

NEW MILITANT

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Terre Haute General Strike

The idea of a general strike of labor, throughout an industry or throughout a city, is, it is quite clear, no "foreign importation." It is the natural idea that develops in the minds of workers to the same extent that the spirit of class solidarity takes hold of them.

It would be the greatest error to draw the conclusion from the fact that all three general strikes ended without the demands of the workers involved being granted, that the general strike is not an effective weapon.

In the textile strike, the United Textile Workers Union leadership called off the magnificent movement which had the plants tied up, not at the moment when the strike was at an ebb, but while it was reaching new heights of strength.

The general strike is a tremendously powerful weapon, but not in and by itself. When it is directed and inspired by organized militants, who know what they want and how to go about getting it, the weapon becomes an invincible one.

United Front on Ethiopia

The decision of the Workers Party to send delegates to a united front conference of New York labor organizations against the imperialist designs of Mussolini upon the Ethiopian people, is in line with the whole position of our party.

We are compelled, however, to register a sharp disagreement with the action of the unit-

ed front conference, the initiative for which was taken by La Stamp Libera, a local Italian socialist newspaper. Our delegates to the conference proposed that an effort be made to broaden its scope and composition by inviting representatives of the Stalinist movement.

The decision of the conference is not only highly regrettable, but it is based upon two entirely erroneous premises.

A united front, while not an all-saving institution which can solve all the problems of the working class, is a tremendous step in advance for the labor movement.

Our attitude towards the Stalinists, their party, their program, their leadership, and their behavior in the general labor movement, is quite well known, and requires no repetition here.

The criticism of any united front movement must be directed primarily against those who declare themselves opposed to the inclusion of this or that group in the movement, and not against those who state their willingness to participate.

It was precisely such a fear of publicly and honestly having a correct policy counterposed to their policy, that dictated to the Stalinists for a number of years their criminal policy of "social-Fascism" and "united front only from below."

It does not speak well for the socialists controlling the New York united front in behalf of Ethiopia that they have picked up the not very odorous policy against which we were compelled to fight so vigorously when it was put forth for years by the Stalinists.

Greetings To The Vanguard

The comrades of the Workers Party of the U. S. greet and heartily congratulate the "Vanguard," official organ of the Workers Party of Canada, on its fourth highly successful appearance as an enlarged, bi-weekly paper fighting for the Fourth International.

or are participating in the building of the truly Marxian press can fully appreciate the tremendous difficulties which our comrades there have faced and overcome.

The latest issue of The Vanguard, July 15, carries the news that the publications of the Pioneer Publishing Co. have been barred the use of the Canadian mails, and pledges itself to do all in its power to "smash this dictatorial order."

Editorially, the "Canadian Approach" of J. S. Woodsworth, leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, is analyzed from the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism and exposed for what it is—an attempt to mislead the workers into believing that Canadian conditions are somehow different from those of other capitalist countries in the period of capitalist decline, and therefore that they need not turn to revolutionary poli-

cies, especially as doing this would provoke the capitalists into calling in the Canadian Hitler. Needless to say, the C.C.F. leader proposes no "solution" for the workers, ending up in the blind alley of social democratic reformism, as have similar attempts with an "American Approach" in the United States.

Marking another step in the practical internationalist collaboration of the two revolutionary parties of the North American mainland is the appearance in the last two issues of The Vanguard of a fortnightly column, United States Labor News Letter, by comrade Blake Lear of the W.P.U.S.

Surveying important news in the development of the labor movement and the counter-offensives of the Roosevelt administration, comrade Lear draws revolutionary conclusions as to their meaning for the American working class.

'Soc. Call' Whines At N.C. Decision

The new Norman Thomas-Hoan-Old Guard leadership of the Socialist Party, resulting from the "peace pact" between the N.E.C. and the New York Old Guard, found little cause for worry in the July 20 issue of the Socialist Call, organ of the leaders of the "Militant" socialists.

Instead of a clarion call to arms against the new combination and its program, the "Militants" contented themselves with what they termed "an objective, factual report," and a shamefully weak-kneed editorial.

The "objective, factual report" and the editorial gave, in actuality, little hint of the completeness and importance of the Old Guard victory. Instead the report devoted its leading paragraph and one headline to blazoning forth the meaningless minor concessions to the Y.P.S.L., and another headline to broadcast that "Attacks on Party Must Cease, Committee Declares" (why shouldn't they cease, now that Hoan and Thomas have made peace with the Old Guard?)

In contrast to the political clarity of the Old Guard, who in the words of the New Leader, declared that the "basic issue" was the definition of Communism, the report in the Socialist Call does not refer to this point at all except as it repeats the entire document.

With the publication of the eight-point "peace pact" in the form in which it finally was passed, the first point, the definition of Communism, is seen to be the most important point, being a decisive decision on a principled question, from which will flow the whole policy of the Socialist party.

The key paragraph in the editorial says: "The agreement, although aimed at solving the party crisis, solves no basic problem of discipline. It will fall of its purpose unless the Old Guard makes a sharp about-face and abandons the disruptive tactics hitherto practiced."

What is the purpose of the agreement? The editorial does not tell its followers that the agreement's objective function is to consolidate the majority to war against dissenters; hence the readers of the Socialist Call are left to accept the majority's own claim that the agreement is a peace pact.

What will the Socialist Call do now? The editorial says: "But such differences need not give rise to abusive or dictatorial practices. Our work to educate the membership to the principles of Marx will continue on the highest level and in a dignified manner. We are concerned with issues and not with personalities."

These sentences are not directed to their enemies, but to their own seething following. "Continue"—that means a continuation of the policies ("We must not make the paper a factional organ," "We can't write a program now," "We can't have a systematic caucus structure in the party," "We mustn't criticize those who are pretty close to us," etc. etc.) that led to the failure to build a Left wing and to the consequent debacle.

"Militants' Disdain Ranks" The "Militant" leaders have spoken through the columns of the Socialist Call, and have demonstrated the bankruptcy of their present policies.

The "Militants" on the N.E.C., Krueger, Daniel and Hapgood, took no principled position in opposition to the definition of Communism. Here was a splendid opportunity to plant beside the banner of reformism the banner of revolutionary Marxism and let the workers in the Socialist party judge under which one they wished to march.

Not content with achieving a bi-weekly organ, our comrades there are pressing a campaign for the establishing of The Vanguard as a weekly. Anyone wishing to help them in reaching even deeper masses of the Canadian workers may send contributions to the editor, Vanguard Publishing Assn., 320 Spadina Ave., Toronto.

Attention New Yorkers! PIONEER BOOK SHOP 96 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. Tel: AL 4-4950 Will Be Closed Saturdays During JULY and AUGUST Open Daily from 1 to 7 P.M.

'Militants' Capture YPSL Convention

Continued from Page 1 appeared before the resolutions committee to present the case of their organization. The committee adopted a motion of thanks to the Y.C.L. delegation and took no further action.

Breaking socialist precedent the convention was closed to the public and the press. So little was accomplished that the Yipsels, contrary to their plans, were unable to issue a press release.

The supporters of the N. Y. "Militants" controlled a majority of the convention. The other delegates were conservative Yipsels (of the Thomas-Hoan-Hoopers type). One delegate, from St. Louis, was the sole R.P.P.A.er there.

The characteristic "Militant" policy of evading programmatic questions and substituting for them organization measures, set the tone of the convention. The New York "Militants" won a majority on the National Committee. Three of the eleven members of the new committee are Right wing socialists of the type referred to above.

In addition the national office was taken over by the "Militants." On previous occasions the New York Yipsel organization came into conflict with the national office.

War Against Dissenters What is the purpose of the agreement? The editorial does not tell its followers that the agreement's objective function is to consolidate the majority to war against dissenters; hence the readers of the Socialist Call are left to accept the majority's own claim that the agreement is a peace pact.

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Y.C.L. Warns of 'Trotskyism'

Nevertheless, the delegation's work was not at an end. It had another task: to counteract "Trotskyist" influence. Weiss warned several "Militant" leaders to beware of the "Trotskyists." He cited a recent statement of a leader of the French Socialist youth that the "Trotskyists" are dangerous enemies of the working class who must be expelled from the movement.

The Stalinists are fearful of "Trotskyist" influence in the Yipsels. Many young socialists are sympathetic to "Trotskyism" even though they believe that their place is in the socialist movement. They have been inculcated against Stalinism though they are not yet ready to break with socialist Centrism.

The Revolutionary Policy Publishing Committee distributed a mimeographed statement to the delegates. They explained their position on the crisis in the socialist party, the decision of the National Committee and the actions of the "Militants."

The statement reads: "Although the situation appears bleak and nothing seems to bring hope, let us not despair. The principles for which Marx and Engels fought, for which our own Gene Debs carried on, call aloud for reaffirmation and adherence. We can go forward to a party that will not be the Left wing of the Roosevelt administration as the Right wing intends; nor a party that builds its hope and aspirations on the foundations of the sand and water of compromising, Centrist principles. Our party can still become revolutionary by fearlessly endorsing Left wing principles. Towards this end we of the R.P.P.A. believe that we have made contributions."

The statement further urges the Yipsels to consider the R.P.P.A. program and offers its press and teachers to the young socialists. The ineffectiveness of the R.P.P.A., leaving aside its programmatic position on many vital questions, is clearly shown by its weakness in the Yipsels, where a Left wing should have its greatest support.

The Yipsel convention revealed the true condition of the Yipsels and their "Militant" leadership. Until now dependent upon Thomas-Hoan-Hoopers, they did not carry their fight outside of New York City. Now they are out to capture posts. Program and policies on the burning questions of the day, those are put into the background. The result is not only the impeding of a Left wing development but the organizational stagnation of the Yipsels. Little effort is made to educate the ranks. Even the inadequate organization steps taken are done without the members understanding the reasons.

Genuine Left Wing Needed The results of the convention once again affirm the need for a revolutionary Marxian Left wing in the Yipsels. "Broad" and thereby ineffective—in a revolutionary sense—"Militant" groups are possible only by the refusal to adopt a program. The fraud of "unity at all costs" was revealed for what it is worth by the disruption of the bloc between the N. Y. "Militants" and Thomas-Hoan-Hoopers formed at the Detroit convention at the recent National Committee meeting of the S. P.

A Left wing which can make valuable contributions to the American revolutionary movement can be founded only on a revolutionary Marxian program, distinguished in theory and practice from all shades of reformism and Centrism.

It will not arise spontaneously out of "growing militancy" but only by the conscious efforts of Left wing socialists. The next step of revolutionary socialists, too long delayed, is the formulation of such a program and the constitution of a genuine revolutionary Marxian group.

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