

Bridge that Gap!

NO REVOLUTIONARY labor organization has ever been able to make any progress by the efforts of its members alone.

Answering the most urgent need of the hour, some of the best forces in the American revolutionary movement have joined hands to launch the new party.

How shall we meet this growing demand? How are we to profit by the splendid opportunities that confront us?

The wheels of the party machinery must be lubricated for greater speed and efficiency.

Every party member is called upon to make the maximum sacrifice. They must pay their dues regularly.

They accept these burdens cheerfully. The revolutionary movement is their very life's blood and they are always ready to do their utmost for it.

Do we need to labor the point? We don't think so. Every friend of our movement, we feel confident, will respond generously and speedily to our appeal.

Booker T. Washington—He Pleaded the Bourgeoisie

By SIMON WILLIAMSON Negro workers of their right of franchise in the southern states.

Washington taught that if the Negro were to better his condition in America he must become an efficient workman through education.

Washington later sought to strengthen the position of the Negro middle class through organizing the Negro Business League.

Washington represented the corrupt type of Negro middle class leadership that came to power during the reconstruction period.

Marxists must be absolutely clear on this point. There is no "separate" or "special" struggle against war.

Marxists must separate their position sharply from official bourgeois peace plans, they must distinguish themselves as less clearly from all forms of pacifism.

But it is the business of the Marxist, upon the outbreak of imperialist war, to work to turn that war into a class war.

War is not an abstraction; wars are a social institution, concrete historical phenomena.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

Pacifism No Aid, But Helps the Militarists - Only through the Class Struggle Can War be Fought

By JOHN WEST (Ed. Note: This is the second in Comrade West's series of four articles. The remaining two—"The League Against War and Fascism" and "The United Front and War"—will follow in the next two issues of the New Militant.)

Even a brief study of the nature and causes of modern war proves that war is an essential part of capitalism.

Nevertheless, there have been the most serious misconceptions in following out the consequences of this conclusion so far as they apply to the struggle against war.

The most serious mistake made in the attempted struggle against war comes from the widespread belief that this struggle is somehow "independent" of the class struggle in general.

TO END WAR WE MUST REMOVE CAUSE

This kind of attitude is about as effective as it would be for doctors to treat the high fever in acute appendicitis by putting the patient in an ice-box.

Putting screens around the rotting supports of a building will not improve its foundations. It will, in fact, do just the opposite—it will divert people's attentions from the need for new foundations.

War is not the cause of the troubles of society. The opposite is true. War is a symptom and result of the irreconcilable troubles and conflicts of the present form of society.

It therefore follows that the only possible struggle AGAINST war is the struggle FOR the workers' revolution.

Marxists must be absolutely clear on this point. There is no "separate" or "special" struggle against war. The struggle against war cannot be divorced from the day-to-day struggles of the workers.

To suppose, therefore, that revolutionists can work out a common program "against war" with non-revolutionists is a disastrous illusion.

Any organization based upon such a program is not merely powerless to prevent war; in practice it acts to promote war, both because it serves in its own way to uphold the system that breeds war.

SOCIALIZED ECONOMY WILL END CONTRADICTIONS

The workers' revolution can and will eliminate war because, by white master. To accomplish his objective Washington bowed to all of the prejudices of the bourbon South.

Although the Negro Business League was practically a failure by 1900 the false philosophy of Booker T. Washington's "education" still penetrates large sections of the Negro masses.

overthrowing capitalist economy and supplanting capitalism with a socialist economy. It will remove the causes of war. Under socialism there will no longer exist the basic contradictions that lead to war.

PEACE PLANS AND PACIFISM

Since this is the basic nature of the struggle against war, the attitude of a Marxist toward any "official" bourgeois "peace plans" is self-evident.

Far from being instruments of peace, they are, in fact, part of the preparation for imperialist war, stamping grounds where the great powers can jockey for the most advantageous position for the start of open conflict.

This is above all true of the League of Nations, which was formed to preserve the Versailles Settlement (that is, formed as an instrument of aggression against, and subjugation of, the defeated nations) and as a part of imperialist unity against the post-war revolutionary drive of the workers.

The League will keep peace as long as peace is to the interests of the powers that control the League. It is into this den of imperialist robbers (as Lenin called it) that Stalinism has led the Workers' State!

But if Marxists must separate their position sharply from official bourgeois peace plans, they must distinguish themselves as less clearly from all forms of pacifism.

But it is the business of the Marxist, upon the outbreak of imperialist war, to work to turn that war into a class war.

Marxists must be absolutely clear on this point. There is no "separate" or "special" struggle against war. The struggle against war cannot be divorced from the day-to-day struggles of the workers.

War is not an abstraction; wars are a social institution, concrete historical phenomena. The final aim of Marxists includes the elimination of wars of all kinds.

Anti-Hearst Mass Meeting

HEARST, ENEMY OF LABOR Will Be Answered by the Following Speakers: SIDNEY HOOK, Chairman, Dept. of Philosophy, New York University

PACIFISM AIDS WAR

Marxists must, therefore, expose and seek to prevent all kinds and forms of pacifism—all theories and organizations, that is, based on a mere "anti-war" program.

Pacifism is not merely powerless against war—since it is not based on genuine social organization nor a clear analysis of the causes of war. In practice it aids war: by spreading illusions about the nature of war and the fight against it; by shifting the energies of honest opponents of war to a fictitious fight against it; by sugar-coating the realities of capitalist society and thus making them—including war—more palatable; by subordinating the working class to middle class individuals and ideas; by preparing the betrayal of the masses in the next war, when outstanding pacifist leaders will decide in the crisis that this war is different—is for democracy, culture, God, or what not—and call for support of the government.

No, the pacifist way is not the way to fight war. In the struggle against war, properly understood, every militant demonstration, every broad mass labor defense fight, every well-led strike, every step in the workers' advance to power, is worth a thousand Peace Leagues.

Long Waits, Small Benefits Feature of Insurance Bills

By HUGO OEHLER

The post-war period has witnessed the rise of a permanent army of millions of unemployed workers in the leading capitalist nations. One after the other, these countries have been forced to adopt some form of unemployed and social insurance.

But if concessions must be given—then give a fake unemployment insurance plan. That seems to be the slogan. The bosses hope, thereby, to hold off more important concessions, such as the six-hour day and the five-day week with no reduction in pay.

They Call It Insurance

The various plans of the bosses and their government revolve around bills which, when passed mean nothing to the workers. These bills have long waiting periods, short periods in which the relief is given, small and inadequate amounts of benefits with discriminating clauses, to be administered by the bosses, with many of the working class excluded, and funds to be obtained through a tax on the workers or the employers and the employees. Relief in name, but not in fact!

A few of the many plans are the Wisconsin Act, the Bill proposed by the N. Y. State Federation of Labor, the William Green Plan, the Wagner-Lewis Bill, the Roosevelt Plan and the Lundeen Bill.

With the exception of the Lundeen Bill, the plans are attempts to side track real unemployment insurance. The Wisconsin and Wagner-Lewis Plan and the William Green Plan endeavor to obtain the funds from the employers, but these bills have so many clauses that nullify the better sections that they are inadequate to say the least. All three bills exclude many classes of workers. The Wisconsin plan is for industrial workers only. All three plans have long periods of

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

A year of struggle in France February 6 will mark exactly one year since the political crisis that changed profoundly the course of the class struggle in France. On that date, utilizing as a pretext the Stavisky scandal that had stirred the masses to the depths, the forces of reaction accomplished by a coup d'etat the overthrow of the "radical" socialist government of Daladier and its replacement by force by the Doumergue government.

But the Doumergue government, aided by the capitulation of the petty bourgeois parties, remained in power and proceeded to establish a dictatorial, anti-parliamentary regime. Doumergue, attempting to prepare the way for fascism more rapidly than class forces would permit, was in turn voted out of power by the attenuated parliamentarist regime still existing, and his prototype Flaudin took office as premier. Flaudin carries out the function of opening the road to fascism.

The United Front

The course of events, the imminent menace of fascism, aroused among the masses a strong sentiment for militant action. The lessons of Germany and Austria were too near at hand for the workers

to permit a reactionary victory without strong resistance. By the pressure of the masses the two major working class parties—the Socialist and the Communist—were compelled to enter into a united front to combat fascism. The Communist League of France (Trotskyists) threw its forces into the French Socialist Party in order to exert its influence in the united front to counteract the opportunist policies of the bureaucracies of the two parties by proposing and fighting for revolutionary policies leading towards the defeat of fascism and the taking of power by the working class.

Alliance with the Bourgeoisie

The policies pursued by the leaders of the two parties in the united front have tended not to lead the masses in militant struggle, but on the contrary to lull them into inaction. Both bureaucracies, starting with a non-aggression pact not to criticize each other at all, are unwilling to aim at establishing workers' power—the only method of defeating fascism. Instead, the two leaderships prefer to uphold bourgeois democracy, the one because of its entire nature historically, the other due to the needs of Soviet diplomacy to maintain the French military alliance.

Recently the Communists took the initiative in adding to the united front the Radicals and the Radical-Socialists, both parties of the petty bourgeoisie. The Socialist Party, taking its cue from the C.P., has accepted this situation without much opposition. This is the surest way to give the victory to the reactionary forces and to bring about the bloody defeat of the proletariat. Under the guise of the common interests of the youth, the Young Communists of one Paris District have actually held meetings in common with the fascists organized in the Patriotic Youth.

The Anniversary

The French masses are waiting expectantly for February 6. It is possible that the fascist Croix de Feu and Francistes and other organizations may attempt, as they have threatened, to demonstrate their power anew on this date. This would undoubtedly bring a fresh current of struggle and resistance into the ranks of the proletariat. Unless the workers are aroused from the apathy into which they seem, on the surface, to have sunk in recent months, fascism may march forward at faster pace. The recent riots at Chartres give the first signs of renewed street battles which will take on a wider mass character in the days to come.

Sugar Workers Strike in Porto Rico

A dramatic strike movement grips the island of Porto Rico, where the colonial slaves of Wall Street have again rebelled. The sugar plantation workers were the first to strike. One by one the majority of the sugar centers of the island have been paralyzed. Stevedores and truck drivers have struck in solidarity with the plantation workers. The movement is marked by great militancy; caucuses are being burned; clashes between workers and scabs are hourly occurrences; many arrests have been made. On Jan. 19 six boats operated by scabs were scuttled. Finding the forces of capital and the colonial administration pitted against them, the strikers resorted to sabotage as a weapon of struggle.

The great number of strikes that have swept the Caribbean area since the outbreak of the Cuban revolution 18 months ago, indicates the increasing radicalization and organization of these toilers in Wall Street's colonial domain. The United Fruit Company's banana workers in Costa Rica and Colombia have been active and at the present moment, which is the period of the sugar harvest, the sugar workers of Cuba, Mexico and Veracruz are striking hard blows against their exploiters. The major weakness of the movements is the lack of coordination between labor in these countries.

Greater unity of action between the workers of the various countries is essential for victory.

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

First Year—Winter 1935. Beginning Feb. 18, 1935 MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Workers Party Fundamentals—B. Borkeason MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Organizational Principles—M. Abern.