

EDITORIAL

For the New Party - For the Fusion of the League and the A. W. P.!

THE most important political news of the day is the report about the decisive steps taken during the past week to facilitate and hasten the fusion of the American Workers' Party and the Communist League. This news is of paramount importance because it spells definite progress toward the forging of the sharpest and most indispensable weapon of the working class—a revolutionary party. By itself, the merger of these two organizations, of entirely different origins but moving toward the same goal, would signify the actual beginning of the new party and make its formal proclamation possible.

Armed with the program of Marxism the new political center thus created would speedily attract the scattered revolutionary militants as a magnet attracts steel particles. The adhesion of thousands of awakening workers could be expected. The expanded political organization would be in a position to connect itself with the stormy movement of the working masses and give that movement a conscious direction.

The native militancy of the American workers, surpassed by none, as our labor history shows, and again brilliantly demonstrated in the present strike wave—in Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Kohler, the textile fields—would be fused, through such a vanguard party, with that decisive element which has been lacking in all the past periods of labor resurgence: scientific doctrine, political clarity, leadership. It has been the lack of precisely this element, which only a Marxist party can supply, that condemned the insurgent labor movements of the past to futility and defeat. Lacking a class theory of its own, which can come into the labor movement in no other way than through the Marxist party, the American workers, with all their militancy and capacity for sacrifice, fell victim to all kinds of quackery and treason and landed in a blind alley every time.

Capitalism itself creates the conditions for the elemental movement of the workers, as the far flung general strike of the textile workers proves once again. But the Marxist party, which alone can shape and guide this elemental movement to the goal of emancipation, must be made by the deliberate work of the conscious vanguard. Since such a party does not exist today—and experience on a national and international scale testify to this bitter fact—it must be created anew. This is the first and foremost task of all revolutionaries.

Every serious step in this direction is important. The progress that has been recorded in the past week toward the fusion of the two most important groups standing outside the poisoned swamps of Stalinism and Social Democracy, and dedicated to the aim of building a new party and a new international, cannot fail to inspire all revolutionary workers with enthusiasm and hope as it inspires us. It opens up the prospect of saving time in the execution of our great historic task, and time is a weighty factor now. Events move with lightning speed. We must move with them.

On an international scale the political organizations of the working class have suffered a collapse no less devastating, and no less irremediable, than that of 1914. Germany and Austria tell the story of the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals in letters of fire.

During the five years of the crisis we have witnessed the paralyzing influence of this international debacle on the American movement. Even after five years of the crisis, during which the insoluble contradictions of the capitalist system did their best to prepare the soil for revolutionary political development, the great strike movement of the awakening workers, with a few exceptions such as Minneapolis, is controlled and throttled by the old reactionary leadership. A real challenge to this leadership, which represents the influence of the exploiters in the labor movement, has not yet been made for the simple reason that there was no force able to offer the challenge and make the challenge good. For that, and for all that logically follows after, a party is needed. An international is needed.

Revolutionary internationalism is the heart and core of the system of ideas which binds us together and unites us indissolubly with our comrades in other countries. This conception, which is expressed in the struggle for the Fourth International, animates and guides us in every phase of activity in our own country, whether it be the holding of a public meeting, the organization of a strike, or participation in the formation of a new party.

We have said many times, and we underscore it here once more, that the organization of an American party cannot be separated in any way from the struggle to form a new international, but on the contrary is an inseparable part of that struggle. The new party will be able to solve the national problems and find its way into the mass movement of the American workers only if it approaches them from the international point of view; the new party can become a national power only on the condition that the banner it raises is the banner of internationalism.

This is the cardinal lesson of all the great events of our time; this is the wisdom of the great teachers. This unshakable conviction has entered into the marrow of our bones. Whatever we do and wherever we go, it goes with us. We seek for allies and co-workers first of all among those who hold similar views.

The decision of the active workers' conference of the A.W.P. in favor of hastening the fusion and the joint launching of the new party coincided with a similar decision of the New York membership meeting of the League. These actions gave expression to the fact that the two organizations have drawn closer together in the course of practical cooperation in various fields of activity and comradely discussion devoted to the clarification of questions of the program.

It appears to us that the revised draft program of the A.W.P. formulates a position on the question of the new international that is nearer to our viewpoint than the formulation of the first draft. We, on our part, venture to say that the work of the League in the Minneapolis strikes has helped to convince the members of the A.W.P. that we also are able to "speak American"; that our internationalism is not an abstraction but a guide to action on the national field. Joint work of the two organizations in practical work, limited though it has been, has demonstrated in practice an ability to work out a common policy and to cooperate loyally in advancing it. These are all factors which have strengthened the will for organic unity and the hope that it may be expedited.

Our National Committee has not yet had the time and opportunity to make a critical analysis of the revised draft program of the A.W.P. Progress has undoubtedly been made toward working out a common standpoint on some of the most important questions. Further discussion and clarification will yet be needed to assure a firm principled basis for the unification. Other obstacles may arise. But it is our firm conviction that all difficulties standing in the way can be overcome if there is a determined will to overcome them, if there is an understanding, on both sides, of the overshadowing importance of finding a common path and launching the new party without the needless loss of a single day. All our efforts will be directed to this end. —JAMES P. CANNON.

WAR AND FOURTH INTERN'L

In Russian
A Russian edition of this pamphlet will soon be off the press and available for all who speak the language. Watch the Militant for further announcements on this extraordinary pamphlet.

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Strike Ranks Firm New Mills Close

(Continued from Page 1)

"Reds", urges the local unions to weed out the "Communists" immediately and offer cooperation to the National Guard in pursuit of the "allens". Bosses and strikebreaking governors thrive on such statements.

In the South, late reports coming through tell of National Guardsmen bayonetting five strikers and using tear gas to disperse a picket line of 500 at Burlington, North Carolina.

Everywhere National Guards are brought into action against the strike which started with the naive statements of union officials that this was not a "strike against the government".

Certainly, it is not. The strike is not against the government, but the government is clearly against the strike.

Who Owns this Country

(Continued from Page 1)

national guard bayonet.

Today, more and more does the worker begin to see that the law of the state is for the boss class, that the militia of the government is the weapon of the boss class in breaking strikes and preventing picketing. Today, the worker no longer fears or respects the forces of the bosses' "law and order". Today we hear the workers shouting on the picket lines, "Get the Militia!"

The trend the recent strike wave has taken will have no small part in making the workers of the country see that a gulf as wide as the ocean separates them from the bosses. Every major strike has brought out the national guard, the state militia. In fighting the troops, far more than by merely fighting the hired deputized thugs, are the workers beginning to see that behind the government stands the mill owner, the steamship company or the millionaire trucker.

The Bullet-Bayonet Lesson
This present strike wave is bringing from the text books down to the very factory that all important lesson for the working class: this is a class government, one that is run by the capitalists against the workers. The request of Gorman for a strikers police has been received with the only reply that the bosses could give. "We rule this country, we own the mills, we control the police, we command the militia."

But the bayonet and the bullet are mighty teachers. The day is not far off when the working class will arise as one man, trained in the streets of Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Gastonia, Saylesville, and shout with one voice, "The lawful officers of the law are to be superseded by strikers' committees. This day we shall enforce a higher law, a law of strikers made by strikers and for strikers."

The Truth About the Morro Castle Fire

(Continued from Page 1)

wooden, elaborately carved fixtures, permitted a rapid spread of the fire once it started. Far from being the fire-proof floating castle it was advertised to be, the Morro Castle was a fire-trap.

The officers of the Morro Castle appeared more intent on saving salvage money than in preserving the safety of passengers or crew. While Acting Captain Warnas was engrossed in the problem of putting out the fire, and of beehiving without towing charge, passengers and crew were alike neglected, to make their way to safety as best they could.

Fire Alarm Unheard
If the fire alarm was sounded, none of the passengers who have so far reported to the press or the inquiry board could remember being awakened by it. Either it rung weakly, or not at all. (One of the crew reported it rang, but he thought it was an alarm clock.)

No one remembers hearing an order to lower the boats, which swung a half hour from the davits, flush with the deck—waiting for what? No one appears to have organized the crew to awaken passengers, to guide them to the boats, to see that they were provided with life preservers. The officers were too busy fighting the fire to bother with S.O.S. or life-saving.

Taking them on their own word, a half hour elapsed before the S.O.S. was sent, or before the boats were lowered, without orders and without passengers. For the latter the crew is blamed. With what reason?

The chief indictment against the crew is that the lifeboats that were lowered contained few or no passengers. The implication is that the crew speeded away, pulling for shore without attempting to rescue passengers on deck, or already foundering in the water around the ship. Let us consider the circumstances.

By all evidence, the fire had already swept the amidships beyond hope of reaching anyone entrapped there before the boats were lowered. Most of the passengers had already leaped overboard out of hysteria, or because they were otherwise helplessly trapped. There is no record that any were denied

The Stalinists Turn to the Right In the Sphere of Literature

I. Radek Orders Right-About-Face

After its disastrous ultra-leftist course of the past few years, the Comintern is making an abrupt, and equally disastrous, swing toward the right. The united front "from below" has been abandoned for non-aggression pacts with the "Social-Fascist" leaders of the Second International. The "Social-Fascist" theory itself is being put into cold storage. The dual Red trade unions are either being dismantled, severing connections with the parent international of Red trade unions, or being merged with the reformist unions. Behind a barrage of radical bluster, the ultra-leftist policies of yesterday are being replaced by a totally new and opposite set of rightist policies, which can only prepare the Stalinist party for fresh capitulations tomorrow to the trade union reformists, the imperialist agents, and Social-Democratic betrayers on the order of the period from 1923 to 1925.

In the light of this new orientation toward the right, Joseph Freeman's article in the September 11 issue of the party-controlled *New Masses* has more significance than its title, "Ivory Towers, White and Red", or its place of publication, indicates. Particularly, since it appears so soon after Radek's speech to the Soviet All-Union Congress of Writers on "Contemporary World Literature and the Problems of Proletarian Art", which laid down the new Stalinist line toward the fellow-travelers.

"Fighters for Progress"

According to Duranty's dispatch in the *New York Times*, "Radek hailed the abolition of RAPP last year as the beginning of a new era of comradely cooperation between the Russian Communist Party and the non-party intellectuals. So far as relations with the writers of the rest of the world were concerned, the majority of the best writers, faced by a choice between fascism and liberalism, were choosing liberalism. (A few months ago, the *New Masses*, *Daily Worker*, etc., were assuring us that almost all of them were choosing Communism.) Therefore, Radek went on to say, they should be encouraged (to do what? defend the democratic state against the Fascists? But this was Trotskyism!) and regarded as friends (of the Soviet Union at a distance or the proletarian revolution at home?), even though they are far from pure socialism. (Is Radek referring to the "pure socialism" of Wels, Bauer, Vanderveide and Company or the impure "socialism in one country" of Stalin?) In short, he declared that in the struggle the world was now witnessing between progress and reaction, any fighter on the side of progress (!) was in

a sense an ally of the U.S.S.R."

(Emphasis ours.)

Here we have the essence of the new turn in all its nakedness. The "Social-Fascist" enemies of yesterday are the allies and bosom companions of today, in cultural as well as in the political and trade union fields. They are, like the Anglo-French imperialist bloc of the League of Nations, fighters on the side of progress against reaction, and, "in a sense", allies of the U.S.S.R. But, in what sense, for what purposes, under what conditions, and for how long, Radek fails to inform us. Duranty records the protest of certain Left Communists against this extension of the united front to "all fighters on the side of progress" without making any distinction between "true proletarian writers" and "bourgeois or semi-bourgeois writers." After making membership in the Rapp and a complete acceptance of the Stalinist line elsewhere and throughout the world, the political prerequisite for cooperation with the intellectuals, the Stalinist now demands nothing more than expressions of sympathy for the Soviet Union and the C. P. program, no matter how insincere and empty they may be. Duranty, sagely concludes his dispatch with the remark that both Radek and the Kremlin realize that "the day of undiluted propaganda" has passed. And truly, Radek's vague formulation of the new policy toward sympathetic intellectuals contains not a tincture of Marxism.

2. Carte Blanche to Communists

Freeman is the C. P. spokesman to the intellectuals in this country, occupying a parallel position to that of Radek on the incomparably lower level of the American party. He announces the new policy toward fellow-travelers in an altogether different manner and medium. He has no national platform from which he can lay down the party line to the assembled representatives of the intellectuals and issue the latest commandments of the bureaucracy. He must be more circumspect and cautious. Consequently, he chooses a peripheral party organ in which to make the announcement and encloses it in a wrapping of historical reminiscences about the old and new *Masses*, of apologies for the unproductiveness of the party intellectuals, and praises for the practical labors of the Old Bolsheviks among the intellectuals. The whole article is couched in the form of a reply to certain complaints and criticisms voiced against the Stalinist critics by the novelist, Albert Halper.

After winding our way through various bypaths, we finally come to the core of the article in the third section, called "Old Solutions and New Problems". Here is the news. "The most significant change

of recent months in our literary movement is that it has abandoned its sectarian attitude. As recently as last year, it was easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a 'fence-sitter' to appear in the pages of the Communist press. The 'line' was jealously guarded. Now the opposite is true. Anyone has only to declare himself a 'fence-sitter' and he is embraced with open arms; our press is his and he can say anything he likes, however remote it is from revolutionary thought."

Could anyone wish for a clearer, more candid, and bare-faced statement of the new Stalinist policy vis-a-vis the intellectuals? Here is an open invitation to all the chronic vacillators to stay fixed in their present positions, to all the false, air-weather friends of the Soviet Union to express their sympathy with the aims of Communism without assuming any responsibility or practical work in the revolutionary movement, to all the journalistic adventurers, literary careerists, and Stalinist liberals to make use of the party press for their private purposes. Are we about to see birth of a brood of Stalinist Muggwumps among the intellectual "fence-sitters", divided, wavering personalities with their mugs on one side of the fence and their "wumps" on the other? Hail to the new Stalinist comrade-in-arms, Mr. Facing-Both-Ways!

After letting the cat out of the bag, we must credit Freeman with trying to cover up his tracks. He immediately attempts to modify this shameless surrender to a "liberal" policy (in more senses than one) by asserting that it must be accompanied by an extensive Communist education of the fence-sitting fellow-travelers. A few paragraphs later, he nullifies this by making certain unnamed newcomers among the party critics (not by any means the self-sacrificing Old Guard among the intellectuals that he leads) "take the RAPP" for having been too severe with the "timid fence-sitters" in the past.

Freeman concludes with a ringing call to the fellow-travelers for "mutual criticism that is severe, just, objective, free of the stultifying traditions of the bohemian cliques, directed not by personal spleen but by a high regard for the aspirations and efforts of the movement as a whole, and by a revolutionary understanding of the world which Communism seeks to transform." This somewhat belated invitation should be welcomed by the 25 intellectuals who signed the protest against the party's actions in the Madison Square Garden affair, which the *Daily Worker* attempted to answer but refused to print and whose challenge to debate on the issue of the united

front was ignored by the editors of the *New Masses*! What can such intellectuals think of a party which heaps the filthiest abuse upon them for daring to question the Stalinist policy—and then adopts their recommendations a few months later? How sincerely can such a party ask for "severe, just, and objective mutual criticism"?

3. The Peculiar Mode of the Announcement

Why has the Stalinist party chosen this particular method of announcing the new turn to the right? The answer lies in the social composition and bureaucratic character of the American party. The American C. P. has, like all its international counterparts, a completely bureaucratic head, and, in addition, a petty-bourgeois body and a small proletarian tail. As a result, an increasingly greater amount of the party's activities (take place on the cultural, intellectual, and professional fronts. The bureaucratic character of its top leadership demands that the party line and leadership be considered correct and unquestionable yesterday, today and forever. To announce openly a complete right about face on the political and trade union field would ruin this carefully fostered reputation for papal infallibility.

Therefore, instead of making a direct announcement of the change to their followers among the working class, or in the official party press, it is less dangerous to release the news to the fellow-travelers in an apparently casual, unrelated, and non-political article published in a peripheral journal. And who can do the job better than that Artful Dodger among the left-wing intellectuals, Joseph Freeman?

"The old Ivory towers are down," he proclaims, "so are the red ivory towers which sectarianism built. Revolutionary literature and criticism are now out in the open world of living America." Can he possibly mean to imply that, so far as the fellow-travelers are concerned, revolutionary literature and criticism are now out? —R. M.

charged in New York. The Radio-Marine Corporation sent me aboard because they expected the other two radio officers would be fired."

Follows Rogers' admissions that Alagna gave him no trouble. Nevertheless, after several peaceful trips the Captain called him (Rogers) aside, to talk to him "man to man". The upshot of this conversation was that Rogers learned that Alagna was a dangerous agitator and was to be fired when the ship reached port.

All this was disclosed only when Alagna gave a story to the press, charging (and Rogers substantiated this story) that he had visited the bridge to try to get an O.K. on an S.O.S. order, and had been unable to obtain it. Alagna returned to the radio cabin following his fruitless mission, stuck, with the chief operator to the last, pulled him unconscious out of the blazing fire trap, and led him to safety on the fore-castle.

The scurvy attempts to implicate this man in the blame for the Morro Castle disaster will not succeed. His conduct has been too exemplary. But meanwhile, the workers must raise his bail. It is criminal that he should be held in custody while the craven and trembling tools of the bosses are free.

And a real investigation must be conducted into the blaze on the Morro Castle, and into the responsibility of the shipowners for the terrific loss of life.

These questions, that will not be asked by the Board of Inquiry, are questions to which workers must force an answer:

What are the wages paid by the Ward Line to its seamen, and what are the working conditions aboard Ward Line ships? How many A.B. seamen were among the crew?

Why, in the light of what actually happened, was the Ward Line permitted to advertise its vessel as fire proof? What is the truth about the much advertised safety devices?

What instructions does the Ward Line issue to its chief officers as to salvage and the sending of S.O.S. signals?

Why is the Ward Line permitted to control the testimony of officers and crew, and why is Alagna, who would not fall into line, being held like a criminal? Why was his bail raised from \$1,000 to \$3,000 following disclosures that he had tried to organize labor aboard the Morro Castle?

Why not try to scare them by a judges order", the bosses are thinking, "tell them we'll put them all behind bars if they dare strike."

It won't work, Messrs. dye-house bosses! You can't put 20,000 fighting workers in the cooler.

Your gunmen couldn't stop the strike with all their bullets and gas and neither will your injunction!

Arms Inquiry too Hot for State Dep't

(Continued from Page 1)

immorality or immorality of Du Pont's business but whether the "impartial", "international" arms ring will lose money if the odor of the investigation gets too obnoxious.

Remember the outcry in the press about the rape of China by Japan! Well, that was only for public consumption. All this time the Du Ponts were selling a secret hydrogen process to Japan and bribing Chinese generals in order to sell them munitions.

The proposal to sell the hydrogen process by the Du Ponts to Mitsui was made known to the State Department it developed in the investigation.

Here is another reason for the gagging of the disclosures. The State Department is knee-deep, no doubt, in all the so-called scandals of the munitions makers. Unquestionably its hands are dripping with the blood of workers on the soil of a half dozen foreign countries.

Too warm? The state department has burned its hands and wants the heat turned off!

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