventh Congress of the C.I., unmasked as the heir of social-deagainst fascist nations; in fostering 8. The same conclusion holds the most degraded forms of pacif-

The struggle against imperialist war means everywhere the relentless struggle against the Third International

11. Throughout the world the only organized forces systematically advocating and conducting the revolutionary struggle against im-9. At the outbreak of the last perialist war are the parties and grouping of the Fourth Interna-

untangled", have no more force to social-patriotism and social- ism; it rejects every conception of an organized force in only one na- then People's Commissar of War." son in 1916. "Neutrality" and outbreak of the new war, the lead- fense; it rejects all ideas of truce mocracy came to the great mass of "Neutrality Legislation" are only ers of the Socialist and Labour In- with the bourgeois state, democratrepetition of the betrayal, are al- the League of Nations as the pawn following to the war-makers. In it opposes all forms of government-England, the Labour Party, by cal- al sanctions or neutrality legislations and the closing of the Suez lusions of pacifists and petty-bour-Canal, and by supporting the main geois liberals; above all it directs

> The Workers Party places no rethe interests of the bourgeoisie liberals, ministers, bourgeois wo-

# Resolution on the Socialist Party

(Adopted Unanimously) The recent developments in the the struggle of the Left Wing has the past several years, are of deof the cleavag on a wider scale has been accompanied by shifts of vention, the lines will become more clearly drawn, and it may be expected that the present stage of de-

The Old Guard represents social questions of domestic policy is and attention, and to seek throughinternational position (support of actively in producing the most League of Nations sanctions, sup- fruitful results possible for the adfall automatically into the policy of months will determine the precise social-patriotism. At bottom, the attitude to be taken by the Workers factional struggle in the party is the Party. The National Committee is reflection of a strong impulse in instruced to follow the further

position. The greatest weakness in Socialist Party coming as a climax been the failure to develop fully to the process of differentiation the imlications of the conflict in which has been taking place during programmatic terms and to conduct new compromises and combinations various kinds in the relationship of which can arrest the progressive tendencey and enable the extreme ization positions and conquer new ones. Such possibilities leave the course of the internal struggle in the next months somewhat uncertain. Only the actions taken at the forthcoming convention will indicate clearly and decisively the further directions of the S. P.

It is the task and duty of the revolutionary forces to follow each Entered as second class mail matter phase of this process within the at the Post Office at New York, N. Nations, Soviet foreign policy pro-sified and reactionary group in Socialist Party with the utmost care Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. port of "democratic" against fascist vancement of the revolutionary States \$1.00 per year; 65c per six states) infallibly indicates that in movement in this country. The months; Canada and foreign \$1.50 the coming war the Old Guard will specific outcome during the coming per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle the ranks of the socialist workers developments in the Socialist Party .6. One of the most dangerous and youth toward a revolutionary attentively from this point of view.

against "Hitler aggressions, and to men's clubs and "anti-war" profes-"implement the League Covenant" sionals; on the contrary, it attacks by government sanctions. The the whole conception of such reli-Bauer-Dan-Zyromski Thesis openly ance as aiding and promoting, and advocates support of the wars of not in any way hindering the prep- in 1898 exiled to Siberia, soon after arations for war.

The Workers Party calls for the gression, for the defense of the U.S. S.R., for unremitting struggle against the coming imperialist war. But for this defense and this struggle, the Workers Party calls at the day particularly noteworthy theory which they can be, in fact, conducted: for the independent and autonomous action of the working class. ened and disoriented the revolu- It is the international working tionary struggle against war to an class, especially the Italian working tion, being the first of the national active espousal of the policies of class, together with the oppressed revolutions; he defended his theory class truce and social-patriotism. | colonial peoples, who are the true By the Franco-Soviet Pact, the allies of the Ethiopian peoples-not "peace-loving" Britain, nor the duct of the Soviet Union represen- League of Nations, nor Stalin-Lav- published during November-Decemthe imperialist powers, this delay nations. The national state of every tatives in the League during the al, nor Roosevelt, nor their own ber. 1905, in Petersburg. After the Ethiopian crisis, and above all by Christian Emperor and semi-feudal arrest of Khrustalev-Nossar, he chieftains. It is the independent the Communist International stands | sanctions of the working class, its own boycotts, strikes, defense funds Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Depmocracy's betrayal on the issue of mass demonstrations that can aid uties. Arrested together with the to its Executive Committee and joined the "Mejrayontsi," and towar, announcing itself as ready to the battles of the Ethiopian peoples, the enemy of every capitalist over the proletariat of England, and its puppet states. And likewise France and the U.S. to their na- for the defense of the U.S.S.R. and tional bourgeoisie in the coming the struggle against the approaching world war, it is only the independent action of the working class he issued a popular labor newspatogether with its allies under its the legal and hypocritical cover for the aggressor", whether applied by munist party applauds the position leadership which gives hope to the working and exploited masses—s or indirectly through the League of Communist party supports enthusi-struggle not in collaboration with and attempted to form a group outagainst the bourgeoisie and the na-

The struggle against war is not and cannot be conceived as an "independent" struggle, having a special status above class conflicts. It is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle for workers' power. The class strength, means-not suspension of the class conflict until the war crisis passes-but the the preparation to turn the imperialist war into a civil war for the and the victory of the workers.

ternational organization. Thus the After the July days, he was arrestmost intense form, the central task and indicted for "leading the insurof the Fourth International, the dyis no reason to despair. Out of the of the C.P.S.U. since 1917; member step of the world revolution. Yet, in 1914, the internationalists were ple's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, the workers as a shock that was unexpected and not prepared for. Today, organized groups of revolutionary internationalists exist in nearly every nation, and are actively forging the parties of the Fourth International; today the Second and Third Internationals have announced their betrayalbeforehand, and we will thus not be trapped by surprise; and today we have the rich experience and lessons of the past generation to draw from.

The struggle against imperialist war is the struggle for socialism, is the struggle for the Fourth International, for the world rev-

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# BIOGRAPHY A LA STALIN

First Edition . . .

"L. D. Trotsky (N. Trotsky): born in 1879, active in the Workers' Circles in the city of Nikolayev; escaped abroad and participated in the Iskra. Delegate from the Sibercontinued effort to defend the Ethi-lian League at the Second Congress opian peoples against Italian ag of the Party. After the split in the Party, adhered to the Mensheviks. Even prior to the revolution, in 1905, he advanced his own and tosame time for the sole means by of the permanent revolution, in which he asserted that the bourgeois revolution of 1905 must pass directly into the socialist revoluin the newspaper Nachalo, the central organ of the Menshevik faction was elected Chairman of the First to Obdorsk. but escaped en route and emigrated abroad. Trotsky chose Vienna to live in, and there per,Pravda, to be circulated in Russia; he broke with the Mensheviks and the Vperedovists against the perialist war he took a brilliant in-United States, On his return from overthrow of the bourgeois state he was arrested by the English and set free only on the demand of the More clearly than any other Provisional Government, which was phase of revolutionary activity does forced to intervene under the presthe struggle against war attest the sure of the Petersburg Soviet. In international character of the revo- Petersburg he entered the organilutionary movement. It is an inter- zation of the "Mejrayontsi", togethnational struggle and must be con- er with whom he joined the Bolsheducted in terms of an international vik Party at the Sixth Party Constrategy, through an integrated in- gress, in July, 1917, in Petersburg. struggle against war poses, in the ed by the Government of Kerensky of the present period: the building rection", but was shortly freed under the pressure of the Petersnamic generator to drive forward burg proletariat. After the Petersthe revolutionary advance of the burg Soviet went over to the Bolby the iron chain of cause and ef. generation by betraying the work- the U.S. carries on this struggle atively weak numerically as are the and led the insurrection of October

> The above brief biography of Trotsky appeared in a note to the first edition of Lenin's Collected Works, Volume XIV, part 2, page 481. Lenin was then still alive.

> > Come up and nav us a visit.

100 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C.

sars, first holding the post of Peo-

(Our emphasis)

Second Edition . . .

After Lenin died, a second edition of his Collected Works was issued by the Lenin Institute. We give below the "biographical note" of the Stalinist historians as it was dished up after Trotsky's expulsion, in Volume XXI,

page 571: "L. D. Trotsky, (born 1879) worked in the city of Nikolayev, "advanced troop of the counter-revparticipated in the South Russian olutionary bourgeoisie". Participat-Workers' League. In 1898 was ar- ed in the Second Party Conpress, rested and exiled to the Irkutsk shevik. Chairman of the Petersburg province, from where he escaped Soviet of Workers' Deputies in abroad in 1902. In 1903 participat- 1905. Adherent of the semi-Mensheed in the Second Party Congress, vist Parvusite theory of the permaand after the split in the Party. while remaining with the Mensheviks, he participated closely in the During the war rejected slogan of Iskra. During the first revolution civil war, defeatism, and the necin 1905 he worked in Petersburg. essity of breaking organizationally Adherent of Parvus's theory of the permanent revolution. When the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Dep- fense of the Fatherland." In 1917, uties was organized, he entered in upon his arrival at Petrograd he Executive Committee on December later became Chairman. After the gether with the latter entered the 3, 1905, he was sent into life exile arrest of the Petersburg Soviet, he Bolshevik party at the Sixth Conwas exiled to Siberia but en route gress of the C.P.S.U. and was electto exile fled from Berezov and par- ed to the C.E.C. After Octoberticipated in the London Congress. People's Commissar of Foreign Af-Living in Vienna, he formed his fairs. On the question of the Brest own group, the ideological expressipeace, first expressed himself in sion of which was a paper he pub- favor of the tactic "No Peace, No lished, Pravda. In 1912, participated Wars," and after the offensive was in the so-called "August Bloc", created for the struggle agginst the After the Brest Peace-People's side of all factions; however, dur- Bolsheviks. During the imperialist Commissar of War, and Chairman ing the factional struggle abroad he war he was a member of the edi- of the Revolutionary War Commitmade a bloc with the Mensheviks torial board of the internationalist tee of the Republic (up to 1924). organ, Nashe Slovo, published in In 1920-1921, defended the neces-Paris. He took part in Zimmerwald, sity of "statifying" the trade unbloc between Lenin and Plekhanov holding a "centrist" position, and ions, and organized a faction on who fought against the liquidators. not adhering to the Zimmerwald this platform. In 1923-1924 headed From the very beginning of the im- left. In 1916, on the charge of car- the opposition; from 1926, leader rying on internationalist propaganda of the "Oppositionist Bloc" (Trothe was deported from France to sky-Kamenev-Zinoviev). Waged a ternationalist position, participated Spain, and from there, after his sharp factional struggle against in the publication of Nashe Slove, arrest, he was again deported to the C.P.S.U. and the Communist and adhered to Zimmerwald. De America. In 1917, upon his arrival International. In November 1927, intensification of class conflict and ported from France he went to the at Petrograd, he joined the inter- together with his adherents, he atnationalst organization of "Mejra- tempted to stage anti-Soviet demyontsi", and together with them en- onstrations in Moscow and Leninthere after the February revolution, tered into the Bolshevik Party at grad. Defended the views of the the Sixth Congress of the C.P.S.U. impossibility of building socialism and was elected to the C.E.C. After in the U.S.S.R., of the inevitability the Bolsheviks had conquered the of the degeneration of the Bolshe-Petrograd Soviet in September, 1917, Trotsky became its Chairman, and the probable return to capital-After October, he became People's ism. At the Fifteenth Conpress of Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Dur the C.P.S.U. expelled from the ing the controversy over the Brest-Litovsk Peace, he was a staunch opponent of the latter, favoring the Abroad, side by side with the White tactic "No Peace, No War". After the Brest Peace, he became People's larizing centers of the counter-rev-Commissar of War and Chairman olutionary forces inside and outof the Revolutionary War Council side of the U.S.S.R." (Our emphaof the Republic, up to 1924. During sis.) the discussion in 1920-21, he headed one of the factions formed at in Moscow in a dark corner there is working class. Threatening as is sheviks, he was elected Chairman that time defending the necessity hung and, perhaps, is still hanging, powers is U. S. imperialism bound national revealed its internal de- tionalists. The Workers Party of the oncoming of the new war, rel- and in this capacity he organized of "Statifying" the trade unions. In 1923 he went over to the Oppoforces now ranged against it, there 25. Standing member of the C.E.C. sition; from 1926 the leader of the "United" Opposition. In 1927, exlast world war came the first great of the Council of People's Commis- pelled from the party". (Our emphasis.)

The above quoted and "improved" biography was to be found even in the "Third Edition" of Lenin's Collected Works up to 1931, and thereafter, until another "Third Edition" was issued by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in 1935.

Corner 15th, Room 1010

Third Edition . . .

In this latest Stalinist falisfication of history we find the follow-ing "biography" in the same volume XXI, on the very same page

"L. D. Trotsky (Bronstein) born 1879-social democrat who headed "Centrist" tendency (Trotskyism) in the ranks of the Russian Social Democracy, and who subsequently slid down to the role of the nent revolution. In 1912, organized the so-called "August Bloc" for the struggle against the Bolsheviks. with the social chauvinists. His slogan "No Victories, No Defeats" was a paraphrase of the slogan "deresumed,-for a revolutionary war. vik party and the Soviet power, party. In 1929, exiled abroad for underground anti-Soviet activity. Guards he became one of the po-

In the Museum of the Revolution\* a modest tablet. It bore the following inscription

"In the nature of thinps, it is impossible to argue with Trotsky,

"It is necessary and obligatory to argue with confirmed liquidators and Otzovists but there is no arguing with a man who plays the role of a screen for the mistakes of both the former and the latter—such a man must be exposed as a diplomat of the worst type.'

If one were to take Stalin at his own words, a tablet should be hung in his memory with the inscription:

"He never argued, he only falsi-

\*In this museum there is supposedly preserved the record of each and every participant and event in the Russian Revolution (even prior to 1905). The above mentioned tablet is the only record of Trotsky's participation in the revolutionary struggles of the Russian proletariat. It was copied by a tourist.

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# The Spanish Elections And the People's Front Jobs-"Straw Boss? No, West Coast C.P.

By MAX SHACHTMAN

A singular unanimity marks the reception accorded the election victory of the People's Front by ing class and an idea that a mea- [front", it was not "used" by the vie with the editors of the Daily Worker in saluting the victory with battle. an intoxicated enthusiasm which they do not allow a single critical comment to mar.

That the outcome of the elections speedy comeback. At the same time tion was extorted from it by the reveals a distinctly gratifying ad it is a pitiless indictment of the overwhelming pressure of the massvance by the Spanish working class cowardly capitulation of the Second es who were storming the penitenis, of course, beyond debate. One and Third Internationals in Ger. tiaries themselves. The payment must search far and wide in the many in 1933, of their effrontery in which the workers made (restoramodern history of the working class attributing to the working class tion of bourgeois democratic power, of the world to find a parallel to their own despicable cowardice. new credit to the discredited "rethe amazing recuperative powers of ("We would have liked to fight, publican" parties of Azana and Marthe Spanish proletariat. What but the masses were not ready.") neither the social democratic nor the Stalinist press have obliged us above conclusion that the Spanish given to the bourgeoisie as a gift with, however, is an explanation for the contrast between the resurgence leadership that offers an additional of the formerly defeated Spanish working class and the continued will have misread the situation bad- geois politicians, as the bourgeois paralysis of, let us say, the also de- ly. After having remained firmly politicians who urgently required allies—in whom they have more feated German working class. Un- asleep at the switch and deprecat- the support and protection of the confidence than they have in the less one is to ascribe the causes of ing the revolution of 1931 as a mere workers. They received the latter the startling contrast to some mys- nothing, the Stalinists ended up, in in the form of the complete suborterious national superiority of Span-October 1934, by grudgingly enter-dination of the labor parties to the ish proletarian physiology or intelling the united front of the working bourgeois parties in the "People's lect over the German, the difference class organizations against which Front". must be sought for in another do- they had inveighed up to the last main. Neither social democrats nor minute. As for the socialist lead-Stalinists are particulary anxious to probe for an intelligible answer class in leash for as long as it gram, for example. Even assuming la (Feb. 21, 1936): "Catalonia a to the question for the simple reason that it would fly in the face of to the "democratic" capitalist re- writing a common program with of the country the republican move their respective political philoso-

#### The Great Value of Struggle

Both your regular social democthe seal of approbation on the failure of the German labor parties-S.P. and C.P .-- to lead the proletariat in direct struggle against the es". Fascist bandits before they came to power in 1933. At the same time, they "deplored" the armed struggle of the Spanish workers against the by a similar attempt in Germany.

labor revival in not only unambiguous, but it speaks out conclusively against these present-day plagiarists of Plekhanov whose solitary contribution to the summary of the 1905 revolution in Russia was the a struggle. The Fascist thugs found years ago. that they could come to power withthe purpose of crushing every vestlabor even attempting to fight them from the workers now that the Fastwo machine-guns for every dagger he had yesterday?

were not led into struggle in Germany, the workers have less coner self-assurance, firmness, solidity,

## Reasons for Resurgence

the wokers fought, their mood and rin-Nin party of "Marxian Unificathe corresponding mood of the bour- tion" was not only that they wrote geoisie, are different. The workers a "common program" with the dis-swered: The bourgeoisie wrote it; think: Yes, we were defeated in one credited bourgeois parties—which the proletariat accepted it. More battle, but we showed the Fascists was bad enough-and that thereby, accurately, the treacherous leaderthat we can and will fight, even politically speaking, they appeared under adverse circumstances. We before the masses in one party with have proved to ourselves that if the bourgeoisie, but that this "comonly we organize ourselves better mon program" was dictated and in this, that and the other respect, written by the bourgeoisie, and that we possess an invincible power. in every other respect the joint The bourgeoisie thinks: We are not party-under the pseudonym of the playing with a toothless old hound "People's Front"-was dominated denced. Bear in mind, first, that in here, whom we can kick around con- by the bourgeoisie. In other words, temptuously. This working class is if the class criterion which Lenin revolution, the socialists were re a lion which showed his teeth and loved so much to apply-"Who? claws and inflicted some serious Whom?"—is employed in this case, wounds upon us. And even if his the result is clearly this: leap was not well prepared and his retreat not so well ordered, we did not terminate the fight by skinning

People's Front Acts as Brake on **Upward Movement of Masses** 

labor papers which are otherwise sure of prudence was needed; the workers' parties—but the workers' antagonistic to each other's views. workers emerged from the battle parties used by it. It was not tak-The Jewish Daily Forward and the with a high spirit of self-assurance en in tow by the socialists and comequally octogenarian New Leader and confidence in their ability to munists—it dragged the latter in retrieve their losses in the very next its wake. The payment which it

assurance of the final victory, he who needed the support of the bourership, it kept the Spanish working could, tying it as firmly as possible for the moment the admissibility of part, it is certain that in the rest socialists to their inglorious position read that "in the minimum proof captives in the government of gram of the Communist party for the "republic of the working class | this electoral bloc stand the follow-

#### People's Front-A Lightning Rod

sufficiently ignoble, they—both so- death; abolition of the reactionary advancing reaction in October 1934 cialists and Stalinists—capped it by laws, reestablishment of the rights and more than hinted that it had performing the function of light of democratic liberties; national all the intolerable aspects of a futile ning rods, grounding into the harm- constitution for Catalonia; confiscaputsch. How many times did they less soil of "democratic" capitalism tion of the landed property of the both say-often in so many words: the increasingly menacing flashes aristocracy, the monarchists and It would have availed the German of working class resurgence which all enemies of the people; dissoluproletariat nothing to struggle has been rising for months like a tion of the Fascist and monarchist against insuperable odds; and the black cloudbank that might inun-organizations, purging the army of Spanish defeat in 1934 showed how date the rule of the bourgeoisie in Fascists; rehiring of all the workfruitless was such needless blood- Spain for all time. This not very ers discharged from factories after shed as would have been involved laudable function was performed October 1934." through the mechanism of the Yet, the lesson of the Saunish | Spanish People's Front. To pass uncritically over the pompous phraseology of the People's Front in Spain would be just as criminal as it was to beat the drums for these other 'victories" which were gained in Germany by the "Iron Front" in its lament that "they shoud not have time—and would lead to just as taken up arms". The difference complete a calamity for the Spanbetween Germany and Spain lies, ish working class and any other essentially in this: The German that would emulate it, as it did for

working class was defeated without the German proletariat a couple of out encountering any resistance from connection with the Spanish mands which the bourgeois allies furnished than what is reflected in the proletariat. The ruling class People's Front is: Is it correct for cread: bosses) refused to include, the two sentences quoted! was therefore able to say to itself: the workers to seek and arrive at the latter inserted a number of If I could bring this gang of semi- an agreement with a bourgeois dem- planks underneath which the three armed mercenaries to power for ocratic party in the struggle labor parties shamelessly signed against bourgeois reaction, even an ige of labor organization, without agreement on the parliamentary program which makes the French field? Absolutely correct! But only off, how much less have I to fear under certain conditions and in cer- President Roosevelt's program look tain ways. The principal condition, like substantial Left wing docucist mamelukes are equipped with especially in elections, is that the ments, is summed up by the very the complete arsenal of state power? party of the proletariat which I can therefore be more arrogant makes the agreement with the (January 23, 1936), as follows: and brutal: I can therefore have bourgeois democrates, retains, absogreater self-confidence. The working lutely, its political and organizaclass could only say to itself; If I tional independence. It may not financial reform the most important (read: if my parties, my leaders) merge itself into the bourgeois is the proposal to work for the was not able to lift a finger against party. It may not write a "com- Bank of Spain' so revising its actthe Fascist trash when it was arm- mon program" with the bourgeois ivity that it may fulfill in reality ed with little more than knives, party. In this or that district, the its task, the regulation of credit. how shall I be able to fight them proletarian party, may vote for the Unfortunately, the Republicans now that they are armed with the candidate of the bourgeois party, could not decide (!) to accept the whole repressive machinery of the in exchange for similar votes for more far-reaching proposal which state? And if my leaders stood itself in other districts. But from demanded the nationalization of all petrified in their tracks when they its own platform—and it must have banks. In the field of improving the still had the vast "legal" possibili- one of its own—it must always lot of the workers it is promised ties of fighting the Fascists, before point out why it has a program of we were dispersed and driven its own, why it speaks from its own labor courts and the establishment underground or under the voke of platform, why it has arrived at a of their independence." (Not only Hitler, what reason have I to be- temporary agreement with a bour- are the class collaborationist "lalieve that they will be anything but goods party, why the agreement is bor courts" to be "reorganized" but less effective now, when Hitler has only temporary and cannot be per-their independence - from whom manent, and why the proletarian and what?—is to be established!) class and its party can never write We forbear from quoting further. In other words, just because they a common program with the bour- The program is simply inferior to geois class and its party or parties, the average petty bourgeois radical attained in a peaceful way by Otherwise the workers' party loses election platfrom. Compared with means of the usual methods of fidence in themselves and, contrari- its reason for independent existence; wise, the bourgeoisic has far great- it has wiped out the irreconcilable cratic party platform, even of the struggle of the classes.

What was inexcusably criminal In Spain, however, just because the Communist party and the Mau-therefore, as the program of the

# **Bourgeoisie Discredited**

The "republican" bourgeoisie was ably weakened and even more dishis hide. In other words, in Spain so badly discredited in the eyes of credited among the masses. Since the hoursecisie emerged from the the masses that it required a pro- that time, also, the communist par-October with respect for the works bective covering. In the "united ty has grown and the proletarian

made (the amnesty of the thirty Essentially, this is the explanation | thousand which leaves unaffected for the remarkable showing made all those labor fighters who were by the Spanish workers in their imprisoned prior to the insurrectinez Barrios, etc.) were voluntarily, If the reader draws from the unnecessarily and unwarrantedly masses did and do have the kind of by the labor leaders.

It is not so much the workers

#### Program of People's Front

ing demands: Amnesty for all the 30,000 political prisoners and for the more than 100 revolutionary Then, as if this record were not fighters who are condemned to

Thus the minimum program of

nounced with such apparent intran- Left local governments are active sigeance as their rock-bottom, below which they would not move, is parts. A stupidly premature (not Negros, Elaine, Arkansas, 1924.) not to be found in the program of only premature, but stupid to boot!) the bloc after it was formed—that attempt is being made to divide This time they plan murder of white is, with the exception of the propo- Azana from the Left allies, the sal of amnesty for political prison- socialists and the communists." A ers and the promise to rehire work- more truly classic picture of social ers discharged after October 1934. democratic treachery of the Scheid-The first question that arises in But in place of the "minimum" de- emann-Wels type could hardly be their names. The People's Front People's Front platform and even same Rundschan of a week later "Support of small industry and small commerce. . . In the field of . . 2. The reorganization of the it, the average German social demoperiod of the "Iron Front" and "comrade" Hindenburg, is a signion the part of the Socialist party, ficant social document. In so far, "People's Front" is concerned, the question of "Who? Whom?" is anship forced it on the proletariat

# Relationship of Forces

On the distribution of candidates, the complete subordination of the proletarian wing of the Front to its bourgeois wing is also clearly evithe 1931 elections, following the turned as the largest party in the Cortes. Most of the "Republicans' got in by the skin of their teeth Since that time, the "Republican Left" parties have been consider-

forces in the country (also on a parliamentary scale) have been strengthened absolutely and relatively by the fact that women have the vote and that, this time, many anarchist and syndicalist workers decided to cast ballots. In face of these indisputable facts, the bourgeois wing of the Front was given the decisive predominance in the division of candidacies. With Catalonia having a list of its own, the division stood as follows: the Republican Left parties in the bloc were granted 170 candidates and the labor candidates only 143 (127 socialists, 14 communists and 2 syndicalists). Elected were more than 120 members of the bourgeois partie and some 100 members of the

To what relationship of forces in the country does such a division, which patently gives the bourgeoisie the upper hand, correspond? To absolutely none! It corresponds only to the contemptible attitude of grovelling before their bourgeois forces of the proletariat-which is shared equally by the socialist and Stalinist leadership. The Maurin-Nin party which signed the People's Executive Sec'y, Southern Tenant Front program and supported it in the election, is nevertheless obliged to acknowledge in the post-election Take the question of the pro- number of its periodical, La Batalpublic, demoralizing it month in a bourgeois party—which we reject ment, as a force, is a veritable ficand month out by the practise of in principle—it is worth while ex- tion, as it proved to be in the eleccoalitions with the bourgeoisie, and amining the "program" that was tions of 1933." This veritable fic-'organizing' the October insurrec- finally adopted. In the January 16, tion was given the leadership, the tion for the grand purpose of "fore 1936 issue of the Comintern publi- majority and the programmatic rat and your official Stalinist placed ing" the capitalists to restore the cation, Rundschau, of Basle, we control of the People's Front by are reported daily. Most of them are

#### Treacherous Stalinism

And even though the masses. some deliberately, some instinctively are fighting to break away from the leading strings of Azana and Co., of the astute demagogues of the bourgeois parties—even though the masses are groping, in elementary ways, towards class independence, and showing that by themselves they are infinitely more powerful and effective than they are January 16. Miserable enough, it stormy movements of the masses: will be said, and rightly so. But "Without consulting the Azana even this, which the Stalinists and forces (Oh Heinous crime!) many in Asturias province and other

Forward, written by its foreign expert, D. Shub, a tiological Menshevik: "The present victory over the reaction was made possible thanks to the fact that all the progressive parties and groups united in a democratic People's Front which dates in most of the districts of the country. Into the People's Front ists, the radical bourgeois republicans and also the communists, who gave up their own communist program in favor of the moderate of the People's Front....What the Spanish socialists did not succeed in attaining by means of a general strike and a bloody armed uprising sixteen months ago, which cost hundreds of human lives, has now been democracy."

ease, because he has been repeating relief administrators at Little Rock, them for years. He hailed the victory of the social democrats in electing Hindenburg to the German refuse to carry out orders from presidency in exactly the same Washington. The control of the terms and spirit. In essence, it was just the same kind of victory, too. That he can now include the Stalin-and Peace Officers have sent guardists in his comments, that he now agrees line by line with their eval-to prevent the Union relief commitnations, is no sign at all that he has moved closer to Marxism. It only means that the Stalinists have ers and supporters of the sharemoved all the way to Shub. On these grounds, he has every right to felicitate himself. The Spanish workers have not.

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# "Speed Up or the Scabs Will Take Your

O enamoured have the smaller American editions of Stalin become, that Stakhanovism has been introduced, or rather an attempt at introduction to the longshoremen, in San Francisco, has been made.

The C.P. Waterfront Worker of February 3, 1936 (p. 8) contains the following choice morsel intended, no doubt, to warm the cockles of the hearts of all stevedores-"Laxness must be eliminated, workingclass discipline must be enforced."

"Today, we face a new problem—a problem if not met squarely and honestly will wreck the organization we sacrificed so much for and fought so hard to build. That problem is the amount of work performed per gang per day. In the Blue Book days, 30 or 40 tons per gang per hour was considered an average hours work. Today, 30 or 40 tons is considered a good 4 hours work. Everyone will admit 40 tons is too damned much cargo to move in one hour, but at the same time 40 tons for 4 hours is not a helluva lot. After all, we still live in a capitalist society, the shipowners still own the ships and

operate. Or if operating costs become too high, when it would prove cheaper for him to use scabs and lock out the Union men, that is exactly what he will do." (My emphasis, B. M.)

Let the shipowners tremble at the roar of this militant blast from the Stalinists!-"Toe the mark, boys, or we'll anger the bosses," "After all, we still live in a capitalistic society"—"the speed-up isn't as bad as it might be"-etc.

We have no doubt the longshoremen will give these capitalist lackkeys the answer they so richly deserve. These workers who saw their striking comrades shot by the bosses' thugs, will turn to these Stakhanovite henchmen of Hearst, Plant and Giannini and say, "You can fawn upon the ship-owners—but for us union conditions were won by strike action, not by class-collaboration with finks and bosses. We intend to stand our ground, and fight for union conditions won at the cost of working-class lives. Working class discipline-hell! You mean the speed-up!"

# Sharecroppers St. Louis Retail Clerks Demands Pres. Take Vote on General Strike

By H. L. MITCHELL

Farmers Union MEMPHIS, Tenn.-Members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in an effort to bring some measure of justice to the workers on the cotton plantations of Northeastern Arkansas are now taking a vote on a proposal to call every one out on strike throughout the entire area.

New evictions of union members Caballero, Uribe, Maurin and Nin. made without any sort of settlement of wages due the workers. Govern ment payments or subsidies are also refused. Planters offer Yellow Dog contracts in an attempt to force sharecroppers and tenants, as well as day laborers, to accept worse tell their side of the story. In the conditions than ever before—with the provision that each worker accepting shall give up union member-

Efforts by interested people such is Brooks Hays, Resettlement Administrator of Washington, and holding firm and not a man has House, California. when held under the bourgeois citizens of Arkansas to act as medyoke, the labor leaders seek to fast- lators in the intolerable situation en it only the more firmly around now existing have been repulsed by their throats. Typical and charac-plantation owners. They refuse to teristic is the Madrid dispatch to deal with the Southern Tenant the Daily Worker of Feb. 25, 1936, Farmers' Union, and threaten widethe C.P. for the People's Front on that is, after the elections and the spread violence. Reports from re liable sources, union and non-union, indicate that bands of outlaws are being formed to wipe out the Union. Continual threats to stage another "Elaine Massacre" (massacre of are being made by the planters as well as black Union men.

The Union has offered to meet a owners and attempt to get a settle- their organization put Kroger on opportunity of assignment to WPA ment of the controversy which cannot go on forever. We are ready at any time to negotiate a fair and just Wiles, Secretary, Warehouse Work-Is it surprising therefore that in contract. Our demands are as follers Union. No. 667, 4046 Folsom ance in California is inadequate to addition to the hysterical praises lows: Just and adequate settlement Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. (Note: maintain a family above a slow sung to the Spanish 'People's Front" at end of season, legal rates of in if you can picket a Kroger store in starvation level, with the payment by the Stalinists, the Right wing terest on advances made sharecropof the social democracy should also pers and tenants, wages of \$1.00 ganization and picket signs will be care beyond the slim dole allowed. give it the accolade of approval? per 10 hour day with 15 cents per Everything the Stalinists stand for hour overtime for all work done by is contained in the comment on the day laborers, and a written guaran-'victory" contained in the February tee binding owners not to interfere 25, 1936 issue of the Jewish Daily with Union organization or to dis criminate against Union members.

## Mass Evictions 'Continue

The mass eviction of Union families continues from many plantations with no let up in sight. Men, women and children are set adrift put forward a joint list of candi- on the highways. When they find a place of refuge in tents (supplied by the Union), churches, owned by entered the socialists, the syndical-themselves, in homes of other Union members they are hounded by threats and warnings, many of them saving, "leave the state or be lynched". Dynamite was recently placed (Hear! Hear!) democratic program in the tent colony near Parkin. A few days later a mob led by the County Sheriff served notice on the homeless people gathered there to leave within 48 hours. The governor of the State of Arkansas, J Marion Futrell, made a "so called" investigation and with a bucket of white wash exonerated his friends the planters.

Relief from all governmental Shub rolls off these formulae with sources is effectively blocked. State Arkansas, of the various agencies set up to provide for people, flatly plantation interests extends to the tee from distributing food and with the workers demands, jumped clothing contributed by sympathizcroppers cause.

> Help is needed. Potest those conditions to the President of the United States. Ask your senators and congressmen to demand a congressional investigation. All contributions should be sent to Box 5215, Memphis, Tenn.

READ THE NEW MILITANT

# Ask Aid in Strike

(Continued from Page 1) ally and in spreading the boycott of Kroger stores since very early in the strike have been the Proressive Miners of America and the United Mine Workers of America Faced with mass dismissals on zations have placed Kroger on their | Professional Workers Union sent of their locals in the state of Illinois of Berkeley, Oakland and the Board have posted notices to this effect. of Supervisors of Alameda County In some cases locals of these unions and forced the officials to allow the and by having their members refuse demands to Pres. Roosevelt. to buy Kroger goods.

#### Issue Strike Bulletin

out a strike bulletin in which they the latter part of March. February 28th issue of this strike bulletin we read that after almost Mr. President: four months of hunger, hardships, and privation the union is standing tee of the Union of Professional pat on its original demands, and Workers of the East Bay. speaking furthermore that their ranks are from the Alameda County Court

The union with only 146. men is fighting a gigantic chain grocery about the large number of men and store which has thousands of stores all over the country. In order to make this fight effective they must hit Kroger in the heart, i.e., the hating corporation that Kroger is charged. unfair to organized labor so that they can buy their groceries elsewhere. Any individual or organa picket in front of the Kroger sent by return mail.)

# Arrest 14 in NY

Fourteen workers, members of he Workers Alliance of America, vere arrested at the Port Authorty Building, Thursday, March 5th, unemployed and at once: while demanding the Asst. W.P.A. Administrator, Mr. Ring, see them the unemployed in California be regarding their reinstatement on eliminated in favor of work at de-W.P.A. jobs from which they were cent wages. arbitrarily dismissed. For the second time Ring broke his engagement with the workers. In the This suffering that is sending our meantime, these workers, who have While shouting such demands as: See our Committee—Give us Jobs -and Feed our Families, guards ordered the workers to leave the building. The order was ignored and the shouting continued. The

group was placed under arrest. Following this, a messenger from Ring arrived, promising an appointment with his assistant. This was rejected and an appointment was wrung out of Ring.

As the workers proceeded peace fully to leave the building the guards attacked them brufally. Office workers on the floor, numbering F. D. Sharpens about three thousand, who had witnessed the whole affair and had expressed themselves in sympathy in at this moment to protect them from the brutal assault of the ferno of famine. guards. About five thousand side to see the workers taken away

by the police. Among these arrested were Henry Rourke, M. Fleischmann, Harry Winthrop, Harry Shepard, M. Lieb-

owitz and others.

# Act on Cal. **WPA** Layoffs

BERKELEY, Calif., Feb. 27-(District 12). Both of these organ- WPA projects delegations of the 'we don't patronize" lists and all representatives to the city managers have placed a fine of \$25.00 on any use of the long distance phone to member of their organization caught one of its representatives, George lealing with Kroger. Many other Grayden, who depicted the local unions here are helping financially situation and presented the union

The union is seeking affiliation to the Gov't Employees organiza-To answer the lies and slander tion of the A.F. of L. and has the that the Kroger company is putting support of the Central Labor Counout over the radio, in the news- cil of Alameda County in this repapers and through their other paid quest. It is also planning a mass mouthpieces, the union has gotten meeting on the WPA situation in

The text of Grayden's speech fol-

I am a spokesman for a commit-

The thousands of us now working

women who are facing discharge within a few weeks. Those of us working on the Na-

pocketbook. This can be done only tional Guide, a Federal Project are by acquainting the people and par- reaching a state of panic as March ticulary the union men and women tenth approaches when 66 per cent who normally trade with this labor of the Personnel are to be dis-

New projects are not being set up rapidly enough to take care of these now working on WPA proization desiring to help the progress jects and most serious of all is the of this strike can do so by placing situation of the rapidly increasing committee of responsible plantation store in their community, by having for relief and by your ruling denied

> We submit that the relief allowyour community write to this or of rent, service bills and medical

> > We ask that you assure us of continuous employment at wages sufficient to maintain our families on a basis of health and decency.

We submit that as American cit-WPA Protest izens, in this marvelously rich country, that we are entitled to an abundance that we are anxious and willing to produce.

We demand that the Federal government provide work for all the

That the meagre allowance given

Mr. President, we are determined to end the misery we see about us, friends and neighbors to the insane families to feed, were given the hospitals, to the taking of their own famous "runaround" by the city lives, condemning our children to authorities and the W.P.A. officials. idleness and forcing many to lives of crime.

> We demand security of employment. The withdrawal of your order discharging the thousand workers from WPA in California, each month, and we demand the immediate setting up of new projects to care for all these to be released March 10 or thereabouts and the immediate setting up of a program that will provide employment for all the unemployed.

# Relief-cut Axe

(Continued from Page 1)

Beyond the immediate perspective people employed in the Port of of struggle, there lies also the nec-Authority Building gathered out- essity of revolt. Every worker in this country has felt accutely the distinct contradiction between modern property relations and human relations. As workers, we do not have the time to build Farmer-Labor parties in order to elect refor-This is the "Security" promised mist dog-catchers and congressmen. to the workers by Roosevelt and The choice during the next few carried out by his office boy Victor years is not between reform and Ridder. Workers are now being reaction. The choice lies between revolution and starvation!