MARCH OF EVENTS

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN

FRANCE close. Flandin himself stated, on taking office as premier, that his government would be the last "exeral erisis that struck France only little more than a year ago, and in view of the international political situation with its threat of world LENINISTS war at any moment,-has proved a recognised failure. More and more Leninists will present their proclearly the question is posed in gram in the form of resolutions. France: the salvation of bankrupt | They will review and sum up the capitalism through the setting up history of betrayal of the Second of a violent and brutal fascist dic- and Third Internationals that tatorship, or the seizure of power brought about the victory of fasby the proletariat for the estab- cism in Germany, Austria, etc. inlishing of the communist society.

tal the fascist forces have been for the formation of the Fourth closing their ranks in preparation International to lead the workers for the coming coup d'etat directed to victory. They will demand a hard times, intolerable misery, and towards the overthrow of the Third | complete break with the bourgeoi-French Republic and with the aim sie, with the "truce government of tions to the toiling masses. Acof savage repression of the organ- sacred union" and instead of this cording to the head of the Bureau izations of the working class. Col | policy of the lesser evil of supportonel la Rocque, head of the War ing bourgeois democracy against Veterans organized in the Croix de fascism, a policy that can only lead summer of 1885. Wages were being Feu, has become the recognized as in Germany to the defeat of the mercilessly slashed. The average of new found strength came into gathered such momentum that sand-ready to do his bidding. As | Workers and Peasants' Government. in the other countries where fas- Coming at this critical period in Women and children were getting resolved by strike. cism has arisen and achieved power, France, the Congress of the S.F.I.O. only sixty to eighty cents a day. la Rocque is aided by the upper may prove momentous, not because bureaucratic strata of the army. of any possibility of reform of the Pistols, rifles and ammunition "dis- S. P., but rather because of the from the first paralyzing blows of appear" from the armories-for the use of the fascist armed bands. Thus the French press stated rethe Versailles armory had shown national. If the question of organ- overnight, they felt the need of orthe disappearance of 336,400 rifle ic unity between the S.P. and the ganization. At first thousands, and cartridges and 155,000 revolver bul- C.P. is raised at this Congress, the then hundreds of thousands lets. If French tradition is any Bolshevik-Leninists will expose streamed into the ranks of the criterion, then the fascists are preparing for a military dictatorship proposed for such unity by the ized workers flocked into the A. F to be set up by a sudden blow.

THE RANKS OF THE WORKERS ganic unity can only prove progres- the Knights numbered over 700,000 is rendered all the more acute, as Marxist program of the Bolshevik- idly and conducting such aggresthe Marxist knows, by the lack of Leninists. This program calls for sive struggles that its general ofa revolutionary party in France at the armed defense of the organiza- ficers with Terence V. Powderley this critical juncture. In place of tions of the working class against at their head were refusing to New England, 4,000 nail makers, such a Marxist party, serving as the attacks of the fascist bands, for charter new locals, fearing that the the vanguard and the rallying force the building of the workers' militia, new members would get out of pastry shops were out fighting for right of the union to exist. Alfor the inevitable struggle, there for a militant struggle of the armed hand. exist two centrist parties led by workers to break up the fascist The Knights of Labor, which pressure from their rank and file defend proletarian democracy, the movement from 1877 to 1887, was membership and from the masses broadest type of democracy, and in mest respects the superior of its forced these bureaucracies to enter not the fraudulent bourgeois demo- successor, the American Federation into a united front against fascism, cracy represented in bourgeois par- of Labor. Although exhibiting But the Stalinists and the Social- liaments. To confine working class symptoms of immaturity, inconsisists have both hamstrung this unit- activity now in France to parlia- tency and confusion in its aims, it ed front by their policies of turning mentarism, is to doom the workers was an all-inclusive trade union orit to the service of bourgeois de- in advance to defeat by la Rocque ganization, admitting all workers mocracy at the very time when this and his bloody hordes. All power and even farmers, small shopkeepdemocracy is about to crumble. to the "Trotskyists" and their rev- ers and professionals into its ranks. Only the Bolshevik-Leninist frac- olutionary program which offers the It proclaimed its intentions to make tion of the S.F.I.O. (the S. P. of French workers the key to their the worker class conscious rather France) has advocated a clear-cut situation!

(Continued from Page 3)

recommended for probation, which

Jeror Wants Sympathy

looked at us. "I tell you, gentle-

men," he said. "I will never forget

what I have done. It will always

problem . . . and I don't know that

I softed it rightly." Mrs. Keith

echoed McIntire's words. Suddenly

the frony of our situation became

Here sat Warnick whose wife,

Quentin, being asked for sympathy

. . . by one of those who had voted

to send them there!

When McIntire finished,

he has refused).

revolutionary program to lead the workers along the road to power. The jull in the storm that oc- This fraction has gradually become curred in France with the advent a force in the left wing of the S.F. of the Flandin government, gives I.O. and has won over to its views every indication of coming to a a large section of the revolutionary workers in the Federation of the Seine, both youth and adult. The progressive nature of the entry of That experiment, as could have S.F.I.O. is about to be tested in the been predicted in view of the gen- forthcoming national convention of the Socialist Party.

ROLE OF THE BOLSHEVIK-

At this Congress the Bolshevikstead of the ushering in of Commu-With the aid of big finance capi- nism, and they will therefore call

Juror Weeps

fused to make any statement. Un- cepts of class solidarity. They in- American Worker? by A. J. Muste. willing to come out in support of spired bloody battles against Chin- It sells for 5c. Branches should McIntire, they were too remorseful ese workers in the West and baseto attack him. Who is McIntire? He was in the tyrs, causing a split in the ranks Day. National Guard seven years. For of the organisation. On the other 27 years he was in the office of the hand, the Knights opened their State Adjutant General. He is a doors to Negroes, women, and the Past Master of the Masons, who masses of unskilled workers igrecently gave him a diamond-stud- nored by the existing craft unions ded watch charm which is his and later by the A. F. of L. proudest possession. A widower, The officers of the order favored of general secretary of the party. and accountant by profession, he is arbitration and boycotts and Every Branch should have a quanindebted to a big Sacramento bank. frowned upon strikes as a method tity of these pamphlets at hand.

and I whose friend, and Goldman whose client had just been condemned to incarceration in San the meaning of radicalism, he is Hearst and McClatchy press, want- and feelings?

Couldn't Sleep Nights On the following day Jack Warned a conviction.

sek and I, along with Bert Hanman of the Workers Party, were in my hotel room when McIntire came in. For an hour or so we heard the same complaints over non, the smartest dresser in Sac- ipled, well-reasoned, moving argu- sky. The brazen attempt of the again . . . no sleep, the pangs of ramento, is a businessman. Mrs. ment by the defense counsel, and Stalinists to link the Workers Parremorse, confusion. I could see Keith is the mother of a policeman. that Jack-whose wife, after all, It was these three who stood back had been convicted and who might of McIntire until McIntire himself. be expecting a little sympathy him- pounded for 66 hours by "the comself—was growing tense.

"Mr. McIntire," said Warnick, "what are you going to do?" "What can I do? I want to undo the damage. I want to set things right. Especially regarding Deck-

er and Mini." "Do you want to help these innocent people get a new trial?" I forced 118 ballots, who produced

anything in the world," McIntire the affidavit proving the comprom-

Jurors Condemn Statement

He left to attend a Masonic meeting and came back to my room late that night. Goldman, Warnick and Hanman were there again. court.

demning McIntire's action. "His proceeded to publish insulting cart- active suppore of the appeal strugterrible conscience was always get- oons and wisecracks about them? gle already under way.

of the most reactionary of the jur- "an injury to one is the concern ors. F. M Martel, one of the hold- of all" and Powderley even dared out quartet, refused comment ex- call for the abolition of the wage cept to say that he was through system. with the case. Keith and Shannon. The Knights and their leaders

haunt me. I never faced a harder

munity," whose influence reached ways, gave in.

This quartet helped sentence innocent people in violation of its own convictions. They gave in to in a defeat of the reactionary forces "the community." But it was they behind the prosecution. who held out for 66 hours, who such acquittals as came about, and "Oh, if only I could, I would do it was one of them who later, by ise, drove a great breach into the torney Gallagher of the I.L.D., gave prosecution's case and took the

bloom off reaction's victory. Was this a vigilante jury? If there were on it men lacking in learning, lacking in subtlety, lacking even in M. Intire dictated a statement. In courage, but not lacking in a desire gave a rotten verdict . . . and now the morning he signed it before a to find a way out for the defend- the prosecution is hitting him into motary. Goldman read it to the dants, what about the Western the bargain. But any spare sym-Worker, official organ of the Com- pathy can well be reserved for the The afternoon paper carried munist Party, which having put the eight workers he convicted . . . and statements by eight jurors con- jury down as hopeless vigilantes, should be expressed in the form of

May Day, American Born in 1 886 Tremendous Strikes

For 8 Hour Day

Shook Nation The May Day demonstration of 1886 the climax of a mighty mass movement for the eight-hour day which reverberated throughout the periment" in bourgeois democracy. this fraction into the ranks of the length and breadth of the nation. It was followed shortly after by the Haymarket bomb explosions and the legal crucifixion of the Chicago Anarchists. It had been

preceded by a series of strike strug-

gles unmatched in their extent and

militancy. The American worker of 1935 would have found himself in a bitterly familiar atmosphere in the days of 1886. The industrial and financial crisis of 1884 had been followed by all the catastrophic consequences of a capitalist crisis. Idle industries, bankrupt railroads, suspended banks and brokerage houses, falling prices for farm commodities had brought two years of a steady lowering of living condiof Labor, over a million men had been thrown out of work by the dollars a day in any line of work. ing situations that could only be Workers Roused to Action

As soon as the workers recovered struggle that will develop between the depression, they began to rebel the rights and the lefts at this against the unendurable deprivacongress and the support given to tions laid upon them by the owners completely the reactionary basis Knights of Labor, as the unorgan-Stalinist bureaucracy as well as by of L in the early months of the the leaders of the S. P. Such or- Roosevelt administration. By 1886 The danger to the working class sive if it is based on the complete members and was growing so rap-

than craft-conscious and to combine "all the scattered batallions of labor's mighty host in one grand A Sacramento ting in the way of a verdict," whole." It affirmed the solidarity said Carter, the youngest and one of the working class in its motto, whole." It affirmed the solidarity

Pressure Counts Most

The truth is that, even in polit-Martel is a selesman for a large ical cases, the action of the jury mirably dealt with in the pamphlet musical instrument house. Shan- can rarely be foretold. A princ- by that title written by Leon Trotstill more the activity of the pop- ty (through Comrades Muste and ular masses outside the court (pub- Cannon) to the plot makes it of the lic meetings and other impressive, utmost importance that every classserious manifestations which eventually impinge on the jury's coninto the jury room in a thousand sciousness and may give to some the courage to vote their convictions rather than what the middleclass community wants) may result

> Support the Defendants As it is, McIntire, who felt that there was little popular pressure for acquittal and who admits he was very antagonistic toward At-

in. And now he wants sympathy

because he can not sleep nights. Let us be a bit stony-hearted about McIntire. True, he is no vigilante. True, he feels bad: he



leader of the reaction. Already he proletariat, the Bolshevik-Leninists wage for a ten hour day in the conflict with the die-hard opposi- Powderley was impelled to order has a large private armed force- will propose the taking of power by textile mills for men fell as low as tion of the bosses and the pacifism the Knights not to participate in said to number three hundred thou- the united front in the form of the \$1.25 and rarely went above two of their leaders, however, productive demonstrations.

> In the summer of 1885 strikes began to explode in one industry after another. 100,000 members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers around Pittsburgh struck against a threatened wage cut and won. The strikes during 1885 and won four of them easily.

Inspired by these victories, gained in short order and with little organization, workers everywhere throughout the country joined the vast army of strikers. The strike wave assumed unprecedented proportions. Coke workers in Pennsylvania, 20,000 bituminous miners in Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia and Ohio, 10,000 textile and boot and shoe workers in reactionary bureaucracies. The bands, for a united front policy to dominated the American labor a daily paper in the early months in separate craft unions, refused to outs, tieups, protests against wage- in the Southwest. cuts," is the testimony of one his-

Meanwhile, the strike wave rolled

of the railroad workers on the Missouri Pacific system controlled by Jay Gould, the most notorious of the money monarchs. Early in 1885 the shop mechanics had tied up all the traffic on the road and prevented a wage cut. Their victory led cently that the annual inventory of the advocates of the Fourth Inter- of industry. Spontaneously, almost Knights of Labor led five railroad to the formation of numerous lodges and assemblies of the Knights of Labor on the line.

Alarmed by the aggressive tactics of the workers and the increasing power of the Knights, the management and receivers of the Railroad determined to have a showdown to decide who was master in the house. They precipitated a second strike in March 1886 by firing a union officer for attending a meeting of the order. The local head of the Knights, Martin Irons, accepted the challenge and workers in silk mills, bakeries, called the men out to protect the union recognition, living wages, an though the engineers, firemen, coneight hour day. "Not an issue of ductors, and brakemen, organized of 1886 that did not contain refer- come out, the Knights succeeded ences to strikes, boycotts, walk- in tieing up 6,000 miles of railroad State and federal troops had been

The agitation in favor of the strike of 1877. This time different demonstration on May 1 for the methods were brought into play. eight-hour day had been spread by On April 22 President Cleveland the radicals among the working asked Congress to appoint a fedclass—the Socialists and Anar eral commission of three to arbichists - against the opposition of trate differences arising between the official labor leaders. As May the laboring classes and their em-Day approached, the movement ployer. When it was set up two

The DECLARATION OF PRIN-

The first in the series of popular | tempt should be made to see that pamphlets to be i sued by the every C. P member and sympathiz-

Workers Party is off the press. er gets a copy of this important the other holdouts, apparently re- did not always live up to their pre- The title is Which Party for the pamphlet. CIPLES AND CONSTITUTION of send their orders in immediately the Workers Party is still not sufly repudiated the Haymarket mar- with an eye to large sales on May ficiently read by he wide circle of workers with whom W. P. members come in contact. This is evidenced

The publication of the "Suppressed Testament of Lenin" has by the sharp drop in sales in the created quite a stir in Stalinist last two months. Every Branch circles. Most C. P. members have should make a concerted drive to never read Lenin's letter demand- reach as many workers as possible ing Stalin's removal from the post with the message of the Party. He loves the American flag, he goes of struggle. The militant moods of They are exceptionally interesting to church, he is utterly ignorant of the rank and file and their feeling in view of Trotsky's explanatory articles dealing with the struggle (or was) a Respected Member of What about Gallagber or the I.L.D., in the party during Lenin's last the Community-that middle-class who expressed in open court brazen days and how the legend of Trotcommunity which, poisoned by the indifference to the jury's thoughts skyism was concocted by leading members of the C.P.S.U.

The political significance of "The Kirov Assassination" (10c) is adconscious worker study the significance of the "amalgam" cooked up by the Stalinist scribes. An at-

> Greetings to the NEW MILITANT

from the

Philadelphia Sunday Evening Forum

Grand Fraternity Auditorium

1639 Arch St., Philadelphia

Knights of Labor Sprang Up Almost Over Night

years later, the commission proved as impotent to settle any labor disputes as the present Labor Boards. The strike was finally broken by orders from Powderley.

Such was the state of the nation on May Day 1886. Despite the efforts of the Knights of Labor and A. F. of L. leaders to sabotage the demonstration, thousands of workers quit their jobs on the appointed hour and proceeded to give an unforgettable manifestation of their class strength and solidarity. The First May Day

The demonstrators gained their most conspicuous success in Chicago. It was estimated that over 80,000 men had left work on May Day and as a result of their demonstration the packing house workers had been granted their demand for an eight-hour day with no reduction in pay.

This victory stimulated the fighting spirit of the Chicago workers and provoked police repressions. Then came the memorable events, the shootings, the bomb outrage, the trials and executions that have entered the annals of history as "Haymarket."

Knights of Labor Declines

The Haymarket explosions and the vacillating, treacherous policy on, reaching its crest in the strike of the Knights of Labor leadership broke the back of the strike move-

> pers and the craft-bound pure-andsimple unionism of the A. F. of L. not compensate for the defeats on of the working class. Later in the of socialism"? year after another abortive strikethe gains of the packing house workers were lost and the ten hour day restored.

Nevertheless, the year when May Day was born in the fire of the class struggle and baptized in the blood of the Haymarket martyrs; the year when the American working class gave such magnificent examples of its courage and capacity for militant struggle; the year when the fight for the eight-hour day was hailed by workers throughused to break the bloody railroad out the world marks the coming of age of the American working class. 1886 will always remain a memorable year in its history, a milestone along the road to its conquest

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Question Box

N. G., NEW YORK-QUESTION: Are not the two Stalinist theories, "socialism in one country" and "social fascism" contradictory and mutually exclusive, since the first led to united fronts from above with Chiang Kai Shek, Purcell, etc., whereas the latter prevented it from going into a united front with the Social Democracy against Hitler?

ANSWER: The contradiction here is only apparent. Do not forget that the united front with liberals "from above," i.e., the Amsterdam Congress, took place during the epoch of "social fascism".

In reality the "theory of socialism in one country", i.e., the subordination of the international proletarian revolution to the national interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, expressed by the subordination of the various official Communist parties to the policy of the Soviet foreign office, is at the root of all of the Stalinists' actions. By hook or crook their aim is to prevent political changes, even if such change comes from a proletarian revolution since, having no faith in the success of such revolutions, their chief fear is that the "peaceful building of socialism" will be dis-

Depending upon conditions the strategy which they therefore pursue involves making united fronts with anybody or the refusal to Torn by internal dissension, the make united fronts under any cir-Knights of Labor began to decline cumstances. "Social fascism" and as rapidly as it had grown, giving the "united front only from below" way to the reign of Samuel Gom- are merely the theoretical formulations, whether conscious or unconscious on their part, of the fact that Candidates put forward by labor the Stalinists never had any intentickets showed remarkable strength tion of trying to seize power in in the elections later in the year Germany. As results show, could but these political successes did any theories have been better calculated to maintain internal politthe economic field. They were the ical peace in Germany and not inlast spasm of this mighty upsurge terfere with the "peaceful building

May Day Greetings

TO THE

NEW MILITANT

> Davenport, Iowa Branch

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