War Policy Causes Clash in Students Unity Conference

Resolution Adopted Ambiguous on Crucial Question of Soviet Union; S.Y.L. and Yipsel Members Fight Stalinist Social Patriotism

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—In spite of all attempts to avoid a clash on the major political issue confronting the fusion convention of the Socialist | cialist Party for "mutual" disarm-Student League for Industrial Democracy and the Stalinist National ament. This pact, made under Student League, held here over the Christmas holidays, an open fight on the question of war marked the last hour of the convention. The Stalinists controlled a decisive majority of the four hundred brink of civil war, led to the dis-

and twenty-seven delegates. The S.L.I.D. had 116 delegates and the appearance of the workers' Red N.S.L. 144. The unattached delegates included liberals, conservatives and a host of Stalinist students.

In Texas

«Plays Ball» While

Workers Starve

(Special to New Militant)

By JAMES EVANS

enormously increased with the re-

ministrator, to make any conces-

sions to the aroused workers.

Drought has refused bluntly either

to the union scale. Abrogating one

numerous projects because its ad-

these clients on the grounds that

there are no WPA jobs for them.

Meanwhile the case-workers refuse

to certify for relief people in ac-

Persecution of Mexican Workers

The Mexican workers, most pov-

class, are the especial objects of a

vicious attack. Local offices of the

National Reemployment Service

relief, although this miserly assist-

ance is supposedly available to

every needy person. Mexicans who

protest are threatened with depor-

cups for "cutting the loads."

DALLAS, Tex .-- Prospects for a

The main tendencies represented® at the Congress were the liberals. who wanted a liberal student movement; the Stalinists, who wanted the same type of complication but the same type of organization but were ready to accept almost anything the young Socialists demanded; the young Socialists who in their majority desired a broad student organization which accepted the Oxford Pledge "against support of any war declared by the United States Government" and State Relief Administration gates who fought for fusion on the basis of a revolutionary program particularly on the question of war.

The separate conventions of the S.L.I.D. and the N.S.L. opened on Friday afternoon. At both conventions a draft program was presented which the membership had never general WPA strike in Texas are seen or discussed. Spartacus delegates presented their position at fusul of H. P. Drought, state adboth meetings.

S.L.I.D. Convention

At the S.L.I.D. convention the to decrease the working hours or original draft program accepted by to increase wages of skilled labor organizations and whose interests of the Federal rules, the slicker we are auxious to serve was reand his assistants are also forcing ist and Stalinist parties bound the workers to make time lost themselves to a similar agreement love our country as profoundly as during rainy weather or under cir-for anyone else" was deleted due to cumstances beyond the control of dissolution. In a terrible scene of pressure of Left Socialists and the the crews. Spartacus delegates. Among the young Socialists seven delegates led by Monroe Sweetland voted against fusion with the N.S.L. on the ground that the latter would accept any program but that their other in the matter of providing betrayal not reduced one whit by French Chamber after Laval had accept any program but that their real program would lead them to support the U.S. government in ball while we are starving," is an apology and explanation with dence with the aid of a large secyoung Socialists agreed with the Spartacus program for the fusion-Spartacus program for the fusion—
the class struggle in society, the
alliance of the students with the
working class and a revolutionary
program against war However program against war. However, Yipsel discipline prevented them from voting for the Spartacus posi-

The S.L.I.D. convention also actual and dire need. Even the nigcepted a resolution on war which gardly sums appropriated for the concretized the Oxford Pledge. It hungry are thus kept frozen in the lutionary aims, after proclaiming Nov. 30.) outlined three possible types of treasury, while individual case wars which could arise under pre- workers are awarded silver loving sent conditions and denounced support of any of the three: a so-called "defensive war" of the United States; "democratic" wars against Fascist nations; in case of alliance between the U.S. and a "progressive or non-imperialist" power. Apart from the failure to present the basic causes of war and the ultimate solution, the resolution had two defects: viz, the Ethiopian situation (which involves the questions of League of Nations sanctions and "neutrality laws"). was not dealt with and the Soviet Union was not mentioned, though implicit in the phrase "progressive or nonimperialist power.'

The steering committee of the S.L.I.D. for the fusion convention this country have been denied as group held at Utica last week end. was empowered to prevent the fusion if the general line of this re- produce birth certificates. solution was not adopted or call a caucus meeting of the S.L.I.D. delegates to consider the matter.

At the N.S.L. convention a motion was adopted to accept the "spirit" of the report of the national secretary which included the draft program. Spirited discussion on the question of war was led by Spartacus delegates.

The first day of the fusion convention was occupied with the election of committees. On Sunday are not particularly interested in delegates were in attendance at the discussion was opened on the program for the fusion. The N.S.I. had accepted the changes made by the S.L.I.D. convention. The program traced the cause of present ills in the domination of the "inner oligarchy" over the "plain people."

"The American Student Union is not a political organization. Although it recognizes the need for basic social change, it leaves to po-

tion of the R.O.T.C. was called for. starting at 6 P.M. on Saturday. from understanding the political The program was discussed sec-

(Continued on Page 2)

Road Is Cleared for Olson Calls out Militia French Fascist Coup

People's Front reality a shattering disaster, precursor of worse betrayals to come. The Fascist Danger Over? Abandons Defense Corps

By H. F. ROBERTS government auspices at a time when the country teetered on the Militia. Their path thus smoothed, the Blackshirts two years later took power and smashed what was left of Italian workers' organiza-

In Germany in 1932 Heinrich Bruening's Bonapartist government decreed the "dissolution" of military-political formations. After this "victory" against the Fascists, WPA Crisis the Rote Front, workers' combat organization, passed out of existnce. And the Storm Troopers? Listen to Roehm, their leader:

> "But only the uniforms and insignia had to disappear. After the dissolution, as before, the detachments of the Storm Troopers continued to train on the training grounds of the Reichswehr (German army) at Doboeritz, as on other state training grounds. Only they were no longer called the Storm Troops but the League of Popular German Sport. (From Roehm's Memoirs.)

A year later the armed Nazi representatives of the German bourgeois state trampled underfoot the disarmed and disoriented organizations of the German working class. The Perfidious Example Followed

"mutual" disarmament and "reconciliation" in the Chamber of There is a deep-seated resentment Deputies on Dec. 6 the Socialist both against the state WPA and and Stalinist bureaucracies joined relief administrations, each of the Fascists to set the seal on the which is passing the buck to the betrayal of the French workers, a "factious leagues" opened in the case it was allied with the Soviet expression that I heard outside of which the events were overclouded tion of the Radical (People's Another section of the a local relief office several days in the days that followed. ago. The WPA has abandoned result was perfectly clear.

preparation for war.

their desire to avert civil war and parties claimed a great "victory" tory" must be examined with the by l'Humanite on Dec. 4: erty-stricken of the Texas working utmost attention, for like all Stalinist-reformist "victories" it is in

To listen to the People's Front ists, the Fascist danger is practical ly over. "Under the action of the People's Front," declared Cachin, "French Fascism is going through a deep crisis and the Hour of Hitlerism (de la Rocque's zero hour) In Italy in 1921 Mussolini's has been perforce postponed into Blackshirts organized and signed the dim fogs of the future." (l'Huan agreement with the Italian So- manite, Dec. 13.) How has this miracle been performed? By a proletarian offensive against capital? But no, the voluntary disarmament in advance of the French working class has been proudly proclaimed by Blum, Cachin, Thorez and Co. It has come about through the passage of three laws by the Chamber of Deputies-three laws which upon examination turn out to be sharp weapons not against the Fascists but against the workers. through the Chamber by the for civil war, armed, trained, or-People's Front! How well the bourgeoisie knows how to use its ing or killing Frenchmen. lackeys!

On Dec. 3 the debate on the

westion for Stalinist Sages

In the latest issue of the Communist International (Nov. 5, 1935) Manuilsky informs us on page 1381:

"Such a measure as the closing of the Suez Canal demanded by the Second and Amsterdam International follows the line of the interests of British imperialism, which is displaying a very suspicious love for the 'independence' of Ethiopia."

And on page 1515 of the same number we are told: that: "The Communist peace policy" in-cludes the "closing of the Suez Canal"!

Will the Daily Worker Question Box resolve the contradiction? Or are we to conclude that "the Communist peace policy" falls in line with British imperialism?

The Front, votes influenced by Herriot, whose role in support of Laval was The result gave the French bour- consistently covered over in the

turns in the screws of exploitation laws and deflation policy which despite the devastating charge by asked the Fascist deputy.

achieve "la reconciliation franc- political leagues was set by Ram- all political-military groupings. aise," the Socialist and Stalinist ette, Stalinist deputy, and Guernut, Disgusting Scene of "Reconciliation" a Radical, whose declarations are Leon Blum rose to answer him for the People's Front. This "vic- prominently featured in bold type

Waving the French Flag Ramette: "While the People's

Blum, Thorez In New Betrayal

..Guernut: "These (Fascist) militias, prepared for civil war, are not for civilization but for barbar-That is why we denounce ism. them, condemn them and demand their dissolution."

And in l'Humanite Vaillant-Couturier wrote: "This is not a matter of politics nor of economic de mands. It is a question of troops ganized in military style . . . wound Against them the country raises its

solution. The Chamber must heed." That day l'Humanite sedulously avoided reporting that Edouard Herriot was moving heaven and earth to have his supporters support Laval. Even Populaire did not hesitate to report-and bemoan -that fact!

During the course of the speeches still holds.

Ybarnegaray, a Croix de Feu deputy, rose and astounded his audience by introducing a law providing for the severe punishment of any private individual found in the possession of arms.

wanted civil war (!) and declared supporters that everything was not. The determination of Minneapolis (One of these votes of confidence "cleansing" the Republic and de-

"Can we not unite under the firm under a deepening crisis, and in was sustained by a Radical vote and salutary hand of the law?" After they had publicly disa- Vincent Auriol, Socialist, that the you want to feel on your faces the vowed any desire to organize the Laval economic program "violated hot breath of civil war?" He then French workers to fight for revoproperty rights"—see Populaire, declared that dissolution was an saliant, incontestable fact. The life for Pleading an insufficient po-"ineffective and dangerous" solu-The keynote of the debate on the tion but proposed disarmament by

> as he explained afterward in Populaire—spontaneously, out of a sheer upsurge of brotherly feeling. He (Continued from Page 2)

Front is realizing the union of Frenchmen behind the Tricolor and the Red Flag, the government is compromising itself with those who divide (the people) and foment

demand for disarmament and dis-

La Rocque's Army

in the Chamber on the Croix de Feu, it was revealed that Col. de la Rocque's Fascist organization has grown to a force of 712,000 men, armed, trained, organized. equipped with guns, machine guns, armored cars and even planes. This organization—directly linked to the General Staff and the big French bourgeoisie-was to be dissolved at the request of the People's Front by Laval, puppet of the same General Staff and the same big bourgeoisie. What a frightful comedy! But the session of Dec. 6which the Stalinists tried afterward to dub "comedy"-heavily underscored the threat that the future

that his "friend and brother," de la Rocque, was interested only in

In Strutwear Hosiery Strike in Minneapolis

Troops Summoned After Cops Prove Helpless In Protecting Scabs in Face of Courage And Militancy of Striking Workers

By CARL O'SHEA

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 29.—Following a hard-fought battle Thursday afternoon between pickets and scabs, at which half a dozen police were stoned and clubbed and several scabs injured, sixty National Guardsmen were called out by Governor Floyd B. Olson Friday noon to assist the local "law and order" agencies in preventing further "disorders" at the Strutwear plant. A strike of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers local has been in effect at the Strutwear Hosiery Company since August 15. The governor has announced that "until we have surveyed the situation and decided on a definite course, we will close the Strutwear plant."

Immediately after the sentencing of three pickets last Monday to four and six months in the workhouse, the Strutwear bosses, with the help of Mayor Latimer and the police, began their plan to gradually

Coal, Transfer Employers

Reject Plan to End

Contracts with 574

(From the Northwest Organizer)

Thomas Latimer in his office to

demand protection from the "rack-

eteering" and industrial peace de-

stroying "tactics" of General Driv-

this committee of business men

ers Union, Local 574.

he give them protection.

process was in sight.

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 1.—Tues-

ly open the plant. On Tuesday a crew of 20 finks were sent in to clean the machinery. (The nature LatimerUrges of the operations are such that a full crew cannot begin work immediately. It takes about 30 days to Bosses Break build up the operations to a point where the full working force can be used.) Agreements

The striking union countered by distributing 50,000 leaflets among the Minneapolis workers, appealing for help on the picket line. The Workers Go Into Action

On Thursday afternoon pickets began to gather to catch the scabs as they came out of the plant at 4:40. As the scabs came out, protected by 35 cops, about 400 pickets charged. Half a dozen cops went lay morning headlines in the cap-down as the scabs were terrorized. italist press in Minneapolis A door or so was torn off one of screamed that a committee of fifty the seah cars; windows werebroken business men had bearded Mayor in others. Five pickets were surrounded by cops and hustled into a patrol wagon. Militant workers sprrounded the wagon and threatened to dump it over unless their brothers were released. The arrest-The papers went on to say that ed pickets were released, and a hurry call went in for more policeprotested vigorously to the mayor men. The picketing squadron withabout the activities of Local 574 drew for one hour, and then around and demanded of his honor that six o'clock made a last flying demonstration. Dashing by the plant, These headlines, no doubt, made armed with rocks, they let fly at fine reading for those who desire the windows, breaking a hundred the destruction of Local 574. They or so. By the time additional poalso, perhaps, created doubts in the lice had arrived, the pickets had minds of some of our staunchest disappeared.

as it should be. No doubt, the workers to keep the labor-hating cuemies of Local 574 were com- Strutwear plant closed until it reforted by these bold headlines, cognizes the union made it plain thinking that at last our union to the authorities that any further was going to be dragged in the mud strike-breaking effort and the start of the breaking up in a major riot and further bloodshed. This the hated Mayor Lat-Those not familiar with the sit- imer, Farmer-Labor incumbent, is uation, however, overlooked one not ready to take the responsibility whole story was a tissue of lies lice force, Latimer on Friday apand falsehoods, fabricated out of pealed to the governor to send in whole cloth by the champion union the National Guard to take charge busters of the United States, Meyer of the district surrounding the Lewis, John Geary, Pat Corcoran struck plant. Gov. Olson immediand Cliff Hall, sided and abetted, ately complied with the request, aided by that champion jelly-fish of pointoing out ,however, that the politicians, Thomas E. Latimer. action would not be a declaration The only truth in the whole report of martial law. Since Friday afteris that there was a meeting that noon, the Strutwear plant has remorning in the mayor's office, the mained closed. A handful of uniformed guardsmen, armed with bayonets, are patrolling the entrances to the plant.

Public Against Strutwear Bosses On Tuesday all negotiations between the hosiery union and the Strutwear employers were abruptly broken off by the bosses, who have refused to make any concessions to PATERSON, N. J.—The strike the union. Public sentiment is ing their workers, keeping them on "apprentice" wages for years, their ducted throughout, had lasted for use of spies, etc., is widely known throughout the industry and the

It need hardly be pointed out that the present situation at the Drivers strike know that the militia be a labor paper, but a "People's only in themselves and the working Paper," according to the new lingo. class forces which they can rally to It is important to note that the their support. To expect the mili-

are refusing to register non-citizens as a preliminary to their obtaining relief although this miscally against the refusing to the resistence of "Militants"; Deepens Rupture in Socialist Party 2 Year Strike

tation while agents of the set-up proceed to inflame the more back-The split in the New York organ- side of the new committee. ward American workers with the ization of the Socialist party was Fascist expression, "This is a deepened and broadened to a statewhite man's country." In many wide basis at the state conference cases, Mexicans actually born in of the Norman Thomas-"militant" sistance because they could not At the same time, the "Old Guard," assembled in mass meeting at Coop-Texas during the most severe delegations of right wing socialists winter since the advent of the de- from other states, denounced Thompression. Favorable factors exist as as a "traitor" and threatened to for winning the impending strike. make a split in the national organ-But there are other factors which ization if the N. E. C. recognizes the workers should understand and the rival organization in New York.

It appears from the representa-The first factor is the extreme tion at the Utica conference that selfishness of the old line American the Thomas group has the edge Federation of Labor leaders. These over the "Old Guard" in the state well-paid representatives of labor as well as in New York City. 88 conference according to the official report, 43 from New York City and 45 from upstate locals. Political issues were kept in the background, the strategy of the "militants" ap-Packing Meet the strategy of the "militants" apparently being to strive for the broadest possible support of the upbroadest possible support of the upstate locals on purely organization-A call has been issued to all al questions. The inactivity of the packing house organizations and "Old Guard" state committee and unorganized packing house workers its autocratic methods have alienlitical organizations the achieving in the Mid-West to meet in con- ated many of the locals whose of these changes." The Oxford ference at Mason City, Ia., Satur- members, as shown by the discus-Pledge was endorsed. The aboli- day and Sunday, January 11 and 12 sion at the conference, are far This invitation was issued by implications of the split. The per-

New York City organization to the

"Activism" the Keynote The delegates, bent on having an

"active" socialist party that will be democratic in its procedure and versy now shifts to Philadelphia the two Paterson dailies, was called against the Citizens Alliance-led "inclusive" in its membership, man- where the National Executive Comifested a determination to carry mittee meets the coming week end mitted defeat and officially with is leading to a mounting mass through the split and to have done The new state committee set up_at drew the pickets from the struck anger. Their practise of underpay-These are the factors existing in er Union Sunday, with sympathetic with the dead weight of the "Old the Utica conference will have a plants. Guard" once and for all. The res- delegation there to demand recogolution adopted puts the issue squarely up to the National Executive Committee with a demand for the official recognition of the new committee. The resolution follows:

WHEREAS the State Committee of the Socialist Party of New York has by its neglect of its duty to advance Socialism in the State of New York; by its continuing sabotage of the National Party and by its wholly unconstitutional act in directing and supporting a wholesale exclusion of the most active Party members in New York State under the guise of reorganizing the Party, has forfeited its legal and moral right to recognition as a State Committee in New York; THEREFORE BE IT RE-

SOLVED that we assume the responsibilities of an emergency convention of the Socialist Party of the State of New York and proceed to elect a representative State Committee and take such further action as may be necessary to save the Party in New York, and we instruct the State Committee to appear before the NEC at its next meeting to claim tee of New York. Issue up to N. E. C.

Interest in the socialist contronition. Waldman, leader of the New York right wing has announced in the press that the present "official" state committee will not attend and has declared that the recognition of the new committee will be the signal for a nationwide split. The Pennsylvania state committee, dominated by the right wing, has also warned the N. E. C. to give no support to the "secessionists" in New York. Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee, a powerful figure in the N. E. C. and in the party, has declared for "unity" and will probably attempt to force a reconciliation of the two contending organizations. This was indicated in a personal letter from him to a party member which wes read at the Utica conference. The action taken at the Philadelphia meeting

recognition as the State Commit-

set up at Utica.

(Continued on Page 2) Is Called Off

above mentioned trade union lead-

of the Typographical employees of turning more and more sharply off yesterday, when the union ad- employers, and their Tory position

The strike, which was poorly conclose to two years, dragging on wearily and hopelessly, without city. militancy and without leadership.

Instead of concentrating their forces on winning the strike, the familiar with the long 1934 General union, under Stalinist influence, busied itself trying to compete with the publishers, and was finally successful in getting a few dollars together mostly from labor together, mostly from labor sources, with the result that a new the governor proved that he was paper is now in existence in Pater-son, the Paterson Press. In spite of son, the Paterson Press. In spite of right, and would change overnight its almost completely labor back- the relationship of forces. The ing the new paper is not going to hosiery workers must have faith

strike, broken from the start by tary to keep the plant closed until the fact that other crafts were al- the bosses come to terms is to give of the N. E. C. will very probably lowed to work while the typos were way to a dangerous illusion. Dedetermine whether the split will be out, failed to utilize the sympathy spite the fact that an election is healed for the time being, localized of other strikers when the dyers looming this coming year, and that to New York or extended on a na- local was on strike, almost never therefore the public officials will tional scale. In the event of the attempted mass picketing, and kept conduct themselves in a careful latter eventuality Norman Thomas itself in a sort of precarious exist- manner, the Strutwear strikers will undoubtedly carry a large ma- ence on the strike benefit of the must be eternally vigilant. Only jority of the party with him in sup- International and on voluntary con- union workers can run machinery! port of the new state committee tributions from a number of locals Only workers can picket effectivethroughout the country.

Issue Call for

(Continued on Page 2)

be ready to combat.

tion by section. The opposition to representatives of the Mid-West sonal popularity of Norman Thomthe program from the right quoted Union of All Packing House Work- as has also been a big factor in tthe statements of the leaders of ers of Cedar Rapids, Ia., and the swinging a majority of the memthe fusion that "we must include Independent Union of All Workers bers of the upstate as well as the of Austin.

Peoples Front Abandons and therefore cannot be trusted to dissolve the Fascist leagues. But, pray, is the government of Pierre Defense Groups

(Continued from Page 1) and other comrades of the left wing ing made a sacred union with the leagues." against the positive sabotage of the Croix de Feu." Stalinist and Socialist bureaucra-Populaire on Dec. 7:

alogy between our self-defense leagues—which constitute a nonnational army within the nation, but I say to M. Ybarnegaray: We are ready to destroy our formations, to dissolve them. Are you?" and many center benches).

"Voice from center: Do you also speak for the Commonists?

tion made by M. Blum concerning the self-defense groups. "Guernut (Radical): "And we,

who haven't any, we associate ourselves too. (Laughter.)

"Blum: This exchange can end with something very definite. You dissolve them. Are you?

that our organization has a semi- the Revolutionary Socialist Youth military haracter, yes."

the Chamber on this "triple declar- partisan of the Fourth Internationation" and announced that he would draw the "necessary conclu- quoted passages urging the formasions" therefrom. That afternoon, Laval won a new

vote of confidence, 351 to 219! feeling of joy and pride at the armed Fascists. thought that such a result which of the People's Front should have been in part obtained."

frere, Vaillant-Couturier, who pin such a malicious charge on the wrote (l'Humanite, Dec. 7) that Stalinists! Blum seriously put side by side only had "small defense groups," tional Council had confirmed the the tiny self-defense groups of his l'Humanite nods fervently: "And

denness of the debate, Maurice shock troops or semi-military Thorez said in a word that he 'as- leagues. Only the Fascist leagues sociated himself' with the declara- are armed and militarized." tion of Leon Blum. Immediately Laval and then his press, with the

MAX SHACHTMAN Editor New International will speak on "THE PEOPLE'S FRONT" Friday, January 10, at 8:30 P.M. 1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn

BROWNSVILLE LECTURE

OPEN MEETING

"Will the Socialist Party and the Communist Party Unite?" TUESDAY, JAN. 7, 8:30 P.M. 131 East 103rd Street Harlem Branch, N. Y. C.

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A series of four lectures on War. beginning January 6, will be given at the San Francisco branch headquarters at 1099 Steiner Street. The first lecture will be entitled "The Fundamental Causes of War' to be followed by "The Immediate War Danger": "The Lessons of the War of 1914-1918"; and "The Struggle Against Imperialist War."

The lecturer, Murray Weiss, will deal with the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, the role of the Second International in 1914, the present role military training," a condition of the two Internationals, and the necessity of the Fourth Internation-

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| help of enormous headlines, tried ists had a few self-defense groups, alleged 'combat groups' of the

How thoroughly illogical that cies. Blum was making no sacrifice anybody should describe a common of law? Poof! What is this, oh and reason things out. How did a on his own when he offered these accord among Fascists, Socialists hard-fought groups up on the altar and Communists as a "union sacof national reconciliation. We ree"!! The Stalinists were so disquote from the account given in mayed that they headed their account of the day's proceedings: "Blum: I repeat—there is no an- "Sacred Union with the Enemies of the People? Never!" And how groups and the semi-military could anybody charge the Stalinist party with having "combat groups"? Listen to Vaillant:

"Thorez, during the course of the day . . . rose with vigor against this absurd legend. No, our party (Applause from extreme left, left, has never had any semi-military organization! . . .

In the Chamber Thorez declared: "I associated myself with the dec-"Thorez: The Communist Party laration of Leon Blum, but I reassolates itself with the declara- peat here that the laws for the dissolution of the semi-military organizations cannot apply to us because we have not and never have had armed groups."

Fire at the Bolsheviks

To level such a charge against the Stalinist party was foul provosay, M. Ybarnegaray, 'We are ready cation. When Ybarnegaray mountto disarm.' To any extent that our ed the tribune to deny that the comrades are armed, we accept that Croix de Feu sought civil war, he also. To any extent that there ex- tried also to prove that the People's ists among us formations of a semi- Front was threateningly militant. military character, we are ready to To find an expression of the revolutionary will of the workers he "Ybarnegaray: To the extent had to go to Revolution, organ of allied to the French Bolshevik-Up jumped Laval, congratulated Leninists, organ of Fred Zeiler, al! And what did he quote? He tion of a workers' militia, urging in their own ranks. "There was the workers to train for mobilization against the Fascists, to arm of some, but it has now vanished," Blum announced: "I express a themselves against the heavily-

But, stoutly maintains l'Humanwas one of the essential objectives ite, "this is a sheet edited by provocateurs whom we have long denounced. It is with such texts that Thorez, however, had some ad-Ybarnegaray tried to 'prove' that ditional remarks to make. Let there are combat groups on the in which they "applied all the dethem be described by his own con- left!" Oh, no, nobody is going to

Quoting Blum that the left has party . . . with the forces of de la this is true. There is no armed organization of the left, no groups "Taken by surprise in the sud- organized for street fighting. No

Omits Names

What about these laws, then, that were rushed through the Chamber of Deputies on the night of Dec. 6 aimed at all and any political organizations which might take on the character of armed militia, which might cause armed demonstrations in the streets or which might "attempt by force to attack the republican form of government"?

Were they aimed at the Fascists? They were passed by a majority of 408 to 179—hailed as a "powerful left majority" and a "victory for the People's Front"? If they were, why was a motion, introduced by Stalinist deputy, asking the bill to specify the names of the organizations in view, voted down by 380 to 148? This fact is buried way down in the bottom of the story published in l'Humanite and is not mentioned at all in Populaire.

In other words, the Laval-de la Rocque maneuver resulted in the passage of a law which gives the Bonapartist regime still more leeway to keep the path to Fascism which excepts it from the application of the law! And the Senate, passing the law this week, obligingshades of Bruening Rochm!!

tory! But wait, there is more, baker's dozen), claiming the Bol-The law as introduced by Laval shevik-Leninists had "capitulated," originally wanted to give the right "broken with Marxism." ad nausto dissolve such political leagues cum. This it did in spite of the to the courts. On the insistence of laudable revolutionary work of the the People's Front-this was hailed Bolshevik-Leninists who propagatas an especial victory the next day ed openly and bravely all the -this power was taken from the principles held by them prior to the courts and given to the Cabinet entry. Even the expulsion of the which was authorized to issue a Bolshevik-Leninist youth and adult

Leon Blum, the defender of democratic rights, explained (Popu- made no difference to this hopeless laire, Dec. 9) that this was "the clique. They lived in a world unonly rapid, efficient method." And sullied by reality. Marcel Cachin, who has been howling for months that the courts try the Lhuillier group has entered the 18) explained it in more detail:

correctional magistrates. . . On centrist opponents of the Fourth that, comrades, we know where we International, voting for Pivert's stand. We know what the magis- resolution and against that of the tracy of the bourgeoisie is. Long Bolshevik-Leninists. experience shows us that it is al- | Like their fellow-sectarian, Bauer ways at the mercy of power, that of Germany, who began with loud it is terrible and pitiless against shricks about "Trotsky's return to workers and all anti-Fascists, that Menshevism" only to turn up as it has infinite tolerance and kindli- the most vitriolic opponent of the ness for the Fascists . . . and then, Fourth International in the reacif the courts take it, there will be tionary S.A.P. sect, the Lhuillier interminable delays. . . ."

The magistracy is all these things sectarianism to centrism. . . .

and therefore cannot be trusted to dissolve the Fascist leagues. But, pray, is the government of Pierre Laval not also all and more of these things?

Cachin writes: "The majority of the Chamber wanted to give the Laval government efficacious weapons which it could use immediately told the Chamber that the Social- to make an argument against the against the armed leagues. . . . The Chamber wanted. and rightly, that not adding that these groups were Communists. And suddenly our Paganon (minister of interior) organized by Bolshevik-Leninists party saw itself presented as hav-should immediately. dissolve the ers were present and his honor,

> Not a magistrate but Laval-Pa- the committee. gano can do the job. Due proces

defenders of democracy? Fascists Free Their Hands

pose its readiness to lay the fate stated time? of the French proletariat down on (Populaire, Dec. 11): "The proposition I made in the name of my friends still holds."

On Dec. 11 the People's Front formally announced that it "had won its first victory."

"The chiefs of the Fascist leagues spoke of national reconciliation.' reads the formal statement published both in Populaire and l'Humanite. "But when it came to actcivil war organizations. The people's organization detests civil war. It seeks the dissolution and disarmament of semi-military organizations to bar the way to civil war. and masses of the People's Front to see that the Chamber laws are applied in letter and spirit." In other words, sacred union

only awaits Fascist compliance. The Stalinists naturally have had to fight back doubts and protests doubt for a moment in the minds

said Thorez at a meeting Dec. 12. Bolshevik-Leninists Real Target

On Dec. 12 the Permanent Administrative Committee of the Socialist Party congratulated Blum and his fellow-deputies for the way cisions of the party in the evervigilant struggle against the Fascist peril and the civil war mak-A few days before the Naexpulsion from the party of the Bolshevik-Leninist leaders. The proximity of these two facts is more than eloquent. With the Stalinists it was even more striking.

On Dec. 12, under the heading in bold type: "For the Union of the People of France," l'Humanite reports the proceedings of the Political Bureau of the Stalinist party which congratulated Thorez on his conduct in the Chamber and once again "emphasized before all the workers the dastardly role of Trotskyism-advance guard of counterrevolution."

Why? Because the Bolshevik-Leninists alone call treason by its vik-Leninists call for a program of revolutionary action, for a workers' militia, for the overthrow of the Bonapartist regime, for the dissolution of the Fascists by workers' action, for the establishment of a Workers and Peasants Government, for the formation of a new revolutionary party in France which will have done with the betrayals of the old bureaucracies; in short, for the program of the Fourth Interna-

SCRATCH A SECTARIAN . . . On another page of the NEW MILITANT comrade Trotsky shows clear. How easy it will be for the the close proximity between cent-Croix de Feu to get itself "author- rism and sectarianism. We are in ized by the War Ministry to give a position here to adduce additional proof for this contention in the form of the recent antics of the French Lhuillier group. The Lhuillier group split from the Bolshevikinserted the proviso that it shall Leninist Group of France when the not apply to "sport organizations" latter entered the Socialist Party of France (S.F.I.O.). This group Cabinet Empowered to "Dissolve" set up a big howl (i.e. big for its Such was the People's Front vic- size since it numbered a mere simple decree to achieve its pur leaders by the social-patriotic reformist bureaucracy and the violent attacks on them by the Stalinists

Now the news reaches us that de la Rocque (see l'Humanite, Nov. S.F.I.O.! It forgot its "principles" almost as rapidly as the world for-"The ministers proposed to give got it. And moreover-in the S.P. this job (of dissolution) to the they are already combining with

group has completed the cycle-

Bosses Break Contracts

(Continued from Page 1) Tom Latimer, was there to meet

Now, let us stop for a moment committee of fifty business men gather themselves together. decide Having forced the hand of the on a common program, and descend

Well, first of all, committees do years. the altar of "civil peace"—the Fas- not gather themselves, they are Rocque announced resumption of other than the present mayor; he not please Blum who announced together but he sent them a special invitation to attend.

The most peculiar part about the whole affair is this, that the hardest. so-called "committee" did not until Tom told them what it was

the mayor's office at ten o'clock they sat around half an hour waiting for Latimer to arive, discussing they are no longer sacred? ing, they refused to renounce their among themselves as to what the meeting was all about.

pearance but immediately launched civil war that today, before the 574, its leaders and its policies. ers, it adjures the organizations demanded, that these employers, who comprised representatives from the coal and transfer industry, that they break all existing contracts that they might have with Local 574 and compel their employees to organize into the new A. F. of L. union that has been set up here.

> ment agencies of the city, county and state would stand behind the employers in the event they decided to take this step. He told the employers they had nothing to fear from 574, that the police were prepared to deal roughly with its cians and law enforcement agenmembers or leaders who would cies. object to this contract-breaking program. He asked the employers' committee what the thought of this program.

Their spokesman replied briefly all its dealings. The spokesman the new year. said that there was now industrial

that as far as their group was concerned they had entered into contractual relations with 574 honestly and intended to abide by the terms of that contract.

At this point, the transfer ployers were excused.

Then Latimer, with the help of and Wise Shoe Stores. Lewis and Hall, made the same proposal to the coal employers' committee. They also rejected this ty-Bread and Silvercup Bread. dishonest and victous proposal on United Cigar Stores. the same grounds as did the trans-

Lewis, Hall and Geary. It is to be expected from the characterless kind of people as we know them to be, but why Thomas E. Latimer, Farmer-Labor mayor of Minneapolis, has injected himself into this disgraceful situation, is something know.

Why has Tom Latimer, who has never been a member of the A. F. of L., suddenly decided to become the Messiah and Moses of the Teamsters International?

The only union Latimer ever beonged to was the Western Federation of Miners, an I.W.W. organiz-People's Front and caused it to ex- on the mayor's office at a certain ation, condemned and cursed by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy for

The action of Latimer merely cists next day conveniently went always gathered by someone. In means that he is following the back on their "promise" and de la this case the gatherer was none same line of conduct that has characterized his whole administra-"full liberty of action." This did did not only gather the committee tion. He lends his willing ear to direction that he is shoved the adopted. From this incident alone,

> know what they were there for believe that contracts are made to the "broad" character the student be broken? For years we have union would take. listened to the A. F. of L. bureau-When they were assembled in crats whine about the sacredness of contracts between unions and employers. Does this mean that class" character of the program.

The astounding part about the whole affair is that this disgrace-When his honor appeared half ful and crooked swindle on the an hour late, he wasted no time part of these A. F. of L. represenwith an apology over his late ap- tatives happens at a time when a incoming national committee. Then "truce" has been officially declared the resolutions committee brought It is to spare the country from into a bitter tirade against Local by the Central Labor Union be in a report on the war resolution. tween Local 574 and the rest of volte-face (!) of the Fascist lead- He advised, more than that, he the Minneapolis trade union move-

gangsters declare?

wounds of our enemy, do they that since the Oxford Pledge had think that we are going to allow already been adopted there was no ourselves to be stabbed in the back? Perhaps the contracts that are held by the Milk Wagon Drivers Union The majority of the committee had He said that all the law enforce- are not sacred either. We shall see.

> If this is a declaration of war on the part of the Teamsters International, we are prepared.

But we will conduct our fight in the open without the aid of politi-

ILLINOIS, IOWA RELIEF

Walkouts of relief workers in parts were therefore carried. Illinois and Iowa against the that they had a signed agreement Roosevelt starvation wage scales of of the U.S. if it were allied to "a York University, C.C.N.Y., Hunter with Local 574, that they had found the W.P.A. seem destined to give progressive or non-imperialist powthis union honorable and honest in federal officials a headache early in er") was greeted by the Stalinists

peace in Minneapolis insofar as called for January 2 while an ori-that since they supported the Oxthe driving crafts were concerned, ginal December 16 zero hour in ford pledge they had declared themthat it seemed strange to him that Illinois has been set back in order selves against any war in which the part or whole." A national com-Latimer who had pleaded for in- that the workers of both states U.S. government was involved. They dustrial peace, was now proposing may act in concert. Illinois WPA could however make no direct at leading officers are members of the a program that spelled industrial officials have already offered a 10 tack on the section under dispute. percent wage boost-bribe in an ef- To reject it out of hand without a The transfer employers stated fort to kill the strike,

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Conniving and double dealing Student Unity Conference are nothing new on the part of Clashes on War Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

An R.O.T.C. officer from C.C.N.Y. stated that he was disappointed with the radical(!) tone of the convention. He protested that this was contrary to the impression that he while they considered the adopted was given of the purpose of the student organization.

That next year he would be regular in the U.S. Army and would be loyal to the government. Therethe conniver that happens to be fore he would be compelled to withnearest to him and goes in the draw if the proposed program were one can get a good picture of the Do Latimer, Lewis and Corcoran impression given the students as to

> Spartacus delegates and several students in agreemen; with them attacked the pacifist and "above Their substitute program was never presented to the delegates.

> With minor amendments the draft program was adopted. Nominations were then made for the The S.L.I.D. supplementary re-

solution was reported by the minority of the resolutions committee. He did not comment on the point ls this the sort of a truce that An effective defense was made by Hal Draper of the Y.P.S.L. The While we are binding up the majority of the committe contended sense in "speculating as to the possible wars which may arise." no substitute resolutions to intro-

The S.L.I.D. resolution was then voted on section by section. Stalinist representatives stated that the be included in the program of the resolution was extraneous! "Of organization. He further stated course we are against so-called that the delegates would conduct 'defensive wars'" "Nobody is for themselves loyally within the A. 'democratic' nations against Fascist their position. Nineteen delegates nations." However they would sup- signed the program of the Sparta-WORKERS PLAN WALKOUT port these sections. The first two

with the cry of "anti-Soviet slan-In Iowa the walkout has been der." They repeated ad nauseum substitute might have endangered Young Spartacus was well received Yipsels had made this clear even before the convention in their press and at negotiations.

The Stalinists therefore intronced a substitute motion. It called National Shoe Stores, A. S. Beck, for support of the Ethiopian and Cushman Baking Co. (Cushman the Liberty League and Hearst. It concluded:

"At the same time we reject the use of such support of the people of Ethiopia and China as a pretext for war or steps leading to war on the part of the United States Gov- the unskilled. In fact, their only ernment. This convention states further that whatever other form steps."

Stalinists. However the vagueness the feeling of the unskilled that of the language and the manner in they need not organize: that the which they opposed the S.L.I.D. A. F. of L. will present them with resolution shows that they tried to a successful strike purely out of avoid the issue lest it break up the human kindness. fusion. In a sense the substitute was a partial victory for the anti-Stalinist forces.

The Stalinist reply was that Mike federation officials. Gold is only a columnist and novel-

nounced that it would support the serve as a central strike apparatus. S.L.I.D. resolution with a statement Only thus will the A. F. of L. leadof its own including a Marxist ers be forced to keep their promise analysis of the general causes of of cooperation with local groups of war, the specific war problems to- project workers. The coming day and the solution to war. The struggle will be the most important statement was read to the conven- and probably the most bitter class tion. Immediately thereupon a lead- conflict in the history of the state. ing Yipsel delegate asked that the The workers must be fully prepared statement be considered as a re- to deal with the mobs of national solution and discussion be permit-guardsmen and police that will be ted on the question However when unleashed against them. this was attempted the chairman ruled it out of order. Earlier in the convention the Spartacus subburied before any discussion could Prices range from 30c up to \$1.50.

take place on the convention floor. only points upon which we all The Stalinist substitute motion that every worker has a right to agree" and therefore proposed that was adopted by a vote of 193 to the Oxford Pledge should not be 155, with many of the young Soincluded in the program, that only cialists regreting that they had not compulsory R.O.T.C. should be con- put up a fight on the question of demned, that student demonstra- war under the discussion on protions should be called after school gram and had previously voted to hours "so as not to antagonize the table the Spartacus substitute resolution on war.

The S.L.I.D. steering committee met and considered how the adoption of the last motion affected the fusion. A spokesman reported that motion equivocal and unsatisfactory they would go through with the fusion and fight for a correct. position along the line of their own resolution.

Al Hamilton then took the floor in the name of the Y. P. S. L. He repeated in sharper form the declaration of the S. L. I. D. He stated that his organization wanted the convention to adopt a clear positoin against war. (From the results it is obvious that they did not know when and how to fight for such a position). The Y. P. S. L. is for the defense of the Soviet Union but will not support the U.S. even if it were to be in alliance with the S. U. They would continue to fight for their position in the A. S. U. and fight for its adoption at the subsequent convention.

Adam Lapin replied in the name of the "Communists." He welcomed the statements of the S. L. I. D. and Y. P. S. L. and stated that unity was possible despite differences. in dispute, glossing over the basic differences between the two organizations.

Bernard Forrest then asked for the floor in the name of the Spartacus Youth League. He declared that the last minute dispute on the question 'of war was a complete vindication of the course of the Spartacus delegates and those working with them in fighting for a revolutionary position on war to war of the United States or S. U. while continuing to fight for cus Youth League. This included students from Chicago, Illinois uni-On the third section (no support versity, Akron University, New College, Radcliff, Connecticut, Weslevan, Michigan Univ. and other universities and high schools.

The Congress decided that any student could belong to the A.S.U. who agreed with the program "in mittee of thirty was elected. The Yipsels.

The special convention issue of

the fusion. The S.L.I.D. and the by a good section of the delegates. The dispute on the question of war was the prelude to the conflict that will take place within the organization and shatter all spurlious unity.

Texas WPA Strike Nears

(Continued from Page 1)

concern is simply for those trained workmen who have been able to the alignment of internationalfor- continue the heavy dues and asces may take we will oppose the sessments of the craft unions. The participation of our government in restlessness of the Texas workers war, we will be against voting for forces the union politicians to take war credits and of other military some action, but these leaders are known for their ability to translate This motion undoubtedly is in phrases into sell-outs. An element contradiction to the policy of the playing directly into their hands is

> Lack of Coordination Another unfavorable circumstance

is the lack of coordination existing The Yipsels tried at the last min- between the different unemployed ute to make up for their previous organizations of the state. Last conciliatory conduct. They attack- year, representatives of every uned the Stalinist motion because it employed and several sympathetic was abstract and equivocal. One groups drew up a common platspeaker referred to Mike Gold's form and program of action. This statement that young Socialists united front eventually passed into should join the U.S. army if the the hands of the Communist Party U.S. were allied with the Soviet which let it crumble, since "the Union in a war against Japan. The Farmer-Labor Party" was becomeffect of this reference was negated ing the line for the moment. Now by her further statement that Gold the C.P. is instructing its unemhad retracted the first position; in ployed contacts to purchase A. F. reality his so-called retraction was of L. charters, and to work directly worse than his original comment. under the supervision of the state

An immediate task for the unemployed of Texas is the setting The Spartacus delegation and up of a state committee which will

THEATER BENEFIT

Tickets are now available for stitute motion on war to the pro- the theatre party "Let Freedom gram was tabled to the program Ring" Monday evening, Jan. 13 at committee so that it would be the district office, 55 E. 11th St.

Sectarianism, Centrism, and the Fourth International

It would be absurd to deny the presence of sectarian tendencies in our midst. They have been laid bare by an entire series of discussions and splits. Indeed, how could an element of sectarianism have failed to manifest itself in an ideological movement which stands irreconcilably opposed to all the dominant organizations in the working class, and which is subjected to monstrous, absolutely unprecedented persecutions all over Reformists and centrists readily seize upon every occasion to point a finger at our "sectarianism"; and most of the time, they have in mind not our weak but our strong side: our serlous attitude toward theory; our morrow. Coming from opportunists, the accusation of sectarianism is most often a compliment.

Marxian Distinctions

Curiously enough, however, we are often accused of sectarianism not only by reformists and Centrists but by opponents from the "left," the notorious sectarians, who might well be placed as exhibits in any museum. The basis for their dissatisfaction with us lies in our irreconcilability to themselves, in our striving to purge ourselves of the infantile sectarian diseases, and to rise to a higher level.

To a superficial mind it may seem that such words as sectarian, centrists, etc., are merely polemical expressions exchanged by opponents for lack of other and more appropriate epithets. Yet the concept of sectarianism as well as the concept of centrism has a precise meaning in a Marxist dictionary. Marxism has built a scientific program upon the laws that govern the movement of capitalist society, found a good many circles in var- but also the legalities of a reformand which were discovered by it. This is a colossal conquest! However, it is not enough to create a correct program. It is necessary and who then turned their ideolothat the working class accept it. But the sectarian, in the nature of things, comes to a stop upon the first half of the task. Active intervention into the actual struggle of the workers' masses is supplanted for him by an abstract propaganda of a Marxist program.

The Sectarian View of Society

Every working class party, every faction passes during its initial stages through a period of pure propaganda, i.e., the training of its cadres. The period of existence as a Marxist circle ingrafts invariably habits of an abstract approach to the problems of the workers' movement. He who is unable to step in time over the confines of tive sectarian. The sectarian looks upon the life of society as a great school, with himself as a teacher there. In his opinion the working class should put aside its less important matters, and assemble in solid rank around his rostrum: then the task would be solved.

every sentence, the sectarian is the a result of its "dissolution" in the returns to it. A sectarian does not prophetic documents. But this is imperfect and unfinished mass evasively pointing out that the a formalist, and an enlightener. máy even say, a large measure." During a certain stage of develop- If Vereecken behaved as a Marxist being directed critically against blind beliefs and superstitions (the in did our French section depart Eighteenth century!). The progressive stage of rationalism is repeated in every great emancipatory movement. But rationalism (ab- proved to be right: the advocates stract propagandism) becomes a reactionary factor the moment it is directed against the dialectic. Sectarianism is hostile to dialectics sense that it turns its back upon the actual development of the working class.

Ready-Made Formulas

life passes him by without noticing plaining about the conditions of EDEN MADE SECRETARY him; but now and then he receives the discussion in which he suffered in passing such a fillip as makes defeat. The discussion, you see, him turn 180 degrees around his was incomplete, inadequate, and ing changes. Those who talk of could possibly have been led to be in actions. Every principle he axis, and often makes him continue disloyal: Vereecken failed to satis- the conservative ministry of Bald- lieve that Lebrun or Laval would turns into a sectarian caricature. on his straight path, only . . . in fy his thirst with salt water. There win embarking on some new course take any steps to disarm the forces That is why even correct ideas bethe opposite direction. Discord is no "real" democratic centralism are merely carrying out their func- held in reserve by their masters in come in his hands instruments for with reality engenders in the sec- in the League! In relation to the tion of deluding the masses. Bald- case the workers become unman- disorganizing his own ranks. tarian the need to constantly ren- opponents of the entry the League win's cabinet, including Eden, have ageable. Far from attempting to der his formulas more precise, evinced . . . "sectarianism." It is only one task under many forms, disarm the Fascist bands, Laval similar groups in other countries. St., N. Y. C. This goes under the name of disclear that comrade Vereecken has the defense of British imperialism. will turn the attack on the workers They split from us not because we Entered as second class mail matter possible revolutionary role has cussion. To a Marxist discussion a liberal and not a Marxist con- In the carrying out of this task and will do everything possible to is an important but a functional ception of sectarianism: in this he Eden will use cleverly the worked aid his friend Colonel de la Rocque. instrument of the class struggle. obviously draws close to the cen-To the sectarian discussion is a trists. It is not true that the disgoal in itself. However, the more cussion was inadequate; it was land is engaged in manipulating tween Laval and de la Rocque, that he discusses all the more do carried on for several months, those pawns of the powers on the this course could be infallibly in capacity. Their attempts to unite the actual tasks escape him. He orally and in the press, and on an chessboard of politics, the Balkan ferred by the most superficial study is like a man who satisfies his thirst international scale, besides. After states. These states form at the of the relations between the Bona an international scale, produced no drinks, the thirstier he becomes. Hence the constant irritability of place is the best revolutionary with Africa, and also the means of Fascism has come to power. Withthe sectarian. Who slipped him the policy, he refused to abide by the entry to the backdoors of the Eu- out government aid, hidden at first, salt? Assuredly, the "capitula- decisions of the national and inter- ropean states that may be occupied more or less open later, these bantors" from the International Secre- national organizations. The rep in warfare on the Western fronts. dits could never have grown and

Leon Trotsky Analyzes the Role of these Tendencies score. He saw in this annihilating evidence of our bad regime. The peculiar thing is that in the S.A.P. itself, which has triumphantly published these computations. there

in everyone who attempts to ex- Vereecken on more than one occa- the Bolsheviks from utilizing even of the Bolshevik-Leninists there plain to him that an active partici- sion that if experience proved that pation in the workers' movement the step taken was incorrect, we demands a constant study of ob- would rectify the mistake jointly. jective conditions, and not haughty Is it really possible that after the bulldozing from the sectarian ros- twelve years' struggle of the Boltrum. For analysis of reality the shevik-Leninists you lack sufficient sectarian substitutes intrigue, gossip, and hysteria.

Twins and Antipodes

Centrism is in a certain sense the polar opposite of sectarianism; it ments. After the entry of the maabhors precise formulas, seeks effort to plumb every political situ- routes to reality outside of theory. ation to the bottom, and to advance But, despite Stalin's famous forclear-cut slogans; our hostility to mula, "antipodes" often turn out "easy" and "comfortable" decisions to be . . . "twins." A formula dewhich deliver from cares today, tached from life is hollow. Living ders. but prepare a catastrophe on the reality cannot be grasped without theory. Thus, both of them, the sectarian and the centrist, depart in the end with empty hands and join together . . . in their feeling of animosity towards the genuine Marxist.

How many times have we met a smug centrist who reckons himself a "realist" merely because he sets out to swim without any ideological every vagrant current. He is unable to understand that principles are not dead ballast but a life line for a revolutionary swimmer. The sectarian, on the other hand, generally does not want to go swimming at all, in order not to wet his principles. He sits on the shores and reads lectures on morality to the flood of the class struggle. But sometimes a desperate sectarian leaps headlong into the water, will it be.

and dispersion there are to be borrowing it from the Bolsheviks. gical baggage into a greater or lesser degree of ossification.

Let us take for example the best specimen of this type, namely the Belgian group led by comrade Vereecken. On August 10 the Spartakus, the organ of this group, announced its adherence to the Fourth International. This anouncement was to be welcomed. But at the same time it is necessary to state beforehand that the Fourth International would be doomed if it made concessions to sectarian tendencies

Vereecken's Predictions Vereecken was in his own time an irreconcilable opponent of the risky one, differences were entirely unavoidable were exaggerations in the ideological struggle. Thus, Vereecken predicted the inevitable ruin of the international organiza-Though he swear by Marxism in tion of the Bolshevik-Leninists as stated clearly and definitely wherefrom its principles, and he would have given a direct and an. open or the opponents of entry?

Democratic Centralism

The sectarian lives in a sphere of actual steps taken, if they merit | Fourth International. ready made formulas. As a rule criticism, Vereecken keeps on comwith salt water; the more he Vereecken had failed to convince others that marking time in one

confidence in your own organization to preserve discipline of action even in case of tactical disagreements? Vereecken paid no heed to comradely and conciliating arguthe Labor Party, the Vereecken

Adaptation to "Legality"

Lenin spoke of breaking with re-Leninists enter a reformist party! etc. The activity of a revolution-But Lenin had in mind a break ary wing in a reformist party can baggage whatever and is tossed by with the reformists as the inevit- be judged correctly only by evaluable consequence of a struggle ating the dynamics of development against them, and not an act of Vereecken does not do this either salvation regardless of time and in regard to the faction Action place. He required a split with Socialiste Revolutionaire (Left the social-patriots not in order to wing in Belgian Labor Party—Ed.), combination of sectarianism with tear the masses away from social- so, he would have been compelled questions this periodical expounds patriotism. In Belgium the trade to admit that the A.S.R. has made the views of Bolshevik-Leninists, the Belgian party is essentially the organized working class. To be sure, the entry of revolutionists seizes hold of the centrist and into the Belgian Labor Party not helps him drown. So was it; so only opened up possibilities but also imposed restrictions. In propagandizing Marxist ideas it is nec-In our epoch of disintegration essary to take into account not only the legalities of the bourgeois state ious countries who have acquired ist party (both these legalities, it which split away at different a Marxist program, most often by may be added, coincide in a large measure). adaptation to an alien "legality"

Czarist legality: for many years came during the initial stages a call themselves at trade union ally incapable of organizational meetings, and in the legal press discipline, and occasionally a mere ent democrats." True, this did not in the Comintern. These elements pass scot-free; a considerable num- viewed the struggle against "buvism who were more or less con- following manner: no decisions international socialists: however stead "discussion" is to be inactivity, Bolshevism overcame the We can say with complete justifigroup naturally found itself outside difficulties. Of course, the "legal- cation that the Bolshevik-Leninists our ranks. The blame for this ity" of Vandervelde, De Man, manifested a good deal, perhaps Belgian plutocracy imposes very toward such types of individuals question, then comrade Vereecken's sufficiently strong to create their sections in purging their ranks of dogmatic uncouthness. What's this! ods for the struggle against the an actual and systematic growth of cried Vereecken in indignation, dangers of reformist captivity: a our international organization. clear-cut program, constant facformists but the Belgian Bolshevik- tional ties, international criticism,

the recent period. What the final ing severe critical remarks at us. balance be it is impossible to fore- At the same time this periodical cast as yet. But the entry into the permits with impunity a defense of

Discussion as a Dogma

justified by experience.

Extending and generalizing his stages from our international or-Generally speaking, ganization is proof of our sectarian least capable of replying to the tional. No other road is possible. methods. Thus, the actual relacarries with it an indubitable tionships are stood on their head. danger. But this did not prevent As a matter of fact, into the ranks

By JACK WEBER

MARCH OF EVENTS

UNDECLARED WAR IN EAST

entry of the French Communist Siberian border. Inner Mongolia parations. Sanctions and the League this circumscribed existence becomes transformed into a conserved league into the Socialist Party. Siberian border. Inner Mongolia parations. Sanctions and the League issues of La verite, with an admix-based parations and the League issues of La verite, with an admix-based parations and the League issues of La verite, with an admix-based parations. Sanctions and the League issues of La verite, with an admix-based parations. Sanctions and the League issues of La verite, with an admix-based parations. Sanctions and the League issues of La verite, with an admix-based parations. There is no crime in this: the ordinate appetite of the Eastern cover, a protective coloration of They have no perspectives at all question was a new one, the step a imperialists. The diplomatic term "peace" hiding the feverish plans of revolutionary growth; but they "incident" is not applicable to a for war. Instead of denouncing manage to get along without per- On the one side, the initial steps permissible. In a certain sense, situation in which scores of lorries the fraud being perpetrated on the spectives. Instead of trying to of the New International are renequally permissible, or, at any rate, filled with armed troops stage in masses, the leaders of the Labor cursions reaching forty miles into Party again show their function of more serious organization (to learn ganizations and splinters from which existed between Lenin and direct negation of dialectic mate- Second International. We would before the workers of all lands otism and sanctions become absorialism which takes experience as advise Vereecken to reprint today must be made to realize that all lutely synonymous. its point of departure, and always in the Spartakus his yesteryear's their hopes for a better world, nay, that the preservation of civilization understand the dialectic action and not the chief evil. Worse yet is itself, depend on their successful LAVAL SHAKY reaction between a finished pro- the fact that in its present declar- defense of the Soviet Union against gram and a living, that is to say, ation Spartakus confines itself to the murderous onslaught of world straddles the two major classes in struggle. The sectarian's method French section remained true to its workers for liberation from wage mediate between the two irreconof thinking is that of rationalist, principles "in a considerable, we slavery is indissolubly bound up cilables, the capitalists and the ment rationalism is progressive, politician should, he would have the Soviet Union must be waged short time. The laws for the disanswer to the question of who lands. The fight must be waged passed in their original form. The Vereecken is even more incorrect war approaches the greater be- president and the cabinet. The anecdotic incident that befell Bauer (not in words but in action) in the in his attitude toward our Belgian comes the urgency for organizing armed bands are—if you please—to was not at all accidental. The urge section that entered into the re- the forces of the proletariat against be disarmed and dissolved by de- to stand to the left of Marxism formist Labor Party. Instead of imperialist war. These forces, at cree, with no force to actually studying the experiences resulting present dispersed and leaderless carry out the decrees. The forcial studying the experiences resulting present dispersed and leaderless, carry out the decrees. The farcical swamp. from the work carried on under can be rallied for new victories nature of the procedure in which new conditions and criticizing the only under the banner of the the Socialists and Stalinists were

Eden replaces Hoare as Secretary for Foreign Affairs—and nothfariat. The sectarian sees an enemy resentatives of the majority told Eden's first job is to consolidate a become powerful.

military bloc with Turkey, Greece, The guerrilla warfare across the Rumania and Yugoslavia under the borders of Outer Mongolia between fake of "exploring" the bases of nected and, by its very nature, himself by the famous (essentially whole but a link in the internation-Japanese invaders and the Soviet sanctions. Turkey will probably cannot be connected with any meaningless) formula of Edward al chain. Mongolia is the prelude of imper- be allowed to refortify the Dardaialist aggression against the Soviet nelles. Thus with the help of the Union. It is the beginning of an British Labor Party, which apundeclared war. The Japanese are proves of sanctions, British imperate ale, or Proletaire. They also ab program from the movement taken pressing on without let-up to the ialism is making complete war pre- stract their views from the latest as a whole, in order then to apply "enemy" territory. This is what advocating the views of the bour- is difficult) these abhorers of dis- them; on the other side they are the Japanese army is doing-in pre- geoisie in the ranks of the working cipline and very pretentious "lead- facilitated by the colossal experiparation for the real drive, the class and betraying the workers to ers" desire to teach the working ence of the past. The process of great push that will commence the the ruling class by supporting sanc-Second World War. Now as never tions. In this period social patri- easier). In moments of sober re- cult and full of torments during

The Laval government, one that capitalism. The struggle of the modern society in the attempt to with the fate of the Russian Work- workers, has become extremely ers' Republic. The fight to save shaky. Its fall is predicted in a everywhere, on all fronts, against arming of "armed leagues" have the system of capitalist exploita- been made meaningless by the Sention. The enemies of the Soviet ate, if one assumes that they could Union are the capitalists of all have had any real meaning even if against them. Only by the revolu- Senate refuses to leave the matter own." Assuming a position to our tionary struggle for the overthrow of prosecution and punishment to "left" (where else?), Field shortly of capitalism can the safety of the the ordinary courts. It places the entered into fraternal relations Soviets be assured. The nearer entire matter in the hands of the led to participate by their eagerness for class-collaboration, stands But at the same time he represents the spirit of despising all ideologinakedly revealed in this Senate the purest example of a sectarian. cal vacillation and cowardice. proposal. Of course, nobody pos- He is utterly incapable of preserv- October 22, 1935. sessing an iota of political sanity ing proportions either in ideas or up sentiment for sanctions and the Even if there were not direct evi-League of Nations. Already Eng- dence of the constant seances besame time the key to the door of partist governments and the Fascommunications with the East and cist bands in every country where to sectarianism is only the power

sheer misunderstanding. Field and Weisbord

mention the Field and Weisbord should be recognized—has "aided" groups. Field—in his entire political make-up—is a bourgeois rad- tional. Great conflicts sweep away ical who has acquired the economic all that is half-way and artificial views of Marxism. To have be- and, on the other hand, gives come a revolutionist Field would strength to all that is viable. War have had to work for a number of leaves room only for two tendencies years as a disciplined soldier in a in the ranks of the working class revolutionary proletarian organization; but he began by deciding to does not stop at any betrayal, and create a workers' movement "of his revolutionary internationalism that with the S.A.P. As we see, the pending events, are waging a rabid 1915, in the "Sozial-Demokrat":

There is no need to dwell upon tant Publishing Co., 55 East 11th peasantry, it says, has become difare intolerant or intolerable but at the Post Office at New York, N. dwindled more and more; a 'nationbecause they themselves did not Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. al' revolution is impossible in Russand could not go forward. Since JAMES P. CANNON Editor ia; 'we live in the era of imperialthe time of the split they have suc-conded only in expering their in Subscription rates: In the United ism,' says Trotsky, and 'imperialism sended only in expering their in Subscription rates: In the United ism,' says Trotsky, and 'imperialism sended only in expering their in Subscription rates: In the United ism,' says Trotsky, and 'imperialism sended only in experimental sended only in experimental sended on the split they have succeeded only in exposing their in States \$1.00 per year; 65c per six with each other, on a national or results in any single case: peculiar of repulsion and not the power of

Some crank has computed the

attraction.

occurred, during the few years of its existence, more rifts and splits than in all our sections taken tothe Bolsheviks were compelled to considerable number of anarchistic gether. Taken by itself, however, this fact is meaningless. It is necessary to take not the bald satistics of splits but the dialectics of develnot social-democrats, but "consist- failure who did not make his career opment. After all its splits, the ber of elements adhered to Bolshe- reaucratism" in approximately the be unable to withstand the first on- tasks have not yet been solved. The sistent democrats, but not at all must ever be arrived at, but, in- even to a larger measure to the is that capitalism has decayed too jority of the Belgian section into by supplementing legal with illegal stalled as a permanent occupation. Socialist Unity" which is being progressive role; that the only torn assunder by irreconcilable falls entirely upon its own shoul- Spaak and other flunkeys of the even a good deal too much patience splits. In the meantime, the or necessarily leads to the dictatoronerous restrictions upon the Marx- and grouplets. Only since an inter- lists, after purging itself of sectar- once embarked on this path, the ists, and thus engenders dangers. national core has been consolidated ian and centrist tendencies, not proletariat cannot stop but must If we return to the gist of the But Marxists, who are not as yet that began to assist the national only grew numerically, not only take the road to the solution of sectarianism stands out in all its own party, have their own meth-internal sabotage did there begin but also found the road to fusion Let us take a few examples of groups that split from our international organization at various stages of its development. A Strange Example solidation of both these parties.

International.

The French periodical Que Faire

is an instructive specimen of a

question what to do (que faire).

guise of discussion, and under the The internationalists of Que Faire to do so: historical events will are themselves unable to explain show. But it is necessary to begin how and why they happen to comistake, Vereecken asserts that the habit peacefully with social-patriexistence of isolated small groups ots, after breaking with the Bolsheviks. It is clear, however, that essary to mobilize the co-thinkers, with such eclecticism Que Faire is the pioneers of the New Interna-

The "internationalists" and the Marx and Engels, directly aimed economy, the family, etc. This social-patriots are agreed on only against all types of utopian-secone thing: never the Fourth Inter- tarian socialism, forcefully points does not allow society to reach national! Why? One must not out that communists do not oppose "break away" from the communist themselves to the actual workers' workers. We have heard the self- movements but participate in them safe argument from the S.A.P.: we as a vanguard. At the same time must not break away from the the Manifesto was the program of social-democratic workers. In this a new party, national and interna- ter of the socialist revolution which instance, too, antipodes turn out tional. The sectarian is content! begins on, but cannot end on, natwins. The peculiar thing, how- with a program, as a recipe of tional grounds; a national revoluever, is that Que Faire is not con-salvation. The centrist guides tion being not a self-sufficient Bernstein, "the movement is every-There is even less to be said thing; the final goal—nothing. about such groups as Internation. The Marxist draws his scientific this program to everyconcrete stage

The Initial Difficulties

learn within the framework of a dered more difficult by the old or class (this appears to them to be crystallization which is very diffiflection they must themselves real- the first stages will assume in the ize that their very existence as future an impetuous and rapid "independent" organizations is a character. The recent international events are of incommensurate significance for the formation of the revolutionary vanguard. In his In the United States we might own fashion, Mussolini—and this the cause of the Fourth Internamovement: social-patriotism which end. It is precisely for this readquote the following from an article son that centrists, fearful of imstruggle against the Fourth Interown fashion: in the rear of great is the main task of a revolutionary national. They are correct in their will be able to survive and develop solved in the NASHE SLOVO by which has not only cleaned its Trotsky, who repeats his 'original' Weisbord is indubitably closer ranks of sectarianism but which 1905 theory without stopping to to a revolutionary type than Field. has systematically trained them in

NEW MILITANT with which is merged

THE MILITANT

months; Canada and foreign \$1.50 nation to the old regime; on the per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle contrary. it opposes the proletariat rates: Two cents per copy.

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number of "splits' we have had and | JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

N.D., NEW YORK. Question: What is meant by

the "Permanent Revolution"? Answer: The theory of the 'Permanent Revolution", the essential features of which were form: ulated by Trotsky about 1905, has three aspects:

The first aspect concerns itself with the problem of the revolution S.A.P. remained an extremely hete- in backward or colonial countries rogeneous organization which will in which the bourgeois-democratic set of great events. This applies essence of the theory in this regard "London Bureau of Revolutionary far for the bourgeoisie to play a class which can solve even these contradictions: its tomorrow will democatic tasks is the proletariat; consist not of "unity" but only of that the solution of these tasks ganization of the Bolshevik-Lenin-ship of the proletariat; and that strengthened its international ties, socialist tasks. Between the democratic revolution and the solution with organizations akin to it in of the socialist tasks, there thus spirit (Holland, United States). arises a permanency of revolution-The attempts to blow up the Dutch ary development. This aspect of party (from the right, through the theory was historically confirm-Molinar!) and the American party ed. in a positive sense, in the Russ-(from the left, through Bauer!) ian Revolution of 1917. Led by have only led to the internal con- the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky, the proletariat, in the solu-We can predict with assurance that tion of the democratic tasks, had parallel to the disintegration of to take the power into its own the London Bureau there will pro-ceed an ever more rapid growth of on the road of a solution of socialsave his own soul but in order to or the Verite group. Had he done eclecticism. On the most important the organizations of the Fourth or the Verite group. Had he done eclecticism. On the most important the organizations of the Fourth ist tasks. The Chinese revolution of 1927 confirmed the theory in a unions are fused with the party, a serious development forward in changing a few commas, and direct. The Road to the New International negative sense. Under the leader-How the New International will democratic tasks was placed in the take form, through what stages it hands of the Chinese bourgeoisie Belgian Labor Party is already social-patriotic garbage, under the will pass, what final shape it will by requiring the Chinese Communassume—this no one can foretell ist party to subordinate itself to cover of "defending the U.S.S.R." today; and, indeed, there is no need the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang. The results are familiar to all.

The second aspect of the theory points to the permanent character of the socialist revolution as such. All social relationships are transformed in constant internal strug gle for an indefinitely long time; there occur outbreaks of civil wars. The Communist Manifesto of revolutions in science, technique, complicated reciprocal action which equilibrium, accounts for the permanent character of the Socialist

The third aspect of the theory points to the international charac-

For more elaborate treatment of the question, see Trotsky's "The Permanent Revolution" which is available at Pioneer Publishers.

Question: Certain Lovestoneites claim that by the theory of the "Permanent Revolution" Trotsky underestimated the peasantry and that this was stated by Lenin. Is this true?

Answer: On the differences Trotsky, neither of the two men were correct, on all the points. The peculiar part of the matter, however, is that the critics of Trotsky, who attempt to find a basis for criticism in past differences, long since resolved by history, are unfortunate enough to choose those questions on which Trtsky was correct. The "Permanent Revolution" is one of these.

When Joffe, a leader of the Russian Left Opposition, committed suicide in 1927, he left a note in which he stated that Lenin, in a conversation, had admitted to him that Trotsky had been correct on the question of the "Permanent Revolution". For the benefit of those who doubt the accuracy of Joffe's death-bed statement, or who doubt that Lenin could have admitted Trotsky to have been correct, we by Lenin, published November 20,

"To make clear the interrelation of classes in the coming revolution think why life, during a whole decade, has passed by this beautiful theory.

"Trotsky's original theory takes from the Bolsheviks their appeal to decisive revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and to the conquest of political power by it; from the Mensheviks it takes the 'negation' Published weekly by the New Mili- of the role of the peasantry. The ferentiated, divided into strata: its does not oppose the bourgeois to the bourgeois nation'.

"Here we have an amusing example of playing with the little word 'imperialism.' If, IN RUSSIA the proletariat is already oppos to the bourgeois nation, then it means that Russia is facing a SO-(Continued on Page 4)

Betrayal in the Present War Crisis

(This is a chapter from the pamphlet "War and the Workers" by John West)

In the face of the developing war crisis, the forces for the betrayal of the workers in the struggle against war are maturing rapidly. From all sides, in all countries, the liberals, the pacifists, the reformists, the social patriots, under the cover of what look like anti-war and pro-peace campaigns, are in actuality preparing for sell out to the war makers, are making ready to turn over the masses to the imper-

Again, as before the last war, we find the old ways and methods and slogans of betrayal. But the old methods are not enough. New appearances must be added: the masses cannot be deceived again in precisely the old ways. It therefore becomes of crucial importance to analyze the new and special forms of betrayal which are appearing in

1. «Good» and «Bad» Capitalist Powers

and is thus the implacable enemy

traitors. The latter will be put

these are the only possible defense

countries.

2. Defense of the Soviet Union

"democratic"

The most fatally dangerous doc- means both Fascism and war. Fastrine, a doctrine which has been cism means war only in the sense systematically propagated during that it marks outwardly a great recent years by liberals and by intensification of the inner conflicts own advantage. This was the tac- port of the home government so both the Socialist and Communist of capitalism, and is thus an indiparties throughout the world, is cation of the more rapid drive of only be understood as subordinate lined up. This necessarily weakens the theory that a basic distinction the whole capitalist system toward to the strategy of the world revomust be drawn between the com- the highest expression of these lution, and this strategy can base struggle, which is always against paratively "good" capitalist na- conflicts—imperialist war. But in itself only on the international the home government; and thus, in be "used" for the interests of the present crisis or in any other. tions, the "peace-loving" nations— the linked chain of causes that working class. Stalin's "maneuver- the end, disrupts the only possible Great Britain, France, and the make war an inevitable concomilings" with imperialist powers are defense of the Soviet Union itself, must always fight inexorably dispute between Italy and Ethiopia. United States, on the one hand; tant of the continued existence of the direct contrary of Lenin's. For which must be a defense against and, on the other, the altogether capitalism, the democratic nations Stalin "maneuvers" in such a way and an attack on the international acts. The Marxist knows that ad- Italy and the blow to imperialism "wicked" capitalist nations—Italy have as integral a part as the Fas- as to subordinate the working class bourgeoisie and all their political and especially Germany.

war is the fight against Fascism, and especially against Hitlerism, the worst form of Fascism. The success of Fascism means the destruction of all democratic rights. destruction of democratic of the working class. To defend rights means the crushing of the organizations of the working class, ing class is one thing. But this has and thus defeat for the revolutionary movement. But Fascism, especially Hitlerism, can succeed only state. The former is a primary by war, and, since Fascism means duty of every working class party; war, will inevitably undertake war. the latter is the occupation of

What then follows? What fol- forward as the only way to protect lows is the betrayal of the working the working class against war and class of France, England and the Fascism; in practice, it will give United States. For, on the basis of the working class both war and the above chain of reasoning, to Fascism, for the bourgeoisie of the support the democratic nations in democratic countries will not overa war against Hitler is to defend come the necessity for a resort to democratic rights against Fascism; Fascism during the decline of capand thereby the revolution. The italism merely by success in the of England, France and the United ermments in the States-becomes, through this theory, a revolutionary duty!

complete. It is not Fascism that To Fascism as to war there is only tinued existence of capitalism that tion.

Union!"

crushed under Fascism rather than "peace" elsewhere, to let him build whose governments they are. risk one ounce of cement at Dniep- at home. He places his reliance, rostroy or one tractor at Stalin- thus, not on the international grad. And, lastly, it means: sup- | working class, but on the "friendport the war policy of your demo- ly" capitalist governments, on any cratic government, and offer the agreements or treaties or pacts he the bourgeoisie finds its imperialist direct the Communist parties in the eims best served by a temporary various nations not toward revolualliance with the Soviet bureau-

tain that the Soviet Union should ship" for Stalin), but toward putnot, whenever possible, utilize the ting pressure on the home governantagonisms and contradictions ments to line up with the Soviet among the imperialist powers to its Union; and, then, to essential sup- a Stalin or a Blum, but not of a own advantage. This was the tactic of Lenin. But this tactic can long as it stays or pretends to stay

we can never "use" capitalist govof League or governmental "sancof League or governmental cist nations. From the point of to the capitalist powers, not to adinstruments—the capitalist governin any form necessarily binds the
they are therefore for the victory to mechanize still further the alview of the working class, there vance its interests. The Franco-ments, never a collaboration with Fascism, especially Hitlerism, means can be no "good," no "peace-lov- Soviet pact is the most striking them. war. Therefore, the fight against ing" capitalist states. Every cap example of such subordination italist state, democratic as well as Fascist, represents one or another form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working class, Lenin, to prevent the capitalist Union!" the democratic rights of the workfense of the "democratic" capitalist Union: on the working class of the national made it official for the logic of cause and effect.

of Germany and Austria to be sian socialism, asks only for ist governments and the bourgeoisle ment. In France, the same result: exactly those forces which are pre-

tionary struggle against their governments at home (which would

since it would realize that such an ready beforehand.

3. Sanctions

nant of the League of Nations proment, "Fascism means war" is in- always to fight for its overthrow, other League member states against The probable, the almost certain understands this; and consequently is, in the end, the only solution. the aggressor nation. These meas- outcome of such a blockade, as means war. Rather is it the con- one answer: the workers' revolu- ures are called "sanctions," and history has so often proved, is war the term "sanctions" is being extended to include measures which not accept such a measure peacemight be taken by nations on their fully without surrendering political own initiative (e.g., closing of the sovereignty. A closely similar preparation for achieve victory in the capitalist Suez Canal by Great Britain) as betrayal has gone on under cover nations. And it means these things well as measures taken collectively by the League members. of the slogan, "Defend the Soviet quite openly and realistically. For

This extension of the use of the lead to war.

quickly. It means: "Extend the sociates; put all faith in diplo- of peace" to support it. October revolution." It means to matic deals with bourgeois powers. strengthen the economic and polit- in military alliances with France of the doctrine of sanctions. League to be applied by capitalist govern- World Peaceways and the League point this out honestly and straight. Works, Volume XVIII, Internationical organizations of the world and Czechoslovakia, in maneuver sanctions are, of course, nothing ments (whether or not these are against War and Fascism to the forwardly, and instead to pretend at Publishers' edition, pp. 362-8; proletariat, to carry the class strug- ing in the League of Nations; re- else than sanctions undertaken by League members) is in effect sup- Socialist and Communist parties, that some form of neutrality legis | capitalized words are emphasized gle on a world basis to ever higher duce the working class parties to the leading member states of the port of these governments them are joining in this call for "man- lation will succeed or even aid in in the original.) levels, to drive toward workers' branches of the foreign office of League. The League, as we have selves. This means that such sup-datory" neutrality legislation to be isolating the U. S. in the world

A special and profoundly impor- League sanctions, therefore, is ex- the National Government. This has, of. But these will be ineffectual wheel completes its circle. Defense next war. Indeed, the outbreak of tant feature of betrayal in the pres- actly the same as support of sanc- naturally, fatally obscured the class in the immediate crisis? They are of the national state—that is, de war will in all probability be the ent war crisis revolves around the tions applied by individual nations issue. No longer is there any clear romantic and utopian? If so, then fense of the imperialist bourgeoisic signal for setting up Fascist gov. question of "sanctions." The Cove- -e.g., by Great Britain or France, line between the working class the revolutionary struggle is itself

-since the blockaded nation can-

But, to a Marxist, what does desupport the program of national is necessary is to call the war an with what verbal reservations—only an American form of the descomplete myth. As we have also fense of the Soviet Union mean? Bolshevism; no word of criticism "application of sanctions." Then means nothing else than support of mand for sanctions, combined with The essence can be summed up of Stalin and his bureaucratic as- it becomes the duty of all "friends war undertaken by the imperialist the worst type of ordinary pacifism. seen, the U.S. will inevitably be involved in the coming war, will in solved in the coming war, will be solved in the coming war, which is the coming war, whigh war and the coming war, which is the coming war, which is the government applying the sanctions. In the United States all the rot- fact play a leading and decisive olutionary SOCIALIST govern-This, indeed, is the real meaning In both cases, support of sanctions ten reformist organizations, from part in the coming war. Not to power. It means to put all faith the Soviet state. And it means: do seen, is only the instrument of its port necessarily leads to a betrayal passed by the next Congress, and struggle is to deceive and disorient mit that the Russian revolution

coincide. This is the reasoning of ernment.

4. Neutrality

a form of betrayal closely related U.S. government. What does this to betrayal on the question of sanc- mean in the concrete? It means, Thus it follows that sanctions tions. This is a particular danger in the first place, to spread among must be either ineffectual—a kind in the United States. In the United the people of the United States all of large-scale bluff—or they must States, which is not a League the fatal pacifist illusions about member, the betrayers call, not for U. S. isolation. As we have seen, Union!"

As has already been indicated, of the Soviet Union.

As has already been indicated, one of the primary tasks of the working class in the coming war.

As has already been indicated, one of the primary tasks of the working class in the coming war.

As has already been indicated, of the Soviet Union.

To Stalinism, however, and to word "sanctions" is significant. It indicates a new and ingenious method for turning opposition to war into support of war. All that war, support of them—no matter world. Its pretended isolation is a world. Its pretended isolation is a conference of 1912) is incorrect;

say, that we should support League French imperialism; Laval could that government represents. and governmental sanctions, but at reasonably apply for admission;

Marxists, then, reject and expose ernments for the interests of the tions." Naturally, however, this governments are is instruments to passive, hands-off position in the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, we Marxists are not neutral in the against the governments, and their They are for the defeat of Fascist vocacy of governmental sanctions which such a defeat would be; and ful battleships and airplanes, and working class to the state and the of Ethiopia. But they propose to ready highly "modernized" U. S. class enemy, necessarily weakens aid in such defeat and such victory army. We shall see the workers of the class position of the workers not by appealing to capitalist govwhereby the French working class France, England and the United and thus the workers' struggle for ernments and the imperialist is turned over hand and foot to the States rallied to the flag by the power, and necessarily prepares League for their assistance and French bourgeoisie, so long as the leaders of the Communist Party. for turning the workers over to the sanctions; but to the working class Pact formally endures—but this is "Defend the Soviet Union! Enlist sanction-applying government when to apply its proletarian "sanctions." only one aspect of the consistent in the army, and-fight against war the sanctions find their natural out- Only sanctions which are results and continuous policy of Stalinism. and Hitlerism! Defend the Soviet come in war. If we support sanc- of the independent and autonomous tions, and the sanctions lead to war, actions of the working class are of powers from attacking the Soviet This policy of betrayal has, also, then we have already by supporting any value in the revolutionary Union, placed his full reliance on been systematically developed over the sanctions supported the war. It struggle against war—since only fore, the neutrality acts would be the only possible force which could a period of many years. The recent takes more than verbal reservations these separate the class from the in actuality defend the Soviet Congress of the Communist Inter- to crawl out of the inescapable state and the class enemy, and only these build the fighting strength of various capitalist powers. If the sections of the C.I.; and the Dan- The disastrous consequences of the workers, which is alone the working class and its party were Zyromski-Bauer resolution on war support of sanctions are already road to workers' power and thus to Realizing this is enough to expose sufficiently strengthened in a given advances it within world social de-apparent. In Great Britain a year the defeat of war. Mass demoncountry, Lenin reasoned, the gov- mocracy. Unlike the situation at ago, the masses were turning rap- strations, strikes, labor boycotts, ernment of that country would not the beginning of the last war, the idly away from the National Gov-defense funds for material aid to dare to attack the Soviet Union, betrayers this time wish to be fully ernment. Then the British Labor Ethiopia, refusal to load munitions Party and the British Communist for Italy, revolutionary agitation Party came out strongly for sanc- for Marxism as it applies to the tions: that is, came out for the war crisis, these are such sanctions policy of British finance-capital and as the working class must make use But sanctions are war measures, parties and the Conservatives on ineffectual, romantic and utopian. vides that when a nation has been They include withdrawal of finant the war crisis. The Labor Party Perhaps such sanctions will not The business of the working class | declared an aggressor against a | cial credit, embargoes on trade, | and the Communist Party have "solve" the present crisis. But The mortal fallacy in this posi- within any country is never under member state, certain financial, various forms of boycott. To en- done for Baldwin what he could they, and they alone, will help steel tion is easy enough to understand any circumstances to defend "the economic, and even military meas- force them genuinely would require not do for himself: they have the class, materially and ideoogical when once examined from the point government"—that is, the political ures shall be—following an elabor a blockade of the country against brought about "national unity" on ly, for the struggle to come—the of view of Marxism. The state- executive of the class enemy-but ate procedure-invoked by the whom the sanctions were invoked. the war issue. Baldwin of course struggle for workers' power, which

Careful notice should be given to trality policy" on the part of the seen, the U.S. will inevitably be then we must speak, not of the

ary activities within your own attack would only pave the way against war, and the revolutionary has called for the new elections to gically, to turn them aside from the country, because this would upset for its own overthrow. Stalin, with defense of Ethiopia, which is alpeace"; permit the working class his eyes focussed on national Rus- way a struggle against the capital- stantial majority for the govern- to teach them to put reliance in The People's Front, advocating paring war-namely, the imperial-It does no good to say, as the sanctions, becomes the main sup- ist government of the United States social democrats and the Stalinists port of the "Republic"—that is, of and U. S. finance-capital, which

By JOHN

Thus, as always, pacifism in the the same time "point out that the national unity on the war issue form of demands for neutrality working class to the coming im- can come to with them. But to League and British and French im- mortally weakens the ripening class legislation in actuality aids the perialist war in all nations where secure such friendship, he must perialism are acting only in their struggle in France, which poses on war makers. It strengthens the own imperialist interests in apply- the order of the day the revolution- hand of the U. S. government, ing them"; we are temporarily able ary struggle for workers' power strengthens its hold over the people. to "use" the French and British and the overthrow of every form Since the policy of the government, governments to serve the interests of capitalist government at the like that of every imperialist gov-Naturally, Marxists do not main- endanger the government's "friend- of the working class, because their same time that the workers' leaders erment, is and must be a war of the working class, because their same time that the workers' leaders erment, is and must be a war of the working class, because their same time that the workers' leaders erment, is and must be a war of the working class, because their same time that the workers' leaders erment, is and must be a war of the working class, because their same time that the workers' leaders erment, is and must be a war of the working class, because their same time that the workers' leaders erment, is and must be a war of the working class, because their same time that the workers' leaders erment, is and must be a war of the working class, because their same time that the workers' leaders erment, and the workers' leaders erment is a war of the working class, because their same time that the workers' leaders erment is a war of the working class, because their same time that the workers' leaders erment is a war of the working class, because their same time that the workers' leaders erment is a war of the working class, because their same time that the workers' leaders erment is a war of the working class, because their same time that the workers' leaders erment is a war of the working class. interests momentarily, though from lend all their efforts to upholding policy, these demands are in reality "diametrically opposite causes," and defending the capitalist gov- doing their part in carrying out the war policy. The capitalists and the government officials are not slow to take advantage of the opportunity. Hearst and Roosevelt alike point out-just as does. Bald win in England—that to preserve a "strong neutrality and peace policy" the U. S. must build up its "national defense." That is to say, they use the agitation for neutrality legislation as a basis for expanding the armed forces of U.S. imperialism, to build new and more power-

> volved in the so-called "neutrality legislation." The substance of such legislation, if actually put into effect, can only be sanctions as the U. S. can apply them-various forms of financial and economic restrictions, boycotts, etc. As in in effect war acts, and the same conclusions must be drawn with respect to them as we have already the pseudo-Marxists in the U.S. who so bravely denounce the policy of sanctions in other countries (Great Britain, France); and then in the next breath advocate them (under the title of "neutrality legislation") for this country.

But even more than this is in-

Here, as in any other phase of the struggle against imperialist war, the fight for U. S. "neutrality" must be a working class fight, using the methods and means of the working class. It is only the working class, operating as an independent force, which can be counted on-certainly we cannot expect im perialism itself to put an end to imperialism, which is what we do when we call on an imperialist government to avoid imperialist war. The fight must be not for a "government policy of neutrality," but always a fight against the government.

Question Box

(Continued on Page 3) ment!' (Lenin, Collected

Even the Lovestoneites will adin the working class. It means to not carry on genuinely revolution- dominant members. Support of of the revolutionary struggle are "demanding" a "strong neu- the masses, to disarm them ideolo- was SOCIALIST in character.

The Monkey Strike

By BILL HAYWOOD =

(Editor's Note: "Big Bill" Haywood, picturesque founder and leader of the Industrial Workers of the World, is the author of the imaginative tale printed below. Haywood, who died in 1928 in Moscow, where he had lived in exile for almost ten years after his escape from a prison sentence for criminal syndicalism was the leader of countless strike struggtes in the Pre-war days in the United States. During one of these organizing campaigns which ended in a bitterly fought out struggle to organize the agricultural laborers in California, the fruit growers imported Japanese laborers to offset the growing strength of the I.W.W. among the white workers only to find the Japanese forming cooperatives against them. This Bill Haywood reduces the bosses' strategem to the aburd in the following story.)

The fruitgrowers were again the city to see how ingeniously they compelled to employ migratory were solving the labor problem. white labor, until a wonderful idea

cided upon as the most intelligent. after more. painted were built and equipped for the monkeys with paunches full ing cotton. It occurred to them not what to do with the monkeys, monkeys. They were actually fed had gone back to their houses, that the monkeys could be made and taught what they were to do. | much damage was done. The wise | to pick cotton, and there would be | cided on, and the chimpanzees were | on his face, hanging by his tail, | would lose prestige, and would en- | tice. They are all bound within

The monkeys were restless in developed at one of the conventions their houses, the air was aromatic ing that the monkeys were being of the Fruitgrowers' Association. with the ripened fruit. When they neglected, threatened to prosecute One of the delegates got up and suggested that it would be possible suggested that it would be possible climbed the trees. But instead of mals were not properly taken care the entire crop of that particular into the trial. Mio, a philosophic all this, Judge Gaunt, pontif, presults out, the Judge who is restless, unstabled with his smug theories of fruit. This was decided upon to bring the fruit down and put it The chimpanzees came to be diswithout hesitation, and steps were into a box, the mischievous little liked as much as the I.W.W. Some taken at once to get a lot of mon- rascals would dart about, selecting of the fruitgrowers owned cotton monkeys on the other plantations where a cop, objecting to the fes- him! The State had taken his fa- classes exist, that nothing mouthed the choicest fruit, take a bite or plantations in Imperial Valley on

Splendid little houses, all nicely Before the day was gone, and ciently docile for the work of pick-When the fruit got ripe, the fruitgrowers had to seek another no trouble about them trying to shipped back to the forests of tells the younger generation how danger the Commonwealth. owners brought their friends from method. The next day each monkey eat it.

had a muzzle put on.

eating and enjoying themselves.

The fruitgrowers were in an aw-

of Cruelty to Animals, who had struck southern California. never interested itself on behalf of the I.W.W. or the Japanese, learn-

white and black wage slaves suffi-

So all monkeys were shipped to accuses Trock as the actual mur-They went up into the trees rap- the new location. Strange to say, idly enough, but none of them they could pick cotton and at a would pick any fruit. They were speed that made their owners hapbusily engaged in trying to rid py. Here was the solution of the themselves of the frightful con- labor problem as far as picking trivance that prevented them from cotton was concerned. But their satisfaction was short-lived.

One day, while all the monkeys ful predicament with so many were at work, chattering while they monkeys to feed which would do no gathered the white balls of cotton, his play, "Goods of the Lightning," sentence, fears that the knowledge work in return. They appealed to a gentle breeze wafted a white tuft the drama of Sacco-Vanzetti, Judge of his murder of the cashier the Governor of the State, who re- from a monkey's hand. It amused Thayer, the Commonwealth of known to Shadow, and Garth, the high philosophic plane in in which gretfully replied that as the offend- him to see it floating through the Massachusetts, and the electric uncalled witness—will eventually the play dwells, the elements of ers were not men, they were not air. He tossed up another bit, and chair. The story of the play is the send him to the chair, since there time which fuses all the characters amenable to the law. If they were another. The other monkeys, catch-story of the fears left behind when is talk of a new trial. He silences into "poems," their sudden meet-I.W.W.'s he could have them iming the spirit of the fun, began to the current of the Public Utilities Garth with threats and attempts to ing, prearranged by the author and prisoned and perhaps have them do the same. At first little bits of the Commonwealth of Massachu- get rid of his pal, Shadow, by shoot- in no sense from a series of normal shot, but over monkeys he had no and then handfuls, till the air was setts turned into corpses the ideal- ing him and throwing him into the full of fleecy cotton. It looked as istic and revolutionary Sacco and river. The Society for the Prevention though the first snowstorm had Vanzetti.

> The overseers were alarmed There was no way to stop the

Africa, where they now gather to- they won the strike in California. In the presence of two cops, Mio and vengeance.

at Martin Beck Theater.

haunted by the innocence and death stumbles through the door, accuses of his father, comes to New York Trock of being an assassin and a

WINTERSET (The Bridge of | the bridge. Judge Gaunt makes a Sighs). By Maxwell Anderson, point of law to the cop, who ig then rub out the last living witness, nores his advice. Trock, who with "Winterset," by Maxwell Ander- his pal, Shadow, has just come out both killed by Trock's gang. son, is a continuation in verse of | of jail, where both served a short

At an informal meeting between

derer of the Dedham cashier, but is laughed at when Mirianne, who is the sister of the witness. Garth. refuses to back up Mio's statement, for fear that Trock's thugs will her brother. Eventually they are

This play can be understood in the light of a realistic fantasy. accidents, gives it a fantastic touch. What is left when the poetry and philosophy dries on their lips, is, Mio, the son of the fish peddler, the Judge, Trock and Mio, Shadow that in the minds of all those who participated in the murder of the cashier, the electrocution by the monkeys in their eager playfulness, looking for a witness, Garth, dis- murderer. Garth, in fear of his State of Massachusetts, the son who person, meets Garth's sister Miri-sides with his wisdom of the ob-satisfied with his smug theories of In some peculiar manner the anne, at a spontaneous fiesta, jectivity of the State. Mio taunts the objectivity of the State, is, that learned of the fun, and their pranks tivities, attempts to slug Mio. All ther's life! The Judge, coming out by the State is objective justice, The chimpanzee breed was de- two, throw the rest away, and go which they had trouble in getting caused the same disastrous result. the characters, including Judge of the semi-coma which has caused that the very idealism which seems The fruit and cotton growers Gaunt, who sentenced the fish-ped- him to wander about, says that to guide the shrewd patter of the were at their wits' end. They knew | dler, parade under the shadow of there could not be a reversal of Judge comes from an association decision, a reversal would mean with the ethics of the Democratic until deportation was finally de- gether and the eldest, with a grin that the forces of law and order State and is, therefore, class justhemselves with fear-philosophy

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