

# NEW MILITANT

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

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## Oust 13 French Bolsheviks From S.P. for Stand on War

### Central Comm. Splits on Issue Of Expulsions

By H. F. ROBERTS

Thirteen leaders of the Bolshevik-Leninist group of France have been expelled from the French Socialist Party. Preparing a sacred union of their own as a prelude to the sacred union government of the morrow, the Socialist and Stalinist bureaucracies are seeking to dismember themselves of a revolutionary left wing which does not and will not permit their gross betrayal of the French proletariat to go unchallenged.

In response to this reactionary offensive an organized bloc under the name Revolutionary Left is taking form in the Socialist Party of France. At a meeting of 1,500 militants in Paris Marceau Pivert, one of the outstanding leaders of the Socialist left, proclaimed the formation of the left bloc.

The expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninists, long expected and forecast in these columns, was openly stated by the National Disputes Committee of the S.P. to be based upon the fact that the "program of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group cannot for a single instant be admitted since it would lead the party into an impossible situation." Impossible, because it would lead the party to the conquest of power by the proletariat!

#### Expelled for Bolshevism

Specifically, five articles in La Verite were given as grounds for the expulsions.

"The first article with which we are reproached," states a leaflet issued by the Bolshevik-Leninist Central Committee after the expulsions, "is the Letter of Trotsky to the French Workers. Trotsky advises the French workers that it is necessary to prepare a New International in view of the failure of the two old ones from the revolutionary standpoint, principally on the burning question of war (1914, Stalin-Laval declaration). Instead of replying politically to this question, instead of opening a discussion on the war question, the left is expelled."

"The second fact has to do with our issue on the expulsions of the Socialist Youth at Lille. We explained that these expulsions of the representatives of more than a third of the Socialist Youth were a joint maneuver of the Stalinists and reformists for the exclusion of all revolutionists hostile to the sacred union! . . ."

The third crime laid against the Bolshevik-Leninists is their agitation for the slogan of revolutionary defeatism. "They call agitation for revolutionary defeatism and against the sacred union—violations of discipline! . . . The slogans regarded

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## 1500 in Paris Meet Cheer New Revolutionary Bloc

Faced with the crisis of war and the acute tightening of internal contradictions, the threat of Fascism and civil war, the Socialist and Stalinist bureaucracies in France are trying to cover with the fetish of "unity" their policies of betrayal, of social patriotism, of class collaboration. In so doing they are finding it necessary to cope with a growing movement of opposition from the left which they hope to silence by the simple expedient of bureaucratically expelling them from their organizations.

In the Socialist Party the left wing is rapidly crystallizing. At a meeting of the various left tendencies of the S.P. in Paris a few weeks ago, the Bolshevik-Leninists, the Pivert group, the Action Socialiste and the C.A.S.R. took the preliminary step toward the formal constitution of a left bloc to be known as the Revolutionary Left.

## Akron Bosses Union Revolts

### Lay Off Resentment Rips Company Organization Wide Open

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Oct. 21.—Pressed by a powerful demand from 6,000 workers in plant 2, the Goodyear company union revolted against company orders to approve a shift from the six to an eight-hour day and created consternation among the rubber barons as the feeling against the brutal company policy spread from plant to plant and brought tenseness throughout this rubber center.

The lower body of the dual-house company union, which was formed 20 years ago after the 1913 strike, took this sensational action two hours after the company placed the 6,000 plant II workers on an eight-hour schedule, thus laying off hundreds of them!

Over 150 workers stormed the company union meeting and thundered their protest which caused the thirty-two "representatives" to bolt from the purse-strings of the company. The meeting had been called to hear that cruel exploiter, Paul Litchfield, company president, attempt to explain his order which would send thousands of workers into the streets facing a hard winter without food or shelter. Litchfield, a fat and slick capitalist, refused to appear, although he said he would, when he heard that the workers had stormed the hall.

Bitter protests were voiced at open meetings of the Goodrich and Firestone local meetings Sunday against similar policies in these two companies' various plants. Speaker after speaker aroused the workers against the wage-slashing, hour-lengthening drive of the companies which had been predicted in a re-

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## Shachtman Tour Off to Flying Start

### Rousing Meets in Toledo Youngstown, Pittsburg Cleveland

First reports on the meetings of comrade Shachtman on his coast-to-coast tour indicate the growing influence of the Workers Party and lively interest in its revolutionary position on the war question. Branches where meetings are scheduled are urged to emulate the fine work done in cities which have already held theirs. Brief reports follow:

**PITTSBURGH:** Shachtman spoke before Local 21 of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League. Over 200 present. Subject: WPA and Prospects for the Future of the American Workers. He pointed out the need of a revolutionary party to lead in the struggle against unemployment, misery, exploitation, war and Fascism. Most workers present had been Democratic supporters up to a short time ago, but the speech was very warmly received. Questions asked indicate possibilities for speedy growth of the party in this city. Discussion showed growing disillusionment of workers with Roosevelt regime and readiness for action. Local 21 is one of the most militant locals in the organization, with many members of the W.P. active in it.

**NEWCASTLE:** On short notice, a handful of comrades organized a splendid meeting of more than 50 workers, where Shachtman spoke on Ethiopia and the war danger, attacking the patriotic position of the Second and Third Internationals. More than an hour of questions from a highly interested audience of workers, many of whom gathered around the speaker after the meeting to express their agreement with the revolutionary anti-war position of the W.P. Both the C.P. and the S.P. here are virtually non-existent and prospects for a strong branch here are excellent. Comrades are to be complimented on the work they did to organize so fine a meeting.

**YOUNGSTOWN:** Although many comrades have left town for other parts, those left in the city concentrated on a meeting of the party which was attended by half a hundred workers. Interest here too in the menacing war situation was very high. Significant was the presence of a whole group from the recently organized teamsters' union which has already fought a number of dramatic, sensational and victorious battles. The sympathy for the W.P. is on the rise here and local comrades are clamoring for organizers in order to speed up the work of establishing the W. P. as a force in this district.

**CLEVELAND:** Shachtman spoke on the same subject at a meeting attended by more than 50 workers. (Continued on Page 4)

## Build the Left Wing, Is Real Lesson of AFL Convention

### 3,500 Out For N. Y. Herndon Farewell Meet

NEW YORK.—A crowd of 3,500 filled Manhattan Opera House late Wednesday afternoon on the call of the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon defense, to pledge their solidarity with Angelo Herndon, Atlanta Negro ordered by the U. S. Supreme Court to begin in a few days his sentence of 18 to 20 years on the chain-gang.

The meeting applauded enthusiastically when it was announced that Herndon had gained a few days respite at the last moment, and that a Southern attorney had just been retained to apply for a habeas corpus writ on the ground that there has never been a test of the constitutionality of the slave insurrection law under which Herndon was convicted.

#### Scheduled March Called Off

By unanimous decision, the Joint Committee decided that Herndon should remain out of Georgia until the last possible legal moment without forfeiting bail. The Committee also decided that he should remain in New York as long as possible, and consequently a scheduled march to Pennsylvania Station was called off. The Committee unanimously decided that when Herndon departs in a few days, his friends should see him off at the station.

The time of departure will be announced as soon as it is known. In the meantime all efforts are to be directed toward getting more signatures on the Herndon petitions, as the result of the habeas corpus move is very uncertain at best.

Julius Hochman, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U., who unsuccessfully advocated a resolution on the Herndon case in the recent A. F. of L. convention, presided over the Opera House rally. Herndon was the main speaker. Among the speakers were Ernest Rice McKinney of the National Committee of the Workers Party, who brought the greetings of the National Unemployed League, Herbert Solow of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense spoke on behalf of that organization and as a member of the Joint Committee.

Neither McKinney nor Solow received at the outset the ovation given by the audience to other speakers, and for a simple reason. As could readily be seen by the frantic delight of the crowd when a French C. P. member was smuggled onto the speaker's rostrum behind the back of the arrangements committee, the meeting was almost solely Stalinist in character. The rank and file Stalinists, however, are not yet sufficiently adjusted to the new party line to know that they must boo militant sentiments, and consequently the speeches of the N.U.L. and N.P.L.D. speakers finally wrung spontaneous applause.

**CLEVELAND:** Shachtman spoke on the same subject at a meeting attended by more than 50 workers. (Continued on Page 4)

### Special Features For Nov. 7 Issue

Place your orders now for the special eight-page Russian revolution edition of the NEW MILITANT.

The contents of this issue will be a treat for every revolutionary worker. Among the articles will be a section from Victor Serge's "The Year One of the Russian Revolution," appearing for the first time in the English language; comrade Trotsky contributes a penetrating analysis of the Soviet bureaucracy on the basis of his brilliant treatise on "The Art of Insurrection"; an essay by Lenin; articles by Cannon, Muste, Spector, Swaback, Roberts, etc.

The special edition of the NEW MILITANT should serve not only to commemorate the Russian Revolution but should act as a spur in the subscription drive and in the campaign to make the eight-pager a permanent phenomena.

## Try to Deport Jack Warnick

### NSAC Comes to Defense As Courts Bait Cal. Prisoners

Special to the New Militant

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 22.—While Attorney-General U. S. Webb, who spent thousands of dollars of state funds to finance the prosecution of Norman Mini and the other Sacramento workers for criminal syndicalism, refuses to prosecute the anti-labor vigilantes of Santa Rosa on the grounds that his office has no funds a new crop of reactionary prosecutions is arising out of the soil fertilized by the slush fund of the State Chamber of Commerce.

This fund, the revelation of whose existence by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee several weeks ago was a national sensation, is being used to send reactionary agitators around the state to finance labor spying activities. Prosecutors McAllister and Johnson, who managed the Sacramento frame-up, are now addressing Chamber meetings in various counties, and urging more criminal syndicalism prosecutions. Simultaneously, the American Legion has opened a drive to make life impossible for the ten Sacramento criminal syndicalism defendants who were acquitted.

**Seek Warnick's Deportation**  
Jack Warnick having first been fired from a WPA job without explanation, was recently arrested for deportation, Hearst's San Francisco Examiner candidly states that both blows against Warnick were (Continued on Page 4)

## Put No Trust in Lewis and Co. Is the Slogan

By A. J. MUSTE

A fist fight between the heads of the two biggest unions in the A. F. of L., Hutcheson of the Carpenters and John L. Lewis of the Miners, featured the closing day of the Atlantic City convention. In more ways than one this affair was symbolic. The boys were actually excited about something and that has not been true of the top leadership of the A. F. of L. for years. These comfortable bureaucrats were not the kind to take life seriously, and they did not need to excite themselves about anything except their golf scores and the stock market. That day is over. The rift in the leadership is the most serious that has occurred in the entire fifty-five years history of the Federation. The historic one-round bout of Hutcheson and Lewis took place over Hutcheson's opposition to letting a Federal Union delegate speak for an industrial union in his industry. Lewis said it was "small potatoes" of Hutcheson not to let the "little fellows" have their say. Hutcheson rose to the full height of his six feet two and said he had been brought up on small potatoes and that's what made him so little—just like a boy out of a Mark Twain story. He also, it is said, called Lewis a naughty name. With that Lewis sent one to the jaw. Soon the two men were rolling about on the floor. When they had been separated, Lewis brushed back his heavy locks and like a nineteenth century Shakespearean actor strode to his seat. Hutcheson, the craft unionist, had to take time out to dress his wounds. That also was symbolic. Meanwhile William Green, face as red as a tomato, looking on at the struggle of personalities and forces too big for him, strove in vain to get order. And that also was symbolic.

"Progressives" in a Minority  
It must not be inferred that the so-called "progressives" under the leadership of John Lewis constituted a majority in this convention. On the roll call on key questions they were regularly defeated by the Old Guard by a vote of about 18,000 to 10,000. The convention reaffirmed the San Francisco decision for "restricted," i. e. fake, industrial unions in basic industries, thus favoring the craft unions. The convention is on record for the Roosevelt "social security" program and against the Lunden bill. Labor Party resolutions were defeated and the A. F. of L.'s stand for "non-partisan" political action reaffirmed, though the Executive Council was instructed to draft an amendment to the U. S. constitution to empower Congress to enact social legislation. The A. F. of L. forces generally can be counted on to support Roosevelt in 1936, unless entirely unforeseen shifts in the economic or political situation occur. After the smashing blow at Matthew Woll for his connection with the red-baiting National Civic Federation, the Executive Council has to withdraw its proposed amendment to the A. F. of L. constitution barring all "reds" from any A. F. of L. union. However, a provision barring them from being delegates to any State Federation of Labor and city central body was adopted, as was a strong resolution against "Communism" in general.

It may be safely predicted that within a year or two the so-called "progressives" of the Lewis-Hillman et al camp will achieve a majority. Their industrial union resolution e. g. got a bigger vote than resolutions for unemployment insurance at the A. F. of L. convention just preceding the one where it was finally adopted.

**The Real Program of Lewis**  
It must again be emphasized that it now becomes a crucial importance for the workers, and especially the active and advanced ones, to understand precisely what forces suffered set-backs at Atlantic City and what is the real character and role of the elements now gaining (Continued on Page 3)

## 'Hot Cargo' Fight Rages Up and Down West Coast

By EARL LANE

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Oct. 20.—The bitter struggle over the hot cargo issue, which had been somewhat eased by the lifting of the embargo on the British Columbia cargo in the holds of S. S. "Point Clear" and the termination of the waterfront employers' efforts to blacklist 1,600 San Francisco longshoremen, flared into open warfare again last week.

On October 8 longshoremen began unloading the Swayne & Hoyt freighter, "Point Clear," which had been tied up in San Francisco harbor since June 22, following a release voted by the Waterfront and Transport Workers Association of Vancouver. As the striking bargemen had returned to work pending arbitration of their demands, the only vital question left unsettled was that of registering additional longshoremen. The union demanded that any additional workers to be registered must come from the

ranks of the extras holding I.L.A. permit cards. The bosses insisted upon the registration of 1,000 additional men, no doubt hoping to be able to train an army of strikebreakers to do the difficult stevedoring work, thus having a reserve army of workmen for use in future struggles with the longshoremen.

#### Victory in Honolulu

The matter was placed in the hands of the Joint Longshore Labor Relations Board. After the union had stated that they would resist any effort to put additional men to work, until all men with I.L.A. permits had been registered, the board handed down a decision that only these men be registered—a clear-cut victory for the union. Another longshoremen's victory was reported from far off Honolulu last week, 900 men at that port winning wage increases of ten cents per hour.

The seamen are playing the role of the vanguard in the latest devel-

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ment itself that workers develop and perfect themselves." He called for the formation of a solid bloc to become "the embryo of the great truly revolutionary party of tomorrow!"

#### Ferment Starts in Stalinist Ranks

But it is not only in the ranks of the Socialist Party that this ferment and turmoil is apparent. Cracks and widening fissures are beginning to appear in the solidified bureaucratic front of the Stalinist party as well. The workers in the Stalinist ranks are resisting the rush of social patriotism, class collaboration and parliamentarism which has swept the party bureaucracy and which determine now all its policies.

Recently three of the most militant members of the 11th district in Paris, R. Clair, Fyot and Julien, were expelled from the Stalinist ranks. In their letter to the front they criticize the leadership (Continued on Page 3)

## "People's Peace Parades" Today, Preparedness Parades Tomorrow

The leaflet issued under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism to advertise the People's Parade for Peace, the latest Stalinist sideshow, for some reason bears the motto: "Remember Woodrow Wilson . . . Remember 1917!" It would be more in the interests of peace to have the slogan read "Remember Wilson . . . Remember 1916!" For the Wilson who in 1917 was marching in Preparedness and mobilization parades, was in 1916 marching in "People's Parades for Peace!"

When the Second International in 1914 made its last minute declaration of support for the bourgeois governments that were embarking on war, Lenin immediately proclaimed the death of the Second International and started to build the Third although the forces at his disposal were infinitesimal, a few hundred in Russia, and a few scores at the most in the other capitalist nations. From those few

hundreds a revolution sprang in less than three years, and in five the whole of Europe tottered on the brink of proletarian revolution. Lenin, as a revolutionary realist knew that there was only one way to put a stop to war; he knew that no mere masses, no matter how great, no mere demonstrations, no peace parades, no petitions and pledges, no matter how long and impressive, could stop war. He knew that only the proletarian revolution could stop the war—and he said so, even if he could find only a few hundred to agree with him at first.

#### Everybody "Opposes" War Now

Now the self-advertized leaders of the wreckage of Lenin's International, the Stalinists, may still believe that only proletarian revolution can put a stop to war—but if they believe it they are careful to conceal their belief. They take everything but a serious and real-

istic attitude toward war; they call on capitalist governments to stop war (sanctions), on combinations of capitalist governments to stop war (the League of Nations), on social democrats who have already once proved their inability to stop war (the British Labor Party, the French S. P., etc.), on Christian and church organizations, on reactionary trade unionists, they call upon everyone but the revolutionary proletariat—they call upon all those who turned against and persecuted Lenin in 1914 for his stand against war and for the struggle or revolution.

The Daily Worker of October 19 informs us that a great "People's March for Peace" is scheduled for the 26th under, among others, the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism. This People's March for Peace has the "backing of A. F. of L. leaders" the Daily Worker is happy to announce. (Continued on Page 2)

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**A. J. Muste**  
National Secretary Workers Party  
will speak on

**THE A. F. of L. CONVENTION**  
Sunday, October 27th - 5 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA HALL  
Irving Place & 15th St.



THE MANAGER'S CORNER

A fore-runner of the coming 8-page weekly will appear on the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. It should be a spur to step up the present campaign by a serious concentration on the job of securing many more new readers.

We have set a goal of 1,000 new subscribers by the time of the 2nd National Convention of the Workers Party, to be held December 26, and a corresponding increase in bundle sales. This would be a total of 2,000 new readers and the funds they bring will surely put the campaign over the top.

We are starting this phase of the campaign in a big way. All wheels are to be put into motion. A large-scale circulation of numerous contacts is the beginning; special advertisements will follow, with special efforts to obtain subscriptions at all party meetings.

The prices offered for individual sub-getters are still in effect. The best sub-getter, so far, has been Leon Goodman of Philadelphia, whose additional \$2.00 sent in for new subscriptions recorded in this issue brings him to a total of \$19.00 turned in for new subscriptions during the campaign.

way. The branches responded well to the Special Press Fund Tax which brought in a couple of hundred dollars extra during the recent weeks. Our financial statements show an increasingly better attitude to sub renewals and bundle payments.

Among the direct contributions made, the Flatbush branch of New York is the first branch to exceed its quota. The Center Branch of New York has moved ahead to third place in the campaign with a total contribution of \$69.05, and it is now following closely on the heels of the Boston branch with a total of \$76.95 and Harlem with a total of \$73.10.

CONTRIBUTIONS
Anonymous, N.Y.C. \$ 10.00
Harlem branch, N.Y.C. 3.70
West Side branch, N.Y.C. 2.65
Flatbush branch, N.Y.C. 2.00
Brownsville branch, N.Y.C. 1.00
Astoria branch, N.Y.C. 1.00
East Side branch, N.Y.C. .50
Center branch, N.Y.C. 5.40
A Friend, N.Y.C. 15.00
H. Smith, Hutchinson, Kans. 1.00
Minna Brettel, N.Y.C. 1.00
Boston branch 6.00
New Haven branch 1.00
Haines, Cambridge, Mass. 1.00
Los Angeles branch .50
L. Lassen, Phoenix, Ariz. 1.00
M. Grob, St. Paul 1.00
Tropp, N.Y.C. 1.00
Youngstown branch 2.00

Total \$ 58.75
Subscriptions and greetings. 9.05
Previously reported 703.00
Grand Total \$768.80

Striker Tells of WPA Victory in Allentown

Independent Class Tactic Smashed Through Gov't Officials' Threats and Trickery to Union Victory

By LESTER HECKMAN

The WPA program in Allentown, Pa., as far as the unemployed workers are concerned, was and still is a program of forced labor at coolie wages, and an attempt by the capitalist state to smash the trade union movement and lower the American standard of living.

The first project to start was at Jordan Park, where approximately 430 men were called to work to beautify a park instead of doing some useful work such as slum clearance and the tearing down of hovels unfit for habitation. Of course these social-minded hypocrites never think in these terms. The project started on a Monday morning and worked long enough for the leaders of the various organizations to agitate and organize an effective strike by noon.

Picket Line Formed

At noon the unemployed leaders visited the project to speak to the strikers and immediately formed a picket line and marched across the project and pull off those who were a bit weak through fear of having their relief cut off completely, as was threatened by the WPA administrator of Area No. 6.

After the strike had been in progress for six days the WPA administrator sent out additional cards from the state unemployment office to replace the men on strike. This strike-breaking act did not work, however, for as fast as the men were replaced they were pulled off the job. There were approximately 2,500 men called for work who were drawn from relief rolls and threatened with being immediately cut from the relief rolls if they did not work.

The Pennsylvania Unemployed League that initiated a state-wide front for cash relief, 50 percent increase, etc., about this time, had a conference with Governor Earle and the State Emergency Relief and included in its program the demand to keep WPA strikers on the relief rolls as long as the strike lasted.

Arrests of Pickets

The area administrator, with the assistance of General Beery, police commissioner, and his Allentown cossacks, then prohibited any picketing whatsoever, although ten pickets were technically allowed by a proclamation of the mayor issued a year ago.

Even if the company should suddenly decide to accede temporarily to the company union demands, it will mean little, for the rubber workers' union has already explained to hundreds of workers the exact meaning of the move—an attempt to fool the workers into staying out of their only real hope,

CONCERNING RUMORS OF TROTSKY'S ILLNESS

It was announced over the radio on Oct. 10 that comrade Trotsky, at present in Norway, was "desperately ill." We openly brand this statement, made for reasons we cannot yet understand, as a canard. Trotsky's life is in no way in danger.

local state administrators had certain authority to change the program, he said they did not, and the only one to change any part of the program was President Roosevelt. The committee then asked him to give us an answer for the change in program in New York City. This of course he evaded by saying that he did not know anything about New York state.

The committee asked Mr. Donovan if he was sent into the strike situation by the Federal authorities. His answer was No, and that he happened to be in Harrisburg and never having been in Allentown, decided to visit here, and that we should not feel that this little strike was so important as to cause the Federal authorities to send anyone here.

Shortly after Mr. Donovan's visit the press received word that there was going to be an increase of 10 percent in wages and a reduction from 140 to 120 hours per month.

Resentment High as Akron Company Union Revolts at New Lay Off Scheme
(Continued from Page 1)
Despite the astounding proportions of the protest which has swept through the shops of Akron like a prairie fire fanned by a gale, the rubber barons have flung another challenge to the workers.

War Situation Involved
Another factor has arisen which the rubber barons are not overlooking as an excuse to lower the poor standard of living of the workers.

CHICKEN AND CANDY WORKERS ORGANIZE AND STRIKE
MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 21.—Several weeks ago, the girl chicken pickers in three of the largest houses staged a spontaneous walk-out and came up to Local 574's hall for assistance.

GALA AFFAIR
SATURDAY NIGHT, NOV. 2.
320 East 14th Street, N. Y. C.
Auspices: Branch 1, W. P.
HOT BAND — DANCE GROUP
Other Entertainment
DON'T FAIL TO ATTEND!

M'pls. CP'ers Picket Drivers Local 574!

Stalinists Rage While Union Organizes Chicken and Candy Workers Through Victorious Strikes

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 21.—The Stalinists have lost no time in bringing to town the American edition of the French "People's Front"—in the form of a Women's League Against the High Cost of Living. This remarkable organization was formed about a month ago. The C. P. has mobilized all its forces to make the thing a success—from the pinoc-nez of the Theater Unionist to the fashionable glove of the League Against War and Fascism.

Local 574 Becomes the Enemy
But then came the puzzler—Who were to be the scabs? Should they be the meat packers? or the housewives who walked through the picket lines? The C.P.ers immersed themselves in the gasses of the 7th Congress and finally came up with the answer.

Party at Work
MINNEAPOLIS
The Minneapolis branch is making extensive preparations for the tour of comrades Shachtman and Wasserman. On Friday evening, Nov. 1, a mass meeting has been arranged at the Pythian Hall, 444 So. 4th St., Minneapolis, at which comrade Shachtman will speak on the subject: "The Danger of War!"

On Saturday evening, Nov. 2, a party of all friends of the Workers Party will be held at the branch headquarters, 631 Third Avenue So. in honor of the visiting comrades. Other local meetings are being arranged for comrade Shachtman.

On Friday night, Oct. 25, V. R. Dunne spoke at an open meeting in the branch headquarters on "The American Federation of Labor Convention: Craft or Industrial Unions." Comrade Dunne spent several days at the Atlantic City convention of the A. F. of L.

EASTERN OHIO
An inter-branch committee was formed at a conference in Youngstown by delegates from the Akron, Youngstown and Cleveland branches to cooperate in unemployed, trade union and organizational work with comrade Jack Wilson of Akron selected as permanent secretary.

A Sacramento Defense meeting is being held in Akron Sunday, Oct. 27 with comrade Wilson as speaker.

Sixty persons heard comrade Max Shachtman lecture on "The Coming World War," at a mass meeting held in New Castle last Thursday night.

A good portion of trade unionists attended the Youngstown mass meeting held for comrade Shachtman Friday night when he talked on the war question.

A meeting was held this Friday night in Youngstown by the Workers Party branch and the Spartacus Youth League with comrade R. Ferguson, of Akron as speaker. He discussed the life and teachings of Karl Marx.

TUCSON, ARIZ.
Comrades in Tucson and vicinity are selling party literature and carrying on other activities. They believe a branch may be organized in the near future.

SALT LAKE CITY
Splendid progress is being made by the branch here which includes a railroad man, teachers, smelter men, office workers, etc. in its membership. Members are taking an active part in mass organization work and making an excellent showing in sale of party literature, etc.

People's Peace Parades Today Preparedness Parades Next

(Continued from Page 1)

And it proudly prints a picture of Francis Gorman, the man who sold out the textile strike, as one of the backers.

Onward Christian Soldiers

Lenin stopped war with a revolution; the Daily Worker is going to stop it with a parade up Fifth Avenue. And where is the parade going to march to? What is the objective of the People? How is this demonstration to stop war? Not a word. It seems that all good Christians, pacifists, legionnaires, Odd Fellows, etc., are going to march up to Columbus Circle where they will hear speakers, and then go home satisfied that the cause of peace is secure—until the day war breaks out. What a travesty of revolutionary Marxism!

The League of Nations did not prevent Japan from devastating Manchuria and North China.

The League of Nations did not prevent Mussolini from unleashing the mad dogs of war. The neutrality resolution passed by Congress is not a guarantee of our security. . . . We solemnly declare to you that no League of Nations, no neutrality proclamations will secure peace and prevent world war.

All this is true enough. But we can as solemnly declare that People's Parades for Peace will never prevent another world war.

On the last page of the same issue of the Daily Worker we find an editorial:

"To support League of Nations sanctions against Italy and to fail to take concrete measures to carry out sanctions in this country by stopping all trade with Italy is to indulge in little more than a noble gesture." (!!!)

What kind of light-mindedness is this? On page two the Daily Worker justly remarks that the League can never prevent war; on page eight it editorializes for support of the very League which can never prevent war! Draw you own conclusions.

The "Church Militant"

October 20: Another advance notice of the People's Parade for Peace. "Walter Higgins, commander of the Marsh McLaughlin Post 5 of the United American War Veterans, said: 'I will be glad to participate in the march.'"

"The Rev. William Lloyd Ives, Negro pastor, said: 'The St. James Presbyterian Church approves the march.'"

"The Porto Rican National Organization, the Mella Club, the Chile Club and other local organizations endorsed the March."

On the last page an editorial chortles: "On Friday the voice of Dr. Samuel Trexler at the Third Lutheran World Convention was raised in defense of peace. All friends of peace will hail Dr. Trexler's courageous statement."

The only peace lovers missing from this list are the Pope and

Hitler. As for all the reverends, who appear in increasing numbers at every new Stalinist demonstration: The Church has been opposed to war in peacetime for two thousand years and has never succeeded in stopping one. It remained for the Stalinists to discover after two thousand years that the Church is a force for peace to be "hailed by all friends of peace."

October 21: The People's Parade of Peace is being worked up into a regular parade of the people's betrayers. The Daily Worker headlines the fact that "35 A. F. of L. Leaders Sign Proclamation Against War" issued by the People's Peace Parade Committee. The 35 leaders whom the Daily Worker celebrates include such eminent labor fakery as Dillon, Gorman, Hochman, Murray, Kennedy (Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania), etc., etc. These are the sterling friends of peace to whom the Daily Worker delegates the struggle for peace.

The Real Gompers

"As far back as" is the catch. For, like every other big shot peace-time friend of peace, Gompers supported the war when it came with all his might and main. He ran up and down the country lining up the rank and file in the A. F. of L. for the war and for the army. And with him went how many of the present signers of the proclamation of peace?

October 22: The Daily Worker prints in full an appeal from Waldo McNutt, chairman of the American Youth Congress, who concludes: "We call upon our parents, our friends, our leaders in government and all sincere opponents of war to rally now to march for peace," etc.

What has happened to the class struggle? Where is the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie? What has happened to Lenin's thesis that the only way to stop war is to intensify the class struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie? All have disappeared in a common class melange of Stalinist workers, ministers, parents, governmental leaders, trade union fakery, war veterans, and so on.

The People's Parade for Peace is a great illusion. Its members are not friends of peace but political demagogues who capitalize now on the peace sentiment and soon on the war sentiment. The parade up Fifth Avenue is but an echo of the parades before the last war, and a forecast of the next war, when many of the stalwarts of peace who march under peace banners today will march under the banners of war, and lead behind them the very workers whom the Stalinists are turning over to them today.

There is only one way to stop



MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

THE DIVISION OF ETHIOPIA

The imperialist robbers have evidently reached agreement on the proper share of the "white man's burden" that each is to bear in Ethiopia. The inordinate ambitions of fascist Rome have yielded in part to the never satisfied hunger of the British lion. The Lake Tana region of Ethiopia has been recognized by Mussolini as sacrosanct to English capitalism. The English can pursue their vast project in the Sudan and Egypt for the building of a cotton empire which shall render Great Britain free from all dependence on the United States as a source of this precious raw material. The success of this enterprise depends on absolute control of the waters that give fertility to the land, the waters that flow from Lake Tana into the Blue Nile. This was one of the major interests that Britain felt to be threatened by the Italian thrust into Ethiopia. While the gestures at Geneva continue out of sheer inertia and in order to present some sort of facade for a structure that has long since crumbled, the real imperialist "solution" involving arrangements among Italy, France and England has been achieved. The spoils having been divided, the growls of the English lion will subside. English diplomacy will now devote itself, as it has been preparing to do since the start of the present crisis, to casting all blame on France for the failure to stop the seizure of Ethiopia by the Italian army. This propaganda will also serve to merge into justification of a more and more outright diplomacy of alliances in Europe. Already the writers are coining the phrase that will carry the gullible masses over to the new state of affairs. There will be not a League of Nations but Leagues of Nations. England will enter into such leagues to guarantee the peace in Western Europe, but not in Eastern Europe where "there will never be peace unless the nations there are left to work out their own salvation," as Sidebotham writes in the London Times. How hypocritical this is can be seen in the methods adopted by English capitalism to leave alone Russia and the East of Europe. The British navy is being expanded at breakneck speed, the armaments and munitions plants belch smoke night and day. At the same time England aids Germany materially and diplomatically in its preparations for the attack on the Soviet Union. Everywhere on the continent England is planning carefully for the new and inevitable world war.

FORCES IN BRITISH LABOR

The Brighton Congress of the Labor Party in England adopted a resolution on the war crisis as

BROWNSVILLE OPEN FORUM

"The Lessons of the A. F. of L. Convention" Speaker: ARNE SWABECK Friday, Nov. 1, 8 P.M. 1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn

HARLEM MASS MEETING

Defend the Ethiopian People! Speakers: ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY DICK KETTLINGER Chairman: Ed Beecher SATURDAY, OCT. 26, 8 P.M. Y.M.C.A., 180 W. 135th St. Admission Free

BOSTON DEBATE

"WHICH ROAD FOR SOCIALISM?" NATHAN GOULD, National Secretary S.Y.L.

ERNEST ERBER

National Chairman, Y.P.S.L. WEDNESDAY, NOV. 13th, 8 P.M. Workers Hall 32 Boylston Street Auspices: Boston Branch, S.Y.L.

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shameful as any of those adopted by the social democratic parties in 1914. This social-patriotic betrayal of labor through supporting the application of "sanctions" by the ruling class, puts to the test every real militant worker in England. A confused movement of opposition has developed against the misleaders who entice the working class into the steel trap set by imperialism. This oppositional movement is sprung out ideologically speaking from the crassest kind of Christian pacifism to the clearest-cut revolutionary Marxism. The Socialist League under the leadership of Sir Stafford Cripps is not entirely pacifist, but it seems at first sight. In its ranks there is developing a real current, a centrist current, of left socialism moving towards Marxism. If this League sticks to its guns, the very struggle against the Labor Party bureaucrats will push it further to the left. At Brighton there were signs of the possibility that the Socialist League might be expelled from the party. This would undoubtedly raise the question of fusion with the Independent Labor Party. The latter is the only party that has taken a clear-cut revolutionary position against sanctions and against British imperialism, despite its ideological shortcomings on Marxist principles. This very stand means the further drawing away of the I.L.P. from the Comintern with its social-patriotic program. Under the circumstances, by the very defense of its present course, the I.L.P. tends to throw off the clinging remnants of Stalinism and to begin to move more rapidly to the left. The Bolshevik-Leninists in this party, small as are their forces, begin to exert considerable ideological influence and to lend their aid in clarifying the international position of the I.L.P. Should the Socialist League be expelled and join with the I.L.P., its first influence would very likely tend to strengthen the centrists in the I.L.P. But the impetus given to the entire movement of the working class by a unification of militants, would lend prestige to the revolutionary vanguard in their fight to secure the adoption of a revolutionary Marxist program, that of the Fourth International. A unified party of this nature could not affiliate with either the Second or the Third International—by virtue of the very origin of its being, since it would come into existence through opposition to the course of both these organizations of reformism. Hence the question of the Fourth International, whether Cripps and other centrists like it or no, would become a vital issue. Thus there is the bare possibility of far-reaching consequences for the English workers in the present struggle for and against sanctions.

Shachtman on National Tour

(Continued from Page 1) Interesting is the fact that some of those who a few years ago were our most violent opponents, and even allowed themselves to be used to attack our meetings physically, are now our warm supporters. Events, plus our work, have had their effect. The exposure of the social-patriotic position of the Third International, which has taken over all the arguments of the Second International in the last war, was received with enthusiasm and agreement by all those present. Cleveland now has two branches, with a number of young recruits from the Y.C.L. and prospects for more. Work for the Sacramento defense is going along smoothly.

TOLEDO: Meeting in their own hall, the W. P. organized a meeting for Shachtman on the same subject, with Sam Pollock, noted leader of the Auto-Lite strike, in the chair. A Stalinist spokesman, O'Hara, sought to defend the C. P. position on Ethiopia and sanctions, but his views were effectively riddled by the speaker, much to the delight of the workers present, who found no difficulty in penetrating the social-chauvinistic sophistries of this unofficial representative of the Stalinists.

Austin—Wednesday, Oct. 30. Minneapolis—Thursday to Saturday, Oct. 31 to Nov. 2. Fargo—Sunday, Nov. 3. Williston—Tuesday, Nov. 5. Plentywood—Wednesday, Nov. 6. Salt Lake City—Saturday, Nov. 9.

EXPULSION OF LUDWIG LORE

Ludwig Lore had been expelled from membership in the Workers Party for publicly advocating views in conflict with the position of the party on a number of fundamental questions, notably on the question of war and sanctions. Attempts of the party leadership to arrive at an agreement with Lore in such a way as to regulate his public expressions in consonance with the party Declaration of Principles were unavailing. A special meeting with him confirmed the basic disagreements and the impossibility of reconciling them. Under the circumstances nothing remained but to formally terminate his membership.

SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE COMING WAR

Resolution of N.E.C. Reveals Centrist Position on Basic Problems of the War Danger

(By the Editorial Board)

The resolution on the war situation adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at its Chicago meeting, Oct. 12-13, and the "Answer" of the Socialist Call to the Bauer-Zyromski thesis, in the October 12 issue, constitute the two most important statements made so far by American Socialists on the war question. To understand what is going on among American Socialists on the war issue, one must recall the three tendencies within the world Socialist movement:

The Outright Chauvinists

1. The leaders of the Second International continue their historic position of unqualified social-patriotism, expressed most blatantly by the British Labor Party's declaration of "the duty unflinchingly to support our Government in all the risks and consequences of fulfilling its duty" against Italy. The American "Old Guard" automatically adopt this position; the same Oct. 12 issue of the New Leader which supports imperialist sanctions under the hypocritical slogan "Sanctions Do Not Mean War," already advertises a speech by Dr. William Bolin, Old Guard theoretician, in support of "Military Sanctions"!

The "Left" Chauvinists

2. The pseudo-lefts in the Second International, led by Bauer of Austria and Zyromski of France, use the most inflammatory language, the most "realistic" exposure of imperialism to call for support of imperialist governments in the war against Germany. These "lefts," now that the Third International has come down to their level, are the strongest proponents of organic unity on a program of social-patriotism and whitewash of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Those whom Blum and Vandervelde cannot bring along with their traditional chauvinistic support of "their" own capitalist governments, Bauer and Zyromski seek to drag along with their "revolutionary" reasons for social-patriotism—reasons identical with the Stalinist treachery of the Seventh Congress.

Division Growing Between Chauvinists and Revolutionists

3. The unification of chauvinists, pseudo-lefts and Stalinists into one camp has sounded the death-knell of all groups which seek to stand between this camp and that of the revolutionists. The alternatives are so clear-cut! Until the actual outbreak of war in 1914, the lines were not clearly drawn. Today, however, before the war, the traitors are already on record. Hence, intermediate groupings will inevitably be cut to pieces if they do not choose sides. Already such groups are moving decisively into one or another of the opposing camps. The long-independent Norwegian Labor Party, having come out for economic sanctions, moves rapidly toward the Second International. The S.A.P. of Germany, a left-wing split-off from the Social Democracy, led by ex-Brandenburger, takes giant strides into the social-patriotic camp by declaring its admiration for the "realism" of the Seventh Congress. The boasted anti-war struggle of the Socialist League in the British Labor Party has already petered out; its spokesman, Sir Stafford Cripps, fawningly declaring to the Brighton Congress of the Labor Party: "Our common objectives (1) of peace and Socialism through Democracy (!) are far too great and too vital to the workers of this country to allow any question to arise of a split in our ranks." ("Any question" being in this case the question of social-patriotism versus revolutionary working class opposition!) Thus the Socialist League, in the name of unity, submits to social-patriotism.

The Camp of Revolution

But at the same time that some intermediate groups go into the traitors' camp, others move sharply in the opposite direction. The I.L.P. of England, yesterday closest of independent yesterdays to the Stalinist, recoils from the Seventh Congress, comes out sharply against imperialist sanctions, and in its intransigent struggle against both chauvinist internationalism, is rapidly moving toward a Leninist position against war. The powerful group of French Socialists around Pivert, only a year ago identified with the Zyromski group, have come out against national defense; and the whole Socialist Youth of the Seine district, following its expelled leaders, is conducting a heroic struggle against the Stalinist and Socialist betrayers. Thus, the growing war-danger unifies not only the social-patriots; it also is the central issue which draws the revolutionary forces closer together and wins new contingents to their ranks.

It is against this background that one can best understand the meaning of the American Socialists' statements on the war situation.

The Old Guard and the N.E.C.

The American Old Guard is not a peculiar phenomenon; it is somewhat analogous to the Neo-Socialists, led by Marquet, who split from the French Socialists two years ago. Time and time, Leon Blum attempted to arrive at permanent harmony with Marquet, only to have to break, finally, because of the inability of this ossified right-wing to adapt itself to the revolutionary ferment pervading the Socialist masses after Hitler's victory. Similarly, the American Leon Blums, having sought, by the ambiguous phraseology of the Detroit Declaration of Principles, to maintain their grip on the leftward-moving Socialists, made a desperate attempt, three months ago, at the New York N.E.C. meeting, to arrive at a "peace pact" with the Old Guard. But even this blow to the left did not satisfy the Old Guard which demanded nothing less than complete control of the party. Hence, after three short months, the N.E.C. majority, at the Chicago meeting, was compelled to break on a number of questions with the ossified Old Guard. This break may even lead to a split similar to that of the French Neo-Socialists. The complete rigidity of the Old Guard is shown by its present rabid opposition to cooperation with the Comintern, at a time when the Comintern has come out for social-patriotism when the French Socialists are moving toward organic unity, the Belgian and Swiss Socialists are in a similar united front, and the representatives of the Second International are conferring with Cachin and Thorez concerning the basis of cooperation of the two Internationals!

The N.E.C.'s "Radical" Phraseology

At the time of the split with the Neo-Socialists, Leon Blum, leaning on the left for support, used positively inflammatory language. "Working class revolution," "armed insurrection," came trippingly from his lips. The split over, and his own hegemony temporarily consolidated, he reverted to his usual social-patriotism. A similar strategy governs the American Socialist N.E.C. as the struggle breaks out again with the Old Guard. Hence, one finds in its war resolution a great deal of radical phraseology. It also permits itself this phraseology for another reason: American imperialism is a colossus so powerful that it can afford for a considerable period to hold aloof from the opposing war camps forming in Europe; hence there is none of the governmental pressure which in Europe "helped" the Socialist parties make their decisions on the war question. The N.E.C. resolution, therefore, does not take the traditional, openly chauvinist position of the Second International leadership. Instead, it belongs to

Resolution of N.E.C. Reveals Centrist Position on Basic Problems of the War Danger

the category of pseudo-revolutionary documents like that of Bauer-Zyromski. The N.E.C. has learned not a little from the Jesuitry of Bauer-Zyromski. Its resolution bristles with such phrases as "No device controlled by capitalist governments can be a trustworthy instrument of peace"—"We call for ceaseless working class struggle against all capitalist governments including the government of the U.S."

The Real Meat of the Document

BUT IT ALSO boasts that the Socialist Party has been the only political party during the last two presidential campaigns which has stood for the League of Nations; nor does it now repudiate this stand for the League of Nations. True, it speaks of support of the League, "only through reservations designed to free the League from the domination of the large imperialist countries and to direct its procedure into channels of democracy and peace," i.e., for a "reformed" League. But to sow the illusion that it is theoretically possible to make a peace instrument out of the League of Nations is to sow the worst illusions. The League is, and cannot be anything else than the sum of the capitalist countries which constitute it. What "reservations" can "direct the procedure" of the U. S., for instance, "into channels of democracy and peace"? Even to pose the question is to demonstrate its absurdity. How can the League be "freed from the domination of the large imperialist countries"? By giving more votes to Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Rumania, Albania, Switzerland, etc.? But these "small" countries are merely satellites of one or the other imperialist combination! We see, then, what a vicious illusion it is to suggest the possibility of purifying the League. Tomorrow, when the League powers are about to launch the war, it is directly through its League that the imperialist powers will arrange the war and provide themselves with the necessary idealistic cover; already supported by the Second and Third Internationals, the League powers undoubtedly will go through some number of giving "parity representation" to their satellites; perhaps give the International Labor Office a "labor voice" in the League etc., etc.

Nor is this all the poisonous broth

that the Socialist N.E.C. has pre-

pared for youth's future. America being outside the League, the N.E.C.—side by side with its radical phraseology about war resistance—calls for "legislation which will assure American neutrality." The American Socialist N.E.C., like its European colleagues, calls for imperialist governmental action as a peace move!

This is the same reasoning that leads the Stalinists and European Socialists to betray the working class to the capitalist war machine by calling upon the governments to enforce economic sanctions. The N.E.C. calls upon workers to fight for governmental legislation to insure peace. The fundamental crime is the same in both cases: it is to tell the workers to seek any form of governmental action against war, to entrust the fight against war, which is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism, to the imperialists themselves. The supporters of League of Nations' sanctions, the supporters of American "neutrality legislation" alike assign the decisive action to the imperialist governments.

Their fallacy of calling for governmental action against war arises from the failure to draw the necessary conclusions from the doctrine, to which the Socialists render lip-service, that war is inevitable under capitalism. From this doctrine it immediately follows that war is an integral part of the capitalist process; as "natural" to it as "peace" and a continuation of the "peace" policies by other means. Once this fundamental truth is grasped it becomes impossible to talk clap-trap about "legislation which will assure American neutrality." For the "peace" policy of the American capitalist society is to secure the widest area of markets; without the expansion of market capitalism cannot live; the only conditions under which a dominant imperialist power voluntarily withdraws from a given market is for war, as when Britain voluntarily withdraws, by means of sanctions, from the Italian market. . . . In order to crush Italian competition in other markets! If American imperialism, therefore, were to accede to ironclad "neutrality" legislation, to withdrawal from the Italian market it would only be because its "peace" policy called for a war policy against Italy and her allies! In calling for such neutrality legislation, therefore, the Socialist N.E.C. is telling that section

Build Left Wing -- Real Lesson of A. F. L. Confab

(Continued from Page 1) ascendancy. The chief point that must be made is that Lewis-Hillman et al. do not represent genuine progressivism and labor militancy. They aim to build a more up-to-date model (up-to-date for the U. S., for it is the same type of unionism as that of the British Trade Union Congress for years and the famous German Confederation of Labor before Hitler so easily wiped it out, represented) of class-collaboration unionism. The Gompers craft model with its syndicated slant, its anti-state bias (opposition to social legislation, etc.) designed to bargain with small employers, could meet in some fashion the needs of an earlier period. What Lewis-Hillman stand for is a more efficient type of unionism, structurally adapted to dealing with big corporations and governmental agencies such as labor boards which can "bargain collectively" and thus hold the workers in line in the present period. Both proponents of the new unionism such as Howard of the Typographical Union and opponents such as Matthew Woll put their finger on the real issue in the convention debates. Howard, for example, stated that if members who had come into the new federal unions and the workers in the basic industries generally "were not permitted to organize under the federation's auspices they would do so under other leadership or under no leadership at all, and would pressure the government with a far more serious problem than if they had been taken into the federation." Matthew Woll put it in his somewhat more theoretical fashion, that he feared the adoption of unrestricted industrial charters would "destroy the basis of voluntarism in the labor movement and work toward diverting control of labor organizations to the jurisdiction of government agencies."

End of Gompersism

It was, in other words, Gompersism which finally died at this A. F. of L. convention at Atlantic City. His physical presence was absent from an A. F. of L. convention for the first time in the Federation's history at the 1925 Atlantic City gathering. His ghost made its exit from the convention this year. Because there is thus no difference in underlying philosophy but only tactical distinctions between the old guard and the so-called pro-

Opportunity for Militants

The line of policy for revolutionists and for all genuinely militant elements in the unions is not that of an alliance with Lewis-Hillman to wage a mock battle against the corpse of Gompers or the non-entity Green or the much deflated Matthew Woll whose ideas, like his oratory, are of nineteenth century vintage. No, the conservative forces in the A. F. of L. today are the Lewis-Hillman forces, the more dangerous because they masquerade as progressive and up-to-date. The strategy of revolutionists is to take full advantage of any opportunity which these elements create for them by their attack on other trade union bureaucrats or by organizing campaigns or strikes on which they may embark under pressure on the one hand from the newer elements in the unions and in order, on the other hand, to show the employers and the Roosevelt administration that the workers will "really" follow them. On the other hand, the philosophy of these men must be combated relentlessly. They cannot be depended upon to lead any organizing campaign or strike to a conclusion which is in the interests of the workers. In one way or another they will betray them as surely as Claherty betrayed the rubber strike and Dillon the General Motors strike. The militant forces in all of the unions, in every section of the country, in the A. F. of L. generally, must organize on a basis of class struggle, industrial unionism and genuine trade union democracy against the Lewis-Hillman line. The Atlantic City convention brought out the alarming fact that only the merest beginnings have been made with this job and that the would-be political leaders of the trade union movement are in reality sabotaging it. But the convention also made clear that in the coming year the genuine militants, if they are both aggressive and astute, have an unprecedented opportunity for work in the unions.

of the working class which follows it, to pursue a policy which, if the government accedes to it, is but the immediate forerunner of imperialist war; and the workers having supported the government in the first steps, would be led blindly into war.

For all its radical phraseology, therefore, the Socialist N.E.C. resolution does not depart fundamentally from the position of the Stalinists, the Second International and the Bauer-Zyromski group.

Why Thomas is a Social Patriot

To those sincere Socialist workers who have hitherto unthinkingly accepted the "anti-war" pacifism of Norman Thomas and Devere Allen, the intellectual fathers of the N.E.C. resolution and who recoil from the implications of the resolution, we wish to point out that there is no question of personal sincerity involved. As Lenin pointed out, no one has yet invented a sincerimeter. Thomas and Allen fail to understand the Marxist theory of the state; their consequent reformism leads them on all critical questions to seeking state-aid on behalf of the working class. (There are, of course, certain concessions which can be wrung through struggle from the capitalist state, and embodied in legislation: minimum wage legislation, unemployment benefits, free education, etc.) But it is theoretically and practically impossible to embody in legislation under the regime of imperialism anything more than partial concessions. It is false to call, as the Hillquit amendment does, for socialized production by legislative process. It is equally false to call for legislation to keep American imperialism from going to war; for war is as necessary to capitalism as is the exploitation of wage labor. Not only will not and cannot the capitalist state grant such fundamental concessions; whenever the working class, by its independent organization and activity, grows powerful enough to threaten to bring about by its own efforts socialized production and peace that capitalist state will throw off its democratic trappings and with naked force attempt to drown in blood the working class which dares to seek such ends.

To those like Thomas and Allen who are, as it were, congenitally unable to understand the necessity of the struggle and its scope, the opportunist short-cut to "legislation which will assure American neutrality" may be a comforting dream. But it is a false dream; workers lulled to sleep by it will be awakened to a terrible reality of imperialist war against which they have failed to prepare the struggle. There is only one road to the struggle against war: to turn the imperialist war into the civil war for the liberation of the working class. The social revolution is a hard road, a difficult road; but it is the only road. And the first step on that road is clarity: to know how to begin!

(Note: This second section of this article, dealing with the Socialist Call answer to the Bauer-Zyromski resolution, will appear next week.)

in the Stalinist camp also already degenerated to the point where he goes about the country supporting these betraying policies!

"Militant" Socialists, while moving toward a trade union program which abstractly sets forth a Leninist position, have their economic base in their jobs in the needle trades and other unions under the so-called "progressives" Hillman, Dubinsky, Gorman, Lewis himself. The "Militant" Socialists, too, therefore, utterly fail to attack these leaders and their policies and contribute to confusing and misleading the workers.

School Notes

MUSTE'S COURSE Due to an error in the printshop the notice intended for last week's NEW MILITANT in reference to "Current Trends in America" did not appear. Originally planned for Wednesday evenings, the new schedule is as follows: Sunday, Oct. 27, 8 P.M. Irving Plaza: "The Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L." Sunday, Nov. 10, 8 P.M. Irving Plaza: "Prospects of the A. F. of L. in the Coming Year." Wednesday, Nov. 13, 8:40 P.M. 320 14th Street: "Trade Unionism in Three Basic Industries (Steel, Automobiles and Rubber)." The lectures for the remainder of the course will be held Wednesday evenings at 320 East 14th Street at 8:40 P.M. The speakers will be announced at a future date.

STUDENTS TAKE NOTE!

Monday and Wednesday courses will be held regularly at 320 E. 14th Street (near Second Ave.). Thursday and Friday classes will take place at the School headquarters, 55 East 11th Street.

REGISTRATIONS

The coming week will be the final date for registration in the regular classes of the School. Registrations will be taken any afternoon or evening at the School headquarters or at the classes themselves.

MINNEAPOLIS LECTURE

"THE WAR DANGER" Will the U. S. Become Involved? Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN Editor The New International Pythian Hall FRIDAY, NOV. 1, 8:00 P.M. 43 1/2 South 4th Street ADMISSION 15c Questions Discussion Ausp: Minneapolis Branch, W.P.



# Expel 13 Bolsheviks From S.P. of France

(Continued from Page 1)

as undisciplined by the Bureau of the Party are also considered by the bourgeoisie to be a violation of social discipline within bourgeois society."

Fourth in the list of the crimes of the Bolshevik-Leninists are their articles on the events of Brest and Toulon which were greeted by the Stalinists and Socialists as acts of "provocation" and by the Bolshevik-Leninists as symptoms of the sharpening of the class struggle. "We maintain," they declared, "that at a time when the fires of revolution are being lighted, that at a time when the workers rise in their might, arms in hand, against the state forces of repression, to give the miserable explanation that all this is the provocation of 'suspicious elements' instead of a Marxist explanation of the class struggle constitutes outright treason! A simple comparison of extracts from the bourgeois press and from the Populaire and l'Humanite suffices to confirm our charges."

### Agitated for Fourth International

Finally, the Bolshevik-Leninists are indicted for the crime of agitating for and publishing an appeal for the formation of the Fourth International. On this subject an earlier leaflet of the Bolshevik-Leninist group made the position perfectly explicit. "Partisans of the Fourth International? We have never concealed that for a single moment. When we entered the Socialist Party it was perfectly well known that we considered neither the Second nor the Third Internationals to be instruments of the struggle of the proletariat and that an international regrouping of working class fighters on a revolutionary basis was on the order of the day."

Appealing to all revolutionary elements in the Socialist Party to resist the expulsion of the left and to expose the reactionary policies of the bureaucracy, the Bolshevik-Leninist group declared:

"Expelled or not, we shall continue our policy of revolutionary regrouping. Expelled or not, while war thunders, we shall fight patriotism and chauvinism in the workers' ranks."

"Expelled or not, we shall fight to face the Fascists with something better than pitiful invocations! We shall fight to build the people's militia which alone can smash the Fascist leagues."

"Expelled or not, we shall fight to orient the popular masses along the lines of the class struggle, for the revolution, for a workers and peasants government and to prevent the Front Populaire from ending up in a government of class collaboration with the Radical traitors."

The thirteen expelled leaders are comrades Hic, Frank, Rous, Rousset, Gerard, Melchler, Martin, Moliner, Van, Naville, Rigal, De Vreycere and Danno.

A few days after the expulsions, comrade Rous, who was a member of the Permanent Administrative Committee of the Socialist Party, was asked to leave the session of that committee. Comrade Marceau Pivert solidarized with Rous. A discussion followed which showed that the ferment is having its effects even in the topmost rungs of the Socialist party. In reply to the attack of the bureaucrats, Rous demanded a national congress to decide the question of the party's attitude toward war, to answer the following question: "Is it or is it not a violation of discipline to be an implacable enemy of national defense, to work for the defeat of the bourgeois government?"

### S.P. Central Committee Splits

The reply was a motion to exclude comrade Rous from the meeting of the C.A.P. Among those who voted for it were Zyromski and Descourtioux, members of the "left" Battalion Socialiste which is Stalinist and therefore thoroughly social patriotic in its tendency. But a minority motion which secured the votes of seven members, all of whom with the exception of Marceau Pivert are anything but Bolshevik-Leninist sympathizers, showed that a process of differentiation is taking place even at the summit of the Socialist bureaucracy.

Allies of the French Bolsheviks

## NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

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JAMES P. CANNON, Editor

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## The Theoretical Origin of Social Patriotism

# THE SOURCE

Called from Leon Trotsky's immortal classic, "The Criticism of Fundamentals: the Draft Program of the C. I." which exposed the fountainhead of Stalinist degeneration, the following section showed as far back as 1928 how the revisionist theory of "Socialism in One Country" led inevitably to social patriotism. This prediction, considered at the time of its presentation to the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern to be an academic deduction, especially in view of the solemn pronouncements of the Congress in favor of revolutionary defeatism, needed hardly seven years and another Congress of the C. I. to find its confirmation in life itself and in the official minutes and resolutions. Indeed, so true has this prediction become that the official organ of the French Communist Party speaks ad nauseum of the need to defend French culture and patrimony, as the inheritance of the working class alone, against German invasion. A casual glance at the Daily Worker will reveal a similar and probably more obnoxious social patriotic propaganda.—Ed.

By LEON TROTSKY

The principle question raised in the quoted passage, namely, THE CONCEPTION OF BUILDING UP OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY AS A SOCIAL PATRIOTIC CONCEPTION was undoubtedly formulated correctly. The patriotism of the German social democrats began as a patriotism of their own party, the most powerful party of the Second International. On the basis of highly developed German technique and the high organizational abilities of the German people, the German social democrats were bent on the construction of their "own" socialist society. If we leave aside the die-hard bureaucrats, careerists, parliamentary sharpers and political crooks in general, the social patriotism of the rank and file social democrats was a result of precisely in the building up of German socialism. One cannot think that the hundreds of thousands of rank and file social democrats—let alone the millions of rank and file workers—wanted to defend Hohenzollern and the bourgeoisie. No. They wanted to defend German industry, the German railways, the highways, German technique and culture and especially the organizations of the German working class, as the "necessary and sufficient" national prerequisites.

A similar process took place also in France. Guesde, Vaillant and thousands of the best rank and file party members with them, and hundreds of thousands of rank and file workers in general believed that precisely France with her revolutionary traditions, her heroic proletariat, her high culture, her flexible and talented people was the promised land of socialism. Old Guesde and the Comintern Vaillant, and with them the thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers did not fight for the bankers or the rentiers. They sincerely believed that they defended the basis

and the creative power of the coming socialist society. They proceeded entirely from the theory of socialism in one country and made sacrifices to this idea, believing that "temporarily" this was international solidarity.

The comparison with the social patriots will of course be answered by the argument that patriotism in relation to the Soviet States is a revolutionary duty whereas patriotism in relation to a bourgeois state is treachery. This is surely so. Can there be any dispute on this question among grown-up revolutionists? But this incontrovertible idea becomes, as we progress more and more, a scholastic cover for deliberate falsehood.

Revolutionary patriotism can be only of a class character. It begins at patriotism to the party organization, to the trade union, and rises to national patriotism when the proletariat has captured power. Wherever the workers have power patriotism is a revolutionary duty. But that patriotism must be an inseparable part of revolutionary internationalism, the invincible conviction that the main class aim, even less so than partial aims, cannot be realized by national means or within national boundaries, constitutes the heart of revolutionary internationalism. If, however, the final aim has been realized within national boundaries by the efforts of a national proletariat then the backbone of internationalism has been broken. The theory of the possibility to realize socialism in one country destroys the inner connection of the patriotism of the victorious proletariat with the defeatism of the proletariat of the bourgeois countries. The proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries is still on the road to power. How and in what manner it will march toward it depends fully and entirely on the question as to whether it considers the building up of socialist society a national or an international task.

If it is at all possible to realize socialism in one country then one can believe in that theory not only AFTER the conquest of power but also "prior" to it. If socialism can be realized within the national boundaries of backward Russia then there is the more reason to believe that it can be realized in advanced Germany. Tomorrow the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany will surely bring forward this theory. The Draft Program empowers them to do so. The day after tomorrow the French party will have its turn. That will be the beginning of the downfall of social patriotism. The Communist Party of any capitalist country which will have become imbued with the idea that its particular country possesses all the "necessary and sufficient" prerequisites for the independent construction of a "complete socialist society" will in substance in no respect differ from the revolutionary social democrats who also began not with Noske but who definitely stumbled on August 4, 1914 on this very same question.

If they say that the very existence of the U.S.S.R. is a guarantee against social patriotism because in relation to a Workers' Republic it is a revolutionary duty, in this one-sided utilization of a correct idea is expressed national narrow-mindedness. Those who say so have in mind only the U.S.S.R., closing their eyes to the entire proletariat of the world. To lead the proletariat to the idea of defeatism in relation to the bourgeois state is possible only by an international orientation in the program on the main question and by a merciless resistance to social-patriotic propaganda which seeks to establish a theoretical nest for itself in the program of Lenin's International.

(From "Criticism of Fundamentals: The Draft Program of the C. I." Submitted July 1928. Pp. 72-75.)

LAKE CHARLES, La. (FP).—Machine gun bullets protecting scab operations in several gulf ports closed by striking International Longshoremen's Assn. members, killed three men, injured at least eight, opened one port and forced Gov. O. K. Allen of Louisiana to call a 3-day truce while port authorities and union officials sought an agreement.

Between 1,500 and 1,800 fish cannery workers will be affected by a strike against five large canneries which has been called for Tuesday morning. The strike call was issued by the Fish Cannery Workers Union.

Demands are for 40 cents per hour for the first eight hours, 45 cents an hour for the next eight hours, and 50 cents thereafter, for the women workers. They demand for the men is 5 cents per hour higher. About 75 percent of the cannery workers are women. The closed shop is demanded.

The plant of the Van Camp company will not be affected as it has already granted the demanded wages, but refused the closed shop. The strike has an excellent chance of succeeding as the sardine packing season is due to begin about November 1.

# The Machine Is A Communist

## Industry Idle to Keep Parasites in Power Cost Workers Three Hundred Billion in 1930-34 -- The High Cost of Capitalism!

By HILDEGARDE M. SMITH

There is proof enough in just one circumstance that Roosevelt and his New Dealers are insincere about their advocacy of "a more abundant life." That circumstance is their utter ignoring of their own "National Survey of Potential Product Capacity." Have you heard the Ginning Messiah give a "freedom chat" on the finding of this—his own commission? No! And you won't! For just what were the findings of this government commission? Revolutionary stuff!

### Our Production Capacity

This board of sixty experts worked for nearly a year measuring the product capacity of our United States. They did a good job. And an honest job. Too good and honest—too many unpleasant truths about how the masses in this country are being cheated—for Roosevelt and his New Dealers to tell the workers about it. True, a resume of it has been published, called "The Chart of Plenty." It is in many public libraries and all workers should read it. For in this survey is ample and reasonably authentic information as to just how abundant a life might be given to the mass of the American people. It is a careful study of not only how much is produced, but how much with the present equipment—the natural resources and the industrial plant—could be produced and how much for the best interests of the people should be produced. And the result was briefly this: if the resources of this country and its man-power were really put to work for the welfare of its citizens, every family in the United States could have an annual income in goods and services of \$4,400 per year valued in 1929 dollars. And that on a short work week! Also, with efficient planning this annual income could be greatly increased within a decade.

This is seemingly refuted by the survey made by the Brookings Institution, "America's Capacity to Produce," which has been hailed by advocates of the present social order as "proof" that the "Economy of

Abundance" is a fiction. But, as Mr. Harold Loeb, director of the H. S. of P. P. C., points out, the Brookings Institution survey was figured within the framework of the existing economic system. That is, their survey was not strictly a survey of physical factors but they entangled themselves in two contradictory frames—the commercial and physical—which made their findings meaningless as far as actual physical capacity is concerned.

In brief, the facts established by the two surveys is this: the Brookings Institution survey makes it evident that abundance, in spite of our enormous resources, cannot be given to the people of the country under the capitalist system. The profit motive won't stand for it. The National Survey of Potential Product Capacity in essence establishes the fact that only under a socialist system can the resources be efficiently used to give the people the abundance to which they are entitled. For instance, in the four years, 1930-1934, nearly three hundred billion in goods and services could have been produced which were not produced. And on this point Mr. Loeb himself makes the following statements:

"The difference between actual production and possible production represents the cost to the people of the United States of maintaining present financial institutions. . . . The existing resources, plant and personnel of the United States, are not only capable of providing a high standard of life for the entire population, but are also capable of simultaneously replacing obsolete equipment and expanding the plant at a rate somewhat higher than the satisfactory rate practiced during the years 1923 to 1929. . . . A most curious spectacle this. . . . The American people, through their authorized agents are found using governmental power to maintain the 'blessed state of poverty.'" And to the favorite cry of the opponents of a socialist society that it would be a kind of "liberty" Mr. Loeb says: "Liberty would be enjoyed by most people. Today over 90 percent of

our people have their freedom restricted by material necessities, releasing of production and the resulting abundance would enormously expand their freedom. . . ."

### A Machine Civilization

But the most curious fact established by this survey—a government survey, remember—is this: our mass production factories, our machine civilization, can only be used efficiently. . . . If it is put to work producing things for the masses, food, clothing, houses, furniture and other household supplies. . . . all the things the masses want and need—and are now so largely deprived of. How many times have you heard some "statesman" or some capitalist journalist proclaim that our "American system has built the greatest civilization on earth?" Hundreds of times of course! And this "greatest civilization" today is what? A machine civilization. That is irrefutable. And now this government survey shows that this machine civilization can only be used efficiently if it is put to work producing for the masses. . . . dividing the wealth among the people. So what does that make the machine? A Communist! Nothing less. The machine is a communist!

This might be a joke on the rich exploiters and their lackeys. But as yet the "joke" is on the workers. For as the rich few who control this "wonderful civilization" have the workers "fooled"—persuaded to believe that this potential plenty is a delusion. Just as the powers that rule us are today suppressing the Marxists—the communists—so are they today suppressing the communist machine lest it give this potential wealth to the masses. Theirs is a "dog in the manger" economics. They cannot possibly use the potential products themselves. . . . so they, with gas bombs, National Guard, bullets and oratory, are fighting the workers to keep them from getting what they cannot use themselves, but want to keep anyhow—to preserve their privileges and power.

### Why They Buried the Report

No wonder the New Dealers and Roosevelt himself have buried the report of this, their own, commission! For they are "the authorized agents using governmental power to maintain the blessed state of poverty!" They aided and abetted the exploiters who control the product capacity of the country in their decision that those three hundred billion in goods and services which the people needed, would not be produced because it could not be produced at a profit to them! They are the ones, these advocates of "a more abundant life" who are willing that millions should live on the verge of starvation—the infamous Roosevelt subsistence wage—so that these rich and privileged persons—and they themselves—might continue to satisfy their swollen egos with opulence, and their lust for power and privilege. Their words say—"we bring you a more abundant life." But their actions say—"we are willing that millions should be deprived of what is rightfully theirs—the abundance of this country—in order that we may hog the fat of the land."

Workers! Your ancestors gave of their sweat and their blood to build up the abundance of this country! You have done likewise. That abundance is your rightful heritage!

And now, every day of your lives, you and your children are being cheated—yes, shamefully cheated!—of what is yours. Give the lie to these who would tell you that "socialism is just dividing poverty." You can get the facts about that from this Government survey (of course you could tell your exploiters that Karl Marx said practically the same thing long ago) and throw this information in the teeth of anyone who tries to tell you that our abundance is "bunk." Their own dope now refutes them. \$4,400 a year might be "poverty" to a Roosevelt, or an Astor or an Andy Mellon, but to you and your children it would truly mean "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." And that is what you are honestly entitled to today.

# 3500 at Herndon Farewell

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Despite the participation of the League for Industrial Democracy, headed by Norman Thomas, there was a notable absence of Socialists in the audience. Those who were not Stalinists were almost entirely Workers Party or I.W.W. elements, or non-proletarians.

Among the other speakers were Mary Fox, secretary of the Joint Committee; H. D. Sizemore of the General Defense Committee; Anna Damon, Secretary of the I.L.D.; Murray Baron; Heywood Brown, who called William Pickens of the N.A.A.C.P.; also on the speakers' list, a scab; and Rabbi Sidney Goldstein of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Browder was sitting on the platform but did not speak. His silence was made up for, however, by C.P.

members on the street after the meeting. Among those selling literature and giving out leaflets were three young girls, members of the W.P. The Stalinists demonstratively crumpled up leaflets and denounced the W.P. members as "degenerate renegades."

While the Herndon meeting showed that thus far only a limited circle is actively behind the persecuted Negro worker, it can be the beginning of a real movement. If the Joint Committee follows a really inclusive policy, designed to win the loyalty of all organizations of the working class and sympathizing circles, while pursuing that militant line which alone can save Herndon, it may yet get a job following and do a constructive job for the class.

Many pamphlets on the Herndon case published by the Joint Committee were sold at the meeting. A new edition, specially prepared for the N.P.L.D., may be bought through Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C. It sells at 2 cents per copy and may be had cheaper in bundles.

### DUPONT PROFITS SOAR AGAIN UNDER 'OPPRESSIVE' N. DEAL

WILMINGTON, Del. (FP).—If the duPont family is opposed to the New Deal on the grounds that it is hurting business, they're kidding themselves. For earnings of the E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co. to be used for dividends amounted to \$35,534,717 for the first nine months of 1935, the company's reports show. The earnings are more than \$1,000,000 higher than for the same time last year.

Almost half the swag—\$16,314,708—was raked in during the third quarter of the year. During that time, it is pointed out, the European political situation became considerably more tense.

### Norman Refused Parole

Another example of continuing persecution is the failure of an attempt by Lorine Norman, one of the eight convicted Sacramento workers, to secure parole because she will shortly become a mother. She has been released on bail temporarily to go to a hospital. Governor Merriam is under pressure from the reactionary bloc to compel her to return to prison as soon as her child is born.

Recently also, as a result of the insidious campaign of the Chamber of Commerce, Associated Farmers, Industrial Association and American Legion, Charles McLaughlin of Santa Anna was held for criminal syndicalism, charged with being a member of the Communist party. If convicted, he would get 14 years in San Quentin along with Norman Mini, Caroline Decker and the other Sacramento workers. The case is pending.

# 1500 in Paris Cheer Group

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Populaire for "(1) the absence of a progressive program; (2) the failure of 'automatic' self-defense, leading to the necessity for speeding the formation of groups by a public political campaign, without falling into adventurism or premature slogans; (3) the abandonment of anti-government work in the army; (4) the weakness of the fight against the two-year military training extension. . . . etc." These comrades criticize the C. P. leadership for lacking "a precise orientation in what they do, lacking any sign of political, organizational or technical preparation for giving a revolutionary outlet to the movement created by the Front Populaire."

### Y.C.Lers Join With Bol-Len.

In addition to these signs of the times, there are dozens of members of the Young Communist League who have joined sections of the Socialist Youth in different parts of Paris, all under Bolshevik-Leninist influence. Similarly in the provinces, at Centre and Lille, Young Communists have come over to the Bolshevik-Leninists directly. At Nice at a regional conference of the Stalinist party, two comrades, Bolvert and Campa, dared openly to criticize in strong terms the "chauvinist policy of Stalinism." Underneath the waving flags of electoral "victories" and "unity" the bureaucratic shell is beginning to crack. The speed with which revolutionary elements free themselves from it and take the struggle on their own shoulders will determine in the near future the fate of the French proletariat.

# West Coast Fight Rages

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opment of the warfare over the hot cargo issue. The struggle at present revolves around these two important points:

1. Refusal to move ships that are bound for areas where strikes are in progress.

2. Refusal to sail ships which are using fuel oil supplied by the boycotted Standard Oil Co.

At San Pedro on Tuesday morning of last week the crew of the Matson freighter "General M. H. Sherman" struck in protest against loading with fuel oil furnished by Standard Oil. On the 16th the crew of the "Point Ancha" refused to take her out of San Pedro as she was bound for Gulf Coast ports where the longshoremen are out on strike. At Seattle on the same day, the union refused to furnish a crew or the "Point Caleta" until the owners promised not to send her to British Columbia ports where the longshore strike is still on. Later in the week the crew of the "Judith" tied her up in Seattle rather than take her to British Columbia. On Saturday the crew of the "Admiral Sem" walked off at Alameda.

At the present time these five ships are tied up with the seamen expressing determination to win on this vital point.

### "Red Herring" Again

A struggle of major proportions will undoubtedly develop if the waterfront employers attempt to have hot cargo from the Gulf coast unloaded. The maritime unions have expressed their determination to handle this cargo. For once they have the support of the top officials, as Ryan has also given orders to boycott this cargo.

As was to be expected, the waterfront employers have again brought forth the old shopworn "red herring" to drag across the trail in order to divert the workers from the real struggle. Their spokesman, Hugh Gallagher of the Shipowners Assn., has appealed to Green to cast the red devils out of the unions, that the present struggle is a deep plot on the part of Moscow to ruin American shipping, etc., etc. But Green, no doubt having in mind the strength of the progressives in the maritime unions out here, shows no great inclination to assume the

J. P. Cannon  
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# FRANCE

## The Key to the Int'n'l Situation

Sunday, Nov. 3 - 8 P.M.  
IRVING PLAZA HALL  
Irving Place & 15th St.