

NEW MILITANT

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Trotsky Shows Road of Struggle in France

Thomas Leads Break with Old Guard as NY Socialist Party Splits

Danger of Patch-up with Right Wing Is Still Great

The struggle for supremacy within the Socialist Party between the Old Guard and the Thomas-Hoan-Militant coalition reached the stage of open split in New York City this week.

When the Militants' proposal to reconsider the motion of the Old Guard to expel "the Left Wing" and reorganize local New York under their control was defeated at the meeting of the City Central Committee meeting last Wednesday, forty-seven delegates from thirty-six Militant-led branches quit the meeting and proceeded immediately to constitute themselves the official City Central Committee of the party.

The two City Centrals have since been hurling statements and counter-statements at each other. In a letter to S. P. members, the Militants charged Waldman, Oneal, Gerber, and Lee with being "party-wreckers and breeders of disunity" and gave a list of their anti-working class actions, ranging from protection of Harry Lang, Cahan and Hearst's anti-Soviet penman, to "condoning corruption by Socialist trade unions and permitting persons found guilty of misconduct in their unions to remain members of the party."

Statements Fly

The Old Guard answered that the action of the Militants was "a secessionist movement" of a minority; that the newly-formed committee was an outlaw organization; and that "the break between the Socialist Party and the Left Wing group has taken place over the resistance of the party to the attempt to impose upon it by these Left Wing elements of three doctrines—dictatorship, advocacy of insurrection and violence, and united front with the Communists—doctrines which are not acceptable to Socialists."

The Militants replied that "it is indeed because this group is loyal to Socialist principles, one of the chief of which is inner party democracy, that it was forced to take such steps as would safeguard the Party from Old Guard maneuvers."

Both groups held rival meetings last Sunday night. The Militants' meeting, held at Irving Plaza, was attended by about 1,200 people. Three significant announcements were made. The first was a wire from Norman Thomas pledging support to the Militants and breathing defiance against the Old Guard. "We are not splitting the party," said Thomas. "We are saving it from petty tyrants. We are not denying democracy; we are saving it from lawless dictation of the Old Guard-Forward coalition. The position of these party-wreckers is clear. They are trying vainly to tear down a party they can no longer control. They support the New Leader which has slandered the party, and seek to ruin the Socialist Call, which has fought for it. They are capable of reacting only to hate of Communism and fear of losing their control in the party. They have lost their capacity to hate and fight the exploitation of capitalism. Their record has been a grievous burden for socialism to carry."

N.E.C. to Send Delegation

The second was the announcement by Jack Altman, Militant leader and temporary secretary of the new City Central Committee, that the Militants planned to hold a state convention of the party in Utica on December 27 and 28. The third was a letter from the National Executive Committee of the S. P., signed by National Chairman Leo Kryzski, stating that it would send an official delegation to the Utica convention, consisting of Kryzski, Darlington Hoopes, Clarence Senior, National Secretary, Thomas, and Oneal, Old Guard leader. It also stated that the decision had been approved by Hoan.

The Old Guard at the Rand School did nothing more than stand pat in repeating accusations of split against the Militants. Old Guard supporters passed resolutions supporting the old Central Committee; condemning the "boilers"; and welcoming efforts to heal the party split "provided all doctrines of dictatorship and violence were repudiated" by the Militants. Solomon criticized Thomas for having ceased to become the leader of the party in order to become "the

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Profiteers Clear Decks For Big Drive on Labor

M'f's Asso. Opens Fight For "Freedom" -- To Exploit Labor

Herbert Hoover has come out of his hole and is making snappy speeches. In itself this is an indication of how many years we are removed, psychologically and politically speaking, from March 4, 1933. More substantial evidence to the same effect has been given by the annual convention of the National Association of Manufacturers held in New York last week and the pathetic attempt of Major George L. Berry, formerly president of the Printing Pressmen's Union, and now Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation (in effect head of what is left of the NRA) to stage one of those immense get-togethers of labor and industry out of which Hugh Johnson and his aids made such gaudy shows in the summer and fall of that year—in the age of the honeymoon of the New Deal and the ascendancy of the Blue Eagle.

The bankers and industrialists who in 1933 were being told that they were going to be "driven out of the temple," who in chastened mood urged the government to come to their aid and accepted, not without some reluctance, it is true, some items of labor legislation, are now again fully on the offensive. Mr. Clinton L. Bardo, president of the N.A.M., pointed in his opening address with pathos and feeling to the ignominious position in which employers found themselves until recently: "For the past two years industry has been driven into the cyclone cellar and the normal process of depression have been magnified many times by a deliberate and well-timed rapid fire and devastating attack by economic crackpots, social-reformers, labor demagogues and political racketeers."

"Saving the Country"

The new offensive of the employers is characterized by a high moral, crusading mood. Alfred P. (Continued on Page 2)

Six YCLers Join S Y L

Symptoms of Ferment Over New Turn To Betrayal

Symptomatic of the ferment in the Young Communist League is the expulsion of six members of the Y.C.L. and Communist Party. These comrades were expelled in recent weeks in New York for criticizing the policies of the Communist and Y.C.L. and defending the views of Marxism.

They are among the dozens expelled in recent months from the Stalinist organizations for revolutionary criticism, a number of whom joined the S.Y.L. and the Y.P. Only recently over half a dozen leaders among the New York Scandinavian workers were expelled from the C. P. for "Trotskyism" (!). Others in the Y.C.L. who question the recent turn towards "a broad non-party youth organization" and social-patriotism have likewise been expelled or "dropped for Trotskyism."

The Spartacus Youth League has covered open Y.C.L. meetings with its literature and speakers. Recently, a four page leaflet was issued by the Chicago S.Y.L. to the meeting held in that city. In New York, in addition to the large district meeting covered, sectional meetings in Manhattan and Harlem have already been covered. Last Sunday evening four members of the S.Y.L., including one of the expelled, spoke at the East Side meeting of the Y.C.L. The following evening a Spartacus presented a criticism of the Y.C.L. turn at the Harlem Y.C.L. meeting. The expelled are: Ethel Winston, Sec. 22; Louis Mednick, Sec. 22; Nat Herman, and Jerry King, Sec. 15; E. Wexler, Sec. 17; W. Levitsky, Sec. 8.

Japs Snatch North China; Put Screws on Chiang Gov't

By LO SEN
Japanese imperialism gave another twist this week to the screws it holds around China. Under Japanese military auspices an "autonomous" state was set up in Eastern Hopei on Nov. 24. Three days later Japanese troops took over control of all railways in North China. Japanese troop trains moving down across the Manchukuo border brought more than 10,000 troops into Tientsin where they are being held in readiness for action in North China should such action prove necessary.

The provinces of North China are in the process of being added to Manchuria and Jehol to swell the boundaries of the Japanese Empire on Continental Asia. This process of addition is taking place not in the swift, surgical manner that characterized the previous conquests but in a slower fashion attuned to the presence of greater international complicating factors and the desire of Japan to avoid, if possible, the expense of military action.

Tremendous pressure is being brought to bear by Japanese military authorities on the Chinese generals in the North to declare a species of "autonomy" to provide the cloak of respectability for Japanese control.

In this situation the Kuomintang regime has been trying to squirm its way into a settlement which will avoid military conflict by giving Japan what is wanted and at the same time preserve the nominal shreds of Chinese sovereignty in the North.

Japanese military moves in the North during the past ten days have been meant to serve eloquent notice on the Nanking government that equivocation or evasion have limits.

Press reports of the past week have contained seeming contradictions—some alleging that Nanking

is preparing to oppose Japan, others indicating continued surrender to Japanese pressure by Chiang Kai-shek. These contradictions have a logic of their own—for the Nanking government and the bourgeoisie it represents are between the tightening clamps of a dilemma from which there seems no way out—along a bourgeois road.

Complete Japanese imperialism control of China means the final extinction of any hopes for independent bourgeois development, even if limited. The Chinese bourgeoisie has been unable to resist Japanese imperialism because to do so it would have had to run the danger of rousing the people in a national war. To do this would amount to the signing of its own death warrant.

It could only hope for the active aid of some more "benevolent" imperialism, the British or the American for example, to take up the cudgels against Japan. From such a struggle the Chinese bourgeoisie might hope for a crumb. But in these past four years Japanese imperialism has been able to proceed practically without hindrance. Not the least reason for this is the fact that Anglo-American antagonisms have prevented their cooperation in the East—and in addition, both countries hoped the U. S.S.R. would break its back in a struggle with Japan.

As a result of this conjuncture of circumstances Japan has advanced unopposed and carved for itself an enormous empire on continental Asia. In this the bourgeoisie has cooperated by suppressing the mass movement. There is a section of the Chinese bourgeoisie, however, which has never given up hope of getting the imperialist aid it needs to oppose Japan, in whom it sees its nemesis. That section of the

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Committees of Action--- Not Peoples Front

By LEON TROTSKY

"The Peoples Front" represents the coalition of the proletariat with the imperialist bourgeoisie, in the shape of the Radical party and smaller tripe of the same sort. The coalition extends both to the parliamentary and the extra-parliamentary spheres. In both spheres the Radical party preserving for itself complete freedom of action coarsely imposes restrictions upon the freedom of action of the proletariat.

The Radical party itself is undergoing decay. Each new election gives added proof of the passage of supporters away from it to the right and to the left. On the other hand, the Socialist and Communist parties—because of the absence of a genuinely revolutionary party—are growing stronger. The general trend of the toiling masses, including the petty bourgeoisie, is quite clearly to the left. The orientation of the leaders of the workers' parties is no less self-evident: to the right. At the time when the masses by their votes and in their struggle seek to cast off the party of the Radicals, the leaders of the united front, on the contrary, seek to save it. After obtaining the confidence of the masses of workers on the basis of a "socialist" program, the leaders of the workers' parties then proceeded to concede voluntarily a lion's share of this confidence to the Radicals, in whom the masses of workers have absolutely no confidence.

Radicals Dominate Peoples Front.

"The Peoples Front" in its present guise, shamelessly tramples not only upon workers' democracy but also upon formal i.e. bourgeois democracy. The majority of the Radical voters do not participate in the struggle of the toilers and consequently in the Peoples Front. Yet the Radical party occupies in this Front not only an equal but a privileged position; the workers' parties are compelled to restrict their activity to the program of the Radical party. This idea is most outspokenly advanced by the cynics of 'Humanite! The latest elections to the Senate have illuminated with especial clarity the privileged position of the Radicals in the Peoples Front. The leaders of the Communist party boasted openly of the fact that they renounced in favor of non-proletarian parties several mandates which justly belonged to the workers. This merely means that the united front re-established in part the property qualification in favor of the bourgeoisie.

The "Front" as it is conceived, is an organization for a direct and immediate struggle. When struggle is in question, every worker is worth ten bourgeois, even those adhering to the united front. From the standpoint of the revolutionary fighting strength of the Front, the electoral privileges should have been given not to Radical bourgeois but to workers. But in essence, privileges are uncalled for here. Is the Peoples Front intended for defense of "democracy"? Then let it begin by applying it to its own ranks. This means: the leadership of the Peoples Front must be the direct and immediate reflection of the will of the struggling masses.

The Committees of Action.

How? Very simply: through elections. The proletariat does not deny any one the right to struggle side by side with it against Fascism, the Bonapartist government of Laval, the war plot of the imperialists, and all other forms of oppression and violence. The sole demand that class conscious workers put to their actual or potential allies is that they struggle in action. Every group of the population really participating in the struggle at a given stage and ready to submit to common discipline must have the equal right to exert influence on the leadership of the Peoples Front.

Each 200, 500, or thousand citizens adhering in a given city, district, factory, barracks and village to the Peoples Front should in time of fighting actions elect their representative to the local committee of action. All the participants in the struggle are bound by its discipline.

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HERNDON FREED

Answer the Fascist War Mongers; All out Dec. 14!

New York anti-Fascists are called upon to demonstrate before Madison Square Garden Saturday, Dec. 14 at 7 P.M. against the openly proclaimed threat of Mussolini's American agents to arouse sympathy for his highway-robbery in Ethiopia and to terrorize all Italo-American and American opponents of the Italian Fascist murder regime.

This demonstration is being organized by the Italian-American Committee Against War and Fascism, a united front body. The Workers Party is participating in the demonstration and all its members are requested to be there.

Following are excerpts from the leaflet issued by the committee which gives more detailed information.

"The Italian Fascists are going to meet in Madison Square Garden this Saturday night, Dec. 14 for the purpose of glorifying Mussolini's aggression of Ethiopia and to raise funds to enable the Black Shirt hordes to deprive the peaceful Ethiopians of their independence.

"High American officials, such as Supreme Court Justices Salvatore Cotillo, Ferdinand Pecora, General Sessions Justice John Freeschi and others, are to be found among those who will 'Hell' tyrant Mussolini in Madison Square Garden.

"This Fascist rally was decided upon at a dinner in the Ricciardi Italian Restaurant, on the evening of Friday, Nov. 15, 1935.

"Supreme Court Justices Salvatore Cotillo and Ferdinand Pecora participated.

"The purpose of the Madison Square Garden rally, as the Fascist daily 'Il Progresso ItaloAmericano'

informed us in its issue of Nov. 17 is as follows:

"To once more demonstrate that the hearts of the Italo-Americans beat with the heart of the far away Motherland and that each and every national who resides in this Motherland of adoption is ready to give all within his power to help Italy fight the brutal International Coalition led by England with the utmost resistance and give a chance to the Italian soldiers who are now in Africa to write another epic page of glory in the history of civilization."

"The Fascist sheet further stated:

"When the Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy, Mr. Pope, began speaking to explain the purpose of this gathering, the throng which packed the Hall of Ricciardi's Restaurant, which was decorated with flags of the two Nations, the colors which are in the heart of every Italo-American, an impetuous and lasting applause broke out. This stirring applause manifested the spontaneous promise of those present to enthusiastically contribute to the success of the Madison Square Rally, which also must be a warning to those who want to deny Italy her holy and sacred right to live. It must also serve to show that the five million Italian Americans who live in the United States are ready to sacrifice themselves on the altar of their great Motherland and will respond as the Consul General has said with a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye."

Everybody out—
Give the Fascist vermin the answer they deserve.

Yipsels Unite With Spartacus at Toledo Meet

By ART PREIS

TOLEDO, Ohio—The youth section of the local Stalinists succeeded in capturing themselves and several Y.W.C.A. secretaries at the Toledo Youth Congress held at the Central Labor Union Hall, Saturday afternoon, November 30. Going one better on the Elders of the Church (Stalinist), who held the fort at the recent American League Against War and Fascism conference, the fledglings succeeded in preventing entirely any discussion on the war and sanctions question, which had been introduced into the conference by a joint resolution against support of imperialist governments and their sanctions submitted by the Young Peoples Socialist League and Spartacus Youth League.

Highly advertised and ballyhooed, the conference began on the evening of November 29, with a meeting at the Civic Auditorium featuring a symposium of representatives of the Republican, Democratic, Socialist and Communist Parties on "What Our Party Offers American Youth." For over three hours, the 300 of the faithful who lost themselves in the echoing vastness of the huge auditorium were drenched by the greatest outpouring of reactionary balderdash ever spewed over a helpless audience,—saved only by the forthright utterances of Ben Fisher, national secretary of the Yipsels, who openly denounced the chauvinist policies of the Stalinists and attacked the support of sanctions and one's own imperialist government in a war crisis.

The Minimum Is Zero.

William Weinstein, who represented the Stalinists in the Symposium, completely skirted the entire war question, ducked the direct challenge of Fisher on the C.P. position on sanctions, and confined the greater portion of his remarks to sugary sentimental plea for organic unity between the Socialists and Stalinists. Waldo McNutt, Chairman of the American Youth Congress, one of the two main speakers on the program, distinguished himself in his remarks by declaring the purpose of the Congress to be "the uniting of the youth on a minimum program on which everyone could agree." Everyone agreed on the minimum

On Wednesday, it suddenly became known that several Strutwear stock holders on Nov. 7 had incorporated the "Peacock Knitting Co." in St. Joseph, Mo. It developed that the Peacock Company had a chattel mortgage on some Strutwear merchandise and machinery, and that a writ of replevin had been issued to recover some \$5,000 worth of these goods. U. S. Marshall John J. Farrell takes the dirty job of getting the goods through the picket lines, threatening pickets with "a long stay at Leavenworth."

At a meeting attended by the executive boards of Local 574, the Central Labor Union and the striking hosiery workers, AND Meyer Lewis, it became known that Meyer Lewis didn't have one single thing to suggest to stop the federal government's attempt to hurt the strike. Lewis left, after being told, "Well, you're no damned good around here." The three bodies then issued a statement to the press, pledging support to the strike and attacking this latest strikebreaking move.

Local 574 halted the first attempts to move Strutwear goods by threatening strikes at any transfer firm that dares to offer help to the federal government. Several transfer firms who had originally come forward, backed down immediately. Skellett tried to bluff, and a strike now has him tied up. The strikers are asking a new seniority list, that two firms be fired, and that they get full pay for the time they are out on strike.

After failing to be able to hire any trucks in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Hopkins, St. Cloud, etc., the Strutwear officials and their government marshal finally got trucks from Winona, Minn., who did the moving Friday and Saturday, after being stoned repeatedly. Scores of windows in the Strutwear plant were broken by pickets. One picket, Alfred Russell, was arrested Friday and is being held incommunicado. He was taking pictures of the police and the plant.

The Central Labor Union pledged to call a city-wide mass meeting in support of the Strutwear strike.

Mass Pressure Forces Release of Class War Prisoner

Confronted by a tidal wave of mass protest which has been mounting ever since the formation of the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense ended Angelo Herndon's isolation from the broad labor and radical movements, the State of Georgia has executed its first retreat since the struggle began three years ago.

Judge Hugh M. Dorsey of Atlanta has declared unconstitutional the 1866 "slave insurrection" law, under which Herndon was sentenced to an 18-20 year term on the chain gang. Herndon is now in New York, under \$8,000 bail.

The state of Georgia has until Dec. 27 to appeal from Dorsey to the state Supreme Court. If it does not appeal, or if it loses its appeal, the law will be unconditionally free, and indictments now standing against 18 other workers will be null and void.

If the state does appeal, and if the Georgia Supreme Court declares the law to be constitutional, the defense will take the issue back to the U. S. Supreme Court, which twice before refused on technical grounds to hear an appeal. Unquestionably, the defense would be much stronger in legal ammunition this time. It will also be stronger in its mass backing, if every effort is made to build a militant movement not only to save Angelo Herndon, but also to establish the principles and rights involved in his fate.

Judge Dorsey's decision was by no means a concession of any rights or principles. He was forced to release Herndon because, in the face of growing mass pressure, neither the Talmadge faction nor the Roosevelt faction of Georgia politicians wants to go before the workers of the country to justify Herndon's conviction. At the same time, the Judge's decision, declaring the 1866 law to be "vague" in phraseology, suggests to the legislature how it can adopt a law under which any opponents of the existing Bourbon capitalist regime of Georgia could legally be sent to the chain gang.

Dorsey for Rigid Gag-Law

In so doing, Dorsey is satisfying the demands of the Georgia ruling class. These were expressed at the recent hearing in Atlanta by County Solicitor Lecraw. He affirmed the need of silencing all radicals by court action now, in order to prevent the growth of militancy to a point where the capitalist forces would have to fight labor outside the courts.

Lecraw's argument was opposed by W. A. Sutherland, Atlanta attorney, who argued that the best way to preserve the existing economic order and the existing "good" relations between whites and negroes in Georgia is to allow a little freedom of speech. By suggesting a new water-tight gag law to the legislature Judge Dorsey shows that he did not take seriously the opportunist "argument" of Sutherland.

What he did was to accept the scholarly, technical, legal contentions put forward by the New York state attorney, Whitney North Seymour, at the same hearing. The total political situation, measured in terms of the Talmadge-Roosevelt squabble for the title of "friend of the people," and in terms of the pressure organized by the Joint Committee, dictated to Dorsey the decision that Seymour was "correct" and Lecraw was "wrong" on technical points.

Pressure is not yet great enough, however, to "convince" him that there should be free speech in Georgia. He wants an iron-clad law to prevent it.

Herndon's return to New York was signaled by an ovation at the Pennsylvania Railroad Station. The Joint Committee, of which the Non Partisan Labor Defense is an active constituent, is planning a mass meeting on the case. Among the other defense bodies in the Joint Committee are the I. L. D., which controls the defense policy, as well as the L.L.D. and the GDC. Even if this struggle must go through more courts, victory can still be won by the presentation of able legal arguments and above all by a campaign of pressure based upon a broad appeal to militant principles.

The Future of the A. F. of L.

From a Speech Delivered by Comrade James P. Cannon Before a Forum of Minneapolis Workers

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 28.—Comrade James P. Cannon spoke here before a group of more than a hundred workers on the subject of "The Future of the A. F. of L." Many in the audience had never before attended a Workers Party meeting. The gross receipts were more than twenty-five dollars.

Comrade Cannon began his talk by analyzing the historical essence of the A. F. of L. He showed how it had fulfilled the expectations of Mark Hanna, one of the founders of the Civic Federation, who called the A. F. of L. the "bulwark of American capitalism." He went on to point out how the events of the last two years had brought about significant changes which threatened the position of the A. F. of L. At San Francisco, two years ago, the A. F. of L. had been forced to give formal recognition to the principle of unionism. At Atlantic City there had been 11,000 votes for industrial unionism. And a mere speech by John Lewis, himself formerly a member of the Civic Federation, had sufficed to force the withdrawal of Matthew Woll from that organization.

"Into the Unions"

"The impulse of the masses, with the coming of the NRA had been 'into the unions.' The million workers could have been organized at that time. These workers longed for a union—the most elementary organization of the workers. Without a union, the workers felt, they have nothing. But the craft A. F. of L. unions came in between the workers and the employers and betrayed the interests of the workers. This happened all over the country. In Minneapolis, Tobin, President of the Drivers International, tried the same stunt. But he didn't succeed. Applause.

"In Minneapolis, real organization, survived as testimony of the real possibilities in the organization of the workers. What was the answer of the A. F. of L. leadership? In the very days of the June strike when the bosses were trying to wrench out of their agreement with 574, the Teamsters President fired a blast which was printed in the newspapers as a weapon against the union. And no sooner had the union buried its dead, no sooner had the smoke of battle cleared and it had gathered together its wounded, than Tobin came along and tries to break up the union because it wouldn't allow itself to be cheated and brow-beaten. Tobin connived with Green to show the workers that they might perhaps beat the bosses—but, by God! they couldn't beat the A. F. of L. and its almighty 'principles.' Tobin would show the union that he was better than the Citizens Alliance in busting up unions. Well, he tried. And the score is nothing to nothing for both Tobin and the Citizens Alliance. (Applause.)

Workers Want Industrial Unionism

"Thus, in spite of the accumulated discontent of the workers, the A. F. of L. as such made only the most miserable showing. But the workers, for this reason, didn't say 'to hell with unions!' Instead there was a tremendous pressure to change the form and methods of organization. Every worker reflects this discontent with the old methods and forms. Every discontented worker rallies around any union capable of fighting the incompetency of the old craft unions. Suppose you took 574 to Detroit or Pittsburgh—what unions you would have in rubber, in steel, in autos! You can't fool the workers with craft unionism any more. They don't want it. They want industrial unionism. When the craft unionists come in any try to tell them how to run their unions they revolt. The automobile workers, in their convention, called on the eve of the Atlantic City convention, rejected the proposals of Green. In Akron, the rubber workers elected their own President and rejected the protege of Green. And then come the teachers—the teachers who have never been known to be radicals—the teachers in Ohio rejected the ultimatum from Green that they reorganize the New York local. The teachers told Green to go to hell. Three times before the Atlantic City convention Green got official rebuffs and defeats—unheard of before! And in Minneapolis, Tobin had also failed.

"All these accumulated forces pressed in on the Atlantic City convention—forces which guarantee that there will be no patching up between the contending forces in the A. F. of L. First, then, there is the revolt from below. Secondly, there is the fear on the part of certain of the shrewder leaders. This fear is not unjustified. It is the fear that if the A. F. of L. doesn't quit monkeying around, there will grow up an independent union movement outside of the A. F. of L., leaving the old leaders high and dry without their highly remunerative 'pile cards.' They have seen the handwriting on the wall—these more far-sighted leaders—; they have looked across the Atlantic and seen what happened in Europe. Take John Lewis. Lewis is no radical, yet he says that if there are no industrial unions there will be none at all. Hillman, too, in the A. F. of L. conventions made the same point. Thus we find forces pressing for more

modern types of organization both within and without the official A. F. of L.

Our Tendency

"While on the surface it may appear that the contest is only between two types of leaders—between the horse-and-buggy unionists—there is also a tendency which is even more progressive than the official sponsors of industrial unionism. This tendency aims at more than merely winning a strike. It aims at the foundation of a workers' republic. (Applause.) This tendency is ours; and it will come more and more to the front.

"The difference between Lewis and Green is one of intelligence and not of radicalism. The old Bourbons never learn anything new. They call the unskilled workers riff-raff; they try to keep the unions small and divided into crafts. These old fossils have lived their time. There are going to be many types of labor leaders before we have a workers' republic in the United States, but you can be sure that the Green-Hutchinson type will be among the first to be pushed aside.

Fear of the Younger Leaders

"The younger leaders know that if you don't organize the strategically situated basic industries you have no organization at all. How can you speak of the American trade union movement when the basic industries are not unionized? These younger leaders are goaded on, also, by another fear—that unless they organize the basic industries first, more radical leaders will come in ahead of them. They don't want to be left on the outside. But they are not radicals, either. They want to deal with the bosses, but in an organized way. The bosses would have liked to cooperate with Meyer Lewis in Minneapolis. But Lewis had no power—he didn't control any unions—so they said to him, 'We're sorry, but we can't do any business.' (Laughter.) The same principle applies to the John Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky crowd. They know they can't deal with the bosses unless they have powerfully organized industrial unions behind them.

"Now it is one of the nine wonders of the world that John L. Lewis and Co. have been catapulted to the leadership of the movement for industrial unionism. Their record is not so good. Nobody suppressed trade union democracy more ruthlessly than John L. Lewis. Nobody expelled more honest radical workers from the unions. Nobody forced more 'provisional reorganizations' of local unions. Nobody was more violent and unscrupulous in his methods. Yet this man has been projected to the front.

"Nevertheless, his interests and ours to a limited extent coincide.

Manager's Corner

We have received so far a total of 164 new subscriptions, in our drive for a total of 1,000. This means that in the remaining few weeks much more speed is imperative.

In New York City branches No. 1 and 3 are ahead and fairly certain to make their quota. The Bronx branch (Branch 5) used to lag in our drives. This last week, however, it has made a good start. Branch 8 is small but shows a good record compared with its membership. It will go over the top easily. Outside of New York City only the Chicago branches, Cleveland and Philadelphia have made somewhat of a fair beginning.

Since our last report we have received a total of 89 new subscriptions distributed as follows:

City	Quota	Turned in
Akron, Ohio.....	20	2
Albert Lea, Minn.....	10	—
Allentown, Pa.....	30	—
Austin, Minn.....	10	—
Berkeley, Cal.....	10	—
Boston, Mass.....	25	3
Charleston, W. Va.....	5	—
Chicago, Ill.....	50	13
Cleveland, Ohio.....	25	8
Columbus, Ohio.....	10	—
Davenport, Iowa.....	10	—
Detroit, Mich.....	25	1
Dickson City, Pa.....	5	—
Fargo, S. Dakota.....	10	—
High Point, N. C.....	5	—
Kansas City, Mo.....	20	2
Los Angeles, Cal.....	25	—
Minneapolis, Minn.....	75	1
Mount Carmel, Pa.....	5	—
Newark, N. J.....	20	2
New Castle, Pa.....	10	—
New Haven, Conn.....	10	—
New York City.....	400	109
(Branch 1)	90	37
(Branch 2)	40	6
(Branch 3)	75	28
(Branch 4)	30	4
(Branch 5)	20	12
(Branch 6)	15	1
(Branch 7)	15	1
(Branch 8)	10	7
(District)	100	13
Northampton, Pa.....	5	—
Paterson, N. J.....	10	—

Our tendency is not that of John L. Lewis. We believe in militancy and our final aim is the foundation of the workers' republic. We don't believe that the workers can get anything without militancy. But we do stand for industrial unionism because it is a necessary step—because it is a step forward. It is a curious fact that the interests of the most revolutionary and the extremely conservative tendencies coincide to a certain extent. Industrial unionism is objectively progressive. Therefore revolutionists must support it regardless who is at the head of the movement for its realization. But we must not lose our heads and think that industrial unionism is all. We must forge ahead. We must retain our independent position. We must take advantage of every division between the reactionaries and the conservatives.

"The situation is this. The Lewis clique can't leave the workers unorganized. In Detroit the first strike of the season was conducted by an independent union consisting of three unions outside the A. F. of L. that came together and amalgamated. This was a warning to the A. F. of L. Minneapolis is also a warning. Here was a deliberate attempt to break up a union and drive it out of the A. F. of L. for 90 years. And this attempt failed. The idea may get into the minds of the workers: 'To hell with an A. F. of L. charter. Maybe it wasn't the A. F. of L. charter that got us our wage increase. Maybe it was our own organized strength.' "That is the meaning behind the resignation of John L. Lewis. Lewis doesn't agree with Green—who issued a warning to the 'serious consequences' of forming organizations within the A. F. of L. and of entering into relations with non-A. F. of L. unions (except the Civic Federation, or any other boss union). Lewis is just going ahead the same as before.

"What does this mean for us? Now is the time for progressive and militant elements to push forward. Now is not the time to be cautious. Now is the time to press our demands and to get consideration for them. Now is the time to press further and further into the A. F. of L.

What Pushed Lewis to the Lead

"Now you may want to know why it is Lewis rather than the radicals who is leading the fight for industrial unionism. The answer is that in the five years of the crisis, the most radical group, the Communists (Stalinists), left the A. F. of L. They went out of the A. F. of L. and pulled many others out with themselves. That's why when all this upsurge from the ranks is taking place, there have been no militants ready to spring into a place of leadership.

Philadelphia, Pa.....	20	5
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	25	—
Pleasantwood, Mont.....	10	—
St. Louis, Mo.....	10	—
Salt Lake City.....	10	3
San Francisco, Cal.....	20	—
San Diego, Cal.....	10	4
Springfield, Ill.....	5	—
Toledo, Ohio.....	25	—
Utica, N. Y.....	5	—
Washington, D. C.....	10	—
Williston, N. Dakota.....	10	—
Youngstown, Ohio.....	10	—
Received from cities not listed above.....	11	—
Total	1,000	164

Some contributions to the eight-page weekly have also been received since our last report. Comrade Harvey Walton made a donation very welcome because of its substantial size. The sum of \$100 contributed by him aided materially in bringing us nearer to the total amount needed. A friend in New York City contributed an additional \$500 and from Branch 1 we received a contribution of \$200. This brings us to a total contribution so far of \$946.70. To this we add the amount received in the special drive for 1,000 new subscriptions and we can say that the reaching of this particular goal will assure the launching of the eight-page weekly.

The NEW INTERNATIONAL, December issue, now on sale, lives up to its usual high standard. Comrade Trotsky discusses in this issue the present position of the I.L.F. in relation to the struggle for the Fourth International. In another article he discusses an assignment executed by Roman Rolland regarding the Kiroff assassination. And of special interest to the readers of the NEW INTERNATIONAL this issue carries a review of "Stalin" by Henry Barbusse and "Stalin" by Boris Souvarine. This issue also contains a reply by John West to Max Eastman and other interesting and educational features.

"That is why, too, we must wherever possible, fight for a policy of unity. But not unity at any price. We won't purchase unity at the cost of breaking up our organizations and of giving up our fundamental rights. We must, wherever possible, go into the A. F. of L. and fertilize it while there is still time with genuine militancy. We must inspire the unions not only to fight for a loaf of bread but to conquer the world or else the world will be taken away from them as happened in Germany.

"In the days of reaction, the Gompers and Green policy of weed-out radicals worked like a charm. But now the workers are disoriented. There is no hope of inciting them against radicals. If you go to a worker and say to him, 'A radical is the leader of your union,' he will answer, 'I'm damned glad to hear that.' The sentiment of the masses has changed. I predict with absolute confidence, for example, that Meyer Lewis will be a complete flop. The victory of 574 is due not only to its own strength but to the favorable national situation. But it will be so decisive that it will put steel and courage into the movement everywhere else. The reactionaries' hands are too full—they have too many 'ions in the fire. There are too many issues at stake here and elsewhere.

Conquer the World
"We must take advantage of this favorable objective situation. We must push the industrial union struggle forward. But at the same time we must inspire the workers with the revolutionary idea that they must establish themselves as masters of the whole world." (Applause.)

During the questioning period, comrade Cannon, in reply to a query as to what form the cooperation between the revolutionists and the conservative industrial unionists would take, replied that it was dangerous for radicals to make the mistake for one moment that Lewis was a true progressive. It was great folly to believe that salvation could come from people like John L. Lewis. Although our interests coincide to a certain extent, there would not probably be much direct cooperation between us. Rather each side would play its own end of the game for the realization of its own aim. What was important, was for the radicals to press forward their own ideas and to retain their independence. "Certainly, the Workers Party would not do as the Communists were doing. The C. P. is trying to build Lewis up into a second Jesus Christ. They publish front page interviews with him in the Daily Worker. We have no such illusions. We are for industrial unions because they gave us a larger field within which to work. The larger the unions, the more honest workers there will be within them. The better for us. Take 574, for example. It took a lunge when nobody was looking and built up a real organization. It took in workers who had never been in any union before. Now suppose you did the same thing from town to town. It is significant, too, that the same leaders who thus organized the drivers, went ahead and organized the unemployed. The typical American labor leader has no interest in half-starved unemployed workers. That is John L. Lewis' position. The sign of the genuine labor leader is his interest in all the workers. It was no accident that 574 organized the unemployed; and the unemployed reciprocated by rallying to 574's support."

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Profiteers Clear Decks For Big Drive on Labor

Continued from Page 1

Sloan, Jr. of General Motors gave the lead at this point: "We who have the prime responsibilities of the major policies of industry must first convince ourselves as to fundamentals. Then we must convince the organizations of industry. This applies particularly to the workers within industry. Their welfare is at stake. We must also inform our stockholders—those who own industry. American industry is not self-sufficient. It would be far more just to say it has been preoccupied—preoccupied in producing; but I am convinced that industry's responsibilities cannot longer be adequately discharged by mere physical production." The employers must now get busy and save the country!

They went further in making this clear at the N.A.M. convention by announcing that under "The American System" they were going to fight against various measures by which the government is "hampering recovery": namely, efforts to regulate and control production; efforts to regulate the financing of business (regulation of banks, stock exchange, sale of securities, etc.); governmental measures to regulate hours of work and rates of pay; and governmental efforts to regulate relations between employer and employee which will "lead to political rule over both management and labor."

"Soak the Poor"

When the N.A.M. becomes still more concrete as to what it is going to fight for under the banner of "The American System" it speaks of cutting down the taxes on big incomes, levying an income tax on the lower incomes, extending various forms of sales taxes; in other words, a tax policy of "soak the poor." It speaks also of the need of drastic reduction of government expenditures, particularly for the unemployed in order that "the budget may be balanced" and the intolerable burden on business which, Mr. J. P. Morgan indicated recently, would soon make him a poor man may be lifted. And it attacks the Wagner-Connelly Labor Relations Act and all other measures

which even in the slightest degree give or appear to give support to labor in its efforts at unionization.

To put it bluntly, there is a temporary "recovery" under the capitalist system. That means a chance to make profits. And the industrialists announce that they are going to make them all they possibly can. They are going to remove every obstacle in their path if they can. And they are in a determined, fighting, enthusiastic and pious mood about it. For the moment American capitalists have recovered their morale.

Lewis Also for Roosevelt

Space permits only two practical observations: The announcement that the industrialists were going to fight Roosevelt's New Deal policies was greeted by William Green with a notice that this would itself mean that all liberal and labor forces would rally to Roosevelt's support, and John L. Lewis, who at certain points is conducting a spectacular fight against Green, on this matter solidarizes himself with the A. F. of L. president, announcing that he too would support Roosevelt wholeheartedly. Thus these trade union leaders once more try to give to workers a lesson in how not to do things. Industry has indeed, in the words of one of its spokesmen "much against its will been forced in sheer self-defense to enter the political arena or be destroyed as a private enterprise."

But Alfred P. Sloan is careful to explain just what this means: "It is important that we recognize that industry as an institution must not concern itself with promoting the fortunes of any political agencies." In other words, Sloan as well as other intelligent leaders recognize that they can use both the Republican and Democratic parties, especially as long as American workers think they can find salvation by turning now to one and now to another of these parties. Roosevelt saved them in 1933, among other things by persuading the workers and the trade union bureaucrats that he was going to give them a genuine New Deal. He is

even now giving fresh help to the industrialists, by stating that there will be a "breathing spell" from social and regulatory legislation.

For the present what the industrialists want is to bring still more pressure on Roosevelt in order that they may get a larger and deeper breathing spell. They will by no means decisively or unanimously repudiate him as long as he gives them this and also keeps on building the military and naval establishment of the United States in preparation for that war with the imperialists of other nations which American imperialists clearly foresee. The workers can find salvation not via the proposition of Green and Lewis but by complete repudiation of all capitalist parties, by building up their own independent political strength, by organizing their power for the overthrow of the system which each in his own way, Sloan, Roosevelt and the trade union bureaucrats, seek to maintain.

"Smash the Unions"

Secondly, the main immediate object of the industrialists, hidden behind all the verbiage about "The American System," attacks on the New Deal, etc., is SMASH THE UNIONS. Not the Roosevelt administration, not the Wagner-Connelly Act, not the Labor Relations Board, or any of these agencies but the unions above all stand in the way of the profit-grabbing crusade on which the industrialists have entered. The organized workers can offer resistance to the breakdown of their standards. Besides, if the organized power of the workers grows they can shake the very foundations of the system from which the industrialists derive their profits and their prestige.

The main immediate answer to the employer offensive is labor's offensive: Organization campaigns in the basic industries; strikes for union recognition and against all attacks on labor standards; intensification of labor militancy to answer employer militancy; the building up of a leadership in the unions which breaks forever with the philosophy of collaboration with the profit-grabbing employers and stands on the basis of struggle against them.

N. Y. Socialist Party Splits

Continued from Page 1

leader of a faction."

It is possible to draw certain conclusions on the basis of these developments. First of all, the split will not be confined to New York but will be a national split, involving the National Committee and the state organizations. Second, the Thomas-Hoan-Militant coalition, which has a majority on the National Committee, seems to have at last decided to conduct a struggle against the Old Guard and even to throw them out of the party. Peace-pacts between them, especially against the genuine lefts in the party, are still by no means excluded. Third, the leadership in the present struggle comes from Thomas and Hoan, rather than from Militant chieftains.

Information from additional sources confirms these conclusions. The initiative in the entire struggle has been given by Thomas and his group. The Militant leaders have tagged along behind him and Hoan. They had made few, if any, preparations for conducting the fight against the Old Guard. The Old Guard's declaration of war took them by surprise, as did the necessity and suddenness of the split. In their lack of preparation for the inevitable struggle and in their passive trailing behind Thomas, the Militant commanders-in-chief again show their weaknesses as political leaders.

Danger of Reconciliation

It is possible that further attempts at reconciliation will be made by the Old Guard or others. What will be the attitude of the Militant leaders to such proposals? Will they once more fall into the trap of submerging their political differences with the Old Guard for the sake of a fictitious unity with them? This is a danger to be guarded against.

The Militants have finally taken a necessary and inevitable step forward in their evolution. The issues of struggle against the Old Guard have been brought to a head. It is necessary that these issues be fully clarified and settled, if the development of the Militants is to continue. These cannot be clarified by temporizing with the Old Guard, but only by waging a war to the death against them.

Are the Militants ready for this struggle? How clearly do they see the necessary conditions and consequences of the political conflict they are engaged in?

The Militants have already wasted many precious months in vain attempts to conclude peace with the Old Guard and to form unprincipled blocs, composed of political antagonistic elements, within the S.P. The time spent in maneuvers and creating contradictory combinations could have been more profitably used in discussing the main political issues facing the working class, in elaborating a comprehen-

sive and correct political program; and then in carrying forward the struggle for organizational control in the basis of such a program.

After a long delay, the Militants have finally taken certain steps in this direction by the publication of their Draft Program for the coming S.P. convention. We have already pointed out in a series of articles the extremely serious weaknesses, errors, and ambiguities in this statement of principles.

These deficiencies are particularly glaring on the most important of all questions, the war question. The position taken on the war question is the touchstone of every political grouping in the labor movement today. It is the one question on which there cannot be the slightest reservation, confusion or ambiguity. This is the question which sharply separates the proletarian revolutionist from every shade of centrism and reformism.

In their opposition to the policy of sanctions and in their criticism of the Bauer, Dan, Zyromski resolution, the Militants have attempted to deal with this question. We have already criticized the shortcomings of their position. In the meantime they have retreated rather than gone forward. It is essential that they review their efforts to clarify their position. For only a clear revolutionary line on the war question can give adequate guidance to the organizational struggle within the S.P. and to all the efforts at the regroupment of the revolutionary forces going on around it.

Social-patriotism is the main danger, from whatever quarter it may come. The Old Guard have always been outright chauvinists and always will be. The most dangerous source of social-patriotic poison, as the Browder-Thomas debate indicated, however, comes from the Stalinists and their new line. These people, who clamor for the application of sanctions, who support the imperialist League of Nations, who defend the Soviet shipment of oil to Italy while calling for an international working class boycott, who, as in France, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, assert that American revolutionists must demand that the United States enter the war if the Soviet Union is attacked, are the most pernicious social-patriotic influence in the working class today.

The struggle against social-patriotism should be supplemented by a struggle against pacifism, represented in the S.P. by Thomas. Pacifism and the advocacy of neutrality legislation is as much part of the ideological preparation for war as social-patriotism and the call for sanctions.

The Workers Party has just published a pamphlet containing its views on the war question, entitled "War and the Workers." We ask every honest Socialist to read it carefully and reflect upon it. Let the Socialist Call, the organ of the Militants, review and criticize it. We will welcome such full and open discussion. Complete clarity on this question is an indispensable

prerequisite for the regrouping of the revolutionary forces.

Clarity is equally essential on other matters. Yesterday, the Militants believed that they could live at peace in the same party with the Old Guard. At that time we issued the warning that such an arrangement was politically impossible. Today, the Militants cherish the illusion that they can solidify their bloc with Thomas, Hoan and their like. Even more do they cultivate the illusion that the Socialist Party can be transformed into the revolutionary party of the American workers.

One illusion is as dangerous as the other. Revolutionists cannot remain for long within the same party with municipal reformists like Hoan; opponents of pacifism cannot remain for long in the same party with pacifists like Thomas and Allen. Such antagonistic elements will sooner or later collide with each other as the struggle within the S.P. develops, and fly apart.

The regrouping of the revolutionary forces on a national and international scale should be the fundamental task of all sincere Socialist workers. These forces can be reconstituted only on the basis of a clear and uncompromising revolutionary program. The duty of all Militants, who are revolutionists, is to work out such a program and to fight for its adoption. Only in this way will the split which has just taken place be a progressive one. Only through this road will all the revolutionary elements be united.

TO THE READERS OF THE NEW MILITANT

We beg your indulgence for having missed the last issue. However, this omission will, we believe, hardly be felt since this issue will be in your hands after a lapse of hardly two days. Various obstacles of a purely technical nature compelled us to take this course. Nevertheless we propose to turn the evil into a good by introducing a **sovereign reform**. In the future the NEW MILITANT will be mailed on Wednesdays and you will receive it prior instead of after, as was the case until now, the date of issuance. New York branches will have it for week-end distribution and out of town branches before the week-end is out.

—The NEW MILITANT.

OPEN FORUM "WHAT NEXT IN FRANCE?"

Speaker:
JOHN G. WRIGHT
THURSDAY, DEC. 12, 8 P.M.
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Questions and Discussion
Ausp: Branch 3, Workers Party

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

WAR TECHNOLOGY

Modern warfare when it involves the advanced capitalist countries is no longer a matter of winning battles. It is far more the pitting of the national resources and national technologies against each other. The control of coal and iron, of cotton, copper and oil—of the "strategic" materials—becomes of major and decisive importance. The threat made by the rival imperialists to cut off Mussolini's oil supply is a reminder of this fact. It is also a reminder of the careful planning for future war made years in advance by the military arm of each government.

The United States, for example, has its plans laid in the minutest fashion for the complete mobilization of the necessary industries the moment war breaks out. Contracts for all war materials need only to be signed to start, the production schedules already agreed upon with individual factories. The "Commodity Files" division of the United States Army keeps the most up-to-date information on volumes of production of all commodities, the sources of supply, the stock piles in the warehouses, the percentages used for various purposes, etc. This department is entrusted with the task of seeing to it that sufficient supplies can be made immediately available at the outbreak of war to carry on the war for two years even if the country be completely blockaded (an impossibility in the case of the United States) and no outside sources can be tapped. Even more, this department, in collaboration with the navy, sees to it that the necessary ships are sent to keep open the channels of communication with those countries which supply necessary foodstuffs or raw materials. In this connection all of South America comes under the complete domination of U. S. imperialism through its naval supremacy in continental waters. Plans are even ready for the seizure of those countries or parts of countries that produce strategic materials. Canada with its monopoly of nickel, Bolivia and Chile with their tin, lead and nitrates would fall easy victims.

LABOR AND THE WAR PLANS

An important aspect of this planning is the economic side of production. The allocation of finances in the government budget is based on careful consideration of prices in connection with increased output. Greater production of any commodity can always be stimulated at a price. But this means that the government becomes interested in controlling prices as much as it can in time of war. The calculations of the imperialists and their military subordinates take into account particularly wages. Every strike tends to become a blow struck at the entire plan for making war profitable. Control of production for purposes of destruction means above all to the big financiers who actually run the govern-

ment, the keeping of a tight rein on the working class. It means the attempt to destroy any organized resistance to the well-laid plans of capitalist profiteers, to check the workers in any effort to maintain their standards of living or to improve them. More than ever the everyday struggles of the workers against the exploiters becomes a menace to the entire capitalist system, since these efforts of the oppressed to better their conditions disturb the smooth functioning of the system at a most critical time. Thus war forces the capitalists—their fears aroused both at home and abroad—to exert the utmost powers of their dictatorship to keep the workers in subjection. The class struggle takes on sharpened form; strikes tend to become political as well as economic battles; struggle sees more clearly the oppressive role of the government as the instrument of the ruling class. These lessons are being drawn today by the Italian workers. They have experienced terrific blows at their living standards. Mussolini's plans for imperialist conquest at the same time plans to rob the working class even more than in time of peace. That is the inevitable fate of every working class in time of peace.

WAR IN THE FAR EAST

The situation in North China has reached a critical stage. The Japanese are determined to seize the five northern provinces under the usual fakery of "autonomy," the cherished formula of the Japanese imperialists. But they would like to accomplish their ends with as little fuss as possible, with the "consent," if possible, of Chiang Kai-shek. This pliant tool of the Japanese army is, however, in a quandary. He is witnessing the removal from his control of the richest provinces of China, Shansi and Shantung, provinces which supplied him with a lordly income. One hundred million people are being torn away to be exploited by the Japanese war-lords instead of the Chinese. The blow at the "prestige" of this dictator would be great indeed if he submits without a struggle. The utmost pressure is being exerted on him, both from within and from without (America and England) to fight in order to hold off the Japanese bandits as long as possible. There is a split in the Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party of China dominated by Chiang, over this issue of war against Japan. The Japanese are not anxious to see Chiang make the decision to fight and hence they are exerting every form of threat to make him submit peacefully. This is the issue that now hangs in the balance. War now would end the Chinese working class pitted against Japan, but at the same time struggling also against the betrayer, Chiang Kai-shek, to replace his government by one that would truly fight to the end against Japanese and all other imperialism.

By NATHAN GOULD

(Continued from last week)
YOUTH AND RELIEF

For reasons obvious to all, the bourgeoisie has granted to the miserable of this country various forms of "relief": home relief, WPA, FWA, etc. These forms have affected primarily older workers, those having families.

If we are permitted to digress for a moment we might say that the President's speech in Atlanta on Friday, Nov. 29, gave clear indication that even these meager forms of relief are to be suspended in the near future. Referring to the budget, the President said: "As things stand today, and in the light of a definite and continuing economic improvement, we have passed the peak of appropriations. We can look forward with assurance to a decreasing deficit." And later, "In providing relief we are dealing with properly self-respecting Americans, to whom a mere dole outrages every instinct of individual independence."

Needless to say, and an early experience has revealed, that the forms of "relief" granted is in itself a most brazen mockery of the very word. However meager this relief, workers found that with considerable effort it was possible (barely) to subsist upon these magnanimous grants from the government, the funds for which were obtained from the hides of the starving employed. But for some period of time, after many struggles, relief was finally granted, and the man with the family, the older worker, subsisted—hungry, starving, demoralized—but subsisting nevertheless. But the youth—ignored.

Up until 1934 the very best that this section of the population received was vermin and disease-ridden "flap-houses." Since then three institutions of relief have been granted the youth. (We shall give a detailed analysis of each of these in subsequent articles.)

INSTITUTIONS FOR YOUTH RELIEF

1. Transient Camps. In the N. Y. Times of Aug. 14, 1932, C. B. Hurd, giving minimum figure esti-

mates, reports that "there are between two and three hundred thousand youth between the ages of 12 to 20" who roam the country by means of freight trains, hitch-hiking, etc. Since that period the number of youth engaged in these means of livelihood has been increasing until, in the middle of 1934, various sources attributed the number of "roaming youth" to be closer to seven hundred and fifty thousand—a formidable number. The forms of living, the habits of life, deplorable physical, social and intellectual conditions imposed upon them can be most charitably characterized as destructive, demoralizing, and degenerating. To keep some of these youth from stealing, jail houses, certain social centers, and abandoned property for the most part, were designated as TEMPORARY shelters and called "transient camps." We do not intend to deal here with the exact nature or the specific faults of this institution. Suffice it to say that without making provision for the overwhelming majority of these "transients" (as they have come to be called), the government has since abolished the transient camp.

2. National Youth Act: The NYA which, according to a confidential despatch of the U. S. Department of Interior, Office of Education, on April 26, 1935, was designed to relieve "the prolonged thwarting of their (the unemployed youth's) natural desires and ambitions (which thwarting) may result either in a rebellious spirit or in a feeling of inferiority from which some of them will never recover."

Hence fifty million dollars has been appropriated for the purpose of relieving two million unemployed and student youth by paying for skilled and semi-skilled labor for a maximum of fifteen hours per week, the generous, scab, maximum wage of \$3 per week. Forced to scab at 20c per hour—\$3 per week maximum—a happy prospect for the starving youth. At that rate, the government can assure us the production of a fine core of mental deficients and physical incompetents.

But talk of the foregoing on the subject becomes almost extraneous when we learn from authentic

Our Revolutionary Heritage:

Homestead Strike

By Leighton Rigby

Philanthropic Andrew Carnegie has been described as "not only the greatest manufacturer that has ever lived, but the author of a philosophic comprehension of the progress of civilization as wide as could be found in any other writer (!)" Nor is that all. He was "one who loved his fellow-men, who suffered, fought, wept and rejoiced with them as one of them."

But that's the Andrew Carnegie who is being honored by the innocents here and abroad on the occasion of the centenary of his birth. Surely it's not the Carnegie who stubbornly refused to recognize the workers' right to organize. It couldn't be the Carnegie who rendered ineffective most of the many strikes in his plants by cabling to Europe for a fresh batch of unacclimated, slavery-bound workers to live and work in the rotten conditions surrounding his enterprises. Certainly the Carnegie his workers knew was not the philanthropist the speech makers are praising.

In 1890, at the Carnegie Steel Company plants at Homestead, Pa., the company officials and the workers agreed upon a wage scale to extend over a period of three years. When this agreement expired, the substitute offered by Carnegie slashed wages twelve percent. The reason given was that labor-saving equipment had lessened the strenuousness of the work. Naturally, no mention was made of the increased profits derived from the displacement of those workers replaced by the new devices. The answer of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers was a flat refusal to sign the new pact.

Carnegie boarded a boat for his native Scotland, leaving his lieutenant, Henry Clay Frick, to face the approaching storm. His literary mind doubtless recalled that line from Shakespeare: "So foul a sky clears not without a storm." And it was a most furious storm that came, one of the fiercest battles American workers have ever fought against the scourge of capitalism.

Carnegie Off to Bonnie Scotland

Before the clouds were pierced by a lookout, Carnegie dispatched a notice for Frick to post at the Homestead works. It said, in effect, that the company no longer recognized the workers' union and that the plant would be henceforth strictly non-union. Of course, Carnegie was on his estate in bonny Scotland, safe from harm. Frick did not post the notice. The boss sent letter after letter, about the matter of the notice and plans for starving the workers into submission. This slight is mentioned as added proof of Carnegie's determination to smash the union. The fact is that, as far as Carnegie was concerned, the end of the three-year agreement was to mean the end of the Amalgamated. A further unfortunate fact is that the Amalgamated was killed indeed, even if it took every man of the Pennsylvania guards to do the job.

When the lookout was ordered, the general Homestead branches of the union immediately elected an Advisory Committee. That body met and issued an announcement that "the committee has, after mature deliberation, decided to organize their forces on a truly military basis." Guards were stationed at

every entrance to Homestead, and lookouts kept the committee aware of any person or group approaching the town. The Monongahela river was patrolled by a steamboat chartered by the workers, in addition to numerous smaller boats.

Pinkerton's Are Spotted

The sheriff of Allegheny county admitted his inability to break the power of the workers' committee. As the next best thing, and notoriously more efficient, the company hired a band of three hundred Pinkerton thugs who were towed late at night on a floating arsenal from Pittsburgh. A worker lookout spotted the barge and gave the alarm. Whistles blew, and men, women and children rushed into the streets of Homestead, ready for battle.

Even before the Pinkerton detectives drew up to the landing, they had no difficulty in detecting militancy in the workers, because they heard the crack of gunfire as soon as the barge was discernible to those on the shore. When the Pinkertons attempted to go ashore, they were driven back and forced to get under cover. Both sides were

determined—the thugs because they were being well paid, and the workers because the workers would rather die fighting than starve.

From the opposite bank, two cannons barked, but the discharges did not touch the Pinkerton barge. Rifles and revolvers ceaselessly added to the sound of battle. Dynamite boomed as the fighting workers strove to blast the paid killers out of the river. The Pinkertons would be allowed to continue the battle on land only by "trampling over the dead bodies of three thousand honest workmen." Few engagements in the long history of class warfare, here or anywhere, have been more valiantly fought by the oppressed class.

The Workers Victorious

The boat that had towed the Pinkerton barge was driven off to Pittsburgh, and the Carnegie storm troops, beaten and seeing no other channel of escape, raised the white flag. They were allowed to disembark and entrain for Pittsburgh. The battle of Homestead was over, the workers victorious. The casualties for both sides were ten dead and sixty wounded, several mortally.

After the smoke had cleared away, the workers' committee was voted the power of government in Homestead. Untruthful reports intended for propaganda against the workers were destroyed before they were dispatched to the capitalist press throughout the land. There was classless peace in Homestead, and the dingy shacks suddenly felt like homes, rather than dirty, crawling prison cells.

But the Carnegie influence was greater in Harrisburg than that of iron workers. Though the town was still and the departure of the Pinkertons had assured the end of disorders, eight thousand soldiers pitched camp at Homestead.

Seine District of Socialist Youth Grows Since Their Expulsion

"ONCE EXPELLED YOU WILL BE NOTHING, NOT EVEN WIND, NOT EVEN DUST..."—From a speech of Lagorgette, right wing leader of the Socialist Youth at the Lille Congress.

203 new applications to the Socialist Youth of the Seine, of which 40 are Young Communists and 30 of the "Social Front," bringing our membership up to 1,800.

42 public meetings organized by the J. S.
24 meetings organized jointly with the party.
More than 100 joint meetings in which we participated.
Four new issues of "Revolution," whose circulation has constantly grown.

A new series of leaflets.
A district poster on the events of Brest and Toulon.
A poster on the Italo-Ethiopian war.
Throw-away posters for meetings and public gatherings.
An edition of leaflets on the "People's Front."
A propaganda pamphlet with our slogans.
An issue of "Revolution" confiscated by the government and several comrades victimized by bourgeois justice.
WE HAVE NEVER BEEN STRONGER THAN SINCE THE EXPULSIONS AT LILLE!

—(From "Revolution," November issue)

Five Years of "Spartacus"

War Machine Exploits Misery and Poverty of the Youth to Corral Them for New Capitalist Juggernaut

sources that even that which was described as the purpose of the NYA has been flagrantly and criminally distorted. This significant information was revealed when the head of the New York Department of the National Youth Administration resigned his post, giving as his reason, that notwithstanding the passing of over one third of the period of the plan, nothing, absolutely nothing, had been accomplished insofar as aid to the needy youth was concerned.

3. The Civilian Conservation Corps: The CCC is America's military forced labor camps where unemployed youth are conscripted (by economic conditions of course) to do skilled labor UNDER MILITARY DISCIPLINE at \$1 per day and keep. So successful has been this "conscript" that the government has by this time increased the number of camps from 1,600 to 2,900, and the number of recruits per period (six months) from some 300,000 to almost 600,000. The gross dissatisfaction with the conditions of our "forced labor camps" is best revealed by the reports almost daily of strikes and demonstrations in the camps against the food, the quartering, and the labor conditions.

Mr. Mitchell's article, favorable to the CCC, appearing in The New Republic of May 29, 1935, states that "perhaps one third of the depression youth will go through the CCC." This statement is of outstanding significance in view of the fact that it is an open secret, admitted by the military officials in charge of the CCC, that the latter is not actually a relief project or a social or industrial enterprise, but that it is (and they make no bones about it) a military affair; an expedient way of training the youth, of preparing them for the war, at army scab wages, for semi-skilled union labor. This explains

why, of the three "relief" projects, only the latter thrives.

Hence of the three relief agencies offered the five million or more unemployed youth of this country, the first is abolished, the second is a failure and acknowledged as a mockery by one of its leaders and outstanding proponents, and the third turns out to be a starvation scabbing forced labor outfit designed to give the youth not relief, but to prepare them for a war in defense of the profits of those who deny them life and who impose upon them conditions of starvation and physical and moral degradation.

To these youth a future can be assured only if they can be reached by the Workers Party through its youth instrument, the Spartacus Youth League, to direct them in the struggles for their needs.

ON THE WAR FRONT

It does not require years of experience or great powers of observation to know that youth today figures as the most serious factor in modern warfare. With the introduction of mass production and the system characterized by it, we have simultaneously the introduction of the system of mass murder, of the cream of the population—the proletarian youth. That youth is primary to the victory of a nation in war and vital to the victory of an class is known better perhaps by the bourgeoisie than anybody else.

Long before Karl Liebknecht uttered his rich and meaningful slogan, "He who has the youth has the army," King Frederick William of Germany, speaking for the ruling classes, already pronounced in even more explicit terms this identical thought when he stated:

"A civil war needs soldiers who will obey blindly; which is as

much as to say that it needs well drilled children and minors. The most loyal recruits are to be found among the kids who have only just left school. Unquestioned faith is a soldier's best ammunition."

And further:
"Youth recently confirmed make the best fighting men."

Hence Van Roon raised the cry:

"Away with the Landwehr! Not for the simple increase in the army, but for the creation of an army which should consist mainly of youth."

How loyally the American bourgeoisie had conducted this policy is strikingly illustrated not only by the conditions of its draft laws, by the ages of the individuals comprising the present standing army, but more so upon its specific stress and attention upon those military institutions for civilians which attract almost entirely youth. The size of every military and semi-military youth organization (particularly the National Guards—and the Boy Scouts, Sea Scouts and other children's organizations) has grown tremendously in the past five years. The CMTC (Military training camps for civilians) attracting almost exclusively youth has in the past seven years almost doubled the number of its camps and more than doubled its yearly enrollment which amounts to over one million.

Nor have they neglected the advice given with regards the student. An article in the Chicago Daily Tribune of Aug. 26, 1935, was headlined: "ROTC Already Biggest in U.S.; To Be Doubled." The Reserve Officers Training Corps, a military institution in the high schools and colleges, is operated under the direct jurisdiction of the U. S. War Department. Aside from its military function to warfare,

its civil function is made clear by the following remark made by J. M. McCahey, President of the Chicago Board of Education: "We have less difficulty with communistic and subversive influences with ROTC groups in the schools." In Chicago alone, the article continues, "the War Department is increasing the ROTC units from 17 high school units to 28." In one month the membership of the ROTC in the Chicago high schools alone has been increased from 3,500 to 11,000. Similar increases had been reported in other important cities and a movement is now on foot to make the ROTC compulsory in all public high schools and colleges in the U. S. It will be remembered that the present figure is to be multiplied by many fold by virtue of the fact that each half year even under conditions where there is no drive for expansion and recruitment, adds thousands of new students to this force.

Aside from a powerful standing army constituted of at least 45 percent between the ages of 16 to 25 inclusive, aside from the National Guard, the CMTC and the ROTC (a larger force than the standing army itself) constituted overwhelmingly, almost entirely, of youth, aside from the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Sea Scouts, and other children's military organizations, another military institution exclusively for civilian youth has been added—the CCC, which can boast today of having afforded a military education to over one million youth of the U. S.

These figures are a simple reminder for those who have forgotten the last war, just what section of the population is being prepared for war. The facts simply announced beforehand who exactly are the most immediate and the most direct victims of the war that has now already begun.

These facts announce that the successful struggle against war is predicated upon the realization of the task of the W.P. and the S.Y.L. in the youth in the cause of the revolutionary struggle against war and for the proletarian revolution. The answer to the question: "Who will have the

army?" will be determined by the answer which the W.P. will give through the S.Y.L. to the question: "Who will have the youth?" (Next article: Youth and Fascism, and Youth in Other Labor Organizations.)

WORLD OF LABOR

Belgian Labor Party Bureaucrats Push Expulsions As Left Wing Adopts Revolutionary Position

The leadership of the Belgian Labor Party (P.O.B.) follows close on the heels of its brother bureaucrats in the French Socialist Party in bounding revolutionists from the organization. They take their cue from the bourgeois police who intensify the repression against revolutionary opponents of war in direct ratio with the imminence of the conflict.

Moreover in Belgium, national unity with the bourgeoisie is already an accomplished fact. Vandervelde, spiritual guide and leader of the P.O.B. is a member of the Van Zeeland cabinet which at this moment is being challenged in its anti-working class monetary policies by the threat of a wide-spread miners' strike. More the reason for the threat of expulsion against the comrades of the Action Socialiste Revolutionnaire, organ of the left wing in the P.O.B.

The following quotation from the A.S.R. is therefore published with great gratification since it indicates that the left wing comrades mean to fight and not capitulate:

"As the leadership of the P.O.B. becomes ever more deeply involved in the field National Union for War it must be foreseen that disciplinary measures—so-called—will be taken against the groups and elements who are fighting against social-patriotism and against the tendency which under cover of the struggle 'against Fascism and war' prepares the workers to participate on the side of their bourgeoisie in the new imperialist war."

"Last week we indicated the attack being prepared in top committees against the Action Socialiste Revolutionnaire. The quarrel which the leadership of the party sought to provoke with the J.G.S. (Young Socialist Guards) depriving them of the subsidy and disciplinary measures, arises from the same causes. Similarly with the first sanctions against the L.I.G.A. (anti-war league under left wing control) which has adopted a position close to that of the A.S.R. on the problem of war."

"The attack unleashed by the leadership of the P.O.B. against the opponents of its policy of National Union with the bourgeoisie for war necessitates a rapid coordination of the left forces, of the revolutionary forces determined to hold high and firm the banner of international socialism, the banner of proletarian revolution."

Ever since the removal of the renegade Spaak who mouthed the most revolutionary phrases only to become a minister in His Majesty Leopold's cabinet in the first serious crisis, and the break with the Stalinist hiring Dr. Marteau, the A.S.R. has moved consistently to the left. The entry of the Belgian Bolshevik-Leninists and their close cooperation with A.S.R. contributed not a little to this leftward movement. We have just received in the mails the latest copy of A.S.R., containing a manifesto on war which takes an outright revolutionary position. Lack of space permits the reproduction of a few

excerpts only. Following an introduction in which they explain the causes of the Italo-Ethiopian war and the world war which may follow, they continue:

"Consequently it is necessary to combat and defeat capitalism to obliterate the causes of war and assure lasting peace among the peoples by international proletarian revolution and the institution of the socialist society! In order to put an end to war, it is above all in its own country that the proletariat must fight and defeat capitalism!"

"... As in 1914, the leadership of the workers' movement—the Second (Socialist) International and the Third (Communist) International—unite on the question of 'national defense' in a capitalist regime, preparing the workers to participate in the new imperialist war on the side of their national bourgeoisie."

"The attitude which they have adopted in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict and which consists in placing the workers' movement at the service of the League of Nations, is proof sufficient. It is not as enemies but as servants of their respective imperialisms that the workers are called upon to act! This road, lauded by the leaders of the Second and Third Internationals, leads directly into national union for war and to a new massacre of millions of human beings for the defense of capitalist interests."

"... 'Fascism means war' is the deceptive formula by means of which the leaders of the workers' movement want to drag you behind the capitalists for the defense of the capitalist fatherland in which you are not and can never be anything but slaves! For the defense of the capitalist interests they propose that you sacrifice your life, in case of war. But when your interests are involved they are opponents of the revolutionary struggle against your exploiters! Against external Fascism expressing the imperialist capitalist interests opposed to those of our bourgeoisie, they are partisans of war; but against Belgian Fascism they are opponents of direct action, of the physical and armed struggle of the workers."

"To follow the directives of the Second and Third Internationals on the question of war will, as in 1914, lead directly into a new catastrophe for the international labor movement."

"... No confidence in the League to 'guarantee peace!' It is the den of imperialist bandits, oppressors, of the peoples."

"No confidence in the Van Zeeland government of Belgian capitalism, which has aided and still aids Italian imperialism in its aggression by supplying it with raw materials!"

"Our slogan remains: Not a train, not a boat, not a penny, for Italian imperialism! Immediate boycott by the workers of all production and transportation for Italy! Independent action of the working class!"

"But at the same time struggle against our own capitalists and the government to wrest from it increases in wages, unemployment grants, pensions, in proportion to the rising cost of living!"

"Only by carrying on the struggle on this class basis can the toilers simultaneously fight war, capitalism and Fascism!"

"Against the policy of collaboration with the class enemy!"

"For a policy of direct struggle of the masses against their exploiters."

"Against 'National Defense' under a capitalist regime, against National Union for war!"

"For revolutionary defeatism and the victory of the revolution through the armed insurrection of the working class!"

"Down with the capitalist regime, cause of misery, Fascism, and war!"

"For the seizure of power by the toiling masses through revolutionary struggle: Mobilize!"

"Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!"

"Down with the capitalist national states and their frontiers!"

"Long live the Soviet United States of Europe!"

"Long live the international working class revolution!"

AKRON WORKERS!
Hear
MAX SHACHTMAN
speak on
"WAR AND THE WORKERS"
Friday, Dec. 13th, 8 P.M.
Tailors' Union Hall
21 S. Main Street

NEW MILITANT

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We Can Make Good!

On the first anniversary of the Workers Party, to which this last issue of the *New Militant* was devoted, solid achievements were recorded. The Party has moved slowly forward but its gains in every instance have been substantial and durable.

Our Minneapolis stronghold is impregnable: the heaviest batteries of the labor skates combined with the local capitalist class have not even made a dent. For the first time in years, if not in history, has a red purge been so decisively smashed.

Add to Minneapolis, the activities of our comrades in the Toledo auto center, and the Akron rubber center, and a sketchy idea can be had of the role of the Workers Party in the sharpening class struggle in this country.

We have failure to record, however—not an irreparable one but certainly a grave shortcoming. The lack of the eight-page *NEW MILITANT*.

If the size of our organization is taken into consideration, it will readily be seen that despite the best intention our strength still lies in our ideas. Our power increases in direct ratio with the effectiveness of our propaganda. And our propaganda is advanced largely if not wholly through our press.

While we may boast that our paper is the best in the labor field, the only one which gives a clear-cut revolutionary position on the leading issues of the day, it must be admitted that our press is weak. Its weakness is its size. A miserable four pages in which to report events of the class struggle, handle

the problems of war and Fascism, the treachery of Stalinism, the struggle in the S. P., the trade union question, and besides present simple agitational material to educate uninitiated workers in the fundamentals of Marxism.

It is manifestly impossible. Result: complaints. From some comrades: inadequate treatment of the more complicated problems of the intra-party struggle. From others: the paper is too specialized for our trade union contacts.

They are both right; under the present set-up, one or the other must suffer and sometimes both. [There is no solution other than the regular eight-page. The comrades who complain and others who don't but realize our difficulties can do no better service to themselves, the party and the working class than to put the drive for the eight-page *NEW MILITANT* over.

1,000 subs will take us over the first hurdle! It can be done; it must be done. With the eight-page, it is almost a certainty, that the second year of the Workers Party will be immeasurably more fruitful than the first!

Fight Against Bourbon Rule

THE Scottsboro boys must be freed! Not so obviously as Angelo Herndon are they a symbol of the oppression of the struggling Negro masses. But even more obviously are they a symbol of the terrorism waged by the Southern slavocracy in order to keep the Negro masses from raising their heads. [The Scottsboro boys are in jail, once again under indictment which may lead to death sentences, solely because they are Negroes, and it is Southern bourgeois policy to destroy Negroes in order to keep the whole Negro people in fear and subjection, and to keep race hatred alive so that the Southern white proletariat will not join with the Negro in common struggle.

Because every oppressed minority is an ally of the working class in the struggle for their common emancipation, and because a basic pre-requisite of future class struggles is the uniting of black and white, and because it is the elementary duty of every class-conscious worker to fight for the maintenance and extension of the democratic rights of the masses, we pledge ourselves anew to the struggle for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys.

Trotsky Urges Committees of Action

(Continued from Page 1)

The last Congress of the Communist International in its resolution on the Dimitroff report expressed itself in favor of elected Committees of Action as the mass support for the Peoples' Front. This is perhaps the only progressive idea in the entire resolution. But precisely for this reason the Stalinists do nothing to realize it. They dare not do so for fear of breaking off collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

Influence over Middle Class.

To be sure, in the election of Committees not only workers will be able to participate but also civil service employees, functionaries, war veterans, artisans, small merchants, and small peasants. Thus the Committees of Action are in closest harmony with the tasks of the struggle of the proletariat for influence over the petty bourgeoisie. But they complicate to the extreme the collaboration between the workers' bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie. In the meantime the Peoples' Front in its present form is nothing else than the organization of class collaboration between the political exploiters of the proletariat (the reformists and the Stalinists) and the political exploiters of the petty bourgeoisie (the Radicals). Real mass elections of the Committees of Action would automatically eject the bourgeois middle-men (the Radicals) from the ranks of the Peoples' Front and thus blow to smithereens the criminal policy dictated by Moscow.

However it would be a mistake to think that it is possible at a set day and hour to call the proletariat and petty bourgeois masses to elect Committees of Action on the basis of a given statute. Such an approach would be purely bureaucratic and consequently barren. The workers will be able to elect a Committee of Action only in those cases when they themselves participate in some sort of action and feel the need for revolutionary leadership. In question here is not the formal democratic representation of all and any masses but the revolutionary representation of the struggling masses. The Committee of Action is an apparatus of struggle. There is no sense in guessing beforehand precisely what strata of the toilers will be attracted to the creation of Committees of Action; the lines of demarcation in the struggling masses will be established during the struggle itself.

Danger of Sporadic Outbreaks.

The greatest danger in France lies in the fact that the revolutionary energy of the masses will be dissipated in spurts, in isolated explosions like Toulon, Brest and Limoges, and give way to apathy. Only conscious traitors or hopeless middle-heads are capable of thinking that in the present situation it is possible to hold the masses immobilized up to the moment when they will be blessed from above by the government of the Peoples' Front. Strikes, protests, street clashes, direct uprisings are absolutely inevitable in the present situation. The task of the proletarian party consists not in checking and paralyzing these movements but in unifying them and investing them with the greatest possible force.

The reformists and Stalinists fear above all to frighten the Radicals. The apparatus of the united front quite consciously plays the role of disorganizer in relation to sporadic movements of the masses.

And the "Lefts" of the Marceau Pivert type serve to shield this apparatus from the indignation of the masses. The situation can be saved only by aiding the struggling masses to create a new apparatus in the process of the struggle itself, which meets the requirements of the moment. The Committees of Action are intended for this very purpose. During the struggle in Toulon and Brest the workers would have created without any hesitation a local fighting organization had they been called upon to do so. On the very next day after the bloody assault in Limoges the workers and a considerable section of the petty bourgeoisie would have indubitably revealed their readiness to create an elected committee to investigate the bloody events and to prevent them in the future. During the movement in the barracks in the summer of this year against Rabiot (the extension of the term of military service) the soldiers without much ado would have elected battalion, regimental and garrison committees of action had such a road been suggested to them. Similar situations arise and will continue to arise at every step. In most cases on a local but often also on a national scale. The task is not to miss a single situation of this kind. The first condition for this is a clear understanding of the import of the Committees of Action as the only means of breaking the anti-revolutionary opposition of party and trade union apparatuses.

Parties and Soviets.

Does this mean to say that the Committees of Action are substitutes for party and trade union organizations? It would be stupid to pose the question in this manner. The masses enter into the struggle with all their ideas, traditions, groupings and organizations. The parties continue to exist and to struggle. During elections to the Committees of Action each party will naturally seek to elect its own adherents. The Committees of Action will arrive at decisions through a majority (given complete freedom of party and factional groupings). In relation to parties the Committees of Action may be called the revolutionary parliament: the parties are not excluded but on the contrary they are necessarily presupposed; at the same time they are tested in action and the masses learn to free themselves from the influence of rotten parties.

Does this mean then that the Committees of Action are simply—soviets? Under certain conditions the Committees of Action can transform themselves into Soviets. However, it would be incorrect to call the Committees of Action by this name. Today, in 1935, the popular masses have become accustomed to associate with the word soviets the conception of power already conquered; but France today is still considerably removed from this. The Russian soviets during their initial stages were not at all what they subsequently became and in those days they were often called by the modest name of workers' or strike committees. Committees of Action at their present stage have as their task to unite in a defensive struggle the toiling masses of France and thus imbue these masses with the consciousness of their own power for the coming offensive. Whether matters will reach genuine soviets depends on whether the present critical situation in France will unfold to the ultimate revolutionary conclusions. This of course depends not only upon the will of

the revolutionary vanguard but also upon a number of objective conditions; in any case the mass movement that has today run up against the barrier of the Peoples' Front will be unable to move forward without the Committees of Action.

Workers' Militia

Such tasks as the creation of workers' militia, the arming of the workers, the preparation of a general strike will remain on paper if the struggling masses themselves through their authoritative organs do not occupy themselves with these tasks. Only Committees of Action born in the struggle can assure a real militia numbering fighters not by the thousand but the tens of thousands. Only Committees of Action embracing the most important centers of the country will be able to choose the moment for transition to more decisive methods of struggle, the leadership of which will be rightly theirs.

Conclusions

From the propositions sketched above there flows a number of conclusions for the political activity of the proletarian revolutionists in France. The cardinal conclusion touches upon the so-called "revolutionary (?) Left." This grouping is characterized by a complete lack of understanding of the laws that govern the movement of the revolutionary masses. No matter how much the centrists babble about the "masses" they always orient themselves upon the reformist apparatus. Repeating this or that revolutionary slogan, Marceau Pivert subordinates it to the abstract principle of "organizational unity" which in action turns out to be unity with the patriots against the revolutionists. At the time when it is a life and death question for the masses to smash the opposition of the united social patriotic apparatuses as an absolute "good" which stands above the interests of revolutionary struggle.

Committees of Action will be built only by those who understand to the end the necessity of freeing the masses from the treacherous leadership of the social patriots. Yet Pivert clutches at Zyromsky, who clutches at Blum, who in turn together with Thorez clutches at Herriot, who clutches at Laval. Pivert enters into the system of the Peoples' Front (not for nothing did he vote for the shameful resolution of Blum at the last National Council meeting!) and the Peoples' Front enters as a wing into the Bonapartist regime of Laval. The downfall of the Bonapartist regime is inevitable. Should the leadership of the Peoples' Front (Herriot-Blum-Cachin-Thorez-Zyromsky-Pivert) succeed in remaining on its feet in the course of the entire approaching and decisive period, then the Bonapartist regime will inevitably give way to fascism. The condition for the victory of the proletariat is the liquidation of the present leadership. The slogan of "unity" becomes under these conditions not only a stupidity but a crime. No unity with the agents of French imperialism and of the League of Nations. To their perfidious leadership it is necessary to counterpose revolutionary Committees of Action. It is possible to build these committees only by mercilessly exposing the anti-revolutionary policies of the so-called "revolutionary left" with Marceau Pivert at the head. There is of course no room in our ranks for illusions and doubts on this score.

—L. TROTSKY.

Nov. 26, 1935.

THE DEADLY PARALLEL

Social Patriotism versus Revolutionary Struggle

Editor's Note: We are indebted for this deadly parallel to "Revolution," organ of the Young Socialists of the Seine. So vivid are the quotations in both columns, so eloquent of the position of renegades or social-patriots on the one side and revolutionary internationalists on the other that lengthy explanation is not needed. The choice is clear: support of "national defense" of the fatherland and with it the herding of the workers into the slaughter and suppressing the class struggle by chaining the proletariat to the war machine—or—class struggle, civil war against imperialist war

and the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the workers' fatherland. During the last war of 1914-1918 it was the Second International and its member parties that turned social-patriot. The revolting expressions of jingoism printed on the left hand column are statements of French Socialist leaders alone. Today Stalinist and social democrats alike are in the camp of the bourgeoisie. To the voice of Lenin, Trotsky, Liebknecht and Luxemburg is added today the Socialist Youth of the Seine, who take their place among the foremost of the revolutionary defeatists in the world.

1914 - 1918

The Camp of the Bourgeoisie The Camp of the Workers

"... This historic date, this prelude to a new era in which immortal France, soldier of Justice, can throw her might into the march on toward progress, toward socialism."

—Pierre Renaudel in *L'Humanite*, then the official organ of the Socialist Party, on August 5, 1914, the declaration of war.

Jules Guesde and Marcel Sembat entered the National Union government.

"The head of the government (Poincare!) believes that he must have the support of the whole people to line up the country, to organize it, to support it in a struggle which will and must be desperate."

"Of his own will, without waiting for any further demonstrations of the people's will, he has called upon our party. And our party has replied: Present!"

—Signed by the C.A.P. (Political Bureau) of S. P., Editorial Board of *L'Humanite* and the Socialist fraction in parliament.

"Faced with this aggression the Socialists must do their whole duty to their country."

Vaillant, August, 1914.

"This aggression against Republican and peaceful France, this menace to humanity and civilization, we must answer with all our strength and energy."

—Resolution of Seine District of the S. P., 1914.

"We calmly await the result of the battles of our armies in Belgium, convinced as we are that our generals in whom we have implicit confidence, are aware of the great responsibilities which rest on their shoulders."

—Pierre Renaudel, *L'Humanite*, Aug. 23, 1914.

"We are ready to defend French civilization."

—Marcel Sembat, August 1914.

"I take the greatest joy in speaking from this platform made of 155 mm. guns."

—Albert Thomas, Aug. 16, 1916, in speech to workers of Schneider munitions factory.

"Forward Generals! We give you men, you give us victories!"

—Compere-Morel, *L'Humanite*, Aug. 1914.

"Our blood, our flesh, our life belongs to you."

—Compere-Morel, *L'Humanite*, Aug. 29, 1914.

But rather other men's lives, for of them all only Leon Daudet enlisted.

"Here in this warm and living province of Girondie, every heart beats as one, every soul is united in love for our threatened country!"

—Compere-Morel, *L'Humanite*, Sept. 1914.

"... Munitions are THE BREAD OF WAR!"

—Renaudel, *L'Humanite*, Jan. 21, 1915.

"Paralyzing and poisonous gases, high-speed, well-armed, airplanes, the latest automatic guns—everything that physical, mechanical, or chemical science can add, everything must go to strengthen our forces."

—Renaudel, *L'Humanite*, Jan. 21, 1915.

"In my opinion parliament need not yield to anyone in patriotism."

—M. Meyeras, Socialist deputy, March 14, 1917.

"As you know, gentlemen, the morale of our country is not so good."

—Marcel Cachin to Parliament, June 1917, on the occasion of the first mutinies.

In the governments, and in the armies, both in France and in Germany, the Socialists collaborated with the General Staff and the capitalists and delivered the toiling masses to the slaughter. Marcel Cachin interviewed Mussolini on the question of forcing Italy into the war on the side of France.

(When the masses revolted, the Socialists protected the interests of their masters, the capitalists; the Socialist Noske, assassin of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, misled the revolutionary German workers and Jouhaux broke the strikes in the factories in France.

THIS IS SOCIAL PATRIOTISM

Today

"If I were asked I would say that among the great leaders of the war, Poincare is the one whose modesty, seriousness and deep and sensible honesty is most deserving of sympathy."

Leon Blum, *Populaire*, Jan. 25, 1931

"We communists, we love our country. . ."

"We, who love our France. . ."

—Thorez, Vaillant-Couturier, Cachin, etc., on any and all occasions.

"M. Stalin understands and fully approves the national defense policy of the French government in maintaining its armed forces at the level of security."

—Stalin-Laval, May 15, 1935.

"In case of Hitlerite aggression the workers of this country would rush to the frontiers."

—Leon Blum in Parliament, April, 1935.

"Bad Frenchmen want civil war."

—L'Avant-Garde, organ of the French Y.C.L.,

Oct. 26, 1935.

"Well, in case of a war launched by Hitler against the U.S.S.R. would you advance your slogan: turn the imperialist war into a civil war?"

Well, no!"

—Maurice Thorez, May 18, 1935.

THAT IS CIVIL PEACE!

"Propaganda for the class struggle is the duty of socialism even in war time, the work of transforming the war of the nations into civil war is the only socialist course in time of armed conflict between the capitalists."

—Lenin, Nov. 1, 1914.

"To national war as the method of solving the insoluble contradictions of capitalism the working class must counterpose its own method, the method of social revolution."

"The bankruptcy of the Second International is a tragic fact."

—Leon Trotsky, War and the International, October 31, 1914.

"We must push the class struggle through to its end on every front; fight for civil war and against civil peace; use the war situation to rouse the masses."

—Karl Liebknecht.

"The question of just who first declared or first began the war has absolutely no bearing on the tactics of the socialists. Phrases about defense of the fatherland, about the necessity of resisting the enemy invasion, the necessity of defensive war, etc., are nothing but the other side of the same betrayal of the people."

—Lenin, Berne, Switzerland, 1915.

"If the socialist parties continue as they have from August 4, 1914, until today, to deny class struggle, they will become the fatal instruments for paralyzing mass action; in other words, they will become tools of the counter-revolution."

—Rosa Luxemburg, 1917.

...

"Is it possible for an honest Socialist not to fight against you! You have turned the Socialist Party into a docile chorus, an apologist for capitalist brigandage at the very moment when capitalist society—of which you yourself were once a mortal enemy, Jules Guesde—stands revealed in its true role."

—Trotsky, letter to Jules Guesde in 1916.

Near Solson, June, 1917:

"An infantry regiment, riding in trucks, waved red flags and sang the Internationale: the officers sang the Internationale in time with the soldiers and appealed for strikes and rebellion."

—From report of Colonel Dussange, June 2, 1917.

"One company which was supposed to take part in a new attack on the Laffaux MHI refused to go to the front. Everywhere in the barracks there are posters 'Down with the war! Death to the warmakers!'"

"Regiments which are supposed to march forward demonstrate, parade and sing the Internationale, shouting 'We won't go to the front! We won't go to the front!'"

—From the report of General Petain, May 1917.

"At Solson the mutineers opened up with machine guns. A major of the Medical Corps received two knife wounds."

"The mutineers wanted to start an armed march on Paris."

—Military report, end of May, 1917.

...

[With each month of the war, revolt of the masses grew. Karl Liebknecht, who alone of 110 Socialist deputies voted against war credits, organized street demonstrations on May 1, 1916. Mutinies became more frequent on the French front. German and French soldiers fraternized. The Russian workers, in the midst of the war, overthrew the Czar and after having swept away the Menshevik-Socialist agents of French and English capitalism set up the workers' and peasants' government. In Central Europe, revolutionary forces grew.

In Germany, in 1918, the workers took power in many sections.

In the Black Sea the French sailors refused to fire on the Russian workers and mutinied against their officers.

THIS IS REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

Today

"The workers have no fatherland."—Karl Marx.

"Any defense of the capitalist national state is reactionary. It leads to the abandonment of the class struggle, to civil peace, for how can we struggle to the death against our own capitalists if we are prepared to support them in their struggle with other capitalists. On the contrary, we must take advantage of the difficulties in war to overthrow them."

"To bind ourselves to our own imperialism under the pretext of defending democracy against Hitler is pure deceit and treachery. What will French democracy look like during the war with its censorship and its firing squads? Mutinies on the French front and fraternization with the German soldiers will weaken the strength and rebelliousness of the German workers and give them mighty support in the battle to rid themselves of Hitler. To remain docile, on the contrary, faithful to the tribune is to lend support to Hitler who can then inoculate the German working class with the poison of patriotism."

"To bind ourselves with our capitalists under the pretext of defending the Soviet Union is also pure deceit and treachery. The capitalists cannot be fooled. That policy can only mean catastrophe for the French workers and for the U.S.S.R. itself. The sole defense of the U.S.S.R. which is more than an illusion, is the revolutionary assault of the oppressed masses of the entire world, of the French Young Socialists of the Seine.

masses, first of all. The enemy is at home!"

THAT IS REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM!

North China Falls to Japs

(Continued from Page 1)

bourgeoisie is beginning to exert pressure on Chiang Kai-Shek and his Kuomintang government.

Moreover Chiang is driven, by the instinct of self-preservation, if by nothing else (and few have that instinct more highly developed than the Chinese militarists and Chiang in particular) to consider the possibility of opposing Japan's further inroads. The mere consideration of this possibility, helped along by Britain's intervention (through the devaluation of Chinese currency) has brought Japanese imperialism vigilantly to its feet. Nanking's hesitations will be met by military action.

Chiang has definitely tried during the past week to arrive at a deal with the Japanese which would enable the situation to drag out a little longer. He made promises to the Japanese ambassador on November 21 and subsequently, to negotiate for a full "settlement" of outstanding Sino-Japanese issues. He has proposed a formula for North China which would give Japan control but save Nanking's face.

He sent his henchman Ho Ying-ching up to Peiping to negotiate but up to present writing (Dec. 5) Ho had achieved small progress. But Chiang will negotiate and be well "settled." At the same time he will bid for support as he did this past week, in London and in Washington. When that support is forthcoming in more concrete form than heretofore, the possibilities of Kuomintang resistance to Japan will increase—and not before.

That American imperialism cannot wait much longer before acting in its own interests in the Pacific was made glaringly evident: this week by the fact that for the first time it found itself displaced in the China trade by Japan, which took first place for the month of October—a warning to America's imperialism and a signpost in the advance of Japanese imperialism in Asia!

The completion of the "China Clipper" (what a symbolic name!) flight across the Pacific, the plans for a mass formation flight of 41 naval planes over the same route, the political and ideological preparation in the Philippines, the new appropriations for naval building and the air and naval bases in the Pacific islands now being rushed completion for "commercial" uses show that American imperialism is preparing to move when it considers the moment propitious.

Youth Meet In Toledo

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program offered—the minimum being nothing at all.

The wind-up speaker, and chief attraction of the evening, however, was Reverend Theodore Adams, pastor of the Ashland Avenue Baptist Church. The Reverend put on a regular revival and offered as the solution of the problems of American youth the slogan "Come to Jesus!" (sic!), and punctuated his pious exhortations with an attack on the Soviet Union, linking the workers' fatherland with Nazi Germany! Reverend Adams is the respectable front the Stalinists in control of the Congress are using to appeal to the church groups.

The actual conference, attended by 40 delegates, a majority of Y. C. L. and New America members in a bloc, lasted about 4 hours on Saturday afternoon. One hour of this time was spent in again listening to Mr. McNutt say nothing in the polished platform manner of a washing-machine salesman who just lays the Y. W. C. A. secretaries. Then the conference was divided into "commissions," directed in reports on youth and "unemployment, industry, education, war and fascism. This was intended to prevent any full and open discussion before the entire congress on resolutions introduced by the Yip-sels and S. Y. L.

However, a majority report in favor of the joint anti-sanctions resolution was reported by the commission on war and fascism, of which Sam Pollock was elected chairman. When the report was read to the congress, Lottie Gordon, Y. C. L. representative and wife of the district C. P. organizer, took the floor and charged the contents of the report to be out of order. After an hour's fight on the floor, in which the Y. C. L. members by parliamentary conniving, succeeded in preventing any discussion on the actual contents of the resolution, it was tabled. During the course of the debate, however, it was revealed that the leaders of the A. Y. C., those staunch defenders of democratic rights, were opposed to "any controversial subject being discussed, since such subjects are against the program of the congress which is limited only to those questions on which all are in agreement." (sic!)

The one significant phase of the entire affair was the genuine and principled united front affected between the Young Socialists and Young Fourth Internationalists on the basis of a fundamental agreement on the war question.