



# French C. P. Gets First Payment

(Continued from Page 1)  
The Seine were for the purpose of filling ten vacancies in the Senate, to be selected by the vote of the electors, corresponding to the municipal councilors and other local officials and deputies. A majority was required for election. The electors totalled 1,246. The results gave eight seats to the ticket of the Front Populaire—but also elected Pierre Laval and his confere, Fiancette.

This came about in an exceedingly curious manner. Seven Front Populaire candidates received the requisite majority (624 or more votes). Only Cachin failed! What had happened? Leon Blum himself tells us on the front page of Populaire, organ of the S.P. (Oct. 21) that "about 100 delegates of the Front Populaire did not vote for Cachin on the first ballot."

**People's Front Votes for Laval**  
Where did those votes go? No less than 90 of them, says Blum, went to Laval—who was also elected on the first ballot—polling 647 votes. The unbreakable front of the Front Populaire cracked to let Laval into the Senate as representative of the Seine!

Grinding its teeth at this humiliation, l'Humanite charges Doriot with responsibility. Doriot, it seems, betrayed the Front Populaire by preventing the St. Denis delegates from voting for his old friend Cachin. Populaire brightly suggests that not a few delegates, selected from all colors in the front, were bought over.

**Give the Dog His Bone**  
At any rate, this defection caused alarms and excursions. Between the first and second ballots (additional ballots were required to fill the two seats still vacant) the victorious Radicals and Socialists agreed that "the Communists had loyally voted. It is an essential duty to vote for them." Give the dog his bone. He's earned it. Hasn't he forewarned Communist independence? And wouldn't the workers be following a real lead from an organization with such resources? By all means, give the dog his bone.

So to the second ballot. This time 619 were needed to win. A desperate yank pulled Cachin across, a winner with 620—only two votes ahead of Fiancette. A close shave for our Marcel!

Let us examine the ballot counts more carefully. In the first count the candidates for the Front Populaire lined up as follows:  
Mounie, Radical Socialist... 801  
Sellier, S.F.L.O. .... 737  
Fleurot, Rep. Socialist... 730  
Steeg, Radical Socialist... 696  
Aury, French Socialist... 671  
Bachet, Pupist... 638  
Morizet, S.F.L.O. .... 638

Cachin, C. P. .... 590  
Clamarnus, C.P. .... 579  
Pignier, C.P. .... 577

On the Laval list, the premier himself came in, elected, with 647 votes. Fiancette polled 675 with the other candidates trailing. Thus the first seven on the Front Populaire list and Laval were elected.

**"The Deserving Cachin"**  
Note that no less than 211 votes separated Cachin from the Radical Socialist at the top of the list. In the second ballot, which brought Cachin in only two votes ahead of Fiancette, his 620 votes were still 181 votes from the Mounie total. This gives some suggestion as to the position of the Stalinists in this bloc of classes, in which the Mounies, the Selliers, the Fleurots, the Steegs—"passionately devoted to the national defense"—are leading the French version of the Kromintang—and in which Cachin who "knows no enemies in the French people" (l'Humanite, Oct. 6), is symbolically in its place at the tail end.

"Better discipline in the Front Populaire would have brought more decisive results," said l'Humanite on Oct. 22. "Our Communist Party could point to the sacrifices it has made in the Seine to give satisfaction to all the groups in the Front Populaire... but it shall not stop for useless recriminations." And this was under the heading "More Than Ever—Front Populaire!"

Class and party independence have been entirely surrendered by the French Stalinists—for a seat in the Senate. For a seat in the government tomorrow they—and their reformist bureaucratic blood brothers, Blum, Faure, Zyromski and Co.—will deliver up the workers to the Fascists, to the cannon of imperialist war.

A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the Workers Party, will speak in Newark Sunday, Nov. 17, at 8 P.M. on "Which Party for the American Worker?" The meeting will take place at St. Regis Hall, 34 Park Place, opposite the Hudson Tubes Terminal.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.  
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.  
5 Washington Square North  
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

# W. P. Main Butt of Attack at I. L. G. Progressives Meet

## Lovestoneite Easy on Labor Fakery; No Mention of 574

Announcement of the early publication of an English-Jewish progressive paper and an attack on the Workers Party were the chief features of a general membership meeting held by the Progressive Needle Trades Center of New York last Saturday. This is the first meeting held since the center was formally organized early last June. The announced purpose of this meeting was to hear reports on the A. F. of L. convention by progressive official I.L.G.W.U. delegates.

The chair was occupied by Louis Levy, manager of Local 1 of the Cloakmakers and a "progressive" of sorts. In his local, 150 "left-wingers" who joined the local in 1933 are kept as semi-serfs, paying dues but having no say on union affairs. He is that sort of a progressive. Reports were given by Reuben Zuckerman, chairman of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers (a well-known "progressive" organization) and by Nathan Margolies, assistant manager of Local 22 who is also playing with the Progressives this season.

The reports, which were in Jewish, were generally factual, dealing with matters already covered in our press. In addition, Zuckerman gave an interesting account of the personal characteristics, age, etc., of the delegates to the congress.

Following the reports came what was really the main event. The speech of Charles Zimmerman, manager of Local 22 and leader of the Progressive Center. Zimmerman was well-primed for the occasion. The press had just carried

reports of the vicious red-baiting union-wrecking campaign started by William Green's representative, Meyer Lewis, against the militant section of the Minneapolis labor movement. Like all informed people, Zimmerman knew that this attack was directed against the leaders of a real progressive movement in Minneapolis and the northwest, many of whom are close to the Workers Party. Any progressive leader speaking to a meeting of progressives at such a time should have used the occasion to rally the progressive forces present in solidarity with the hard-pressed militants in Minneapolis.

Not so, Zimmerman. He had other fish to fry. With garbled quotations from the NEW INTERNATIONAL, Zimmerman launched into an attack not on Green, nor his representative, but on the Workers Party, charging that the W.P. had taken over the discarded "third period" policies of the Communist Party. The workers present were surprised. Why this attack on the Workers Party? Is the Workers Party a powerful force in local 22, challenging the leadership of Zimmerman and the Progressive Group? Unfortunately the W.P. is not strong organizationally in local 22 and what forces it has supported the Progressive Group.

Was the attack then just an expression of solidarity with Green's union-wrecking campaign in Minneapolis? No, we do not, for a moment, believe that was the intention, though the speech did serve that purpose.

# Rally Aid For 574

(Continued from Page 1)

persistent solicitation to induce any large number of our employees to join the Hosiery Workers Union, the business agent of the Central Labor Union, Roy Weir, assisted by these imported outside organizers of the Hosiery Workers Union, solicited the active assistance of the communist leaders, the General Drivers Union, Local 574, its "relief workers" auxiliary, and the leaders of the Workers Party of the United States. This group responded on August 16 by mobilizing a hostile mob which appeared at our plant and, by illegal mass and mob activities, forcibly prevented our employees from going to work and compelled us to close our plant. . . . Again on Aug. 19 when we sought to reopen our plant and resume operations, a still larger and more violent mob recruited from these same organizations was again permitted to unlawfully assemble at our factory. We were again forced to close and have remained closed ever since."

The Strutwear statement closes with the usual threat to put a postage stamp on the factory and mail it out of town. "It would be doing an injustice to our customers to try to continue business in Minneapolis."

**All Progressive Thought Threatened**  
Meyer Lewis has already divulged the wide scope of his plan, which, if successful, would once again place upon Minneapolis the stigma of being an open-shop town, as happened in 1924 when the "This work cannot be limited to a communist purge. When we get started it must be a fight also against those who are furnishing the ammunition and weapons to those trouble makers. . . . Minneapolis is only the starting place. . . . The campaign is to be nation-wide."

Here, in black and white, is a warning to all progressive thought in the American labor movement. This means that the mildest progressive will not be spared in this latest drive, if Bill Green has his way. No person who does not agree with the narrow and backward views of Green, Woll, and the Citizens Alliance will be free from persecution at the hands of these shameful and contemptible wretches.

**Progressives Organize for Defense**  
On Wednesday night, a few hours after the first rocket was sent up by William Green, a conference of fifteen A. F. of L. locals, led by Local 574, met in the machinists' headquarters. The unions present included the Public Building Service Employees, the Laundry Workers, the Painters, the Station Attendants, the Lathers, the Machinists, the Building Laborers, the City and Sanitary Drivers, the Carpenters, the Upholsterers, and the General Drivers. This conference of progressives adopted a resolution smashing back at Green's statement, charging "it is a continuation of the subversive propaganda initiated by the Citizens Alliance and carried forward by Mayor LaMer through his star chamber conferences and his employer-employee board. The purpose of the vicious statement is to direct broad attack against the progressive unions which have carried the banner

of industrial unionism in Minneapolis. Frightened by the strong support mobilized by the industrial unionists, the bureaucrats of the craft unions, headed by Green, are casting all union principle to the winds and seeking to rouse a lynch spirit against the progressive unions under the guise of the red scare. Directed as they are against all progressive tendencies in the labor movement, these provocative statements can only serve to destroy rather than create industrial peace. All sane thinking persons should condemn these tactics as an unscrupulous attempt by a clique of self-seeking individuals to gain their own selfish ends at the expense of the democratic rights of all organized workers."

Lewis' only reply to these statements was to say "they were to be expected. The Minneapolis drive is not a flash in the pan; neither has it been hastily conceived, but, on the contrary, has been very carefully considered."

### A Clarion Battle Cry to the Nation's Progressives

Now for the explanation of this whole malignant cancer which is trying to gain root in Minneapolis, in order later to squirm its branches and tentacles throughout the vitals of America. It is just a few weeks ago, at the Atlantic City A. F. of L. convention, that the corrupt Green machine was repelled in its fight against all progressive ideas in the American trade union movement. The fight between horse-and-buggy unionism and industrial unionism is now not only out in the open, but practically settled in so far as there is not the slightest doubt but that the rank and file is overwhelmingly with the progressives. What was significant about the official vote was not that the industrial union resolution was defeated by 18,925 to 10,924, but that 90 percent of the delegates from city and state labor bodies voted in favor of the industrial form of organization.

Green, Woll and Co. see the handwriting on the wall. They see that their rotten policies that have undermined the trade union movement for many, many years are now no longer acceptable to trade unionists to whom these depression years have begun to teach the lessons that must be learned. Like a cornered rat, Green is desperately "tagging a last ditch battle in defense of his tottering throne. He and his bureaucratic entourage witness with wide-eyed dismay their grip upon the working-class begin to slip. With that grip also goes their princely salaries. The odds that are gathering about the factory chimneys of Minneapolis are the stench that arise from a corpse in the initial stages of decomposition: the corpse of class-collaboration, impotent craft-unionism.

The real reason for this strange attack on the Workers Party at a progressive meeting can be found in the political needs of the Lovestone group. It is a needle trades addition to Lovestone's anti-Trotskyist articles. It has two purposes. One to show the Communist Party that the Lovestone group is one with them in their efforts to isolate the Workers Party from any participation in the mass movement. Two, to attempt to discredit the Workers Party in the eyes of the Socialist workers, as part of Lovestone's effort to act as marriage broker between the Stalinists and the S.P.

### Easy on Dubinsky

At the meeting which founded the Progressive Center in June, Zimmerman also attacked the Workers Party, but on that occasion, in addition he had a few words of criticism for Sidney Hillman and other officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. Today, even the latter was lacking. The "progressive" of the Needle Trades Center if we may judge by the speeches of Zimmerman, is being rapidly watered down to the point where it will be acceptable to Dubinsky.

At the conclusion of Zimmerman's speech, and as the audience was streaming from the hall, Sam Baron, of the B.S. & A.U., an S.P. "Militant," was given the floor. With the limited time at his disposal, and under the circumstances, Baron made an effective report on the Minneapolis situation as possible, announcing his solidarity with those under attack. The speech of the Socialist, Sam Baron, was in striking contrast with that of the "Communist," Zimmerman.

About 500 workers attended the meeting, the first membership meeting of the Progressives. At no time during the meeting were the members given an opportunity to take the floor.

But even a corpse can give off a deadly poison. It is becoming crystal-clear that Green, and local editions of himself, are violently resolved to use any and all weapons, to utilize the worst sort of criminal and Black Hundred elements, in their almost-hopeless struggle to resuscitate themselves.

It is a tribute to the militants of Minneapolis—those militants who have led and are leading such magnificent working class battles against the forces of oppression—that Green should have spotlighted this city of all cities, should have directed his first fusillade against our comrades.

The Green challenge is accepted! The fight to the finish is on. It is a fight of progress against reaction—of the oppressed against their oppressors—of all that seeks to drive humanity forward, against those who seek to drag it back. In this fight, we in Minneapolis expect to receive the complete backing of all that is good and healthy in the American labor movement. We stand with brazen feet beyond the front-line trenches, waiting to receive on our shoulders the brunt of the opening attack. We fully anticipate that every single progressive in the entire country will support us with all strength in the battle that approaches, against all the vile weapons that William Green, the Citizens Alliance, the Farmer-Labor Mayor, the police and other scoundrels will bring into play. When the smoke has cleared away, when the battle is won, we will find that the American labor movement has made immense strides forward.

The bugles are calling! On to battle!

**WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL FORUM**  
Sponsored by the Philadelphia Local, Workers Party  
431 Pine Street  
Sunday, Nov. 17—JAMES RORTY, well known author and journalist: "The Intellectuals and Their Place in the Revolutionary Movement."  
Sunday, Nov. 24—LUDWIG LORE, columnist for the Phila. Record: "New Alignments in Europe."  
Sunday, Dec. 1—A. J. MUSTE, National Secretary of the W. P.: "The A. F. of L. Convention in Atlantic City."  
Sunday, Dec. 8—MAURICE SPENCER, former member Executive Committee Communist Interna-

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Admission 20 cents  
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# ON THE FIRING LINE

## W.P. Issues Paper In Akron

AKRON, O., Nov. 4.—In an intensified effort to give a correct program to the rubber workers in their current crisis because of hour lengthening and wage cutting by the companies, the Akron branch of the Workers Party has published its first issue of the GUM-MINER (local idiom for rubber worker), a four-page paper.

"What the United Rubber Workers of America Must Fight For," is the featured article. A clear revolutionary position on the war question is presented in another article. Cartoons and a "Dear Emily" column are used to enliven the issue.

Special attention is given to the fight of local 574 of Minneapolis against another "red drive" by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and the unions are urged to support the local, in the final article. The paper is scheduled to appear every three weeks, 250 copies per issue.

## Another Strikebreaking 'Labor' Mayor

(By a Worker Correspondent)  
BEAUMONT, Texas.—Mayor P. E. Renfro, of this city, has proven an apt side-kick for Latimer, the "labor mayor" of Minneapolis. Tired of strike-breaking and terrorism, the labor unions of this town were instrumental in defeating the former city administration and electing Renfro and his colleagues, last spring. Before the election, the politicians, running on the labor ticket spoke with tears in their eyes of friendship for the working man.

Scabs protected by police constitute the redemption of Renfro's pledges. Members of the International Longshoremen's Association confidently expected that the Beaumont city administration would pursue a hands-off policy during the current strike. Instead, the subsidized Lone Star Dock Workers Association has been permitted to furnish scabs in unlimited quantities.

The union petitioned the city council to close the port during the period of the strike. But the members of that labor-elected body hid in order not to take action. Mayor Renfro feebly excuses his sell-out by saying that the port is partly under the jurisdiction of the Federal government.

The backward rural sections of this state have been scoured for scab labor which has been shipped in by the carload. Frank Hamer, notorious ex-state ranger, has been hired by the hired by the companies to command their private force of thugs, stool-pigeons and strong arm boys. Widespread sympathy for the striking workers has prevented, thus far, the calling out of the National Guard.

## Stalinists 'Vote Socialist' in Phila.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The Communist Party bookshop and offices here display large signs saying "Vote Socialist" and announcing

local Socialist Party radio broadcasts. Lacking sufficient signatures under the County Commissioner's rules, the Communist Party has failed to get on the ballot. Although Stalinist support was not solicited by the right wing controlled Socialist Party here, nor is there a pretense at a "United Labor Ticket," and it is not a matter of actually electing S. P. candidates against a reactionary clique, the Stalinists are giving unreserved support to the S. P., making no criticism of them, presenting no independent position.

In former years when a small party lacked sufficient forces to be placed on the ballot, a vigorous sticker and "write-in" campaign was conducted. Today, the C. P., without any embarrassment gives unstinting support to the reformists.

Next year there will be a ticket representing the revolutionary position for workers of Philadelphia to support—the ticket of the Workers Party.

## Sugar Workers Strike For Recognition

TRACY, Cal., Oct. 30.—Forced to strike because of continued firing of union members, the Sugar Workers Union is conducting a strike for union recognition.

The Holly Sugar Corporation is determined that no union shall exist in any of its several large plants. The strikers are more than determined that the right of the workers to organize for decent wages, for sanitation, for seniority and for safety devices shall be maintained.

The busy or "campaign" season is on, and as a number of the men are skilled, the company's hand is being forced. Some men have already been asked to come back by Holly Sugar Corporation.

Aid is being sought from the various unions in the locality. The San Joaquin Labor Council has promised support. Since the teamsters and the tug-boat men bring in the sugar beets, they are being contacted in an effort to get them to declare Holly Sugar Corporation beets and sugar "hot cargo." It is essential to get the support of these two unions. However, difficulties stand in the way of securing this cooperation—reactionary bureaucrats in both the teamsters' and the tug-boat men's unions are stalling off representatives of the Sugar Workers Union.

Many of the men have never been in a trade union before but they are learning fast and having seen deputies herd the scabs, they can see who is on the side of labor and who is on the side of the industrialists. The fighting spirit is high. Picket lines are maintained 24 hours a day to get the scabs out and win the strike.

## Bldg. Trades Fight Scabs in Calif.

STOCKTON, Cal., Oct. 31.—The attempt made by the Western Engineering Co. of Los Angeles to use scab labor on a building job for the Taylor Milling Company has been met by a picket line of the local Building Trades Council. Workers here remember the mili-

tant strike of the warehouse men earlier this year. It is interesting to note that this selfsame Taylor Milling Company was one of the struck companies which finally "saw the light" and signed up. Workers of Stockton also will remember that it was in this previous strike that Ray Morency, militant I.L.A. warehouse men's leader met his death from a gun in the hands of the boss's son.

The Building Trades Council and the San Joaquin Labor Council have both placed the Western Building Company and the Taylor Milling Company on the "We don't patronize" list.

However, what is needed is not merely passive resistance and platonic "promises of support" but militant action. First, only 15 or 20 scabs are working, a mass picket line could easily prevent the scabs from continuing. Second, the warehouse men working in the mill should walk off in sympathy. Already they have helped in picketing when not busy handling loads.

This paradoxical situation of Building Trades men striking the part of the mill that is being constructed, while warehouse men handle grain in another part must be ended, and a lesson in union solidarity taught to the gentlemen of the Taylor Milling Company as well as a real example of cooperation shown to the rest of Stockton labor.

# NEW PAMPHLETS

We are now embarking on a new program of pamphlet publication to be issued and distributed by the NEW MILITANT business office. The first pamphlet to be published under this arrangement deals with the burning question of war, written by John West. It is already in the printers' hands and should be out within a couple of weeks.

Into its forty-eight pages is crammed a thorough Marxist analysis of imperialist wars. It is entirely up-to-date, dealing with the issues involved in the war in Ethiopia and the present conflicting imperialist interests that threaten to expand this war into a general world conflagration. The role of the League of Nations, the role of social-patriotism and the agents of social-patriotism in the present war situation is thoroughly dealt with.

In this pamphlet by comrade West we have a veritable arsenal of unassailable Marxist arguments. In sum and substance it plans the banner of revolutionary Marxism right in the teeth of the imperialist war mongers.

This pamphlet will retail at 10 cents and party branches should send in their orders right away. Better yet, any orders paid in advance will speed the actual appearance of this pamphlet. The wholesale price is 7 cents per copy for 10 copies or more, with special arrangements for special sized orders; but credit will be given only to a limited extent.

It is important to remember, however, that the distribution of this pamphlet is considered a very important part of the party's campaign against war. It must therefore be given the widest possible circulation. Branches would do well by assigning to themselves a definite quota of pamphlets to distribute and set to work immediately.

Other pamphlets are on the schedule and will follow in short order. From comrade Trotsky we receive a promise of manuscript for a pamphlet on the Seventh Comintern Congress. A pamphlet on the A. F. of L., by Arne Swaback is also in preparation. Others will be announced subsequently.

**CHICAGO MEETING**  
"The Danger of a New World War"  
Speaker: ALBERT GLOTZER  
Member Natl. Committee, W.P.  
TUESDAY, NOV. 12, 8 P.M.  
1237 N. California Ave.  
Ausp: Branch 2, W.P., Chicago

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# THE MANAGER'S CORNER

One thousand new subscribers and a corresponding increase in bundle sales by the time of the second Workers Party convention on December 26. This is our next aim. It is modest enough, in fact we have been deliberate in setting such a modest aim in order to make sure that it will be reached.

Reaching this aim will also mean that the funds necessary to launch the eight-page weekly will be at hand. The eight-page weekly will be assured, and it will start out with a larger circulation. These two propositions are tied together in the general objective of a stronger and more effective press.

It is necessary to remember at all times that the press is our main instrument. But just now, with the war clouds thickening everywhere, there is a special occasion to devote extraordinary efforts to build up the press and lay the foundation for a stronger party.

Each party branch has been asked to accept a definite quota of new subscriptions to be obtained during the period set. But this does not preclude the assistance of others. On the contrary, we welcome every reader as an active participant in this job. Similarly, we still welcome outright contributions for the eight-page weekly and we shall render a report from time to time as we continue to advance toward its realization.

But the central point is now the drive to gain the one thousand new subscribers and a corresponding increase in bundle sales. Let all comrades go to work without delay.

We print below the quotas for the branches. Let's pull together—100 subs by Convention time.

Albert Lea, Minn.....	10
Allentown, Pa.....	30
Austin, Minn.....	10
Berkeley, Cal.....	10
Boston, Mass.....	25
Charleston, W. Va.....	5
Chicago, Ill.....	50
Cleveland, Ohio.....	25
Columbus, Ohio.....	10
Davenport, Iowa.....	10
Detroit, Mich.....	25
Dickson City, Pa.....	5
Fargo, S. Dakota.....	10
Gulfport, Miss.....	10
High Point, N. C.....	5
Kansas City, Mo.....	10
Los Angeles, Cal.....	25
Minneapolis, Minn.....	75
Mount Carmel, Pa.....	5
Newark, N. J.....	20
New Castle, Pa.....	10
New Haven, Conn.....	10
New York City.....	400
Branch 1.....	90
Branch 2.....	40
Branch 3.....	75
Branch 4.....	30
Branch 5.....	20
Branch 6.....	15
Branch 7.....	15
Branch 8.....	10
General District work.....	100
Northampton, Pa.....	5
Paterson, N. J.....	10
Philadelphia, Pa.....	30
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	25
Plentywood, Mont.....	10
St. Louis, Mo.....	10
Salt Lake City, Utah.....	10
San Francisco, Cal.....	20
Springfield, Ill.....	5
Toledo, Ohio.....	25
Utica, N. Y.....	5
Washington, D. C.....	10
Williston, N. Dakota.....	10
Youngstown, Ohio.....	10
City Quota.....	20
Akron, Ohio.....	20
Total.....	1,000

# Japanese Military Seizes North China Province

(Continued from Page 1)

Nanking and as such might have drawn the fire of a desperate man who wanted somehow to express his opposition to Nanking's betrayal of the country. Information has been too scanty to say, but the shooting might equally as well have been part of the foul political intrigues always in progress inside the Kuomintang camp. None of us would have mourned Stalin's friend Wang, but the would-be assassin was a bum shot and Wang is recovering.

### Sowing Up the North

Japan has meanwhile blotted out the last vestiges of even nominal Chinese authority in North China, has taken over the policing of Tientsin and Peiping, compelled the resignation of the mayors of those two cities and the liquidation of the organ of Chiang Kai-shek's authority in the North.

One key to understanding what is going on is the fact that the Japanese have decided to get rid of Chiang. He has grown stronger than they like any one general to be. The defeats he inflicted upon the Red Armies, his conquests of the western provinces, his acquisition of the rich opium revenues at their source in Szechwan and Kweichow placed Chiang and the government he dominates in a position of authority greater than they have ever had.

Moreover, Chiang, while selling out to the Japanese at every juncture, has always played a wily game, keeping himself out in the hinterland and dealing with the Japanese only through underlings, like Wang Ching-wei or Huang Fu. The Japanese have tired of this game. They want the Nanking government to sign over its recognition of Manchukuo and of Japan's dominant position in China, politically and economically, and they want it done directly and formally by the Central government.

### Britain's Maneuver

It is into this situation, Japanese imperialism aggressive, Nanking submitting but truculently and with an ill-grace, that British imperialism has edged its hand. The sudden announcement came on Nov. 4 that China had devaluated her currency, ordered nationalization of the country's silver stocks and in effect pegged a new Chinese paper dollar to sterling. These steps, long-heralded by the disastrous flow of silver from the country (due in part to China's inordinately heavy adverse trade balance, the price she pays for imperialist patronage, and in part to America's silver buying which only accelerated the flow of silver outward) were taken at the advice of Sir Frederick

Leith-Ross, a British Treasury official now attached to Nanking as a financial adviser.

That Nanking took this step apparently without previously consulting Japan, is alone sufficient to show that a certain amount of definite British backing had been promised. Talk was current of a \$50,000,000 (U.S. currency) loan which was denied but which remains in the air. The War Office and Foreign Office in Tokyo were openly furious over this development and the Japanese banks in Shanghai will probably try to sabotage the effort at nationalization by refusing to surrender their silver stocks. Meanwhile the Japanese press has started fulminating at both Britain and Nanking. The currency reform is called a "return of the pro-European or pro-American clique" (T. V. Soong and Co.) and dire threats of military action have been resumed.

### Seeking New Markets

What these developments mean is simply this: Chiang Kai-shek, aware that the Japanese mean to smash him whether he crawls to them or not, has decided to give as much to the Japanese as he has to, but at the same time to seek other imperialist aid to bolster his position against the Japanese. He started doing this as early as last June when he sent W. W. Yen on a tour of European capitals and had Alfred Sze make a definite appeal for help in Washington. The latter appeal went unheeded because Roosevelt considered his silver-purchasing program of more immediate importance. But in London steps were taken which resulted in the sending of Frederick Leith-Ross to China and ever since then talk of a British loan has been in the air.

Another important current must be watched: press reports, mostly Japanese-inspired, to be sure, say Nanking is looking once more to Moscow for an entente. These reports are probably not true at the moment—but it is not impossible that they may become true if Nanking actually tries trailing for a while behind British imperialism instead of Japan. If the policies of Baldwin and Laval can "coincide" with Moscow's "peace policy" why not those of Chiang Kai-shek? For the time being, however, Nanking will surrender to Japan with one hand, hold on to Britain with the other. The result, as always, will be paid for by the Chinese masses, for whom devaluation, with its consequent rise in prices and financial chaos (where already there was anarchy) means the utmost hardships increased a hundredfold.

# WHAT ARE SANCTIONS?

## "Collective Effort for Peace" or Imperialist Battle for Empire?

By ARNE SWABECK

Fifty-two nations, including the Soviet Union, have voted to enforce sanctions, under the League of Nations covenant, against Fascist Italy. Liberals, pacifists and labor organizations, with but few exceptions throughout the world, support sanctions. A similar position is taken by the Second and the Third Internationals. In union, both of these Internationals have become aggressive supporters of sanctions ever since this ingenious device was invented by the capitalist statesmen at Geneva.

The fateful days of 1914 had for their rallying cry the "defense of the fatherland." Is history now repeating itself? Are not issues of similarly fateful consequences to the future of the whole of humanity joined-up in this rallying cry of 1935—the cry of sanctions?

What will sanctions mean when actually enforced? Are they to be purely financial and economic or are they to be military? Is it true that the sanctions to be invoked by the League of Nations represent the collective efforts of these nations to punish an aggressor and to stop war, or do they mean the extension of the war in Ethiopia on a far more colossal scale. This is the first and most essential question that confronts the working class.

For an answer it is necessary to examine at least the most outstanding factors involved.

### The Causes of War

It has been said—and correctly so—that war is the continuation of politics by military means. Imperialist wars arise from the constant struggle between the powers for increased rations in world economy. All imperialist powers today feel the consequences of the economic crisis. The vast expansion of their productive forces presses them onward inexorably and irresistibly in the struggle for new markets and new colonial fields where they can tap the sources of raw materials, invest surplus capital and extract new and greater profits. On every continent they are openly advancing for new conquests. Owing to the severe defeats which the workers have suffered under Fascist onslaughts, the imperialist gamblers feel free to engage in a continuation of the conflict for increased economic rations by military means.

It is, of course, not the particular aggressor attitude of one or the other of these powers that produces war. This merely expresses a readiness to strike out for new territories. Fascist Italy has embarked on its course of expansion at the

expense of the last of the independent African states. But in a world already divided into colonies and spheres of influence such a course must inevitably become a struggle for redistribution of markets, involving in the first instance those powers having the greatest possessions. And so, in this case, Fascist Italy came into direct conflict with the British Empire.

### Britain and Italy

These two imperialist powers, Britain and Italy, are the major adversaries in the present war situation and in no case can the clash be considered a conflict of democracy versus dictatorship, as it is presented today. They are typical of a power pressing forward in the struggle for expansion and a power seeking to maintain its present possessions. On the one side is Fascist Italy, caught in its inability to stem the tide of its own internal economic and political contradictions, desperately seeking an outlet through the restoration of Caesar's empire. On the other side is the existing British Empire on which the sun never sets.

Britain had centuries to consolidate her position. Tapping vast resources all over the world, deriving countless profits from the sweat and blood of millions of subjected peoples, she enjoyed a privileged imperialist position and could not tolerate any rivals. Her diplomats scored easy victories—with the British navy standing by. Now she is hard pressed throughout the world; the diplomatic victories have become questionable; elements of decay are apparent and expressed even in the reactionary attitude of the bureaucratic leaders of her official labor movement in support of sanctions, not merely out of pacifist motivations, but in solidarity with the continued oppression of the millions of colonial peoples by the imperialist masters. 7,287,937 square miles containing a population of 446,191,000 is the extent of these possessions, dominion and colonial, that touch every continent. What is popularly called the imperial life line, begins at Gibraltar and extends through the Mediterranean, through the Suez Canal, the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden to the Indian Ocean. All along this line the British navy must remain supreme if the imperial possessions are to be retained unchallenged.

### Not Ethiopia—the British Empire

The British rulers are not concerned with the independence of Ethiopia. Only too often have they proceeded with fire and sword to crush the independence of other native peoples. No, their sole concern

is the preservation of their own far-flung colonial empire. That Ethiopia's independence could be sacrificed easily enough was shown by the action of the League of Nations Council last summer. By a unanimous vote of all its members, including the Soviet Union, a resolution was adopted to dismember Ethiopia on the basis of the robber treaty of 1906 between Italy, Britain and France. But Mussolini truculently rejected this offer inasmuch as he wanted possession of Ethiopia for Fascist Italy alone.

Indirectly this spells danger to the British Empire through the prospects of uprisings by the millions of peoples it now holds in subjection. But much more directly, this threatens to cut the imperial life line. Fascist Italy is building fortifications in Eritrea, on the coast of the Red Sea, and it is aiming for naval and aerial supremacy in the Mediterranean. This is the most immediate issue around which the war clouds are thickening today and the main motivating force behind the swift action of Britain for sanctions at Geneva.

### The Many-Sided Danger of War

Obviously the League of Nations has not in the least, and could not in the least, serve to remove, or even to diminish, the causes of imperialist war. Organized as an imperialist instrument to ensure the spoliation of the victors in the last war, and to maintain their hegemony, its numerous disarmament conferences served as a screen behind which all the capitalist powers, without exception, managed to perfect their armaments. New issues of conflict between these victors were, of course, inevitable. Japan some time ago embarked on its conquest of Manchuria, to extend its domination over China, and is now a constant threat to the borders of the Soviet Union. Fascist Germany is rearming feverishly in preparation for the time when its cruel regime can no longer bridge the gap of its internal contradictions; it will endeavor to find an outlet by means of new conquests. The imperialists of the United States have proclaimed neutrality while engaging in ever more extensive naval maneuvers in the Pacific with an eye to a future establishment of a base in China, in order to raise the question of possession of India at the next historical stage.

On the battlefields of Ethiopia war has become a reality. The guns of the highly mechanized Fascist armies are spitting fire in the campaign to ravage and subjugate the

native population. The capitalist powers in the League of Nations proclaim their peaceful intentions while all of them are arming to the teeth; some of them in order to use the first opportunity to spring to like conquests and others in order to defend their present possessions to the end. There may yet be an intermission before the general conflagration; but in any event the war that has already started in Ethiopia is only a prelude to the much greater catastrophe now in preparation under the rallying cry of sanctions.

### "Good-Intentioned" Treachery

Only on this background can the question of sanctions be properly understood. And yet in this situation the Stalinist party, through the Daily Worker, informs us that: "The next step must be punishment of the guilty—sanctions." It exhorts: "All opponents of war and Fascism should support this policy and demand that the League of Nations bar all trade with Italy and close the Suez Canal."

In the thieves jargon of diplomacy, sanctions, in their ultimate implication, mean war. Mussolini said so. Stanley Baldwin repeats it, although much less boldly, and with many disguising hypocritical trimmings. Nevertheless the leaders of the British Labor Party, the leader of the British Stalinist party, in a recent address before a London district conference of the party, formulated his demands upon the British government as follows: "But we also demand the closing of the Suez Canal, and the carrying out of the Covenant of the League of Nations, because we believe that all these measures can prevent Mussolini going to war, and we must utilize the present contradictions in the capitalist world, and force economic and military sanctions if necessary."

We may grant that Pollitt has other intentions than Stanley Baldwin, but the way to hell is paved with good intentions. Pollitt together with the leaders of the British Labor Party may criticize the National government, each in his own way, but this can only be incidental to the decisive issue of sanctions. And let it be noted, it is the League of Nations, and with it the British government, that are in this case called upon to close the Suez Canal and to enforce sanctions, "economic and military." Consequently the government is to be supported on this decisive issue. Behind this rallying cry of sanctions the British worker is being led into united support of the Tory government—the real enemy of the workers. To this enemy is to be entrusted the guarantee of peace.

### Democracy Versus Dictatorship?

While at this time particularly the League of Nations should be exposed for what it is and the mask of hypocrisy torn off from the face of the imperialists, old illusions in the League are being strengthened and a new confidence of the workers in the Tory government is being built up. A new national union is being created with the connivance of Labor Party and Stalinist leaders

for was: "The N.E.C. program provides the issues upon which we shall fight—Against the Roosevelt armament campaign; against war and imperialist tricks that lead to war!"

If the line taken toward the N.E.C. resolution is going to be the consistent line of the "Militant" leaders, then they must in all consistency prepare a new report on the Bauer-Zyromski thesis. If the N.E.C. resolution deserves the headline it got, then Bauer-Zyromski deserve a headline: "Left Wing Calls for World Revolution" (which the Bauer-Zyromski thesis does call for, just as much as the N.E.C. calls for a labor boycott, in both cases the "progressive" slogan being inextricably linked up with the reactionary program). If the N.E.C. resolution deserves the characterization it receives from the Socialist Call, then the Bauer-Zyromski thesis should receive a new report, beginning: "Launching a worldwide campaign against war." "Sounding anew the Socialist call for mass resistance," etc., etc.

### What Socialist Workers Should Do

But to those Socialist workers who wish to be consistently revolutionary, we say: The answer to Bauer-Zyromski is a good beginning. It must not be permitted to remain an abstraction. Zyromski himself for years maintained, in bare words, the idea of renunciation of the defense of the fatherland. Because he was permitted to bring the idea out for special occasions but never applied it to the day by day problems, it is now possible for Zyromski, having gone over to the social-patriots, to drag along with him many of his followers in the left wing. Remember the fate of Zyromski's followers. Take, rather, the opposite road of Zyromski's co-leader of the French left wing, Marceau Pivert. He did not permit the idea of revolutionary struggle against war to remain an abstraction; he applied it, and today he stands in the forefront of the Revolutionary Left

ers which, regardless of intentions, can lead only to war for the maintenance of the British imperial possessions.

Britain is today in the center of the war developments but it is not alone; nor is the position taken by the British Stalinists an exception. We are informed by the Daily Worker, for instance, that the C.P. of Czechoslovakia on October 7 cabled the League of Nations demanding "the immediate application of effective economic and military sanctions against Italy." Here is a voice from another "democratic" country which the Comintern has declared as its policy to defend against Fascism. But it is not the voice of the revolutionary workers. Can anyone conceive of Czechoslovakia, or Britain, or the United States, or any other capitalist democratic country, really going to war to defend the democratic rights of the people against Fascism? Need there be any doubt that the war they will wage will be for imperialist issues? And we might add, is it not more likely that when the war actually breaks out that serious efforts will be made by the capitalist rulers of these countries to transform them into Fascist states?

For the Stalinist parties the support of sanctions is not an accident; nor can it be regarded as just another mistake. It is a part of a whole system of policies which, once such a course is embarked upon, could lead to no other results. This system of policies proceeds consistently from reliance on pacts and treaties between the Soviet Union and the capitalist powers, instead of reliance on the proletarian revolution, to support of the League of Nations and to support of the capitalist governments in carrying out sanctions. In turn sanctions becomes the deceptive device for the mobilization of the masses for imperialist war.

### Shall It Be 1914 Again?

What we have before us in this question is imperialist sanctions, for imperialist ends, and not working class action to prevent war. The two are not complementary, as the new-baked defenders of the remnants of bourgeois democracy would have us believe. These two are opposite poles. It is therefore necessary to emphasize that not only are issues, as fateful in their consequences to the future of the whole of humanity, joined up in this question of sanctions as was the case of the rallying cry of the "defense of the fatherland"; but also to add, that another historic betrayal is in preparation, and this time on a far more colossal scale. In 1914, national unity within the imperialist powers and the plunging of millions into the bloody battlefield was preceded by the treason of social democracy. Today the demand for sanctions can lead only to restoration of national unity behind the capitalist governments to plunge the masses into another and far more terrible conflagration—a repetition of the betrayal of 1914—this time, however, participated in by the social democrats and the Stalinists jointly.

Still it remains as true as ever that only working class action can prevent war. Liebknecht warned that the enemy is at home; and in this respect nothing has changed since. Therefore the duty of the revolutionists is clear. It is the irreconcilable struggle to overthrow capitalism as the only way to do away with imperialist war.

# "Militant" Socialists and the Bauer-Dan-Zyromski Thesis

(By the Editorial Board)

(Continued from last week)

The NEW MILITANT of October 5 published a critique of the war program of the Militant Socialists, as embodied in their general program presented at the "Socialist Call" Institute this Fall. Last week we analyzed the war resolution adopted October 12 by the N.E.C. of the S. P. Further discussion of the Militant Socialist program on war is required by the publication in the "Socialist Call" of October 12 of the chauvinist Bauer-Zyromski thesis and a short answer to it signed by the "Call" editorial board and by the Socialist Call reception of the N. E. C. resolution.

The proverbial man from Mars would be able to reconcile the October 12 answer to Bauer-Zyromski with the October 26 editorial and news story on the N. E. C. resolution, only on the assumption that the two issues had been written by entirely different groups. The correct explanation is, however, much more simple: two utterly irreconcilable tendencies still exist side by side within the camp of the Militant Socialists; the weight of tradition and the relationship of forces within the Socialist Party favor the tendency which found expression in the issue of October 26; if there are revolutionary Socialists who naively believed that the advances in theory recorded in the October 12 answer to Bauer-Zyromski were permanently secured, they have been thoroughly disillusioned by the fawning reception accorded on October 26 to the N.E.C. war resolution.

### Significance of Answer to Bauer-Zyromski

But if the answer to Bauer-Zyromski represents no permanently assured advance, it undoubtedly marks a new stage in the development of our discussion with Left wing Socialists on the vital questions of war. Hitherto, our discussion has been in terms of opposing to the pacifistic and utterly unrealistic war program of the Militants, the system of ideas on war developed by Lenin. We enter now a new stage because the answer to Bauer-Zyromski accepts a number of the fundamental Leninist ideas on war never previously accepted by the Militants. If, within two

short weeks, they attempt to place side by side with these Leninist conceptions the totally different conceptions adopted by the N.E.C. of the S.P., we shall demonstrate to all Socialists who really seek the revolutionary road that the revolutionary struggle against war involves the repudiation of the N.E.C. resolution.

The October 12 answer to Bauer-Zyromski is particularly significant for the following ideas:

### Develops Opposition to National Defense

1. As we pointed out in our criticism of the first "Militant" program, it was insufficient to merely say "against national defense;" this had to be implemented by explicit differentiation from the Bauer-Zyromski stripe of "left" chauvinists, by specific denunciation of the doctrine of defense of democracy against fascist countries, by refusal to support the American government in a military alliance with the Soviet Union. All this is now corrected in the answer to Bauer-Zyromski.

### Repudiates All Capitalist Instruments

2. It provides the clearest statement ever made by Militant Socialists in repudiation of the League of Nations as necessarily a capitalist instrument. On this point it sharply criticizes the Bauer-Zyromski thesis: "Instead of rejecting the capitalist instruments whose imperialist character the thesis recognizes (League of Nations, democratic governments), the document urges their support. . . (and) completely fails to recognize the only alternative to these imperialist snares—reliance upon independent action of the working class."

### For Real Internationalism

3. It sharply and clearly breaks with the Stalinist and social-chauvinist theory of "defending the Soviet Union" by pandering to the foreign diplomacy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. "Just as working class governments can be the only reliable allies of a working class revolution in Germany, so too only a working class government can be a reliable ally of the Soviet Union. Only a working class revolution in one or more capitalist countries can give real defense to the Soviet Union. But if the working class is

called upon to 'do its duty' every time the imperialist powers fall out, such a proletarian revolution is permanently impossible. . . to give up rich opportunities for revolution outside of Russia in order to 'defend the Soviet Union' will in the long run mean the defeat both of the Soviet Union and the world revolution."

### Drops General Strike Myth, Adopts Leninist Struggle Against War

4. Most important of all is the new conception of how to fight against war. Our analysis of the original "Militant" program particularly criticized their acceptance of the myth of the general strike as a realistic method of struggle; we pointed out that this slogan is alien to Lenin's teachings on war; that it is not complementary to, but a substitute for the Leninist program of turning the imperialist war into civil war. While not explicitly repudiating the theory of the general strike against war, the answer to Bauer-Zyromski actually throws it overboard and moves toward a Leninist position on this fundamental question. It says:

"To utilize a war crisis for proletarian revolution, the working class must from the very beginning of the war go into a position of opposition, must organize the natural resentment that must develop against the ravages of the war, must prepare an offensive against the government through strikes and demonstrations, must foment revolt in the army." And it concludes:

"The capitalist cry to imperialist war must be answered by the working class war of emancipation. Only the working class can, by its own power, overthrow fascism and defend the Soviet Union. The Socialist parties of the world must call upon the working class to answer the threat of war and of fascism with the seizure of power for Socialism."

Many of the questions raised in our original critique of the "Militant" war program remain unanswered. Here, however, we wish to concentrate on one main point: Contrast the principles enunciated by the "Militants" in their answer to Bauer-Zyromski, with the principles of the N.E.C. resolution.

What the "Militants" said of the Bauer-Zyromski thesis applies

equally to the N.E.C. resolution: "It is precisely because of this basic contradiction between revolutionary intentions (meaning phrases) and advocacy of reactionary practice that the thesis is dangerous unless it is subject to a thorough analysis." But thorough analysis is precisely what the "Militants" did not give the N.E.C. resolution. They whitewashed it instead.

Recall the main points of the N.E.C. resolution. Like the Bauer-Zyromski thesis it parades a "forthright" expose of imperialist designs and calls for working class vigilance and activity, only to arrive at a reactionary program:

### N.E.C. Supports Capitalist "Peace" Instruments

1. It commits the same crime as the Stalinists, the outright chauvinists, and the "left" chauvinists like Bauer-Zyromski, by calling upon the working class to put the struggle against war into the hands of the imperialists themselves, by calling upon the working class to depend on capitalist instruments for peace-making. The N.E.C. resolution does this by calling for the reform of the League of Nations, which is theoretically impossible under capitalism, and also by calling for neutrality legislation. We need not repeat here the critical analysis of this reactionary conception, which we published last week. We quote another paragraph from the N.E.C. resolution, which shows how identical with the chauvinist demand for governmental sanctions is the N.E.C. demand for American governmental action:

"Specifically, we ask the organized trade unions and the unorganized workers to unite in a nationwide effort to force through Congress, in the early days of the coming session, legislation which will assure American neutrality so far as official acts can do so. The present neutrality law should be revised and stiffened; more significantly, it should be extended to cover loans and credits, public or private, to any belligerent."

"Militant" leaders! What is the difference between this appeal to capitalist instruments and that of the European and Stalinist chauvinists?

2. The N.E.C. repeats its usual farrago of pacifist anti-war bunk: ". . . for a program of war resis-

tance in a war emergency, including refusal to be conscripted for military service" . . . "nothing can finally prevent the waste and slaughter of another conflict save the combination of courageous war resistance by American youth and a united strike against war by organized labor, technicians and professional workers generally."

"Militant" leaders! What has this bombast in common with the doctrines you have signed your name to in your answer to Bauer-Zyromski? "Refusal to be conscripted" would mean, if actually carried out, the slaughter and isolation in concentration camps of the small number who, ready to fight against war on the day it breaks out, should be sent into the army to foment the revolt which the answer to Bauer-Zyromski rightly calls for. The "united strike" against war is the vicious myth of the general strike which blinds workers to the hard, uphill struggle which begins, not with mythical and impossible political strikes against war but with the elementary task of carrying on economic strikes and anti-war propaganda until the ravages of war shall have created the necessary preconditions for raising this struggle to the level of preparation for civil war.

How did the Socialist Call greet this vicious combination of "anti-war" struggle by way of governmental instruments and pacifist "resistance"?

### "Militants" Cover Up N.E.C.

It greeted it with a three-bank headline covering half its front page: "Socialists Urge Labor Boycott of Italian Goods." It greeted it with a news-story which characterized the document in these terms: "Launching a nationwide campaign against war and preparations for war," "Sounding anew the Socialist call for mass resistance and opposition to all war"—with not a word in the news-story about the N.E.C. proposals for reforming the League of Nations, seeking neutrality legislation, refusal of conscription and "united strike"! And to finish off, the "Socialist Call" carried an editorial, saying: "Congratulations to the national executive committee of the Socialist Party for a fine job at its quarterly meeting last week-end." Among the things it congratulated the N.E.C.

### ANNOUNCEMENT

The Newark branch of the Workers Party is running a theater party at the Civic Repertory theater on both Nov. 28, Thanksgiving day evening, and Nov. 30 matinee. The play is the Theater Union production of "Mother," based on the Gorki novel of that name. Comrades wishing tickets can write to Lew Merrit, 545 Belmont Ave., Newark. Tickets sell for 30c, 45c, 60c, 75c and \$1.00.

# Mpls. W. P. on Role Of Farmer-Labor Party

(Continued from Page 1)

200 more police, Latimer callously assents.

4. On July 24, Mayor Latimer convenes a secret conference of trade union reactionaries in his reception room, and calls for—what? For higher wages, for full support of the workers in their struggles? NO, he calls for industrial peace!

5. A 35 percent relief increase was taken from the unemployed by the Farmer-Labor administration. Riot squads were twice (Sept. 13, Sept. 27) used against unemployed demonstrations.

6. Latimer proposed 1,200 traffic police, to be taken from the relief rolls. Everyone knows that these 1,200 police would be used as strike-breakers.

Such, in brief, is the record of the Farmer-Labor administration in its first three months of rule—a criminal record of betrayals to its campaign pledges.

### SOME SERIOUS QUESTIONS

Arrogant acts such as these FORCE every worker in Minneapolis—and in the state—to ask some serious questions about the whole idea of a Farmer-Labor party, and whether or not its actions will always be directly opposed to its avowed aims.

What, for instance, is the Farmer-Labor policy towards the trade unions? The truth is that the only F.-L. policy is—to get votes from trade unionists!

Whom does the F.-L. party support in the trade union movement? Does it support the progressives who have made real gains for the workers in the past two years? NO! In every instance, the F.-L. party bases itself upon the most reactionary right-wingers—the Cunningshams, the Boscos, the Lawsons, and all the other Starkeys. This fact has an unmistakable significance for every thinking worker.

What would a real workers' party have done had it, instead of the Farmer-Labor party, been elected to office. A real workers' party would have ousted all reactionaries from appointive offices. A real workers' party would have shaken up the relief administration, put in progressives, retained the 35 per cent in relief, and fought for further increases! A real workers' party would refuse to give police protection to union-hating employers, to all such social pariahs. Instead, it would have used the police to shut down the plants and keep them shut down until such employers would concede the demands of the trade unions. A real workers' party would never tolerate such butchers as Forestal, Ohman and Goergan on the police department. And if the business men objected? A real workers' party would still fearlessly proceed in the above manner, and if necessary, be forced out of office rather than betray the workers into the hands of their mortal enemies, the employers.

### WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Yes, you working men and women of Minneapolis will say. That is what we want, that is what we expected. The Farmer-Labor party would give us when we elected it to office against the combined efforts of the boss parties. We admit we have been hideously betrayed—but what shall we do?

On the basis of the betrayals suffered by you at the hands of the Farmer-Labor party, you must withdraw from that party and join the Workers Party of the United States—the only party today that,

## Wall Street Terror in Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

work for which they are unfitted. Anita Bremer, chairman of the Committee on Cuba of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, will speak on the Cuban terror at a meeting of the N.P.L.D., November 13, at the headquarters of Local 48, I.L.G. W.U., 231 West 14th Street.

At the request of the National Committee for Amnesty, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense is rallying American labor organizations to the support of the Cuban working class organizations, which can now exist only illegally. Not a single political or trade union headquarters is permitted to open in Cuba.

The newly organized Labor and Socialist Defense Committee, of which Norman Thomas is chairman, in response to information forwarded to them by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, has sent letters of protest to President Menéndez of Cuba, Secretary of State Cordell Hull and American Ambassador Jefferson Caffery, and has asked the Non-Partisan Labor Defense to convey to the Cuban Amnesty Committee "our warmest fraternal greetings and sincere hope that success will soon come to our united efforts."

The Cuban Amnesty Committee has asked the Non-Partisan Labor Defense to initiate a broad united front movement of American labor organizations to aid the Cuban workers.

both in theory and practice, shows that it can answer your needs and your demands. If you are not yet convinced of the necessity for this action, we say: Stay in the Farmer-Labor party and seriously and conscientiously work within its ranks to make it function for the workers. It is our studied opinion that such work is hopeless, is doomed to failure. All history mocks at the idea of a reformist party winning any permanent gains for the workers. But if you still feel the need of attempting such a fight, make the attempt. The Workers Party of the U. S. will aid you in every possible way.

The DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES of the Workers Party of the United States has this to say about the Farmer-Labor Party and all such reformist parties:

"In the period of capitalist decline, so-called reformist parties cannot pretend to the progressive role they have played decades ago. Political and economic concessions can now be wrested from the capitalist class only by means of the most resolute and militant class struggle. Besides, any party which purports to represent two or more classes on an equal footing, or to direct its appeals 'to all classes' is essentially a middle class party doomed to irresolution and surrender to the big capitalists in every decisive test. . . . Another dangerous aspect of middle class reform movements, in the present period, is the fact that they easily fall prey to those demagogic appeals, chauvinistic slogans and reactionary ideas of class harmony which are the hallmark of the fascist movement. . . . The revolutionary party will show by theory and historical example, and above all by its own activities that the actual consequences of the policies of reform movements, here as in all other countries, are directly opposed to their avowed aims, that they act to preserve capitalism, and hence are inimical to the interests of the workers."

**BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**

There are several other parties and individuals currying political favor among the workers in Minneapolis. For the most part, they play, and have played a sorry role. The absolutely unprincipled Communist Party (Stalinists) deserves contempt. Our party literature has already dealt fully and adequately with the fundamental errors and the history of this group. It is enough to remind serious workers that the Stalinists have led the workers in China, England, Germany, and Spain to defeats, not to victories. Today they are pursuing a fatal policy in France. In Minneapolis during the last election campaign, this group attacked everyone indiscriminately, including the

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## Hundreds at Tour Meetings

(Continued from Page 1)

editor of the New International, was scheduled to speak, were frustrated by the organized campaign of intimidation which the Chamber of Commerce and its satellites have organized against the Workers Party in Davenport. Significantly enough, neither the Socialist Party nor the Communist Party find any particular difficulty in securing public halls for their meetings. The Workers Party, on the contrary, due particularly to its revolutionary activity among the unemployed in the past, has been put on the reactionary blacklist. Plans were laid at a branch meeting attended by Shachtman for a campaign, to extend beyond Davenport if necessary, to force the local authorities and other reactionary forces to back down from their position and make it possible for the W.P. to enjoy the same facilities now freely at the disposal of other organizations.

ALBERT LEA, Minn.: A splendid meeting of almost 100 workers was

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# Professor Sidney Hook

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- MARXISM AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY**  
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International Workers School, 55 East 11th Street, N. Y. C.

Farmer-Labor party. Today it has made a right-about-face and meekly seeks admission into the—Farmer-Labor party! Further than that, it would seek to give us a national Farmer-Labor party. Instead of one Latimer, it would give the workers in the United States a hundred such betrayers. Actually today the Stalinists stand on many points at the RIGHT of the Farmer-Labor and the Socialist parties.

The Socialist party, both here and on an international plane, carries out on a large scale all the fundamental errors of the Farmer-Labor party. It advocates class collaboration, betrays colonial revolts, supports imperialist war, suppresses revolutionary struggles of the workers, and conducts no struggle against the reactionaries in the trade union movement. Even more recently than the Farmer-Labor betrayal at the Flour City plant, the Socialist-led city government of Milwaukee has used the police to attack strikers and to arrest strike leaders.

It is a hopeless task to remove the unscrupulous bureaucracies controlling the Socialist and Communist parties in all countries. We call upon the present supporters of these parties to re-study the recent history of the world Socialist and Communist regimes in the light of the writings of Marx and Lenin, and to come over to the only revolutionary international group in this country, the Workers Party of the United States.

We say again, as we said in our pre-election statement: Minneapolis workers, in joint and common action with the workers in the rest of the state and nation, must build their own revolutionary party. The Workers Party of the United States submits (in pamphlet form) the PROGRAM AND PRINCIPLES, and WHICH PARTY FOR THE AMERICAN WORKERS) its program to all working men and women, and to the working class youth. We are confident that it fits the needs of the working class. It can be made a living thing and reach fulfillment only through militant struggle.

**STUDY THE PROGRAM!  
JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES!  
BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!**

Minneapolis branch, W. P., 631 Third Avenue South.

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held in this small community with comrade Max Shachtman speaking on the Italo-Ethiopian war and the threat of a world war. The audience, intensely interested throughout the lecture and the question period, met in the hall of the Independent Union of All Workers, and at the end contributed generously to the Workers Party fund. It is also gratifying to report that the County Committee of the Farmer-Labor party postponed its regular meeting downstairs to attend the Shachtman meeting in a body. The local W.P. is composed of the most militant and leading elements of the union in whose hall, generously donated for the occasion, the meeting was held. Southern Minnesota promises to become one of the W.P.'s strongest positions.

AUSTIN, Minn.: Under the chairmanship of one of the leaders of the famous strike against the Hormel packing plant, several dozen workers gathered in Firemen's Hall to hear Max Shachtman present the position of the Workers Party on the danger of a new world war. The party branch here is composed mainly of packing house workers and leading union militants, with every prospect of increasing its already substantial strength in the immediate future.

# Comintern Prepares Dissolution of Y. C. L.; To Change It into Innocuous Organization

By JOSEPH CARTER

The Young Communist International has decided to dissolve itself! Such is the meaning of the report of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. recently held in Moscow given by Gil Green, national secretary of the Young Communist League of the United States and member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

The Daily Worker (Nov. 2, 1935) informs us:

"Asked what new developments in the life of the Young Communist League would result from the Sixth Congress, Comrade Green stated:

"In the first place, the Congress established a new policy which proposes the reconstruction of the present Y.C.L. into a non-party mass organization which while clearly supporting a socialist goal will not take a position on how socialism is to be concretely accomplished, thus opening the way for organic unity with the Young People's Socialist League in all countries."

Reconstruction? Organizational, it means a fusion of the Y.C.L. and its innumerable youth clubs with the Y.P.S.L. and the countless liberal and semi-radical youth organizations which favor "a new social order" but are "vague" on how it can "be concretely accomplished." In a word, the conversion of the American Youth Congress into a membership organization—an "American Youth League!"

Politically, it signifies capitulation to the right centrist wing of social democracy, an explicit disavowal of the conception of a revolutionary youth movement established by the early congresses of the Comintern and Y.C.I. and an admission of failure and bankruptcy.

However, this "new policy"—as all organizational lines—results from basic political conceptions. In this case the politics underlying the new course were adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. In all essentials the decisions of the congress are identical with the position of the right centrists of the Second International, Theodor Dan of the Russian Menshevik party, Otto Bauer of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, Jean Zyromski and Amedeo Dunois of the French Socialist Party. (Compare their theses on "Socialism and the War Danger"—Socialist Call, Oct. 12, 1935—with the decisions of the Seventh Congress. It is worth noting that the October issue of the "Communist," official organ of the American C.P., reprints these theses.)

**Social Patriotic Organic Unity**

Given this basic agreement between the social-patriots, is it not logical that the same congress should decide in favor of "organic unity"? And now, in order to hasten this process, the Y.C.I. proposes organic unity with the Young Socialist International; and prepares itself by "reconstruction": abandonment in theory what it long ago deserted in practice, the revolutionary road to socialism.

What will this new organization offer as the solution of imperialism? Not the revolutionary struggle for socialism, but a medley of pacifist and social-patriotic claptrap!

This at a time when large sections of the Young Socialist International are taking the road of revolutionary Marxism! As they move to the left, away from reformism and social-patriotism, the Stalinists openly accept basic social democratic conceptions and offer organic unity on a program which omits the quintessential of Marxism: the road to socialism.

In France they have prepared the road for organic unity by directing the expulsion of the revolutionary Socialists of the Seine district who fought against social-patriotism. (Two leaders of the Y.C.I. were Mission!) sent to France with that as their

**Young Socialists Move Left**

In Belgium, among the Young Socialist Guard, they failed to make any impression. The leader of the Revolutionary Socialist Action group, which is very influential in the organization of young Socialists, has recently through its secretary, Walter Dauge, openly pledged solidarity with the expelled French youth in their struggle against social-patriotism.

In the United States, the Young People's Socialist League, particularly on the question of war, is far to the left, that is, closer to revolutionary Marxism, than the Young Communist League. At the American Youth Congress held early this year in Detroit, the Y.P.S.L. together with the Spartacus Youth League fought against the Stalinist youth (Y.C.L. and N.S.L.) in favor of a resolution opposing the United States government in any war that it may undertake. (The Stalinists were against this resolution because of its meaning in case of a military alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union!)

Far more striking is the manifesto issued by the national office of the Y.P.S.L. for International Socialist Youth Week, October 1 to

## Used as Bait to Lure Yipsels into Social-Patriotic Organic Unity

(Socialist Call, Sept. 21, 1935.)

The manifesto scores pacifism, the social-patriotism of the Communist International and, what is of special significance, the "social patriotism wherever it exists in the Socialist movement." Though not a clear statement of revolutionary, it marks a great stride forward in that direction.

### Manifesto of Yipsels

To quote the salient points: "Pacifists who hold out the prospect of peace through arbitration or disarmament confuse and weaken the fight of the working class against war. Only the struggle of the workers of each country against their own war-making capitalist class can delay the impending conflict. Only the conquest of power by the working masses and the destruction of capitalism can bring permanent peace to the world.

"At this most critical time, when a brief period for the mobilization of the labor movement against all capitalist war yet remains, we witness the spectacle of the Communist International holding its seventh congress and adopting a position identical with that of the social-patriots of 1914. To support 'democratic' governments against fascist governments, to refuse to take part in the revolutionary struggle against those imperialists who happen to be allied with the Soviet Union, to speak of 'progressive' wars fought by the capitalist governments in this day of imperialism is to desert even the pretense of

being a revolutionary movement.

"We oppose all imperialist war. We agree with the St. Louis Proclamation of the Socialist Party in 1917 that the only war that justifies the workers taking up arms is to free the working class from the chains of capitalism.

"Our task is to educate the entire membership of the League to understand the Socialist position on war and to train them to better carry on our anti-war activity. As part of such education and training must be a merciless criticism of pacifism and social-patriotism wherever it exists in the Socialist movement."

This is new language for the young Socialists. The Y.P.S.L. however, has never defined what it means by "conquest of power." A major task in the education of the young Socialists is precisely in the significance and form of the revolutionary road to socialism. On the question of war, it is essential that simultaneous with the clarifications of the general problems which it poses, the immediate practical issues be understood and coped with. These include the support of colonial and semi-colonial peoples in their war against imperialism (as in the case of Ethiopia today), the question of sanctions, "neutrality," and what constitutes a platform for the united front against war. In practice this will lead to a closer collaboration of the Y.P.S.L. and the S.Y.L.

The new course of the Young Communist League will not be welcomed by the militant young Social-

ists; except as another proof of Stalinist bankruptcy!

How will it be met by the members of the Y.C.L. who were never consulted prior to the adoption of the policy and are now presented with an accomplished fact—and asked "to discuss"? In so far as they have trained at all it has been the barracks training of soldiers receiving orders from above. Most of the young workers who enter the Y.C.L. to participate in the revolutionary labor movement reply to these orders by, after a few months stay, leaving the Y.C.L. Others remain "faithful" soldiers. Still others raise questions or dissent from the order and are expelled, usually for "Trotskyism."

However, the abrupt turn of the Young Communist International will undoubtedly awaken many of the young Stalinists out of their uncritical position. They will be compelled to re-evaluate the program they formerly accepted and be more receptive to revolutionary Marxism, the program of the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League.

The growing desire among the youth for revolutionary unity which is being distorted by the Young Communist International must be utilized for the genuine revolutionary movement. The turn to the right of the Y.C.I. as well as the turn to the left of the Y.P.S.L. present the Spartacus Youth League with exceptionally favorable conditions for presenting its program of revolutionary Marxism as the basis for the regroupment and unity of the militant youth in the struggle against imperialist war, Fascism and capitalism and for working class emancipation.

## A Stalinist Adventure in Gutter Journalism In the Footsteps of Hearst

The stench of the Chicago stockyards is notorious. Now an even more malodorous institution is issuing its products from there. We refer to the "People's Press," the tabloid journal that made its debut last week.

This "new jazzy tab," as it so gaily dubs itself, is the latest propaganda sheet emanating from the Stalinist camp. Its financial backing is reported to have come from sources and sympathizers. In any case, its editorial board headed by Frank Palmer of the Federated Press, long a Stalinist stooge, and including Carl Haessler, Harvey O'Connor, Arthur Kallet and James Waterman Wise is thoroughly Stalinized.

The People's Press is designed to be a national weekly for the masses. Its avowed editorial policy is "to out-Hearst Hearst." Having failed to win any masses anywhere by its caricature of proletarian policy during the adventurous course of the late lamented third period, the Stalinists and their agents are now trying to seduce the masses by imitating the worst features of bourgeois journalism.

**New Low for Gutter Journalism**

The reasoning behind such a policy is clear. The Daily Worker has failed to gain mass support. Hearst, however, has built up tremendous mass circulations by pandering to the most backward prejudices and depraved tastes of the people. If we want to reach the masses and win them away from Hearst, we must compete with him on his own level, beat him at his own game. While "the people" consume columns of scandal, we, like Hearst, will feed them propaganda. A different kind, no doubt, but in the same manner.

The result is a rag which takes its place among the worst in gutter journalism. The first issue of the People's Press is littered with all the filth of the decadent bourgeois press from the scandal shops of the Broadway columnists to the slanderous slops of Hearst's Sunday supplements. Only people with depraved appetites will be able to digest it without revulsion.

**Paranoiac Analysis**

The topmost of four photographs on the front cover illustrates the lead story captioned: "Il Duce Diseased, Insane." Turning to page 3 for details, we learn that Mussolini contracted syphilis in his youth and twenty years later developed paresis and delusions of grandeur. These paranoiac dreams drove him to imitate Caesar; to become dictator of Italy; and to attempt the conquest of Ethiopia. According to this theory of history, Il Duce is presumably bringing "syphilisation" to the Ethiopians.

Such a story can only make one impression upon the mind of an unenlightened person: namely, that the Ethiopian adventure is not the inevitable outcome of imperialist policy, but the wild dream of a madman. If Mussolini had never had syphilis (if indeed he has it), the course of Italian history would have been totally different. There

would have been no Fascist dictatorship and no Ethiopian war. Even more, if Mussolini alone is responsible for the Ethiopian war, what need is there for organized mass action against him? The quickest and easiest way to stop the war and overthrow Fascism would be to assassinate Mussolini. Such are the fruits of political opportunism and adventurism.

That is by no means the lowest level to which the Mussolini story descends. A headline alongside a picture of Duce's little daughter asks if she also is "Tainted? . . ." Even the vilest tabloid would think twice before dragging a baby into filth so filthy a mess. But these pen-prostitutes are ready for anything.

**Bathing Beauties, Scandals, Filth**

The second photograph on the first page shows a mother with her third set of identical twins. May we suggest that these identical twins be called "fascism" and "social-fascism" in honor of Stalin, who also, we have recently been informed, loves his mother.

The third set of photographs couples Hearst with his paramour, Marion Davies. On page 2, no less a personage than editor Palmer himself discusses the question: "Is W. R. Hearst coming back to the Missus?" Surely, a vital question to the jobless, poverty-stricken, disoriented people of the United States.

And so it goes throughout the pages of this sheet. A tribute to that sterling champion of "the people," Senator Norris, on his retirement; photos of Jimmy Walker and his consort, bathing beauties, movie stars, and even a 16-year-old girl who wishes to sell herself to a middle-aged man. Sandwiched in between are miscellaneous items on the depression, on the lack of relief, and inevitably an article by Anna Louise Strong from Moscow on how "The Reds Conquer the Arctic." Not a word, however, yet about the Eskimo soviets.

**The Daily Worker Applauds**

What does the Daily Worker, the official organ of the Communist party of the U. S. have to say about this rag? We quote verbatim and in its entirety its editorial greeting the appearance of its esteemed contemporary.

"**POSSIBILITIES**

"Much comment has been caused by the appearance of the first issue of a weekly tabloid, the People's Press.

"There is great need for the kind of paper the group publishing it seems to be striving to produce. With Frank Palmer, Arthur Kallet, James Waterman Wise, Corliss Lamont, Harvey O'Connor and other able staff members, they should be able to produce just what they want.

"We view this publication as a friendly paper. The announcement, however, that the People's Press is to be 'non-party and non-labor' leaves a question unanswered. Failure to state its position sharply for a Labor Party is a weakness, which we submit should be corrected.

"Meanwhile, giving a helping hand where we can, we welcome this newcomer into the publishing field."

The Daily Worker has one single criticism of the "People's Press." It does not come out for a Labor Party!

What should be said of the editors of so foul a paper? They are people without conscience, without shame, and without scruples, who have no respect for themselves and even less for the people for whom they publish their paper. What brazen contempt for the working men and women of this country does such a sheet exhibit! Instead of undertaking the task of enlightening the masses, who are today dependent upon the capitalist press for their sources of information, these cynical gentlemen feed them the same garbage as Hearst and MacFadden. They evidently look upon "the people" as unreasoning brutes who cannot be told the truth about the society they live in straightforwardly and simply, but must be drugged first and then given injections of propaganda on the sly.

**Truly a Stinking Corpse**

What about a party that gives such a sheet its blessing? We have said time and again: the Stalinist party is nothing but a stinking corpse, which spreads poison throughout the labor movement. The People's Press, the offspring of its new policy, is another evidence of Stalinist degeneration. The pestiferous source of corruption must be removed from the ranks of the working class. Let every self-respecting worker and intellectual raise his voice in protest against this infamous sheet.

We do not share the contempt of the editors of the People's Press and their Stalinist supporters for the working men and women of the United States. We believe that they want to know the truth about the world they inhabit, can hear it, understand it, and assimilate it without benefit of the worst vices of bourgeois journalism. We further believe that they are healthy-minded enough to detect the odor of decay which issues from this package of filth and will throw it into the gutter where it belongs.

**LOS ANGELES LECTURE**  
"The Soviet Union and the League of Nations"  
Speaker:  
**MAX SHACHTMAN**  
Friday, Nov. 15, at 8 P.M.  
Walker Auditorium  
730 S. Grand Avenue  
Admission at door 15c

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