

NEW MILITANT

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Oust 13 French Bolsheviks From S.P. for Stand on War

Central Comm. Splits on Issue Of Expulsions

By H. F. ROBERTS

Thirteen leaders of the Bolshevik-Leninist group of France have been expelled from the French Socialist Party.

In response to this reactionary offensive an organized bloc under the name Revolutionary Left is taking form in the Socialist Party of France.

The expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninists, long expected and forecast in these columns, was openly stated by the National Disputes Committee of the S.P.

Expelled for Bolshevism Specifically, five articles in La Verite were given as grounds for the expulsions.

"The first article with which we are reproached," states a leaflet issued by the Bolshevik-Leninist Central Committee after the expulsions, "is the Letter of Trotsky to the French Workers."

"The second fact has to do with our issue on the expulsions of the Socialist Youth at Lille. We explained that these expulsions of the representatives of more than a third of the Socialist Youth were a joint maneuver of the Stalinists and reformists for the exclusion of all revolutionists hostile to the sacred union!"

The third crime laid against the Bolshevik-Leninists is their agitation for the slogan of revolutionary defeatism. "They call agitation for revolutionary defeatism and against the sacred union—violations of discipline!"

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1500 in Paris Meet Cheer New Revolutionary Bloc

Faced with the crisis of war and the acute tightening of internal contradictions, the threat of Fascism and civil war, the Socialist and Stalinist bureaucracies in France are trying to cover with the fetish of "unity" their policies of betrayal, of social patriotism, of class collaboration.

In the Socialist Party the left wing is rapidly crystallizing. At a meeting of the various left tendencies of the S.P. in Paris a few weeks ago, the Bolshevik-Leninists, the Pivot group, the Action Socialiste and the C.A.S.R. took the preliminary step toward the formal constitution of a left bloc to be known as the Revolutionary Left.

Wildly acclaimed by the 1,500 party militants present, comrade Fred Zeller, the fighting leader of the French Socialist Youth, characterized the policies of the Front Populaire as follows: "They count chiefly on British diplomacy, on the League of Nations, on the wisdom of the French government, better still on the Pope and the King of Italy, on everything but the working class of France, and the international proletariat whom they leave without precise directives. This scandal must come to an end!"

... He who is for the national defense of the capitalist state," declared comrade Zeller, "is not against war and not against the bourgeois state."

"Come what may," he concluded, "if in the struggle we have to remain alone against all, we will courageously remain alone against all!"

Pivot for Revolutionary Party Declaring the Revolutionary Left to be constituted, comrade Marceau Pivot announced amid thunderous cheers that a "profound gulf" separates him from all those who refuse to come to the support of the expelled Youth comrades, from those "who in a cowardly fashion have let the magnificent Youth Entente of the Seine be knifed!"

The Revolutionary Left, said comrade Pivot, "will fight to conquer the Seine Federation; the Socialist Party, the working class and the power of the toilers! It is in the struggle, in the very streets in combat against the Fascists, that the true delimitation will take place, that the great revolutionary party will be created!" His speech, which had been awaited with tense eagerness by his numerous adherents in the Paris region, was greeted by the meeting with acclamations and the singing of the International.

Comrade Molinier of the Bolshevik-Leninist group raised before the meeting the question of the Fourth International. The new international will be forged out of the daily struggle of all revolutionary elements who will know how to learn from the experience of the Second and Third Internationals. The Bolshevik-Leninists desired to remain as long as possible in the ranks of the Socialist Party, he said, "in order to fight side by side with militants who are developing toward the correct revolutionary positions."

The Revolutionary Left, he said, would have to work and fight in common on precise issues, "for it is in action and in the struggle itself that workers develop and perfect themselves." He called for the formation of a solid bloc to become "the embryo of the great truly revolutionary party of tomorrow!"

Ferment Starts in Stalinist Ranks But it is not only in the ranks of the Socialist Party that this ferment and turmoil is apparent. Cracks and widening fissures are beginning to appear in the solidified bureaucratic front of the Stalinist party as well. The workers in the Stalinist ranks are resisting the rush of social patriotism, class collaboration and parliamentarism which has swept the party bureaucracy and which determine now all its policies.

Recently three of the most militant members of the 11th district in Paris, R. Clair, Fyot and Julien, were expelled from the Stalinist ranks. In their letter to the leadership they criticize the Front

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Shachtman Tour Off to Flying Start

Rousing Meets in Toledo Youngstown, Pittsburg Cleveland

First reports on the meetings of comrade Shachtman on his coast-to-coast tour indicate the growing influence of the Workers Party and lively interest in its revolutionary position on the war question. Branches where meetings are scheduled are urged to emulate the fine work done in cities which have already held theirs. Brief reports follow:

PITTSBURGH: Shachtman spoke before Local 21 of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League. Over 200 present. Subject: WPA and Prospects for the Future of the American Workers. He pointed out the need of a revolutionary party to lead in the struggle against unemployment, misery, exploitation, war and Fascism. Most workers present had been Democratic supporters up to a short time ago, but the speech was very warmly received. Questions asked indicate possibilities for speedy growth of the party in this city. Discussion showed growing disillusionment of workers with Roosevelt regime and readiness for action. Local 21 is one of the most militant locals in the organization, with many members of the W.P. active in it.

NEWCASTLE: On short notice, a handful of comrades organized a splendid meeting of more than 50 workers, where Shachtman spoke on Ethiopia and the war danger, attacking the patriotic position of the Second and Third Internationals. More than an hour of questions from a highly interested audience of workers, many of whom gathered around the speaker after the meeting to express their agreement with the revolutionary anti-war position of the W.P. Both the C.P. and the S.P. here are virtually non-existent and prospects for a strong branch here are excellent. Comrades are to be complimented on the work they did to organize so fine a meeting.

YOUNGSTOWN: Although many comrades have left town for other parts, those left in the city concentrated on a meeting of the party which was attended by half a hundred workers. Interest here too in the menacing war situation was very high. Significant was the presence of a whole group from the recently organized teamsters' union which has already fought a number of dramatic, sensational and victorious battles. The sympathy for the W.P. is on the rise here and local comrades are clamoring for organizers in order to speed up the work of establishing the W. P. as a force in this district.

CLEVELAND: Shachtman spoke on the same subject at a meeting attended by more than 50 workers. (Continued on Page 4)

Build the Left Wing, Is Real Lesson of AFL Convention

3,500 Out For N. Y. Herndon Farewell Meet

NEW YORK—A crowd of 3,500 filled Manhattan Opera House late Wednesday afternoon on the call of the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon defense, to pledge their solidarity with Angelo Herndon, Atlanta Negro ordered by the U. S. Supreme Court to begin in a few days his sentence of 18 to 20 years on the chain-gang.

The meeting applauded enthusiastically when it was announced that Herndon had gained a few days respite at the last moment, and that a Southern attorney had just been retained to apply for a habeas corpus writ on the ground that there has never been a test of the constitutionality of the slave insurrection law under which Herndon was convicted.

Scheduled March Called Off By unanimous decision, the Joint Committee decided that Herndon should remain out of Georgia until the last possible legal moment without forfeiting bail. The Committee also decided that he should remain in New York as long as possible, and consequently a scheduled march to Pennsylvania Station was called off. The Committee unanimously decided that when Herndon departs in a few days, his friends should see him off at the station.

The time of departure will be announced as soon as it is known. In the meantime all efforts are to be directed toward getting more signatures on the Herndon petitions, as the result of the habeas corpus move is very uncertain at best. Julius Hochman, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U., who unsuccessfully advocated a resolution on the Herndon case in the recent A. F. of L. convention, presided over the Opera House rally. Herndon was the main speaker. Among the speakers was Ernest Rice McKinney of the National Committee of the Workers Party, who brought the greetings of the National Unemployed League, Herbert Solow of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense spoke on behalf of that organization and as a member of the Joint Committee.

Neither McKinney nor Solow received at the outset the ovation given by the audience to other speakers, and for a simple reason. As could readily be seen by the frantic delight of the crowd when a French C. P. member was smuggled onto the speaker's rostrum behind the back of the arrangements committee, the meeting was almost solely Stalinist in character. The rank and file Stalinists, however, are not yet sufficiently adjusted to the new party to know that they must boo militant sentiments, and consequently the speeches of the N.U.L. and N.P.L.D. speakers finally wrung spontaneous applause (Continued on Page 4)

Special to the New Militant SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 22.—While Attorney-General U. S. Webb, who spent thousands of dollars of state funds to finance the prosecution of Norman Mini and the other Sacramento workers for criminal syndicalism, refuses to prosecute the anti-labor vigilantes of Santa Rosa on the grounds that his office has no funds a new crop of reactionary prosecutions is arising out of the soil fertilized by the slush fund of the State Chamber of Commerce.

This fund, the revelation of whose existence by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee several weeks ago was a national sensation, is being used to send reactionary agitators around the state to finance labor spying activities. Prosecutors McAllister and Johnson, who managed the Sacramento frame-up, are now addressing Chamber meetings in various counties, and urging more criminal syndicalism prosecutions. Simultaneously, the American Legion has opened a drive to make life impossible for the ten Sacramento criminal syndicalism defendants who were acquitted.

Seek Warnick's Deportation Jack Warnick having first been fired from a WPA job without explanation, was recently arrested for deportation. Hearst's San Francisco Examiner candidly states that both blows against Warnick were (Continued on Page 4)

Special Features For Nov. 7 Issue

Place your orders now for the special eight-page Russian revolution edition of the NEW MILITANT.

The contents of this issue will be a treat for every revolutionary worker. Among the articles will be a section from Victor Serge's "The Year One of the Russian Revolution," appearing for the first time in the English language; comrade Trotsky contributes a penetrating analysis of the Soviet bureaucracy on the basis of Tarov's experiences and his brilliant treatise on "The Art of Insurrection"; an essay by Lenin; articles by Cannon, Muste, Spector, Swaback, Roberts, etc.

The special edition of the NEW MILITANT should serve not only to commemorate the Russian Revolution but should act as a spur in the subscription drive and in the campaign to make the eight-pager a permanent phenomena.

Try to Deport Jack Warnick

NSAC Comes to Defense As Courts Bait Cal. Prisoners

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Put No Trust in Lewis and Co. Is the Slogan

By A. J. MUSTE

A fist fight between the heads of the two biggest unions in the A. F. of L., Hutcheson of the Carpenters and John L. Lewis of the Miners, featured the closing day of the Atlantic City convention. In more ways than one this affair was symbolic. The boys were actually excited about something and that has not been true of the top leadership of the A. F. of L. for years. These comfortable bureaucrats were not the kind to take life seriously, and they did not need to excite themselves about anything except their golf scores and the stock market. That day is over. The rift in the leadership is the most serious that has occurred in the entire fifty-five years history of the Federation. The historic one-round bout of Hutcheson and Lewis took place over Hutcheson's opposition to letting a Federal Union delegate speak for an industrial union in his industry. Lewis said it was "small potatoes" of Hutcheson not to let the "little fellows" have their say. Hutcheson rose to the full height of his six feet two and said he had been brought up on small potatoes and that's what made him so little—just like a boy out of a Mark Twain story. He also, it is said, called Lewis a naughty name. With that Lewis sent one to the jaw. Soon the two men were rolling about on the floor. When they had been separated, Lewis brushed back his heavy locks and like a nineteenth century Shakespearean actor strode to his seat. Hutcheson, the craft unionist, had to take time out to dress his wounds. That also was symbolic. Meanwhile William Green, face as red as a tomato, looking on at the struggle of personalities and forces too big for him, strove in vain to get order. And that also was symbolic.

"Progressives" in a Minority It must not be inferred that the so-called "progressives" under the leadership of John Lewis constituted a majority in this convention. On the roll call on key questions they were regularly defeated by the Old Guard by a vote of about 18,000 to 10,000. The convention reaffirmed the San Francisco decision for "restricted," i.e. fake, industrial unions in basic industries, thus favoring the craft unions. The convention is on record for the Roosevelt "social security" program and against the Lunden bill. Labor Party resolutions were defeated and the A. F. of L.'s stand for "non-partisan" political action reaffirmed, though the Executive Council was instructed to draft an amendment to the U. S. constitution to empower Congress to enact social legislation. The A. F. of L. forces generally can be counted on to support Roosevelt in 1936, unless entirely unforeseen shifts in the economic or political situation occur. After the smashing blow at Matthew Woll for his connection with the red-baiting National Civic Federation, the Executive Council has to withdraw its proposed amendment to the A. F. of L. constitution barring all "reds" from any A. F. of L. union. However, a provision barring them from being delegates to any State Federation of Labor and city central body was adopted, as was a strong resolution against "Communism" in general.

It may be safely predicted that within a year or two the so-called "progressives" of the Lewis-Hillman et al camp will achieve a majority. Their industrial union resolutions e.g. got a bigger vote than resolutions for unemployment insurance at the A. F. of L. convention just preceding the one where it was finally adopted.

The Real Program of Lewis It must again be emphasized that it now becomes a crucial importance for the workers, and especially the active and advanced ones, to understand precisely what forces supported set-backs at Atlantic City and what is the real character and role of the elements now gaining (Continued on Page 3)

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'Hot Cargo' Fight Rages Up and Down West Coast

By EARL LANE

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Oct. 20.—The bitter struggle over the hot cargo issue, which had been somewhat eased by the lifting of the embargo on the British Columbia cargo in the holds of S. S. "Point Clear" and the termination of the waterfront employers' efforts to blacklist 1,600 San Francisco longshoremen, flared into open warfare again last week.

On October 8 longshoremen began unloading the Swayne & Hoyt freighter, "Point Clear," which had been tied up in San Francisco harbor since June 22, following a release voted by the Waterfront and Transport Workers Association of Vancouver. As the striking bargemen had returned to work pending arbitration of their demands, the only vital question left unsettled was that of registering additional longshoremen. The union demanded that any additional workers to be registered must come from the

ranks of the extras holding I.L.A. permit cards. The bosses insisted upon the registration of 1,000 additional men, no doubt hoping to be able to train an army of strikebreakers to do the difficult stevedoring work, thus having a reserve army of workmen for use in future struggles with the longshoremen.

Victory in Honolulu The matter was placed in the hands of the Joint Longshore Labor Relations Board. After the union had stated that they would resist any effort to put additional men to work, until all men with I.L.A. permits had been registered, the board handed down a decision that only these men be registered—a clear-cut victory for the union. Another longshoremen's victory was reported from far off Honolulu last week, 900 men at that port winning wage increases of ten cents per hour. The seamen are playing the role of the vanguard in the latest devel-

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'People's Peace Parades' Today, Preparedness Parades Tomorrow

The leaflet issued under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism to advertise the People's Parade for Peace, the latest Stalinist sideshow, for some reason bears the motto: "Remember Woodrow Wilson . . . Remember 1917!" It would be more in the interests of peace to have the slogan read "Remember Wilson . . . Remember 1916!" For the Wilson who in 1917 was marching in Preparedness and mobilization parades, was in 1916 marching in "People's Parades for Peace"!!

When the Second International in 1914 made its last minute declaration of support for the bourgeois governments that were embarking on war, Lenin immediately proclaimed the death of the Second International and started to build the Third although the forces at his disposal were infinitesimal. A few hundred in Russia, and a few scores at the most in the other capitalist nations. From those few

hundreds a revolution sprang in less than three years, and in five the whole of Europe tottered on the brink of proletarian revolution. Lenin, as a revolutionary realist knew that there was only one way to put a stop to war; he knew that no mere masses, no matter how great, no mere demonstrations, no peace parades, no petitions and pledges, no matter how long and impressive, could stop war. He knew that only the proletarian revolution could stop the war—and he said so, even if he could find only a few hundred to agree with him at first.

Everybody "Opposes" War Now Now the self-advertized leaders of the wreckage of Lenin's international, the Stalinists, may still believe that only proletarian revolution can put a stop to war—but if they believe it they are careful to conceal their belief. They take everything but a serious and real-

istic attitude toward war; they call on capitalist governments to stop war (sanctions), on combinations of capitalist governments to stop war (the League of Nations), on social democrats who have already once proved their inability to stop war (the British Labor Party, the French S. P., etc.), on Christian and church organizations, on reactionary trade unionists, they call upon everyone but the revolutionary proletariat—they call upon all those who turned against and persecuted Lenin in 1914 for his stand against war and for the struggle for revolution.

The Daily Worker of October 19 informs us that a great "People's March for Peace" is scheduled for the 26th under, among others, the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism. This People's March for Peace has the "backing of A. F. of L. leaders" the Daily Worker is happy to announce. (Continued on Page 2)

A. J. Muste National Secretary Workers Party will speak on

THE A. F. of L. CONVENTION Sunday, October 27th - 5 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA HALL Irving Place & 15th St.