

## NEW MILITANT

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THE MILITANT

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## Workers' Security

THE Association of Railway Labor Executives, the leaders of the railroad labor unions of the United States, set a good example the other day when they told Railroad Dictator Eastman to go to hell after he had made a speech saying that putting the 30-hour week into effect would "ruin the railroads." Said the union leaders, responding to pressure from their membership:

"A million unemployed railroad men have to be put to work or they will be ruined."

The Workers Party of the United States supports the struggle for unemployment and other forms of social insurance. But it believes that making this almost the sole object of struggle today, as the Communist Party is doing, is a grave error. The capitalist system must be challenged more directly and drastically today—challenged with the demand to give the workers jobs!

The Workers Security program of the Workers Party includes the fight for:

1. The 30-hour week at a minimum wage of \$30 per week, and in any case without reduction in present weekly pay.
2. Proportionate cash relief for all unemployed workers and farmers pending establishment of a satisfactory social insurance system.
3. A real public works program providing housing for the masses, electrification of farmers' homes, etc.
4. Credits to the Soviet Union which will put American workers to work making automobiles, tractors, machinery of all kinds for the U.S.S.R.

## The 30-Hour Week

THE struggle for the six-hour day, the five-day week, with no reduction in pay is taking on new form and new life, and will be reflected in the Seventy-fourth Congress now in session. The agitation for this slogan among the working class in the whole past period of the crisis has gained momentum and now promises to be one of the major issues of the day.

Spokesmen for the exploiters of labor, who in the past raised a cry against immediate relief and social insurance, at last realizing that some form of fake deal will have to be adopted, now center their attacks upon the 30-hour week.

The press, the pulpit, the radio and the platform, to say nothing of the economic "experts", are being utilized by the capitalists to save the country from another catastrophe. They assure the people that nothing would be more fatal to recovery, to prosperity, to the United States, and to the welfare of the millions of employed and unemployed workers than the adoption of the 30-hour week. In fact, all of a sudden, they have forgotten their own selfish material interests and are championing the cause of labor—against the 30-hour week.

But we have heard all this before. In the thirties of the last century, just one hundred years ago, when the American workers were struggling against work from sun up to sun down and demanded the 10-hour day, these same arguments were used. Later, in the eighties when the eight-hour day movement gained momentum the same arguments were used.

In 1900 the average work week was 57 hours. By 1929 the process of technical improvement and the class struggle had reduced the average to 50 hours per week. In 1934 the average weekly hours for the country were reduced to 40. Before 1936 the working class should complete the first phase of the struggle for the 30-hour week. By that time the 30-hour week

must become a law and the practical gauge for the work week.

Practically the whole labor movement is behind the struggle for the 30-hour week. The only force that bungled the whole question a few years ago was the Communist Party which demanded the seven-hour day, and five-day week. They claimed that the slogan for the six-hour day, the five-day week, with no reduction in pay was counter-revolutionary, and was playing into the hands of Green and Company. Today they are climbing on the band wagon, first through their auxiliary organizations.

What is lacking in the struggle for the 30-hour week is UNITED ACTION. The labor movement is for the 30-hour week but up to the present, in the main, each organization has been fighting by itself, in its own way. The unity of this struggle and a powerful campaign will force through the workers' demands. Unless the workers drive toward this end the bosses and their government will give us a 30-hour week law, as a fake counterpart to their social insurance plan. We have had many laws passed, and many laws are on the statute books, for labor's rights—but these laws are not worth the paper they are written on.

There is no solution of the unemployment problem under capitalism. But immediate relief, social insurance, work relief, and a 30-hour week are needed to prevent the workers from becoming paupers. The most effective and far reaching immediate measure toward this end is the struggle to reduce the hours of work. It is a demand of both the employed and unemployed. It is a demand that readily unites the struggle of the employed and unemployed.

Even in the most promising days of prosperity before 1929 production could not be run 100 percent. Labor was being displaced by the millions. Declining American capitalism will do less.

The reduction of hours is one of the most effective immediate demands. It is realizable, and at the same time involves the exploiters of labor in the greatest contradictions.

Let the working class give notice. Let the working class unite and celebrate the 100th anniversary of the struggle for the 10-hour day with the realization of the 6-hour day, five-day week, with no reduction in pay.

## The Saar Plebiscite

IN the plebiscite last Sunday the population of the Saar voted ten to one in favor of reunion with Germany. Out of the total vote cast 476,089 favored the return to Germany, 46,613 favored the status quo and 2,083 voted for France. Accordingly this territory, rich in coal and iron, will return to Germany and come under the ruthless Nazi domination.

What this will mean to its working population is already indicated in the extended arrests of Nazi opponents and the preparations for concentration camps. It is clear that the Nazi hordes will proceed exactly as in Germany, crush all opposition with fire and sword and wipe out all semblance of working class organization, rights and liberties. Another heavy blow has thus been struck against the international working class movement.

Let us not misunderstand this situation, however. The working class itself voted by a majority for reunion with Germany. It is especially significant that Voelklingen, the seat of the Herman Roelichs steel dynasty and a population consisting in its overwhelming part of steel workers, voted ten to one for Germany, casting its ballots as follows: 20,657 for Germany, 2,208 for the status quo and 135 for France.

How is that to be explained? Claims that these workers voted for the Nazi regime are preposterous and ludicrous. It is far more correct to assume that this vote represents a desire to return to what these workers still look upon as their fatherland.

But this is at its best only a partial explanation. It must be remembered that these workers felt themselves left in the lurch, with no force capable of showing the way out. Even the united front between the Social Democratic and the Communist parties that finally came about in the Saar could not show the way out. These parties had failed before.

When the Nazis knocked at the gates in Germany the issue was presented squarely: Accept the continuation of capitalism plus the rule of this tyrannical horde or fight to the end for a Socialist system of society. Both parties of Socialism failed miserably and had nothing but abject surrender to offer. This is the crime that in the Saar plebiscite had the effect of condemning these parties to impotency in advance. This is the crime for which the workers of the Saar now have to pay the heavy price. May it speed the day when they learn to build upon the ruins of the past, to build a new party capable of leading the way to the Socialist revolution.

000; customs duties, more than \$300,000,000. As for the increases in the public debt, that merely served to build up future claims by bondholders to be supported out of the public funds.

It is a lovely and touching tale which the budget spreads out before anybody with a taste for fiscal data. In order to induce prosperity, in order to maintain relief, the New Deal has set the poor to picking one another's bones; which, after all, is just what used to happen under the Old Deal. Yes, the New Deal has redistributed the national wealth and income as the President said it would. There is only one catch; in accordance with the immemorial rules of the racket, the New Deal has taken from the poor and given to the rich.

In his budget measure, the President never bothered to touch upon

these indelicate facts. He was shocked, instead, at the idea that the government might be expected to continue supporting those of its members for whom capitalism cannot find jobs. Don't give them relief, he urged, for that will warp their moral fibre. Make them work for their food, but never, never commit the mistake of employing them in some useful occupations or of paying them too much.

The President is speaking as the defender of an economic order which has long since outlived its usefulness. It is not balancing the budget which will make the United States a country worth living in for its workers and its farmers. Nothing short of revolutionary reconstruction will do that.

## Biscuit Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

the city, and an automobile brigade had been formed for flying work.

The company is reported frantic. Attempts to palm off stale biscuit and to ship in biscuit from other cities have failed. Threats against union leaders have been met with the formation of a bodyguard. An independent grocers association has boycotted National producers, according to reports.

The company is unable to ship biscuit out of the port of New York to foreign and colonial customers.

The workers have many grievances, including the practice of firing men when they reach 45, no matter how long they have worked for the company. (One man was fired after 20 years' service). The truck drivers were originally forced to buy their own truck chassis. The company, however, maneuvered them out of the ownership of their trucks. The drivers who then became eligible, immediately joined the drivers union and struck.

## Trotsky Answers Indictment

(Continued from Page 1)

oul obtain this letter? One should imagine that this question would be of paramount importance.

But it is precisely on this score that we cannot gather a single word from the indictment as it is printed in L'Humanite. Is it conceivable that neither the examining magistrate nor the prosecutor became at all interested in this fact? For not the exploits of a consul unknown to anybody are of interest but the question of the relations between the terrorists and Trotsky.

## What Happened to the Letter?

Were there such relations or not? Was the letter written and transmitted? Was a reply received? To these unavoidable questions we get no answer. Is that surprising? Only to naive people. The G.P.U. could not permit the prosecutor any indiscretion within that sphere over which it has been compelled to draw the curtain of silence.

One need not doubt for a moment that the letter was never written because if the terrorists knew anything at all about Trotsky—and they couldn't but know—my irreconcilable attitude towards the adventurism of individual terror which runs like a red thread through my 37 years of revolutionary and literary activity could have been no secret to them (see several dozen articles in my *Collected Works*, published by the State Publishing House).

However, an admission that the terrorists could not see the slightest reason for seeking contact with Trotsky, and for this reason did not respond to the kind offer of the "consul" would be tantamount to the immediate bungling of the entire amalgam. Best keep quiet about it!

Let us, nevertheless, make momentarily an entirely improbable suggestion; the eloquent provocateur did actually succeed in obtaining the letter which so interested him. But what happened to it? Of course the temptation would have been great to transmit such a letter to Trotsky and . . . to receive from him some sort of an encouraging answer for the Leningrad "supporters", even if without any reference to terror.

But his inspirers, if not the consul himself, understood only too well the risk of such an enterprise: the previous attempts at provocation, which it is true, were on a smaller scale ended in inevitable fiasco. The letter—if it had been written, we repeat, contrary to all likelihood—would have to simply remain in the archives of the G.P.U. as a weapon unsuitable for its purposes. But this cannot be said aloud without confessing by this very fact that the consul is a second cousin to the Wrangel officer (see below).

## The Mystery of the 'Consul'

Is it possible, however, to conceive of a consul in a role of an agent provocateur? We have no means at all of knowing whether a real or a fake consul is here concerned: the resources for fraud in the given instance are illimitable. But even genuine consuls bear very little resemblance to saints. Some of them engage in smuggling, with illicit deals in currency and fall into the hands of the police (not only of the G.P.U., of course).

Such a compromised consul may be offered not only forgiveness for his sins but also some entirely legal coin in addition, should he be so obliging as to perform a few trifling and innocent services. There were, there are, and there will be such cases . . . as long as there exist consuls, customs, currencies, intermediaries male and female, and police.

The version we have added which unflinchingly flows from the indictment itself, if one is able to read it, presupposes consequently that the G.P.U. itself through the medium of an actual or fake consul, was attempting to link him up with Trotsky.

## Complicity of the G.P.U.

This version finds its indirect but very actual confirmation in the fact that all the responsible representatives of the G.P.U. in Leningrad were kicked out immediately after the assassination, and the investigation subsequently kept marking time for a protracted period, faced with the obvious difficulty of what variant to choose in order to explain what had happened.

We do not mean to say that the G.P.U. in the person of its Leningrad agents, premeditated the murder of Kirov, we have no facts for such a supposition. But the agents of the G.P.U. knew about the terrorist act which was in preparation; they kept Nikolaiyev under surveillance, they established contacts with him through the medium of trumped-up consuls for the double purpose of capturing as many persons as possible involved in the matter, and at the same time of attempting to compromise the political opponents of Stalin by means

of a complex amalgam.

Alas! an amalgam much too complex, as the subsequent course of events proved: before the "consul" had succeeded in preparing the political blast against Trotsky, Nikolaiyev pulled the trigger at Kirov. After this, the organizers of the surveillance and the provocation were thrown headlong from their posts. And in writing the indictment, it became necessary to painstakingly steer around the sandbars and the submarine reefs, to leave the "consul" in the shade, to wipe away all traces of the activities of the G.P.U. and at the same time to save as much as possible of the shattered amalgam. The mysterious delay in the investigation thus finds an entirely natural explanation.

But why was the consul necessary? There was no getting along without the consul. The consul symbolizes the link between the terrorists and Trotsky with world imperialism (although the consul represented, one should imagine, some very petty and backward state: that is the least dangerous way).

The consul is serviceable in another connection: because of "consideration of diplomacy" he cannot be named in the indictment nor consequently called as a witness. Thus the mainspring of the combination remains behind the scenes.

Finally, the consul himself—if he really exists in the flesh—runs no special risk: even if recalled by his government. Out of considerations of diplomatic politeness, he returns home as a distinguished hero who suffered in the service of his passionately loved fatherland; moreover, a certain supplementary sum to his modest salary would be found in his pocket for a rainy day, and there is no harm in that either.

## The White Guard Dodge

The character of the machination is easiest understood if one is in the least bit acquainted with the preceding history of the behind-the-scenes struggle of Stalin against "Trotskyism". I shall mention only three instances.

As early as 1926, the hired journalists broadcast through the entire world the report that the Left Opposition had been implicated in relations with . . . White Guards. We were bewildered. It turned out that the G.P.U. had sent one of its official agents to an 18 year old youth unknown to anybody, and sympathetic to the Opposition, with an offer to assist in spreading Opposition literature. Some six to seven years previously the G.P.U. agent it appears served in the army of Wrangel (which, incidentally, was never verified). On this basis, Stalin publicly accused the Opposition of making a bloc with . . . not an agent of the G.P.U. but White Guards.

On the eve of my exile to Central Asia (Jan. 1928) a foreign journalist made me an offer through Radek, to transmit secretly, if need be, a letter to my friends abroad. I expressed to Radek my conviction that the journalist was an agent of the G.P.U. However, I wrote the letter because I had nothing to say to my friends abroad that I could not repeat openly. The very next morning my letter was published in the Pravda as proof of my secret connections "with foreign countries".

On July 20, 1931 the yellow sheet Kurjer Codzienny, of Cracow, published a gross forgery under the signature of Trotsky. Despite the fact that my literary works are banned on the pain of severest penalty in the U.S.S.R. (Blumkin was shot for attempting to bring in the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition), the article from the Kurjer was reprinted in the Moscow Pravda—in facsimile. The most elementary analysis proves that it was manufactured by the G.P.U., with the assistance of the well-known Yara-

slavsky and printed in the Kurjer (one should imagine at the regular advertising rates) only in order to be reproduced in the Pravda.

## Stalin's Lackeys Inform French Authorities

I am compelled to leave aside a number of other combinations and amalgams which are more clarifying in order not to cause harm, by premature revelations, to other people involved. In any case, the type of this sort of creative effort is clear from what has been said above. The triangle composed of Nikolaiyev, the "consul" and Trotsky is not new. It resembles a dozen other similar triangles and differs from them only by being on a much bigger scale.

It is necessary, however, to point out that the Soviet press, as is evident from the cable extracts in the very same L'Humanite makes very circumspect use of the latest amalgam in relation to Trotsky and does not go beyond inferences concerning "the ideological inspirers". In return, however, L'Humanite speaks about my participation in the murder of Kirov with almost the same assurance with which the Matin recently wrote concerning my participation in the murder of King Alexander and Barthou.

The difference in the conclusions drawn by L'Humanite and the Pravda is to be explained not only by the fact that the ideology of the Nikolaiyev-"consul"-Trotsky amalgam is much more obvious in Moscow than in Paris—but also because by its very essence this part of the amalgam is destined for foreign consumption, primarily for France. Its direct aim is to exert an influence of the necessary kind on the French workers through the medium of the united front, and to exert pressure upon the French authorities. Hence, the unbelievable tone of L'Humanite!

The Soviet authorities were compelled to openly admit that the participation of Zinoviev, Kamenev and others "was not proved": The governmental dispatches generally made no mention of me at all. The indictment refers only to the anxiety of the "consul" to obtain a letter to Trotsky—without making any conclusions. The lackeys of L'Humanite write that Trotsky's participation in the murder of Kirov was "proved".

## Postmarked for the 'Best Disciple'

This article as I have already said is addressed not to the lackeys but to their masters. However, I cannot leave unmentioned here the fact that one of my first sharp conflicts with the "troika" (Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev), came as a result of my protest against their busy efforts during the time of Lenin's illness, to corrupt the more pliant "leaders" of the labor movement in the West, particularly by means of bribes. Stalin and Zinoviev replied in rebuttal, "Doesn't the bourgeoisie buy the leaders of trade unions, members of parliament, and journalists, then why shouldn't we do likewise?"

My answer was that by means of bribes one could disintegrate the workers' movement, but that one could not create revolutionary leaders. Lenin used to warn against selecting to the Comintern "obedient fools". There has been added to this selection of cynics who are ready for anything.

Ready for anything? Up to the first serious danger. People who have neither honor nor conscience cannot be trustworthy revolutionaries. In the moment of difficulty they will inevitably betray the proletariat. My only counsel to workers is that they remember well the names of these shameless villifiers, in order that they may verify this forecast.

December 30, 1934

## Garage Strike In Twin Cities

(Continued from Page 1)

bullet was fired and ricocheted. Must have been some bullet. Perkins of course was not arrested. Instead Ed Grosslein, union member, was framed. When a charge of inciting to riot proved too strong for even the frame-up machine, he was accused of "unlawful entry".

"Bloody Mike" Busy Chief of Police "Bloody Mike" Johannes has issued instructions that all pickets are to be booked on the most serious charge obtainable by the frame-up machinery.

On Jan. 11 guns belched again in answer to peaceful attempts of strikers to interview employees at work in the Tri-Moto Garage. This time the president and vice president of the firm did the shooting. Buford Eastman was shot through the thigh, H. W. Collins in the hand, and Louis Le Meaux in the leg. Undaunted, the committee disarmed the gunmen. The wounded are members of Garage Mechanics Union No. 382, Minneapolis.

Thirteen strikers were arrested last Tuesday, charged with disorderly conduct while peacefully pick-

eting the Anderson Chevrolet Company. Their immediate release on bail was obtained by the Defense Committee of Central Labor Union of Minneapolis. Another picket was arrested Thursday at the McDonald Gillfillan Garage.

Even in St. Paul, where the strike is less bloody, the strikers have had their trouble. When a scab was run out of the Holt Motor Company, the St. Paul press played the news up big—as in kidnapping. A striker was shot in the thumb at one garage.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

## LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING

Speakers:

Max Shachtman Joseph Zack Nathan Gould

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23, 8 P.M.

MUSIC REVOLUTIONARY DANCE GROUP SONGS

IRVING PLAZA HALL

Irving Place & 15th Street

Auspices: Workers Party of the U. S., New York District

## REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

## NEW TITLE WANTED

The editors don't like the title of this column, so they got together with the business manager and I am asked to announce that a year's subscription to the New Militant will be given free to the reader suggesting the best title. The editors to decide. Titles must be in by February 15.

By reading the Daily Worker, I gather that Lindergh, acting for Wall Street, conspired with Hauptmann, a Nazi adherent, and William Randolph Hearst, to kidnap and murder his own son for the purpose of launching a big campaign of publicity to befuddle the workers so that they could not grasp Earl Browder's latest zig-zag on the Labor Party and the united front.

That the Home Relief Office at 25 Sheriff St., New York, is a fire trap; that it was originally certified for 25 persons but was used for as many as 800 applicants in addition to the staff; that there are four lavatories for 300 employees and none for the relief applicants; electric circuits overloaded, switches fused; the floor above occupied by a paint company, with turpentine dripping through the Relief Office—such was the testimony of William J. Desmond, clerical supervisor, to an Aldermanic committee. And that testimony reveals the attitude of the "liberal" administration of Mayor LaGuardia and the class he represents, to the unemployed.

Not in backward China, but in up-to-date, progressive, rugged individualist U.S.A. An INS item reports that federal investigators in the Ozarks found 31 persons "living in a one room shack . . . several families made up the 31." Eight hundred applicants for relief crowded into quarters certified for 25 in New York City, thirty-one men, women and children living in one room in the Ozarks, surely Roosevelt's "more abundant life" is spreading all over God's country.

## Real News in Hauptmann Case

Fifty Western Union messengers at the Hauptmann trial pulled a sudden strike, and won \$1 to \$1.50 pay increases, and in addition the removal of the charge for uniforms. Bartel Reasner, one of the messengers, who was fired for complaining about conditions, was reinstated.

## Militant Progressive Unionism

Here is the meeting schedule of General Drivers Local 574 for the month of January, as reported in the Minneapolis Labor Review: Friday, Jan. 11—Stewards Meeting. Monday, Jan. 14—Full membership meeting. Tuesday, Jan. 15—Independent Truck Owners. Monday, Jan. 21—Coal Workers. Friday, Jan. 25—Stewards Meeting. Monday, Jan. 28—Full membership. Tuesday, Jan. 29—Taxi Drivers. Night shift, one P.M. Day shift, eight P.M.

The same issue of the Labor Review contains a report made by Herman Husman, international representative of the Machinists Union in the Garage Mechanics strike.—Husman said words should not express the gratitude of the strikers to the leaders and members of Local 574, who were giving tireless and most valuable assistance. The schedule of meetings and the assistance given to the striking mechanics together show that the leadership and membership of Local 574 are not content to rest on the laurels of the great strikes of last year, but with the widest democracy and most militant spirit, are preparing for the greater battles ahead.

## Mass Telephoning

The just passed by plebiscite in the Saar, with its disastrous results for the future of the German and international working class, naturally has again brought into the forefront the question of Fascism. It is therefore interesting to pick up a little booklet published by the International Labor Defense in the U. S., and see what means they say they use in order to fight Fascism. Most startling tactics, a most unusual contribution to the arsenal of working class struggle! They boast that time and again, they have so swamped the desk of the German consul with telegrams, and have kept his phone so busy, that he could not conduct his regular work. Evidently the trouble in Germany was that Hitler did not have a phone. . . .

## INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

First Year—Winter 1935. Beginning Feb. 18, 1935

MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Workers Party Fundamentals—B. Borkeson

MONDAY, 8:40-10:00 P.M.—Elementary English.

MONDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—American History—Felix Morrow.

WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Marxian Economics (vol. 1)—H. Oehler

WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—American Labor History—A. J. Muste.

WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Three International—M. Shachtman.

WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:00—Organization Principles.

THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Trade Union Strategy and Tactics—A. Swaback.

THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Philosophy of Marxism—Grote.

FRIDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—History and Problems of the Youth Movement—N. Gould.

FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—A B C of Marxism—Jack Weber.

FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Russian Revolution—Wm. Duncan.

Ten sessions for each course; one evening a week.

Fees: \$2.00 per course, payable in three installments: \$1 at time of registration, and two 50c installments within 3 weeks.

The International Workers School is ready to give any additional classes if a minimum of fifteen workers request it. For further information regarding the school, get in touch with Joseph Carter, School Administrator, at 2 West 15th Street, New York City.