

NEW MILITANT

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

VOL. I, NO. 30

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

NUL Calls National Caravan

Convention in Wash. D.C. to be Held Same Time

Once again the National Unemployed League is about to embark on an action that will make history for the million-headed jobless of this country. Entering a counter-offensive against the pauper wages of the Roosevelt administration, the N.U.L. will bring its protest to the front door of American capitalism: in October a mass caravan will march on Washington, D. C. Simultaneous with the caravan the Third National Convention of the Leagues will be held in the same city. The call for the National Convention follows:

NATL UNEMPLOYED LEAGUE
232 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio
July 16, 1935

To All Local Leagues
Dear Fellow-workers:
By action of the National Committee of the National Unemployed League, the 3rd Annual Convention of the NUL has been postponed until October. The place of the Convention has been set for Washington, D. C. The Caravan to Washington has been set for the same time.

The reasons for this action are as follows:

1) The great amount of work which has been and is now taking place in the various states must go forward to build the Leagues throughout the country and to prepare for the greatest National Convention of the unemployed which has ever been held.

The West Virginia Unemployed League held its annual Convention on June 7-8 and is now preparing for a state Hunger March.

The Pennsylvania Unemployed League held the largest and most successful convention in its history on June 8-9 and is now conducting a big organizational campaign.

The Ohio Unemployed League is undertaking the greatest task ever attempted by any State organization of unemployed. It will hold a mass Hunger March and Convention at Columbus on July 29-Aug. 2. Thousands are expected to join in the demonstration which should start the ball rolling for such demonstrations and action throughout the country as will force a complete change in relief and works programs throughout the country and make another step toward the 30 hour-\$30 week.

In Indiana, Kentucky, Connecticut, New Jersey, Michigan, Mississippi, Alabama, Missouri, Massachusetts, Maine, New York and other states the Unemployed Leagues are being planned. State conventions are being planned.

At no time in the history of the N.U.L. have we had so much activity and the need of giving every possible assistance to the organizational work. The National Unemployed League is stronger today than ever before. It is by far the strongest National organization of the unemployed in the country and is becoming one of the greatest.

Continued on Page 3

Plans for Eight Page Completed; Now Funds!

The California Workers Party District Committee requests that a special section be set aside for news of class struggle events on the Pacific Coast in the coming 8-page weekly. The comrades will undertake to edit regularly material for this section. This is acceptable. But the first duty for the comrades on the Pacific Coast is to put their shoulder to the wheel and put over the campaign to provide the funds necessary for the 8-page weekly.

This duty rests upon Party branches everywhere. We ask all sympathizers of the movement and readers of the NEW MILITANT to give their assistance. Contributions received are still below ten per cent of the total needed. The report in this issue shows \$195.48 collected at the time of going to press. The total required is \$2,000.00. From this it is obvious that much more speed in the campaign is necessary. We still await a response from the majority of the Party branches. We ask the question: What do the several thousand NEW MILITANT readers say?

Only the New York and Boston branches have recorded somewhat of a response so far. The Philadelphia and New Haven branches have each made an initial small contribution, and even as far as New York City is concerned the bigger branches are still far behind in the campaign. The Harlem branch, which is one of the smallest numerically but most active in make-up, holds the lead with \$23.98 collected to date.

Since the report made a fortnight ago, we have received the following amounts:

Contributions:	
Center Branch, N. Y. C.	\$6.50
Brownville Branch, N. Y. C.	1.00
Flatbush Branch, N. Y. C.	1.25
W. Grey, Minotola, N. J.	5.00
A. Abrams, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
B. Weisbroth, N. Y. C.	2.00
S. B., N. Y. C.	1.00
New Haven Branch	2.50
West Side Branch, N. Y. C.	11.50
Bronx Branch, N. Y. C.	9.00
Boro Park Branch, N. Y. C.	10.50
Astoria Branch, N. Y. C.	4.00
Harlem Branch, N. Y. C.	12.70
H. Smith, Hutchinson, Kansas	1.00
Total	72.95
Greetings	
Philadelphia Branches	2.75
Subscriptions (Club Plan)	
Davenport Branch	1.50
Philadelphia Branches	4.50
Previously Reported	113.78
Total	\$195.48

(Continued on Page 2)

Africans Called to the Colors

'Better Die Free Than Live as Slaves,' Sellassie Says

Tribesmen of all Ethiopia are prepared to drop the ploughshare and seize the sword to drive back the Fascist marauder and preserve the independence of their nation.

To a man they responded to the battle cry of Haile Sellassie, who exhorted them with the appeal: "Better die free than live as slaves."

Meanwhile in Italy—
Close to two hundred thousand Italian troops are now in eastern Africa prepared to assume military operations against the legions of Haile Sellassie. Three hundred planes are being dispatched by Mussolini to overcome hazards of desert fighting. Corroding acid to burn the soles off the feet of the Ethiopian soldiers is being turned out in large quantities and shipped to Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.

In the meanwhile Emperor Sellassie is preparing his troops for the coming struggle which even the most sceptical declare will in all likelihood break out in September.

In Europe the three imperialist powers most concerned, Italy, England and France, are busy finding an out for their little institution known as the League of Nations and dubbed by Lenin the "thieves kitchen of Geneva." The "thieves" seem to have come to an agreement and Il Duce, it is reported, is preparing to fly to Africa to personally supervise the impending hostilities.

It is quite likely that Mussolini's proposed flight is motivated by more than personal ambition. Reports emanating from Italian territory in east Africa declare that demoralization is setting in among the troops stationed there. The fascist chief undoubtedly reckons that his presence there will help build up a declining morale. But the swamps and mosquitoes and the heat may yet prove too much of a match for Mussolini's vocal cords.

Unquestionably England and France would much rather come to an agreement with Italy—even so far as granting it a complete protectorate over Ethiopia is concerned. Hostilities in Africa may prove too costly for both France and England. What these powers fear most is a colonial uprising that may well put an end to their imperialist domination forever.

The forthcoming meeting of the League of Nations is scheduled to take up the Ethiopian question. The attitude of England, France and Italy has already been expressed above. What will M. Litvinoff say—or do?

The unctuous Harry Gannes writing in the Daily Worker complains at the Social-democratic ministers in the Scandinavian cabinets not raising the issue of Ethiopia and taking a firm stand in defense of the people of Abyssinia. Yes, it is correct to demand of those old hands at social-patriotism that they take a stand on this question.

But what about the neophytes of the Stalinist school who have taken to social-patriotism with the zeal of an infidel coming late to Christ? What about the representative of the Soviet bureaucracy in the League of Nations? Haile Sellassie has appealed to him. Has he replied? Yes—his only statement on the Ethiopian question in the League of Imperialist Bandits was lavish praise for Sir Anthony Eden's proposals!

No Share-the-Wealth Here

NEW ORLEANS.—Eight-year-old Clarabelle Newchurch and her brother Leo, aged two, are in New Orleans Charity Hospital suffering from malnutrition—for Huey Long's much advertised "share-the-wealth" plan never got around to them.

Joseph Newchurch, the children's father, told police he'd been jobless since June 15, living only on grocery orders from the FERA. Then the orders expired, and so did the family food supply.

Continued on Page 2

Third Party Meet Sows Confusion; F.D.R. Safe

By A. J. MUSTE

The chief accomplishment of the convention of the Third parties just held in Chicago with Professor Paul Douglas of the University of Chicago as chairman and Alfred Bingham of Common Sense magazine as secretary, are to furnish some fresh evidence that Roosevelt has as yet little cause to worry over the outcome of the 1936 election and to give the Daily Worker another job of trying to make it clear that "this is not the kind of a labor party we are for."

The two hundred and fifty representatives of Farmer-Labor groups and the Farmer-Labor Political Federation, League for Independent Political Action and People's Political Alliance of Chicago, the last three all named by the same group of liberals, who met in Chicago described themselves as "native American radicals," and "the direct descendants of the populist tradition." They aim at a new social order based on "production for use." They wish to "unite all the groups who want a change to come through the ballot box, which excludes Communists". A delegate from Idaho, with the eagerness for quick and big results at the polls which characterizes the "native American radicals" argued eloquently for the exclusion of "all members of the Communist Party and also those who do not believe in the democratic process of government" (did he mean to imply that the C. P. with the new turn does believe in the democratic process?) on the ground that each Communist included in the new organization would cost ten thousand votes and "ruin the new movement."

While not all the delegates sup-

ported these mathematical speculations, Plank Eight in the Platform for a Third Party drawn up by the group which, by the way, now calls itself the American Commonwealth Political Federation (in addition possibly to its other names) begins the declaration: "We reaffirm our faith in the democratic form of government." This is a frank statement. It might seem that it would take some courage to make such a statement in these days. At any rate, it is well to have so unequivocally on record these people who often speak of themselves as the "true revolutionists," who know how really to "stop fascism" in the U. S. and who regard Marxism as hopelessly discredited and dead. Congressmen such as Lundeen and Marcantonio, who have been C. P. pets recently, are among them. And it is said that the younger, "very radical" ones, among them receive advice and counsel from the Reverend Doctor Harry F. Ward, master mind of the League Against War and Fascism.

Despite their radical talk on their playing at revolution, this outfit consists of liberals, nothing more. In such a period as the present it cannot persuade any considerable number that it has more to offer than Roosevelt. If the crisis is again intensified, the chances are that Douglas and Co. will be swept aside like chips on a raging forest, as the genuinely revolutionary forces and those of reaction come to grips. If by chance and in combination with certain labor and farmer organizations, they were to succeed in forming a sizeable party some day, it could only serve to create illusions among the masses about salvation by "democratic

Continued on Page 3

New Party Gains in Holland

Fourth Int'l Vote Increases in Many Municipalities

AMSTERDAM.—The municipal elections have followed close on the heels of the provincial elections. In them the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party made an excellent showing, electing their candidates in many cities.

The R.S.A.P. now commands a total of 25 seats in various municipal administrations, an increase of 9 over the last election. Some of the preliminary results follow:

In Deventer the vote rose from 2,098 in the provincial elections to 2,624 in the municipal contest. Compared with the vote received by the C. P. in this city, which increased from 707 to 756 and the S. P. whose results remained stationary: 5561 to 5556. But the proportion between reformist votes on the one side and revolutionary votes on the other is three times as favorable for the R.S.A.P. than for the C.P. The number of votes for the capitalist parties remained quite substantial: 8870 out of a total of 17,806 votes.

Another significant incident in the voting was at Zaandam. Here the R.S.A.P. increased its total from 1,180 to 1,397 while the number of votes for the Stalinist party fell from 1,726 to 1,590. The president of the building workers union, one of the social democratic candidates was beaten by our comrade. The reply of this bureaucrat was the expulsion of four R.A.A.P. members from the union.

In Westlingwerf R.S.A.P. votes rose from 559 to 908 while the reformists lost—2,680 to 2,192—and the Stalinists dropped from 396 to 325 votes.

Highly gratifying increases were obtained in other municipalities throughout the country.

A serious setback, however, was suffered in Amsterdam where the R.S.A.P. dropped a few thousand votes. A serious disappointment to the Dutch Party, it has had a total salutary effect in jacking up the morale of the comrades and imbuing them with the determination to build solid and strong in this center, to make the party a more effective instrument in the class struggle and a more serious factor in the coming elections.

It Pays to Be A Plutocrat

DETROIT.—It pays to be a General Motors bigshot!
For the top group of 130 directors, and executives received in 1934 \$4,990,737 for their work—or an average of \$38,389 a man.
When Chevrolet workers struck recently, the management turned their demands "unreasonable."

NEW ORLEANS (FP)—The New Orleans local of the International Assn. of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America has been organized.

Old Guard Swamps Militants at SP Meet

Complete victory for the Old Guard, with Norman Thomas and the other erstwhile allies of the "Militant" Socialists voting with the reactionaries on every decisive issue, was the outcome of the quarterly meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, July 13-15.

As predicted by the NEW MILITANT, the N.E.C. majority elected by the "Militants" and publicly identified with them in a single bloc since the Detroit convention last June, capitulated to the Old Guard. This was the inevitable result of the systematic struggle waged by the Old Guard, while the "Militants" carried on no independent struggle but

Dismiss Indictment Against Robins-Gras

NEW YORK.—Dismissal of the indictment in General Sessions Court of July 12, terminates victoriously the Robins-Gras case which arose out of the hotel strike 18 months ago and which was one of the first important activities of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Harold Robins and Andrea Gras were convicted of slugging a non-union worker, served eight months in Sing Sing while their appeal was pending, due to Judge Valente's refusal to issue a certificate of reasonable doubt, which would have made bail possible. It now turns out that there is not even the basis of a prosecution. For the workers who sat in the "pen" and for the strikers at whom the frame-up arrest was a deliberate blow, however, there is no compensation for what they suffered at the hands of the police and courts.

After conviction, Robins and Gras appealed to the N.P.L.D. for aid. The Robins-Gras Defense Committee set up by the N.P.L.D. had the backing of the Socialist Party, Workers Party, Communist Party Opposition, General Defense Committee, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, I.L.G.W.U. and others.

As a result of the fight and the able brief drawn by Attorneys Abraham Abramowitz of the Socialist Lawyers Association and Louis Gilckhouse, both of whom donated their services, a reversal was won. The higher court handed down a decision last December which was widely hailed as setting an important precedent. It castigated the trial judge, the late Joseph E. Corrigan, for his violent prejudice and dishonest tactics. So complete was the exposure of the frame-up engineered by the hotel owners and the prosecution, that the District Attorney finally had to drop the case altogether.

Dismiss Indictment Against Robins-Gras

NEW YORK.—Dismissal of the indictment in General Sessions Court of July 12, terminates victoriously the Robins-Gras case which arose out of the hotel strike 18 months ago and which was one of the first important activities of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Harold Robins and Andrea Gras were convicted of slugging a non-union worker, served eight months in Sing Sing while their appeal was pending, due to Judge Valente's refusal to issue a certificate of reasonable doubt, which would have made bail possible. It now turns out that there is not even the basis of a prosecution. For the workers who sat in the "pen" and for the strikers at whom the frame-up arrest was a deliberate blow, however, there is no compensation for what they suffered at the hands of the police and courts.

After conviction, Robins and Gras appealed to the N.P.L.D. for aid. The Robins-Gras Defense Committee set up by the N.P.L.D. had the backing of the Socialist Party, Workers Party, Communist Party Opposition, General Defense Committee, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, I.L.G.W.U. and others.

Survey of Ohio Strikes Shows Value of Revolutionary Party

In the shadows of Northern Ohio's massive industrial structure with its giant rubber, steel, auto and textile factories, the working class has fought incessantly since the inception of the NRA in 1933 to establish its fundamental rights and organize itself for its historic task—the overthrow of American and world imperialism.

Workers have won great victories during this period when led by the Workers Party as in the memorable Toledo Auto-lite strike.

Workers have suffered foulest betrayals when controlled by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. Witness Akron, rubber city.

The stories of the struggles have been told in the NEW MILITANT. It is unnecessary to repeat them.

But a survey of the important strikes during the NRA period has been lacking; one that will establish facts that can serve as a basis for a more thorough, more detailed understanding of the problems of the working class in this key area; one that will serve as a basis for correct perspectives; this article attempts, at least partly, to answer to this need.

It must be borne in mind that the NRA was not the fundamental factor in causing strikes. Rather, increase in productive activity (as the industrial upswing in 1934) accentuates the constant class struggle in the forces of production and gives it its sharpest form, the strike. That is, under pressure of the miserable depression wages, the

Continued on Page 2

Leading Oregon Lovestonite Quits; Joins Workers Party

Another important recruit to the ranks of the Workers Party comes with the application of Earl Lane of Portland, Oregon, formerly a leading member of the Lovestonite group.—Ed.

Portland, Oregon
July 12, 1935

The Secretariat,
Workers Party of the U. S.
Dear Comrades:

I recently resigned from the Communist Party Opposition and wish to apply for membership in the Workers Party of the U. S.

The pernicious policy pursued by the Third International in recent years beginning with the Kuo Min Tang policy and continuing down through the long series of disasters in Germany, Austria, the Saar, etc.,

and culminating with the present line in France, leads every clear thinking revolutionary worker to make a clean break with the Stalinist International and abandoning all illusions concerning the possibility of reforming it, to bend all energies toward the building of a new revolutionary International.

The position of the Communist Party Opposition toward the Third International can have but one logical outcome if adhered to: capitulation to the Stalinist bureaucracy and its policies.

Pledging myself to work to the best of my ability to rally the workers around the banner of the Workers Party and the Fourth International, I am,

Comradely yours,
EARL LANE.

EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT FIRST STEP TO DAILY

Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Agriculture...

For the year ending March 15, 1935, approximately 54.1 farms per 1,000 were sold for taxes or mortgages. . . . Forbes Magazine announces a farm tractor with air-cooled, sound-proof cab, equipped with radio and cigar lighter. . . . Because few American farmers have money to buy tractors, the use of horses and mules is increasing. In Arkansas and Oklahoma human beings are forced to pull plows and harrows. . . . In Soviet Russia nearly 100,000 more tractors are available this year than in 1934 and the acreage per tractor has increased 25 percent. Food prices are approximately half of what they were a year ago and consumption has increased accordingly. . . .

Patriotism...

Adopting the slogan "Crime and Communism must perish!" the United States Flag Association adopted a new Declaration of Independence on July 4. It asserts that "United States people are normally the most prosperous and happiest on the planet. Wages of American workmen are highest in the world and the American standard of living far above any other. . . . Communists and radical forces are spending six million dollars a year in propaganda to undermine and destroy the republic. . . . The time has come when every man must declare himself and show his colors, be they red or pink, black or blue, brown or silver, or Red, White and Blue." Among the 56 signers were Al Smith, former Vice-President Curtis Hamilton Fish, Jr., John J. Raskob, C. R. Wulgreen, Copper magnate Solomon Guggenheim and WILLIAM E. GREEN. . . . The Catholic Daughters of America, assembled in convention in Seattle, were urged by their national chaplain, Bishop William J. Hafey, to combat Communism, Bolshevism, Atheism and birth control. Members bitterly attacked Margaret Sanger, birth-control advocate. . . . A recent study shows that during the past 16 years the birthrate of Catholics in Milwaukee fell 15 percent, of Protestants 5 percent. The report states, "Whether Catholic families are resorting to contraceptives or continence cannot be proved by the evidence." . . .

Capitol Hill...

The U. S. Senate passed an amendment appropriating mileage of 20 cents a mile to vice presidents. To John Nance Garner this means \$351.20 per trip from his home in Uvalde, Texas. Senators and Vice-Presidents now receive free postage, free clerk hire, free haircuts, shaves and massages, free snuff and free mineral water. . . . Beveret Parker, citizen of Newport, Tenn., with his wife and four small children hitch-hiked to Washington to get new shoes for the kiddies. They were put out of the Senate gallery when Mrs. Parker began nursing her eight-months old baby. . . . Senator Huey Long's recent filibuster cost taxpayers \$4,450, the speech filling 89 pages of the Congressional Record at \$50 a page. . . . The United States Weather Bureau reports that Washington is less windy than any other large city. The average wind velocity in Chicago is 15 miles per hour, New York, 13 miles per hour, Washington only 7 miles per hour. . . .

At the very outset Franklin was jump, pink and nice," says Sarah Delano Roosevelt in "My Boy Franklin." When editor of the Harvard Crimson he showed his militant spirit by crusading against lack of sportsmanship, listless hockey practice and the small volume of cheering at football games. . . . "Until I was twelve I sincerely believed that everybody had a house on Fifth Avenue, a villa in Newport and a steam-driven, ocean-going yacht," confesses Cornelius Vanderbilt in his "Farewell to Fifth Avenue." . . .

Society Notes...

To prove that it is a pure Nordic Nation, Germany has undertaken to establish a family tree for each of its sixty-six million inhabitants. . . . The Lukens Steel Co. of Coatesville, Pa., first makers of boiler plate, recently celebrated its 125th birthday. . . . Last March, Mike Naggis, unemployed puddler who had worked for the company 40 years died of starvation. . . . "There are no more sticks, no more hicks," announces the fashion editor of a national woman's magazine. . . . Clad only in nightshirt, John Hechter of Weldon, Ark., was found wandering the streets of Dallas, Texas, at 2 AM. It was his first visit to the city. "I went out in the back yard and there was no path leading to the place I wanted to go and I couldn't see my little house," he explained. . . .

SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE
NEW MILITANT

Form United Front to Protest Deportation of Anti-Fascists

SAN FRANCISCO, July 2.—Protesting the ordered deportation of two Italian anti-Fascists, Vincent Ferrero and Fortunio Salitto, a mass meeting was held here last night by the Workers Party, Socialist Party, the I.W.O., the Northern California Civil Liberties Committee, Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, the I.L.G.W.U. and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Ferrero, a resident of San Francisco for thirty years, and Salitto, who has been here fifteen years and has a motherless child of three, were charged with being anarchists subject, as aliens, to deportation, because as owners of a restaurant they sub-let office space to the editor of the English-language Anarchist newspaper, "Man". Their arrest was part of a campaign of intimidation against radical workers last year, during which subscribers to the paper were visited by immigration officials and threatened if they continued to aid it.

Salitto is now detained under \$2,500 bail on Angel's Island here, awaiting a decision on a writ of habeas corpus which is to be argued next week, and the outcome of which will also decide Salitto's fate. They are defended by Austin Lewis. Previously, after secret hearings the men were ordered deported on June 3, and the Board of Review in Washington refused to reopen the case.

The protests to Washington of many workers' organizations and the attention the case has received here has prevented their deportation so far, but they are still in imminent danger.

If deported to Fascist Italy as the government plans, Salitto and Ferrero are subject to a sentence in Fascist dungeons of five to fifteen years under a law specifically passed to cover anti-Fascist citizens Italy. This makes the deportation equivalent to extradition. Recently Italians arriving from Argentine and Uruguay were immediately seized upon arrival and sentenced to long terms on the dreaded penal islands.

Working class organizations are urged to protest to W. C. McCormack, Commissioner of Immigration, Washington, D. C. and to send notice of their action to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Marcus Graham, editor of "Man", notified the other organizations which cooperated in the protest meeting that he had requested the I.L.D. to participate also. Both of the I.L.D. expressed a willingness to cooperate but said that she would first have to take the matter up with the Communist Party. After a conference between the I.L.D. and the C. P. which took nearly two hours, Graham was informed that under no circumstances would the C. P. or the I.L.D. appear on the same platform with the W. P. or N.P.L.D. Then to further disrupt the mass protest, the C. P. organized a rival meeting on the same evening at which the counter-attraction was Leo Gallagher speaking on the NRA.

The mass meeting adopted a resolution pledging all participating organizations to conduct a mass campaign for the freedom of Salitto and Ferrero.

Revolt Against Strike Sell-Out Muir Lumber

(Continued from Page 1)

after the strike began Muir triumphantly announced that he had negotiated a "model agreement" with the Weyerhaeuser Lumber Co., that negotiations would be begun with all employees on the basis of this agreement and that the end of the strike was now in sight. This brazen sellout agreement provided for 50c per hour, forty-hour week, the recognition of the union as a collective bargaining agency and rejected the closed shop.

The fakers were given a rude shock when the Weyerhaeuser workers did not even wait to vote on this "model agreement" but walked out to a man when the Longview local did vote on the sell-out it was rejected 8 to 1, and this large production center was soon closed down tight.

Revolt Against Muir

From then on the strike spread rapidly and soon over 40,000 were out. Although Muir and his stooges continued their maneuvers the strike ranks remained solid, except for one important break, the workers of the McCormick Lumber Co., returned to work on Muir's terms.

Revolt against Muir's leadership began to rise in the union locals, several of which wired Green and Hutcheson demanding his removal, and when action was not forthcoming from these quarters a rank and file Northwest Strike Committee was set up which announced its intention of sidetracking Muir and fighting to a finish for the original strike demands.

When it became apparent that the fakers were losing control of the situation the bosses called upon their executive committee, the state governments of Oregon and Washington to take action. Ever obedient to their masters voice these organs of class rule swung into action and unleashed a reign of terror upon the workers so vicious that even conservative A. F. of L. leaders branded it as Hitlerism.

Police Terror

Picket lines were broken up at Bridal Veil, Oregon, by state police and sheriffs deputies and the workers driven down the highway at a dog trot with these armed thugs showering blows upon them with riot clubs and pick handles. Over 230 workers were arrested at this town.

The answer of the A. F. of L. leaders to this terrorism was a series of statements bristling with "radical" talk and -- a resort to the capitalist courts in an effort to obtain an injunction to prevent the police from interfering with "peaceful" picketing!!!

On Tuesday, June 18th, Clarence D. Martin of Washington, acting on petitions allegedly signed by 63 percent of the employees of the Tacoma mills, ordered the state police in Tacoma to "protect workers in their right to work."

"Ample evidence showing that a majority of the employees were satisfied with agreements negotiated with employers and want to return to work were laid before the executive office," he said.

"The state will go the limit in protecting them. Their right to work must be respected."

Proof that the statement that 63 percent of the millmen wished to return to work was false was evidenced by the fact that only a handful would pass the picket lines.

On Friday the state of California followed the lead of Oregon and Washington when pickets at Eureka were fired on and one worker murdered. Another was since died. After the reopening of the Tacoma mills had proved a failure with only the state police on hand it was decided to loose a real reign of terror on the workers. On Monday the 24th the national guard was ordered into Tacoma. Picket lines were broken up at the point of the bayonet. Although martial law was not formally declared groups of more than two persons were declared an unlawful assemblage by the commander of the guard. A permit which the City Council had granted to the S.T.W.U. to hold a tag day was summarily revoked.

Strike Pits Brother against Brother

By GERRY ALLARD

PORTLAND, Oregon.—Two brothers bravely carry symbolic banners of their cause on the strike front.

Two brothers man bayoneted rifles and menacing machine guns in a company of national guards.

The four brothers met the other night at their father's home in a conference asking the scion for advice.

"Dad, if they call out the troops to break the strike? What should we do?" was the question the boys asked their dad.

"Stick with your gang!" the father exclaimed to his striking sons. "I believe in labor's right to organize." Thus the sagacious old father spoke, knowing full well that the strike meant a loss of family income they could not afford to lose.

For days and days the two sons continue to carry their banners before the gate of a Portland lumber mill proclaiming the right of their cause in the long strike of lumber mill workers of America's Pacific northwest.

Many strikers have been injured while picketing. Two have been killed. The strike continues. Efforts to smash the picket lines with brute, criminal force have failed. Attempts to reopen the mills frustrated. The strikers are winning.

Thus another chapter—perhaps only a sidelight, but nevertheless significant—has been written of American labor's onward march to victory.

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

The American Federation of Hosiery Workers has, for years, been known as one of the more wide-awake and aggressive units of the American Federation of Labor. For a long time it constituted practically the only organized force in the textile industry. Without the hosiery workers, the United Textile Workers—to which the A.F. H.W. is affiliated—would have been a paper organization. Its leadership, by and large, takes a right Socialist position. It is likely that the coming period will see a certain grouping of forces around the tendency which these leaders represent.

In the June 28 issue of the Hosiery Worker, the official union organ, this group presents its conception of the path which the labor movement should take if its organizations are to be modernized and strengthened. Summarized, their proposals are as follows:

Program...

1. The A. F. of L. should be empowered to order, within certain limits, the form of organization to be adopted in a given section of trade or industry to make possible the penetration of such fields as autos, rubber, armament industries, steel and food. Such a program can only be effected by a complete change in the status of the international unions. Some of their absolute power and autonomy must be taken away in order to create a more powerful central organization.

2. In line with this conception, immediate steps should be taken to unify action in the printing industry. One craft must not work while another is on strike. All agreements made by printing trades unions should expire on the same date while organization of the unskilled elements in the industry is a vital necessity.

3. Central authority should be granted to the A. F. of L. to end the confusion and the division in the ranks of the building trades unions.

4. The situation calls for an immediate organizing drive in the South, in other thinly populated areas and in steel and other basic industries. The cost of this campaign as well as legal defense expenses, etc. would be covered by a universal assessment of 50c on every member of the Federation to raise a two million dollar fund.

5. The legislative activities of the Federation should be intensified and more adequate publicity mediums should be developed. An imperative necessity is a Labor Radio System equal in range to the hook-up of Father Coughlin.

6. Establishment of a Labor Red Cross with a million dollar fund to feed strikers.

7. Greater financial and moral support to workers' education.

8. Intensification of activities among Negro workers.

There can be no disagreement with the general line of these proposals. In essence they aim toward re-organization of the Federation on a more strongly centralized basis. These proposals, if adopted would certainly make the organization and strike campaigns of the Federation more effective and vigorous. They would encourage organization of the unskilled in the basic industries. It would be much more difficult, under such an organizational setup for the large and powerful craft unions, to strangle the organizations of the workers in the mass production fields.

How??

The editorial proposes that "the questions raised . . . be taken up on the floor of all local unions, central bodies and in every type of trade union gathering. As opinion crystallizes, resolutions should be drawn and adopted and eventually brought to the attention of the Executive Council of the Federation and the responsible leaders of the movement, local, sectional and national."

Radicals and progressives in the unions will do well to keep their eyes open in this situation. The leaders of the Hosiery Workers together with such others as Gorman of the United Textile Workers, Harrison of the Railway Clerks, constitute what might be called the "moderate progressive" tendency in the Federation. Far more aggressive, honest and intelligent than the run-of-the-mine labor leadership, they are still part of the A. F. of L. machine, they play the game according to the official rules and they undertake no real fight against corruption and reaction. The textile workers will not soon forget the deal, made at the last U.T.W. convention whereby Rieve, hosiery worker chief, first declared his intention of running against Thomas MacMahon for the presidency of the U.T.W. He withdrew at the last moment after MacMahon had agreed to let Gorman run the general textile strike, a fight which he ended with a gross capitulation to the combined pressure of the government and the operators.

WASHINGTON. — Workers will not even be allowed to protest against being shot down in strikes, under the McCormack military disobedience bill favorably reported July 12 by the House military affairs committee. It is a counterpart of the Tydings bill which was slipped through the Senate

Survey of Ohio Strikes Shows Value of Revolutionary Party

(Continued from Page 1)

speed up accompanying the upswing of the long hours, etc., workers sought to better their conditions.

Using as a basis for generalizations sixty major Ohio strikes, three characteristics of them come sharply to the fore.

General Features of Strikes

1. Two thirds of the strikes, predominantly those in the basic industries, were met with flagrant violence by local, state and county police, the national guards, all under the domination of the capitalist class. But in no instance did terrorism serve its purpose. The militancy of the working class hurled back this challenge. It took other means to "pacify" labor.

2. The federal government played the dominant role in effecting "settlements" in four-fifths of the strikes. In other words, the class character of the state exposed itself in the great majority of the struggles.

3. The American Federation of Labor served as a brake in all struggles, it openly betrayed the rubber workers in three strikes, it ruined the labor movement in rubber temporarily through its policy and it served as an effective screen for the government in many cases.

Besides the rubber industry, there are many examples which should be mentioned; the Chevrolet strike this spring, the huge gas operators strike in Cleveland last year; the Columbia Chemical strike in Barberton; the Berger Steel strike; and so on and on.

While every strike had union recognition as its prime motive, this was won clearly in only two out of the sixty strikes. Pay increases were wrung from employers in ten of the strikes, being used as a "bribe" in five cases to avoid union recognition.

Concrete Results

Labor was organized in only four of the sixty plants involved before the NRA. Less than 5,000 out of the 65,000 workers in these strikes were union members before NRA. The weight of the factor of inexperience speaks for itself.

In sixty percent of the plants, and particularly in the basic in-

dustry plants, company unions were formed by the bosses to split the ranks of labor.

Over 21,000 of the 60,000 workers involved in major strikes in the Ohio region were auto workers who struck in six plants during this period. Of course, the Toledo Chevrolet and Auto-lite strikes were the most significant.

The betrayed Berger Steel strike and the Weltown and Stenerville walkouts drew 15,000 workers into open class struggle. Textile strikes brought 4,000 workers on the picket line in three factories and three rubber strikes (in minor plants) had 2,500 workers.

What the paper results of the great majority of the strikes were can be summarized in the familiar terms, "Go Back to Work and Negotiate," "Called Off," "Company Agrees to Meet with Any Group of Employees," etc., etc. Labor gained little there.

The Role of the W. P.

What the working class learned from its experiences is of decisive importance. One scarcely need add we are not "mechanical" Marxists—the workers didn't learn automatically. Only where revolutionary forces drew correct conclusions and explained them to the masses was conscious progress made in the workinl class movement.

It is precisely in this that the Workers Party played its major and constructive role. Utilizing both an Auto-lite victory and the rubber workers, the Workers Party gained in strength and influence.

Only in so far as the Workers Party is built up to play a greater and stronger role in the numerous struggles (through participating in them) will the revolutionary movement grow in America.

This must be one of our major tasks. Strengthen and build the Workers Party in the highly industrialized Ohio region.

A clear understanding of the nature and scope of the problem and of the prominent position strikes as a manifestation of the class struggle will play an necessary pre-requisites to our success.

MUSIC DANCING

MOONLIGHT SAIL

S.S. ISLANDER TO HOOK MOUNTAIN



LEAVES PEIR W. 132ND ST., 5.30 P.M.
SATURDAY AUGUST 17, 1935

BENEFIT 8 PAGE NEW MILITANT

TICKET \$1.00

ENTERTAINMENT REFRESHMENTS

Support the Eight-Page New Militant! Solicit Subscriptions! Push the Club Plan!

Third Party Meet Sows Confusion; F.D.R. Safe

(Continued from Page 1) process" which bitter experience would dispel and thus to postpone the unification of all the oppressed elements of society under the leadership of the revolutionary Marxist party.

As we have suggested, the Daily Worker will have to get busy again, uttering disclaimers that these "radicals" are building the "right kind of Labor Party" and furnishing another detailed explanation of just what is a labor party which is not reformist and not revolutionary and so forth and so on.

Big Guns Very Absent

As things now stand, the Roosevelt strategy has taken the wind out of the sails of such movements as this at least so far as making a considerable showing in the 1936 election is concerned. Certain incidents of the Chicago conference itself bear this out. The LaFollette were conspicuous by their absence. Young Bob, predestined to become the presidential candidate of these Third parties when they make a bid for a real showing, does not see enough anti-Roosevelt, liberal-kind votes in sight yet. He is pursuing the "canny" course of building up a reputation as a "determined but constructive" radical and "friend of labor." He tries to get Roosevelt to go farther but votes for Roosevelt measures, when he has made his attempt to get more and failed. Governor Olson, the Minnesota Farmer-Laborite, another big man in the labor movement, sent word that he was ready to support any movement standing for "production for use," but also had other engagements and could not be present in person. Senator Nye came and made a speech as a sort of friend of the movement, but made it clear that the liberal forces must not be divided in 1936 and that in the forthcoming election it's Roosevelt so far as he is concerned. Marcantonio, the New York Congressman who succeeded LaGuardia in Washington, and who was one of the signers of the call for the conference, withdrew from the movement as did the Knickerbocker Democrats when a decision looking toward running a presidential ticket in 1936 was made. Upton Sinclair also made it clear that he is still for capturing the Democratic party for Socialism and Epic.

Conservative As Any

Nobody outside an insane asylum any longer believes that Roosevelt is going to put an end to the capitalist system and usher in the cooperative commonwealth. The Republican case against him is accordingly weak and no Republican of importance has yet shown any eagerness for the job of standard bearer in 1936. A little excitement has been stirred up about a tax program which asks a few more dollars from big incomes, about federal control of business invading states' rights, about a big spending program, about Roosevelt's hint that the Constitution might have to be amended to allow Congress to enact social legislation—but Roosevelt, the red revolutionist, does not register any more even with the Dr. Wirts.

On the other hand, unless new elements enter the picture, the liberals and the trade unions will be found on the Roosevelt bandwagon in 1936. Many jobs are dependent on the money appropriated for public works which Roosevelt has for disbursement. Liberals and union officials are subject to subtle influence from this source, being only human like the garden variety of local politicians and citizens.

Long, Coughlin and Townsend can declaim that the Roosevelt unemployment insurance and old age measures do not go far enough and that appropriations for public works are too small. They can argue that the tax program which the incomparable publicity-artist pulled out of his sleeve a few weeks ago just when Congressmen were all set to flee the heat of Washington, does not "soak-the-rich" enough. The

fact of the matter is that the program of taxing big incomes, big corporations and big inheritance does not "soak" the rich at all. It represents a feeble start toward imposing income and inheritance taxes which the ruling classes in European countries have long since had to accept as a price for keeping the capitalist system on its feet. But when all the advantages on Roosevelt's side are taken into account, what chance have any of these "extremists" of persuading the electorate that any candidate that may advance has a chance against Roosevelt or could accomplish anything more than Roosevelt will?

As for the trade unions, Roosevelt has "given" the A. F. of L. the Wagner Bill, the Magna Charta of Labor, as William Green does not tire of proclaiming. As the New Militant has pointed out, the employers will contest the constitutionality of the act, they will construct the National Labor Board, etc. In the end, the unions will realize that the Wagner Bill will do no more for them than the other Magna Charta, Section 7a. For the present, however, in spite of all the talk about a labor party and the fond hopes of the C. P. and all the varieties of the socialists, the union leaders, and that still means the unions, will stick to friend Roosevelt. They will not run any chances of a Republican slipping into office by putting up a Labor Party candidate against him.

Even if disillusionment with the Wagner Bill should come more swiftly than in the case of the labor sections of the NRA, Roosevelt has protected his position. His "impromptu" speech to the press a few days after the Supreme Court knocked the NRA into a cocked hat, will be recalled. The Supreme Court has acted on the philosophy of "the horse and buggy age." Some time in the next few years the Constitution might have to be amended if the Supreme Court persisted in such interpretations. Nothing more along

Ryan Cops ILA Gab Fest; Raises Salary

Under the slogan of "Kick the radical elements out of the American Federation of Labor" and "A square deal to square employers," Joseph P. Ryan was again elected to serve as President of the International Longshoremen's Association for four years.

The first days of the convention, held at the Governor Clinton Hotel in New York, were turned into a get-together gabfest in which talk, talk, and more talk was the order of the day. One of the first very important acts of the convention was the presentation of a gold—solid gold—membership card in the union to the present prize-fight fight champion, Braddock. Then William Green opened up an anti-red barrage lasting for hours in which the red stripes in the flag were barely spared.

Harry Bridges of the West Coast delegation took the floor. For almost two hours he spoke, telling of the dock strike on the Pacific of last year, answering the red-baiting charges of Green and Ryan and generally exposing the corrupt machine of Ryan and his cohorts in the Longshoremen's union.

Bridges Outmaneuvered

On Thursday after days of speech making in which nothing of a practical nature had been taken up, days in which not a resolution had been read or a concrete motion acted on, the first item thrown on the agenda for action was the election of officers. Bridges tried to protest but he was overruled by the convention. The chairman then called for nominations for president. J. P. Ryan was nominated. After calling for more nominations for a number of minutes someone suggested that nominations be closed.

Your correspondent approached Bridges and asked him why the West Coast delegation had not nominated anybody for the office. Bridges declared: "We are pledged by the West coast membership not to nominate anybody until after the resolutions have been discussed and to vote for officers of our union by a national referendum."

So far as the delegates assembled were concerned this strategy on the part of the Bridges delegation went completely over their heads as Bridges had no occasion under the procedure adopted to explain it. Some of the delegates demanded of Bridges to run for president or nominate someone other than Ryan if he was so violently opposed to him. But Bridges had his mind made up not to play ball. Outmaneuvered by the machine in having the elections put on the agenda before the resolutions, Bridges decided on a silent boycott of the whole proceedings.

The vote was called for and Ryan

this line has emanated from the White House since this "trial balloon" was sent up. If the measures already taken suffice to retain liberal and labor support until the elections then talk about an amendment can rest and timid souls will be reassured that after all Roosevelt will do nothing rash, even though in his general way he sometimes "says the most radical things." Should the pressure of industrialists and financiers, by means of an early adverse Supreme Court decision or otherwise, emasculate the Wagner Act, however, and labor and other elements develop a belligerent attack, then the slogan of a constitutional amendment can be brought forward for the presidential campaign and as a basis for urging the unions not to "spoil their own case by resorting to direct action."

On the part of many rank-and-file the call for independent political action, for a labor party, etc., represents a radicalization, a consciousness that labor must pass beyond "pure and simple trade unionism." The so-called progressive trade union leaders, however, aided and abetted by the C. P., S. P., and other political groups, are practicing tail-endism in this matter. Instead of educating the masses in the need for a revolutionary political solution of this problem and rallying them around the banner of a revolutionary Marxist party, they divert thought and energy into the channel of a labor party, a program which can produce no immediate gains for labor in this period and which, insofar as it succeeds, hinders the development of an effective revolutionary party which alone can effectively guide the daily struggles now and provide clear leadership and a bulwark against fascism when the crisis again becomes intensified. For us there is no more urgent political task than that of developing an offensive against the labor party propaganda. And "offensive" is here used advisedly. Negative criticism of the labor party idea is certain to appear to the rank and file as carping against him when he has become aroused to the necessity of "doing something." His enthusiasm must be aroused for the positive alternative of the revolutionary party, for the real as against the fake solution of his problems.

Although the administration was defeated in this matter it made an undemocratic use of its majority to force through an amendment to the constitution depriving the membership meeting of the power to determine the policies of the union. This was done at the end of a six hour meeting called to act upon the report of the Dewey Committee and after a considerable part of the membership had left the meeting. In place of the membership meeting as set up composed of representatives of union groups in the schools. This measure would have been a step forward for the union if combined with the continuation of membership meetings, but carried out after the abolition of membership meetings it became a bureaucratic distortion of democratic procedure.

Reveal Background of Fight By Militants in Teachers' Union for Real Democracy

This is the second of a series of articles on the situation in the Teachers Union resulting from the "red" investigation carried on by the Administration at the behest of William Green.—Ed.

In 1931 and 1932 the Administration's tactic was to concentrate the policy making power of the Union into the hands of the Executive Board by proposing constitutional amendments requiring a two-thirds majority at a membership meeting as necessary to override decisions of the Board. After this move had failed the Administration threw the organization into turmoil by preferring charges of expulsion against thirty-two leading members of the minority. Under pressure of protests by the members the number was reduced to five. Finally a packed grievance committee, headed by Prof. John Dewey was elected to hear the charges. The Dewey Committee brought in a report condemning the existence of minority groups and recommending the suspension of the five members for a period of one year. The suspension was voted down by the membership meeting in April 1933.

Although the administration was defeated in this matter it made an undemocratic use of its majority to force through an amendment to the constitution depriving the membership meeting of the power to determine the policies of the union. This was done at the end of a six hour meeting called to act upon the report of the Dewey Committee and after a considerable part of the membership had left the meeting. In place of the membership meeting as set up composed of representatives of union groups in the schools. This measure would have been a step forward for the union if combined with the continuation of membership meetings, but carried out after the abolition of membership meetings it became a bureaucratic distortion of democratic procedure.

Placed Hopes on LaGuardia

The administration likewise revealed its hand in the struggle of the Union with the La Guardia administration over the question of a furlough for teachers (temporary salary cut). In this struggle Dr. Lefkowitz admitted that the administration had placed its confidence in the pre-election promises of La Guardia not to cut teachers salaries and had supported him in the campaign on the basis of that promise. When La Guardia, yielding to the pressure of the bankers and real estate interests broke his promise, the Administration expressed its amazement. When it had recovered from its amazement it proceeded to defend the politician of the broken promises by pointing to the financial difficulties which the newly-elected Mayor had inherited from the previous Tammany regime.

The result of the Administration's course was to strengthen the opposition. Its expulsion on proceedings, its anti-democratic measures, its position in the salary fights, its opposition to mass action which even Wall St. brokers were using, its tail ending of the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations, its undercover support of the La Guardia Administration, its frequent resort to red baiting while posing as a radical leadership, its failure to give timely and adequate defense to victimized teachers like Blumberg, Begun and Burroughs, its fraternization with 59th St.—all these actions caused it to lose its own supporters en masse to the opposition. In addition, a process of radicalization due to the economic crisis, was taking place among teachers. Teachers who had been known for their conservative or liberal views became militant and radical as the crisis continued without abatement. An influx of new members from the ranks of the regular and substitute teachers only added new recruits to the ranks of the opposition.

The Green Anti-Red Campaign In the winter of 1935 the Administration began to realize that the anti-democratic measures of 1933 (abolition of membership meetings) had not solved the question of securing a stable majority for itself or even the Delegate Assembly was not always safe. It now realized that it had only postponed its inevitable defeat for a few years. It decided to renew its campaign to destroy the opposition by extra-legal measures. The pretext was furnished by a letter which William Green, President of the A. F. of L. had sent to all local unions demanding the expulsion of communists.

The Delegate Assembly, controlled by the Administration, and against its opposition, replied to Green by repudiating his demand and defending the right of all teachers to Union membership regardless of political views or affiliations. Green, continuing his letter campaign called the Teachers Union a communist organization which had no proper place in the A. F. of L. At this juncture the President of the Union, Dr. Linville, proceeded to save the Union's reputation from

the charge of "communism." In a series of letters to the membership, and without permission from the Delegate Assembly he attacked that body for upholding the right of union members to hold political opinions of their own choosing. He also rehearsed the charges of the Dewey Committee concerning the alleged political affiliations of the minority groups. It must be emphasized, that such charges, regardless of their truth or untruth, have a sinister, red-baiting character, because they place in jeopardy the jobs of those teachers who support the opposition.

Neglect Costly in Elections

Timed with the issuance of the Linville letters came the announcement of the organization of the "Organized Union Majority" headed by Linville and Lefkowitz. This was the first time that the Administration appeared before the Union as an organized group. The leaders of the Bank and File and the Progressive Groups failed to estimate correctly the appearance of this group. They turned down the proposal of the Committee for Democracy in the Union to form a united front to combat the Organized Union Majority and to conduct a campaign for the restoration of democratic membership rights in the Union. This action of the two minority groups proved very costly for in the election platform the main plank of the Organized Union Majority was the demand for the suppression of the minority groups and foreshadowed the present investigation." In the elections for officers and members of the Executive Board the Administration candidates polled less than 60 percent of the vote while the opposition polled more than 40 percent, despite the fact that over 200 applications for membership had been purposely held up in order to prevent these members from voting. It is believed, for the opposition candidates. When it is recalled that in the elections of 1930, the Administration polled between 85 percent and 90 percent of the vote, it becomes clear why the Administration has moved its steam-roller at such a rapid pace. The hand writing of its future defeat was on the wall.

In place of the membership meeting as set up composed of representatives of union groups in the schools. This measure would have been a step forward for the union if combined with the continuation of membership meetings, but carried out after the abolition of membership meetings it became a bureaucratic distortion of democratic procedure.

Placed Hopes on LaGuardia

The administration likewise revealed its hand in the struggle of the Union with the La Guardia administration over the question of a furlough for teachers (temporary salary cut). In this struggle Dr. Lefkowitz admitted that the administration had placed its confidence in the pre-election promises of La Guardia not to cut teachers salaries and had supported him in the campaign on the basis of that promise. When La Guardia, yielding to the pressure of the bankers and real estate interests broke his promise, the Administration expressed its amazement. When it had recovered from its amazement it proceeded to defend the politician of the broken promises by pointing to the financial difficulties which the newly-elected Mayor had inherited from the previous Tammany regime.

The result of the Administration's course was to strengthen the opposition. Its expulsion on proceedings, its anti-democratic measures, its position in the salary fights, its opposition to mass action which even Wall St. brokers were using, its tail ending of the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations, its undercover support of the La Guardia Administration, its frequent resort to red baiting while posing as a radical leadership, its failure to give timely and adequate defense to victimized teachers like Blumberg, Begun and Burroughs, its fraternization with 59th St.—all these actions caused it to lose its own supporters en masse to the opposition. In addition, a process of radicalization due to the economic crisis, was taking place among teachers. Teachers who had been known for their conservative or liberal views became militant and radical as the crisis continued without abatement. An influx of new members from the ranks of the regular and substitute teachers only added new recruits to the ranks of the opposition.

The Green Anti-Red Campaign In the winter of 1935 the Administration began to realize that the anti-democratic measures of 1933 (abolition of membership meetings) had not solved the question of securing a stable majority for itself or even the Delegate Assembly was not always safe. It now realized that it had only postponed its inevitable defeat for a few years. It decided to renew its campaign to destroy the opposition by extra-legal measures. The pretext was furnished by a letter which William Green, President of the A. F. of L. had sent to all local unions demanding the expulsion of communists.

The Delegate Assembly, controlled by the Administration, and against its opposition, replied to Green by repudiating his demand and defending the right of all teachers to Union membership regardless of political views or affiliations. Green, continuing his letter campaign called the Teachers Union a communist organization which had no proper place in the A. F. of L. At this juncture the President of the Union, Dr. Linville, proceeded to save the Union's reputation from

C.P. Warned to Stop Hooligan Tactics in N.Y.

Stalinists and Cops Break up W.P. Meeting

The following letters addressed to the Communist Party and the Civil Liberties Union speak for themselves. And what they say loudest is that the W. P. will countenance no further violence on its meetings even if it is necessary to call upon the entire radical labor movement in New York to put an end to these fascist methods.—Ed.

July 16, 1935

New York District Committee
Communist Party U.S.A.
50 East 13th Street
New York City
Comrades,

Last Friday evening, July 12, members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League with the aid of the police broke up an open air meeting held by the East Side Branch of the Workers Party, at Norfolk and Delancey Streets.

Similar actions by members of your party have been taken against meetings of the Socialist Party, Young Peoples Socialist League, Unemployed Union and other workers' organizations.

We call your attention to the fact that such conduct plays into the hands of capitalist reaction. It gives the police a pretext for limiting or prohibiting all workers' public meetings. It is particularly condemnable at a time like the present when the crying need is common action of all workers' organizations against the growing wave of reaction which threatens all workers' democratic rights.

We call upon you to state the policy of your party in respect to the conduct of your members in breaking up working class meetings.

We will hold an open air meeting this Friday evening at the same corner as last week, Norfolk and Delancey Streets. All necessary steps have been taken for the adequate defense of the meetings against any attempts to disrupt it.

If members of your party continue the tactics employed last week, at this or any other meeting of the Workers Party, we plan to call on all workers' organizations to form a united front committee in defense of workers' meetings.

We urge your consideration of the above and an early reply.

Fraternally,
MORRIS LEWITT,
District Organizer.

P.S. A copy of this letter is being sent to the American Civil Liberties Union. We are calling upon the A. C. L. U. to send an observer to Friday's meeting.

July 16, 1935.
American Civil Liberties Union
Metropolitan Bldg.
31 Union Sq. West
New York City
Dear Friends,

You will find enclosed a letter sent to the Communist Party re the breaking up of an open air meeting of the Workers Party by members of that organization.

You will note that we intend holding another open air meeting this Friday evening at the same place as last week, Norfolk and Delancey Streets. The meeting will open at 7:30 P.M.

In view of the position of the A. C. L. U., we request that you send an observer to our Friday meeting. In case of a repetition of last week's occurrences your observer will be in a position to give an objective report.

Kindly inform us of your decision.
Fraternally,
DISTRICT ORGANIZER.

What to Attend

Saturday evening, July 20—Refresh Yourself!! Immediately after the District Discussion Meeting, at a party given by Branch 1, 420 E. 19th St. Dancing, eats, drinks.

Saturday, July 20, 9 P.M.—The Social affair announced by the East Side Branch 2 at 41 Morton St. (Normans) has been postponed from Friday, July 19 to Saturday, July 20. A good time is guaranteed. (Benefit New Militant). IRT to Sheridan Sq. 4 blocks south.

Fridays—Dram-group meets every Friday at 8 P.M., 55 East 11 St. All comrades interested are urged to attend this Friday. Auspices: Spartacus Youth League.

Friday, July 19, 8 P.M.—Sketch group meets. Aus.: S. Y. L.

Sunday, July 21, 11 A.M.—Beach Frolic to Rockaway Beach. Take IRT to New Lots Station. Take "Hammels" bus to 84th St. Meet on beach at First Aid Station. Round fare 30c. Aus.: S. Y. L.

Beginning with the next issue all "What to Attend" notices must be in the hands of the Editor no later than Tuesday noon.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

LOS ANGELES COMRADE—

Question: In B. Palme Dutt's "Fascism and Social Revolution," the author makes it appear that the Communist Party of Germany made incessant appeals to the Social Democracy for a united front to combat fascism but that the Socialists stubbornly refused. What is the truth in this?

Answer: Prior to Hitler's coming to power the Stalinists were programmatically forbidden to make united fronts with the Social Democracy because the Communist International (headed by Stalin-maintained that the social democracy and fascism were twins and that only a united front from below under the leadership of the Communist Party could and would be considered. On two occasions, the Communist Party of Germany, forced into this by life itself, announced in its public press its willingness to make a united front with the Social Democracy, thereby condemning as false its entire approach toward the united front, since on the days preceding and following such public declaration, the Socialists were still "social fascists" and only the "united front from below" was possible.

The Stalinist apologists, e.g., Dutt, are today attempting to pass off as the program of the C.P.G. prior to January, 1933, those declarations by means of which the Stalinists condemned their own program (The exception proves the rule but is nevertheless not identical with it.)

If you wish elaborate quotations, see the files of the (old) "Militants" for 1932 and 1933 and "What Next?" and "The Only Road" by Trotsky. A file of the Daily Worker for this period will also show that Dutt is far from interested in truthfully establishing historical facts.

J. P., NEW YORK—

Question: Should workers refrain from striking to benefit their conditions where they are handling products destined for the Soviet Union?

Answer: By no means. Our slogan: "The enemy is at home," which applies even to the case where the United States and the Soviet Union are war time allies, surely holds during peace time.

It is only from the Stalinist concept of "Socialism in one country," which counterposes the international proletarian revolution to the economic success of the Soviet Union, that one can arrive at the conclusion that a strike, which affects products destined for that country, can be of harm rather than of aid to it.

It is true that certain economic difficulties can develop in the Soviet Union as a result of such strikes. If, however, the American workers must make sacrifices for the Russian workers, is not the obligation mutual, particularly when the fulfillment of his international duties is, in the final analysis, in the best interests of the Russian worker?

The greatest aid to the Soviet Union is the extension of the class struggle internationally, because the workers' fatherland is deemed as a Soviet state unless the workers seize power in at least several of the advanced capitalist countries.

S. L. P., BALLSTON SPA, N. Y.—

Question: How can you expect to institute a Socialist society unless you change human nature?

Answer: The peculiar thing about this criticism is that those who advance it attribute to us an "idealistic" position and then proceed to overthrow their own straw man.

We are materialists, not idealists. Our perspectives do not flow from the idea that human nature will be educated by our propaganda into becoming "unselfish," but, on the contrary, that human nature, being what it is, the masses are forced, in their own self-material-interests, under the given historical conditions and productive forces of society, to bring about a social change.

Selfishness itself, or more strictly speaking, the methods by which human beings look after their own interests, is an historical and not a fixed human characteristic, and is conditioned by the social mode of production.

Under capitalism the self-interest of the rulers of society, whose ideology is that of the society so long as this rule exists, is best served by individual appropriation of wealth regardless of, and in opposition to, the welfare of others. Selfishness, therefore, takes on the form of individualism. Under a Socialist society the welfare of the individual is best served when the interests of society are enhanced so that selfishness will take on the form of collectivism.

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

WORKERS
Protect Yourself Against the Hazards of Life, Join the WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S. 1884-1935

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

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

Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick benefit payments from \$360 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.

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Attention New Yorkers!
PIONEER BOOKSHOP
96 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.
Tel: AL. 4-4950

Will be Closed Saturdays During JULY and AUGUST

Open Daily from 1 to 7 P.M.

BOOKS OF ALL PUBLISHERS

Pacifism Keynote of A. Y. C.

Stalinists Adopt Social Patriotic Position - Defeat Spartacus Resolution to Oppose U.S. Imperialism under any Conditions in Next War — Whole Venture Nears Collapse - Yipsels Prepare Break

The American Youth Congress, a successful attempt at the mutilation of the Leninist united front tactic, held its second national convention in Detroit, Michigan on July 4, 5, 6 and 7. The congress opened with the singing at an outdoor mass meeting, attended by 2,000, of "America." In consideration of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, ten o'clock mass was arranged at which Reverend Ward preached a delightful and most interesting sermon.

This second convention was characterized principally by its moving to the right of the New York congress (August, 1934) and the Washington "plenum" (January, 1935). Having completed its gradual capitulation to pacifism, the congress was no longer dignified by a reluctant opposition to IMPERIALIST war. Resolutions congruous with revolutionary spirit were supplanted entirely by the slogans of the pacifists. Thus, at last, the congress came out flat-footed for a program of national and international social harmony, and international peace among nations. The congress reeled from beginning to end with "peace." (Amen!)

The Stalinists, chief sponsors of the congress, blocked every formulation, motion, resolution or amendment that stood to the left of the proposed program. Every resolution introduced to the right of the program was carried with passionate enthusiasm and exhilaration. With the Y.P.S.L. they were terribly concerned about not offending pacifist and liberal elements. They were consequently little concerned with offense to revolutionary elements by passing a pacifist, liberal and non-labor program. Every left semi-left proposal was combatted by a classically opportunist argument: "Everybody knows that my organization is heartily in favor of that resolution. However it must be defeated because its acceptance will narrow the congress to purely labor organizations."

In compliance with the character of the congress, a weak, innocuous and ambiguous document, a clumsy attempt at evasion, was presented. This message of liberalism, submitted to the four seminars for discussion and "correction," was labeled "The Declaration of Rights of the American Youth." Its most radical feature was a recognition of the existence of a number of ills in present day society. The terms "capitalist," "working class," "class struggle," "imperialist war" were scrupulously avoided. The "few" ills were mentioned with liberal indignation, without explaining their origin or proposing a solution other than vague references to freedom of speech, press and assembly. The Spartacus Youth League proposed rejection of this "moral indictment" of capitalism. If a programmatic declaration, going beyond proper united front agreement on action, was to be drafted, argued, the S.Y.L., the declaration must include the responsibility of capitalism for the evils listed in the document (which should be analyzed with specific reference to the youth), and that only the destruction of this society could solve these evils. Such a program alone could be a true Declaration of Rights.

The document reads: "We propose to realize in actuality the ideal of free America." (How?) "We propose the maintenance and the extension of our elementary rights of free speech, press and assembly, with full academic freedom in the schools, and the unhampered use of the streets, parks and public buildings for the expression of opinion."

As revolutionaries we distinguished ourselves from the liberals by qualifying our interpretation of civil rights. We aim to deny these rights to our enemies. Reactionary and fascist organizations confront occasional difficulties (see New Militant, June 13, for example of Father Coughlin in Chicago). The formulation of the A.Y.C. allowed freedom of speech for the fascists—a resolution consistent with C. P. policy, as evidenced in the Father Coughlin incident. Hence, the following amendment was introduced by the S.Y.L. and met with defeat after having been viciously attacked by the Y.C.L. spokesman:

"We propose the maintenance and the extension of the elementary rights of the WORKING CLASS AND THEIR PROGRESSIVE ALLIES to free speech, press and assembly with full academic freedom in the schools, and the unhampered use of the streets, parks and public buildings for the expression of opinion. WE REFUSE TO STRUGGLE FOR OR TO DEFEND THE CIVIL LIBERTIES OF THOSE MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS WHICH AIM TO DENY US (the working class) civil liberties and rights (Fascists)."

The Declaration continues: "We affirm the right of workers to join trade unions and to use the weapons of strike to advance their economic interests." At Washington

THE S. Y. L. RESOLUTION

1. There exists at present a danger in the workers movement and all anti-war organizations, a tendency to distinguish, in their struggle against war, between Fascist countries and the so-called democratic countries and lead their sympathies to the democratic country. This Congress goes on record against ANY war engaged in by American imperialism.

2. The Congress does not recognize such a thing as a "lesser evil," i.e., the idea that justifies support of one's own country, or any country, whose political form is still a so-called democratic one, against a country in which Fascism or reaction is in power. Such a war could not and would not be in the interests of the masses and to countenance this theory could only lead to creating a support of the masses to such a war.

3. The Congress recognizes that any pact engaged in by this country, would be so engaged in only to advance the interests of American imperialism, and under no circumstances can the workers movement or any anti-war movement support any pact entered into by the ruling class of this country.

4. We affirm the rights of workers to join trade unions and POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS and to employ strikes and OTHER POLITICAL WEAPONS to advance the ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERESTS OF THE OPPRESSED CLASSES."

The document of the conference concludes: "... taking our stand squarely upon the principles announced by our forefathers on July 4, 1776." In vain did the S.Y.L. argue that the principles of 1776, revolutionary as they were for the time, are the principles of capitalist rule. For our proposal to delete this section from the document we were violently attacked by the Y.C.L. as sectarian, opposed to the document (which we were), confusing the issue (which we were not) and offending the liberals and pacifists.

The S.Y.L. motion was defeated with a few Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L. members voting for it. Significantly, despite the attack on the S.Y.L., the section was deleted from the final draft.

In the Illinois seminar, Ethel Shachner of the Y.P.S.L. made a

TOLEDO PLAN HITS LABOR

Continued from Page 1
McGrady, for some reason, failed to describe further the aftermath of the Edison strike, what wage increases had actually been gained by the strikers who had listened to the terms of settlement, what steps had actually been taken to see that the terms of agreement were carried out. When asked about the arbitration parley on wages scheduled for the next day, McGrady conveniently said he had not been informed of the meeting.

All the Toledo newspapers, so blatant in playing up the wholesale vendoring of the Edison strikers, found it politic to either ignore the meeting entirely or bury it in the less read sections of their papers.

Slobbers Over Plutocrats
According to McGrady, people were continually asking him the question, "What is the matter with Toledo?" His answer to this is that "there is nothing fundamentally wrong with Toledo or American labor." Then, as always before business men, even in the face of actual labor struggle, McGrady resorted to the hand-kissing that has continually demonstrated the lackey in him: "There are no greater industrial leaders anywhere than you have right here in your city. You have men of vision, courage, and who have confidence in the future of your community."

McGrady then went into the old, old saw about an American way out through mediation and compromise:

"All our industrial, financial, political and labor leaders must apply themselves unselfishly to find a solution, an American solution, in an American way, and that way is not through Fascism or Communism, but by the use of patience, common sense and united team work, all pulling for the common good we will find a solution for these problems."

It all sounded much like the "Labor is Capital; Capital Labor" hokum handed out by the then U. S. Commissioner of Labor, Carroll Wright, at the beginning of the century.

The tableau of deceit in Toledo could never be complete without the entrance of Oliver Myers, notorious secretary of the Toledo Building Trades Council and business agent of the Electrical Workers' Union. Myers sent McGrady his best wishes and complete approval of the so-called Toledo Plan.

How deep an impression the militancy of Toledo workers has made upon industrial barons and their puppets in Washington was disclosed when McGrady, in an inter-

TOLEDO PLAN HITS LABOR

view, said that an office would be set up in Toledo, with a representative of the Department of Labor in charge. This office would immediately go about getting the Toledo Plan in operation, presumably before the workers could recover from their last two foul blows. A committee, composed of both capitalists and "representatives" of labor, had already held one meeting to put the scheme in effect, and another gathering had been arranged for July 16, McGrady stated.

As soon as the Rotary Club meeting was over, McGrady departed for New York by plane to help that equally famous strikebreaker, Hugh Johnson, with his plans for dispersment of relief funds.

The "Toledo Plan for Industrial Peace" is too apparently Roosevelt's answer to the organized and militant efforts of Toledo workers to gain better conditions of labor. It would be difficult to find a center where American workers have, during the past few years, used better directed fighting tactics than in Toledo. The telling effects of these tactics are evident in the pains the Roosevelt administration has taken to check them by a red herring called the Toledo Plan. But Ohio workers have another "Toledo Plan" that they know will work: their next step in its operation will be complete exposure of McGrady's fine plans for perpetual sellouts.

Picket Work Relief Office
The start of the picketing of the Works Progress Administration under the Johnson regime occurred last Friday. Fifty-three men and women, members of local 15 of the Workers Unemployed Union picketed in front of the building under the following slogans:

"Trade Union Wages, General Johnson,—Not Your Berry Pickers' Scale!"
"Promises, Promises, Promises, Where Are the Jobs?"
"Give Us Relief From Relief, We Demand Jobs!"
"Thirty Dollars for Thirty Hours!"

After picketing for more than an hour a committee of three, Paula Aragon, Nell Harrison and, Saul Steiglitz presented their demands to the administration. Johnson and Francis Robinson ("Robbie") being in Washington, the delegation was received by Captain Battley, first aide to the General.

The demands presented were:
1. Jobs for all unemployed;
2. Minimum wages of \$1 an hour; with trade union wages when such are higher;
3. Thirty-hour week on all jobs;

period with a re-adjustment of rates. The basic monthly assessment was adjusted at 25 cents for each three dollars sick benefit provision. The death benefit in the Juvenile Department was considerably increased though the monthly assessment of 10 cents was retained. Our initiation fees which were too high for the changed economic conditions were reduced to nominal fees ranging from one to three dollars.

Since the time of organization in 1884, the society grew by the sole activity of its members. No organizers nor agents were employed, no money appropriated for such solicitation. The convention empowered the administration to employ from the ranks of the membership organizers on a temporary as well as permanent basis to gain new members for the society.

WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND HOLDS CONVENTION

By PAUL STURM
National Secretary
BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The 17th Convention of this Society was held June 10 to June 24 in the society's main administration building, located at 714 Seneca Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. The quadrennial report was given by the National Secretary. The report showed that the society made a surplus of \$289,276.72 during the past four years. The solid financial foundation is evidenced by the large reserves. All funds on hand December 31, 1934 amounted to \$3,533,808.73.

The convention did not act as a "rubber stamp" for measures prepared to amend the society's constitution, but deliberated all business very thoroughly, after several special committees, elected by the assembly, had gone over the constitutional amendments and rendered their report. Many delegates participated in the debate during the plenum session, at on time, more than forty members of the convention took part in the discussion.

The main feature of the W. S. and D. B. F. to wit, to provide for payment of sick benefit to its members for a continuous period of 80 weeks was extended to a 100 weeks

4. Setting up of Appeals Board with adequate representation of relief workers and trade unions to act in cases of discharges, discrimination, etc.

5. No discrimination against women workers.

When the delegation told Captain Battley that this was only the beginning of the fight for their demands, the captain replied that he was an army man and would know how to take care of trouble—presumably in true army style. He was told by the delegation that he wasn't in the army now but in civilian clothes and working for the Works Division. He finally flared up when the delegation told him to inform General Johnson when presenting their demands that he wasn't on the San Francisco Coast now and he couldn't pull the same stuff that he pulled during the General strike.

BROOKLYN, N. Y. (FP).—Golfers out for exercise at the Dyker Beach Park municipal golf course in Brooklyn found themselves forced to carry their own clubs when 225 caddies walked off the job at 5 A.M., July 15. They want \$1 a round, instead of the 75 cents they've been getting.

Tom Mooney's fight for freedom was considered and a resolution passed unanimously to donate \$2,000 to the Tom Mooney Donors' Defense Committee to help to set this victim of injustice free.

A resolution was also passed to aid the suffering and destitute miners with a \$1,000 contribution.

Old Guard Swamps Militants at SP Meet

Continued from Page 1

Under this blanket definition the Old Guard state organizations can expel members of the Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association, "Militants," and even those who take the Detroit Declaration of Principles seriously, or who demand that the national organization enforce discipline against the state organizations. Under the banner of "unity" Norman Thomas and other "militants" voted for this point, carrying it by 8 to 3. Only Daniel, Hapgood and Kreuger voted against.

Thomas Backslides
To support the Old Guard on this, Norman Thomas threw overboard the line laid down in his speech at the Detroit convention supporting the Declaration of Principles. Then Thomas, moving from an outright reformist position to the ambiguous formulas of centrism, declared that there were circumstances under which violence against capitalism was necessary and dictatorial methods of workers' government were superior to the bogus democracy of capitalism. One consequence of Thomas' new attitude was to secure the issuance of an invitation to "unattached radicals" to join the S. P.; this was arranged with the collaboration of Gittlow-Zam-Goldman and resulted in their joining the S. P. under the slogan "revolutionary unity within the S. P." All this is now thrown overboard by Thomas in his alliance on principles with the Old Guard.

All other points were carried by 7 to 4. Devere Allen voting with the minority on the other points, after, as a pacifist opposed to proletarian violence, having given the Old Guard support on the most decisive point.

2. The N. Y. State organization "accepted" the Declaration of Principles, on the proviso that it can be criticized and changed at the next convention.

3. National, state and local constitutions to be enforced. This is a meaningless abstraction, to save the face of the N.E.C. which has been confronted by systematic Old Guard violations of the national constitution, which are now to be ignored.

4. Eligibility of Yipsels to party membership at 18 years to be carried out by the state organization. With point one defining eligibility, the Old Guard can keep out the leading Yipsei cadres, who are breaking with reformist ideas.

5. No vicious attacks on comrades in party press and no statements to the capitalist press.

Drop N. Y. Charges
6. The "militants" charges against New York state organization to be dismissed without implication that they are right or wrong. These charges, including the suspension of sufficient branches to enable the Old Guard to capture the City Central Committee, can now be acted upon only by the Old Guard state organization!

7. The suspended Y.P.S.L. of New York is to be reinstated without requiring from it a declaration of loyalty to the New Leader, but is to accept the direction and control of the Old Guard.

8. The New Leader is to be put back into its constitution a declaration of loyalty to the Socialist Party and to print no factional news; if this is done, the Socialist Call is to be discontinued. Since no mention is made that the N.E.C. or any other body is to decide whether the New Leader has fulfilled its requirements, this means that the Old Guard state organization is in a position to order the Socialist Call to cease publication. Another motion to take the New Leader off the accredited list of socialist papers, because of its vicious attacks on the N.E.C., was countered by a victorious substitute motion, supported by James O'Neal, editor of the New Leader, to abolish the list of accredited papers!

Thus did the "Militants" reap in full measure the fruits of their policy of liquidating all efforts to build an independent Left wing, of suppressing the facts about Norman Thomas' constant support of Right wing principles, of ignoring all the signs of many months that the N.E.C. majority was preparing to come to an understanding with the Old Guard. As late as Saturday night, at a mass meeting to greet the N.E.C.—which was boycotted by the old Guard—two "militants," Aaron Levenstein and Saul Marcus, declared from the platform to the N.E.C.: "We declare our loyalty to you, no matter what you

do." With the "Left wing" taking such a fawning attitude—and the Old Guard harassing them and hammering away, the N.E.C. could betray their promises to the "Militants" with complete impunity.

Norman "Swears"
In a caucus held in the Socialist Call office on Friday night, Thomas and Coolidge had sworn to revoke the Old Guard's state charter. But two days later they voted solidly with the Old Guard. Why shouldn't they? They had no fear of any retaliation by their "militant" allies, who had docilely for a year done whatever Thomas ordered them to. And fundamentally Thomas, Coolidge, Allen, Krzycki—all the Militants' friends—belonged with the Old Guard; they had struggled for control of the party with them, hated them for this and that; but at bottom they were as devout believers in the "democracy" of the capitalist state as the Old Guard. Under the slogan of "save the party," they voted with those whom they really belong with.

"They didn't sell us down the river. They gave us away," declared one "Militant" leader. But the "Militants" have only prepared this situation by their own course. Combinationist, unprincipled, seeking to make deals instead of fighting for the leadership of the rank and file on a revolutionary basis, it was by such a deal that they joined with Hoan to elect the majority of the N.E.C. which has now dumped them—a "Left wing," without a program, with a leadership of heterogeneous political views, always leaning on Norman Thomas or some other Personality instead of depending on the rank and file—such a policy can only lead to capitulation.

The only N.E.C. members who did not back water were those whose only standing in the party and possibilities for support are as "Left wing" candidates. Kreuger, frightened by the attacks made on him by Left wingers at the recent Illinois state convention and the fact that he was at the bottom of the list of those elected to the state committee, dropped his recent maneuvering with Hoan, and rejoined the minority. Powers Hapgood fought desperately, but paid for the policy of a bloc with Thomas of which he has been an insistent advocate. Franz Daniel, elected to the N.E.C. as the candidate of the Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association, and with only this group to give him any standing, revealed his serious weakness when he voted for the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill on the sole ground that the A. F. of L. was for it.

Old Guard Satisfied
The Old Guard expressed complete satisfaction with the "peace pact," and declared that they would make Dan Hoan the presidential candidate (was this part of the deal?). But peace is merely the slogan under which the Old Guard and the Centrists are uniting in order to carry on war against the Left. With a blanket definition of communism as their sword, the new Old Guard-Hoan-Thomas leadership have the weapon with which to cut down every Left winger who takes his principles seriously.

The Leftward moving elements in the S. P. have suffered a serious defeat, the main responsibility for which must be laid at the door of the "Militants." The only hope of recovery from this defeat is a complete break with their past methods. The Left wing workers must hammer out a program, the only genuine foundation for a Left wing faction. Undoubtedly in the course of working out this program, they will find that many elements in the "Militant" leadership must be broken with, especially those who vie with the Stalinists in supporting the Franco-Soviet pact and a labor party, and who even after Thomas' open stand with the Old Guard, still seek collaboration with him. Without a revolutionary program and a break with the pacifists and reformists like Thomas and Devere Allen, the Left wing workers in the S. P. cannot even begin the process of building their disoriented ranks.

Already there are those in the ranks of the "Militants" who are saying that the "peace pact" is not entirely a defeat, that the Yipsels got something, etc., etc., and are hoping against hope that the ultra-reactionaries in the Old Guard camp will criticize the "peace pact" and thus give these wavering "Militants" an excuse to crawl back to Thomas. This tendency must be immediately crushed by the militant rank and file who must demand the immediate turn to the hammering out of a revolutionary program, and the conducting of an intransigent struggle for their views.

CASE OF FRAMED NEGROES TO GO TO U. S. SUPREME COURT
JACKSON, Miss. (FP).—Three Kemper county Negro farmhands who were tortured and beaten into "confessing" the murder of a white tenant farmer will have their case brought to the U. S. Supreme Court, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has announced.

NEW MILITANT
with which is merged THE MILITANT
Published weekly by the New Militant Publishing Co., 55 East 11th St. New York City.
Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
JAMES P. CANNON: Editor
Subscription rates: In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c 6 months. Canada and Foreign \$1.50 per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle Rates: Two cents per copy.
Vol. 1 JULY 20, 1935 No. 30