

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Hitler Unmasks German Rearmament

That disquieting open "secret" of European diplomacy, the rearmament of Germany contrary to the Versailles Treaty, has finally become the accomplished fact...

But the string attached to the negotiations of his signing an Eastern Locarno Pact "guaranteeing" peace with Soviet Russia, was diametrically at variance with the avowed objective of Nazism to expand eastward...

The comment on this unmasking of fascist Germany's preparations for the coming war, particularly in the English press, proves that Hitler judged the situation correctly...

Stalinism In France

Internally and externally Stalinism pursues the politics of the

"lesser evil"; that is to say, the politics of meeting reaction half way. Even before Hitler's casting off of all bounds that prevented the formation of a conscript army to be hurled against the Soviet Union...

The Stalinists pose the struggle basis to maintain bourgeois democracy. In this popular front—inclined to diffuse and weaken the too dangerous united front of the proletarian forces leading the masses—the Stalinists include the bourgeois radical and radical socialist parties in their alliance with the French government...

Danger of a French Amalgam There can be no clearer explanation for the denunciation heaped on the Trotskyists as police agents by the Stalinists. Where the former call openly, in view of the dangerous situation in France, for the arming of the working class to combat and disarm fascist forces, the Stalinists lead the socialist forces to the trap of calling on the French government to disarm the fascist bands.

S. Y. L. Looks to the Future Of the American Revolution

By REVA CRANE

Today the S.Y.L. is the youth section of the W.P. and endorses its political program. It has consolidated its forces and is now in a position to challenge the existing youth organizations for the leadership of the toiling and student youth of the United States.

Only under the leadership and guidance of a revolutionary party can the youth organization fulfill its tasks and serve as a true rallying center of exploited youth.

Today, however, there exists a party which is capable of leading the revolutionary youth, of guiding it politically and aiding it organizationally. There is every opportunity for the Spartacus Youth League to grow and develop and to fulfill the tasks of a youth organization.

The Workers Party has a great responsibility with regard to the youth movement. There is no other force in the country which can create a movement that will keep the youth from falling victim to fascist demagoguery and militaristic jingoism.

In the ranks of the W. P. are many comrades who were the founders of the early revolutionary youth movement after the war. Many of them played leading parts in the life of the Y.C.L. and these comrades can be of invaluable assistance in guiding the S.Y.L. In those cities where S.Y.L. branches do not exist, it is the duty of these comrades to aid in the establishment of such branches and to give both political and organizational guidance to the young comrades of the S.Y.L. It is the duty of Party comrades to study and understand the needs of the youth organization and to participate in the solution of the problems which confront the League.

Spartacus Youth League function as an independent youth organization which is politically subordinate to the Workers Party. By exchange of representatives on committees, by a careful survey of the needs of the S.Y.L., by an active interest in its life, the Workers Party will demonstrate that it can build and lead the Spartacus Youth League and that it defends the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class youth.

Class Struggle In the S. P.

(Continued from Page 1)

and Adrian Gambet demanded:

(1) That the YPSL rescind its statement on the New Leader even though passed unanimously by the YPSL Executive and approved by an overwhelming majority of the Central Committee. (2) That the YPSL call off the pending elections, which are being held subject to the approval of the Party NEC. (3) That Harold Draper be expelled from the YPSL in spite of the fact that the matter is now before the Party NEC. (4) That the YPSL comply with these demands by March 25 under the penalty of 're-organization.' In the interim the subcommittee was to have full power to act. The subcommittee acted.

"That same nite the YPSL Executive rejected the demands. The Party subcommittee went into immediate session. On inquiry, from official representatives of the League, Bela Low and Adrien Gambet indicated that no action would be taken that night. Low stating that a decision would be reached the next day." The Ypsel office was then closed. Later a young Socialist who walked into the office while the Old Guard henchmen were there, was beaten up.

The National Ypsel office has empowered the YPSL City Executive Committee to go ahead with its work. A special subcommittee has been appointed to help it. The entire matter will go before the National Committee meeting of the Socialist Party to be held in Buffalo this week end. The N.Y. "Millions" are supporting the Y.P.S.L. Meanwhile several N.Y. Socialist party locals have adopted resolutions calling upon the N.C. to reorganize the New York State organization. The National Committee of the S.P. has already notified the N.Y. State Executive Committee that it should show cause why the State organization should not be reorganized.

Why Join the Workers Party

Letters to a Worker Correspondent

By A. J. MUSTE

Fellow-Worker:

My last letter pointed out that we workers cannot obtain plenty and security, deliverance from misery and war, by trying to reform the capitalist economic system. We have to abolish it. And we cannot abolish it except by the revolutionary method. The capitalists are not going to retire gracefully and without a struggle from the scene!

In your answer you said that the workers in your shop kicked about a lot of things like wages and the way they are being speeded up and the high cost of food, but that they did not read any serious papers or books and were against any "radical theories." You added that although they growled a lot they did not show much fight and that you did not think they would ever be ready to "make a revolution."

If by this you mean that you do not have any hope that the masses of the workers will become students of economics and government, will understand and accept the theories set forth in Marx's Capital, and as a result of intellectual reflection will determine to overthrow capitalism, you are perfectly right. That is not the way things happen in history.

You know how it is when a strike occurs in your mill. It does not

happen primarily because the workers have been reading statistics of what is happening in the industry, or because in general they have become radical in their thinking. It comes because of grievances about things in which they are directly concerned, the way in which a foreman treats them, a wage cut, an attempt of the boss to squeeze more work out of them. Such grievances pile up. Presently workers who have had a meek attitude and still regard themselves as thoroughly conservative, strike and fight. In the strike they learn a great deal about the economic system, the banks, the role of the government. Many a worker has become class-conscious and been started on his way to a life of activity in the labor and revolutionary movement in this way.

WHAT THE MASSES FIGHT FOR

The masses may be said always to fight for direct and simple things, for the right to exist, for a better life. When the great Bolshevik revolution broke out in Russia in 1917, they were not moved by a conscious determination to build "a new social order" and a clear picture of what kind of an order it would be. The slogans in the fight were Peace, Bread, Land. The

whole economic and political machinery of the Czarist regime was broken up, was creaking to function altogether. The soldiers wanted to quit the army where they were being slaughtered like cattle. The masses in the cities wanted to eat. The peasants wanted the land which was in the possession of the big land owners.

The time had come when in order to exist, in order to prevent complete ruin, the masses had to carry on their fight, ever more boldly and intensely, and at last against the economic system which served to maintain the economy. Thus, under the leadership of the revolutionary party, the masses carried through the revolution to overthrow capitalism and establish the workers' state.

All the details as to how the job was done in Russia, or how it may be carried through here where, of course, the conditions are not exactly the same, we need not go into here. But we can see before our own eyes how things may shape up. We recall how last year in Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and plenty of other places, tens of thousands came out on the streets and picketed in support of

strikes which in many cases involved directly only a small number. When a "general strike" occurs, even on a restricted scale, who decides whether milk shall be delivered to children or the light and power kept on in the hospitals?

HOW ARE STRIKES CAUSED?

At this point, another important factor must be emphasized. You know that agitators and radicals do not cause strikes, as the kept press tries to make out. You have had plenty of experience of how at certain times no amount of agitation can cause the slightest stir among the workers. Rotten conditions cause the workers to revolt, particularly when they see a chance of doing something about them. But you know also that when last year the unrest increased in your mill, it was you and the other fellows I have been writing to who got together, talked things over, called a meeting at Bill Roberts' house, got a lot of workers to sign cards that they would join a union if and when half the mill was signed up, later called a mass meeting, set up the union, sent for a charter from the International, etc. You fellows and a few others are the officers of the union, you serve on the department committees, you were on the strike committee.

In other words, there was a leadership. It consisted of the men who had read and studied some, who knew more out the labor movement than the general run of the workers, who could organize, who had courage and fighting qualities, who could look ahead and plan. Besides, you acted as a group, rather than as individuals. The time before when the workers wanted to do something, but everything was felled by this fellow Jackson, a good fellow in many ways but erratic and a free-lance, everything went wrong. The same conception holds good for the entire revolutionary struggle of the working class.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

That is why we say that the basic instrument of the workers in the revolutionary struggle is the revolutionary party. The working class as a whole is not homogeneous. It is divided by many interests. Many sections are backward. It cannot, as a class, directly plan and guide its battles. Just as you found in your mill, a staff, a vanguard is necessary. If there is none, or if its basic policies are wrong, only confusion, defeat and disaster can result for the workers. As our Declaration of Principles puts it, "this is the revolutionary party. It embraces the most advanced, the most militant, the most devoted workers, unites them firmly on the basis of tested principles, and welds them together in rigorous discipline."

The party does not impose its leadership on the masses. It wins their confidence and support by its devotion to the interests of the masses, its courage, the correctness of its policies. Even immediate struggles are carried forward effectively only where such leadership plays an important, if not a leading, role.

Who Hurts the Defense?

No, I am neither a criminal syndicalist nor a stool-pigeon. I am as innocent of the charges in the Darcy indictment as I am of those in the State's indictment. I am simply a worker who helped organize a union, who can save human society from increasing misery, oppression, war and decay, and who does not take orders from the Communist Party.

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What is this? Strip poker? Originally Huey Long wasn't going to allow anybody to have more than a million dollars. In his reply to General Johnson he raised the ante by setting the upper limit at four million dollars. Last week in a speech in Philadelphia Hooey increased the limit still further, to nine million dollars. If someone doesn't call pretty soon Long will add on a few more million just so as not to keep Henry Ford and Andy Mellon from playing.

NOT THIS TIME

Headline: "Cuba Will Seize All Property of Labor Unions."

This is one time when financial and sugar interests won't demand American intervention to safeguard property rights.—From N. Y. Post.

Who Bailed Out Decker?

The charge that the N.P.L.D. has done nothing for the defense is just another of Darcy's lies. His indictment says:

"One of the most vicious lies created and spread by Goldman and the Trotskyites is that the I. L. D. did not bail out Caroline Decker and Pat Chambers . . . because they were not supposed to be in agreement with the Party line. . . . We were in agreement."

I shall answer this by quoting a document never before published, a letter written by Caroline Decker to a member of the Workers Party on December 18. I have had the original since December: when Caroline Decker calls me a stool-pigeon and pours filth on the N.P.L.D., to whose ball she owes her freedom today, I do not hesitate to answer her with her own words:

"I'm convinced now that the District Committee has definite reasons for not getting me out. Elaine's (E. Black, I. L. D. organizer) escape on the matter by say-

Criminal Syndicalist or Renegade ?

From a Statement of Norman Mini In Reply To the Slanders of the Stalinist Press

By NORMAN MINI

One of the Sacramento Defendants

On the orders of the Associated Farmers and the Industrial Association, the State of California charges me with being a criminal syndicalist. I am not guilty. I am guilty of helping to organize the working people of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys into a union to fight for higher wages and improved living conditions. For that "crime" I may have to go to San Quentin for forty-two years. I am ready to go if I must. I maintain my right the right of all workers, to organize labor unions, and I will not be terrorized into abandoning that right.

On the orders of the Communist Party, all my fellow-defendants except Jack Warnick charge me with being a renegade and a stool-pigeon. I am not guilty. I am guilty of disagreeing with the Communist Party, of being a member of the Workers Party of the United States. For that "crime," my defense is being cut to pieces by the Communist Party. Again, I am ready to suffer the consequences; I maintain my right, the right of all workers, to disagree with the Communist Party, and I will not be terrorized into abandoning that right.

The statement in the official Communist Party Daily Worker and Western Worker of March 7, bearing the names of my fellow defendants (except Warnick), was dictated by Sam Darcy, District Organizer of the C. P. . . . Hoping . . . to distract people's attention from the C. P.'s record of criminal mismanagement and wrecking in the Sacramento case, the Darcy machine broadcasts the yarn that the prosecution, which is trying to railroad me to San Quentin, has my cooperation!

If I "sold out," if I am a renegade, why do I still stand in the shadow of the penitentiary? This question can't be answered. nor does the C. P. try to. That fact alone shows the falseness of its charges.

Had it not been for the C. P., all we defendants might today enjoy the active support of a great mass movement of labor. As it is, the whole policy of the C. P., including its malicious attacks on me, is jeopardizing us all increasingly. In the interests of an effective, militant, honest defense fight, I am going to answer these attacks and call on all working people and friends of labor to rally to my cause, which is the cause of the whole working class.

The McAllister Interview

When arrested last August, I gave the prosecutor an interview. To talk to a prosecutor may be an even greater blunder than to let police get hold of letters from prominent sympathizers. . . . Darcy's indictment charges that my interview helped the prosecution. It falls to specify how, because the truth is it did not help the prosecution. That is why, after McAllister read it to the jury, several signers of the Darcy indictment declared the famous interview to be "a flop."

In the interview I stated only such facts as were common knowledge (for example, Hougard's connection with the C. P.), or as I considered it shameful to hide. I also expounded my Marxist belief in the necessity for a social revolution in which the vast popular majority, led by the working class, will use every necessary means to overcome the violent resistance to be expected from the exploiting minority now in power. I did not then know that the C. P. wanted to keep two sets of books, to talk one way outside and another way inside court. . . . I thought it shameful to try to hide my opinions. My fight is for

the legality of workers to organize into labor unions, and also for the legality of all workers' political parties to make and fight their views. To hold such a view, the views involved must be expressed and defended, not hidden or disguised. I stood by my views and still do.

The Darcy indictment lies in saying I kept the interview secret until McAllister produced it in court. It was reported in the Sacramento press in August, and in other defendants and I discussed it in jail.

When I gave the interview, I had been in the C. P. not a few months, as the Darcy indictment says, but almost two years. Far from associating with the Workers Party then, I had never seen a member of it.

The C. P. did not "expel" me for giving the interview. It "expelled" me months later—after I had quit it and joined the Workers Party. Then Darcy decided retroactively that I had been a renegade!

The Darcy indictment charges that I gave the interview out of "fear of a beating, hope of leniency or sheer vengeance." . . . All the defendants had to "forget" that, after the interview was read on February 7 but before Darcy had time to give them orders, they unanimously chose Mike Quinn to draft for them a declaration refuting the prosecution's claim that my interview was a "confession." Pat Chambers has to "forget" that he signed the following statement after the interview had been read:

Not only has Mini made no such offer (to turn State's evidence, as reported by the lying Hearst press) but he has repeatedly refused McAllister's offers of turning State's evidence.

Another Prisoner Speaks

The whole question has been settled by our fellow-defendant, Jack Warnick, whom Darcy has not yet dared to call a stool-pigeon, and who has had the courage to defy Darcy and write:

"The characterization by the Western Worker that Mini is a 'cowardly, treacherous stool-pigeon' must be condemned as an attempt to faze the boy, and ruin his reputation for the rest of his life. . . ."

The Darcy indictment also attacks my testimony given at the witness stand in my own behalf. The Western Worker of February 18 had this to say about the capitalist press reports of my testimony:

"Newspapers reported the last two days' sessions by completely lying about the Trotskyites' testimony. Reports that Mini confessed a plan for violent seizure of power in event of war are based on distortions of his testimony. Quotations alleged to have been made by him are entire falsifications. Immediately following yesterday's session, newspaper reporters held a consultation with G. H. Parker, publicity director for the Associated Farmers, and he dictated the distortions they should publish."

At that time the Western Worker admitted that my testimony made McAllister "squirm." Today the Darcy indictment contains the same distortions as G. H. Parker dictated! The purpose of the distortion is to make it seem that I made "fantastic," wild, criminal statements on the stand. While it is true that I neither concealed nor hedged as Darcy did, I said nothing fantastic or criminal. I explained my ideas without concealment, and that is what made McAllister squirm. That is why, when I in-

ing bail must first be raised for Nora and Loraine, I think is just that—an escape. We long ago agreed that Nora should be getting out. The fact remains, however, that no one is being bailed out.

"I do not want to take issue with you now on the C. and A.W. I.U. (the union). I'm not prepared to say that the criminal neglect of the union by the District Committee was 'opposition' . . . Elaine says it's not important for you to be out. I'm definitely resigned to that now. . . . So you see—here I am—in jail—ostracized by my own Party . . . feeling myself that the Party is not sufficiently utilizing the case . . ."

"There are only the bars to bat against—the gray walls to question and a stone wall as far as my letters of inquiry to the District Committee are concerned."

Decker got out on bail because she applied to the N.P.L.D. for bail and, as she knew, because the N.P.L.D. took her out despite the instructions of the C. P. to her and all defendants to accept no bail or "counter-revolutionary bail," as Black called it. Decker's letter proves this when it says with reference to N.P.L.D. bail money:

Gallagher received a letter from Gordon denying permission to accept the bail.

And Decker has repeatedly said that the action of the N.P.L.D. alone compelled the I.L.D. to suddenly produce a wad of bail and take out the other prisoners whom they had kept in jail for six wretched months!

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