

NEW MILITANT

Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

VOL. 1, NO. 41

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

WAR FLAMES SWEEP ETHIOPIA

Imperialist Robbers Bomb Helpless Natives As Second And Third Internationals Betray Proletariat Into New Slaughter

Bureaucrats Form Toledo Labor Party

Radicals Barred From All Influence in County Congress

TOLEDO, Ohio, Sept. 30.—Hiding behind the innocuous non-deplume of the Lucas County Congress for Political Action, the Toledo Central Labor Union and the Toledo locals of the Railroad Brotherhoods have blossomed forth into independent political action. With a conglomerate slate of politicians, supposedly friendly to labor, conservative union officials, and a couple of Socialists to provide a radical face, the Congress, which is completely dominated by the craft union officials, is attempting to gain control of the local city government in the next election as a "labor" ticket.

Boasting a program of various municipal reforms, the Congress is attempting to rally the support of organized labor, liberals and reformers.

The local union leadership is taking no chance that genuine radical influences will have any voice in the Congress, and is seeking to it that control remains solely in the hands of the local A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhood officials. Organizations like the Lucas County Unemployed League, and independent organizations like the M.E.S.A. and the Toledo Newspaper Guild were specifically excluded from representation in the Congress. The local Workers Alliance is included in the Congress as a "safe" organization.

Union bureaucrats, such as Otto Brach, secretary of the Toledo C.L.U., are backing the move, as they believe it will not compromise them with the old-time political machines with which they have been cooperating for years. Since the elections permit only "non-partisan" candidates, they feel safe in endorsing

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'Militant Socialist' Program Hedges on the Question of War

(By the Editorial Board)

A revolutionary program on which to unite: this for years has been, and still continues to be, the basic need of the left wing currents in the Socialist Party. This fundamental task has been constantly avoided by the "Militant" Socialist leaders, who are a heterogeneous combination which must break up once faced with the fundamental questions of working class theory and strategy. The first "Militant" program, hurriedly gotten up within a few days of the June, 1934 convention, was the work of a few individuals; it was quietly scrapped at the convention for the sake of an unprincipled alliance with Hoan and Thomas, and was never heard of again.

Now that their 1934 alliance has come to grief (which was a foregone conclusion, predicted by us a year ago, and did damage only to the potential left wing which was never built because of the alliance), the "Militants" are again under pressure to produce a program. Characteristically, the new program, again the work of one or two individuals, was presented at the recent "Socialist Call" Institute without any decisive action being taken on it; it was referred back to an editorial committee together with all comments and criticisms. Equally characteristic, the draft program has been distributed only to a select few; it has been published nowhere; the rank and file in the Socialist Party are in no way involved in a broad discussion of what the finished program should contain.

Yet only a very few months remain before the election of delegates to the next biennial convention of the Socialist Party! The "Militants" vacillate, while the Old Guard, having re-established its prestige by the capitulation to it of the N.E.C. majority, prepare to complete their victory at the convention. There is very little time left for the genuine left wing forces to gather strength for the struggle

Remember 1914! Down With Imperialist War!

Both Int'l's For League War Moves

Even as the first blood has been shed on the mountainous plateaus of Ethiopia, the two Internationals of betrayal, the Second and the Third, hasten to conclude the last terms of their pact with the bourgeoisie . . . they seek to surpass even the capitalists in their anxiety to push the workers whom they pretend to represent, into a new and bloodier slaughter. Both the Socialist and Communist parties of Britain demand—that their government apply sanctions against Italy . . . they can hardly wait for the blood bath.

The British Labor Party, the hope and glory of the Second International now that the German Social Democracy has been led into the pit, has just voted for war, twenty to one! George Lansbury, the aged pacifist leader of the Labor Party rose at the congress and said: "I cannot believe—nay it is impossible to believe—that there should be anyone in this assembly who could uphold the opinion that there could be a pretext—even that of counter-attacking—to throw bombs and deadly gas on the women and children of another race."

"I cannot see any difference between massacre organized by the League of Nations and massacre organized by the nations individually."

A Song and a Vote
Says the New York Post: "Thunderous applause and spontaneous shouts of 'For he's a jolly good fellow' greeted the seventy-six year old leader." Immediately afterwards the assembly voted twenty to one to support League Sanctions against Italy—to support the present agent of British imperialism, the League of Nations, in any measures it may take . . . not pledging to support, but urging the League to "take action." Thus lightly these jolly

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Revolutionary Policy Alone Can Defeat Imperialist War

STATEMENT OF THE THIRD PLENUM OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S., NEW YORK, OCT. 4.

1. The armies of Italian Fascism, after months of deliberate preparation, have now launched their attack upon the Ethiopian peoples. Driven by the intolerable strains of internal social and economic contradictions, Mussolini and the Italian bourgeoisie seek a solution in open imperialist aggression against the last of the independent nations of Africa.

2. The outbreak of war in Africa demonstrates that the conflicts of world imperialism have reached the stage of armed struggle for a re-making of boundaries, and a re-division of territories and colonial possessions. Though the Italian campaign in Ethiopia may not lead immediately and directly to a world struggle of the imperialist powers, this delay can prove no more than temporary. The war in Ethiopia must be understood as the prelude to the new imperialist world war.

Expose the Bandit League

3. In the preparation for the Italian seizure of Ethiopia, the League of Nations has once more demonstrated beyond any possible doubt its true role. The League is not in any sense whatever "the defender of peace." It is the legal and hypocritical cover for the maneuvering of the dominant imperialist powers. Since Ethiopia first invoked League assistance on December, 1934, the negotiations have served to permit uninterrupted preparation for the war by Italy, and to deter defensive preparation by Ethiopia. The League has been utilized above all to serve the ends of British imperialism. Behind its cover, the agents of Great Britain, France and Italy have haggle over the price in terms of treaties, guarantees, protection, and territories, which each was willing to pay to preserve its own interests. The threat of League sanctions has been made not to save Ethiopia—which the League report itself offered to sacrifice—but to safeguard British colonial possessions and lines of communication, and to try to close the opening for Germany in Central Europe. The League of Nations is the agency, not of peace, but of imperialist aggression.

The struggle against imperialist war demands the unremitting exposure of the role of the League of Nations.

4. No less than the European powers is U. S. imperialism bound by the iron chain of cause and effect to the events in Africa and to the new world conflict which they herald. The sentimental dream of U. S. isolation, Roosevelt's promises that the U. S. will remain "free and untangled," have no more force than the unctuous phrases of Wilson in 1916. The U. S. will, on the contrary, play the dominant and decisive role in the new imperialist struggle. Behind its pacifist covering, the Roosevelt government is pouring more funds into its war machine than any other nation in the world. Both navy and army are constructed on a purely offensive strategic basis. The U. S. bourgeoisie, waiting and preparing, expects to intervene in the later stages of the world struggle, when the other powers are mutually exhausted, to achieve the world domination of U. S. finance-capital.

The struggle against imperialist war is above all the struggle against U. S. imperialism.

Against Stalinist Betrayal

5. The U.S.S.R. cannot avoid implication in the world conflict. The very life of the workers' state is threatened by the approach of war. A central task of the struggle against imperialist war is the defense of the U.S.S.R. But, in the last analysis, this defense can be based only upon the revolutionary advance of the international proletariat. Stalinist diplomacy, on the contrary, to an ever increasing degree, serves solely to discredit the international proletariat, break up the struggle against imperialist war, and thus undermine the real defense of the U.S.S.R. Basing itself not upon the international working class, but upon military pacts with bourgeois states, upon diplomatic deals, appeals to pacifist and liberal anti-war sentiment, and the maneuvers of the League, Soviet foreign policy promotes the most disastrous illusions in the minds of the workers, and acts in effect to further the interests of French and British imperialism.

The struggle against imperialist war requires the constant exposure of the foreign policy of Stalinism.

6. One of the most dangerous illusions fostered by the diplomacy of the Soviet Union, in company with demoralized liberals, reformists, and pacifists of all shades, is the notion that the world is now divided between "peace-loving democratic" nations and "war-loving fascist" nations. This notion is part of the preparation for support of the "peace-loving nations" in the coming war. Marxism rejects and dispels this illusion or any form of it. The idea that there are peace-loving as opposed to war-loving capitalist nations, like the idea that one or another nation is "guilty" in an imperialist war, is at best formalistic ethical sentimentalism, not political realism. The causes of war are to be found in the internal structure of world capitalism, operating within all nations. The national state of every capitalist nation, without

exception, is the political instrument of the class enemy, the first and implacable enemy of that nation's proletariat. The revolutionary party can make no distinction between "good" and "bad" capitalist states. It is the enemy of every capitalist state, to the death.

7. At the outbreak of the last imperialist war, the Second International revealed its internal degeneration by betraying the working class to the class enemy, by espousing the cause of national defense and patriotism, by a truce with the bourgeoisie in the interests of "national unity," by going over to social-patriotism and social-chauvinism. Already, before the outbreak of the new war, the leaders of the Socialist and Labour International have announced a repetition of the betrayal, are already preparing to turn over their following to the war-makers. In England, the British Labour Party, by calling for government applied sanctions and the closing of the Suez Canal, once again takes the position of national unity—that is, solidarity with the class enemy—before the war danger, and of fully developed social-patriotism. In France, the leaders of the S.F.I.O. have taken the same position—to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie against "Hitler aggression," and now to "implement the League Covenant" by government sanctions. In August, the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labour International adopted a program of full-blooded social-patriotism.

The struggle against imperialist war means the struggle against the Second International.

Combat Social Patriotism

8. During the past year, the Communist International has passed from a policy which weakened and disoriented the revolutionary struggle against war to an active espousal of the policies of class truce and social-patriotism. By the Franco-Soviet Pact, the Stalin-Laval communique, the conduct of the Soviet Union in the League during the development of the Ethiopian crisis, and above all by the Seventh Congress of the C. I., the Communist International stands unmasked as the heir of social-democracy's betrayal on the issue of war, announcing itself as ready to do the hangman's job of turning over the proletariat of England, France and the U. S. to their national bourgeoisie in the coming war, in return for paper promises of protection for the borders of the Soviet Union. In England, the Communist party applauds the position of the Labour Party; in France, the Communist party supports enthusiastically the worst betrayals of Blum and Herriot; and throughout the world the Communist International prepares the sacrifice of the working class on the altar of imperialism.

The struggle against imperialist war means every where the relentless struggle against Stalinism.

9. Throughout the world the only organized forces conducting and advocating the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war are the parties and groupings of the Fourth Internationalists. The Workers Party of the U. S. carries on this struggle in the closest solidarity with its comrades in all countries.

Against the betrayers, the Workers Party rejects every form of social-patriotism and social-chauvinism; it rejects every conception of national unity and national defense; it rejects all ideas of truce with the bourgeois state, democratic or fascist; it exposes the role of the League of Nations as the pawn of the imperialist member states; it rejects the sentimental illusions of pacifists and petty bourgeois liberals; above all it directs its attacks against the enemy at home, against U. S. imperialism.

The Workers Party places no reliance on the "peaceful" intentions of bourgeois-democratic nations, nor upon spineless "united fronts" of liberals, ministers, bourgeois women's clubs and "anti-war" professionals.

Defend Ethiopian People

The Workers Party calls for the defense of the Ethiopian peoples against Italian aggression, for the defense of the U.S.S.R., for unremitting struggle against the coming imperialist war. But for this defense and this struggle, the Workers Party calls at the same time for the sole means by which they can be, in fact, conducted: for the independent and autonomous action of the working class. It is the international working class, especially the Italian working class, together with the oppressed colonial peoples, who are the true allies of the Ethiopian peoples—not "peace-loving" Britain, nor the League of Nations, nor Stalin-Laval, nor Roosevelt, nor their own Christian Emperor and semi-feudal chieftains. It is the independent sanctions of the working class, its own boycotts, strikes, defense funds, mass demonstrations that can aid the battles of the Ethiopian peoples, not the sanctions of finance-capital and its puppet states. And likewise for the defense of the U.S.S.R. and the struggle against the approaching world war, it is only the independent action of the working class together with its allies under its leadership which gives hope to the working and exploited masses—a struggle not in collaboration with the bourgeoisie through the

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Bombs Rain On African Mud hovels

The Ethiopian butchery begins with the corpses of hundreds of native men, women and children torn to pieces by bombs rained down on the helpless and poverty stricken hovels of Adigiat and Adowa. The great civilizing mission of the modern Caesar begins with his Italian son-in-law dropping T.N.T. from planes on the uncivilized natives to give them a first lesson in the amenities of capitalist culture. And the torn and broken bodies of the first victims in this senseless war, killed in cold blood without chance of reply, are the first lessons in civilization.

With machine guns, artillery, tanks, and airplanes the "courageous" Italian generals advance against a practically unarmed horde of natives swarming to the defense of those rights for which thousands of Chinese, thousands of Indians, of Mohammedans, of Boers, of Africans, have given up their lives in the last century—the right of national peoples to live outside the crushing yoke of British, French, Italian, and American imperialism.

The first reports indicate that the Ethiopians are retreating before the Italian advance, concentrating around the town of Adowa, scene of one of the only successful stands against an all-embracing imperialist civilization in the history of the last century, in 1898—to make another attempt to beat off the Italian Fascist vampires.

The outcome of the war does not depend upon the fortune of individual battles but upon the staying power of the Ethiopians. If they can keep the field, constantly harass the Italian army, retreat without engaging in hopeless battles, split the Italian army and fight it in pieces, they can exhaust not only the army, but more important the Italian nation and the Fascist regime, which embarked on this war, in the first place, as a last resort to bolster a tottering economy and an explosive political situation.

N.P.L.D. Aids Cuban Workers In Struggle against Terror Rule

A terrible picture of the terror waged against the Cuban masses by the American-controlled dictatorship, and an appeal to American trade unions for solidarity against their common oppressors, is contained in a letter just received by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense from the Committee Pro-Amnesty for Social and Political Prisoners, on which is represented every important political and trade union organization of Cuba, including the Havana and National Federations of Labor, the Communist party, the Bolshevik-Leninist party, and the National Revolutionary party of former president Grau San Martin.

In response to this letter, the N.P.L.D. has appointed a special Committee on Cuba, of which Anita Brenner, well-known writer on Latin America, is chairman. A campaign to aid to the struggle for amnesty has been launched.

The letter gives a graphic picture of the Cuban terror: "After the strike last March, the entire police-system of the Government plunged into systematic persecution of all revolutionary parties and trades-unions. Not a single workers' headquarters was left open. Every labor party and trade union was outlawed. Arrests and sentences by emergency tribunals marked the conclusive blow of this bloody Thermidor. Thousands of workers, students and intellectuals were given sketchy trials, and monstrous sentences. The mere suspicion of having taken any part what-

Iron Workers Victorious in Minneapolis

74 Day Battle in Which Two Were Killed Comes to End

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The 74-day strike selge of the Minneapolis metal workers centering around the Flour City Ornamental Iron Works has come to a victorious conclusion. During this memorable battle the bosses and the Farmer-Labor city administration tried every single trick known to labor haters, everything from "conciliation" to the outright murder of union men. The union has stood firm through a barrage of paid advertisements in the yellow press, injunctions from the lackey courts, strikebreaker thugs and gunmen, police in armored cars, "impartial boards," red scares, etc.

Several weeks ago two workers were killed and many wounded when the Farmer-Labor mayor ordered his lawless police to attack the pickets, after many unsuccessful attempts to open the factory with scabs had been defeated by their vigilance. But this provocation, like all others, only reinforced the strikers' determination to win and enlisted the sympathy of the whole working class of Minneapolis.

Then Mayor Latimer tried another attack, setting up what became his Employer-Employee board, a pale attempt to mask reactionaries and labor fakery as impartial arbiters.

Terms of Agreement

Cutting through all red tape the strikers negotiated with the real forces, the Citizens Alliance in the person Mac Aloon. The agreement concluded provides for the return of all strikers to their former positions; for wages close to the unions original demand varying from 45 to 67 cents per hour; for the forty hour week; time and a half for overtime, etc. The agreement may be reopened anytime during the next thirty days—men discharged before the strike for union activity are to bakers' union, Crescencio Freire, be reinstated. The settlement covers

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soever in the strike was punished by jail terms of years. Any accusation, proved or unproved, made by any police agent anxious to gain rewards and credits, was enough, before the Emergency Tribunal, to condemn the accused. In Santiago de Cuba young Jaime Greinstein (tried under the name of Angulo Terry) was condemned, with no concrete proofs against him, and ordered shot. This was done in order to terrorize and silence the protests of a people not satisfied to be the eternal sacrificial lamb. The simplest, most rudimentary civil rights—free speech, free assembly, and so on—were destroyed with machine guns, machetes, and inquisitorial trial-and-sentence methods.

Savage Persecutions
"These methods are functioning still. The Reaction follows an ascending curve of refinement in the savagery of its persecution. Recently our comrade Georgina Gutierrez, member of a workers' party, died in prison after weeks of agony. She died a victim of the sentence imposed on her by an Emergency Tribunal, with no concrete proofs against her. Our brave militant Francisco Mateo Escalona was virtually murdered, dying from the beatings and tortures inflicted by the police. Comrade Naftali Pernas, of the Directory of the University, was savagely tortured after his arrest. Comrades Ramirez Cosio and Pablo Cano are ill in their cells, victims too of mistreatment and torture. A devoted leader of the

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