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Tobin Plug-Uglies Slug 574 Heads

V. R. Dunne and Geo. Frosig Attacked by Thugs
In New Union--Busting Campaign
by Reactionaries

MINNEAPOLIS, May 22.—The campaign of terrorism directed against progressive trade union leaders in Minneapolis reached a new peak Thursday morning, May 21, when Vincent Dunne and George Frosig, organizer and vice-president of General Drivers Local No. 574, were attacked and severely beaten by five thugs driving a black Buick sedan. The militant leaders of the truck drivers' union were distributing leaflets advertising a union meeting and talking with a truck driver at the Omaha freight yards when the sedan drew up and the five assailants leaped out, attacking Dunne and Frosig with black-jacks. Both were badly cut and bruised. As the attackers climbed back into their car, one of them turned and said, "This is a warning."

Two of the thugs were recognized by Frosig and Dunne as a part of a crew of eight tough-looking characters who last Saturday morning drove up to the leading platform at the Chippewa Water Company where 574 officials were talking to the drivers. They announced they were representatives of the Teamsters Joint Council of the American Federation of Labor, but did not attempt any violence. There was a large number of members of Local 574 present at the time at the Chippewa Water Company platform. The car in which the eight men appeared at the Chippewa Company was also a black Buick sedan.

Local 574, after winning three famous strikes in 1934, was expelled from the International Teamsters Union in April, 1935 by Daniel Tobin, president, for alleged non-payment of per capita tax. Ever since that time, Tobin, together with other local and national craft union A. F. of L. leaders, has been seeking to smash Local 574 and build a dual teamsters union in Minneapolis. Since last October, Meyer Lewis, a representative of William Green, has been here directing the attack against the drivers' union, the leading exponent of industrial unionism in the Northwest. Lewis' campaign against the progressive union movement in Minneapolis has so far met with little success. Last week, Mr. Lewis gave a statement to the press announcing that the American Federation of Labor would use every force available to combat the "dual and outlaw" unions. In the past two weeks, three known progressive trade unionists have been beaten up by unknown thugs and told to leave town. The attack on Dunne and Frosig brings the list of victims up to five.

Fascists Gain In Belgium

People's Front Loses Mirror
Future for France

In last Sunday's general elections in Belgium, the Socialists (the Belgian Labor Party or P.O. B.) lost ground, losing three seats for a total of 70, but despite this became the largest single party in the Belgian parliament because the Catholic Center suffered a much greater loss, dropping about one-fifth of their former strength.

As is always the case, the disintegration of the Center was accompanied by the growth of the two extreme wings. The Belgian Socialists increased their votes from about 13,000 in 1932 to 35,000, adding six seats for a total of 9. The most spectacular gains were scored by the budding Fascist party of the Rexist, who participated in the elections for the first time, and obtained some 250,000 votes.

No People's Front in Belgium?
According to the Daily Worker, the results of the Belgian elections are a brilliant confirmation of the Stalinist policies in France and elsewhere, particularly in Belgium. The Socialists lost and the Fascists gained, because, mind you, there was no People's Front in Belgium. Instead, in Belgium "the Socialists are united in a 'National Union' with the reactionary parties of the Clericals and Liberals" (T. Repard, Daily Worker, May 25. Our emphasis).

The Daily Worker takes on trust the credulity, inexperience and ignorance of its readers in its attack upon the policies of the Belgian Socialists. In the sphere of domestic or foreign policy if there is any difference between them and the policy of the People's Front, it is all in favor of the Belgians. Enough to mention the fact that the economic "program" of the People's Front in France consists of sections lifted from the "Plan" of the C.G.T. which Jouhaux and Co. in turn lifted from the Plan of Henri de Man, their Belgian colleague.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the Belgian National Unioners are as solid for the League of Nations and for organizing peace and disarmament as the People's Fronters in France. But they are not as outspokenly pro-Franco-Soviet as the Stalinists would like. Hence, the "sharp" criticism.

Only Stalinists Excluded
The only other difference between (Continued on Page 4)

Spanish S.P. Nears Split

Right Wing Takes Sanctions
Against Left; Convention
Postponed

MADRID, May 28.—The Right-wing-controlled National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party today made the following splitting moves to expel the Left Wing majority.

1. Postponed the national party congress from June to October.
2. Authorized district committees to dissolve those section organizations deemed not to be complying with all instructions of the National Executive Committee, the latter immediately to superintend the reorganization of the dissolved sections.

3. Denounced "Claridad," Largo Caballero's paper, as an enemy of the party, and demanded that it immediately settle its debts, amounting to several thousands of dollars, to the party printing works.

4. Took steps to publish, in addition to the Right wing-controlled "El Socialista," an evening newspaper ("Claridad" is an evening paper).

"Claridad" and the Madrid organization, largest of the party sections, denounced the actions of the N.E.C. and declared "the Socialist Party cannot consent to be the object of this farce and comedy" and called for election of a new N.E.C. as "a question of life or death for the party."

The struggle in the Spanish Socialist Party, long developing, came to a crisis when President Azana invited the Right wing leader, Indalecio Prieto, to become premier and form a coalition cabinet. Prieto and the N.E.C. were more than willing to do so but the volume of protests from party organizations throughout Spain forced them to desist.

A recent referendum of the party on the demand of the Left Wing that the national congress be held in Madrid, demonstrated that the Left wing has a clear majority in the party.

In a signed article in "Claridad" on the eve of the election of Azana by the electoral congress, Javier Bueno, Socialist leader of the Asturian rebellion, denounced Azana as the candidate of the Jesuits and rightists. The hostility of the Left wing was not organized, however, and most Socialists voted for Azana. But since then, in a speech declaring his position in preparation for the forthcoming party congress, Largo Caballero himself declared his lack of faith in the Popular Front.

Day to Day Report Of S.P. Convention At Cleveland, Ohio

By JOHN WEST and MAX SHACHIMAN

CLEVELAND.—The struggle between the Right and Left wings of the Socialist Party, dramatized two years ago by the victory of the Militant group at the Detroit national convention and the adoption of the much-discussed "Declaration of Principles," reached a new climax at the nineteenth national convention of the Socialist Party. Following the action taken by the majority of the 250 delegates from all parts of the country, the New York Old Guard, led by Louis Waldman, James Oneal and Algernon Lee, has definitely parted company with the Socialist Party and is organizing an association of conservative social democrats all its own. The tremendous significance of this separation for the future of the revolutionary movement of the United States is evident when one compares the split in Cleveland in 1936 with the split produced by the first post-war crisis in the Socialist Party at its Chicago convention in 1919. Whereas the latter convention marked the triumph of the Hillquit-Oneal Right wing and the ousting of the Left wing assembled around the Communists, the 1936 convention, on the other hand, repudiated the fossilized representatives of Old Guard Socialism which has produced such tragic catastrophes in the international working class movement.

The convention provided another contrast, however, with the crisis in 1919. Whereas the struggle between Left and Right in 1919 represented a fairly clear-cut division between the revolutionary Marxist current and the Right wing bureaucracy in control of the party, the fight of the various tendencies in 1936 is far more complicated in its divisions by virtue of the fact that the bloc which held together against the New York Old Guard consists of tendencies which are far removed from common conceptions on the fundamental problems pressing for solution in the Socialist Party.

Because of the fact that so much depends on the development of the struggle in the Socialist Party, the reader should have before him as rounded a picture of the important issues before the convention as can be given in this space.

The Keynote Speeches
The underlying issues facing the Socialist Party, but still unclarified, were implicit in the keynote speeches delivered at the opening session. The contrast between the two principal opening speeches, those of Daniel W. Hoan and Norman Thomas, suggested almost the form of a debate, an impression which was emphasized by their repetition of key passages for the newsreel cameras. Hoan laid his chief emphasis upon advocacy of a "Farmer-Labor Party" which, in his statement of it, clearly meant

not serve the working class. When capitalism was in its ascendant phase, a reformist party could have served the workers and farmers of America. Today with the decay of capitalism, reformism can no longer play a progressive role in America.

Today several groups in the United States seek to bring into being a national Farmer-Labor party. These groups make the most irresponsible and false promises to the masses as to what a Farmer-Labor Party is able to accomplish. All these groups seek to build their national Farmer-Labor party on the basis of class-collaboration, political trading and compromise; they seek to place in leadership of such a party not workers but liberal elements, and in many cases opportunistic bourgeois politicians who see in such a party a vehicle to better their own political fortunes. Up to now, the bulk of the trade union movement has not endorsed the building of a national Farmer-Labor party.

Today at this Socialist Party convention there are only two delegates from Minnesota, a state that once had a flourishing Socialist movement. There is a very significant reason for this. We Socialists of Minnesota have had a long and bitter experience with an actual Farmer-Labor party. We have had a better chance than comrades of other sections to observe the real functioning of such a party.

The Minnesota Farmer-Labor party was built in the 1920's by just the sort of devoted militant workers who are assembled in this convention. The radical and revolutionary workers built the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota. We made thousands of good Farmer-Labor converts—and broke our own party in the process. The Minnesota Farmer-Labor party has been the main political power in our state since 1930. It has elected senators, governors, representatives, congressmen, mayors and other state and municipal officers. During this period the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party cannot record any gains commensurate with the tremendous energies devoted to its cause. On the contrary, the party has time after time betrayed the workers who elected it to power. The governor has brought in troops during strike situations against the demands of striking unions that he withhold such troops. Farmer-Labor Mayor Latimer of Minneapolis has personally conducted scabs through picket lines, with the help of the police which were under his control. He has used his police against every strike that has arisen since he took office. Twice he has used Farmer-Labor police to break up and club unemployed demonstrations. He has done all this despite the fact that he was elected to office by the largest majority

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a conservative combination of reformers of all brands similar to the petty bourgeois mess into which the Socialist Party of Wisconsin has been dragged by association with the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation organized in that state under the aegis of the LaFollette dynasty.

On this score, Norman Thomas delivered his most decisive remarks of the convention. Contrary to Hoan, he stressed the necessity of socialism and of a socialist campaign in the presidential elections and dismissed the Farmer-Labor Party with simple reference to the impossibility of its organization in 1936, at any rate. His remarks about those labor leaders who had jumped on the Roosevelt bandwagon with the slogan of "Roosevelt or Reaction" were entirely in order. Thomas rightly compared this piece of deception with such treacherous slogans as "Wilson or War" in 1916, pointing out that just as we had got Wilson and war, so the victory of the Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky course would mean Roosevelt and Reaction. He insisted that the only genuine choice before the workers in the present period was: Socialism or Reaction and Imperialist War. Even if his speech was gravely marred by ambiguous formulations on more than one question—that of the Farmer-Labor Party not excluded—the great stress he laid on a straightforward socialist campaign so obviously harmonized with the sentiments of most of the delegates that he was constantly interrupted by bursts of applause.

Indeed, significant of convention sentiment was the fact that while Krayciak's "prediction" that there would be a strong Farmer-Labor Party in this country "before many months are over" was greeted apathetically, spontaneous applause followed every statement of a clear cut campaign for socialism. The temper of the delegates is not so much to be judged by their mild interest or outright unconcern in those sections of the three keynote speeches which were diluted with liberal and reformist platitudes, but by their enthusiastic response to any sentence that smacked of militant socialist aims and tactics.

This was even more clearly evidenced in the spirit prevailing during the fight over the seating of one of the two contesting delegations from New York, a dispute which consumed most of the time of the numerous sessions devoted to organizing the convention itself. The fight was at bottom a highly significant struggle between political tendencies—the delegation headed by Thomas representing the general line of the Militant group and that headed by Waldman representing the Old Guard. The stage of the development of the political struggle in the Socialist Party is still embryonic and more often than

not the underlying issues of principle are obscured by the emphasis laid on the confusing organizational aspects they assume. Nevertheless, those speeches that broke through the organizational crust and touched the political heart of the conflict, were the ones that aroused the keenest interest of the delegates and created the clearest demarcations.

Preliminary Skirmishes
The first test of strength came in the vote on seating the disputed New Jersey delegations. The National Executive Committee, functioning as a credentials committee and represented by reporter Kruger, proposed the seating of the Militant delegation. Oneal, as minority reporter, proposed a contrary motion. The N.E.C. proposal was upheld by a vote of 115 to 55. The minority was composed of the Right wing delegations drawing their main strength from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, parts of Pennsylvania, Washington, Montana and some scattering delegates. The majority vote was made up of a combination of the delegates supporting the Militant group, plus 30 out of the 31 delegates from Wisconsin. The vote of the majority was not greater because, due to the contest, neither of the two New York delegations was permitted to vote until their own dispute was decided by the unconstituted delegates.

Rhode Island and Texas were settled in favor of the Militants with approximately the same division, bringing the Left wing strength up a notch or two after each decision. The section of the Pennsylvania delegation led by Darlington Hoopes of Reading, who had been leaning strongly towards the Old Guard without committing himself too irrevocably, had been challenged prior to the convention and on its floor. The Credentials Committee, however, upheld the claims of the Hoopes group, and just before the fight opened up over the New York contest, the challenge against Hoopes was withdrawn, thus seating his contingent without actual dispute.

Among the results of this arrangement was the loss by the New York Old Guard of the outright support of the Reading delegation upon which they had previously counted. Other results of the arrangement were made clear to observers in the discussion of other questions brought on the floor at later sessions, as will be seen below.

Old Guard States Its Case
The settlement of all these minor disputes set the stage for the New York contest—the one which aroused the sharpest division at the convention. After considerable parliamentary jockeying, Oneal led off

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2 Shot, 15 Jailed In L.A. Bean Strike

"Red Squad" Unleashes Terror Against Walk-out of 5,000 Agricultural Workers;
Defense Funds Urgently Needed

LOS ANGELES (By wire).—Two agricultural strikers were shot down and fifteen more arrested and held in high bail, as Los Angeles' notorious "Red Squad" attempted to terrorize the five thousand agricultural workers now on strike in this county.

This strike is the first big agricultural strike since the conviction of Chambers, Decker, Norman Mini and five others in the famous Sacramento criminal syndicalism case in April, 1935. It is the first real sign of recovery from that blow, and may be the signal for a wave of strikes similar to those of 1933 and 1934.

The two strikers were wounded by thugs armed with shotguns, who broke up the picket lines. The police then followed up, arresting fifteen Mexicans and Filipinos on the preposterous charge of assault with a deadly weapon! Strikers are shot—and strikers are then arrested for shooting! Bail was fixed at \$2,500 each. This is the second mass arrest in the strike, forty having been locked up last week.

The Los Angeles labor movement is rallying to the defense of the strike. Relief and defense are being provided by a trade union committee under the leadership of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The Socialist Party has provided bail for a score of strikers. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense has provided counsel, taking care of the prisoners' needs, and raising money for bail bonds.

Defense funds are urgently needed. They should be sent to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense at 124 West 6th Street, Los Angeles.

Unions Rap Cotton Lords Co. Plot Ape Hitler

Rubber Workers and CLU
Rally Against Provocations of Barons

By RICHARD FERGUSON
AKRON, May 25.—With the mass arrest of 31 union workers at the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. late last Saturday night the never-ending struggle between the rubber workers and their despotic bosses is entering a new and higher plane. All Akron is seething.

The arrests grew out of a 12-hour sit-down on May 20 inside Goodyear's plant 2, during which the unionists are charged with rioting and imprisoning foremen, supervisors and company union rats in a "bull pen" until the management settled the workers' grievances.

The mass arrests, coming late Saturday evening when it was almost impossible to arrange bail, is everywhere recognized as a deliberate move by the company to crush the union. All Akron labor is infuriated, especially because the company deputy who recently wounded five Goodyear workers by firing into their midst, has just been acquitted in the same court in which the company will try to get convictions against union men.

C.L.U. Supports Men
Responding immediately to their brothers' need of assistance, the Central Labor Union held a meeting of its Defense Committee, which aided so greatly in the Goodyear strike. The Committee has appealed for legal aid from the American Civil Liberties Union. It published a special resolution sharply condemning Goodyear's refusal to bargain collectively with the union, and attacked the man-

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The Problem in Akron

By A. J. MUSTE
Several "sit-down" strikes have occurred recently in the Akron rubber plants including the Goodyear where a great strike came to an end only two months ago. Last Saturday thirty-one militants of Plant Two of Goodyear were suddenly rounded up on charges of rioting in connection with one of these "sit-downs". What is behind these turbulent developments?

As readers of the New Militant will recall, the "settlement" which marked the end of the Goodyear strike was by no means fully satisfactory to the workers. For one thing, the demand that the Goodyear company union be abolished, or at least that the company definitely agree no longer to finance it, was not achieved. Thus the workers went back partly as union men, a minority as company union men. Now no situation where a real union and a company union exists side by side can possibly be a static one. The employer immediately resorts to direct or indirect methods

to undermine the union. The union men, unless they are prepared to lose the ground which they have won in their strike struggle, must work to win over or eliminate non-union or anti-union workers. The fight is invariably transferred from the picket line to the plant. In this case the conflict is peculiarly sharp, because the men have maintained at top pitch the militancy which they displayed during the strike at Goodyear, the other big companies, and the employers in the basic industries generally are well aware that if the rubber union actually establishes itself, the movement in steel and automobiles will receive a tremendous impetus.

Conditions Still Bad
If there was a particle of ground left for the assertion that the "settlement" of March 21st effected even a partial adjustment of basic problems, that particle is now removed. Even the capitalist press admits this. The Cleveland Press,

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