

NEW MILITANT

Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

VOL. 1, NO. 31

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

Relief in Dakota Ceases

Work at Slave Wage Or Starve, Governor Orders

The chickens are now coming home to roost for the unemployed who have been depending upon Roosevelt's relief program.

Announcement has come from Washington of Draconian measures to be taken to remove jobless wholesale from the relief rolls.

In every case, irrespective of the wages offered, where jobs are available workers will be immediately stricken from the lists.

It is our definite effort to liquidate relief rolls, an official declared. "While we don't expect private industry to take up the slack at once, we think that private employment will increase as the work program continues."

Thus upon the good wishes and the rainbow hopes of the relief administration the unemployed are to be given the boot, left to shift for themselves until they can find jobs.

Roosevelt is here killing two birds with one stone. On the one hand he is cutting down on the budget, thereby saving wealthy taxpayers money and on the other hand providing cheap labor—cheaper even than the relief handouts—to slave-driving employers.

Without hesitating very long officials in five states, South Dakota, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa began to carve a hole into the relief rolls in their states.

In South Dakota all relief had stopped completely. This has been done to meet the demands of the farmers for a labor force adequate to handle the harvest.

With perfect right they refused to apply themselves to this strenuous backbreaking toil for from 12 to 14 hours at the same pittance, hardly enough to keep body and soul together, which they receive when the state supports them.

For this they are disparaged by the chair-sitting governor of the State, Berry as refusing to work "because it is . . . easier to live on relief."

Now that relief has been cut off completely the state officials look with complacency at the fate of the unemployables—the sick, halt and the blind—who are to be taken care of by the degenerating "poor laws" of the state.

On the other side the rich farmers will confront no such slave-driving ultimatums of "go-to-work-at-whatever-wages-offered," receiving all the time subsistence from the Rural Resettlement Administration and subsidies from other government sources.

'Militants' Capture YPSL Convention

By JOSEPH CARTER PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Fresh from the crushing blows meted to them at the "harmony" meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Party, the New York "Militants" won signal organizational victories at the eighth national convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League held here during the week-end of July 19 to 21.

Approximately one hundred delegates, a little less than half of them New Yorkers, were present at the convention. However, most of the delegates did not participate in the proceedings and were constantly in a state of expectancy. They did not know precisely what to expect. No pre-convention documents had been prepared. No pre-convention discussion had taken place. In many cases delegates were elected

because they and none other were able to go to Pittsburgh. No Political Discussions The convention was run by the New York and Chicago top caucuses. The arrangements made impossible any adequate discussions of the problems confronting the socialist movement and the Yipsels in particular. The three evenings of the convention period were devoted to public affairs, a mass meeting, social affair and banquet respectively. The rules of the convention limited speakers on resolutions to three minutes, seven minutes allotted to reporters on resolutions and a total of one hour for any one resolution.

However, even these provisions were not carried out. No political resolutions came before the convention. Continued on Page 4

Seventh Congress of Comintern Opens in Moscow

The following article, by a prominent European Marxist, was written prior to the appearance of the call for the World Congress of the Third International and serves as an introduction to it. Coming issues of the NEW MILITANT will contain detailed reports and analyses of the Moscow congress now in session.—Ed.

After an interval of exactly seven years it looks as if the Seventh Congress of the Comintern will be convened after all.

It can be stated with complete confidence that had our organization not existed, had not the banner of the Fourth International been unfurled, had there not been the latest successes of our French comrades, the Third International would still be waiting for the Seventh Congress. The Seventh Congress, just as the last Congress of the French Socialist party will revolve primarily, if not exclusively, around the Bolshevik-Leninists and the Fourth International.

After Hitler's victory we proclaimed the political death of the Third International. But the example of the Second International proves that the demise of political organizations with a mass basis—in the sense of the arresting of their progressive development—does not coincide with the end of their conservative self-preservation. The Third International, despite its pitiful bankruptcy, retains tremendous reserves in the form of the Soviet Union which by itself can give it great possibilities not only for continued political existence but also for dealing heavy blows to the world proletariat. The whole question is: does the Soviet bureaucracy still hold the Third International? The Soviet bureaucracy in this respect finds itself in an acute contradiction. Its present policy, particularly its foreign policy, which is assuming a decisive role, makes the Third International an obstacle rather than an aid.

But should the Comintern disappear its place would immediately be occupied by the Fourth International which would result in a complete ideological catastrophe for Stalin and his clique, i.e., the bankruptcy of all falsifications and calumnies which lie at the basis of the "general line." Only on one condition would Stalin have no fear of such an eventuality: if he were prepared to come out as a consistent Bonaparte, i.e., break openly with the traditions of October and place on himself some kind of crown. Despite the growth of the "ideologic" and political preconditions for an open Bonapartist overturn there are too many risks on such a road as this. The Soviet proletariat is, at any rate, a more definite and stable political factor than the petty bourgeoisie was in France at the beginning of the last century, and corresponding with this, the Bolshevik tradition is of greater weight than that of the Jacobins of that period. Stalin must hold on to the appearance of Bolshevism and therefore convene the Seventh Congress in face of the danger of the Fourth International.

War will, of course, be the basic question. Here one must be prepared for a tactical retreat. Stalin

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Social Patriotism in Full Flower in France

French capitalism has been threshing for years now in the steel vice of the world crisis. Its foreign trade steadily decreasing with no immediate prospect of relief in sight is dealing a crushing blow to the peasantry. Unemployment is hiking on a long upward climb while wages are precipitately dropping. French financial and political hegemony on the European continent is rapidly vanishing. The full burden of the crisis must be loaded upon the working class. The way out for French imperialism is on the hide and bones of the workers.

For years the French financiers have been greedily speculating about the salaries of the state employees. They could not touch this fat plum so long as the working class organizations remained vigilant, aware of the fact that a blow in that direction could only be followed by a general slash in wage levels and living conditions. Moreover, the Chamber of Deputies was somewhat of an obstacle because of the fear of the politicians that resentment of their constituents would be aroused if such measures were approved. The deputies, however, found the way to "absolve themselves." They agreed to the dissolution of the parliament for an indefinite period of time and granted which his predecessors failed to obtain.

Pierre Laval, premier of France, lost no time in using the "extraordinary powers granted him. He applied the economy knife to the salaries of the civil employees—with the more extensive assault upon the living standards of the working class to follow in short order. The French imperialists with their fascist hirelings are, of course, keeping close watch upon the ease with which the government can put over the initial preparatory steps.

Striking indeed is the parallel between pre-fascist Germany and present day France. In Germany too, in preparation for Hitler, there was a series of "strong men" who like Laval, were supplied with "emergency powers"; and who likewise slashed salaries and wages without the consent of the Reichstag. Their slogan was Notverordnungen. And like Laval, they posed as the impartial arbiters between the camps of fascism and the working class. They slashed wages and salaries, always making a pretence at fair-

ness by ordering reductions in prices and rents. Of course, the lowers and the prices were never lowered: on the contrary they kept rising. And a double burden was thus imposed upon the masses.

It is indeed significant that Laval's action followed hard upon the July 14, "Bastille Day" demonstration. 200,000 marched in the "People's Front"; a glorious parade, a united front that included all parties, even the bourgeois radicals, and celebrating the fascist demonstration by far. Laval paid his respects to it by slashing salaries. In this action is summarized the attitude of French capitalism to the "People's Front."

Laval, in one executive order, pricked the bubble of Stalinist pretension. A short two weeks before the Stalinists blew up the "People's front" as the newest panacea which would cure all ills, meet all the requirements of the situation and deal a death blow to French fascism. Here is how P. Vaillant-Couturier, editor of l'Humanite, hailed it on July 1:

"Just as our party is a new party so the People's Front is something new, something which responds to a new situation cre-

Terre Haute Strikers Victimized After General Strike Betrayal; City Tense as Militia Holds Sway

Camden Strike Holds Up Big Navy Program

4600 Men in Shipyard Stop Production for 11 Weeks

CAMDEN, N. J.—Directly challenging Roosevelt's war program, the 4,600 workers in the Camden Shipyards are now holding out for the eleventh week, militantly defying every attempt to open the yards and begin work.

The most recent attempt of the company to import strike-breakers met with disaster as the automobiles bearing the scabs were overturned and the occupants given a lesson in unionism.

Frantic is the word that best characterizes the state of mind of the ship-builders who have resorted to every method of coercion and intimidations known in industrial disputes. In vain they have appealed to loyalty to a government which has no regard to the wages its contractors pays the workers nor under what conditions they toil. How just is the attitude of the strikers and how far they are willing to go is evidenced in their willingness to agree to the Perkins Plan for arbitration where the bosses have flatly refused to consider it.

The strike is led by the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers and has been conducted militantly throughout. Demands are often percent wage increase, preferential union shop and abolition of piecework.

Latest in the attempts to crush the strike is an injunction which the company has served on the strike leaders. Although they refused to accept it and ground it under foot when it fell to the ground the company will go through with the action.

If the methods that have prevailed up to now in fighting strike-breakers are continued with greater intensity after the injunction, the U. S. government will have to continue whistling for its orders from the New York Shipbuilding Company's yards at Camden.

TROOPS JAIL SCORES

Labor Skates Time Treacherous Action With Onslaught of Press and Soldiers on Workers

For forty-eight hours, the Dream of Debs—the General Strike, not a street car moving, not a printing press turning—came true in Terre Haute itself, Eugene Victor Debs' own home town.

Then, just as suddenly but not quite as unexpectedly, the strike was called off to the great relief of the bosses.

Called off by the head of the Central Labor Union, over whose resistance the strike was declared, without advice or consultation of the strikers, without any of their demands being granted Terre Haute now waits expectantly for its resumption.

Though a surprise to the outside world the declaration of the general strike was no surprise at all to the workers of Terre Haute. For seventeen long weeks a battle had been in progress between the Emulating and Stamping Plant and its employees. The workers could be quite as dogged in their resistance as the bosses. Their strike, however, had gained the support and the admiration of the workers in all crafts and unions. And where three days ago fifty-eight armed guards marched a crew of scabs into the plant, the labor movement rose to action.

A conference of unions took place and the workers left their jobs to a man. The town was tied up tight as a drum. From gasoline station attendants to retail clerks no one worked. Even the printing crafts, which with the abominable attitude that characterizes the so-called "aristocracy of labor" refused to join the swelling ranks, could not print the labor-baiting newspapers because the teamsters would not deliver paper for the strike.

No sooner was the rags declared than three agencies of capitalism went into action against the protesting ranks of labor.

First, the yellow press from New York to Oregon began to scream

like they had once before during the San Francisco general strike of the shortage of food. Utterly oblivious of the starvation rampant throughout the year occasioned by the crisis of capitalism brass check journalism suddenly became very much concerned over the slight inconvenience caused by a strike intended to improve conditions generally. Not so long ago Editor and Publisher, organ of the newspaper publishers, let the cat out of the bag when it issued its boast that the newspapers had been responsible for breaking the Frisco and the Toledo strikes.

"Napoleon" Declares Martial Law Hand-in-hand with the subtle intimidation of the press goes the outright coercion of the state apparatus. No sooner was the general strike put into effect than "little Napoleon" Governor McNutt declared martial law in Vigo county and shipped truckloads of that territorial Guardsmen into that factory.

With extraordinary dispatch they proceeded to disperse picket lines with tear gas and rifle butts showing no concern at all for sex or age. After forty-eight hours of fierce battling, unarmed and to a large extent unorganized, against thugs from Chicago armed with machine guns and National Guardsmen flinging tear gas at the slightest provocation, or at no provocation at all, Max Schaffer, vice-president of the Vigo County Central Labor Union and Thomas N. Taylor, special representative of William Green in conjunction with two Department of Labor conciliators from Washington, called the strike off.

When the 60,000 strikers paralyzed the town the officials of the C.L.U. washed their hands of the strike, declaring it was unauthorized despite the fact that all the other unions, including four locals of the United Mine Workers had given it their authorization. Unlike the Frisco strike, where labor

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Ohio Jobless Prepare Huge State Confab

20,000 Are Expected To Heed League Call For Demonstration

In Columbus, Ohio, beginning on July 29 and continuing for three days, the Ohio Unemployed League will hold the largest demonstration and mass convention of unemployed in the history of the United States. Over 20,000 are expected to invade Columbus in the march of the Grand Relief Army. Labor's demands will be formulated and presented to the lawmakers of Ohio—and in no "hat-in-hand" manner.

Local leagues are already recruiting for the march, setting up tents flying the rattlesnake flag at every relief station, and keeping up in the face of sheriffs and frantic relief hounds, will be relieved by first-aid trucks now being recruited. Funds are coming in from all over the state—twenty-five locals have already responded a total of \$125.00.

The response from the locals has been even more enthusiastic than was expected. Erie County has pledged 500 marchers, Clinton and Williams County each expect 500, Putnam County pledges 300, and a total turnout of a thousand unemployed under the rattlesnake flag is expected from Athens County.

Tag days, rallies, and mass meetings are held with enthusiastic response. Brass bands are being organized by a number of locals. The marchers will press forward into Columbus flying the flag of the first American revolution, while the hands blend with twenty thousand voices in the songs of the coming revolution.

The Unemployed Leagues intend to show the legislators of Ohio that, far from tolerating the general cut in relief that the Roosevelt administration is trying to put over, they still demand the 30 hour-\$30 week. And they intend to get it.

In the official call to the Convention, the O.U.L. poses the question to the working class, employed or as well as unemployed: Slavery or freedom? And its answer, and that of the whole working class of Ohio, is FREEDOM. So far from being intimidated by the government, the unemployed are out to reverse the process. At the Columbus convention, the legislature will hear the voice of their fears—mass action by the workers!

The O.U.L. does not pin its final goal to a "fair day's pay" policy; like all sections of the National Unemployed League, it recognizes that the battle for decent conditions can only be won when the working class controls the government, and that the present government is the tool of the bosses. And it does not pay merely verbal respect to this fundamental fact. In battle after battle, it has fought for the rights of the unemployed, militantly and savagely.

Two years ago, the O.U.L. in a similar demonstration, mobilized 7,000. This year, there will be 20,000 jobless solid beneath its banner. After Columbus, what!

W. P. TO HOLD ANTI-WAR MEETING IN ALLENTOWN

On Friday night, August 3rd, at 8 P.M., the Allentown Branch of the Workers Party will hold a huge anti-war mass meeting on Center Square. Max Shachtman, editor of the New International and Sam Gorden, W. P. organizer, will be the main speakers.

Wed., July 31, 8 P.M. 15th St. & Irving Pl. Irving Plaza Hall

What Next In The Socialist Party?

An Analysis of The New York National Committee Meeting of the S.P. And the Pittsburgh Convention of the Y.P.S.L.

Speakers: MAX SHACHTMAN Bill Streeter, S.Y.L.

Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Washington Side Show...

Ralph Easty of the National Civic Federation protests the extent to which Soviet Ambassador Trojansky is feted in Washington. . . . George L. Marklan, president of the Philadelphia Board of Trade protests the President's plan to tax big incomes and inheritances. "Why kick Ford and Rockefeller? They built up this country. . . . Roosevelt's 'share the wealth' scheme would raise less than \$3 per person. . . . Important debate in the Senate last week: How green beans can be made to conform to production controls of the AAA. The queen lays eggs at the rate of 1,000 per day. . . . Professor Paul Pearson, Governor of the Virgin Islands found few virgins there. A survey showed that 65 percent of all island births were illegitimate. To correct the morals of the islanders he imported a musical director at \$4,800 per year to produce Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. . . . Representative Trux of Ohio introduced in Congress a bill to subsidize circus in order "to preserve and encourage a declining national institution. . . ."

Housing...

Cost of materials and opposition of realtors has forced the government to relegate to second place the PWA housing program. . . . Hundreds of children in West Virginia have never lived in a house. The miner parents were evicted four years ago and have been living in tents since then. . . . The government's duck rehabilitation program calls for the expenditure of \$2,000,000 for improving a 117,129 acre nesting zone in North Dakota. Food stations and duck-hospitals are being built. Most of the land near the reserve has been purchased by wealthy hunting clubs. . . .

High Finance...

Tobacco growers in 1932 received \$107,000,000 for their entire crop. Workers in tobacco factories received only \$60,000,000 in wages. . . . Fifteen million dollars of a \$27,500,000 RFC loan to the New York Central Railroad falls due on August 1. The railroad is unable to pay but RFC director Jesse Jones made arrangements to extend the loan until October 1, or to refinance it if necessary. . . . Despite the HOLC, Karl Jungdorf, unemployed Philadelphia tailor, and family were evicted from the home on which they had paid \$6,150. . . .

Education...

Half an hour after passing a resolution endorsing the principle of academic freedom the convention of the National Educational Association passed another to the effect that "the NEA believes and will teach that the American system of government is the best so far devised by man". . . . Teachers' salaries fell 12 per cent between 1929 and 1934, 250,000 teachers receiving less than \$750 annually, 54,000 less than \$450. . . . According to the Department of Labor, in July 1934 more than a third of the high school and college graduates between the ages of 18 and 29 were unemployed. . . . Two unemployed University of Wisconsin graduates set up an odd-job employment service for college graduates. "For your odd-job get the companionship of a man who can converse in French," they advertise. . . .

The Land of Plenty...

After two years of unemployment, 515 miners of the Oliver Mines near Unifonton, Pa., received \$1 for two weeks work. The rest of their pay was kept by the company for bills owed at the company store. Relief officials granted food orders to keep the families from starving. . . . Ten year old Lucy Cotton Thomas must get along on an income of \$60.00 a year. Her mother recently petitioned for more. . . . "Loafing on the job will not be tolerated" stated the Montgomery, Ala., Works Progress Administration as it announced plans to work the unemployed 140 hours per month at \$19 or 13 cents an hour. . . . Mrs. George Campbell of Newboro, Pa., mother of two daughters, applied for her husband's work-relief job. He had been jailed for stealing food for the family. . . . Fourteen year old Diana Frazier has an income of \$9000 a month. Her budget includes \$450 monthly for clothes. . . . Born to Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Swarrington, on relief in Quincy, Ill., the 16th child. The oldest is 16 years of age. The relief of the family amounts to less than \$12 per week. . . . Gloria Vanderbilt, aged 11, must live on a mere \$48,000 per year. . . . An examination of 82,634 children of Pennsylvania families on relief conducted by the Emergency Child Health Committee found 30 per cent suffering from malnutrition. . . .

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

Terre Haute Under Militia

Labor Skates Time Betrayal with Troop Onslaught

Continued from Page 1

skates placed themselves at the head of the movement to head it at the earliest opportunity, the Indiana crowd took no responsibility for the strike, stepping in only when confusion appeared in the ranks and the reactionary whip would be most effective. Full fruits of this rotten treachery are already to be picked in Terre Haute. Returning to work before a real test of strength could be made, the workers are being victimized by the bosses. In several of the plants which struck in sympathy with the Columbia Stamping Company employers are refusing to rehire workers, contending that agreements were violated. In the Columbia Plant itself, where the strike is still in effect, the original cause of the strike still remains—armed plug-uglies keep guard of the plant while scabs work inside. The bosses refuse to accept the services of Federal Labor Department in mediating the strike. On the other hand, martial law still prevails; union halls are closed; innocent bystanders are hauled before court martial and several of the most militant strike leaders and workers to the number of almost ninety are still under military "custody." That the labor fakery are about to reap a cyclone for their betrayal can already be seen in the tenseness that prevails in Terre Haute. Re-orientation is rife everywhere, and the forty-eight unions in the general strike alliance are considering a resumption of the general walkout. United Mine Workers locals and the Power Plant Workers are refusing to return to the job. Indications are multiplying by the hour that they will not long be alone.

Spring Strike Enters Fifth Week

The Brooklyn and Bronx strikes involving 800 workers of two spring manufacturing companies enters its fifth week with the ranks united and determined to win. An enthusiastic meeting of the Brooklyn strikers held at strike headquarters applauded the vice-president Demar of the Inter. Upholsterers Union as he pledged the full support of the International to the strike and called for solid ranks and even greater activity on the picket line.

The strikers are not the same crowd of workers that walked out on strike three weeks ago. The same enthusiasm is there, the same high spirit, but there is a discipline and direction to the strike that was not to be found in the earlier days. The strike committee members today speak with sober assurance. They feel themselves to be part of the mighty army of labor. They have tested themselves in action and in that action have been welded together into a strong united force. They have been harried, attacked and jailed by the police. They have battled with scabs and thugs and more than held their own. Many have been arrested. Seven are charged with entering the plant and attacking scabs. They are veterans of a battle and determined to fight until victory is theirs. The plant is producing nothing. The manager, who formerly, as one striker stated, had one name for all the workers—"Hey, you," has now addressed letters to them as "Dear Mr. So-and-so," urging them to return to work. "The boss now recognizes our name but he'll have to recognize our union before we enter his factory." Some financial support for the strikers has been secured. The International Upholsterers Union, which has been hit very hard by the depression, has contributed to the support of the strike. Other unions are urged to give financial aid. Send funds to the strike committee: Jack Gordon, Upholsterers Union, 273 Sackett Street, Brooklyn.

What to Attend

Saturday, July 27, 8:30 P.M.—Boro Park Social, 1359 43rd St., Brooklyn, Spartacus Hall. Come and hear the "Mysterious Proletarian Tenor." Dancing, refreshments free! Admission 15 cents.
Sunday, July 28—Outing to Coney Island. Meet at 4th St. in front of Municipal Baths at 11 A. M. Aus: Spartacus Youth League.
Friday—Dram-group of S. Y. L. meets regularly Friday evenings at 8 P.M. at 55 E. 11th St. All comrades interested in dramatics are asked to attend. Aus: S.Y.L.

IMPORTANT NOTICE!
Bronx Branch Picnic
POSTPONED
From July 28 to August 25
To be held at
Tippets Brook Park, Plot 8.

3 Members of P.P. Sect Resign After Bitter Struggle; Join W.P.

Marx out of their context and distorting others by Lenin.

"The Proletarian Party is today hopeless; for not only is it ultra-sectarian in nature and its position completely incorrect, but there is no possibility of changing it. The existing bureaucracy is too deeply entrenched, and cannot be dislodged. There is nothing for us to do but resign." With these concluding remarks three leading members, Phil Lawson, Dick Landgraf and Gunther, of the Detroit local of the P. P. bid farewell to a hard-shelled sectarian outfit. Beginning with a protest at the "unwarranted and unconstitutional expulsion of comrades Martin Larson and Stanley Novack"—booted out for challenging the dictatorship of John Keracher, P. P. secretary—they submit the policies and practices of the party to a devastating criticism on all counts. Taking a clear stand on the international question they point out that the Proletarian Party hid for years behind the skirts of the Comintern, never criticizing it through years of bankruptcy and treachery but opposing at all times the American Stalinist party as a means of avoiding responsibility for the world movement. "The best one can say for the position of the Proletarian Party on the Comintern," they comment, "is that it serves as an excuse for maintaining an organization that can never consider unity with any other." All of this is of a piece with the rest of the hallowed sectarianism of the Proletarian Party which raises "educational activity" to a principle and by means of study circles, lectures, reading groups and the like it hopes to win over the majority of the working class. With the dogma as a guiding line contempt has marked their attitude regarding the daily struggles of the working class. They spurn immediate demands, fearing to be contaminated in the class struggle, and justify this ivory tower position by tearing some quotations of

Moonlight On The Hudson

To those who love the moonlight, the cadence of dancing feet, the odor of boiling franks, we are offering the opportunity of an August evening. A moonlight sail, up the moonlit Hudson. We have chartered the S.S. Islander (all to ourselves), for Saturday, August 17, 1935. (The boat leaves Pier 132nd St. at 5:30 P.M. sharp for Hook Mountain. Buy your tickets early as only 300 tickets will be sold. Dancing, music, entertainment, and refreshments will add considerably to the joy and merriment. This affair is for the benefit of the 8-page New Militant. We urge everyone to get their tickets at once. They can be purchased at 55 E. 11th Street or the Bookshop at 96 Fifth Avenue.

Indiana Council Members Denounce Stalinist Splitting

INDIANAPOLIS, July 14.—The second conference of the Marion County Joint Conference Against Wage Cuts and For Increased Relief, held Sunday, July 14, passed a resolution holding the Communist Party and organizations close to it responsible for criminal sabotage of the united front. The first conference was held on June 16, consisting of delegates from the National Unemployed League (one local), National Unemployed Council (three branches), Communist Party, International Labor Defense, and Young Pioneer League. There was a total of 37 delegates. A program of action against wage cuts and for increased relief was drawn up by this conference, the following being the main points: 1. Absolutely no wage cuts on FEERA; 2. Jobs for every unemployed worker, with the 30 hour week and \$30 minimum wage; 3. Unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses; 4. Right to call the family physician at the expense of the relief authorities; 5. Immediate 50 percent increase in relief allowance, with \$15 a month cash for rent and utilities. Plans were made of drawing the unions into the united front. Plans also were made for the holding of a picnic, for the purpose of raising finances for the carrying on of the Conference's program. An executive committee of seven was elected to carry out the activities of the conference until the next conference when further action would be decided on. The representation on the Committee was: National Unemployed League, Brightwood Local, 2—Fred Sullivan, chairman of the local, and Robert L. Birchman, NUL organizer for Indiana; National Unemployed Council blocks, 4—Cecil Allen, Andy John Faune, Mohamed Ajamy, and Elsie Francis; and Charles Staidfeld, Section Secretary of the Communist Party. Cecil Allen, of the National Unemployed Council was elected chairman, and Robert L. Birchman of the National Unemployed League, secretary of the Executive Committee. When the second conference convened on Sunday afternoon, July 14, Cecil Allen as chairman of the Executive Committee noted the fact that only nine delegates were present, three from the NUL, four from one block of the NUC, two from the Angelo Herndon Branch of the I.L.D., and one alternate delegate from the NUL. Fellow-worker Allen reported that the Communist Party representative on the Executive Committee failed to function at all, and that delegates from organizations close to the C. P. also failed to function, with the exception of several from the NUC blocks. Allen further stated that the report had come to him that the reason they wanted nothing to do with the united front was because Birchman of the NUL was secretary of the Executive Committee. They sabotaged the conference by telling the workers in organizations under their influence to stay away, he further stated. Reports and discussion by other delegates followed. Robert L. Birchman, delegate from the Brightwood Local, NUL, and secretary of the Executive Committee of the conference, discussed the functions of a united front, and stated that it appeared that the C. P. did not understand the character of a united front, or want one, and that no objections had been raised to the NUL local being a part of the united front at the first conference. Jules Bertman, delegate from the Brightwood local, NUL, spoke further on the purpose and function of the united front, and offered a resolution pointing out that the united front is imperative in the fight against wage cuts, etc.; that this conference was a step in this direction; and that the Communist Party be condemned for criminal sabotage in openly disrupting the united front. Mrs. Faye Allen of the NUC pointed out that the county chairman of the NUC was absent from both conferences, as was also the state secretary of the NUC and that neither functioned in any way to build the united front; the state organizer of the NUC was present at the first conference, but otherwise failed to function. She stated, "Organizations that do not function are only isolating themselves from the workers and are doing wrong." Andy John Faune, delegate from Block No. 101, NUC, of Marion County, stated: "We should have had double the number of delegates here that we had at the first conference. The reason we haven't is that the Communist Party black-

Ride Scabs Out In Iowa Strike

Workers on March In Many Cities Of State

By PAT MURPHY
DAVENPORT, Iowa, June 18.—Twenty-five men who were imported from St. Louis, Mo. to act as strike breakers in the Des Moines, Iowa bakery strike were met at the depot by over 200 labor union members and informed that they could not stay long in Des Moines. The Des Moines workers lined up the St. Louis importations, and marched them to the labor temple and held them until train time. They then marched them back to the station and saw that they left town. A. A. Ahner, head of the Industrial Investigators of St. Louis, Mo., (a company that makes a specialty of strike breaking) accompanied the men to Des Moines. The six leading bakeries of the city are shut down. The unionized bakers and bakery truck drivers walked out July 13. They are demanding closed shop contract. In Keokuk, Iowa, workers struck the Hubinger Co., corn product manufacturers, demanding the reinstatement of seven workers who were discharged for union activity. After five days the strike was settled with the company granting all the demands of the workers. In Council Bluffs the Street Railway strike is still on. There has been only one attempt made to move the trams. This attempt met with such resistance on the part of the strikers that they returned the car to the barn for repairs. The men are just as determined to win as when they walked out April 20.

Reviving Dead Laws

Criminal anarchy is defined as "the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force and violence or by assassination—or by any other means." New York, New Jersey, and Washington passed such laws after the assassination of King Humbert of Italy and President McKinley, but for twenty years they remained unused. They were revived in New York for the purpose of prosecuting Larkin, Gitlow, Ruthenberg and others. The defendants, as Communists, were not opposed to "organized government," and were opposed to individual terror. Nevertheless, they were convicted and the New York Court of Appeals sustained the conviction. A minority (Fuld and Cardozo) dissented because the statute was directed against the doctrines of Tolstoy and Kropotkin and not of Marx and Lenin. Judge Anderson in Federal District Court concluded similarly in interpreting our deportation laws which were originally directed specifically against anarchists. However, this acquaintance with some of the rudimentary differences in radical philosophies has left no impress on the law. In fact, the only person who seriously accepted these distinctions is that well-known student of Lenin, William Randolph Hearst, who has recently cried out that our deportation and syndicalist laws are creaky, antiquated instruments inadequate for a 20th century capitalist reaction. Others do not feel the need of new laws, for the courts have shown remarkable ingenuity in extending existing laws to any philosophy or activity of which capitalist courts disapprove. The criminal anarchy laws are now being used in Arkansas against organizers of tenant farmers. Another example of the ingenuity of the courts is the use of the "Incitement to Insurrection" laws passed in the Southern states during Reconstruction days. The Georgia laws says that: "Any attempt or persuasion or other means used to induce others to join in any combined resistance to the state, shall constitute an attempt to incite insurrection," which is punishable by death, unless the jury recommends mercy; in that event, the punishment shall not be less than five nor more than twenty years. This type of statute does not penalize membership in radical organizations, but requires proof of an actual attempt at incitement to insurrection. However, in the hands of a vicious prosecutor, together

An Outline History of Class P resecution 'Criminal Syndicalism Laws,

Prosecutions of militant workers which have occurred in Sacramento and elsewhere are proceeding under laws passed during the post-war labor struggles. As the rising tide reached the heights of the general strikes of Winnipeg and Seattle, laws were hurriedly passed to curb the labor movement. From 1917 to 1920 21 states and two territories passed criminal syndicalist laws. In sixteen states the law is worded exactly alike. The California law of 1919 is typical. It defines criminal syndicalism as "any doctrine or precept advocating, teaching, aiding and abetting the commission of crime, sabotage (which term is hereby defined as meaning willful and malicious physical damage or injury to physical property) or unlawful acts of force and violence or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change." Any person, who by word of mouth or by the circulation of literature, advocates the principles of criminal syndicalism, or any person who knowingly joins an organization which advocates similar principles, is guilty of a felony and subject to imprisonment for from 1 to 14 years. Originally the criminal syndicalist laws were directed chiefly at the I.W.W. But as the revolutionary movement developed the courts used the laws against all militant workers.

Three other types of laws were already on the statute books as weapons against labor: criminal anarchy, incitement to insurrection, and seditious laws. "The Usual Story" Immediately upon the passage of the criminal syndicalist laws the I.W.W. had eliminated from its platform all references to sabotage as a tactic in class struggle. But this was of no avail. Pre-war documents were used to convict Wobblies. Two stool pigeons appeared at trial after trial with the same evidence, which was so much a matter of rote that the Appellate Courts often refer to it as "the usual story." The California prosecutors have developed a technique for confusing the juries. Evidence is introduced—not as to the defendants' activities—but to show that the organization the defendants belong to has advocated certain doctrines. Since, however, juries have often shown themselves not ready to send workers to jail merely because they advocate and organize unions, the prosecution resorts to embellishments long extracts from Lenin on religion, taken out of their context and badly distorted, followed up with a parade of bogies, such as nationalization of women, destruction of the American home and fireside, etc. The prosecutors have also been accustomed to prove with perjured evidence that Communist meetings are opened with a ritual which starts by kissing the Red Flag, trampling the American flag underfoot and ending with the collegiate cheer, "Bolshevik, Bolshevik, bang bang bang!" Prosecutors have also introduced fake evidence of sabotage, terrible tales of arson, mercury dust in machinery, systematic destruction of property, etc. Everything Goes Where convictions have been obtained on such evidence, the defense objections against the evidence have been agreed to by appellate courts—which, nevertheless, sustain the convictions! How? The California law, for example, provides that even improper evidence may be overlooked by the appeal court, unless "the Court shall be of the opinion that the error complained of has resulted in a miscarriage of justice." So, no matter how raw the patriotic antics of the prosecutor, no matter how little evidence is produced, the upper courts have often succeeded in convincing themselves that there was no "miscarriage of justice."

In both the Gitlow case (1925) and the Whitney case (1927) the U. S. Supreme Court sustained the convictions. Thus the highest court in the land has blessed these vigilante laws. The post-war wave of prosecutions was finally defeated, not by reversals in higher courts, but by failure of the juries in lower courts to render verdicts. As the red-scare faded, fewer and fewer juries could be found who were amenable to the prosecution's frame-ups. The struggle for civil rights began to have its effect on the juries, and there were many split juries. In desperation, prosecutors and judges even resorted to the use of injunctions against radicals—for the violation of the injunction could be punished by the judge himself without a jury. This method was too raw, however, and was dropped. The splitting of juries under the pressure and persuasion of the struggle for civil rights brought to an end the post-war prosecutions.

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Stalinists in Van of Social Patriotic Peoples Front

Bureaucrats Dismayed at Rising Tide of Opposition

(Continued from Page 1)

ship, when a few canes tipped with razor blades were waved in the attempted coup of February 6, 1934. But that was before the Stalin-Laval pact. Today Daladier is the very pillar of the "People's Front," worthy indeed to march side by side with Thorez himself, leading the Bastille Day demonstration.

And on the platform of the "People's Front" none other than Herriot thunders his undying opposition to "fascism of the right as well as fascism of the extreme left." For he too fights for the "common cause." The keen Thorez knows the true merits of the man: "Is it not evident," he declares, "that we can come to an agreement to safeguard peace with a party whose most eminent leaders and notably, President Herriot, have never ceased to say and to prove their friendship for the Soviet Union, considered by them, as well as by us, as the great force for peace in the world?" (L'Humanite, June 30).

On July 14, Herriot, Daladier, Blum and Thorez marched in the vanguard of the first "People's Front" parade bearing high aloft... "the tricolor flag, the emblem of French revolutionary traditions, and the Red flag." (L'Humanite, June 28).

The Stalinists have traded in the revolutionary struggle for power for a respectable program of haggling for "immediate demands." In a period such as this, concessions can be wrested from the bourgeoisie only if its power itself is challenged. Otherwise the new immediate demands will not be granted and instead the old ones will be drawn. While the fascists are preparing the noose, the Stalinists are hamstringing the workers so that the bourgeoisie can bleed all resistance out of them.

Painting Up the Radicals

What is this monstrosity, the "People's Front"? Is it an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie? The middle classes, who can have no program of their own, will follow the most resolute camp in society. While vacillating in despair between the revolutionary proletariat and the fascist gangs, the middle classes are presented by the Stalinists with the shoddy "People's Front." This constellation is intended to refurbish all the Daladiers and all the "democrats" in whom the middle class is fast losing all confidence and hope. Its only result can be to throw them into the arms of fascism.

The "People's Front" is the unholy offspring of the Stalin-Laval pact. It is social-patriotism in full flower. It is intended to be—and it is—an alliance with the bourgeoisie itself.

Each new day brings into bolder relief the social-patriotic aspect of Stalinism. In May, the new recruiting sergeant for French imperialism, Vaillant-Couturier, plows the trumpet:

"The fatherland? Why not. We want to conquer it... We do not want to conquer the fatherland after it is laid low, ruined and devastated by war. While waiting for The Day we must do everything in our power to protect it against the capitalists, the destroyers of the machine, and the fascists, the destroyers of culture, its material wealth, its moral and intellectual riches accumulated by generations of the toiling masses of France. We are proud of the revolutionary traditions of France..." (L'Humanite, May 15)

L'Humanite beats the drums: "What could be more natural than the fact that our comrade Stalin, upon the request of Laval whom he received in the presence of members of the government, should have declared his approval of the military measures taken

in France? Did you want him to make a declaration to disapprove them? That is not serious... What is important is that the interview led to concrete results for the defense of the U.S.S.R."

And further on, "the communists do not plant their banner in mud. They do not condemn the army as such. They do not misconstrue the idea of the fatherland. They want to conquer for the toiling masses the right to their flag, the right to their army, the right to their fatherland. The Communist party is a young, realistic, honest party, a government party, which has already conquered one-sixth of the globe, one-fourth of China, and which in France by its successes is about to augment its prestige to a considerable degree." (P.V.C. writing in L'Humanite, May 17)

Small wonder the died-in-the-wool social patriots can raise their heads high. At last their betrayal of 1914 has met with the sanction of Moscow. So, Evrard grows lyrical in Populaire, organ of the French Socialist Party:

"Stalin, the great Stalin, the supreme leader of the Third International, has proclaimed before the entire world that the task in France is not to allow in any way the weakening of its instruments of national defense."

"And as he goes on, he becomes more emphatic."

"Stalin adds that he understands and fully approves the policy of national defense carried on by France to maintain its forces at the necessary level of security."

"These declarations of their deity have descended on the skulls of the French Communist leaders like so many hammer blows till they see stars by the thousands. They are waiting the order—to dilute their wine with a little water and to prepare their minds more and more for a new conception of Communist duty in the event of war—but they were many hundred miles removed from the thought that Stalin would personally take the liberty to proclaim that Laval and Laval were right in reestablishing the two years' term of compulsory military service, and that their duty was to continually strengthen French armaments that our people must bear up under their burden, and the opponents of this policy must be cast into prison."

"I confess that today I would have cause for laughter if I were in the mood."

"But I will refrain because the facts are indeed very serious."

"Still, since Stalin has avenged me against the sarcasm heaped on me by his French followers, I have decided to thank him for it, to present him with a ceremonial offering. In fact, I intended to send him a drawing depicting the Communist leaders Thorez, Duclos, Thiepaut, Quinet, Darguesse and the rest as doughboys, with a pack on their shoulder, a musket

in their hand, oozing sweat and blood in military exercises under the severe and imperious command of Colonel Marcel Cachin. With myself seated in a corner watching them, while re-reading the theses and conditions of 1920, and the articles and speeches of Cachin and Thorez on revolutionary defeatism."

"And over the drawing, this heading: 'One must never swear to anything.'"

"Below, an inscription: For France, for Russia, let us prepare quickly and well." (Populaire, May 23.)

Cachin, the prodigal son, has returned to the fold and Evrard paternally cannot refrain from chortling his happiness.

Organic Unity

Now that Stalin has trampled under foot the last vestiges of Leninism there is no barrier any longer between himself, Blum, Zyromsky and all the other Evrards. Le Populaire has expressed its entire agreement on the united ("People's") front and on the national

defense policy of Stalin. The committee for Organic Unity (merger between the S. P. and the C. P.) is working overtime. L'Humanite drives for organic unity as the task of the hour. Zyromsky is happily agreed to the Stalinist formulation in the draft program for unity (see L'Humanite, June 8, 1935), where "no national defense in an imperialist war" has been substituted for "no national defense in a capitalist regime" in harmony with Thorez' oath that a war against the U.S.S.R. would be no imperialist war. Piatnitsky, high priest in the C. I., will be shortly in France to officiate at the social-patriotic wedding.

True, the Stalinists have one condition: the expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninists. This time, however, expulsion will not prove so easy, for the Bolshevik-Leninists already control over one-fourth of the strongest district in the S. P., Le Paris, and they have a strong following elsewhere as well. The original nucleus that entered last October has turned from a propaganda group into a revolutionary

factor of the first order. Foaming at their mouths, the bureaucrats had to recognize this fact by granting the Bolshevik-Leninists one regular representative and one alternate on the C.A.P. (the S. P. equivalent of a Political Committee) and one representative on the Administrative Board of the organ Le Populaire. The machinations of the bureaucrats behind the scenes will now be forced into the open through the medium of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

The reporter for the semi-official organ of the government, Temps, in covering the Mulhouse Congress of the S.F.I.O., expressed only too well the emotions of Blum and Co. in stating that "they (the leaders) regret having accepted them several months ago."

In the meantime, while unity with Blum hangs fire, the Stalinists are also involved in fervent negotiations on the trade union field, seeking an alliance with Jouhaux, the Bill Green of France against the revolutionary elements, particularly against the Bolshevik-Leninists whose influence in the movement is growing. Had the C.G.T.U. (Red Trade Union Center) entered the C.G.T. (the reformist organization) as a revolutionary opposition, trade union unity would have been already achieved. The Stalinists, of course, were instead interested in "prestige" and in securing for themselves a proper share of sinecures. Point Seven of the C.G.T.U. declaration that made possible the resumption of negotiations with Jouhaux reads as follows:

"7) Freedom of opinion and the exercise of trade union democracy must not entail the formation of bodies that act as factions in the trade unions. Each trade union-

ist has the full liberty to belong and work in political and philosophic organizations of his own choice, he, however, can belong to the trade union only in the capacity of a trade unionist..."

Thus at the end of the Stalinist trade union rainbow we find the Siamese twin of the "People's Front": unconditional capitulation to the labor lieutenants of the French capitalist class.

But within the ranks of the C. P. itself, despite the stranglehold of the bureaucracy, the barracks-room discipline there is a seething ferment. Opposition to the Stalin-Laval pact in Jura, Montlucon, Anrillac and elsewhere broke into the open. The Auxerre district demanded the expulsion of Stalin, the social-patriot. The workers are no longer being taken in by the specious arguments of the bureaucrats that "everything remains as before, nothing is changed, Stalin is a Leninist and is leading the bourgeoisie by the nose."

Outside the Stalinist ranks opposition to social-patriotism is taking an organized form. An initiative committee of revolutionary minorities already functions. The Bolshevik-Leninists, Pivert (one of the leading figures in the Paris District of the S. P.), Doriot together with several other groups and trade union organizations held a meeting on July 10 in preparation for a national conference set for August. Elsewhere in this issue we print the resolution of the preliminary conference against a repetition of the 1914 betrayal.

For the first time, after more than a decade of crimes, betrayals and defeats, the revolutionary proletariat is rising in France to take to the road of the October victory.

French Revolutionists in Move Against New 1914

The Bolshevik-Leninist group of the S. F. I. O. coordinated two conferences against social patriotism and class peace. One of these committees was organized by the syndicalists and the other one by the New Age group. At the initiative of the Bolshevik-Leninists these committees have fused. The group, whose names are not mentioned in the resolution published below includes: Doriot, Pivert, Action Socialiste, Guy Joran and the Proletarian Revolution group, etc.—Ed.

"The cause of proletarian internationalism has just been officially deserted by Stalin who speaks as the leader of the Third International, approving the policy of national defense followed by France."

"We are completely opposed to the conception which has dictated this declaration, just as we are opposed to the position of the leaders of the Second International on national defense in a capitalist regime."

"Whatever our ideas on the economic and social regime of the U.S.S.R. we repudiate any sacred union, any participation in 'national defense' with any of our capitalist governments, democratic or not, allied with the Soviet Union or no, and we remain true to the ideas expressed by Lenin in the name of the revolutionary proletariat."

"We denounce the policy which prepares a world war, and which justifies it with the same sophisms, with the same artifices of propaganda as in the war of 1914."

"It is not true that German imperialism, even with Hitler, is the sole instigator of war. All the imperialist powers are equally and jointly responsible, having prepared the germs of the next war in the Versailles treaty."

"There can be no question of defending democracy by war, since entry into war carries with it militarization and the suppression of all democratic life."

"There is no other method to assure to the people bread, peace and liberty than the proletarian revolution, than to organize against capitalism in every country."

"Let us act before war breaks out to overthrow the capitalist regime. If the catastrophe overtakes us, let it be the signal for the world revolution, where all the workers will turn first against their common enemy, imperialism in their home country."

"At the moment when, according to the genial prophecy of Engels, the world is obliged to choose between the realization of socialism or the decline into barbarism, at the moment when the general historic interests of the proletariat become vital necessities for all of human society, the revolutionists today have the duty of jointly organizing and undertaking this act of salvation."

"That is why we, the undersigned, members of different parties, organizations, groups and tendencies of the proletariat, call upon our comrades to unite in a national conference, as a prelude to an international conference which will be able to coordinate the efforts of the proletariat against war and for world revolution:"

Action Leniniste (Boyer, Renault); Bolshevik-Leninist Group; Unitary Federation of Teachers (L. and G. Bossé, Collinet, Gilbert, Peret); La Construction Sociale (Victor); L'Internationale (L'Union Communiste); La Lutte de Classe (Limbourg); La Lutte Finale (Treint, Tessier); Nouvelle Age (Valois, Weber)

must not exaggerate. The Russian revolutionists, not only the Bolsheviks but also the Social Revolutionary terrorists, for example, in their majority conducted themselves before and with distinction. This was the rule and not the exception. The cowards were despised but there was no scraping before the courageous ones. And it is characteristic of the moral level of the Comintern bureaucracy that Dimitroff became a demi-God for his courageous conduct before the court. At any rate Dimitroff never sought and never attempted to prove his mettle as a Marxist and a Bolshevik and to contradict the Stalinist general line. He went through the whole shameful policy of the epigones in all its stages and bears responsibility for it.

As to the decisions of the Congress we shall have occasion to return to this subject later.

PHILA. FRUIT CLERKS IN SIX WEEKS STRIKE

The Fruit Clerks Union struck the Blue Ribbon Market six weeks ago. The demands are: (1) a 63 hour week, (2) \$17.50 minimum a week, (3) union recognition. It is rumored that the Blue Ribbon Market is in a bad condition financially and can no longer get credit in the wholesale market as a result of the strike.

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The Manager's Corner

The Chicago branches are now getting their forces together to help put over the campaign for the eight-page weekly. A special committee of fifteen, composed of the most active comrades, has been set up, elaborate plans are worked out and practical results in a big way should follow soon. An initial installment is recorded this week. But so far the Boston branch still holds the lead with a total contribution of \$39.00.

Among the New York branches the competition to show best results has brought a small change this week. The West Side branch has taken the lead over Harlem which was ahead last week. Contributions from the West Side branch at the time of going to press were \$33.00. Still this is not such a good lead since this sum represents contributions from only five members and on the West Side we have one of our larger branches. In comparison the smaller branches like Harlem and Flatbush, the former with a total of \$29.48 and the latter with a total of \$20.00 have done better when measured in real terms. The larger branches are still behind in this sense. For example the Bronx branch, which has a membership of about 60, has contributed only \$13 to date and the Center branch, also with a large membership, has contributed only \$24.25. There is still a long way to go to reach the quota accepted by the New York district of \$1,000.

A number of individual contributions have been received from NEW MILITANT readers and friends. Amongst them T. C. Glashen from West Virginia informs us that he received a copy of the NEW MILITANT from a friend and became particularly attracted by the articles in defense of Ethiopia. He says: "I read carefully the little paper and I love the stand it took on the side of right against might and truth against falsehood. I pledge to give my strong support to this paper and you will find enclosed \$1.00 for my subscription and 50 cents for a donation."

Needless to say we receive quite a few of such notes of support and it augurs well for what we have been convinced of from the outset: We will put the campaign for the eight-page weekly over the top.

Since last week's report we have received the following amounts:

West Side Branch, N.Y.C.	1.50
Boro Park branch, N.Y.C.	1.50
Chicago branches	7.50
Harlem branch, N. Y. C.	3.00
St. Louis branch (Burbank)	2.00
Philadelphia br. (Thomas)	4.03
Previously reported	195.48
Grand Total	\$276.51

This amount is still only a little better than ten percent of the total necessary to lay a secure foundation for the eight-page weekly. We must build that foundation right away.

BUNDLE ORDER SETTLEMENTS

Last week we published a resume of the branches and bundle agents who have been put on the list of delinquents in regard to remittances due to the NEW MILITANT and the NEW INTERNATIONAL. Of course they were only the worst delinquents. There are a number of others whose accounts are also overdue for payments but there is still an opportunity for them to catch up before they will also be entered on the delinquent list.

Some of the branches mentioned last week have since made a serious effort to get in good standing. The Minneapolis branch forwarded \$15.00 payment on the NEW MILITANT account and \$9.00 payment on the NEW INTERNATIONAL account. The New York Spartacus Youth League made a similar effort. But the most important point is that practically all accounts are far overdue and the branches and the bundle agents must take serious steps to remedy this situation.

AUGUST NEW INTERNATIONAL ALMOST READY

Among the valuable material that will appear in the August issue of the NEW INTERNATIONAL will be an Open Letter to the French Proletariat by L. Trotsky, the first installment of a discussion with Max Eastman on some Marxian Fundamentals, a Survey of the Third Party Movement, a review of Olgin's pamphlet on Trotskyism, an analysis of the British-German Naval Agreement and an article by L. Trotsky on Rosa Luxemburg and the Fourth International.

For a change the NEW INTERNATIONAL will appear on time. The August issue is now almost ready and will be mailed about the first of the month. Henceforth it will appear regularly every month and on time. But, and this is urgent, all branches and bundle agents must now rush their remittances. We can no longer afford to let the accounts lapse. The indication given above shows the character of the rich material to appear in the August issue. Therefore no delay in settlements. Get ready to distribute the August issue.

Incidentally the combination offer of \$2.00 for a yearly subscription to the NEW INTERNATIONAL and the NEW MILITANT both, still holds good. But it will hold only insofar as the price is concerned only for the next few weeks. With the appearance of the eight-page weekly the price will change. Take advantage of this offer while it is still good.

Total	\$55.00
Advance Subscriptions	
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Question Box

By A. WEAVER

C. E., BROOKLYN—

Question: According to Marx the value of commodities is determined by the socially necessary labor-time embodied in them, and yet we observe everywhere that one capitalist employing a certain number of men makes much different profits than another employing the same number... Does this not contradict the Marxian economic theory, since apparently the workers should be adding the same value in each case?

Answer: As a rule, commodities, in capitalist society, do not sell at their values, and it is this fact which gives rise to the suspicion that the concept of socially necessary labor-time as the determinant of value is incorrect. What we have here however, is not a refutation of the law of value but its further development. What actually occurs is that value IS determined by the socially necessary labor-time embodied in commodities, but the surplus value extracted from the workers is proportioned among the different capitalists according to the amount and power of the capital that each controls and not according to the number of workers that each directly employs.

Under competitive capitalism this proportioning is brought about by the tendency towards the creation of an average rate of profit for all capital. As an illustration let us assume three industries as follows which are selling commodities at their value: (1) Constant capital, \$1,000,000; variable capital \$500,000; surplus value, \$500,000; selling price \$2,000,000; rate of profit 33 1/3 per cent. (2) Constant capital \$2,000,000; variable capital \$500,000; surplus value, \$500,000; selling price \$3,000,000; rate of profit 20 per cent. (3) Constant capital \$900,000; variable capital \$100,000; surplus value \$100,000; selling price \$1,100,000; rate of profit, 10 per cent. (We assume for the sake of simplicity that the entire plant wears out in a year so that its entire value is transferred into the value of the commodities.)

The total surplus value extracted from the workers of all industries is thus \$1,100,000, and the total value of all commodities is \$6,100,000.

There would now be a tendency for capital to flow from the industries with a lower to those of a higher rate of profit so that over-production, forcing down the prices below their value would occur in the latter and underproduction and a raising of prices above their values would take place in the former. This process would tend to continue until an average rate of profit was brought about for all industries and the three industries taken as examples would then have the following compositions: (1) Constant capital, \$1,000,000; variable capital, \$500,000; surplus value, \$330,000; selling price, \$1,830,000 (\$170,000 less than its value); rate of profit, 22 percent (11% per cent less than before). (2) Constant capital, \$2,000,000; variable capital, \$500,000; surplus value, \$550,000; selling price, \$3,050,000 (\$50,000 more than its value); rate of profit, 22% (2% more than before). (3) Constant capital, \$900,000; variable capital, \$100,000; surplus value, \$220,000; selling price \$1,220,000 (\$120,000 above its value); rate of profit, 22% (12% more than before).

The total surplus value extracted from the workers of all industries remains, as before, \$1,100,000, and the total value of all commodities remains, as before, at \$6,100,000. What has happened is that the competition between capitals has brought about a redistribution of the surplus value among the various capitalists so that the capitalists of industries (2) and (3) are exploiting, not only their own workers but those of industry (1) and this occurs because the latter sells its commodities for an amount below their value equal to the amount above their values for which the commodities of the other two industries are sold.

Under monopolies the same process occurs except that it is the monopoly which makes it possible for certain capitalists to sell commodities above their values and even above the price which would realize the average rate of profit. Monopoly capital is thus able to extract wealth from lesser capitalists as well as from the workers.

To answer the many questions bearing on this subject we should like to go more fully into the matter but we are here able to merely present an extremely simplified example of why prices do not correspond to values, since a complete analysis of the question would require a complete review of "Capital." Your editor thinks it appropriate however to call to the attention of those comrades whose questions indicate that they believe Marxian economic knowledge to be exhausted by the concept of labor as the determinant of value, that, besides volume I, there are volumes II and III to Marx's critique of capitalist economy.

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with which is merged THE MILITANT Published weekly by the New Militant Publishing Co., 65 East 11th Street, New York City Phone. ALgonquin 4-9058

Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES P. CANNON Editor

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c six months. Canada and Foreign \$1.50 per year; \$1.00 six months. Single Copies: Two cents per copy.

Vol. 1 SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1935 No. 31

Terre Haute General Strike

The idea of a general strike of labor, throughout an industry or throughout a city, is, it is quite clear, no "foreign importation." It is the natural idea that develops in the minds of workers to the same extent that the spirit of class solidarity takes hold of them.

It would be the greatest error to draw the conclusion from the fact that all three general strikes ended without the demands of the workers involved being granted, that the general strike is not an effective weapon.

In the textile strike, the United Textile Workers Union leadership called off the magnificent movement which had the plants tied up, not at the moment when the strike was at an ebb, but while it was reaching new heights of strength.

The general strike is a tremendously powerful weapon, but not in and by itself. When it is directed and inspired by organized militants, who know what they want and how to go about getting it, the weapon becomes an invincible one.

United Front on Ethiopia

The decision of the Workers Party to send delegates to a united front conference of New York labor organizations against the imperialist designs of Mussolini upon the Ethiopian people, is in line with the whole position of our party.

We are compelled, however, to register a sharp disagreement with the action of the unit-

ed front conference, the initiative for which was taken by La Stamp Libera, a local Italian socialist newspaper. Our delegates to the conference proposed that an effort be made to broaden its scope and composition by inviting representatives of the Stalinist movement.

The decision of the conference is not only highly regrettable, but it is based upon two entirely erroneous premises.

A united front, while not an all-saving institution which can solve all the problems of the working class, is a tremendous step in advance for the labor movement.

Our attitude towards the Stalinists, their party, their program, their leadership, and their behavior in the general labor movement, is quite well known, and requires no repetition here.

The criticism of any united front movement must be directed primarily against those who declare themselves opposed to the inclusion of this or that group in the movement, and not against those who state their willingness to participate.

It was precisely such a fear of publicly and honestly having a correct policy counterposed to their policy, that dictated to the Stalinists for a number of years their criminal policy of "social-Fascism" and "united front only from below."

It does not speak well for the socialists controlling the New York united front in behalf of Ethiopia that they have picked up the not very odorous policy against which we were compelled to fight so vigorously when it was put forth for years by the Stalinists.

Greetings To The Vanguard

The comrades of the Workers Party of the U. S. greet and heartily congratulate the "Vanguard," official organ of the Workers Party of Canada, on its fourth highly successful appearance as an enlarged, bi-weekly paper fighting for the Fourth International.

or are participating in the building of the truly Marxian press can fully appreciate the tremendous difficulties which our comrades there have faced and overcome.

The latest issue of The Vanguard, July 15, carries the news that the publications of the Pioneer Publishing Co. have been barred the use of the Canadian mails, and pledges itself to do all in its power to "smash this dictatorial order."

ies, especially as doing this would provoke the capitalists into calling in the Canadian Hitler. Needless to say, the C.C.F. leader proposes no "solution" for the workers, ending up in the blind alley of social democratic reformism, as have similar attempts with an "American Approach" in the United States.

Marking another step in the practical internationalist collaboration of the two revolutionary parties of the North American mainland is the appearance in the last two issues of The Vanguard of a fortnightly column, United States Labor News Letter, by comrade Blake Lear of the W.P.U.S.

'Soc. Call' Whines At N.C. Decision

The new Norman Thomas-Hoan-Old Guard leadership of the Socialist Party, resulting from the "peace pact" between the N.E.C. and the New York Old Guard, found little cause for worry in the July 20 issue of the Socialist Call, organ of the leaders of the "Militant" socialists.

Instead of a clarion call to arms against the new combination and its program, the "Militants" contented themselves with what they termed "an objective, factual report," and a shamefully weak-kneed editorial.

The "objective, factual report" and the editorial gave, in actuality, little hint of the completeness and importance of the Old Guard victory. Instead the report devoted its leading paragraph and one headline to blazoning forth the meaningless minor concessions to the Y.P.S.L., and another headline to broadcast that "Attacks on Party Must Cease, Committee Declares" (why shouldn't they cease, now that Hoan and Thomas have made peace with the Old Guard?)

In contrast to the political clarity of the Old Guard, who in the words of the New Leader, declared that the "basic issue" was the definition of Communism, the report in the Socialist Call does not refer to this point at all except as it repeats the entire document.

With the publication of the eight-point "peace pact" in the form in which it finally was passed, the first point, the definition of Communism, is seen to be the most important point, being a decisive decision on a principled question, from which will flow the whole policy of the Socialist party.

Under sections 1 and 2 just quoted, any party member who believes in revolutionary methods is subject to expulsion; they leave room in the party only for those who believe in "growing into socialism" by way of the democracy of the capitalist state.

By voting for this dedication of pure reformism of the most vulgar social democratic type, Norman Thomas gave up his recent attempts to straddle and went into the camp where he feels most at home. It is significant that another supporter of this definition was Devere Allen, who was the author of the Declaration of Principles adopted at Detroit.

The "Militants" on the N.E.C., Krueger, Daniel and Hapgood, took no principled position in opposition to the definition of Communism. Here was a splendid opportunity to plant beside the banner of reformism the banner of revolutionary Marxism and let the workers in the Socialist party judge under which one they wished to march.

The "Militants" leaders have spoken through the columns of the Socialist Call, and have demonstrated the bankruptcy of their present policies. But there is a mass of socialist workers who have constituted their following and only because of this following have the "Militant" leaders any standing.

Not content with achieving a bi-weekly organ, our comrades there are pressing a campaign for the establishing of The Vanguard as a weekly. Anyone wishing to help them in reaching even deeper masses of the Canadian workers may send contributions to the editor, Vanguard Publishing Assn., 320 Spadina Ave., Toronto.

'Militants' Capture YPSL Convention

Continued from Page 1

peared before the resolutions committee to present the case of their organization. The committee adopted a motion of thanks to the Y.C.L. delegation and took no further action.

Breaking socialist precedent the convention was closed to the public and the press. So little was accomplished that the Yipsels, contrary to their plans, were unable to issue a press release.

The supporters of the N. Y. "Militants" controlled a majority of the convention. The other delegates were conservative Yipsels (of the Thomas-Hoan-Hoopers type). One delegate, from St. Louis, was the sole R.P.P.A.er there. The New York Old Guard had no direct supporters as they had organized a few months ago their own rival youth organization in New York, the Young Socialist Alliance.

The characteristic "Militant" policy of evading programmatic questions and substituting for them organization measures, set the tone of the convention. The New York "Militants" won a majority on the National Committee. Three of the eleven members of the new committee are Right wing socialists of the type referred to above.

In addition the national office was taken over by the "Militants." On previous occasions the New York Yipsel organization came into conflict with the national office. Among these instances are the ruling of the old National Committee against internal statements and, far more important, the reluctance of Dancils and McDowell to support the Yipsels in their fight against the New York Old Guard.

What is the purpose of the agreement? The editorial does not tell its followers that the agreement's objective function is to consolidate the majority to war against dissenters; hence the readers of the Socialist Call are left to accept the majority's own claim that the agreement is a peace pact.

What will the Socialist Call do now? The editorial says: "But such differences need not give rise to abusive or dictatorial practices. Our work to educate the membership to the principles of Marx will continue on the highest level and in a dignified manner. We are concerned with issues and not with personalities."

Undoubtedly an important reason for evading a political fight was the fear of the "Militants" that they could not be able to reach agreement amongst themselves and with their allies. Before the convention it was rumored in Yipsel circles that a revolutionary program would be presented to the convention.

The "Militants" chief interest is to capture organization posts in the S. P. and Yipsels in preparation for the 1936 convention. To accomplish this end, they not only put the paramount question of program into the background but penalize those who present a revolutionary position. A few weeks ago the New York city secretary and organizer of the Y.P.S.L. were forced to resign their posts because they signed a Left wing statement in preparation for the national convention.

A significant action of the convention was the decision to raise the maximum age limit from 25 to 30. This step is intended to strengthen the "Militant" control of the Yipsels. It is at the same time an admission of the inadequacy of the recruiting power of the Socialist Party. Efforts will be made in the party to nullify this decision.

Gus Tyler, New York "Militant," was elected as the delegate to the International Youth Congress to be held next month.

The convention had before it an appeal for a united front from the Young Communist League. Mac Weiss and Dave Doran, national leaders of the Stalinist youth, ap-

Y.C.L. Warns of 'Trotskyism'

Nevertheless, the delegation's work was not at an end. It had another task: to counteract "Trotskyist" influence. Weiss warned several "Militant" leaders to beware of the "Trotskyists." He cited a recent statement of a leader of the French Socialist youth that the "Trotskyists" are dangerous enemies of the working class who must be expelled from the movement.

The Stalinists are fearful of "Trotskyist" influence in the Yipsels. Many young socialists are sympathetic to "Trotskyism" even though they believe that their place is in the socialist movement. They have been inculcated against Stalinism though they are not yet ready to break with socialist Centrism.

The Revolutionary Policy Publishing Committee distributed a mimeographed statement to the delegates. They explained their position on the crisis in the socialist party, the decision of the National Committee and the actions of the "Militants."

The statement reads: "Although the situation appears bleak and nothing seems to bring hope, let us not despair. The principles for which Marx and Engels fought, for which our own Gene Debs carried on, call aloud for reaffirmation and adherence. We can go forward to a party that will not be the Left wing of the Roosevelt administration as the Right wing intends; nor a party that builds its hope and aspirations on the foundations of the sand and water of compromising, Centrist principles. Our party can still become revolutionary by fearlessly endorsing Left wing principles. Towards this end we of the R.P.P.A. believe that we have made contributions."

The statement further urges the Yipsels to consider the R.P.P.A. program and offers its press and teachers to the young socialists. The ineffectiveness of the R.P.P.A., leaving aside its programmatic position on many vital questions, is clearly shown by its weakness in the Yipsels, where a Left wing should have its greatest support.

The Yipsel convention revealed the true condition of the Yipsels and their "Militant" leadership. Until now dependent upon Thomas-Hoan-Hoopers, they did not carry their fight outside of New York City. Now they are out to capture posts. Program and policies on the burning questions of the day, these are put into the background. The result is not only the impeding of a Left wing development but the organizational stagnation of the Yipsels. Little effort is made to educate the ranks. Even the inadequate organization steps taken are done without the members understanding the reasons.

Genuine Left Wing Needed

The results of the convention once again affirm the need for a revolutionary Marxian Left wing in the Yipsels. "Broad" and thereby ineffective—in a revolutionary sense—"Militant" groups are possible only by the refusal to adopt a program. The fraud of "unity at all costs" was revealed for what it is worth by the disruption of the bloc between the N. Y. "Militants" and Thomas-Hoan-Hoopers formed at the Detroit convention at the recent National Committee meeting of the S. P.

A Left wing which can make valuable contributions to the American revolutionary movement can be founded only on a revolutionary Marxian program, distinguished in theory and practice from all shades of reformism and Centrism.

It will not arise spontaneously out of "growing militancy" but only by the conscious efforts of Left wing socialists. The next step of revolutionary socialists, too long delayed, is the formulation of such a program and the constitution of a genuine revolutionary Marxian group.

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