

# NEW MILITANT

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

VOL. 1, NO. 20

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

## Toledo Leads Revolt of Auto Workers

### May Day March Biggest in Post-War History

W. P. Section Voices Solidarity with Toledo at G. M. C. Building

NEW YORK, May 1.—More than 100,000 trade unionists and members of working class organizations marched in the biggest May Day parade New York has seen since the war. Heading the march were the strongest unions in the city, the unions of the needle trades, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Hundreds of locals of other unions fell into line behind them, carrying militant banners proclaiming the struggle to the bitter end against Fascism and imperialist war.

The contingent of the Workers Party of the U. S., and of the youth organizations, the Spartacus Youth League and the Young People's Socialist League, lent color and strength to the whole march with their flying red banners and their vigorous songs of the international revolutionary movement. Time and again the strains of the "Internationale" and the "Red Flag" echoed in the city's streets as the marchers proceeded uptown from 15th Street and Eighth Avenue. Tremendous crowds greeted the demonstrators, lining up by the tens of thousands along the sidewalks and returning lustily cheers and greetings.

#### Boos for Hearst

As the workers near the building which houses the Hearst publications, on Eighth Avenue in the 50s, powerful boos and shouts of derision gave vent to a storm of protest against "Workers' Enemy No. 1." Each contingent that passed vied with the others in making felt its deep hatred for this dispenser of reactionary venom against the Soviet Union and the American revolutionary labor movement.

#### Solidarity with Toledo

A block further up, at the central offices of the General Motors Corporation, the sector of the parade which included the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League turned into a ten minute demonstration of solidarity with the embattled Chevrolet strikers in Toledo. For fully ten minutes the air vibrated with an immense chorus of voices shouting "Support Toledo Chevrolet Strikers," "Down with General Motors Company Unions" and other militant strike slogans.

As the W. P. column entered Columbus circle, headed for the Central Park entrance, the ranks lining up in military formation behind the banner reading "Workers Party, U. S. A.—For the Fourth International!" resounded with a volley of cheers for the new International, for the International of Lenin and Trotsky.

#### Leaders Kowtow to Cops

At the park entrance on West 72nd Street, the parade was finally

(Continued on Page 4)

### Sub-Getters, On the Job!

As the sub drive enters its fourth and last month with competition keen, Frank Collins of Allentown has established himself as the undisputed leader of the sub-hustlers for the month of April. His enviable record was a score of 25 full year subs. The prize goes to him.

From everywhere in the country we hear reports of the activities of the Workers Party. Everywhere the party is on the firing line. In Toledo, once again our members are lighting the prairie fire of class struggle. As the lines draw and the conflict sharpens, the workers need a voice to lash out against the lies of the kept press. The daily strike papers are the union voice. The New Militant is the political voice. The most casual glance at the periodicals issued by other sections of the labor movement will confirm our assertion that the New Militant leads in Marxian direction and political clarity.

Most important is that the New Militant finds a similar appreciation among the thousands of striking, union and unemployed workers. No miracle will accomplish this. Indeed, no amount of wishful thinking and self-praise will lead the workers to a condition where it is just as natural for them to read the New Militant every week as it is now for them to buy the daily capitalist press every morning.

What we need is pluggers, of the type of Frank Collins. More Frank Collins means more men and women, young and old, inside and outside the party.

The job is comparatively easy, nothing compared with some of the tasks our party members face on the picket lines. Reports from some of the leading hustlers have it that it doesn't take overmuch lung exertion to persuade a casual New Militant reader to become a subscriber.

But it needs a little punch and a little zest. The same reporters say that the subs did not fall into their laps, they had to go out and get them.

Let's have a little action! And let our party members show the way! The delinquent branches and comrades—and there are too many of them now—are urged to put their shoulders to the wheel.

Speed it up! Only one month left! At the end of the trail are prizes for the champion and capital for the party!

1 year \$1.00; — 6 months 65c. Special combinations are listed elsewhere in this issue.

#### NEW MILITANT

2 West 15th Street

New York, N. Y.

Comrades:

Please enter my name for [ ] one year, \$1.00; [ ] six months, 65c.

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State .....

### Illinois Confab Fights Threat To Stop Relief

3,000 Delegates Gather In Huge Four County I. W. A. Meeting

AUBURN, Ill., April 28.—Nearly three hundred visitors and delegates assembled at the Miners hall here Sunday, at a conference called by the four-county section of the Illinois Workers Alliance. Sangamon, Greene, Macoupin, Christian and Morgan counties were represented at the confab.

The conference laid plans to combat the threats of Gov. Horner to close down all the relief stations in the state. The Democratic machine in this state is maneuvering to force into line a stubborn legislature to pass a bill increasing the sales tax from 2c to 3c. The bill is being militantly fought by labor, liberal and unemployed groups from one end of the state to the other.

The conference went on record to stage a mass state march on the Capitol within seven days after Gov. Horner closed the relief stations. Committees were elected to cooperate with the state unemployed organization. The conference also went on record asking for the payment of rent or taxes, \$30 and 30-hour week on all relief work, etc. The conference also voted unanimously to endorse May Day as International Labor Day.

One of the features of the conference was a militant speech by Hugo Oehler, now organizing for the Illinois Workers Alliance in Illinois. Comrade Oehler received a great ovation from the audience and demands were made for him to tour the five counties. That evening he was called nearly a hundred miles north to deliver a speech at another mass conference of the unemployed at Galva, Ill.

The conference was presided over by its regular Chairman, Gerry Alford of the Progressive Miners. Tony Scremin, Kincaid Progressive miner, is secretary and Kenneth Shipley, an unemployed electrical worker, is vice-chairman of the four county conference of the Illinois Workers Alliance.

The conference decided to hold another conference at Auburn.

#### TOLEDO MILITANTS 'DISTURB' WASHINGTON A. F. L. LOBBY

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Toledo interrupted the peaceful proceedings of the A. F. of L. convalescence in Washington which would have preferred to lobby in the corridors of Congress for the demands of labor.

Fresh from the picket lines at General Motors and in the FERA strike, a delegation came to Washington where the declared purpose of the smug bureaucrats was to pass a few resolutions in support of the Wagner Bill, the Black-Cannery Bill and the Guffey Bill, appoint a lobbying committee and go home.

Met with the direct challenge of industry to President Roosevelt to abandon all legislation in any way sympathetic to labor, Bill Green could only regretfully look back on the past and declare: "Better ten thousand times that Congress had never given us Section 7a than that it should be used as an instrument of persecution of those who believed in it."

Matthew Woll reported for the sub-committee. Characteristically enough he spoke of the possibility of labor being "misled" by congress. It was noted at the gathering that Mr. Woll, of strikebreaking fame, forgot to mention the reaction of the workmen in factories and shops when they will find that their right to strike was crippled by the hamstringing provisions of the Wagner Bill.

In contrast to this glorified NRA sponsored by the labor skates, the Toledo delegation exploded its bombshell. Disgusted with this perpetuation of the National Run Around and sick of being at the back-door of congress, Oliver Yeager called for direct action. Molding the ever-growing sentiment of the workers in the country for bold steps, he demanded that the typewriter be playing around with the "typesetter" and get on the labor unions to "called on the picket line."

It was a strange speech for Union Square. Father Divine was not a Communist, he explained, but had agreed to join with his followers in a demonstration against war and Fascism. The banners carried by his demonstrators were more concerned with Father Divine than with current issues. Some of them read:

"Father Divine is God."  
"Father Divine is the lily of the valley."  
"Father Divine is the light of the world and the bright and shining star."  
"There is no space where Father Divine is not."  
"Over 20,000,000 people can't be wrong. Thank you, father."  
"17th Assembly District—God has truly come to earth, Father Divine."

### "Settle the Strike on the Picket Line, Not in Washington," Strikers Slogan

FLINT INVADED Jamesville, Atlanta Plants on Strike

1. Jim Roland, chairman of the Toledo Chevrolet strike committee, yesterday entered Flint with a flying squad of strikers in an effort to get support of strikers from that quarter. Arrested by the police at labor headquarters, the whole squad was immediately released on pressure from local labor bodies.

2. The Buick local in the Flint plant of General Motors notified the bosses that if their demands and those of the Toledo workers were not met, they would strike Monday morning.

3. The M. E. S. A., independent auto union in Detroit, announces no material from Toledo will be handled by its men while strike is going on.

4. A conference of the 23 auto locals of the A. F. of L. to take up joint strike action and their organization into an industrial union, as proposed by Jim Roland of Toledo, is being discussed for this coming Sunday.

5. A flying squad of Chevrolet strikers has set out for Muncie and Anderson, Indiana to take up contact with workers in G.M.C. plants there.

6. Louis Spivak, leader of workers in the Cleveland Fisher Body plants shut down several days ago, said the men there would not return to work until the Toledo strike was settled.

7. 2,300 Cincinnati G. M. workers remained solid in their sympathy strike called to aid the Toledo walk-out.

8. As we go to press, news reaches us that the Atlanta plants has voted for a walk-out.

### Heed the Call of Toledo!

By A. J. MUSTE

TOLEDO, April 30.—As this editorial is written on the eve of May Day in Toledo, the picketers march up and down on the line at the Chevrolet plant where not even a telephone operator is permitted to work. Every few minutes the telephone in our headquarters rings and a new and exciting report comes in from the rapidly extending battle-front: Norwood General Motors Plant Out One Hundred Per Cent. All Cleveland General Motors Plants Shut Down For Lack Of Transmissions. Flint Balks Plan To Take Toledo Work There. Will Take Strike Vote Tonight. The Mechanics Education Society Of America (independent union) Will Not Work On Scab Material.

Not since the Haymarket year of 1886 has there been a May Day as significant for the American labor movement as this May Day of 1935, marked by a strike which already involves 15,000 automobile workers, by the prospect of a general strike against at least one great automobile corporation, by the beginning of the show-down fight over the recognition of unionism in the basic industries of the U. S.

How does it happen that the workers of Toledo again act decisively and take their place in the vanguard of labor's battle? How explain the differences between the constant postponement of action in Detroit and in the steel centers, the "sell-out" of the strike of rubber workers in Akron before it got under way, and on the other hand the brilliant achievement of the Toledo workers in shutting down the key plant of General Motors and within one week bringing out over ten thousand G. M. workers in other centers with them? Such things do not come by accident.

On May Day 1934 the Auto-Lite strike in Toledo was dead on its feet because the officers of an infant Federal union passively submitted to an injunction and the leadership of the A. F. of L. could and would teach them no other course. By militant defiance of that injunction the Lucas County Unemployed League and the branch of the Workers Party of the U. S. cooperating with activists in the union revived the strike and paved the way for that night in May when ten thousand workers of Toledo stormed the Auto-Lite plant, drove the sheriff's deputies to cover, fought the militia. Thus a partial victory was wrung from defeat. In the succeeding months that victory was

(Continued on Page 4)

### FIGHT SPREADS

Local Votes Support for Daily Paper

Special to New Militant  
TOLEDO, Ohio, April 30.—Swift moving storm clouds of labor revolt are spreading darkly throughout the nation over the wide-flung domain of General Motors Corporation. Moving with a precision, speed and power seldom ever displayed in this country, the progressive and militant strike committee of the struck Toledo Chevrolet plant, headed by Jim Roland, brilliant and aggressive young strike leader, twice today landed lightning blows against the massive citadel of Sloan, Rascob, DuPont and Co. and forced the shut-down of the Hue Fisher body plant in Cleveland, Ohio, and the Chevrolet assembly and Fisher Body plants in Norwood, Ohio, suburb of Cincinnati.

Riding rough-shod over the stalling and cowardly policies of Bill Green and his official machine, the Toledo strikers, acting through their local strike committee, have already sent strike calls to all locals of the United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union in G. M. C. plants informing them of the 100 percent walk-out in Toledo and instructing them to take similar steps immediately. Swift moving strike action is expected to close plants in Flint, Mich., St. Louis, Kansas City, Jamesville, Wis., Tarrytown, N. Y., Baltimore, Buffalo, Oakland and many other towns shortly. A general auto strike, without sanction of Bill Green, is in the making.

Flint Takes Strike Vote  
As this is being written, a strike vote is being taken at the U.A.W.F. L.U., Buick local, in Flint. Representatives of this local conferred today with Toledo strike leaders and indicated that a walk-out is practically certain.

The management of the Cleveland Fisher Body plant forestalled impending strike action for propaganda purposes and shut down the entire factory. They denied this was a "lock-out," but due to lack of materials from the Toledo plant. Cleveland representatives of the auto union appeared this afternoon in Toledo and informed the strike committee that the Cleveland local is on strike until the Toledo strikers' demands are met and that they will not return to work even should the G.M.C. attempt to start up the plant again. Picket lines are being established and strike tactics similar to that now employed in Toledo will be used.

#### 1,700 Out in Norwood

The 100 percent walk-out in Norwood, Ohio came as a result of the personal appeal to the auto workers there made Sunday by Jim Roland and Bill Prior, experienced strike man and organizer of the first mass picket lines around the Toledo plant. In his appeal, Roland urged the Norwood workers to walk out first and then wait for Bill Green's approval. Bolstered by the example of the Toledo strikers, the Norwood workers took his advice, and 1,700 walked out this morning. The present total of strikers is about 13,000, with 9,000 in Cleveland and 2,300 in Toledo.

An extraordinary development in the strike is the resolution of the Toledo strikers, adopted last night, to call upon all General Motors employees to strike and to set up a national joint-action committee composed of representatives of all strike committees to act as a national negotiating committee for the entire strike. The resolution further urges that the contract demanded in Toledo, or one similar, be made the basis for the national demands and that an agreement be made that no settlement be made except on a national basis with no local to return to work until every local agrees to return.

#### Dillon Tries to Stem Tide

One serious menace to the health of the strike is the attempt of the A. F. of L., through its organizers T. N. Taylor and Francis Dillon, to seize the reins of the strike from the strikers themselves and their elected committees. Last Friday night Dillon spoke before a mass

(Continued on Page 2)

### Claherty Hits at Akron Rebels

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, O., May 1.—The betrayal of the rubber workers by the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy had three significant results this week which are continuing the demoralization that set in after the sell-out agreement was foisted recently on the big three locals here.

1. The India Tire Co., which has a closed shop of the A. F. of L. union, locked out two hundred workers employed there when the union made wage demands last Saturday, thus continuing the capitalist offensive against organized labor in the tire industry.

2. Coleman C. Claherty, A. F. of L. rubber organizer, who acted with William Green to railroad the agreement on the rubber workers, began a terrific red scare in the locals in an effort to intimidate progressives who are trying to organize definitely against him.

3. Less than ten percent of the workers in the Goodyear union appeared at the Sunday meeting in deploring how the workers are falling away from the union because of their disappointment.

"India Tire" Workers Fight Back  
The India rubber workers have set up strong picket lines around the factory aided by the Mogadore Unemployed League and have refused to permit even company officials to enter the plant.

Although normally 400 workers are employed at the plant, seasonal decline in the industry reduced the personal to half that number.

Following an article in the Summit county Labor News by Sherman H. Dalrymple, Goodrich local president, charging the Communists with being "disrupters," etc., Claherty has appeared at the local meetings and threatened expulsion to every "red" discovered.

The attack and red scare obviously are to divert the attention of the rubber workers from the sell-out and swing the resentment of the workers from Claherty to the progressives when they begin attacking him openly.

### 65 Killed as Filipinos Rise

Wall St. Oppression Is at Bottom of New Revolt

The first audible signs of revolt against the new fake "independence" granted the Philippines by U. S. imperialism weeked around the world this week as 65 Filipino fighters fell in an insurrection led by the Sakdalista party. The casualties resulted from battles fought by Sakdalistas and constabulary detachments at Cabuyao and Santa Rosa in Laguna Province while other clashes occurred in outlying areas of Luzon Island. Manila, the capital, was cut off from the interior for several hours.

The Sakdalistas have been carrying on an active campaign against the "Commonwealth Constitution" which is to be subjected to a plebiscite on May 14. This party of radical agrarian anti-imperialist orientation has considerable following in a number of provinces and had three representatives elected to the Philippine Legislature in last year's elections.

The Philippine revolt follows close on the heels of the intensive agitation around the issue of independence or statehood for Puerto Rico, and is another indication of the extremely precarious internal situation prevailing in Wall Street's colonial possessions, due to the effect of the Cuban revolution on the Spanish speaking colonial countries as well as to the economic situation prevailing in the colonies themselves, where the crisis has penetrated to still greater depths than in the United States proper.

MEXICO CITY (FP).—About 800 striking miners, members of the Mining and Metallurgical Workers Union of Mexico, have decided to start on a hunger march from the state of Jalisco to Mexico City to bring their case to the attention of Pres. Lazaro Cardenas.

The strikers have been out since Feb. 8, when the Amparo Mining Co. and Piedra Bola, Inc. refused to sign collective contracts and adjust wages and working conditions.

### Public Backs Omaha Strike

By PAT MURPHY

OMAHA, April 27.—The strike of some 400 employees of the Omaha and Council Bluffs Street Railway Company, seeking higher wages and a closed shop, entered its 8th day at 4 A.M. today. Striking employees continued to picket car barns in Omaha and Council Bluffs.

In Omaha they have put a few cars in operation. These cars have heavy protection screens covering the entire car. From four to eight police ride each car, also a squad car follows each tram. Every means is taken to intimidate the strikers and encourage the people to ride the trams. But the citizens as a whole are very indignant and refuse to ride.

The sheriff of Omaha has mobilized all available material to act as strike breakers. The company has apparently run out of local men, and they have resorted to importing men who have been discharged from the service here in the past. Some of these were dismissed for serious offense. The Central Labor Union is going to protest Monday morning to the city council about the sheriff hiring, for scab work, former city employees who are now on pension.

The car barns are surrounded by police and armed sluggers. In Council Bluffs not a tram moves. Public sentiment is all with the strikers. And the strikers are determined to win. We talked to one striker who had 21 years service and in case of disability would be eligible for a pension of \$21.00 a month. He said, "We are fighting for our very existence. If we lose, then it looks like we will have to go on relief, but the morale of our men is holding strong. We are out to win."

NEW YORK (FP).—Unemployed workers in March 1935 numbered 9,700,000, according to the employers' National Industrial Conference Board. This is a decrease of 125,000, or 1.3 percent from the preceding month, but an increase of 369,000, or 3.9 percent, over March 1934.



Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Wisdom in Washington . . .

The New Deal is "delicate social surgery," a "third economy somewhere between Individualism and Socialism," declares Professor Tugwell to a New York group of teachers. . . . As a result of acquiring thousands of farms through mortgage foreclosures, the Metropolitan Insurance Company is the farmer who benefits most from AAA crop restriction. . . .

America the Beautiful . . .

Bayonets glistened, bands blared patriotic airs and six army planes whirled over the City of Brotherly Love as 10,000 soldiers marched in observance of Americanization Day. . . . The 103rd Field Artillery, the City Police and State Troopers were in the line. . . . (6,261 people were arrested for panhandling on the streets of New York last year.) . . .

The State of the Nation . . .

The barred picture "Black Fury" was banned from Chicago because the strike scenes might "give people ideas." . . . Ten St. Louis PWA workers were seriously burned when gas ignited in a sewer in which they were working. . . .

State of the World . . .

Sir Herbert Lawrence, chairman of Vickers, Ltd., munition-makers, states: "Orders on hand are satisfactory," as he announces an increase of 23% in the number of workers employed. . . . Led by prelates in red and purple, 50,000 pilgrims prayed for peace for three days and nights in the famous Lourdes Grotto. . . .

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT

St. Louis Gas Workers Stand Firm in Strike

Second Month of Fight Finds Picket Line Solid

ST. LOUIS.—It is now more than a month since the Gas House workers went on strike. Demanding as one of their major demands the closed shop they are determined to stay out until that and all other demands are granted.

"Among the things that have contributed to the successful carrying on of the strike," we quote from one of the issues of the Daily Strike Bulletin, "are: 1. The solidarity of the strikers themselves and the spirit of the rank and file. . . . Not a single union man has gone back to work since the beginning of the strike. . . .

The distribution of gas is being seriously hampered. Water has seeped into the gas mains to the extent that the gas supply is cut off in many parts of the city. . . .

One of the most heartening features of the strike to date was the resolution of the St. Louis Central Trades Council in not permitting the union pipe trades to be utilized by the company and thereby presenting to the public the spectacle of one set of union men scabbing on another. . . .

The Gas Company is fighting a losing battle, says the Gas House Worker, the Daily Strike Bulletin, in one of its issues. "It has tried to carry on its business by employing scabs. It has employed thugs to terrorize the strikers. . . .

'Settle the Strike on Picket Line Not in Washington,' Say Strikers

(Continued from Page 1)

meeting of the strikers here and with his usual class-collaboration line spoke in glowing terms of the vice-president of G.M.C., William S. Knudsen, declared that Francis Perkins and President Roosevelt were "behind labor," that the members of the Auto Labor Board had merely "tricked and betrayed" Roosevelt, and termed the strike an "action," "protest" and "misunderstanding on both sides."

Knudsen returned Dillon's compliment by a blast in the next morning's paper calling the strike an "arbitrary and lawless act," charging that the strike committee was acting against the wishes of the workers, and asserting flatly that the G.M.C. would sign no contract with the union nor even meet with a union committee "until the men returned to work."

Despite Dillon's attempt to influence the strikers by his misleading statements to rest their case with the government, the strike committee and the strikers are insisting on nothing short of genuine union recognition, a signed contract and direct negotiations with the company. . . .

Tries to Divide Workers

T. N. Taylor, Green puppet and machine-man, has been here for the past week trying to usurp the leadership of the strike and localize it. He had been in Toledo previously for five months attempting to divide the solid and powerful union here into many different locals in each plant, the divisive and ruinous craft policy of the old-line A. F. of L. bosses. . . .

The local press, always anxious to select labor leaders for the workers whom the employers can

Capitol News Letter

The Meaning of the Wagner Bill — A Noose for Labor

By JACK ELDER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Senate Committee on Education and Labor has just concluded its prolonged series of hearings on S. 1958: Wagner bill to "outlaw" company unions. . . .

First, the bill as written is an invitation to the A. F. of L. to entangle itself more thoroughly than ever before in the complex arbitral machinery for which Section 7a is responsible. . . .

Second, although the bill as written is prima facie innocuous, it is likely to be deadly poison to the right to strike before the Senate Committee gets through rewriting it. . . .

Third, the Labor Relations Bill (in its present form) is not an Administration measure. . . . Suppose, however, that the Senate Committee reports the bill out without rewriting it substantially. . . .

Suppose, however, that the Senate Committee reports the bill out without rewriting it substantially. . . . What of it? What the bill does is to create the equivalent, for "unfair labor practices," of the Federal Trade Commission for "unfair trade" practices. . . .

The Workers Party in Toledo and Detroit held mass meetings Sunday and Monday nights respectively, addressed by A. J. Muste. . . .

Despite the efforts of the capitalist press in Detroit and other auto centers to keep news of the Toledo strike from its pages, word is spreading rapidly. . . .

Strikers Demand Strike Paper

"Strike Truth," the official bulletin of the Chevrolet strike committee, was temporarily suspended after the first edition due to the pressure exerted by Dillon, Taylor, Schwake and Co. on certain inexperienced members of the strike committee by spreading rumors that it was "communistic," etc. . . .

Rousing applause at the mass meeting tonight greeted the telegram from the Workers Party in New York that its members were picketing the G.M.C. office building in New York. . . .

A further call is expected to be sent throughout the country to all other G.M.C. locals for a nationwide conference of representatives of all strike committees and groups planning strike to be held as quickly as possible in Toledo.

Trade Commission throughout its history has been a notorious paralytic, incapable of getting its orders enforced by the courts. There is no reason to suppose that the National Labor Relations Board would be anything more than a like paralytic, except where hamstringing of labor is concerned.

Those who get enthusiastic about the Labor Relations Bill forget that, in the last analysis, all the orders of the Board would be "enforceable and reviewable" by the federal courts. . . .

The official Administration attitude on collective bargaining is revealed by the present draft of the measure to renew the National Industrial Recovery Act for two years more. . . .

ECONOMIC SECURITY . . .

Meanwhile, the whole ambitious program for guaranteeing "economic security" (for which the workers of course are expected to pay) has come to a standstill. . . .

The Workers Party in Toledo and Detroit held mass meetings Sunday and Monday nights respectively, addressed by A. J. Muste. . . .

So far, the predictions of the New Militant are coming true. It appears that Toledo and the Chevrolet strike will indeed be the spark for the 1935 national strike wave.

So far, the predictions of the New Militant are coming true. It appears that Toledo and the Chevrolet strike will indeed be the spark for the 1935 national strike wave. . . .

LANG—HEARSTIAN SOCIALIST

The latest exhibition of one of the Forward gang, a leader among the Old Guard of the Socialist Party is enough to make any worker in or outside of the Socialist ranks turn sick with disgust. . . .

This hysterical yapping at the feet of our readers forbids us to quote at length from these atrocity stories. Just a scanning of the heads and sub-heads should give one an inkling as to the tripe Mr. Lang is dispensing with the good wishes of his editors, Abraham Cahan and Will Randolph Hearst. . . .

The national committee of the Socialist Party has issued a statement criticizing Lang and disclaiming responsibility for the articles. The "Militants" have called for Lan's expulsion from the party. . . .

Miners Honor Slain Fighter In Mass Funeral

Swarm into Springfield to Protest Mabie Murder

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Five thousand pickets, members of the Progressive Miners union, retreated from this city after they had failed to stop the Woodside mine of the Peabody Coal Co. from operating. . . .

Hundreds of miners came from as far south as Saline and Franklin county to join the picket army. . . . Mabie was employed in one of the Progressive mines. He was the father of five children. . . .

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (FP).—

Ten hours a day in the cotton-chopping season, instead of 14 and 16, are demanded by the Share Croppers Union of Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi.

The Workers Party in Toledo and Detroit held mass meetings Sunday and Monday nights respectively, addressed by A. J. Muste. . . .

The Workers Party in Toledo and Detroit held mass meetings Sunday and Monday nights respectively, addressed by A. J. Muste. . . .

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

The fight at the Colt's Patent Firearms Company of Hartford, Conn. is one of the most significant labor battles that have come up the pike in some time. . . .

The issue is the basic one of union recognition. Months of negotiations left the union just as much in the soup as ever. . . .

A particularly interesting angle to the Colt strike is the revealing picture it paints of the NRA swindle. Most of Colt's business is with the government and if Uncle Sam were to withdraw its orders, the company would be in a bad way. . . .

Weakness . . .

The strike is a militant one and the labor movement seems remarkably well united behind it. . . .

There are four unions in the Colt plant which are conducting the strike jointly. Two of them are Federal Labor Unions which take in the mass of the workers. . . .

Shoe Workers . . .

One union of the shoe workers. It has been the goal of all intelligent unionists in the industry for

EMPLOYMENT GAINS LESS

WASHINGTON (FP).—Employment gains this spring have been less than those of last year and are "so slight as to be of little consequence in putting the unemployed to work," says Pres. Wm. Green of the American Federation of Labor, reporting the Federation's latest job statistics May 1.

"Only 123,000 persons went back to their jobs from February to March while the number still out of work approached 11,500,000," he reports. "In April trade union reports for the first part of the month show a decrease in unemployment affecting only five-tenths of one percent of the membership." . . .

WORKERS

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

1884-1935

Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose: to render protection to members and their families. . . .

About 50,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserves \$3,400,000.

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

Monthly assessments from 45c to \$2.20.

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

Greetings TO THE New Militant FROM

Harlem Branch Workers Party of the U.S.

FROM

Flatbush Branch Greetings

THE New Militant AND Workers Party of the U.S.

Flatbush Branch Greetings

THE New Militant AND Workers Party of the U.S.

THE New Militant AND Workers Party of the U.S.

THE New Militant AND Workers Party of the U.S.

THE New Militant AND Workers Party of the U.S.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D. DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D. 5 Washington Square North

1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays



MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

The Road to Power . . .

In the current issue of the New Leader appears an article by the Menshevik, Abramowitsch, on "Socialism on the Road to Power." Here reformist socialism once more lifts its head and tries to create the impression that it may revive and come to life. Two currents in the rapidly moving world scene create the illusion among those like Abramowitsch, cast on the rubbish heap of history, that it is yet possible for them to come into their own. The first is the assumption of office in the so-called "democratic" countries by labor parties. Thus "labor" governments have come into power in the three Scandinavian countries; the labor party enters the national concentration government in Belgium; and finally in England events foreshadow a new Labor Party government. True, says Abramowitsch, the governments do not have a majority in parliament and hence "do not place before themselves the task of immediate realization of Socialism." Their immediate task is to supply "correctives" for capitalism. Such reforms can no longer be carried out by capitalism itself. The job of salvaging capitalism must be performed by the proletariat "through the instrumentalities of its own parties" and it is in this sense that these parties must take "power"; that is, take over responsibility for the bourgeois government and the bourgeois, not the Socialist, system of society!

The Betrayals . . .

Abramowitsch knows quite well the specific weight of the Scandinavian countries as against Germany. He recognizes in passing the "severe blow" dealt to international Socialism by the victory of Hitler. But he dare not stop to analyze the lessons of that blow, nor to apportion the responsibility for the frightful defeat of the German workers organized in the strongest Social Democratic party in the world. He is consoled by the misery to which the masses have been driven by the crisis. "The crisis now shaking the edifice of capitalism to its very foundation, emphasizing more clearly than ever the bankruptcy of capitalism, has compensated to a considerable degree the defeat suffered by Socialism in Central Europe." The reformist and parliamentary cretins, misleading the workers and preventing their taking power, thereby forcing them to undergo the wretchedness and suffering of a decaying capitalist system, feel compensated "this very misery! And when the Abramowitsches see signs of a recrudescence of the class struggle, they propose to play the game once more as in Germany, as though Hitler did not exist, as though the working class had learned nothing from its experience. "This process of recovery is taking place in countries where democracy is firmly in power, and on a platform of reformism and coalition with demo-

cratic-bourgeois parties." In short, he approves of the very process which creates illusions among the workers, which lulls them into passivity and disarms them at the very moment when fascism is making its bid for power (and not with votes!) in every country in Europe. The approaching imperialist war threatens the workers and all their democratic rights, gained through years of struggle and at untold sacrifice. Abramowitsch gives lip service to the fact that only the forces of Socialism can prevent war. And then this social chauvinist adds, in preparation for the actuality: "And only the working class, as the basic power upon which modern industry rests, can help win a war should it be impossible to avert it. Thus do the reformists guarantee their next betrayal in advance, guarantee national defense to uphold the capitalist system. . . ."

Abramowitsch . . .

The second current that gives courage to the Mensheviks is the trend of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. "The complete swing to the right, the concessions made to the peasants, the blow dealt to the real Marxists have gained the applause of the Mensheviks. Abramowitsch encourages this trend and wants to see it go even further. After stating that the problem of power in Russia has not been solved, despite appearances, he asks for more concessions and greater steps to the right. "The democratization of the Soviet regime, conciliation (through compromise based upon abandonment of Utopianism) with the basic forces of the peasantry (read kulaks) and the proletariat (read the upper strata) is the immediate task in the problem of the road to power in Russia." A reconciliation with the Mensheviks is guardedly proposed. This would strengthen "the revolutionary government" as well as the Socialist proletariat of Europe. The whole tenor of the remarks on the Soviet Union is to soften the struggle against Stalin, to ask further moves to the right from the bureaucracy, and on this basis to promise to "defend the Soviet Union." Such defense of the Soviet Union as would be made by the Mensheviks would mean the end of the Soviets. The founders of the Soviets, Lenin and Trotsky, were convinced that the October Revolution would not survive without the support of a proletarian revolution in the West. Stalinism is the living proof of the degeneration of the October Revolution, its downgrading, without that support. The failure to give that support, the defeat of the proletarian revolution in the West, can be laid at the door of the reformist socialists. By continuing their historic role, they propose to end the last vestiges of October. It still remains true that only a revolution in one of the advanced countries can save the October Soviet Revolution. But that is the task, not of the Second or Third, but of the Fourth International.

In the Service of His Majesty

By H. ST.

COPENHAGEN.—It was not of its own initiative nor by means of class struggle action that the Norwegian Labor Party came to power. The farmers' party withdrew support from the Mowinckel government and all of a sudden the Labor Party found that power had fallen right into its lap. But what sort of power was it? That is the point to be examined.

"The present government has no majority in this hall, but it is nevertheless a parliamentary government and will naturally consider it its duty, in this question as in all others, to carry out the will of the Storting as long as it holds its place."

Voting the King's Stipend

Here are a few examples of the government policy as it works out in practice. The former Mowinckel government had already worked out the budget. Now the Labor government takes over this same budget—with several insignificant changes in the form of concessions to the farmers' party—that is, it now votes for most of the items in the budget which it previously voted against. Truly, a grotesque situation. In monarchies it is the custom to deal first with the king's stipend. While the Labor party used to move every year in the past for a reduction of the king's stipend, this year the whole Storting fraction of the N.A.P. (Norv. Arbeider Partiet) voted to a man for the originally proposed 900,000 Kroner. In the same manner, it unanimously approved the budget for the state police which it had opposed even in the budget commission. The state police, formerly nicknamed the "white guard" by the Labor Party, made itself particularly hateful to the Norwegian workers by its murderous assault on the striking forest workers in 1927. Today the Labor Party is assuming the duty of maintaining the "white guard" in existence. Just to show that we haven't lost our sense of humor, we want to quote from the editorial in the Arbeiterbladet by the real leader of the N.A.P., Traumael, in which he defends this policy: "The royal stipend was established by contract before he (the king) came here. He wanted to be assured of a regular salary which we would be legally responsible for. When the Labor Party voted for a smaller salary on previous occasions, it did not do so at any time as a demonstration against the king—because there is no cause for that—but against the maneuvers of Christian Michelson, Wedel Jarlsberg and the other bourgeois politicians carried on in 1905 (1). This demonstration had its uses. It underscored our views of all the events that took place in the summer of 1905. But there are no grounds for continuing it now, that is why we have given up this demonstration. But it is self-evident that the party has in no way given up its basic republican principles."

Norwegian Labor Party Enters Cabinet Under Domination of Ruling Class

As for the state police, the editorial writer assures us it will only be utilized to regulate intoxication and traffic. And therefore everything is in the best of order. That is how the republican revolutionary Labor party behaves the moment power falls into its lap. It does not even occur to it that a king can be deposed. The only thing they have against the bourgeoisie is that it did not procure a cheaper king for the Norwegians after the dissolution of the royal Swedish-Norwegian union.

But what should the Norwegian government do? In order to guard ourselves against the accusation of being negative in our criticism and of wanting to transplant the Russian revolution schematically to Norway, we wish to make the following remarks: In the first place, it was the duty of the Labor Party after its electoral victory in 1933, to force its way into the government through extra-parliamentary struggle and not to wait until the parliamentary constellation would throw it into its lap.

Importance of Trades Unions

The trades unions are 200,000 members strong; Norway has a population of 2,800,000. If we add to the trades union members their families, they represent almost a third of the nation—its laboring, understood. March 25th Pravda, referring to the Trotskyists and the nobles who "acted in concert," uses a much more exact formula: they worked, it states, "according to the instructions of foreign information bureaus." Thus, in the span of five days, these miserable falsifiers permit us to see with the naked eye the beginning and the end of the new intrigue, which assuredly is not the last.

Only consummate idiots could think that Pravda has merely shown an excess of polemical zeal against the "Trotskyists," by adding lies and calumnies which are superfluous in the account. No, Pravda is not 'Humanite'. Behind Pravda is the G.P.U. The editors of the Pravda do not write what ever comes into their head; they act on instructions from specific institutions. The March 25th article is direct evidence that in five days it was decided to prepare new bloody repressions against the oppositionist and since there was no convenient terrorist act at hand, Pravda was instructed to link this newest extermination of Bolsheviki to the measures taken against the old proprietors, nobles and police officers.

We speak of new repressions: have they already taken place or do they merely threaten? We do not know that. It is highly possible that the cowardly article in the March 25 Pravda might be, after a fashion, an anonymous obituary for Leninists who have already been shot; it is also possible, that this is only a preparation for bloody repressions. In any case, it is clear that Stalin is repairing the setback of the Leningrad G.P.U.: the amalgam with the Lettish consul missed fire—so he substitutes for it an amalgam with nobles and

But five days later, in Pravda of March 25, we already find a new version; on the question of the arrests and deportations, it says the following, word for word: "The foul dogs of the Trotskyists, the old princes, counts, gendarmes, all this refuse, which acted in concert in an attempt to undermine the foundations of our state." Thus, among the 1,074 people exiled and indicted, and at their head were to be found "Trotskyists and Zinovievists" who acted "in concert" with the former ministers and Czarist police officers. But why then were the group of Trotskyists and Zinovievists completely omitted from the official report of March 20, which gave a precise enumeration of all those expelled and indicted? It is absolutely clear: the laboratory of amalgams had discovered this belatedly and it carried a "correction" to the official information several days later: the former police agents, they aver, acted in concert with the Trotskyists and Zinovievists, which they had forgotten, God knows why, five days earlier.

Besides this unexpected "correction," they carry another not unimportant qualification, concerning the scope of the crime. The March 20 report says that the nobles and the police officers acted in the "interest (?) of foreign nations." The vagueness of this formula is self-evident. We have too close at heart the cause of the international working class and its need for the Fourth International to permit any trifling, or to lend our name and prestige as a cover for elements who attack the aims and policies of these groups who are the outstanding proponents of the Fourth International.

For the Fourth International. For a new revolutionary Youth International.

understood. March 25th Pravda, referring to the Trotskyists and the nobles who "acted in concert," uses a much more exact formula: they worked, it states, "according to the instructions of foreign information bureaus." Thus, in the span of five days, these miserable falsifiers permit us to see with the naked eye the beginning and the end of the new intrigue, which assuredly is not the last.

Only consummate idiots could think that Pravda has merely shown an excess of polemical zeal against the "Trotskyists," by adding lies and calumnies which are superfluous in the account. No, Pravda is not 'Humanite'. Behind Pravda is the G.P.U. The editors of the Pravda do not write what ever comes into their head; they act on instructions from specific institutions. The March 25th article is direct evidence that in five days it was decided to prepare new bloody repressions against the oppositionist and since there was no convenient terrorist act at hand, Pravda was instructed to link this newest extermination of Bolsheviki to the measures taken against the old proprietors, nobles and police officers.

Pouring Salt on the Wounds of China's Oppressed Masses

SHANGHAI.—Almost exactly 8 years ago Stalin's "bloc of four classes" led the workers of Shanghai, on the morrow of their victorious insurrection, under the broad swords of Chiang Kai-shek's executioners. Chief of the murderous squads which patrolled the streets with their heavy blades and Mausers were Yang Hu, later rewarded with the command of the Shanghai garrison. Chief organizers of the attack on the workers during the night of April 12 were Hwang Ching-yung and Tu Yueh-sen, notorious uncrowned kings of the Shanghai gang world. Since then these three men have assumed direct responsibility for the frightful white terror waged against workers and all revolutionaries in the Shanghai area.

Last month another one of those mirthless ironies which have accompanied the theory of socialism in one country completed a new point in China's Stalin cycle. Yang Hu, Hwang hing-pung and Tu Yueh-sen were received on February 16 at the local Soviet Consulate General by scraping, smirking Soviet officials. Together with a cohort of notorious henchmen of Chiang Kai-shek, they took their places at the luncheon table, honored guests of the consular representative of the proletarian fatherland.

Banquet for Concubine And the occasion? Perhaps it was another one of those affairs, like Radek's love feast with Pileudski, justified by "Friends of the Soviet Union" on grounds of "high policy" and "diplomatic necessity"? No, it was a farewell luncheon to

Mei Lan-fang, exponent of China's cob-web-ridden feudal dramatic art and darling protégé of the most reactionary cliques in the country, who together with "Butterfly" Wu, former mistress of Chang Hsueh-llang, movie star and one of the most decadent and hideous ornaments of Chinese bourgeois society, had been specially invited to Moscow by Stalin's Government. Stalin even sent a ship down from Vladivostok to hasten them on their way. (Not long ago one of the founders and best fighters of the Communist Party of a certain colonial country was forced to flee, made his way to Shanghai and invoked the aid of the Soviet consulate for passage on one of the Soviet steamers to Vladivostok. His identification was unimpeachable and his plight desperate. But the Soviet officials threw him out to the mercies of the police-infested streets. All efforts by local Communist friends to get him aboard a Soviet steamer were frustrated because, prithce, he lacked a passport in proper order! But Stalin can send a whole steamer for Chang Hsueh-llang's wife!)

Irony of Fate The Chinese Communist Party was relieved of the necessity of explaining this nauseating performance to the workers of Shanghai for it no longer has access to even the smallest section of the Shanghai proletariat. Perhaps the remains of the Stalinist apparatus was able to broadcast the happy news to the peasant armies, fighting desperately for their lives against pursuing Kuomintang forces in West China! How the peasant leaders would have been delighted with this new testimony to the

its productive section. Therefore, in order to create a counter weight to the reactionary majority in parliament, the government ought to first of all, call a permanent trades union congress into session. In the small towns and villages, the farmers and fishermen should then be called upon to elect their delegates to this trades union congress.

In this manner direct, popular representation could be created to express the will of the overwhelming majority of the Norwegian people. To this congress, the government could then propose the following measures: the nationalization of the banks, the introduction of workers control of production, aiming toward the independent administration of the factories by the workers, the confiscation of the landed estates, the introduction of a radically graduated property and income tax, the liberation of the small farmers from their mortgage and debt burdens, the organization of immediate relief measures for the needy fishermen, etc., etc.

There can be no doubt that under the influence of the radical trades union section, such a "Workers, Farmers and Fishermen's Congress" would support the government measures. After that, these measures could be laid before the Storting. Should they meet with rejection by this body, the Storting could be dissolved with the full support of the workers' congress. If the king opposed this policy—as most likely he would—the government could confidently proceed to depose the king. The responsibility for the use of arms could be placed squarely upon the shoulders of the opposition. Internationally, the difficulties of the situation would be more than offset by the enthusiasm that Socialist measures in Norway would arouse in the other Scandinavian countries and in the rest of Europe.

But these miserable "revolutionists" of the N.A.P. cannot and will not recognize this sure road to the proletarian revolution in Scandinavia. Dissatisfaction in the party ranks and among the workers is growing constantly. But there is no group to give this revolutionary unrest expression, to raise its voice for the revolutionary way out. That increases the danger that dissatisfaction may turn into mistrust for the labor movement as such and thus pave the way for Fascist agitation. The need for a revolutionary group in Norway is of a transcendent importance.

(Unless we are greatly mistaken, the N.A.P. is still in close alliance with the "revolutionary" I.L.P., the S.A.P. and the so-called London-Amsterdam Bureau. Some of these people will probably remember how they forsook a firm course towards the Fourth International in order to be with a mass party like the N.A.P. Did they reckon the king into the bargain also?)

police officers. The technique is different, the aim the same. The next days and weeks may bring us concrete information of those against whom the Stalinist frame-up was directed this time. But, if the number of new victims is to be reduced to a minimum, it is necessary to begin a campaign to expose a new amalgam and its authors. March 31, 1935

Quoted from the Opposition Bulletin (Bolshevik-Leninists).

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

F. H. NEW CASTLE— Question: Is not the economy of fascism, as well as that of the Soviet Union, planned, i.e., are not the capitalists, forced to surrender their wealth to the government which operates it for all society, so that the economy is neither capitalist nor socialist? Does not the "New Deal," in tending towards this, lead to a planned economy?

Answer: Capitalist production is commodity production, i.e., the production of things for exchange (or sale), so long as capitalism exists, so must the latter. The essence of this form of production is competition and the creation of goods for an unknown market. If competition did not exist between buyers and sellers, one with the other, there would be no way of arriving at prices, and the whole basis for capitalism would collapse.

A planned economy, however, can be conceived only if competition between the producers is eliminated and production organized by a central management, which knows the ultimate destination of all goods produced and has the power of controlling the amount of products to be made and the manner in which they are to be distributed. This, however would no longer be capitalism. It is true that monopoly does away, at least partly, with competition within certain industries, but this only aggravates it by raising the struggle between small industries to a contest between giants.

Under capitalism, therefore, and this applies to the "New Deal," planned economy is impossible so that the touchstone to the problem is this: In order to plan economy, capitalism must be abolished. As even a superficial examination shows, fascism does not stand between capitalist and socialist society, but IS capitalist society, so that a planned economy is excluded. The stock market remains, wage labor remains; the banks, factories, etc. all are in the hands of finance-capital, as in bourgeois-democratic society. What appears here as "planning" consists in the fact that the state power, which, in class society, is always the agent of the class which owns the means of production, not only consistently suppresses and maintains in an amorphous state all organizations which might be used against it, particularly those of the working class (trade unions, political parties, etc.), but also directly suppresses those smaller capitalist competitors who are ruined under bourgeois democracy by more indirect methods, (e.g., lower prices, depriving of credits, raw materials, etc.). On the surface, therefore, it may appear that the capitalists are also being regulated and as though the government is being operated in the interests of "society," whereas the suppression is, in reality, carried out in the interests of a numerical small financial oligarchy which manages to keep its existence and identity successfully in the background.

The only social form, standing between capitalism and socialism, is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the form of state power in the Soviet Union, and only in that country is planned economy, made realizable by the expropriation of the capitalists and landlords, possible. This statement must be qualified because a COMPLETELY planned economy can be achieved only in a SOCIALIST society. The political conditions exist in the Soviet Union for organizing production along Socialist lines, but the economy of that country and the world are inseparably linked, so that the planning, subject to the unknown fluctuations and crises of the capitalist world, is necessarily limited. Humanity will know a completely planned economy, free of unknown social upsets only if and when the international Socialist society will become a historical fact.

"Strength of the Soviet Union!" Just as delighted as they must be when they contemplate the fact that the commander of the forces directly harassing them in Northern Kwelchow is none other than Hsueh Yoh, the Kuomintang officer who in April 1927 was sufficiently under the influence of his pro-Communist troops to offer his forces to the C. P. Central Committee to oppose the impending coup of Chiang Kai-shek. But under the orders of the Stalinized Comintern, the C. P. rejected his offer for fear of "provoking" Chiang! More mirthless irony still!

Nothing can cover the ugly nakedness of this latest proof of the cynical contempt in which Stalin's representatives regard the deepest sensibilities of the workers of other countries. But let Stalin entertain the butchers of the workers and let the Chinese Stalinists drink the bitter draught and keep silent. The Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists have their own work to do! —LO SEN

AKRON NOTICE New Militants and New Internationals can be purchased at: NEWS EXCHANGE 29 So. Main Street, Akron CONFEDERATION STORE 1 West Market Street, Akron

S. Y. L. Flays Youth Buro Rep. for Stand at Paris Meet

(Ed. Note.—We have been requested by the National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League to publish the following open letter.)

April 19, 1935 To the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations, Stockholm. Comrades:

The Spartacus Youth League of America, youth section of the Workers Party of the United States, despite the handicap of distance, follows with keen interest the development abroad of the movement for the building of the Fourth International. It was with the sole desire of participating actively on the international field in every way possible that offered a means to further this most important work of time, that our organization adhered to the Stockholm Bureau, the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations. In order to keep our members actively informed on international questions and the work of the Bureau we have published and will continue to publish, the bulletin of the International Bureau in the English language. We have taken it upon ourselves to supply all English speaking countries with the bulletin (England, Australia, Canada, etc.). For the purpose of independently participating in all decisions of the Bureau we established regular connections through communications. Our attitude toward the Bureau and all that we have done in connection with it was predicated upon the real usefulness of the Bureau in helping to pave the road to the Fourth International, the necessary instrumentality for guiding the world proletariat to victory against reactionary capitalism. Having taken these great steps forward it is not hard to imagine our feelings when we learn that at the recent Paris conference of the

International Labor Alliance, the representative of the Stockholm Bureau—our representative also—found it possible to utilize this occasion to attack vigorously and solely those representatives who were defending the need of the Fourth International. Our Dutch comrades Sneevliet and Schmidt were the most authoritative and outstanding spokesmen for the new International. The attack made on them was not personal but rather, in our view, a calculated blow at the ideas of the new Fourth International.

The fact that the representative of the Stockholm youth bureau was compelled by discipline to vote for the resolution in favor of the new International places the matter in no better light. An attack on the upholders of the need of a Fourth International, from those within its ranks, is an act of treachery and is not to be tolerated for one moment. As the representative of the Youth Bureau, his attack upon the upholders of the idea of the new International (Sneevliet and Schmidt) is interpreted as the official position of the Bureau and of all the Youth organizations affiliated to it. We wish to state that we disassociate ourselves from and condemn most emphatically the intolerable conduct of the representative of our Bureau at the Paris conference. We further demand that there be no repetition of this act. We record this fact publicly so that there be no question of our position.

How does it happen that the Stockholm Bureau, founded for the purpose of aiding the movement for the Fourth International, by gathering together the Youth forces of the world to ultimately organize the youth section of this Fourth International, could nevertheless send as its spokesman to Paris one who demonstrates in actuality such hostility to these basic ideas? To us the only explanation lies in the

constitution of the Secretariat. We here are under the impression that back of the Paris incident lies a completely false relationship of forces in the secretariat: a combination of S.A.P. and Swedish youth leaders against the so-called "Trotskyites" who are faithful proponents of the Fourth International. We could have little to say if this representation reflected accurately the relationship of forces of the youth organizations constituting our Bureau. But that is far from the case. When we consider the real youth forces at the present time we think at once, in addition to those already represented on the bureau, of the youth section of the newly formed Dutch party (out of the fusion of the O.S.P. with the R.S.P.); of the French youth forming a part of the Bolshevik-Leninist fraction in the S.F.I.O. which exerts wide influence in the Federation of the Seine; of the Belgian Youth with deep roots in the J.G.S. Nor do we fail to add to these our own organization (the Spartacus Youth League of America) whose influence and strength continues to grow daily as indicated by the success of our numerous projects and by the fact that the membership of the organization has been far more than doubled in the past three months.

It is our decided opinion that the Bureau, if it is to mean anything, if it is to continue to serve as an apparatus for the Fourth International, must be immediately reorganized to take account of these influential sections. Accordingly we demand the immediate addition of two members to the secretariat; namely, a representative from the Dutch organization and one from the French. The new secretariat of five, we further demand, must be permitted to select its own residence and its own staff. Naturally we demand at the same time, as being constituted likewise on a false basis, the liquidation of the at present useless sub-bureau at Paris.

We request that an answer be given at once to our demands. What further steps we shall take depends entirely on your reply. The situation is at present utterly intolerable.



NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT. Published weekly by the Workers Party of the U.S. 2 West 15th Street, New York City. Phone: ALgonquin 4-9088

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

JAMES P. CANNON Editor. HARRY A. HOWE Associate Editor. HAWTHORNE WINNER Business Manager.

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

Vol. 1 SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1935 No. 20

the labor movement, tied with a thousand threads to the ruling interests, are incapable of any real struggle against them and completely devoid of any faith in the masses. They interpret—and not without good reason—every serious struggle of the workers against the bosses as implicitly a struggle against them.

These struggles are bound to increase and multiply; there is no other way for the workers to protect themselves. The Government will then throw off its mask of benevolence toward the unions and come out openly as a strike breaker. The labor betrayers will supplement this policy by wholesale expulsions of individual militants and whole union organizations. It is absolutely impossible to have a correct trade union policy if this perspective is not taken into account.

The case of local 574 is a test of the capacity of militants to cope with one of the key problems of strategy in the trade union movements. Alert militants in all parts of the country are bound to follow this development closely to see how the attack is met in Minneapolis. Local 574 showed the world how to conduct militant strikes against the heaviest odds and to come out victorious. The simple chronicle of the great battles waged under its banner in 1934 would constitute a handbook of modern strike strategy. And from all appearances the Minneapolis militants are also setting the pace and showing the way for a correct and effective struggle against the expulsion policy of a reactionary, boss-serving officialdom.

Two simple rules govern their strategy, each of equal importance.

First, they do not take the treacherous attack of Tobin lying down. They do not capitulate or give way to despair. They are not taken by surprise; the iron militants of Local 574 knew long ago that Tobin and his ilk are nothing but class enemies disguised as labor leaders. Nothing but treachery was expected of Tobin.

They prepared the ranks for the conspiracy, and Tobin's probable part in it, and took the offensive to mobilize the labor movement for the fight in good time. The fixed policy at Minneapolis is to fight for every position and not to give anything away. Without this spirit no real progress is possible anywhere in the labor movement.

Second, the union does not run away from the Teamsters' International and the A. F. of L. merely because a panic-stricken bureaucrat wants to get rid of them. They appeal against the expulsion, and announce their intention to fight it out at every step and through every channel of appeal, up to the highest bodies of the A. F. of L.

Meantime they take their case to the Central Labor Union in Minneapolis, appeal directly to every affiliated local union for support and aid in their fight for reinstatement, and prepare to carry the fight to the State Federation of Labor Convention. The answer of Local 574 to the command of a tyrant to get out of the International and the A. F. of L. is an intensified campaign deeper into the local unions of the International and the A. F. of L. unions generally, especially the unions of Minneapolis and the State of Minnesota.

This tactic goes hand in hand with an organizing and recruiting campaign to bring every eligible worker into the union, a militant campaign of agitation against the conspiracy of the bosses and the traitor president of the Teamsters' International, and a bulwark to the world that the union, which was built to a power of labor at the cost of great sacrifices and not a little blood, is going to fight to the last ditch to maintain its position as the union of the Minneapolis Drivers, Helpers and Inside Workers.

With the present mood of the laboring masses who are animated more and more by the feeling that they have nothing to lose, such a spirit and tactic is the prescription for labor success and advancement. The bosses and their agents in the labor movement who have provoked the new struggle in Minneapolis may get the surprise of their lives. There is the making of a magnificent labor victory there which can be no less an inspiration and a guide to other unions than the heroic strike victories of 1934. The Minneapolis militants are writing a bright new chapter of labor history which will take its place in the text book of the struggle against capitalism and its agents in the trade union movement. In 1935 as in 1934 Minneapolis and Toledo lead the way.

Local 574 Under Fire Again

The revocation of the charter of Minneapolis Local 574 by Tobin, the reactionary president of the Teamsters' International, and the attempt, by this simple trick, to "outlaw" the union, coincides with a new conspiracy of the bosses to rob the Minneapolis labor movement of the gains made in the great strikes of 1934.

Local 574 was beyond all question the leader and the inspiring and organizing force of the resurgent movement which put trade unionism on its feet in Minneapolis. Naturally, therefore, the new maneuver of the notorious Citizens' Alliance, operating this time through a stooge organization known as the "Committee of 100," is directed first of all at the stronghold of unionism represented by Local 574. The new conspiracy was pretty well shattered by premature exposure and the savage counter attack of the progressive union forces. Tobin's perfidious action is designed to bolster up the sagging front of the Citizens' Alliance, and most probably was taken in direct agreement with this malodorous association of union haters.

The issue presented here is one of paramount importance to the labor movement of Minneapolis, for its fate is directly involved in the outcome of the new attempt to isolate and destroy the mighty local of Drivers, Helpers and Inside workers. The strategy, now, as in 1934, is to break 574, then crush the other unions one by one; and from the standpoint of the bosses it is a pretty good strategy. But this is all too obvious, and the wide-awake unionists of Minneapolis understand it clearly. They rallied around Local 574 in the strikes of last year and helped to carry it to victory. From all accounts they are responding to the present onslaught with the same essential solidarity. This gives the brightest prospect for another brilliant labor victory and another formidable advance of the cause of unionism in Minneapolis when the smoke of the present battle clears away.

Beyond that, the attempt to "outlaw" Local 574 is a matter of profound concern to the labor movement at large, especially to the unions of newly organized workers. The latter, attempting correctly to exist within the framework of the general labor movement represented by the A. F. of L., are confronted with a dilemma. If they trust to the policies and the leadership of the official heads of the A. F. of L. they get nothing but the run-around. Their strikes are headed off by shameful capitulations masked as "settlements" or, if strikes break out, they are cut to pieces and betrayed. The bitter experiences of the steel, textile, auto and rubber workers, to mention only a few outstanding examples, all testify to the truth that the new unions have nothing whatever to gain on this road. The workers are beginning to realize this in increasing numbers. The Toledo strike, now spreading to other points, is proof of a deep-seated determination of the workers in the new unions to take things into their own hands and to act on their own account.

On the other hand, the unions which take the course of direct struggle to enforce their demands, as Local 574 did with such exemplary militancy, run straight up against the irreconcilable antagonism of the reactionary bureaucracy. If Green, Tobin and Co. cannot prevent strikes they try to break them; if they cannot control the unions they try to "outlaw" them.

What is happening at Minneapolis today will be repeated on a wide scale in the next rise of the class struggle. It is sheer utopianism to expect anything else; the part of wisdom is to understand what is coming and to prepare for it. The case-hardened agents of capital in

5,000 in Cleveland May First Parade

CLEVELAND, O., May 1.—Approximately 5,000 workers turned out to Public Square to celebrate May Day. It was a real united front demonstration, the first that Cleveland has seen for some years. The Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Workers Party, the I.W.W., and several rank and file unions participated in the meeting at Public Square and the parade that followed through the main streets of the city. The speakers stressed the importance of the fact that a real united front of labor had been accomplished and that this should serve as a notice to the masters that the

workers of Cleveland will stand solidly together when a common danger threatens. This point was especially emphasized by the speaker for the Workers Party, Comrade Nathan Gould. He was the only speaker who mentioned the word "revolution." All the others managed to avoid it some way or other.

He started out by referring to the Workers Party as "the revolutionary Workers Party of the United States," and proclaimed proletarian revolution as its ultimate aim, while meantime fighting for better conditions for employed and unemployed and for the struggle against Fascism and War. Comrade Gould's talk was loudly applauded and the whole affair must be considered as a definite victory for the genuine united front idea.

Debate on WP vs. SP Scheduled in N. Y.

"Which Party for American Labor? Workers Party or Socialist Party?" will be debated Thursday afternoon at 3 P.M. at New York University, Washington Square, Main Building, room 581. Murray Baron, leader of the Militants, will defend the S. P. and Joseph Carter, administrator of the International Workers School will present the program of the Workers Party. The debate is under the auspices of the N.Y. chapter of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the Discussion Club. All interested are invited.



Heed the Call of Toledo!

(Continued from Page 1) made complete, the union got a signed agreement with the firm, and the company union was smashed.

The comrades of the W. P. did not go to sleep after that great effort or become arm-chair philosophers trying to live on the glory of the fight that was past. Patiently they gathered a few progressives in the unions around them. Tirelessly they threw themselves into every struggle that occurred. Eagerly they read and talked with more experienced comrades in order to deepen their knowledge both of the theory and the practical tactics of the revolutionary movement. Steadily their conviction of the fundamental role of the revolutionary party grew.

Thus the tradition of militancy was built up in the Automobile Workers Union in Toledo and to a large extent in other unions. As Oliver Myers, business agent of the Electrical Workers Union in Toledo, stated at the recent A. F. of L. conference in Washington which was passing resolutions as usual and letting it go at that: "We don't do things like this in Toledo. We strike the damned job. We don't come down to Washington, we go on the picket line."

Distrust of trade union officials who try to make the workers believe that their hope lies in "cooperation" with the bosses, and government agencies such as the Automobile Labor Board, was built up at least among the more progressive workers. Local union officials like Ramsey who played a questionable role in the Auto-Lite strike were undermined.

Week after week demonstrated that a revolutionary party such as the W. P. with a sound trade union policy is a tower of strength to the workers. Not one strike was lost in Toledo this past year. The Auto Workers Federal Union 18384 alone gained thousands of members, signed contracts with every important automobile parts plant in Toledo, and substantially improved conditions.

That is the background of the strike that broke the apathy and peace of the automobile situation last Tuesday and made it impossible for Wm. S. Knudsen himself to get into the Chevrolet plant until strike chairman, Jimmy Roland, granted permission.

To the crucial struggle which has now begun the Workers Party pledges anew its fullest support. (As I write these words, a union member comes into the room to report that the strike meeting tonight cheered and cheered again when the telegram of Morris Lewitt, N. Y. District Organizer of the W. P., pledging support and telling about the picketing of General Motors offices in New York by the W. P., was read.) Well do we know that if this strike attains its objective and brings General Motors to its knees a great step will have been taken toward that day when the giant American working-class rises in its might to smash capitalism.

The Strike Committee has outlined a sound policy: No going back to work except on the basis of a signed contract giving genuine union recognition.

Direct negotiations between strike committee and management—no turning over of authority to negotiate to government boards or union officials in Washington.

Extension of the strike to every General Motors plant in the country.

Establishment of machinery to coordinate the strike and settlement activity on a national scale.

We call upon our Party throughout the land, upon the unions, the unemployed leagues, all working-class organizations, to provide genuine, constant and enthusiastic support to the strike. Respond to every call from the union for help! Assist in manning the picket lines! Call upon any General Motors plants still working to come out on strike! Picket the sales-rooms and offices of General Motors! Refuse to buy any General Motors products, automobiles, Frigidaires, etc.!

For a victorious strike! For decisive defeat of the anti-labor policy of the automobile barons!

For a fighting national union of automobile workers! Workers in steel, textiles, rubber, automobiles, mining, every great industry, hear the call of Toledo!

Make the Chevrolet strike the signal for a general series of assaults upon the Roosevelt starvation policy and entrenched American capitalism!

May Day March Biggest in Years

(Continued from Page 1)

culminated and at this point the enthusiasm of the workers was considerably dampened by the maladroitness of the marchers which required the marchers to fold up their banners under police supervision and to proceed to the meeting in the park proper with their ranks broken.

The meeting in the park itself proved to be a harmless concert which, except for the speech of Comrade James P. Cannon, was entirely out of harmony with the militant, fighting spirit of the workers displayed throughout the parade. The reformist leaders of the unions and of the Socialist Party seemed more concerned to prove their "respectability" and "patriotism" to the park commissioner and the capitalist city government than to comply with the spirit of the May Day celebrations. That indomitable spirit of the workers' will to victory pervaded the ranks of the unions on the march and left them grumbling at the kowtowing tactics of their leaders in the park itself.

Cannon Alone Stresses Struggle

In his brief speech at the Mall, Comrade Cannon introduced the only note of revolutionary tenor in the whole meeting, sharply distinguishing himself from Antonini, Waldman, Norman Thomas and company by stressing the struggle character of May Day as represented and expressed by the heroic strike in Toledo. He warned against the war preparations of the capitalists and concluded that the only factor working for peace is the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. Lively applause greeted his remarks. The speaker for the I.W.W. was cut off by Antonini in abject deference to the command of the park commissioner.

Several hundred Stalinists boomed when Comrade Roberts started to speak but his stirring appeal for unity of the working class changed those very booms into cheers and when he had finished a mighty roar of approval went up from the crowd.

When the meeting was over the Party and its sympathizers marched in the Communist Party parade for over two miles. Cheers for the Fourth International, the W.P., Comrade Trotsky, and many other slogans were roared to the skies and to the interested thousands that lined the road of the parade. The end of the parade was just as dramatic as had been the events of the whole day. The parade was to end in a park several miles from Reverb Plaza. In military formation four abreast the Party comrades and their sympathizers marched into the park. The path on both sides was lined with thousands of Communists and their sympathizers as the Party marched in behind their banner. In the center of the park the column came to a halt at attention. A silence spread over the park. A comrade stepped from the ranks. He raised his hand and "Long live the Workers Party" rolled through the park. Again he raised his hand: "Long live the United May Day" thundered to the sky, with the cheers of the Communist Party comrades who could no longer hold back their desire for a true united front between all working class parties.

LEFT . . . JABS

By BILL SHERMAN

POLICE HERO Philadelphia, April 2—Nicholas Scaffidi, a policeman who received the Bok award of \$1,000 for bravery in 1928, was sentenced today to serve from 7 to 20 years in the Western Penitentiary for robbery. (News item.)

FASCIST FUTURE FORETOLD Mussolini, fat and comfortable, spoke to 15,000 Italian workers on April 28. "I know you well. I read in your eyes what are your most intimate hopes and your spirit. I know you are not looking for a comfortable life."

AS RARE AS ALBINO FROGS "A Socialist Party is a party of the workers. It is a revolutionary party. . . . Each party member must have his voice in the formation of party program. . . . He must have the right within the party to agitate for changes in management, in program, in tactics. . . . But he must confine his efforts to party circles. No Socialist carries his party differences to the capitalist press. . . . No Socialist ever splits his ticket. . . . Every Socialist is first and foremost a discipline propagandist for socialism." Editorial, Socialist Call. Would someone give the habitat of such a Socialist Party and such Socialists as described here? Around these parts they are as rare as albino frogs.

TWO OF A KIND "Me an' Morgan ain't taxable," say the headlines quoting Dutch Schultz. The comparison of Schultz with the big tax dodger, J. P. Morgan, is certainly apt.

RED OR GREEN BANNERS? Among the many leaflets issued by the Communist Party and its satellites, the one issued by the Irish Workers Clubs deserves special mention. This leaflet calls on the workers to "march on May Day to Union Square under our green banner."

AGAIN PEACE "House votes \$407,805,261 Bill for navy of treaty strength. Every move to cut appropriation is blocked. Measure calls for 24 new ships, 555 airplanes and an increase of 11,677 in personnel." (Headlines in New York Times.) The Times says 66 other ships are being built with funds from a PWA allotment. At a speed unprecedented in world history this and other nations are preparing for war.

Phila. W. P. in May Day Unity

PHILADELPHIA, May 1—Not in words but by stirring action did the Workers Party, Phila. Branch show how much it desires the unity of the working class. The banner of the Workers Party flew proudly on the platform in Reverb Plaza throughout the whole day. From twelve o'clock noon when together with the Socialist Party and many trade unions, the Party marched into the square, until three o'clock, when the Socialist Party closed its meeting the Workers Party banner was side by side with the banner of the other labor organizations. Then amid the hush that followed the closing of the meeting, comrade Roberts of the party stepped to the microphone and in the name of the Party invited the fifteen thousand workers to stay and participate in the Communist Party demonstration which was scheduled on Reverb Plaza from 3 until 5 o'clock. Several hundred Stalinists boomed when Comrade Roberts started to speak but his stirring appeal for unity of the working class changed those very booms into cheers and when he had finished a mighty roar of approval went up from the crowd. When the meeting was over the Party and its sympathizers marched in the Communist Party parade for over two miles. Cheers for the Fourth International, the W.P., Comrade Trotsky, and many other slogans were roared to the skies and to the interested thousands that lined the road of the parade. The end of the parade was just as dramatic as had been the events of the whole day. The parade was to end in a park several miles from Reverb Plaza. In military formation four abreast the Party comrades and their sympathizers marched into the park. The path on both sides was lined with thousands of Communists and their sympathizers as the Party marched in behind their banner. In the center of the park the column came to a halt at attention. A silence spread over the park. A comrade stepped from the ranks. He raised his hand and "Long live the Workers Party" rolled through the park. Again he raised his hand: "Long live the United May Day" thundered to the sky, with the cheers of the Communist Party comrades who could no longer hold back their desire for a true united front between all working class parties.