

Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH
My doctors say I react favorably to the excitement of roulette...

MERRY ENGLAND: One half the people jailed in England are incarcerated for non-payment of debts...

ECONOMICS: Since 1932 the RFC has spent \$9,000,000,000. Of this \$7,300,000,000 went to the Bankers, Railroads and Industrialists...

LABOR: Thirty-six of the last thirty-seven decisions of the Wolman Auto Board have gone against the workers...

CRIME: At Capone, by dickering with the Government, has succeeded in reducing his income tax \$101,862...

SOCIETY NOTES: At least 500 families live in coke ovens near Connelsville, Pa. Andy Mellon recently passed \$68,000,000 in gifts to his son and daughter...

Troyanovsky Poses as Doctor for Capitalism

By A. J. MUSTE
It was pointed out in a recent issue of the New Militant that the Communist Party in following out its new "labor party" line was flirting with left liberal congressmen...

This is, however, mild stuff compared to the line which Ambassador Troyanovsky gave the Bond Club of New York in his speech on March 22...

He expressed encouragement over the prospect of "general acceptance" of this definition "among countries interested in the observance of peace" (and which imperialist nations may they be?)

Physician for Capitalism
But "this would be merely a first step on the road to maintaining peace". At last we are to get the Bolshevik doctrine, one opinion, especially as the ambassador goes on to assert: "We have to dig to the bottom of contemporary troubles..."

When British or German Social Democrats collaborated with "broad-minded business men" for the economic rehabilitation of capitalism in one country instead of using the crisis for the overthrow of capitalism, what did the C. I. say that was?

Don't Rock the Boat!
Socialism can be built in one country, the Soviet Union, according to Stalinist theory, even though the rest of the world remains capitalist. From this nationalist standpoint it appears quite logical that the Soviet Union should help rehabilitate capitalist countries in order, let us say, that it may obtain credits from them...

Thus the Soviet Union through the present leadership of the Communist (Stalinist) International is used not for the overthrow but for the rehabilitation of capitalism, not to build but to emasculate the revolutionary movements in capitalist countries. These nations get a chance to organize their forces for the eventual attack upon the Soviet Union...

Pacifism with a Red Color
The policy of the Soviet Union is not a proletarian peace policy—the only true peace policy is that of working class revolution—but a

pacifist policy. Pacifism has ever proved and will again prove the road to war, to the ruin of the masses. The Stalinist policy is not internationalist, but nationalist. It is not progressive, it is reactionary.

If the workers of the Soviet Union, those who made the revolution, knew what was happening they would overthrow this regime. But they do not know. They cannot know. The arguments Stalin uses against party opponents is exile or a bullet in the head. Those who do understand what is happening are well nigh powerless to do anything about it. Well may we reiterate, therefore, the statement of the Declaration of Principles of the Workers Party: "The effective defense of the Soviet Union today and the support of those revolutionists in the S. U. who fight for the reform of the Soviet State and the revival of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin's time

The "Gods" Clash in Harlem

By SIMON WILLIAMSON
For some time, Father Divine, who is believed by many to be "God", has been meeting up with stiff competition in Harlem. In fact, a three-cornered battle has been going on between him, Mother Horn and the well known Elder Michaux. Just as to which of these gods will be victorious, we are unable to predict at this stage of the game.

Mother Horn and the Elder
Divine has the advantage of his two competitors in that it is believed by many that he is "God" and is the creator of both Horn and Michaux. He can remove them from the carnal world whenever he sees fit. However, Father Divine is said to be a generous, or should I say, a "God", man, and resorts to revenge as little as possible.

The Elder is Popular
The second competitor of Divine is Elder Michaux. Michaux got his start in Canada, but ended up in New York City. His sermons

and religious theatrical performances have attracted quite a following in Black Harlem. He is somewhat handsome and very popular among the women. Father Divine, who is void of personality, cannot stand for this. But what can he do about it? The Elder has Jesus on his side and Divine dare not put him out of commission. And what makes it worse, Michaux is not in the Kingdom, and cannot be cast out.

Father Divine in a Jam
Why should Father Divine worry about his competitors? He is "God" and can remove any obstacle that gets in his way by the "mere waving of his hand". He, no doubt, looks upon the whole affair as a farce, because he finds time to descend from his luxurious Kingdoms among the beautiful daughters of men. He looks them over—and is alleged to have had an affair. The earthly husband came in and inspected the scene, and laid four inches of steel between Father's "godly" ribs. He was bewildered at the behavior of the "God" and did not strike his wife.

Father Divine loves his children, and, to avoid a celestial scandal, and to have a little personal comedy, he wandered into the Hospital to stop the flow of his "holy blood". Father is somewhat a better business man than Michaux. Besides being in the Kingdom business, he owns grocery stores and meat markets. No wonder none of his faithful servants have ever known hunger or cold. Divine, moreover, believes in so-

Confusion Reigns in Ranks As C.P. Veers to Lab Party

By AL DASCH
The Labor Party announcement of Earl Browder's at the Washington Congress for Unemployment Insurance, followed two weeks later by the resolution of the central committee which was merely a re-echoing of Browder's speech, caused some surprise. Particularly so, since for at least five years it had been regarded as the height of renege and social-fascism to advocate such a policy. Nevertheless, from the topmost strata of the Stalinist regime down to the ordinary rank and file, the phenomenal monolithism of the Communist Party is manifesting itself by the unanimous acquiescence of the party membership in this new policy. This despite the fact that no discussion was held within the C.P. itself previous to Browder's proclamation before the non-party gathering at Washington. What was unprincipled, incorrect and

class-collaborationist has become overnight the quintessence of "revolutionary" strategy.

Perversion of Theory
The theoretical backwardness of the members of the Communist Party is well known. Outside of some general knowledge of Marxian fundamentals and Leninist teachings (which for the greater part have been either diluted or perverted in accordance with the need of the Stalinist bureaucracy) their political knowledge is confined to parroting each and every official ukase and pronouncement that is issued. It is safe to say that for years the bulk of the membership of the C.P. hardly thought of any arguments in favor of a Labor Party. Yet, after Browder's speech appeared in the Daily Worker everybody was for it, even if no one could advance more than a few feeble arguments for it. This stultification of the membership has taken place under the aegis of the Stalinist bureaucracy which needs a servile and docile following in order to bolster up the myth of infallibility and omniscience. The membership, fed for years on the perversions of Leninism, has long since lost the faculty for independent thought. All that is left is to agree.

A Bewildered Membership
The truth of the matter is that as far as the majority of the party is concerned the latest turn, following upon the new line on social-fascism and the trade unions, has them bewildered. While not disagreeing with it (and how can they?) they are confused by it. Neither the lectures by Browder or Hathaway upon the subject, nor the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued two weeks after Browder's Washington speech, has cleared up matters. Some regard it as a new tactic to be used in winning the masses to Communism. Others see in it merely the same C.P. with the name changed to that of the Labor Party and that the backward American masses, who are not receptive to the ideology of Communism, will be fooled into it. Still others think it will be a coalition of all working class groups plus the trade unions dedicated to a policy of class struggle with the members of the C. P. playing the driving force within it. In all seriousness, from what can be gleaned from the resolution of the Central Committee, the idea of the change of name to sneak one over on the masses seems to be the one in favor.

The Basis of Reformism
In some vague and ambiguous manner the impression has been spread that by combining the political forces of the working class with the economic organizations a labor party can be forced which will combat the dictates of the capitalist class. This is a profound error. Under certain circumstances and at a given period in the development of capitalism, labor parties could wrest concessions from the ruling class who, at that stage, were able to grant them. During the period of the upward curve of capitalist development, the capitalist class, due to its unlimited opportunities and the enormous profits it was extracting from industry and from imperialist exploitation could afford to grant reforms: a reformist party was the medium through which this was obtained. The Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Labor Party in England are examples of such organizations.

Today, American finance capital is in the stifling embrace of the same chronic crisis that paralyzes the rest of the capitalist world. Capitalism is in its decay stage; the curve it is describing is downward, not upward. In order to continue making profits with the open market closed and the colonial world divided among the various imperialist powers it is necessary to unleash a campaign of wage cuts against the working class. Capitalism in this period will not grant reforms unless forced to do so by a militant proletariat. No reformist party can organize the proletariat for that struggle. In its decline capitalism turns towards fascism. For the struggle against fascism the proletariat needs a revolutionary party and not a reformist one.

Only a party with a revolutionary program can fulfill the historic and necessary tasks of the American proletariat. No reformist party can lead the struggle to overthrow American capitalism. To spread such a doctrine is to prepare the workers not for victory but for defeat. Against the agitation for a Labor Party the revolutionary-minded elements will counterpose the revolutionary Workers Party of the United States.

CHICAGO MEETING
April 13, Friday, 8 P.M.—"Do we Need a Labor Party?" Speaker: Albert Glotzer. At Douglas Blvd. Institute, 3222 Douglas Blvd. Auspices: W. P., West Side Branch.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

A. W., BRONX—
Question: Define the following: Imperialism, chauvinism, opportunism.

Answer: "IMPERIALISM is capitalism at that phase of its development in which the domination of monopolies and finance-capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired very great importance; in which the division of the world among the big international trusts has begun; in which the partition of all the territories of the earth amongst the great capitalist powers has been completed." (Lenin, "Imperialism")

CHAUVINISM is extreme nationalism or patriotism, and is usually spoken of by Marxists in contradistinction, implied at least, to the internationalism of the working class and its political movement. The word, itself, had its origin in a certain individual, Nicholas Chauvin Bonaparte, who acquired notoriety through his exaggerated and demonstrative devotion to the emperor and the imperial cause.

OPPORTUNISM, in a general sense, is the attempt to make immediate partial gains, of one form or another, at the expense of the historical interests of the class. The theory of "the partnership of capital and labor" is opportunistic since it tries to reconcile the workers to capitalism in the hope of securing temporary concessions.

Question: What have Marx or Engels to say on the theory of "permanent revolution" as against the theory of "socialism in one country"?

Answer: Marx and Engels did not have occasion to counterpose their INTERNATIONALIST position against any nationalist conceptions in quite this manner, since the theory of "socialism in one country" did not acquire the force in the labor movement it now has, since its introduction by Stalin in 1924. The founders of the revolutionary proletarian movement, however, literally color their writings with the red of internationalism, whenever they speak of the "permanent revolution".

As an example, in the "Address of the Central Authority to the Communist League", made as early as April, 1850, speaking of the relations of the party of the proletariat to that of the democratic petty bourgeois, they had this to say:

"The democratic petty bourgeois, far from desiring to overturn the whole of society for the revolutionary proletarian, strives for a change in social conditions which will make the existing society as endurable and comfortable as possible for him. . . . But these demands can in no way satisfy the party of the proletariat. While the democratic petty bourgeois wants to bring the revolution to an end as quickly as possible, and with the settlement at most of the above claims, it is our interest and our task TO MAKE THE REVOLUTION PERMANENT, until the proletariat has conquered the state power, and the association of proletarians, NOT ONLY IN ONE COUNTRY BUT IN ALL THE DOMINANT COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, has advanced so far that the competition with the proletariat in these countries has ceased, and at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians." (Emphasis ours.)

Allentown Gains In Sub Drive

Allentown last week had a score of 5%. This week the score stands at 38% and they are still going strong. This shows what can be done in the drive. Salt Lake City has forged ahead to 30 percent during the week. Cranford has entered the field with 2 subs, a worthy showing for the efforts of one individual.

Minneapolis has piled up a still larger score and promises further increased efforts in the next weeks. Davenport has made another increase in bundle orders. The big three—New York, Chicago and Philadelphia are still far behind. Chicago has promised a better showing in the near future. We are waiting to see it. But there is no excuse for such poor showing on the part of industrial centers of this type. They should be leading the way, since the opportunities for easy distribution are present in such places. We ask the comrades and friends in these sections to get busy at once. Get the subs and send them in—we will do the rest.

A donation was received this week from Comrade S. in Bangor, Pa. We need many more such to keep things going. Send subs and donations NOW to the Business Manager:

NEW MILITANT
2 West 15th St., N. Y. C.
SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

Left Wing Group Scores Gains In French Socialist Ranks

From the New Leader, organ of the American Socialist Party we copy the following tribute to the activities of the French Trotskyists:

"The Communists having declined to conclude a united front with the Trotskyists (!), the latter have joined the Socialist Party (of France: S.F.I.O.) where they function as a separate group and are conducting energetic propaganda. It is interesting to note that they publish a paper, Verite, with the following trade mark: 'Organ of the Bolshevik Leninists Within the Socialist Party.'"

"At a meeting of the Central Committee of the S.F.I.O. Pivert (leader of the 'Left wing') demanded, quite in the spirit of Trotskyism, the creation of an armed workers militia. And a break with the social-pacifist conceptions of legality, i. e. abandonment of political action and embracing of armed insurrection.

"In putting forward this demand the Left elements referred to the defeat of the 'Reformists' in Germany."

Influence Rapidly Growing
From other sources we have received further information on the activities of the Trotskyists. Their influence in the S.P. has grown rapidly, until almost every militant, in the Seine district at least, is a propagandist for their ideas. Their platform is advanced in every internal discussion in the party. Their press, La Verite, and their pamphlets have a wide circulation not only inside the party but outside as well (at public meetings, on the streets, at demonstrations. At a demonstration on Nov. 10, 800 copies of a special number of La Verite were sold in a few hours). In the principal sections of the Seine District of the S. P. Trotskyists occupy responsible posts and are at the head of practical work. They are the prime movers in propaganda and membership campaigns. They have taken a leading part in the creation and development of physical defense corps and military committees, the embryos of workers militias.

Trotskyist orators advance their slogans (program of action, militia, armament, general strike, etc.) at numerous public meetings. On occasions they even speak in the name of the Trotskyist faction. (At Drancy recently at a meeting of about one thousand militant workers called by Doriot, a Trotskyist presented the platform of the faction by invitation of the local S.P. section, at the same time another orator spoke for the official S.P.) An indication of the influence of the Trotskyists is the attendance at their forums. The last meeting of the Friends of La Verite was attended by over 400 militants while the Friends of Bataille Socialiste (Left Socialist Pivert group) drew only 80.

Resolution Adopted in Paris
In addition to direct mass work the Trotskyists have directed their energies toward influencing the left elements in the S. P. At the last Federal Council of the Seine in February a resolution containing the principle Trotskyist slogans was adopted by a majority. The left Trotskyists voted separately, a part voting with the Trotskyists.

The resolution contained the Trotskyist analysis of the present situation in France, called for the "United Front Toward Power", condemned "Parliamentary Cretinism", called for armament, militia, propaganda for the general strike, etc.

Marceau Pivert, one of the left Socialist leaders, defended the above resolution of the Seine District before the National Council of the party in an extremely hostile atmosphere (the N. C. was elected on the base of 1932 and does not reflect the real sentiment of the Party today), and raised goose flesh on the old hobby horse S. P. politicians when he spoke of militia, arms, and insurrection.

Since that time Pivert has moved further to the left, until he now advances the Trotskyist slogans openly in public meetings and in the S. P. paper Populaire.

Naturally these Trotskyist activities have raised a furore in the old guard of the S. P. Paul Faure, the National Secretary, expressed fear of a repetition of the Congress

of Tours (at this convention, held in 1920, the majority of the Socialist workers went over to Communism). He condemned the resolution of the Seine District, warning the party against Trotskyist "insurrectionalism". He said he could hardly recognize his own party any longer, so changed has its political face become.

Stalinists Furious
The Stalinists are in a regular frenzy. No longer able to crush Trotskyists by bureaucratic terror, they now devote scarce heads and long articles to "The Trotskyists Who Mean Nothing."

Maurice Thorez himself, the chief of the Stalinist Party, stirs out of his office to deliver speeches in which he warns the socialists that "the Trotskyists who mean nothing" wish to destroy the Socialist Party."

Recently a young militant, a follower of Pivert, who for a long time had remained merely a sympathizer, applied for admission to the Trotskyist group. His motive: "Since the last National Council," he said, "I have known that nothing more can be done with all that." "All that" being the apparatus of the S. P., Paul Faure and Co. It is significant that he came to the Trotskyists not when he wished to reform the S. P., but when he had lost all hope in the party and wished to go along toward the building of a new revolutionary party.

PHILADELPHIA.—More than three fourths of what was once a strong National Student League branch at Temple University has come out in support of the Workers Party and the Fourth International. Two have become members of Spartacus Youth League and two others are members of the Workers Party. Half a dozen more are heartily in sympathy with the program of the Workers Party. They have co-operated to a great extent with the Workers Party movement in Philadelphia by helping to sell literature, attending forums, widening the influence of the Workers Party in the city.

New Militants and New Internationals have triumphantly supplanted Daily Workers and New Masses. In the last two weeks over twenty-five New Militants have been sold to the student body. The entire radical and progressive student organizations such as Modern Prob-