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Down Tools May First! Demonstrate Against War and for Workers Republic

Seamens Struggle Settled

West Coast Unions Retreat, But Employers Aims are Spiked

By ARNE SWABECK

An intense struggle of wide ramifications, precipitated by the opponent national shipping companies and waterfront employers associations, and involving issues of life or death to the Pacific Coast maritime unions, has come to an end by joint agreement. The unions found themselves compelled to make a retreat; but the shipping companies were frustrated in their openly avowed aims to overturn the present militant leadership, which was to be only a preliminary to the complete smashing of the unions. One may be sure, however, that these waterfront employers have not at all abandoned their aims. They are biding their time for a new opportunity. This epic struggle has come to an end only for the time being.

It was long protracted, bitterly contested, at times smoldering, then out in the open and finally coming to a head during the last couple of weeks. Its wide ramifications involves many seemingly side issues which are nevertheless all interwoven to form one of the intense dramas so typical of the American labor movement. Leaving aside for the moment the great San Francisco general strike, which constitutes the background for the more recent events, it is necessary to mention only such outstanding questions as:

Five Outstanding Questions

Firstly: the hearings now taking place before Secretary of the Department of Commerce Roper and Secretary of the Dept. of Labor, Perkins, on the case of the sailors from the Panama Pacific liner California, whom Secretary Roper charged with insubordination and mutiny when they struck for their demands.

Secondly: the case of a crew re-

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Red Scare Is Raised In Tampa

Mimeograph Machine Becomes Threat to "Civilization"

By SIDNEY HERTZBERG

BARTOW, Fla., April 19 — A humble and somewhat dilapidated mimeograph machine with two important parts missing became the sinistral weapon with which "our Anglo-Saxon civilization" was to be destroyed when Pat Whitaker, chief counsel for the defense in the Tampa kidnaping murder trials, definitely revealed last week that he would use the cry of communism to justify the acts of the seven former Tampa policemen now on trial for the false arrest and kidnaping of Eugene F. Poulnot, Chairman of the Florida Workers Alliance.

The particular segment of civilization that Whitaker is striving to preserve is usually guarded by the Klu Klux Klan, an organization of torturers and executioners that exercises its civilizing influence on barbarians who try to organize exploited citrus workers, phosphate miners, longshoremen or unemployed.

The Klan was performing this function last November 30 when police raided a home in Tampa, arrested six men who were writing the by-laws of the Modern Democrats, a new progressive political coalition, and mercilessly flogged three of them. Joseph Shoemaker died of the flogging.

Through the combined efforts of labor, Socialist, religious and civil liberties organizations, this brutal power has been challenged; and now, for the first time in the history of Florida, the Klu Klux Klan is standing trial.

The questioning of venemen and the first three days of testimony have clearly indicated the defense tactics Whitaker intends to follow.

He has revived a seditious law passed 70 years ago during recon-

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On the 50th Anniversary of May Day

AN EDITORIAL

THE tradition of May Day is a tradition of militant mass action. On this day the proletarian prisoners of capitalism assert their right to act as free men and women. Defying the discipline of their bosses, all class-conscious workers lay down their tools; quit their places at the machine; and emerge from factory and workshop to assemble in unified ranks with their comrades in the streets. The masses who march on May Day herald the time when they will storm the Bastille of capitalism; overthrow their exploiters and oppressors; and construct the socialist society that will usher in a new epoch of peace and progress for all mankind.

The holiday of workers the world over, May Day has a special significance for the American working class. Here the idea of setting aside the day as the workers' own was first proposed. Here on May Day, 1886 thousands of workers thronged the streets in a mighty demonstration for the eight-hour day, a warning flash of proletarian power so terrifying that it drove the magnates of capital to inflict their brutal retaliation upon the martyrs of Haymarket.

This May Day marks the fiftieth anniversary of that memorable demonstration. There could be no more appropriate occasion to review the results of labor's struggle for emancipation; to celebrate its victories; and, above all, to assimilate the lessons of its defeats.

"Proletarian revolutionists," wrote Marx, "criticize themselves ceaselessly and interrupt themselves constantly in their own course. They return to what has already been accomplished in order to begin it again and deride with ruthless thoroughness the half-heartedness, weakness, and wretchedness of their first attempts. They appear to throw their adversary to the ground only in order that he should draw renewed strength from the earth and rise again still more powerfully before them. They recoil again and again from the uncertain and tremendous nature of their own aims until a situation is created which makes retreat impossible and the circumstances themselves cry out: *'Hic Rhodus, hic salta!'*"

The prophetic insight of these words, written in 1851, has been confirmed a hundred times over in the history of the revolutionary movement of the past fifty years. What a terribly steep and winding mountain road the proletariat has had to travel during that period! Every advance toward its goal of liberation from wage-slavery has been followed by a corresponding retreat; for every two steps forward the movement has been compelled to take one step backward. Whole generations have exhausted their energies and expended their blood in the struggle. Three international organizations, and now a fourth, have been needed to lead the working class in its campaign against the citadels of world capital.

And yet, toilsome and tortuous as the ascent has been, in spite of the severe setbacks suffered time and again, the labor movement has gone steadily forward. The ground lost after each defeat has been recovered in the next assault—and more added. Capitalist society is doomed!

Each of the three Internationals represents a landmark in the historical progress of the working class. Each has given its name and political program to a particular epoch. Each has in its turn lifted the revolutionary vanguard to a higher level of organization, theory, and struggle, and then collapsed—with the exception of the First—under the colossal burdens of leadership imposed upon them.

The First International gave to the rising proletariat for the first time a scientific program of revolution and a world banner. The crushing of the Paris Commune, the immaturity of the working class, and its lack of a mass base led to its collapse. Its successor reunited the scattered sections of the working class during the Golden Age of imperialist expansion into a powerful international body, numbering millions of members, and prepared them for joint action against their exploiters.

But when the imperialist war exploded, the opportunism which had been ripening within the upper circles of the Second International bore its bitter fruit. Overnight the leaders of the Social Democracy turned into social-patriots and dragged the disoriented masses of their respective countries into the imperialist slaughter on the side of their masters.

Only a handful of revolutionists with Lenin at their head resisted the patriotic torrent and remained true to the principles of revolutionary internationalism. In the first months of the war Lenin proclaimed the necessity of breaking with the betrayers of the Second International; of turning the imperialist war into civil war; of building the Third International. With these slogans as a guide, the Bolshevik party under Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian workers to victory over their own bourgeoisie; beat back the counter-revolution; and reconstituted the revolutionary vanguard under the banner of the Third International.

For five years the battalions of the Third International conducted a heroic struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. With the turn in the revolutionary tide following the defeat of the German workers in 1923, it fell victim to the post-war political reaction, which gave a new lease of life to the Social-Democracy and found its consummate expression within the Soviet Union in Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country." The history of the Third International under Stalin is an unbroken record of retreat and defeat, culminating in Hitler's victory. The Third International has become nothing more than a pawn in the diplomatic deals of the Soviet bureaucracy with its imperialist allies.

Today the world trembles on the brink of a second world war. All the great powers are arming themselves to the teeth. Their statesmen no longer pretend that the conflict can be avoided; their only questions are when, where, and between whom will it break out? How soon will we be drawn in?

Its attitude toward the impending war is the acid test of every political party in the labor movement. The leaders of the Second International are prepared to repeat their traditional role and once again send the workers into slaughter at their masters' command. This time they have found worthy allies and disciples in the leaders of the Third International, who have already declared that the workers of France, Czechoslovakia, and the United States must suspend the class struggle and support their capitalist governments in case it is allied, or may be allied, with the Soviet Union.

The unconditional defense of the Soviet Union is the duty of every revolutionist. The only real defense of the Soviet Union is a revolutionary defense. This has nothing in common with the present policy of the Soviet Union in staking all upon its deals with its imperialist allies and nothing upon the power of the world proletariat. We say, on the contrary, that the only reliable ally of the Soviet Union is the international proletariat. Now as ever the task of the workers in every capitalist country is to overthrow its own ruling class. *"The main enemy is in our own country."*

To go forward it is necessary to return to the ideas of Marx and Lenin. The emancipation of the working class can be accomplished only through its own revolutionary action. The indispensable instrument for that action in our epoch is the Fourth International. Just as the red International of Lenin was forged in struggle against the social-patriots of the Second International, so its successor must be built in struggle against both the Second and Third.

Such is the meaning of May Day to those internationalists who remain loyal to the teachings of Marx and Lenin. Against the social-patriots of the Second and Third Internationals! For the regrouping of the revolutionary vanguard under the banner of the Fourth International!

New York Labor to Unite in Huge Parade

All Political Tendencies Combine for First Time in Years; Only Bankrupt Old Guard and Labor Bureaucrats Sabotage

By MARTIN ABERN

On Friday, May 1, 1936, New York City will witness and take part in the largest and greatest May Day celebration and demonstration in many a year. A far larger number and variety of labor and political organizations are participating in the vast parade that will march for many hours, with bands playing, floats and banners by the many thousands, through the streets of New York, hailing labor's solidarity.

For the first time in many years, since 1919 in fact, numerous political tendencies of labor will march together, proclaiming common cause against the capitalist system. The Communist Party (Stalinists), the Workers Party ("Trotskyist"), the Socialist Party (Militant Socialists) and other political bodies and large numbers of labor unions, fraternal and workers' organizations of varying kind, are among the participating bodies on this May Day.

The labor movement of New York as a whole, its official Central Labor body, etc., are not yet taking part directly or officially in a common May Day demonstration, but the more advanced and increasing class-conscious and radical forces of New York Labor have at last established a United Front for May Day, 1936. Hence, this May Day represents marked progress in the development of labor solidarity and the united front on specific issues and slogans.

The S.P. Old Guard

There are, nevertheless, important influences hampering the solidification of labor's ranks this May Day. The S.P. Old Guard, for one, vociferously attack the United Front May Day Committee and call upon workers not to participate in the parade and demonstration. But these elements only continue the reactionary role they have been playing in the labor movement for years. Today they try to divide labor's ranks on Labor's May Day. Today they attack the fundamental tenets of the great Russian Revolution and hail only the backward forces and processes which Stalin and his degenerated bureaucracy have set into motion against bona fide Bolshevism, as exemplified by Lenin and Trotsky.

Tomorrow these Old Guard Socialists (Omead and Co.) and others of like ilk will demonstrate their extreme treachery by calling upon the American working class to support actively any war which American imperialism proclaims. But that is the function of the Old Guard or reactionary socialism as against the policies of revolutionary socialism; and against the Old Guard's treachery on May Day and all the time, there can only be war to the end.

The Old Guard's anti-Sovietism is expressed in their effort today to break the May Day United Front. Naturally, the slogan for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against any form of imperialist attack is a major slogan of the United Front May Day; this slogan represents a heart-felt desire of every militant and class-conscious worker, and on May Day they want to assert this widely and demonstratively. The Old Guard on this May Day hence concretely expresses its anti-Sovietism and anti-working class character by their sabotage of a united May Day demonstration.

But additional forces (Old Guard Socialists and others) also are trying to hold back the urge for united action and solidarity on May Day by the workers. It must be admitted that these elements are succeeding in some measure in blocking united ranks on May Day here, but more and more of their following hesitate or do not listen to their false counsel.

Three major unions of New York City, the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Millinery Workers Unions, speaking through their officialdom, are also doing all they can to disrupt the forces of labor, to crack the growing numbers and unity of labor on May Day. These unions have organized a demonstration at the Polo Grounds for May Day and are opposed to the United Front or May Day achieved

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NEW ADDRESS

Comrades, friends and sympathizers are requested to take note of the new address of the New Militant, New International and the Workers Party which is now:

100 FIFTH AVENUE
ROOM 1010
NEW YORK CITY

Please address all correspondence to the above.

Donkey and Elephant Gird for Election Struggle

G.O.P. and Democrats Vie for Privilege to Represent Capitalist Class and for . . . the Gravy

By JOHN WEST

The Donkey and the Elephant are now getting their preliminary run-downs in preparation for their formal entry into the world's greatest puppet show, the last act of which is scheduled for the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November. The Nominating Conventions will be held in June, and for the next six months the well paid publicists will use their energy and money in trying to persuade the citizens of this country that their lives, liberties, and general happiness depend on marking the cross on the appropriate side of the ballot.

The Election Campaign started this year earlier than usual. Its first big gun was fired by Roosevelt in the form of his Annual Message to Congress, a procedure which the Republicans felt was a distinctly unprincipled abuse of the privileges of his office. The Republicans managed, however, to follow up during the next six weeks with a barrage of grotesque ghost-written speeches by Hoover, a studiously meaningless statement by Landon, Talmadge's ill-fated Grass Roots gathering, and a heavy offensive through their press. Neatly padded statistics were issued weekly to show that the people were ready to throw New Deal policies on the garbage pile.

Point, Counter-Point

Thinks quieted down, to be revived on both sides during the past months. The Republicans surprise

themselves by announcing a brand new Brain Trust all their own—naturally non-partisan in character, whose public-spirited function it will be merely to demonstrate in the most objective scientific manner conceivable how Roosevelt is leading the country to destruction. They continue to observe that Marx reigns as the guardian deity of New Deal Washington. The Democrats have more substantial weapons at hand for the counter-attack: they utilize the investigations of the Congressional Committees to secure front-page agitation against the Tories, and to show the public that the Republicans plan to turn the government over openly to Morgan and DuPont. Roosevelt mounted his white horse again at Baltimore to ride at the head of the nation's youth, and to promise once more security for all.

It is, of course, a foregone conclusion that Roosevelt will be re-nominated on the first ballot at the Democratic Convention. There will be a few squabbles over the wording of the platform, but in the end it will be worked out according to the Roosevelt pattern. The Annual Message and the Baltimore address make clear what this will be: Roosevelt will lean back on the New Deal slogans of his first campaign, and will appeal to the voters on the basis of the "left" promises which he is so gracious in formulating. The old melody needs little tuning up: denunciation of the

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