

# NEW MILITANT

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## Workers Throng the Streets on May First

### Tasks of the Fourth International in Spain

A Letter to a Spanish Comrade  
By Leon Trotsky

The situation in Spain has again become revolutionary.

The development of the Spanish revolution is taking place at a slow tempo. By virtue of this fact the revolutionary elements there have acquired a sufficiently long period of time in which to take shape, to rally the vanguard around themselves, in order to measure up to their task at the decisive moment. We must now say openly that the Spanish "Left Communists" have completely missed this exceptionally favorable interval and have not proved to be one whit better than the Socialist and "Communist" traitors. Not that there was any lack of warning. All the greater therefore is the guilt of an Andres Nin, an Andrade and others. With a correct policy the "Communist Left" could stand today as a section of the Fourth International at the head of the Spanish proletariat. Instead of this, it is vegetating in the confused organization of a Maurin—without a program, without perspectives, and without any political significance. Marxian action in Spain can begin only by means of an irreconcilable condemnation of the whole policy of Andres Nin and Andrade, which not only was and remains false, but also criminal.

#### The Removal of Zamora

What is the meaning of the removal of President Zamora? That the political developments have once more entered into an acute stage. Zamora was, so to say, the constant center of the ruling summits. Under altered conditions he played the same role that Hindenburg enacted in Germany for a certain period of time; it was during the time when the reaction (even the Nazis), on the one side, and the Social Democracy on the other, put their hopes in him. The Bonapartism of the modern epoch is the expression of the highest accentuation of class antagonisms in the period when these antagonisms have not yet led to open struggle. Bonapartism may find its point of support in the quasi-parliamentarian government, but also for that matter in the "supra-party" president: this depends exclusively on the circumstances. Zamora was the carrier of the Bonapartist equilibrium. The sharpening of the antagonism led to a state of affairs in which both of the main camps sought, first, to make use of Zamora and then to get rid of him. The Right wing did not succeed in doing this in its time, but the "People's Front" did. This means, however, the beginning of an acute revolutionary period.

Both the profound ferment in the masses and the unintermittently violent explosions demonstrate that the repeatedly deceived workers in town and country, as well as the poor peasants, are continually driving with all their power in the direction of the revolutionary solution. And what is the role played by the People's Front, with regard to this mighty movement? The role of a gigantic brake manufactured and put into operation by traitors and slick sharpers. And only yesterday, Juan Andrade was still a co-signer of the thoroughly despicable program of the People's Front!

After Zamora's removal, Azana, hand in hand with the new president of the Republic, must take over the role of the true Bonapartist center—that is, he must seek to elevate himself above the two camps in order the better to be able to direct the arms of the State against those revolutionary masses who assisted him to power. The

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"WE HAVE BEEN NAUGHT, WE SHALL BE ALL!"



### Jersey Jobless Ousted Thousands Expected To March

#### Bourbon Politicians Inflict Final Injury On Unemployed

New Jersey capitalist politicians ordered the jobless demonstrators out of the legislature, their final slap in the face to the unemployed of the state. After tossing the interests of the unemployed between Democrats and Republicans while relief payments stopped dead and suffering was widespread, the politicians decided to adjourn and do nothing.

The Workers Alliance of New Jersey, rallied its forces and marched into the Assembly halls of the State Capitol, an action which must have caused no little trepidation among the never-hungry ruling classes. The "army of unoccupation," as they became popularly known, is a portent of the future. This the capitalist politicians must have realized as they scurried back to Trenton from the banquet tables in their luxurious homes and yachts.

Bourbons to the marrow, the politicians returned, muttering the notorious insults of Marie Antoinette. One of them, deeply hurt that the poor, starving workers should be demanding action, cursed the people who would "pamper" the unemployed. "Why don't you feed them chocolate eclairs," he said.

Reluctantly they listened to the spokesmen for the unemployed, concerned only with finding a convenient pretext to oust them from the assembly. The Hoffmans who could find a hundred methods for winning publicity in the Hauptman case, could not find a single method to feed the unemployed. "Shall we rob Peter (read: rich) to pay Paul (read: poor) asks the Governor? Never, the assemblymen chorused: "Let us rob Paul to pay Paul!" And this was the solution. Before the assembly ended its deliberations, it empowered a committee under Governor Hoffman to find "ways and means." This means the entire problem has been placed in the hands of the most ardent "sales tax" advocate in New Jersey.

But before the assemblymen could dodge the spotlight of unfavorable publicity, they had to dispose of the visiting unemployed. It was clear that a continuation of the mock assembly could do them no good. The pretext was found in an alleged letter of some veteran, threatening to kick the reactionary assemblyman, Joseph O. Paul, out of New Jersey.

Only the good naturedness of the unemployed saved both New Deal democrats and Tory Republicans from another Hoover Bonus Army scandal.

The Workers' Alliance members returned home empty handed but their heroic struggle has aroused the working class of the country. Their action will be emulated time and again as the relief system of other states follows the inevitable road of New Jersey.

#### New York Parade Will Mark High Point In Many Years

Celebrating the Fiftieth anniversary of May First, hundreds of thousands of workmen will march in the citadels of capitalism as this issue goes to press.

In New York, where a more inclusive united front of political and labor tendencies than has been seen for years, a monster parade will take place. New York will be decked in red, its streets will resound with the marching tread of labor's legions.

Beginning at various points in heart of the city, the parade will march through lower Fifth Ave., previously denied by the police and converge on Union Square.

In Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, San Francisco and all the great industrial centers of the country, workers will march or demonstrate in meetings against capitalist oppression.

Shorter hours, more adequate relief, social insurance, freedom for class war prisoners and struggle for a workers' world will appear on thousands of banners and be shouted from thousands of proletarian throats.

In Europe, where Fascist reaction has not put the quietus on open demonstrations, hundreds of thousands will march behind red banners.

Paris and Madrid will express a great sentiment in their proletarian protests. This is embodied in the increasing understanding of the lessons of Germany and Austria. Unfortunately this will to struggle will be corralled by Stalinists and social democrats in social patriotic and class collaborationist channels.

These forces of treachery are preparing to repeat the great crime of August 4th, 1914.

But in reality their power, despite the huge votes rolled up in parliamentary elections, is on the wane. Between the pincers of fascism and proletarian revolution, the false leaders will be crushed.

This May Day must resolve that treachery does not lead the working class to the disaster of imperialist war or fascism again.

Only by means of trusted and tested revolutionary Marxism can victory be assured. Revolutionary Marxism, which proclaims unremitting war against Capitalism and its labor lieutenants, flies the great banner of Marx and Lenin, Revolutionary Marxism—that is the Fourth International.

Like Lenin's valiant handful braving the reaction during the war, the Fourth Internationalists challenge again the same enemies. Like Lenin's party they are invincible.

### Peoples Front Salvages Bankrupt Radicals in First French Election

#### Real Issues Will Be Decided in Streets Not By Ballot Box

The first ballot in the French general elections was held last Sunday, April 26. The 618 Chamber seats were contested by almost 5,000 candidates, representing more than a score of political parties. The French Fascists (Croix de Feu) did not participate directly in the elections, but supported the extreme reactionary candidates.

A clear majority was obtained by candidates in only 183 constituencies, less than one-third of the total, making necessary 435 run-off elections which will be held next Sunday, May 3. This unprecedented confusion is symptomatic of the crisis that grips France "democracy."

It will be possible to determine the actual relationship of forces in the new Chamber only after the results of the second ballot are known. But the essential trends and facts pertaining to the parliamentary arena are already quite clear.

#### Left Vote Mounts

The elections show that the French masses are moving sharply to the left under the pressure of the economic and social crisis, which is becoming more and more aggravated. The popular vote gives the preponderance to the so-called left parties, and the People's Front candidates will undoubtedly carry the majority of the seats in the run-offs.

But there are also equally clear indications that a section of the French petty bourgeoisie has already begun to shift in the direction of reaction and Fascism. This is indicated by the fact that only a minority of the deputies elected on the first ballot were those representing the parties in the People's Front; and also by the fact that the greatest relative gains in the first ballot were scored by the reactionary Right Republicans.

In this we have a clear reflection of the process now going on in France which is dividing the nation into two camps. This process must continue at an accelerated

pace, and it can proceed only at the expense of the party of the Radical Socialists. This party is the traditional party of the Third Republic; it is the traditional parliamentary representative of the French petty-bourgeoisie; it has played the "historic role" of being the largest single party in the Chamber.

#### Doom of the Radical Socialists

Time and again we have pointed out in the columns of the NEW MILITANT that the crisis in France signified above all the doom of the Radical Socialist Party. Its collapse is inevitable. Despite the cover afforded the bankrupt Radicals by the People's Front, this party has suffered very serious and very significant losses. The turn of the middle classes away from the Radicals is very sharply illuminated by the case of M. Edouard Herriot. M. Herriot is the parliamentary leader of the Radicals, one of the vice-presidents of the Chamber, who had never before failed to get elected on the first ballot, and who was generally conceded to have an easy win at Lyons. M. Herriot not only failed to get elected, but even to head the list, running second to a reactionary [Herriot, however, will be elected on the second ballot].

A question arises as to what would have happened to the Radical Socialist Party as a whole had it not been propped up from the "left" by the People's Front? Even this assistance has not stopped but only retarded the rapid process of disintegration. The policies of the People's Front not only prop up the bankrupt Radicals but also undermine the position of the working class, because this support causes the disillusioned middle-class following of the Radicals to lose confidence both in the latter and in the labor partners as well.

The Fascists alone stand to gain from the debacle of the Radicals, so long as the working class parties pursue a policy of collaboration with Herriot-Daladier instead of waging an irreconcilable struggle against them.

#### People's Front Saves Radicals

The elections provide very clear evidence of just how the People's Front has benefited the Radicals.

And in this sense, the Daily Worker is quite correct in stating that "the 'left' critics of the People's Front prophesied that the Radical Socialists would gain at the expense of the working class parties" (April 28, 1936).

Such has been our prognosis, and it has been verified by the elections. But, the Daily Worker indignantly denies this. "Nothing of the kind happened. . . . Sunday's ballot showed that those Radical Socialist candidates who faithfully adhered to the People's Front also gained while those who flirted with reactionaries lost ground."

Even the Stalinist editor—after a heated denial—has to admit that those Radical Socialists who fully utilized the assistance afforded them by the People's Front (those who "faithfully adhered to it") were the ones who "also gained." At whose expense? The "doubtful friends" like Herriot, who did not wholeheartedly pose as People's Front men, "lost ground" . . . which they will recoup on the second ballot, once again at the expense of the workers.

In the last Chamber, the Radicals held 151 seats. It is doubtful whether they will get more than 120 in the new Chamber. The Socialists are having exalted visions of supplanting their Radical partners in the People's Front as the leading and largest party in the Chamber. Leon Blum, as is evident from his editorials in Populaire, already sees himself Premier. (The Stalinists prefer Daladier.)

#### Herriot-Daladier Will Crack Whip

What is the extent of the "victory" of the People's Front? Without waiting for the results of the run-off election, we can state with assurance that it matters very little whether or not the Socialists outnumber the Radicals. It is Herriot-Daladier who will crack the whip in the Chamber and not Blum-Cachin.

According to the most sanguine estimates of Populaire and l'Humanite, Blum-Cachin dream of a total of some 200-220 seats for the S.P. and the C.P. combined, with the Radicals numbering from 100-120. In essence, therefore, even should the most sanguine hopes of the engineers of the People's Front (Continued on Page 4)

### Law 'n' Order Ruse Flops

#### Akron Vigilante Frame-up On Trade Unionists Falls Through

AKRON, April 28.—The "Law and Order League," established during the Goodyear strike to blast a way into the plant, has turned out to be one of the brightest jools in the crown of Akron society.

Now established on a permanent basis, the league last week entered a social whirl by planting brass knucks, pistols, and jack-handlers in honest Goodyear trade unionists' pockets, and then informing the police.

The very crudeness of the provocation defeated it.

The league made the front pages again when Bill Denton, one of God's, shall we say, more earnest shepherds and spare-time red-baiter, invoked its aid in attempting to close the Soviet film, "Peasants."

Other interesting social phenomena is a bill for \$21,000.00 presented to the county commissioners by the Lake Erie Chemical Co. for long range gas guns, tear gas, and six gas masks.

Though every city official is playing dumb, everything indicates that Colonel Joe Johnson, who has trained hundreds of strikebreakers in Akron shops, ordered the gas from the city—incidentally buying it from himself as a salesman of the chemical firm.

Meanwhile the unions have answered by putting out a progressive, tabloid-size "United Rubber Worker," by increasing the membership in the locals, by establishing study classes, and by holding a huge victory ball. In the Goodyear plant a printed shop paper is being started.

Tension in the Goodyear factory is electric. Fist fights are common. Last Friday a five-hour sit-down paralyzed activity. These events will undoubtedly hasten and confirm the action of the rubber firms in announcing several weeks ago the beginning of decentralization of the rubber plants.

Decidedly, the rubber barons have nothing to be cheery about.

### Cops Maul Guildsman

#### Guild Protests to Hoan After Many are Slugged by Police

MILWAUKEE, Wis., Apr. 20.—Protests were made by the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild to Mayor Hoan regarding police brutality Friday night, during a strike demonstration at the Hearst-owned Wisconsin News plant.

The police charged the picket lines with clubs and blackjacks swinging. One strike sympathizer was cut over the right eye and was removed to a hospital for treatment. Five pickets, including a guildsman, were arrested. The police attacked the strikers' sound truck, breaking windows in it and tearing out wiring. One picket was arrested a block from the scene of the melee. The five demanded a jury trial when they were arraigned Saturday in the district court. Their trials will take place probably this week.

Mayor Hoan promised to take up the protest with Chief of Police J. G. Laubenheimer. A conference between the mayor, the chief, and a committee from the Guild will be held next Monday.

The Wisconsin News management has applied to the federal court for an injunction to restrain the regional labor board from holding a hearing on the board's complaint that the News has violated the Wagner labor relations act. The injunction plea will be heard Saturday by Judge F. A. Geiger.

Several carloads of sympathizers are expected here from Chicago Friday night for another demonstration. Five Muskegon (Mich.) guildsmen flew over late Saturday to visit strike headquarters. Last week week Edna Ferber, one of the foremost American novelists and formerly a Milwaukee reporter at \$15 a week, gave \$100 for the strike fund. The Milwaukee Typographical Union No. 23 sent \$100 Monday, accompanied by a resolution of solidarity.

### May Day Greetings from Comrade Tom Mooney

Dear Friends, Comrades and Fellow-Unionists:

On May 1, 1936, the workers of the world will commemorate their day!

On that day, we hope that you will not forget those who struggled for the solidarity of labor throughout the world. On this day of all days, those class-war prisoners who fell victims in that struggle should be memorialized. They should be exalted to their proper place in the estimation of those for whom they fought, died and suffered imprisonment, and I especially, at this time, appeal to you most earnestly and fervently for your attention.

May I ask you not to forget all class-war prisoners on that day, and in your remembrance of them, do not fail to single out the monumental injustice and monstrous wrong that has been done to my co-sufferer, Warren K. Billings, and myself.

The more attention that is attracted to the Mooney-Billings case, and the greater the publicity the better are our chances in the United States Supreme Court. Leave no stone unturned to publicize to the fullest this case. It is only through such publicity that we have any hope of freedom.

With warmest personal regards and every good wish for the complete victory of the working-class, I am, with fraternal trade-union regards,

Very sincerely,  
TOM MOONEY, 31021.