

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT Published weekly by the Workers Party of the U.S. 3 West 16th Street, New York City Phone: ALgonquin 4-9066

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

JAMES P. CANNON Editor HARRY A. HOWE Associate Editor MAWTHORNE WINNER Business Manager

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

Vol. 1 SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1935 No. 21

Shades of 1914

Europe's laboring masses stand in danger of a new holocaust that promises to dwarf the world war of 1914-1918. Turbulent war preparations are going on behind the smoke-screen of propaganda; the counter-part, in 1935, of the wave of social-chauvinism which ushered in the imperialist slaughter of 1914.

Since the armistice, some hundred and thirty odd diplomatic conferences have been held—each having as its aim the reduction of armaments and the establishment of "greater guarantees of peace." The net result of this diplomatic merry-go-round: the greatest war tension since July 1914, the biggest peacetime armament budgets the world has yet seen.

At Genoa and Locarno, some credibility could still be given to the illusion of a "peaceful" settlement of capitalist conflicts. Under the impact of long years of the economic crisis and the political upheavals it has engendered, the whole conference system has collapsed. The latest meetings of the statesmen, at Stresa and at Geneva, proved that it is no longer possible to uphold the status quo established by the Versailles Treaty without resorting to direct and open warfare.

While France is meeting Hitler's challenge man for man and gun for gun, while England jockeys for position with its traditional hypocrisy—the masses in every country remain imbued with the strongest sentiments for peace. It is this most important factor that creates the sharpest discord in the martial concert of the imperialist war mongers.

For the working masses of Europe, the Soviet Union has ever been identified with the cause of peace. For revolutionists it has been axiomatic that the peace efforts of the workers' fatherland can be assured of success only when accompanied by the most resolute struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist governments in other countries. The Stalinist diplomats, pursuing a National-Bolshevik policy, have been finally forced to restrict the struggle for peace to a military pact with French imperialism. This Franco-Soviet pact, signed last week, the leaders of the Communist International now treacherously counter-poses to revolutionary struggle. Nothing can be more reassuring to the worried war-mongers in the Quai D'Orsay, in Downing Street and in every other foreign office.

"Mobilization of public opinion, so that war, if it comes, will be accepted with patriotic resignation, if not with enthusiasm," writes the sharp-witted correspondent of the New York Sun optimistically, "is now practically complete throughout Europe. The last organized propaganda agency against war—the Communist party—has been silenced on orders from Moscow. . . . Nothing is left of the old dread that war would be followed in most of Europe by popular revolt." (Mr. William Bird in the New York Sun, April 14.)

In these all too clear words, a representative of the bourgeois press has summed up the aspirations of the capitalist governments; the fulfillment of which they await with greater satisfaction and more certainty each succeed-

ing day. It cannot help but alarm every honest revolutionist to the seriousness of the situation. For, while the "mobilization of public opinion" may not be as complete as the Sun's correspondent believes, it is proceeding apace, with the direct aid of the social democratic and Stalinist parties.

A declaration of ten West European Communist parties completely falls in line with the Franco-Soviet pact, and stresses throughout only the danger of war from Hitler's Germany. L'Humanite, central organ of the Communist Party of France editorially urges support of the Franco-Soviet pact against the Third Reich, dressing it up as the 1935 model of the Black Sea Rebellion of 1919! But even more characteristic of this revolting turn from revolutionary struggle against the enemy at home to capitulation before the war plans of the Versailles robbers is the scandalous behavior of the French "United Front" in the Chamber of Deputies. We quote from the official record of March 15:

"M. LEON BLUM: . . . I am convinced, gentlemen, and I say it weighing my words, that in replying to aggression by Hitlerite Germany, all the workers of this country will rise to a man together with all other Frenchmen (Applause from the extreme left and the left, interruptions from the right).

"I say, gentlemen, all the workers, without having received in this respect any mandate from my Communist comrades who will, no doubt, explain their own stand from the rostrum (Interruptions)."

One expects the social democrat, Leon Blum, to repeat his social-patriotic performance of 1914. But he claims to speak for the Communists as well, and he challenges them to refute him. Here is how Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party, born in the struggle against social-patriotism, "refutes" Blum, the social-patriot.

"M. MAURICE THOREZ: . . . One can only express one's indignation against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists and other renegades from Communism who present the Franco-Soviet rapprochement as a bloc which may lead to war, while it is, under the present circumstances, an element of peace, a barrier against those imperialist states inclined to resort to force in order to proceed to a revision of the Versailles Treaty (Applause from the extreme Communist left)."

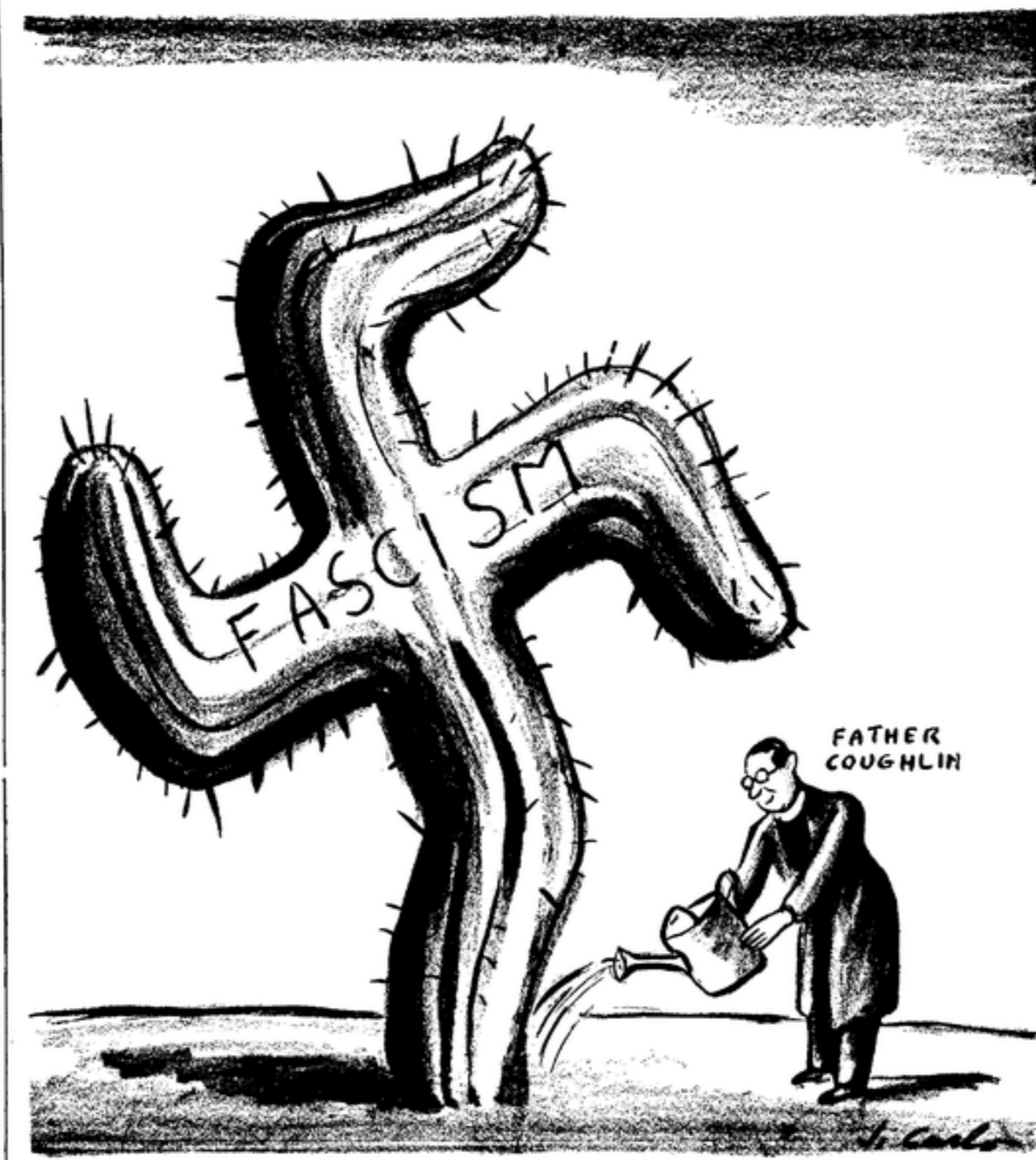
Instead of attacking Blum's outright stand for national defense, the Stalinist leader seizes the opportunity of attacking before the parliamentarians of bourgeois France, those who stand foremost in the struggle against social-patriotism. How little removed is such miserable behavior from the lynch incitements of the yellow socialists against the bold proponents of that uncompromising struggle which was headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in 1914?

It must be said without any mincing of words: the Stalinist and Socialist leaders are playing right into the hands of the war mongers! Under the cloak of a spurious defense of the Soviet Union, they are participating actively in a "mobilization of public opinion" that can serve no other interests than those of the capitalist governments.

The real defense of the Soviet Union, today as in 1917, can be achieved in only one way: In the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist governments.

The workers of the world cannot trust Franco-Soviet or Soviet-American pacts as long as at the helm of the government in France, or the United States, stand imperialist robbers who are ready at any moment to betray the confidence of their Soviet allies. The best defense of the workers' fatherland today is to spread far and wide among the toiling masses, counter-acting the virus of Social Democratic and Stalinist chauvinism, Liebknecht's old slogan: The Enemy Is In Your Own Country!

"The Shrine of the Little Flower"



War and the Franco-Soviet Pact

(Continued from Page 1)

is in our own country! We reject the treacherous formula of "peaceful" imperialists on the one side and "aggressors" on the other. No truce in the class struggle, no moderation of the class struggle for a single day! The answer to imperialist war is the workers' revolution!

But what about the defense of the Soviet Union? cry the venal lackeys of the Soviet foreign office who will turn into social patriots overnight. We answer: An imperialist power will never "defend" the Soviet Union; its agreement to do so is treacherous through and through; in the logic of the class struggle it cannot be otherwise. The only way for the workers in a capitalist country to defend the Soviet Union is to defend themselves against the imperialists at home.

That means to fight the war, to struggle from the first day to overthrow the capitalists and establish a revolutionary workers' government which would make a loyal alliance with the Soviet Union and, together with it, carry on the war against the capitalist nations. Woe to the French and American workers, woe to the labor movement of the whole world, if these simple precepts of Leninism are forgotten.

Can the Second International and the Comintern be depended on to arm and prepare the workers for this irreconcilable attitude toward their own imperialists in a war involving the Soviet Union? By no means.

The social patriotic position of the Social Democrats in the "democratic" countries is predetermined. They are already taking responsibility for the government in one "democratic" capitalist country after another. The social democrats of all countries will be ready to shoulder arms, or more correctly, to call the workers to shoulder arms, the moment the capitalist "Fatherland" is "attacked."

The policy of Soviet diplomacy, which has long since substituted a reliance on pacts with capitalist powers for the line of proletarian internationalism, and the servile acquiescence of the Comintern in this rotten policy, lead straight to the same conclusion.

The trumpet of uncritical approval with which the journalists of the Stalinist press greet the military agreement between the Soviet Union and capitalist France and their attempt, with utter cynicism, to pass it off as a revolutionary victory, sound the warning again in clearer, louder tones.

On the basis of the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country" and under the slogan of "Defend the Soviet Union" the Stalinists are preparing a new social patriotic betrayal.

The organization of the revolutionary struggle against the coming war depends entirely on the success of the movement to liberate the proletarian vanguard from the influence of Stalinism as well as Social Democracy.

The slightest taint of nationalism is fatal in the face of war. Those who, for any reason whatever, dally with the idea of a truce with the class enemy at home are certain to land in the camp of the jingoes when the real test comes. Without a thorough-going internationalist outlook a consistent opposition to imperialist war is impossible. And the first duty of the true internationalists is to unfurl their banner and organize their forces on an international scale, however few their numbers may be at the beginning. These are the great lessons of experience written in blood and fire in the last imperialist world war.

Those who have drawn the conclusions from the actual state of affairs in the international labor movement have proclaimed the necessity of a new International, as Lenin did in 1914. Swimming against the current, against unprecedented difficulties and complexities, against slander and poverty of resources—in spite of all the advocates of the Fourth International increase in strength and numbers. They, and they alone, are the real inheritors of the great tradition of Liebknecht and Lenin. They are the heralds of the revolutionary struggle against war precisely because they are the carriers of the only idea which can arm the workers for this struggle. Speed the day when the revolutionary internationalists of all countries will establish firmer relations among themselves and proceed with practical, concrete steps toward the actual formation of the Fourth International!

May First Sees United Front in Many Cities

Chicago

CHICAGO, May 1.—Several thousand workers braved the cold and the rain to celebrate May Day in a demonstration called by the Chicago Labor May Day Conference. The line of march stretching for a distance of four city blocks, marched a distance of a mile and a half from the city's West Side to Union Park, the scene of the Haymarket riot.

Headed by the Socialist red guard, carrying ten large red flags, the files included such organizations as the Socialist Party, the Cap Makers Union, the Leathergoods Workers Union, the Workers Party, the Spartacus Youth League, the Young Peoples Socialist League, the Workmen's Circle, the Workers Committee on Unemployment and many others.

The parade presented a colorful picture of flags, banners and slogans. The Workers Party file was headed by a large red banner with the white felt letters inscribed: Workers Party of the United States, Local Chicago. The Party and the Spartacus Youth League carried a number of posters containing the slogans of the W.P.

In the park an open air mass meeting was held in spite of a driving rain. Speakers for the trade union movement, the unemployed and the political parties spoke. Greetings were given by Spartacus Youth League, through its representative Al Garber. The Workers Party was represented on the speakers stand by Albert Glotzer, who proclaimed the need for the new revolutionary international, the 4th International.

Kansas City

By JEFFERSON RALL

KANSAS CITY, Mo., May 1.—In the most imposing demonstration of labor solidarity seen here in recent times, more than 600 workers gathered at Crusaders Temple, under the auspices of the Kansas City Group Conference, to celebrate May Day and to express their determined opposition to the war plans of the Roosevelt starvation government.

Representatives of a number of working class groups, including the Workers Party, spoke, exposing the reactionary base of the present administration, and how any solution the capitalist government would attempt to find could only mean increased misery and degradation for the masses. The plea for a fighting united front against the Roosevelt war preparations and for an improved standard of living and the 30 hour week met with an enthusiastic response from the audience.

As was to be expected, reactionary elements were at hand, attempting first to prevent the meeting, and to intimidate the speakers, warning that any "radical talk" would bring the wrath of the authorities down on their heads. The speakers indignantly refused to submit to this humiliating condition and proceeded to speak exactly as they had intended. Consequently, at the conclusion of the meeting, police entered and arrested three of the speakers, including a Negro worker from St. Louis who especially incurred the rage of the reactionary hooligans by his militant and courageous stand. Plans are being laid to defend the imprisoned workers.

In spite of the police terrorism, the May Day rally can be regarded as being exceedingly successful, considering the obstacles that stood in the path of its achievement. This success was due to the combined efforts of many labor organizations, all cooperating in an honest united front movement which included the Workers Party, the Communist Party, Socialist Party, American Workers Union (unemployed) and various other working class groups. Workers Party members played an important role in the preparation and conduct of the meeting. They established themselves as a genuinely constructive force. Copies of the New Militant and the May Day Manifesto of the Workers Party were widely distributed and met with much interest and a great deal of approval from the assembled workers.

Approximately 200 men are working in signed shops and a fine nucleus of real scrappers went back to open shops determined to carry on and prepare anew.

The dental mechanics have been away from the rest of organized labor long enough to realize that they made a serious error in not before affiliating to the largest body of organized labor. On the matter of moral and financial aid alone it would have been of enormous value for them to have belonged to the American Federation of Labor. That step must be taken now! One national union in the industry is the big question before us.

New Militants and New Internationals can be purchased at: NEWS EXCHANGE 29 So. Main Street, Akron CONFRECTIONERY STORE 1 West Market Street, Akron

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

Jobless Slugged at N. Y. Relief Bureau

NEW YORK.—The LaGuardia administration in New York is developing a new technique in speaking the militant demands of jobless men for the organized unemployed. Demands for relief are answered with the fists and boots of hired thugs.

Last Friday three members of the Workers Unemployed Union called to represent a fellow member in his demand for relief at the city relief station, 97 E. Houston St. The committee consisted of Isidor Harrison, Edith Storm and Morris Varon. They were successful in winning their demands and when they came down from the executive offices to a lower floor in the relief building they were set upon by about ten hired thugs who were "laying" for them.

Harrison and Varon were beaten and kicked so severely that they required medical attention. Miss Storm was badly shaken up in the fracas. Harrison is a brother of Charles Yale Harrison, author of "Generals Die in Bed."

The assault took place on city property with the customary policeman conveniently missing. Two guards who complacently stood by while the thugs were slugging the workers afterwards explained that "it was after four o'clock and we were off duty."

Uriah Heep? No, Abe Cahan!

We don't know whether Dickens is translated into Yiddish. But whether he is or he isn't Dickens has created a character by the name of Uriah Heep. This character has become a byword standing for everything sneaky or hypocritical. Perhaps the Jewish masses do not employ the name Uriah Heep in designating anyone as a hypocrite. It is quite possible they use the name Ab Cahan—and with at least as much justification.

Writing in the Forward of April 7, Mr. Cahan castigates with pious unctious the Day, a Jewish daily generally supporting the Democratic Party. The cause for this attack is the Day's criticism of Lang's anti-Soviet articles.

Says Mr. Cahan: "The strike (National Biscuit Co.) is now at its height and the Day publishes the company's advertisements regularly. The Forward, naturally (get that, naturally!) does not accept such advertisements." What vulgar hypocrisy. In the May 5 issue of the same Forward, edited by the same Mr. Uriah—beg pardon—Mr. Cahan there is a quarter page advertisement from the General Motors Co. advertising the latest model Chevrolet cars. "At the height of the strike," too. Need any more be said?

Federal Judge Sees Doom of Capitalism

When a Federal judge recognizes the possibility of the masses making mince meat out of capitalism it is a signal that things are going to happen.

John C. Knox, the dean of the United States Circuit Court, exclaimed before the Harvard Alumni Association that if Big Business continues its "insane policy of attempting to bully the nation into submission to its will," it may expect to hear a large part of the population saying: "To hell with capitalism and all its defenders!"

and he says ". . . thousands upon thousands of people who once had property and have it no more are not willing further to fight, bleed and die for the capitalistic system."

Who will say that this senile dog-eat-dog system is not in a bad way when a custodian of private property in the person of a Federal judge takes fright that the scissor-bills might refuse to get his belly ripped open for Andy Mellon's millions. A sad situation, indeed!

"Thank God," sighs the judge, "these people, of whom there are 20,000,000 or more have not become desperate, and I pray that they will not become so. But this much is certain—their minds have become fateful for the planting of dangerous doctrines."