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The Death of the Little NRA

AN EDITORIAL

The reaction against the reforms of the Roosevelt regime sweeps forward on the swelling tide of economic recovery. The unabated massacre of the New Deal measures by the Supreme Court is the most pronounced expression of reaction's growing strength. What the Liberty Leaguers proscribed, their judicial tribunal hastens to sentence to death.

Before declaring the Guffey Coal Control Act unconstitutional, the Supreme Court has already condemned seven of the most important measures in the New Deal program, including the N.R.A. and the A.A.A. Two escaped execution for special reasons: the T.V.A. because, although it threatened the monopoly of the power trusts, Mussel Shoals was needed for national defense; the Gold Clause because it could not have been interfered with without creating colossal financial convulsions.

The Guffey Act was a posthumous child of the N.R.A. It was designed to accomplish for the anarchic and decrepit soft-coal industry what the N.R.A. was supposed to accomplish for all big industry: "to stabilize the bituminous coal industry through the regulation of labor and prices." The Act provided for the regulation of the entire industry by an industrial commission appointed

by the government. Production was to be rationed, prices fixed, wages and hours of work regulated, and a 15 percent sales tax imposed on all coal sold.

The Guffey law represented the maximum of governmental interference in private industry, short of nationalization. It was therefore bitterly opposed by big business interests as well as the corporations who operate the captive mines. It was sponsored by the United Mine Workers and favored by the unionized coal operators who sell their product under highly competitive conditions in the open market.

Conservative circles are therefore jubilant over their victory, as the editorial commenting the decision in the Republican Herald-Tribune and interpreting it as a slap in Roosevelt's face, indicates. Reaction is in the saddle and riding high, trampling the hated New Deal into the dust. Finance capital has plenty of reason to be overjoyed at the decision. For it was an utterly reactionary decision, untainted with the slightest suspicion of liberalism. The irreconcilable and almost insolent tone of Justice Sutherland's opinion is in itself a sign of the courage and confidence that has been restored to the big bourgeoisie by the upturn in the business cycle.

Reactionaries Rely on State's Rights

The majority opinion declared the law unconstitutional on the ground that it violated state's rights. "The States," Sutherland wrote, "were before the Constitution and therefore their legislative powers antedate the Constitution."

By an ironic coincidence, the latest issue of the "Nation" carries a leading editorial complaining that the liberals have allowed the slogan of state's rights to be taken over by the reactionary Republicans. The Supreme Court decision proves anew, what should surely not require proof in this day and age that, contrary to the belief of the "Nation," the slogan of state's rights can only have a reactionary significance. Just as the slaveholders before the Civil War inscribed this slogan on their banner, so our contemporary slaveholders, the capitalists, are using it to defend their property interests.

The shibboleth of state's rights is as antiquated as the stagecoach. The capitalist class itself recognized this in its heroic days when it waged civil war against the slavocracy. Today the slogan is doubly reactionary. The American people long ago cast off the swaddling clothes of petty statehood, and now it has also outgrown its youthful garments of nationality. The liberals of the "Nation" are advocating a reversion to local limits at a time when it has become urgently necessary to abolish national boundaries!

The majority opinion reveals how vigilant these judicial watchdogs are in safeguarding the interests of

their masters. The majority ruled, here as in the N.R.A. decision, that Congress possessed none of the significant powers assumed in the Act. Congress could not impose a sales tax, because that was not a tax but "a penalty." Congress could not fix wages and hours because "the relations of the employer to the employee is a local relation," . . . "all the evils of the industry are local evils," and do not therefore come under the category of interstate commerce.

It is plain that the justices who wrote these words have the conditions of colonial America in mind. They have also however the present needs of the capitalists in mind. While they flatly state that the labor provisions are unconstitutional, they do not declare that the price-fixing provisions are illegal. These are rejected now presumably because they are inseparably interwoven with the labor provisions. In other words, Congress may have the power to set prices for the interests of the mine-operators but it certainly has no power to set wages for the mine workers. The proposal has already been made that a new act be prepared that will regulate prices but leave out the labor provisions.

The dissenting opinion of the minority in whom the liberals vest their hopes is little better. In a feeble voice they reserve judgment on the question of the constitutionality of the sales tax and the labor clauses. They speak forth strongly and without ambiguity only in favor of price fixing.

Roosevelt Receives Reward of Virtue

The storm of protest engendered by this decision of the Supreme Court will doubtless rebound to the political credit of Roosevelt and add considerably to his political capital. All the righteous indignation of the miners and the masses of the people against this reactionary action will be concentrated on the Court. Roosevelt, the spotless knight, will receive the rewards of his virtue.

Roosevelt's open and concealed supporters in the labor movement are doing their utmost to divert attention from his art in the whole affair and to treat him instead as a friend or ally of the working class. That worthy champion of the workers, Daniel Tobin, President of the Teamsters, hastened to declare: "Every worker of every class (!) is pledged tonight to President Roosevelt to vote for him at the next election as a result of the decision today. The decision has established in the minds of the workers the fact that the court is reactionary, is living in ages past, and that Franklin D. Roosevelt is a friend of the worker. I hope we all work to the end that we will elect to office a Congress that finds some way of passing legislation to replace the Guffey Act."

The Daily Worker echoes these sentiments in its own fashion. Once again, like the plaintive bleat of a sheep, it calls upon "Roosevelt and Congress to act to curb the Supreme Court," in its leading editorial. These political enunciations in a shrill voice, "Is President Roosevelt going to continue to dodge the issue? Are the labor leaders who have endorsed Roosevelt for reelection

tion going to continue to give Roosevelt a blank check," etc.

Like Pontius Pilate, the editors of the Daily Worker do not stay for an answer. It can be given briefly in a single word: "Yes."

The Stalinist appeals to the President are not only futile and absurd from the standpoint of the working class. They are based upon an almost criminal blindness to the true state of affairs in regard to the Guffey Bill. For Roosevelt is no less implicated in the plot to assassinate the Bill than the Supreme Court. He was not merely an accessory to the crime but even its instigator, as we propose to show.

First of all, the Guffey Bill was presented to Congress after the N.R.A. had been declared unconstitutional. It was therefore a foregone conclusion that the Little N.R.A. would meet the same fate as its model when it came before the highest court. On this account the House hesitated whether or not to pass the bill when it was certain to be declared invalid.

At this point the President sent the following message to the House: "I hope your committee will not permit doubts as to constitutionality, however reasonable, to block the suggested legislation." The emphasized phrase gave the cue to Congress. It meant: "Pass the bill; the miners want it; but don't worry, the Supreme Court will take care of it." And indeed it did.

The Stalinists, the labor and liberal supporters of Roosevelt completely cover up Roosevelt's role in this train of events leading up to

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Croppers Rebel At Slave Wages

5,000 Arkansas Sharecroppers Strike Against System of Peonage on Cotton Plantation

MEMPHIS, Tenn., May 18.—Five thousand cotton croppers and day laborers, members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, will hang up their hoes and strike for higher wages. They are now being paid a wage ranging from 60c to 75c per day, working from sun-up to sun-set. Their demand is for \$1.50 per 10 hour day.

In Memphis the Cotton Carnival is in full swing. Thousands of visitors from all parts of the nation have flocked to the cotton capital of the world to pay homage and obeisance to King Cotton. Each day witnesses mile long parades with costly floats. Wealth wrung from

King Cotton's slaves is being lavishly poured out for the extravagances of this festival. While King Cotton's retinue feasts from the fat of the land, millions of slaves from the cotton country live in wretchedness and want. Those who have produced this billion dollar crop are today naked and starved. While their economic overlords today throw money to the winds, they themselves are fortunate to get a day's work for 60 or 75 cents. With thousands unable to get either crops or jobs and with hundreds of thousands of others barely existing on starvation wages, the slaves of King Cotton are in open revolt.

Enthusiasm for Strike High
The strike was called, and time set by one of the most enthusiastic and earnest meetings in the history of the Union. With representatives of 78 locals present, not a dissenting voice was raised. Strike committees have been established throughout the affected area, and scores of men and women scoured Northeastern Arkansas, Saturday and Sunday calling the people to strike.

The landlords, fearful of the strike, have redoubled their working force; and plan to bring unemployed relief workers out of Memphis and other cities to take the jobs of the strikers. Union officials received a pledge of assistance from the Memphis local of the Workers Alliance of America to help prevent unemployed Memphis workers from going to the fields. Local leaders of the Alliance will throw a picket line across the Harahan bridge leading into Arkansas. On the Arkansas side the Union will have its own picket line.

With thousands of its members actually on a starvation basis and hundreds of others having been evicted, the Union is in desperate need of money with which to finance the strike. Many of the people will suffer, and terror is likely to rear its head over the entire section. Contributions for defense and relief should be sent to

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Parole Mini; Free Others, His Demand

Mini Appeals for Struggle To Force Release of Chambers, Deckers

SAN FRANCISCO.—Norman Mini has been released from San Quentin Prison, first to complete his term of the eight workers convicted in the famous Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial of 1934. Norman Mini received a three-year sentence and must spend the next sixteen months under charge of parole officers.

Of the other male prisoners Albert Hougardy received three and a half years and like Mini will serve the last 16 months on parole; while Pat Chambers, Martin Wilson and Jack Crane got five years sentences, parole to be determined later.

The National Sacramento Appeal Committee, defying Mini, conducted a national campaign for minimum sentences, rallying the support of ten international unions, five state federations and two-score city central labor bodies and a group of Senators and Congressmen.

Mini Appeals for Other Prisoners
Upon leaving San Quentin Mini called for a renewed effort to upset the convictions, which come up on appeal soon.

"By releasing me the state of California hopes to obscure the fact that it is holding in prison the leaders of the California agricultural workers, Chambers and Decker. The fight for the freedom of these two and of the other prisoners is indissolubly bound up with the fight to organize the agricultural workers. Elementary solidarity demands that all workers and workers' organizations unite in renewed efforts to free these workers from prison."

The National Sacramento Appeal Committee announced that it is sending to the State Parole Board additional resolutions from unions, demanding that minimum sentences be set for the girl prisoners, whose indeterminate sentences are soon to be fixed by the Board. The United Rubber Workers International, Chicago Federation of Labor, Boston Central Labor Union, and the central bodies of Pontiac, Lansing, South Bend and San Bernardino are among the latest unions demanding freedom of the Sacramento prisoners.

Raymond W. Henderson, state chairman of the Socialist Party, is attorney for Norman Mini and will represent him in the pending appeal. The other prisoners are represented by the International Labor Defense, which refused the invitation of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee for one united defense.

Blum Upholds French Capitalism

People's Front Leader Pledges "Safe" Regime, Socialism, Only Solution to Crisis, Is Remote to S.P. - C.P. Moguls

Within a few days, the first Socialist Ministry will be officially installed in France, with Leon Blum most likely as Premier.

The French Socialist Party is about to make history in the same sense that the "socialist" governments of Vandervelde, Scheidemann, MacDonald, etc. made history in their time. That is to say, Blum will assume the vestments of power with the permission of the bourgeoisie on the self-same condition that his colleagues in other countries were invested with power, namely: that he protect the bourgeoisie against its enemies, tide it over a crucial period, provide it

with a sufficient interval in which the masses can be exhausted and demoralized, while all the necessary preparations are made for a decisive assault upon the revolutionary forces of the working class and the peasantry.

Blum's Capitalist Program
As there was not a shred of socialism in the "labor" governments in England, Germany, Belgium, etc., so there will be nothing "socialistic" about the future Blum government, a fact which Blum himself has openly avowed to the mass meeting in the Salle Wagram, held in celebration of the "victory."

"Reminding his hearers that the country had not given power to the Socialist Party but to the People's Front coalition, Blum said: 'Our program therefore is based on capitalist society. Our task will be to extract from this social regime everything that it can still harbor of well-being and justice.'" (John Elliot, N. Y. Tribune, May 16.)

In these words of Blum we have the balance-sheet of the People's Front, its program and its "victory": it is that of capitalism. All that Blum is pledging himself to do as Premier is to extract "everything" compatible with the "well-being and justice" obviously not of the working class but of the capitalists on the basis of whose program Leon Blum and his associates are preparing to assume power in June.

Stalinists Revive Cartel Policy
It ought to be noted that if Blum and Co. did not "assume power" up to now, it was thanks only to their fear of the effects of such a step upon the French working class. The furthest that the Socialist leaders dared to venture in the sphere of parliamentary collaboration was to support the Radicals in power—this was known as the cartel policy, and is in all respects similar to the present policy of the French Stalinists. Millerand, Briand, Laval, Paul Boncour and lesser fry who exploited the working class movement in order to carve out a ministerial career for themselves, all had to resign from the Socialist Party on becoming ministers.

The French Communist Party, from the very first day of its existence, aimed its heaviest blows against the cartel policy of the Socialists. And, in point of fact, for months prior to the actual establishment of the united front between the C.P. and the S.P., the Stalinist leaders were seriously considering breaking off the cartel with the compromised party of the Radicals.

As for participating in the same government with Herriot-Daladier, Blum, Faure, Auriol and Co. actually broke with the so-called Neos, a group of Socialist parliamentarians who saw the quinquennium of socialist policy in participating in ministries. Most of these Neos, after the split, joined with Paul Boncour's "Socialist and Republican Union." In a few days Leon Blum will sit in the same ministry with perhaps the very same people whom he had voted to expel not so very long ago. It was all a very unfortunate misunderstanding!

People's Front Program
Fortunately, however, the French Stalinists intervened energetically and opportunely to reestablish the cartel on a "higher level."

What sort of a "capitalist program" is the program on which Blum is accepting the premiership? In the sphere of domestic policy its outstanding demands are: (1) the disarming and the abolition of the Fascist leagues; (2) the abolition of the private manufacture of arms (the nationalization of the armaments industry); (3) the control and reorganization of the Bank of France (the nationalization of the Bank of France); (4) the immediate abolition of Laval's economic decrees (which hit the civil service workers, the proletariat and the peasantry); (5) the maintenance of the "gold" franc; (6) taxing of the rich.

In the sphere of foreign policy, (Continued on Page 4)

"Third International After Lenin" Off the Press, A Lexicon for the Revolutionary Movement

When Stalin condemned Leon Trotsky to exile in lonely Alma-Ata in 1928, after having expelled him from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet bureaucracy breathed a sigh of relief. The expulsion occurred on the eve of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, which marked the completion of the rise to power of the bureaucracy. The Stalinist faction had been in control of the situation at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924, but the prestige of the makers of the revolution was then still so great, and the bureaucracy still sufficiently doubtful of its control, that Trotsky had been elected a member of the Executive Committee of the International.

Between 1924 and 1928 the apparatus automatically expelled the leadership of one after another of the great parties of the International and replaced them with subservient hacks. Only after they had had firmly secured a stranglehold on the entire organization, did they convene the Sixth Congress.

Prevent Trotsky from Appealing
The Stalinists did not dare permit Trotsky to appear at the Sixth Congress. Not all the delegates were handpicked; not all of them had been tested to certify that under any and all conditions they would take orders from the bureaucracy. So, a few months before the congress, Trotsky was expelled from the Russian party and marched off to exile. Although, according to all the rules and traditions of the International, only a congress could confirm or revoke the decision against Trotsky as a member of its Executive—this violation of communist procedure did not make the Stalinists hesitate for a moment.

A lesser man than the organizer of the 1917 insurrection might have succumbed to passivity. As the political and theoretical leader of the Left Opposition, he would participate in the Sixth Congress in spite of Stalin's armed guards. And he did!

His participation took the form of writing the materials which constitute the core of "The Third International After Lenin," published this week by Pioneer Publishers. It remains not only his most basic work, but the fundamental platform of the Fourth International in its struggle against Stalinism. A rich theoretical distillation of the successes and failures of the Communist movement since 1917, it is an indispensable guide to the revolutionary strategy demanded by the conditions of our epoch, the period of capitalist decline, of wars and revolutions.

Document Sees Light of Day

In complete violation of his rights as a member of the E.C.C.I.—not to speak of his moral right to be heard as the great co-worker of Lenin—Trotsky's materials were never distributed to the delegates and were not discussed at the congress. Two parts of his Criticism of the Draft Programme of the Communist International bawled, and badly translated were given to the small number of delegates in the Program Commission, and a "report" on it was made to a selected group of delegates which immediately "settled" the issue without discussion. The document "What Now," which is Trotsky's letter of appeal to the Congress for reinstatement, was never submitted to any of the Congress members; it is

here published for the first time in English.

Yet even this suppression did not succeed. Among the small group of delegates in the Program Commission were James P. Cannon of the American C.P. and Maurice Speer of the Canadian party. They were deeply impressed with Trotsky's critique. They were not permitted to bring the materials with them out of Russia. The few copies at the Congress were numbered and required to be returned. Fortunately, they managed to obtain one and smuggle it out of Russia. Thus did this great work first reach the light of day.

Prophecy Fulfilled

"The conception of the building of socialism in one country is a social-patriotic conception."

This statement excites no surprise when it appears in our press today. It is our major criticism and condemnation of the Stalinist betrayal of the interests of the world proletariat. Almost every action of the Comintern since the Seventh World Congress and the signing of the Stalin-Laval pact confirms the social patriotic policy of the Comintern. The nationalistic theory of socialism in one country has led to social-patriotism in other countries.

And yet this sentence was not written recently. It appears in the criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern, written by Trotsky in 1928! What was then presented as a theoretical deduction has today become a tragic reality!

The "Amazing" Course of History
This striking prediction is only one example of the surprises that await the reader who comes afresh to "The Third International After

Lenin." That reader is truly to be envied: He will find not merely awe-inspiring prophecies that have been fulfilled in the eight years since this book was written. More important, he will learn why what has happened has come to pass. For Trotsky in 1928 was not a mere prophet crying in the wilderness. Trotsky was a maker of history, who knew that Stalinism could logically lead only in the direction of social-patriotic betrayal.

Even most of us who read mutilated parts of this work which were smuggled out of Russia in 1928 and published in 1929 and 1930, will read this great work with far more insight today than was possible six years ago.

How many of us, in the first years of the Stalinist lunacy of the "Third Period," really believed that the Comintern would inevitably make a swing back to the opportunism of 1923-28? When the Stalinists were breaking up Socialist meetings and declaring the Socialists to be a greater danger than Hitler, it seemed fantastic to many that the same Communist parties would go back to bowing and scraping before Chiang-Kai-Shek and Leon Blum. But in 1928, before the opportunist policy had been entirely replaced by third period lunacy, Trotsky was already warning that both the opportunism and the lunacy were alternating phases of the degenerate Stalinist bureaucracy's false course of national-Bolshevism. To read this work now is to realize how clearly Trotsky grasped this fact, which has now been proven to the hilt by the Stalinist return to an even more emphatic opportunist course.

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Book Review

By JACK TAYLOR
"TROTSKYISM is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. . . . That is why the attempts of certain 'litterateurs' and 'historians' to smuggle the disguised Trotskyite rubbish into our literature must encounter determined resistance from the Bolsheviks."—Joseph Stalin, Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism, 1932. International Publishers.

"Determined resistance" does not and cannot dispose of the real history of the October Revolution and of the perspectives of the Bolsheviks when they decided upon the seizure of power in 1917. From many sources and in many ways the Leninist interpretation of revolutionary events and perspectives as "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" did not, as the documents show, prevent Stalin from taking the road of "counter-revolution" in his earlier interpretation of the revolutionary events.

Who Is Counter-Revolutionary?

In 1932 Stalin asks: "Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie its intellectual weapon against Bolshevism in the form of the thesis of the impossibility of building socialism in our country . . . ?" In looking for the answer to this question, let us turn to page 48, Stalin's "The October Revolution."

Says Stalin: "The fact of the matter is that the seizure of power by the proletariat occurred under peculiar conditions, domestic and foreign, which placed their imprint on the entire work of the party after it seized power. In the first place, Russia is economically backward; it cannot of its own strength set aright the transport system, develop industry and electrify the urban and rural industries. . . . If Russia had as a neighbor a big, industrially developed Soviet state or several Soviet states, it easily could have established co-operation with such states on the basis of an exchange of raw material for machines and equipment. However, so long as this is not so, Soviet Russia and our party, . . . are forced to seek forms and means of economic co-operation with hostile capitalist groups of the West in order to acquire the necessary technique pending the victory of the proletarian revolution in one or several industrial capitalist countries. . . . Failing these, there is no use even thinking of serious economic construction, of electrifying the country."

This was written in the early years of the Revolution, when ideas were still fresh in the minds of all, when the Stalin falsifiers did not yet find it possible to distort the perspectives of October. The above quotation is from an article by Stalin originally published in Pravda, No. 190, August 28, 1921.

"Socialism in One Country"

As we see, the question of socialism in one country was considered impossible, especially since "Russia is economically backward." But we are anticipating a bit, for Stalin in those days (1921) did not yet approach the question of socialism in one country. Stalin in those days clearly stated: "Russia cannot of its own strength set aright the transport system." How far removed from Stalin's theory of Soviet Russia's economic self-sufficiency. According to Stalin, in 1921, the economic resources of Russia did not permit the "setting aright" of the transport system without economic collaboration with hostile capitalist groups of the West, "pending the victory of the proletarian revolution in one or several industrial countries."

How fresh and far removed from the reactionary theory of socialism in one country. But perhaps this was incidental due to "alien" influence upon the mind of Stalin. Not so. For Stalin in those days considered it necessary to take into account the question of international economic cooperation on the "fraternal principle" between the "progressive (industrial) countries and the backward (fuel and raw material producing) countries (in place of the principle of robbery of the latter by the former). This is precisely why an international proletarian revolution is needed. . . . However, in order to begin (at least begin!) instituting a correct world economy, the victory of the proletariat in at least a few advanced countries is necessary. So long as this has not been achieved, our Party must seek circuitous paths of cooperating with capitalist groups in the economic arena." (Joseph Stalin, The October Revolution—p. 48.)

How far removed from the theories of "economic self-sufficiency" and "socialism in one country." The earlier international perspectives of the Bolsheviks as indicated in the above quotations from Stalin are today taboo. Internationalism is labelled "counter-revolutionary ideology" and revolutionists are exiled and shot by Stalin's and Yagoda's G.P.U. for refusing to relinquish the international traditions of Bolshevism.

In his role of falsifier of the his-

story of the Revolution Stalin says: "Trotsky, who was a relative newcomer in our Party in the period of October, did not and could not have played any special role in the party or in the October uprising." The same Trotsky whom the world knows as Lenin's collaborator and as the organizer of the insurrection of 1917 "did not and could not play any special role in the October uprising."

"Let us," says Stalin, "take the minutes of the meeting of the central committee, on October 16, 1917. . . . A practical center is elected to take charge of organizing the uprising. Who is elected to this center? Five were elected to it: Sverdlov, Stalin, Dzerzhinsky, Bubnov and Uritsky. . . . Comrade Trotsky did not get on the practical center, which was called upon to lead the uprising. How can this be reconciled with the current notion about Comrade Trotsky's special role?" (Stalin's October Revolution, p. 71.)

We are at liberty to ask the falsifiers of the history of the Revolution how it is that Trotsky, who did not get on the "practical center" was able to "direct"—as Stalin says—"all the practical work in connection with the organization of the uprising?" A truthful man need not fear saying two different things at two different times. Only falsifiers have the quality of contradicting themselves at every turn. For Stalin, you see, tells us on page 71 of the above mentioned work, that Trotsky "could not and did not play any special role in the October uprising," forgetting that on page 30 of the same work he tells us the exact opposite: "All practical work in connection with the organization of the uprising was done under the immediate direction of Comrade Trotsky, the president of the Petrograd Soviet. It can be stated with certainty that the party is indebted primarily and principally to Comrade Trotsky for the rapid going over of the garrison to the side of the Soviet and the efficient manner in which the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee was organized."

History will have its revenge! And when it does, Stalin's role of falsifier and grave-digger of the Revolution will meet the fate reserved for it by the onward march of the international proletariat. Already we hear the steady tread of the iron battalions of the Fourth International.

Differences with Lenin

By placing the mystic halo of infallibility upon the head of Lenin the falsifiers hoped to extend that infallibility to themselves. Infallibility does away with lots of "explaining" about the differences between Lenin and the October central committee. Since the central committee was infallible, and hence could make no mistakes, how could serious differences arise therefore between Lenin and the central committee on the question of the seizure of power?

Speaking about the October days, Stalin says: "The question of the transfer of power to a new class becomes the burning question of the hour. . . . Were there any differences of opinion within our party at that time? Yes, there were. But they were exclusively of a practical nature. . . ." (Stalin's October Revolution, p. 79.) Only slight differences "of a practical nature"; nothing political involved; so says Stalin. And some of us wonder: what are the falsifiers trying to hide now? What is Stalin trying to hide?

Behind "infallibility" Stalin tries to hide his own opposition to Lenin in the October days. Stalin attempts here to hide his own sabotage of Lenin's directives to the central committee in the October days. For proof let us turn to Lenin: "To refrain from seizing power at present, to 'wait,' to 'chatter' in the Central Committee . . . means to ruin the revolution. . . . Seeing that the Central Committee has left even without an answer my writing insisting on such a policy since the beginning of the Democratic Conference, that the Central Organ (Stalin was editor—J.T.) is deleting from my articles references to such glaring errors of the Bolsheviks as the shameful decision to participate in the parliament, as giving seats to the Mensheviks in the Presidium of the Soviets, etc., etc.,—seeing all that, I am compelled to recognize here a 'gentle' hint as to the unwillingness of the Central Committee even to consider this question (seizure of power—J.T.), a gentle hint at regaining me and at suggesting that I refrain. . . . I am compelled to tender my resignation from the Central Committee, which I hereby do. . . ."

Crystal clear! Lenin wanted to resign from the Central Committee because it tended to "refrain from seizing the power" and because the central organ of the party, with Stalin as editor, "deleted" and delayed the publication of Lenin's directives to the party in connection with the seizure of power.

How devastating to Stalin! To continue to exist politically it became necessary to falsify the history of the Russian Revolution. To usurp the power it became necessary to slander and to persecute

The Death of the Little NRA

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the death of the Guffey Bill. They point to the Supreme Court as the sole culprit and ignore the role of Roosevelt and Congress as accomplices in the crime.

The Triple Play
Thus the Guffey Bill was put out as the result of a triple play between the President, Congress, and the Supreme Court. Rarely has there been a clearer case of the manner in which the executive, legislative, and judicial arms of the government work together to deceive the workers and deprive them of their demands. What the government appears to give the workers with its left hand, it takes away with its right. Roosevelt proposes, Congress enacts, and the Supreme Court disposes.

The American system of bourgeois democracy must operate in this fashion. The President and Congress, being elected officials, are compelled to yield now and then to the pressure of the masses and concede part of their demands. They act as a buffer between the rulers and the ruled. The Supreme Court, appointed for life and practically irremovable, can turn a completely deaf ear to popular clamor. They need listen only to their master's voice.

What Now?
The lesson to be drawn from this decision of the Supreme Court is so clear that even William Green, with rare flash of class-consciousness resembling the last flicker of consciousness in the brain of a dying man, could not miss it. "After all," he said, "we must rely on our own economic strength. If we cannot enact legislation of this kind in an orderly way, we will irresistibly be drawn to use our economic power; that can be done only through complete and thorough organization; the more thorough and complete it is the greater will be our economic power."

Green does not of course intend these words to be taken seriously, but he inadvertently hit upon the right note. Only through their organization and militant action, and not by reliance upon the bounty of the capitalist state, will the miners be able to obtain their demands—and to keep them.

The soft-coal industry is a dying industry. Other sources of power are steadily cutting into its market. The history of the English coal mining industry shows that no amount of regulation or state subsidy can save it from continued decline. The manifold social problems that arise in the lives of the miners out of the decay of the coal industry can only be solved under Socialism.

Meanwhile, the bituminous miners can prevent the operators from relegating them to the scrapheap and from reducing their wages to starvation levels only by the strongest organization and the most unremitting struggle. The half-million miners in the U.M.W.A. already have enough combined strength to enforce their demands upon the operators in most fields. They need only a correct class struggle policy and a progressive leadership.

New Sitdown At Goodrich

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and dues of twenty-five cents per month.

The next is "The Rubber Club," an organization "made up of persons in all walks of life and . . . interested primarily in promoting civic welfare." The organization, with a fine spirit of thoughtfulness too often lacking in this wicked, commercial world of ours, deprecates the sit-downs, and three days ago addressed a plea to the United Rubber Workers of America to "return to the principles of the American Federation of Labor for collective bargaining through accredited representatives and to end mass bargaining and intimidation." The last organization—at least, at the instant of writing—is a "recreation" club designed to make men out of red apple boys and to beat up trade unionists, who reportedly too often do not rely on formal logic in reasoning with company union members.

In the meanwhile production in the rubber industry is slackening off; the rubber plants have already begun to lay off men. Tension in the plants is acute. In an effort to lessen it the Firestone local is presenting the company with a plan for spreading the work. Should this be refused, or even should it be accepted, no one would dare predict when a new storm will break.

and to hound the "organizer of the October insurrection" and those revolutionists who refuse to relinquish the revolutionary traditions of Bolshevism.

But the truth will out! Already do the Stalinists find it difficult to stuff the cracks. Here and there the real history of October seeps out. Some of the pages of Stalin's "October Revolution" when they reach the contradiction point, simply reek with "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism!"

Jobless Hit Pa. Relief

(Continued from Page 1)
Board members, to lead them in the fight.

121 Million Declared Imperative
The conference then got down to business, adopting various resolutions affecting the conditions of the workers, to be brought before the legislature. A relief appropriation of \$121,000,000 as against the \$70,000,000 figure proposed by the Democrats under Governor Earle and the \$43,000,000 proposed by the Republicans was declared to be absolutely imperative, on the basis of the cut-to-the-bone budget of 64 cents per person per day, to tide the unemployed over until the beginning of next year. The conference unanimously recommended this figure as an air-tight minimum to the governor and the legislature. The presiding committee was instructed to interview the governor and to demand spokesmen before the legislature, to present the case for the organized unemployed. Committees were also elected to present grievances to the State Emergency Relief Board and to the state WPA administration.

All the delegates—men, women and children—were housed and fed at the expense of the government during their entire three days' siege. The impressive turn-out and the serious conduct of the conference had forced the hand of the administration.

Committee Interviews Earle

On Monday afternoon, the presiding committee was received by Governor Earle for an audience, David Lasser, John Muldowney, Sam Gordon, Charles Spencer and a Negro woman delegate from Philadelphia, Margaret Johnson, argued the case of the unemployed before the chief executive for more than two hours. The governor was very generous with his typically vague promises and his hypocritical assurances of concern over the plight of the jobless in his state, but would not make any definite commitments. Beneath the thin veneer of his Rooseveltian liberalism penetrated a sight strongly indicative of the real leanings of this latter-day "friend of the people." Side by side with a portrait of F. D., there was displayed on his mantelpiece, an autographed picture of none other than Engelbert Dollfuss, the butcher of the Austrian workers!

Upon a challenge from delegate Gordon, that the \$70,000,000 figure was woefully insufficient and was not based upon the actual needs of the unemployed, the organizations of the jobless never having been consulted as to their estimates which were based on actual contact with the workers' needs, Mr. Earle in a flurry of excitement offered the WAA delegation a representative on his public committee on unemployment. The delegation finally extracted a promise from him that he would not use the state troopers to molest the demonstrators in any way in the mass meeting they planned at the state house in the evening.

Crowd Swarms Legislature

At 6:30 the huge delegation lined up in front of the Farm Show Building and, headed by the officers paraded through the streets of Harrisburg down to the state house. Lester Heckman, of Allentown, presided over the open air demonstration that was staged there and at which David Lasser and numerous other speakers addressed the crowd which had by then swelled to several thousand. A spokesman for the presiding committee rose on the improvised platform to inform the gathering that both houses of the legislature had been petitioned to hold a joint session and to hear the leaders of the WAA. He announced that both houses had agreed to submit to the request and the crowd thereupon streamed en masse into the galleries.

Lieutenant Governor Thomas Kennedy opened the joint session shortly thereafter and called upon John Muldowney, the chairman of the delegation, to introduce the spokesmen. Muldowney warned the legislators that unless they provided for adequate relief, unemployed steel workers and silk workers would follow the example of the unemployed miners and start up bootleg steel mills and silk mills just as the coal-diggers had started up bootleg mines.

Demands 6 Billion Appropriation

He was followed by Charles Sandwick. Sandwick urged the representatives and Senators to memorialize congress for the passage of the Marcantonio Relief Standards Bill, which provides for a \$6,000,000,000 appropriation to aid in subsidizing state relief and WPA agencies. Sandwick gave some telling arguments for this measure from the experience of the unemployed in the state.

Margaret Johnson, a young Negroess from Philadelphia, told the joint session of the tremendous suffering, the discrimination and the intolerance which the workers and the unemployed of her race were subjected to and warned the legislators that the Negro people of the state were watching their action for their conclusions soon enough. Sam Gordon, the secretary of the delegation, startled the fat-bellied

A Lexicon of Revolution

(Continued from Page 1)
This book is no abstract thesis on the impossibility of socialism in one country. It is, rather, a richly concrete history of the Communist movement both inside and outside Russia from 1923 to 1928. In order to illumine his criticism of Stalin-Bukharin's draft programme for the Comintern, then about to be "submitted" and adopted by the Sixth Congress of the C.I. in 1928, Trotsky found it necessary to tell the story of the major events of the years since Lenin died. The story of the circumstances surrounding the failure to make the German revolution in 1923; the tale of the preposterous Peasant International created by Stalin and which disappeared without even an obituary; the American Farmer-Labor party fiasco of 1924; the Stalinist alliance with the British trade union bureaucracy—Purcell and Cook were going to defend the Soviet Union but instead the prestige of the Soviet Union covered Purcell and Cook's betrayal of the British General Strike; the development of the Stalinist bureaucracy, leaning for support on the backward peasantry—all this is clearly sketched. The forty pages of explanatory notes round out the historical detail so that a newcomer to the revolutionary movement can follow the argument understandingly.

Special mention must be made of the "Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution" which, together with the explanatory historical notes, provides the reader with a succinct introduction to the whole history of the Chinese movement from 1923 to the present time. The general features of the history of the Communist International since 1928 are given in Max Shachtman's fifty-page introduction, so that this 400 page book can serve as an introduction to the history of the Comintern up to the present time. Indeed, until the further volumes of this series of "Selected Works of Leon Trotsky" are published, this first volume will remain the best study of the Communist movement that has yet appeared.

Whitaker, during the course of the two-day-argument on his motion, contended that the information was "fatally defective" because it failed to specify secret intent as provided in the Florida statute on which the charges were based.

The information was drawn by Hillsborough County Solicitor C. Jay Hardee whose removal was recommended recently by a grand jury on the grounds that he is using bling ring and "is guilty of shirking his duty" in the flogging cases. Hardee was chief assistant to State Attorney J. Rex Farrior during the preparation of the case and during the unsuccessful attempt to obtain a jury in Hillsborough County. From the beginning, however, he has been regarded unfriendly to the prosecution.

Rebel at Slave Wage in South

(Continued from Page 1)
H. L. Mitchell, Executive Secretary, Box 5615, Memphis, Tenn.

There can be no doubt that once this strike gets under way, lynch law and mob violence will become a daily routine of the planters to crush the sharecroppers. This terror will be organized in the bailiwick and with the connivance of Joseph P. Robinson, Roosevelt's whip in the Senate. A significant commentary indeed on the policy of Lewis, Green, Dubinsky, et al who support Roosevelt because of his liberalism! And also, by the way, on the Daily Worker, which ascribes all of Roosevelt's reactionary moves to "pressure from Wall Street!"

Senators and representatives with a cutting remark that "boondoggling" was hard work compared to the insipid conduct of which they were guilty in their so-called work. Speaking over their heads to the gallery, he hailed the example of the Allentown WPA strikers last month, who, disgusted with the antics of the capitalist parties had marched down to the courthouse in a body from their picketlines to register Socialist. He warned that unless they took immediate action to break the legislative deadlock that was threatening the unemployed with starvation, thousands more would be called into the capitol.

David Lasser, speaking for the national organization of the Workers Alliance, wound up the presentation with a picture of WAA action in Illinois, Wisconsin, New Jersey and St. Louis, assuring the politicians that the national organization was wholeheartedly behind this Pennsylvania demonstration and that the WAA would back the unemployed of the state to the limit in their fight for adequate relief and against their criminal petty politics.

The session was concluded amidst a volley of cheers from the unemployed, who filled the gallery to the rafters.

The next day both the house and the senate voted for an immediate appropriation of \$3,300,000 to prevent the shutting off of relief, before continuing their debate on the larger figure for the balance of the year.

The delegates returned to their homes inspired by their achievement but conscious of the fact that mass action was needed more than ever to provide adequate relief. They pledged their determination to continue rallying the masses of jobless back home and to prepare them for emergency action. Steps are now under way to set up a state organization of the unemployed units affiliated with the national office of the Workers Alliance.

Whitewash Lynchers in Tampa Flogging Trial

BARTOW, Fla., May 17—The first smear of whitewash was applied to the Tampa floggings Saturday when Judge Robert T. Dewell ordered the acquittal of R. G. Tittsworth, former chief of police, and Robert Chappell "for lack of evidence" and threw out three of the four counts in the information.

The defense motion for a directed verdict of not guilty for the other five defendants, made by Pat Whitaker immediately after the state rested Tuesday, was denied. The counts knocked out by the judge are conspiracy to imprison falsely, false imprisonment and conspiracy to kidnap. The charge of kidnaping Eugene F. Poulnot, Chairman of the Florida Workers Alliance, remains.

The defense is not expected to take more than two days to present its side. The case will probably go to the jury this week.

The indictments against Chappell as a principal and Tittsworth as an accessory in the false imprisonment and kidnaping of Dr. Sam J. Rogers and in the second degree murder of Joseph A. Shoemaker, still stand. The freeing of Tittsworth, who was on trial as accessory after the fact, followed Judge Dewell's refusal to admit damaging testimony against the former police chief and was in the face of vital evidence that had been admitted earlier in the trial.

"Shirking His Duty"

Whitaker, during the course of the two-day-argument on his motion, contended that the information was "fatally defective" because it failed to specify secret intent as provided in the Florida statute on which the charges were based.

The information was drawn by Hillsborough County Solicitor C. Jay Hardee whose removal was recommended recently by a grand jury on the grounds that he is using bling ring and "is guilty of shirking his duty" in the flogging cases.

Hardee was chief assistant to State Attorney J. Rex Farrior during the preparation of the case and during the unsuccessful attempt to obtain a jury in Hillsborough County. From the beginning, however, he has been regarded unfriendly to the prosecution.

The alleged defectiveness of Hardee's information need not be ascribed to ignorance or accident. Faulty informations which are thrown out by the trial judge are a standard device used here to protect paying or powerful criminals and at the same time permit the prosecuting attorney to go through the motions and avoid criticism.

Governor Dave Sholtz has refused to act on the 17 specific grand jury accusations against Hardee under the general charge "incompetency, malfeasance and misfeasance in office and neglect of duty." He has announced he will "let the people decide" through the Democratic primary elections in which Hardee is running for renomination.

State Often Overruled

The state spent its last week in a futile effort to get before the jury some vital testimony against Tittsworth. Whitaker made long frequent and impassioned objections to admitting this evidence. The court sustained him on the ground that "no sufficient overt act" had been established as to Tittsworth.

The testimony ruled out included conversations held by Tittsworth with Matt C. Beasley, assistant chief of detectives, and H. L. Russell, a former policeman.

Beasley testified that Tittsworth had tried to get him to say that he had received a telephone call which led him to order defendant Smitty Brown and his men to raid the meeting of Modern Democrats at the Herald home.

Russell testified that when he told Tittsworth that he was withholding the truth from the state attorney and was afraid of getting into trouble, his chief told him that he could not help him if he changed his story and advised him to "stick to" his original lies.

Refuses to Testify

One of the state's last witnesses was Manuel Menendez, Tittsworth's former stenographer who is also under indictment as accessory after the fact but against whom charges have not yet been pressed. On Whitaker's advice, Menendez declined to testify because he might have incriminated himself. Judge Dewell did not even allow Menendez's refusal to testify to be made before the jury.

The fact that such testimony against Tittsworth was inadmissible because "no sufficient overt act" had been established was apparently an afterthought with Judge Dewell. He had already permitted much damaging evidence against Titt-

worth to get before the jury over Whitaker's objections.

He allowed W. D. Bush, chief of detectives, to testify that when he told Tittsworth what he knew about police participation in the kidnaping, Tittsworth "blowed up, told me not to let it get to the Mayor and that was the end of it right there."

The judge also permitted Lieut. J. L. Eddings to tell the jury that Tittsworth had assured him that he did not think Poulnot and Rogers had been flogged and if they had, "it was probably no more than they deserved anyway."

The jury also heard a series of witnesses tell how the badge number of defendant John P. Bridges was changed from 39 to 140 after Tittsworth had learned that the state attorney had evidence that a policeman answering Bridge's description and wearing badge number 39 was involved in the kidnaping.

Other policemen testified that, although Tittsworth knew they were on duty the night of the kidnaping, they had never been questioned by him about what they saw or knew.

The Bull's Hunch

In the meantime, the testimony revealed, Tittsworth was writing a letter to Mayor Chancy in which he exonerated the police and suggested that Poulnot and Rogers themselves murdered Shoemaker and also making a public statement declaring that his "own investigation" had "conclusively established" that the police were innocent.

Tittsworth's acquittal in the face of this mass of evidence indicates that, as one of the "higher ups," he testimony had revealed that Smitty received special protection. The Brown, ex-traffic sergeant who led "the boys" in the raid, was Tittsworth's pet in the department.

Police witnesses also testified that traffic cops had never before made any raids and that it was unusual for them to be in the police station at all on a busy Saturday night when traffic is heaviest. The raid occurred on a Saturday night.

Obviously the arrests and the kidnaping were not Smitty Brown's own idea. Tampa is now asked to believe that Tittsworth—Brown's boss and mentor—did not know what his protégé was up to.

The state closed its case after four weeks of testimony by 34 witnesses without once touching the question: "Who ordered this whole thing done?"

The state's evidence against all defendants except Chappell is overwhelming. Even Chappell, who was freed with Tittsworth, was identified among those who arrived at the police station with the arrested Modern Democrats and among the men standing outside while Poulnot was being kidnaped.

But these defendants, with the exception of Tittsworth, are small fry. Behind them are the citrus growers with their machine guns and barbed wire, the phosphate corporations and their convenient, water-filled pits, the shipping magnates and their stool-pigeons, the crooked politicians and their gambling gunmen.

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France--the Last Week Before the War

By A. Rosmer

The last week of July 1914 was the last week of peace, the last week also of an era in the life and the history of Europe and of the world.

The ultimatum of the Austro-Hungarian Government was served on Serbia on Friday, July 24. The French newspapers published it and commented on it the next day, Saturday the 25th. The *Bataille Syndicaliste* (organ of the C.G.T.—Ed.) gave it the importance that it deserved; a three-column spread announced: "The ultimatum of Austria to Serbia. The Viennese Government wants to impose humiliating conditions on Belgrade. If Serbia refuses, it means war, and then . . ." The article stressed the gravity of this new phase of the conflict and emphasized the inevitable character of the European complications which would follow. It drew no conclusions.

In the same edition a prominent position was given to the "Russian strikes" under the heading: "The riots continue. Repression has begun."

The next day's edition, Sunday, July 26, was of paramount importance; it provided the conclusions which were missing from the article of the day before and provided them in the name of the C.G.T. (The trade union federation—Ed.). First a boxed head over the first two columns under the caption:

"WE DON'T WANT WAR"

and the text:

"The decisions of the federal congress on the attitude of the working class in case of war become operative at the moment war is declared."

" . . . In such a case the declaration of war should be the signal for every worker to immediately stop work."

" . . . To every declaration of war the workers should immediately reply with a revolutionary general strike."

(Extract from the resolution adopted by the Special Conference of Central Labor Unions and Federations, Oct. 1, 1911.)

Youth Against War

During this last part of the month of July when the war danger suddenly reappeared, the Jeuneuses Syndicalistes decided to call their members once more to demonstrate against the military parades of Saturday the 25th. In the morning *Bataille Syndicaliste* published their appeal and in the evening there were more demonstrations. The *Bataille Syndicaliste* reported them as follows on Sunday:

"THE MILITARY PARADES PROVOKE INCIDENTS"

"Cries of Down with War!"

"The military maneuvers provoked incidents last evening to which the present situation gave an especial importance."

"After a year's truce, the Jeuneuses Syndicalistes have called on their members to demonstrate when the military parades passed over to the right bank."

"On one side the shouts were raised: Long live the Republic! Long live Caillaux! Down with war! Down with the three years military service! On the other: Long live the army! After the demonstration, the Jeuneuses Syndicalistes, reinforced by numerous spectators, demonstrated on the Boulevards."

But during Sunday, other demonstrators, several thousand in number, marched along the Boulevards shouting: "Long live the army! Long live the War! On to Berlin! On to Berlin!" The Seine Trade Union Federation, and the *Bataille Syndicaliste* decided to reply immediately. They called on the Parisian workers to come out on the streets in their turn and assemble before the offices of *Matin*, a newspaper especially hated by the workers and the one which at that time most cynically pushed on toward war. The *Bataille Syndicaliste* renewed the appeal in a special edition printed during the afternoon and sold by newsboys in the working class sections of the city after 5 P.M.:

"ANSWER THE JINGOES"

"On to the Streets Tonight"

"Everything isn't settled yet; the die is not yet cast; but as things are now, only a blunder or a rash move is needed to precipitate the catastrophe."

" . . . War . . . is the unleashing of every hideous instinct, the bloodiest, vilest and basest instincts. Read the reports of the correspondents on the atrocities committed in the course of the last Balkan war. Remember the women raped and disemboweled, the old men and children mutilated, their fingers and ears cut off, their eyes gouged out, villages burned and the piles of decomposing corpses abandoned in the open to the flies and vultures! . . . Those corpses, tomorrow, it will be you!"

"Those women, those children, those old men, tomorrow they will be yours!"

"That is war!"

"And that is what the bandits on the Boulevards have been hailing for the last two days."

"And that, mind you, solely because some Serbian peasants and some Austrian soldiers are quarreling and will come to grips."

"So! Unless we are either crazy or corrupt; unless we want to see our country throw itself in a few hours into the worst imaginable adventure; if, comrade, you do not want to be torn from the arms of your family to be led into the East to the firing line, the people of Paris must be immediately aroused. This is an emergency. If these criminal fools, who cry: 'Long live war!' are not silenced this very evening then the end has come."

"Tomorrow We Will be Mobilized!"

"It is the duty of all our readers, of all our friends, of all the trade unionists of Paris, of all the friends of peace to come:"

"This Evening After 9 o'clock on the main streets opposite the offices of *Matin*."

"And everyone shouting, 'Down with War!'"

"Belleville, Menilmontant, St. Antoine, Montparnasse, remember your heroic traditions. Let the streaming masses from the faubourgs flood the centers of the city and submerge these imbecile and jingo provocations."

"That is our only hope of peace. That is our only salvation."

"That is our last hope of avoiding the catastrophe; let us save ourselves while there is still time."

"Time presses."

"Until this evening!"

"—*Bataille Syndicaliste*."

Finally the District Committee was convoked for the next Thursday:

"Meeting of the District Committee, joint meeting of both sections, Thursday, July 30, 9 P.M. 33 Rue la Grange aux Belles. Agenda: the international situation."

"(signed) Jouhaux, Sec'y."

The Violence of "Democracy"

These appeals were heard. From 9 o'clock until midnight that Monday an enormous crowd flowed ceaselessly through the Boulevards. Extraordinary numbers of police were mobilized; the tactic of the chief of police was to protect the offices of *Matin* (in anticipation of a working class assault, a hundred police agents had been stationed inside the "red house"), and, by police cordons, established in each of the streets leading to the Boulevards, to prevent the formation of a single mass demonstration by checking the flow of new arrivals. But the workers who came from the faubourgs into the centers of the city were so numerous that the tactics of the police produced unexpected results: there were soon as many demonstrations as there were streets. The violence and brutality of the police could not dampen the fighting spirit of these crowds; all evening the cry of "down with war!" resounded from the Opera to the Place de la Republique. The following lines summed up the report—an accurate report by a certain J—-which the *Bataille Syndicaliste* gave of the demonstration:

"The government officials? Ah! the great apostles of democracy! They were pacifists at election time. Yesterday they opposed to Paris' will for peace the sabres of the police and the guns of the Gardes Mobiles. It was their first step toward war. Yes, they are mobilizing, but mobilizing the police against the workers. . . . Their first victory. . . . No, they were not victorious."

Most of the Tuesday, July 28 issue was devoted to this demonstration. The front page bore the streamer: "The People Rise Up Against the War."

Then a four-column head:

"PARIS WANTS NO SLAUGHTER"

"It proved it yesterday evening. There were demonstrations everywhere yesterday evening in the teeming sections of Paris. The great boulevards were jammed. Officials and jingoes were warned. The police charged violently against the demonstrators who shouted: Long live peace! Down with war!"

The report was preceded by an article entitled: "First notice," whose importance was indicated by the signature of the Bureau of the C.G.T. and the Union des Syndicats. The following is the text:

"Yesterday morning the *Bataille Syndicaliste* in its own name and in the name of trade union organizations called upon the people of Paris to demonstrate the same evening against the threat of war. A special edition appearing at five o'clock repeated the urgent appeal of the morning."

"And yesterday evening at eight o'clock up to the time of this writing, despite the police, one hundred thousand, two hundred thousand, who can estimate such a crowd?"

"of the workers of Paris demonstrated on the great boulevards with constant shouts of: Down with war! Long live peace!"

" . . . This is the first warning given to the rulers of France who from now on are informed of the

CONFUSION has its roots in ignorance, and the widespread confusion of the present day on the burning problem of war is in large measure due to ignorance not only of revolutionary policy but of the past. This condition can be principally traced to the studied, seditious, systematic dissemination of false information and interpretation by the social-patriots. A disoriented working class, nurtured on lies, is plant material for the militarists in time of war. To create such a condition is the special job of social patriotism.

What is the lesson of the World War? To read or listen to the Stalinists, reformists or pacifists one would gather that it was a terrible calamity, destroying wealth, body and soul, and that is all. That the World War shattered besides material treasures and the lives of millions of human beings, the policies of the leading circle of the working class movement, is carefully avoided in their press and literature. Why? Because these very same policies, with differences only in degree and emphasis, are being practiced and advocated in the labor movement today. Disaster for the working class followed in the wake of these policies in 1914-1918; blindfolded, it was led to the imperialist slaughter, while at home the iron heel of capitalist dictatorship made a mockery of the shibboleths they were dying for on the battlefields. Certain as death itself the same policies today will lead to the same tragic results.

The imminence of another war, no longer considered even by the skeptical as a fantastic prediction of panic-mongers, makes it imperative that we, the revolutionists, the class-conscious workers, study and assimilate the real lessons of the first World War—imperative if we are not to be caught unawares, with the war coming as an unexpected shock. For this reason we are devoting an entire page of the NEW MILITANT to a chapter of Alfred Rosmer's invaluable book, recently published in France, *Le Mouvement Ouvrier Pendant la Guerre—De l'Union Sacrée a Zimmerwald* (The Workers' Movement during the War—From Civil Peace to Zimmerwald). This chap-

ter dealing with the last week before the war in France, describes in detail the reaction of the trade union movement to the problems raised by the war crisis. In it we note the gradual but perceptible metamorphosis of the outstanding leaders, some of whom, like Jouhaux are still at the head of the trade unions of France and still advocating the same policies.

Beginning with loud pacifist pronouncements, with threats of general strike, with telegrams of international solidarity and even the organization of huge anti-war demonstrations, their position begins to veer the moment war is unleashed. The call for a general strike is forgotten, and how else could it be, as the leaders begin to explain: "We have done everything in our power . . ." then a complaint against the working class "for not understanding its duty" and finally the acceptance of the war as an accomplished fact: "It is odious, it is atrocious, it is unbelievable . . . but it is . . ." With this, the treacherous leaders wash their hands of all struggle against war, nay more, they join in the struggle for the victory of the capitalist fatherland they inveighed against in vague rhetorical flourishes the day before. But the ground is even then tested cautiously through a patriotic remark at the Emperor Franz-Josef. From this point on the social patriots grow bolder. The working class is exhorted to "leave for the front without bitterness," to die not for their capitalist fatherland but for the "revolution" (Modern version: democracy, the Soviet Union). The outstanding trade union leader enters the unholy coalition of class peace and advises the capitalist class as to how to induce passivity and quiet in the working class and how to profit most from the imperialist war.

Rosmer's book deals only with the French labor movement, but it can be applied almost in detail to those of almost every other country before and during the fatal years of 1914-1918. Above all, it can and must be applied today. The events of the last world war must become an integral part of the revolutionary arsenal. Only by learning the errors and crimes of yesterday can we be strong today and tomorrow.

sentiments of the people of Paris—which do not differ in any way from the sentiment of the people in general—on the possible war."

"This warning will be immediately followed by another. Tomorrow the same people will march through the two halls in the Wagram, because both halls are too small to hold them."

"This time they will again indicate their unshakable determination to put into practice the decisions of the Trade Union Congress on war. They will show that they are ready for any sacrifice to maintain peace, making common cause with the proletariat of Germany, England, Italy, and elsewhere."

"If on the morrow the rulers are insane enough to ignore the people's will they will be preparing a cruel tomorrow for themselves."

"From now on war is impossible, the people will not permit it!"

"Our second demonstration tomorrow evening at Wagram will prove it!"

The meeting referred to in this article was announced further on in a box:

"A MONSTER MASS MEETING
"General Confederation of Labor
"Trade Unions of the Seine Dist.
"To the Workers:"

"As the elements are unleashed, events surge on, the possibility of war becomes clear. . . ."

"Shall we allow this abominable crime to take place, without having made heard our protest and without having done everything to prevent it?"

"Already our central organizations have appealed to the trade unions to observe the decisions of the Federal Congress."

"We will comment on these decisions and we will describe their application in a

Monster Meeting

which will be held on Wednesday, July 29, at 8:30 P.M., at Wagram Hall, 29 Avenue de la Gare."

"Speakers:
"Jouhaux, Dumoulin, Yvetot (C. G.T.); Chauvin (Building Trades Federation); Merheim (Metal Workers Federation); Lefevre (Jewelry Workers Federation); Bied, Minot, Gambiez (Union des Syndicats de la Seine)."

Repression Begins

Thursday, the 30th. Everything had been prepared to make the meeting of Wednesday evening a powerful working class protest against war. A coup de theatre occurred. Late in the afternoon, the meeting announced on Tuesday morning was banned by the government. The circumstance of the prohibition are noteworthy. The decision was made at a council of ministers held at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. But this council of ministers was the first held since the return of Poincare, who disembarked at Dunkirk that very morning. What special information could he impart to provoke such an extraordinary step? Or what plot against peace did he hatch in St. Petersburg with his sinister accomplice Tsar Nicholas, while the Russian workers celebrated the "holidays" by powerful strikes and spirited demonstrations in the streets in all the working class sections of the city. Did he already bring the order for general mobilization?

At the same time that the ministers made this unforeseen and belated decision, orders were issued to the police to prevent with whatever brutality necessary not only the holding of the meetings but any sort of gathering in the neighbor-

hood of the Etoile. All the neighboring subway stations were closed at seven o'clock. But the workers who, because of the late hour at which the government decision was made and posted, could not be prevented from arriving from all parts of the city in large numbers. All those who asked for an explanation were immediately beaten up, slugged, arrested, and jailed. *Bataille Syndicaliste* wrote that the garb of a worker sufficed to provoke a beating by the police. From which the newspaper concluded: "Wherever the workers, there the enemy." Despite this show of police force and the brutal orders conscientiously executed, crowds gathered around the Etoile and the Place des Terres, which soon became the scene of bloody encounters. This quarter of Paris kept seething the entire evening.

Bataille Syndicaliste of Thursday, July 30, carried the following streamer: " . . . Down with war . . . despite everything!"

The government did not stop with this brutal prohibition of anti-war meetings and demonstrations; it methodically prepared the minds of the people for war and its acceptance. In these critical days it practiced special technique through the medium of the venal press which alternately blew hot and cold: one day it was war, the next day peace. In Paris the rhythm was even more rapid; on the same day they passed successively from war to peace. By this method the people were rapidly whipped up to a frenzy. On Wednesday, panic was already in the air. There was a run on the banks and on the savings banks and gold was universally demanded in place of bank notes.

The B.S. for Thursday reported the incidents of the panic under the following caption:

"LET THEM STOP AND THINK"

"A day of anxiety. The government could find only one solution to the international crisis: prepare the repression against the working class."

"This is undoubtedly the guarantee demanded by the Czar, 'our friend and ally'."

"Such measures will save neither national independence, if it were endangered, nor the little statesmen who want to plunge the country into the most catastrophic of adventures."

"The workers have shown their sentiment by the demonstrations on the Boulevards; our ministers know today what they must count with."

"The will of the people is clearly against the slaughter."

"Woe to those who ignore this today!"

"Woe to those responsible for the cataclysm!"

"Woe to the perpetrators of the slaughter and savagery!"

"Woe to the powers that be!"

"The working class alone will decide the fate of these criminal megalomaniacs. Before, during or after the massacre."

"Let them take warning before the die is cast."

—B.S.

Jaures Assassinated

Friday evening, July 31. The Confederal Committee was meeting. On its agenda was the organization and preparation of a new and powerful demonstration against the war which would take place simultaneously in Paris and in all the large cities of France. Suddenly the telephone rang, interrupting the deliberations. Jaures had just been assassinated! The discussion was

hastily terminated, inasmuch as Jouhaux, Merheim and other members rushed to the offices of *Phumanite*. When they arrived there, rue Montmartre was thronged with a vast multitude of agitated workers shocked by the horrible news. But there was not alone grief among them, there was also anger and a desire for vengeance. "Their number was constantly swelling. The Socialist leaders assembled at this time no doubt feared reprisals against the perpetrators of the crime, all of whom were well known, because a voice from one of the windows of the offices of the paper was suddenly heard urging calm. The multitude of workers dispersed slowly, very slowly; late into the night many groups still remained discussing. But the crime was to go unpunished."

Saturday, August 1, *Bataille Syndicaliste* drew the following balance sheet of this fatal day:

"A DAY OF TRAGEDY
"Mobilization Rumored; Jaures Assassinated."

Under the heading: "A monstrous crime," the paper wrote: "What a sinister omen in this martyred death!" Then Leon Jouhaux:

"NO HYSTERIA"

"The hour is grave, but not desperate. The cause of peace has still numerous friends in the world, and the working class of all countries are acting in a common thought: to avert the armed clash."

"Above all we must guard ourselves against panic and hysteria, which lead to the worst results."

" . . . Our duty is to attentively scan the news we receive without however placing unlimited trust upon it."

"The confederal Committee will call popular demonstrations, in Paris and in the provinces."

On its part the Confederal Committee had adopted the following agenda:

"The Confederal Committee, meeting on Friday, July 31, resolves in view of the international situation, to organize in agreement with the Socialist Party a great international demonstration against war on August 9."

"A committee was selected to meet with a committee of the Socialist Party."

"The Committee was instructed to advance the demonstration if international events warrant it."

"Indignation Against the Assassination of Jaures."

"The committee learned during its session of the cowardly assassination which struck down the noble figure that was Jaures."

"It is impossible to transmit the sentiment of sorrow which gripped the members present."

"In Jaures we had the most clairvoyant, the most ardent defender of humanity's causes. Jaures who is no more."

"For Confederal Committee, The Bureau: Leon Jouhaux, Yvetot, Dumoulin, Marck, Calveyrach."

In the issues of the preceding days, the B.S. had published information on the demonstrations which occurred simultaneously in Germany, among them this dispatch from Berlin, July 28: "The police chief has this evening proscribed all patriotic processions on the public highways. The police chief of Munich took similar measures."

And on this day it published a

dispatch from Strasbourg relating to Socialist activity in Alsace-Lorraine:

"STRASBOURG, July 31.—The Socialist Party has organized protest meetings against war and against the threat of a universal conflagration in the great cities of Alsace. A meeting was held yesterday evening at Mulhouse and this evening others will be held at Strasbourg, Mulhouse and Colmar. Meetings are also scheduled in the less important centers."

It also makes mention of international working class action. Legien had sent a telegram to the C.G.T.; Jouhaux replied to him. Here it is as published in the B.S.:

"INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS ACTION"

"In reply to a telegram from comrade Legien, secretary of the International Secretariat, requesting the opinion of the C.G.T. on the present situation, the Confederal Bureau addressed the following telegram to him:

"Legien, Engel Ufer (15 Berlin. "French Federation of Labor resolutely against war, demands international proletarian intervention by pressure on governments to obtain a localization of the conflict."

"Peace is possible, and must triumph, if the workers organized internationally remain united in the same thought: opposition to all conflagration."

"This peace lies in the hands of the international working class, if it proves equal to the peril."

"Here pacifist demonstrations are continuing. We firmly believe in peace because we are energetically resolved to avert war."

"Down with war! Long live peace guaranteed by the Labor International."

"Jouhaux."

The systematic campaign of demoralization of the masses by the circulation of false news continued. On the 28th the newspapers announced the assassination of the German representative in Belgrade.

Jaures had been assassinated on Friday, July 31 at about 10 P.M. Saturday, August 1, the order of general mobilization was already posted at four in the afternoon, which set the first day of mobilization for Sunday morning. While the Socialists and syndicalists prepared their new demonstrations against war, the war makers had Jaures struck down by a hired thug, and the government, which continued to declare that it wanted peace and that it was making all efforts to avert war, had decided for the general mobilization. It only remained for Poincare to cynically declare that "mobilization is not yet war," although he knew only too well that the Russian general mobilization, begun on the 31, in the early hours of the day, made the universal conflagration inevitable.

But Poincare's lie deceived no one. Mobilization is war. *Bataille Syndicaliste* announced it in its issue of Sunday, August 2 in this streamer: "Folly triumphs over reason."

"It is atrocious, it is odious, it is unbelievable."

"But it is . . ."

Social-Patriotism

Of the speeches made at the funeral of Jaures, that of Jouhaux alone must be retained here. The B.S. for Wed., August 5, prints long extracts. Jouhaux first explained why the working class loved Jaures, then he cried:

"Today, it is still in our minds that we will draw upon indispensable forces. In the name of those who are about to depart—myself among them—I declare that it is not hatred of the German people which drives us to the battle fields, it is hatred of German imperialism."

The editor of B.S. adds in his story:

"Tumultuous applause. Emotion was at its zenith. People wept. M. Maurice Barres applauded vigorously and said to one of his neighbors: 'Very good! Very good! one senator, a bitter enemy of the C.G.T.', cried out: 'And to think that these are the men we wanted to clap in jail!'"

In the B.S. of Thursday, Aug. 6, a new explanation of the war is given in an unsigned but prominently placed article:

" . . . FROM THE CLASH OF LIBERTY LET LIBERTY SPRING FORTH"

" . . . In the present conflict the ethical question has its importance. The Germans whose blood is of a coarser strain and therefore more submissive and resigned in spirit, have not our spirit of independence."

Nevertheless the anonymous author will say in his conclusion that it is only the "proud and ferocious clique" which must be conquered."

On Friday, August 7, in an article entitled: "Humanity! Justice!" Ch. Malotta recommends tact to the foreign anarchists and Socialists residing in France, and discernment to the government which had somewhat indiscriminately imprisoned several."

On August 8, another new recruit, Charles Albert, who will become a regular and prolific contributor. Here are the principal passages of his first article:

"DEPART WITHOUT BITTERNESS"

"Immense hopes, incalculable hopes are rising in the world."

" . . . Depart without bitterness, without regret, comrade workers, you who are being called to the front to defend French soil."

"Depart without bitterness, leave without any mental reservations, comrade workers. It is for the revolution you are going to fight."

"And should you fall, all those closest to you who remain, both young and old, whose hour has not

(Continued on Page 4)

In an article entitled: "Malediction!" *Bataille Syndicaliste* inveighs not so much against the war in general as the Emperor of Austria in particular. This unexpected malediction occurs in the last line of the article.

"MALEDICTION"

"Weeping!"

"Weeping!"

"Weeping!"

" . . . A rain of tears is falling upon the city."

" . . . It is the general mobilization!"

" . . . May the monstrous crime which is to plunge all of Europe into barbarism, into the abyss of black mourning and ruin be punished."

"May the thrones tumble, may the crowns fall!"

"The will of the people has been violated, imperialism is the criminal that has unleashed the tempest."

" . . . But if it must be, if the catastrophe is inevitable, if the force of the workers for peace was valiant but futile to save their honor, oh! then may the very extent of the evil consummated arise to annihilate stifling militarism!"

"May this be the end of the nightmare!"

"And a curse upon the name of the senile Emperor Franz-Josef!"

Throughout Sunday, the first day's conscripts were entrained to join their regiments. During this time, the people left behind, undoubtedly looking for booty, sacked the "boches" shops, and abandoned themselves also, here, there and everywhere, "spy hunts." The Confederal Committee held a brief meeting in the early afternoon. Monday's *Bataille Syndicaliste* said nothing about it. The leading article, captioned "The Irreparable," is signed B.S.:

"The irreparable has now occurred."

" . . . The European war is unleashed."

"The spirit still refuses to believe this."

"Nevertheless, it is only too true, this catastrophe which shatters our lives and our spirits, recalls us back to our sense of duty, fastens it to those conceptions to us which we want to erase, can compromise all our hopes, crush all our past efforts."

"It is atrocious, it is odious, it is unbelievable."

"But it is . . ."

"The irreparable has now occurred."

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OLSON'S CONFAB A ROOSEVELT RALLY

Farmer-Labor Party Is Ruse for Political Trades

By ARNE SWABECK

"The date"—Governor Olson's conference at Chicago, May 30-31, to explore the possibilities of a national farmer-labor party—"may prove to be a landmark in the history of independent political action and the great battle for the rights and welfare of the American people." So says the Daily Worker. Governor Olson himself could not have said it better.

Should there be any doubt of this prophecy, let us recall the example of the Illinois coal miner. He meant well. During the period in which the National Miners Union was created, he had read in the Daily Worker about the various history-making conferences and when his turn came to attend one of them he arose solemnly just before the hour of adjournment to propose: "Mr. Chairman, I move you that this conference go down in history."

Mr. Olson's Record

Certainly the political developments that preceded this conference invests it with an unusual importance, though most likely in the opposite sense of the prophecy mentioned above. A sufficiently wide variety of representatives of the common people, so-called, are invited to give it an appearance of a new movement. But the significance to the working class of such movements, whether new in reality or in appearance, depend entirely on their political direction. And it should not be difficult even at this time to form an estimate of what role history will assign to Governor Olson's conference based on the position of the various forces that will be represented.

The actual sponsors are made up of a combination of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, including Governor Olson and Mayor Lattimer, and Stalinist leaders of the official party and stooge organiza-

tions. This is the leadership. It should hardly be necessary to remind our readers of the despicable role played by Governor Olson during the strike of local 574 when he declared martial law and had his soldiers throw the strike leaders into the stockade, not to mention the police assaults, under the direction of Mayor Lattimer, upon the Strutwear strikers and upon the strikers of the Flower Mill Iron Works. The whole history of the Minnesota F.L.P. leadership is one of disreputable deals with the Democratic Party. In the last election Governor Olson's party lost its control of both branches of the state legislature. It is therefore with the fear in mind of a further possible loss that the Minnesota F.L.P. leaders have set out to utilize their present unique opportunity of combining a step toward extending their own third party experiences to a national scale with a much bigger deal for support of Roosevelt, all of which is expected to bring returns in a greater popularity at home.

Who Will Be There?

Who will attend the Chicago conference? There will be serious trade union elements like Schlossberg and Gorman, the "outstanding trade union champion for a labor party," according to the Daily Worker, Heywood Brown, for whom Morris Hillquit once said that Socialism was such a nice novelty, will be there; liberals, amateur radicals and third parties will attend, together with a good sprinkling of Stalinists and their stooges; Non-Partisan Leaguers from North Dakota; Farmer-Labor Progressives from Wisconsin; Farmers Holiday people; Epic Democrats, Knickerbocker Democrats and Townsend people who will support anything with pensions in it; Social Creditors, Share-Our-Wealthers and

Anti-Fascist Leaguers. What will this motley gathering do?

Browder says: "The conference has the opportunity of working out a program which will be a clear guide for the growing sentiment in the United States for a national Farmer-Labor Party." But the main forces in this gathering are prepared to make their deal with Roosevelt. The trade unions that are now generally listed in the progressive category are committed to support Roosevelt's re-election. Commitments in this case means more than support of the person or the individual; it means support of his program and support of his national ticket.

Will Back Roosevelt

The Chicago conference will not consider a national third party ticket. Naturally! Why should it? The old method of parliamentary deals still holds true and the Democratic Party will decide the national ticket. But, as has already been amply demonstrated by experience, a Farmer-Labor Party is essentially an institution of parliaments. So also in this case. The monetary maneuvers and election acrobatics of attraction in these elections is the presidential ticket; the standard bearer and his platform determines the character of the election campaign and of the governmental administration after the election victory is achieved. Anything that comes out of this conference can therefore in no sense be anything else in reality but an adjunct to the Roosevelt re-election campaign.

Browder cannot possibly have any illusions on this question. Evidently, he sees no conflict between the Roosevelt and the Farmer-Labor Party sentiment. And how could there really be any according to his people's front Farmer-Labor Party conception. He says: "We must collaborate organizationally and politically with those who are committed to the support of Roosevelt in 1936." To collaborate organizationally and politically is a very broad promise. It has all the possibilities of a real national union of

the so-called common people behind Roosevelt. Given the premise that already exists and reinforced by the Stalinist people's front ideology, it could hardly have any other outcome. It is therefore only in this sense that the clear guide which Browder seeks from Governor Olson's conference can have any meaning. And this is all to be put over in the name of the fight against reaction.

Browder Protects Statue of Liberty

These forces of reaction, proclaims the Daily Worker, "have drawn close together to hurl the Statue of Liberty into New York Bay." Next we will be informed, in tones trembling with indignation, that these same forces will attempt to bury the stars and stripes beneath it.

"We must make the masses of the country understand," says Browder, "that the victory of the Republican Party-Liberty League-Hearst combination would throw power on to the side of the war makers." By this the masses are also to be made to understand that Roosevelt and his party are not amongst the war makers. What a frightful delusion and deception of these masses of whom Browder speaks with such a glib tongue. Or, could Browder's statement possibly have some other meaning? No, it is clear that these masses are to forget this year's gigantic military budget mounting up to more than one billion dollars, for, says Browder: "We would not do or say anything that would tend to turn Roosevelt support over to the Republican candidate. We distinguish between twins. Even twins are not identical."

Roosevelt's War Program

Certainly twins are not identical. But it is very important to know the difference as measured by time, place and objective conditions. Such an estimate will place Roosevelt as a much more effective and a much more progressive defender of capitalism and all that it stands for than the old fashioned reactionaries. Roosevelt's program, when stripped of its demagogic and verbiage, is clearly a program for more effective and more up-to-date collaboration in order to prepare the home basis for a new onslaught on the world market, for new con-

quests, economic, political and military. The gigantic army and navy appropriations sponsored by Roosevelt can be understood only in this light.

But the Stalinists are not going to "do or say anything that would tend to turn Roosevelt support over to the Republican candidate." This cannot mean anything else than no opposition to Roosevelt and the conducting of the election campaign in such a manner that votes will be garnered for Roosevelt regardless of whether or not the C. P. goes through the formality of nominating its own candidates, for, as we have seen from the statements of Browder, any other policy would bring the forces of reaction down upon us and "hurl the Statue of Liberty into New York Bay."

The Great Deception

What a dastardly deception and delusion of the working masses is being here perpetrated in the name of the campaign for a Farmer-Labor Party. And this is at a particular time and under objective conditions in which certain important strata of the working masses have actually begun to enter a process of awakening, when signs are manifest that point toward a beginning of political consciousness. This is the time and place and condition demanding above all clear and precise efforts toward education of the masses for the needs of a new social order—for the needs of a persistent and tenacious struggle for Socialism.

In view of this situation what can Governor Olson's conference do? Does this general situation not mean in reality that even the idea of a national Farmer-Labor Party is already shelved for 1936? Appearance and reality after all are two different things. In this particular situation it will be found so much more to be the case. Whatever Farmer-Labor Party proclamations may be forthcoming from this conference, such would really be nothing else but a new way, at least for some parts of the country, to corral support behind the Roosevelt standard.

Apparently the open betrayal of the political class interests of the working masses does not even wait for the actual formation of a reformist Farmer-Labor Party.

WORLD OF LABOR

Labor Party Leaders Vote Arms Budget in Belgium; Anti-Semitic Riots in Poland

BELGIUM

This column has already carried the story of the predicament that befell the leaders of the Belgian Labor Party, practically on the eve of the parliamentary elections. These leaders had vowed, and written into their platform that they would oppose any increases in the military budget, or in the military term of service; and they entered the Ministry, after they were assured that they need have no fears on the question of any increases, etc. Then the Minister of War proceeded to demand additional millions for defense and an increased term of service. These demands were approved by the Socialist ministers, who were then left in need of a proper formula to cover up their brazen treachery.

The new election platform prepared for the coming June elections is the concentrated essence of Jesuitism and gall, which runs second only to that of the Stalinists... from whom the Belgian Laborites have evidently learned a good deal in recent days.

The Belgian Labor Party is not for national defense... it is only in favor of defending the country against any "unprovoked attack." It is therefore "in favor of a national defense organized differently. The only complete guarantee for the independence of the country is peace. A peace organized differently."

In the sphere of military defense, the Laborites will vote only for budgets "with the preponderance of defensive armaments." As for the term of military service, it must be limited to... "an indispensable minimum"—indispensable defensively—and differently, no doubt! And to guarantee real defense and real peace, the P.O.B. advocates "Public monopoly of the implements of war; nationalization of the industries which produce them." [A regular "People's Front" election program, only without the Stalinists.]

How is peace to be organized differently?

By strengthening the League of Nations, which has hitherto organized peace so well and so "differently." "Above all, the organization of peace within the framework of the League of Nations."

And of course, the lasting efforts of peace are to be secured by disarmament: "To the extent to which the organization of peace is built up, progressive and simultaneous disarmament under the control of the League of Nations."

While speaking about peace and disarmament, the P.O.B. has voted increased war budgets, and in its new platform unbids its hands, even of pledges, for further support of the Belgian bourgeoisie in its war plans.

It is not at all surprising that a sharp resistance has manifested itself in the ranks of the P.O.B. Ac-

ording to reports in the European press, a section of the P.O.B. has been expelled for refusing to approve the social-patriotic policies of Vandervelde and Co.

POLAND

Behind the wave of anti-Semitism in Poland, and the changes in the government is the story of a frightful economic debacle. The index of industrial production has been dropping steadily, the number of unemployed has been constantly growing. According to the official figures the unemployed number between 600-750 thousand; the unofficial estimates reach the unprecedented figure of close to 2,000,000. The organ of the Polish Socialist Party (under censorship) reported early this year that "two years ago, 72% of all the workers in Poland earned less than 140 zloty a month." The paper then goes on to comment that this means that "72% of the Polish workers are undernourished. Their diet consists chiefly of bread and potatoes, and they consume an infinitesimal quantity of meat and dairy products."

Since that time, the wages in Poland have been considerably cut, and the number of unemployed has considerably increased.

The horrible plight of the workers and of the unemployed penetrates even into the semi-official press. The situation among the peasantry borders upon that of chronic famine. Tuberculosis rages. Some reports indicate that there may be as many as five million peasants in Poland without any land or work. The peasants in the Ukrainian districts under Polish control are the worst off.

The deathrate is extremely high.

It is hardly surprising therefore that the Polish Socialists report that "Anti-Semitism forms an essential part of the policy of all the Polish bourgeois parties. The parties of the Polish bourgeoisie differ from one another not in whether they are anti-Semitic or not but in the method which they favor for putting this policy in effect. The most ruthless economic boycott... keeps the Jewish workers, manual and non-manual, and the Jewish intellectuals out of all the public services, out of all quasi-public institutions and services, out of all the largest private undertakings."

The only difference between the bourgeois parties is how the extermination of the Jews is to be attained: openly, or by a gradual process and under the cover of "legality"? And in the meanwhile, they stage pogroms.

Of course, the drive against the Jews is only a part of the broader wave of class terror aimed against the workers as a whole. The reaction of the workers in Poland, both Polish and Jewish, has been very inspiring. A series of the greatest demonstrations ever held in independent Poland were staged in recent months.

hands off France. That is, in practice you will find that the People's Front will amount to."

The editorials on the French elections that appeared in the New York Times, the Herald-Tribune and other bourgeois papers were a perfect echo of the remarks made by the French business men Jennie Lee interviewed in Paris.

Anti-Military Propaganda Subsidies

The May issue of Living Age quotes at length the remarks of Pertinax, veteran contributor to the clerical Echo de Paris (by the way, the Moscow Pravda, has also of late been quoting Pertinax approvingly, for he is a sworn enemy of Germany):

Pertinax notes with great satisfaction the "decline of revolutionary activity in France on the part of the Comintern." Says he, "If the highest military authorities are to be believed, the Moscow propaganda in France has subsided, it did disappear since 1932. I am told that in 1934, 150 cases of incitement to disobedience were recorded in the French army, and that in 1935 the figure has shrunk to less than 10." Pertinax is convinced that as between revolution and Germany, the latter is the greater immediate threat to France. "The threat (of revolution) would be felt all the same and probably to a greater degree if hostility instead of a spirit of cooperation on the international plane were shown to Moscow. And let us observe that Moscow never objects to any repressive measure enforced against the Communists. 'Deal with them as you like' is the current phrase."

Like the business men on the boulevards who toasted the victory of the Communist candidate, Pertinax is sure that it is not he who has changed, he insists that "Stalin has turned conservative with the passing years."

The Future of the People's Front

The situation in France, however, has not radically altered. None of the fundamental problems that face France can be solved or even broached within the framework of a capitalist program. Blum is well aware of this. He is hoping for a

turn in the business cycle; for a possible loan from America, a return for a promise to pay the war debts. The old system must be retained. The Sarraut ministry, on which sit reactionaries who have been attacked in both the Communist and Socialist press as agents of the Fascists, continues in power while Blum confers with bankers, makes speeches before business men's clubs, and pleads with Herriot, who sat in Laval's cabinet, approved all of Laval's economic measures, and disapproves all of the "economic measures" proposed by the People's Front, to become a member of his ministry.

It may well be that the first Socialist ministry in France will be its last. In any case, the government of Blum will not endure for a much longer period than the semi-dictatorial governments of all his predecessors from Doumergue down. The only program for France is that of socialism. The only road for France is that of revolution. Failure to take to that road will mean the triumph of counter-revolution, the assumption of power by the French Fascists.

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with which is merged

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5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

The Last Week Before the War

(Continued from Page 3)

yet struck but which will, all of you by taking the solemn oath today, at the same time that they give you the kiss of parting: advance soldiers of the revolution, it is not in vain that you will have fallen."

"Depart without bitterness, without regret, comrade workers."

Beginning with Wednesday, Aug. 12, Jouhaux, who had written nothing since the outbreak of the war, started a series of articles, important for the subject matter and the conceptions expressed therein. Gone are the lamentations; our feet are now planted solidly in the war; we must now study the new problems posed by it. The first of these articles, on this day, concerns itself with the widespread unemployment which arose spontaneously from the single fact of the war. The theme which he develops, is first and foremost that "idleness is a bad counselor."

"WE MUST HAVE WORK
"One of the major preoccupations of the present hour must be to be of use.

"To allow idleness to remain master would be a grave error. In unemployment, spirits are enervated, respond to the least rumour, and can wander on to passing but nevertheless prejudicial errors.

"If external activity is to correspond to internal calm, there is only one factor capable of giving this result: work.

"Every day the number of unemployed grows, it would be dangerous to allow matters to proceed in this way believing that the entire question is one of providing charity.

"It is a fine thing to come to the assistance of suffering; to prevent this misery by the worthwhile employment of the workers is better.

"In favoring the resumption of useful production, we create activity and it is to that end that all farseeing men acquainted with mob psychology must bend their efforts."
"... To make work, wherever it is possible and necessary, to revive activity, is to fortify against the excesses of mass idleness, is also to favor a rise in the public morale.
"To aim at these two results in the present period is far from a negligible thing."

On Friday the 14th, Jouhaux's article this time presents an entire program. It has as its title: "Let us profit from it!" Let us profit from the war, profit from the fact that Germany is blocked, that it can no longer communicate with its customers abroad to sell them merchandise.

"LET US PROFIT FROM IT!
"We have already said that we think a revival of industrial activity is urgent. We will not return to this, save to add that the more the hour of the emotions, the more imperative it is that the new potent troubles find a working class not gripped by unemployment.
"This is to say that we take it upon ourselves to publicly indicate another point of capital importance

which if realized will permit a revival of economic life.

"In the present situation the military operations, on land and sea, and in relation to the position taken in the struggle by England, the Mediterranean Sea, the Channel, the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean are open in almost complete security for our merchant marine as well as that of our ally.

"Our ports can then resume their normal life on the condition that there is a large enough maritime traffic.

"Is this feasible? Yes. For according to the date in our possession we are guaranteed the mastery of these seas.

"But there is more, Germany is at the present time blocked, its maritime commerce is partly cut off! Why cannot our merchant marine cooperating with England's not assume to their own profit part of the German work which is no longer being carried on?"

"This would be an initial victory, with an importance that can escape no one.

"Maritime activity will engender industrial activity, at the same time that it would permit us to establish reserves which is no small matter.
"We advance our idea, certain that it is realizable, and that the results which putting it into practice can yield, for today and for tomorrow, surpass in utilitarian weight all hypothesis which may be expounded.

"We must profit from all situations: the German blockade by the English fleet gives us commercial freedom on the seas; let us profit from it first to revitalize ourselves, to assure work and then to establish our primacy in the field of imports and exports for the future."

BELLIGERENTS WATCH, LIE IN WAIT, READY TO LEAP

On the 17th, Charles Malato, addressing himself to the Italian republicans, Socialists, anarchists and trade unionists, issued the cry: "Fuori i barbari!"

The place of the Italian people is in struggle on the side of the French republic which is still only statist and bourgeois and which we will uphold until it becomes social and libertarian."

On the 25th the leading article is by Jouhaux dealing once again with the "economic revival," taking "an example from England!"

"I have before me a circular from the Hans Berthold Co. of Manchester, which reads verbatim as follows:

"The directors are resolved, however, by every possible means, to employ the entire personnel of the factories. If supplementary orders cannot be obtained, they will work for stock as long as financial resources of the company permit. If after all, a reduction of wages is necessary, this will take the form of a reduction of the hours of work rather than by a reduction of personnel."
"Here is an example worthy of

emulation: it happily harmonizes the three principal interests of the moment: the interests of the nation, the employer and the worker."

A NEW MINISTRY; AT THE FRONT

Here at the same time is announced the resignation of the cabinet and the formation of a new ministry. Disastrous events have occurred at the front—which have been covered up until this day—which are the cause for all speeches and the change in the ministry. Following the official communiqué the paper gives a brief appreciation, unsigned, on the "New Government":

"... Finally what characterizes the new ministry is the arrival of politically influential statesmen, both former ministers or newcomers.

"A. Briand, Millerand, Delcasse and Thomson make up part of this ministry of national defense.

"The Socialists, whose parliamentary influence is not insignificant, are represented in this ministry by two of their most reputable leaders: Marcel Sembat and Jules Guesde.

"There can be no doubt that Jaures would have been able to play a role of the first water in this ministry whose task—let us have no illusions here—is a formidable one.

"Dissimilar in their past but reunited by the common will to conquer, the men who assume power in this tragic hour when the frontier is invaded, are going to face many difficulties.

"Only one thought must animate them: to drive back German imperialism which is threatening existing rights and threatens to destroy the future of civilization."

In the first days of the war, the government decided to create a "National Aid"; it was concerned with giving a piece of bread to all those women, old men, unemployed who because of the war ran the risk of dying of hunger behind the lines. (Later when the war was put on an industrial basis, there would be work for all, but at the beginning there was complete destitution in the workers' districts). And on the 4th of August one could read on the walls of Paris a beautiful white poster announcing the initiative of the government. Up to this point nothing extraordinary. But what was extraordinary was the collection of names constituting the committee in charge with the administration of National Aid: all high dignitaries of the bourgeoisie, archbishop, grand-rabbi, academicians, industrialists, bankers... and then Leon Jouhaux, secretary of the C.G. T. and Bled, Secretary of the Union des Syndicats de la Seine.

* There was also Lepine, former police chief, butcher of workers and Ch. Maurras, one of those really implicated in the assassination of Jaures.

People's Front Upholds Capitalism in France

(Continued from Page 1)

the People's Front advocates a stronger League of Nations; closer co-operation with England; a stronger France; a League policy that involves the automatic designation of the aggressor nations and the automatic and universal application of sanctions against the aggressor. It is also in favor of disarmament and "organized peace" (collective security). And of course the People's Front is the "Friend of the Soviet Union."

In his pre-election plea, Thorez stressed the abolition of the Fascist leagues, and summed up all other demands as follows: "We demand that the rich should pay... We are opposed to the depreciation of the currency... We propose an emergency progressive tax on large fortunes over 500,000 francs." (Daily Worker, May 18.)

Not as Radical as Roosevelt

The mere listing of these points and the manner in which they are stressed by the "extreme left" are sufficient to denote that this program is not as radical in the domain of capitalist programs as, say, the program of Roosevelt.

We might point out in passing that such a well known "radical" as Lloyd George is heartily in favor of "nationalizing the munitions industry." Our own President, Franklin D. Roosevelt is certainly a far more radical "soaker" in the realm of soaking the rich in order that "the situation of all categories of the toiling masses may be improved" (Thorez). Even in France, the People's Front has competitors. In the words of the New York Times, an authority on the subject: "The ideal of fair distribution of wealth and opportunity is not specially socialistic. It is common to all Frenchmen. Ever since the French Revolution it has been the objective of successive governments and successive parliaments." (P. J. Philip, May 17.)

The public debt of France is 333 billion francs, the estimated government budget needs for 1936 are set at 16 billion francs, the treasury is empty... What then are the unemployed, the workers and the ruined peasants to expect from the People's Front in the way of "well-being and justice?"

Blum to Safeguard Investors

In his speech at the Salle Wagram, Blum declared that his government would need credit, and therefore no measures would be introduced to "frighten away the investors in state loans." He has yet to make a definitive statement about the prospects of restoring Laval's 10 percent cut in pay and pensions. But he does envisage "a large program of public works designed to relieve unemployment,