

Comments
On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH
MEN OF GOD . . .
President Roosevelt appeals to the clergy for advice in solving the nation's social and economic problems and for its opinion regarding his Social Security legislation.

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY . . .
"Dollar diplomacy is no longer recognized by the United States government," piously proclaims President Roosevelt. . . .

PREVAILING WAGES . . .
Bitter strikes of relief workers in New York, Pennsylvania, Alabama and elsewhere were necessary to establish prevailing wage rates on WPA projects in opposition to the President's "security" wage scale. . . .

JURISPRUDENCE . . .
Fifty-six patriotic lawyers, handsomely paid by the Liberty League, have prepared a \$100,000 brief which has been sent to 4,500 corporations and which will enable any third-rate local lawyer to obstruct the operation of New Deal labor legislation. . . .

Brownsville Lecture
"The Seventh Congress of the Communist International"
Speaker: James P. Cannon
Friday, Oct. 11th, 1935—at 8 P.M.
1776 Pitkin Avenue—near Stone

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WAR AND THE "MILITANT" SOCIALISTS

Purposely Vague Program Sows Many Dangerous Illusions Among Workers Ranks

(Continued from Page 1)
cialist masses into the imperialist camp—this lays a special responsibility upon a group claiming to be revolutionary Socialists to break, in the fullest and most concrete terms, with the perfidious war programs of the Socialist parties. There is another and equally important reason why left wing Socialists are under obligation to treat fully and adequately the war question: that is, that since the World War various Socialist groups, while remaining essentially in the same camp with the patriots, have developed a multitudinous variety of confusing formulations which obscure their real position. A left wing program worthy of the name would have to distinguish itself from these and break with them. We shall deal with these below.

But it is precisely in order not to settle the question, that it is dealt with so summarily. Brevity is employed here only to obscure the fact that the "Militants" include anti-revolutionary elements—pacifists of all shades, not to mention a few social-patriots. Let us list some of the fallacies of the "Militant" program.

1. No mention of pacifism. No hint of the yeoman's work for imperialism contributed by the pacifists in the last war, and undoubtedly to be repeated again. We refer not only to the fact, so clearly established by the last war, that pacifists go over to the war-makers and put their past prestige at the service of war. We refer also to the fact that "social-pacifism," as exemplified by Adler and Kautsky, renders impotent sections of the masses who would be untouched by the outright patriotism of the Vanderveldes and Scheidemanns. Not a word of this in the "Militant" program. Who among yourselves are you shielding, "Militant" leaders?

2. No mention of progressive wars. Revolutionists are not only not pacifists because pacifism is impotent before imperialist war; there is also the positive fact that a revolutionary war is just as much a means of proletarian policy as an uprising. We support unreservedly the wars of workingclass states against capitalist states; we support the wars of colonial and semi-colonial peoples against their imperialist oppressors. Especially is it important for left wing Socialists to enunciate this doctrine, in the face of the myriad forms by which Socialist parties in the imperialist

countries either actually participate in oppressing colonies (British Labor Party, German Socialism, French Socialists of the coalition cabinets, etc.), or make freedom of the colonies contingent on socialism in the home country. The colonial question is closely bound up with the theory of the state; whoever does not declare his support of colonial wars has scarcely approached the Marxian theory of the nature of the state.

3. No hint of the policy of "revolutionary defeatism." One of the greatest theoretical contributions of the October Revolution was the policy of preparing for it by working for the defeat of Czarist Russia, through disintegration of the army, sabotage, etc. Defeat in war undermines the prestige of the capitalist class and facilitates its overthrow; by that token, "revolutionary defeatism" becomes a necessary working class policy in war. "If a war breaks out," says the "Militant" program, the Socialists "will continue to fight it." But these are radical words; but any bourgeois pacifist can and does use them. One of the chief distinguishing marks between pacifists and revolutionists is the declaration for revolutionary defeatism.

4. No hint that the workers' revolution is the answer to imperialist war. We do not refer here to the general doctrine that only socialism will put an end to war; that doctrine is perfectly acceptable to the most pernicious pacifists who infest the working class. We refer here to the doctrine that, as Lenin declared, the slogan of revolution by turning the imperialist war into civil war, becomes the chief slogan of the revolutionary party once war begins; that the war, creating the immediate possibilities of the defeat of the given nation, puts the revolution on the order of the day; that, above all in the midst of war, the revolution must obviously take the form of stark civil war. Not a hint of all this from the "Militants." All we get from them is the very abstract statement that they "will take advantage of the mass opposition to war to work for Socialism," etc. Since presumably they also take advantage of mass opposition to the various forms of capitalist oppression in peacetime, "to work for Socialism," there is here no hint of the uniqueness of the opportunity created by war which, when combined with defeatism, actually puts the revolution on the order of the day.

5. No clarification of the question of "national defense." The program declares its opposition to it, and this, taken in conjunction with the previous sentence, which finds no reason for supporting a capitalist government in war under any conditions, undoubtedly takes the "Militants" out of the class of the masked chauvinists like Otto Bauer, Dan and Zyromski. But since these latter also declare themselves against national defense and simultaneously support French imperialism against Germany; since the Socialists do likewise and yet disclaim the doctrine of national defense, it has become impossible to

Shachtman on National Tour

Comrade Max Shachtman, editor of The New Internationalist, begins a coast to coast tour on October 15, which will last until December 13 and cover almost every branch city in the country. He will speak on various current topics, the Seventh Congress of the C. I., the War Danger, the Road to the Fourth International, etc., etc. With him will go Comrade Wasserman of the Pioneer Press, who will aid in drawing up plans for literature

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A. F. L. CONVENTION REPORT IN NEXT NEW MILITANT
For a complete report of the A. F. of L. convention, shortly to begin in Atlantic City, N. J., get a copy of the next issue of the NEW MILITANT. We expect to have a reporter present at the sessions, who will give the NEW MILITANT readers a first-hand account of the convention.

use the term, "against national defense," without explicitly and by name differentiating oneself from the Bauers and Zyromskis on the one hand and the Stalinists on the other. The omission of this explicitness is not accidental; last year, the "Militants" (represented by Krueger) united with the Bauers and Zyromskis in a so-called international left wing; they still lean on these chauvinists internationally; they fear to break openly, fundamentally, with these treacherous pseudo-revolutionists. But those who will not break with chauvinists in peacetime, will scarcely do so in war. They might have included in their program a categorical statement that, in the event of a military alliance between America and the Soviet Union, they would expose the treacherous aims of the U. S. and seek to replace the capitalist state by a workers' regime which alone could make a loyal alliance with the Soviet Union. Why did the "Militant" leaders omit this? Why did they stick to the generality which also covers Zyromski and Bauer? Note that the "Militants" do not even include a specific denunciation of the doctrine of "defense of democracy against fascist countries" under which the pseudo-lefts of European social democracy hide their chauvinism. In this connection, note that the "Militants" description of the present war danger, where it becomes concrete, lists only the activities of Germany, Japan, Italy, precisely the "bad" capitalist powers singled out by Socialist and Stalinist chauvinists, and does not mention the equally war-like activities of France and Great Britain, to say nothing of the most rapacious of all the imperialist powers, the United States.

SILENCE ON OTHER SOCIALIST BETRAYALS

6. No exposure of other Socialist opponents of a revolutionary policy on war. Especially with the rise of fascism, and the consequent crisis within the social democracy, there have arisen numerous centrist shadings: Henri de Man's followers put forward economic "plans" which, if the bourgeoisie will support, they will repay by defending the fatherland from fascist countries. Swiss, Czech-Slovak and other Socialists talk about the "special case"—as do the Stalinists too since the Seventh Congress—of "small countries" which Socialists should defend—as if there were a small country in Europe which is not part of one or another imperialist war machine! There is the religious pacifism of Lansbury in England—which is so unobjectionable to the outright chauvinists that they insist he remain chairman of the Labor Party!—and which so pervades the Socialist Party here. None of these, allies of the imperialists, are criticized by the "Militant" program.

THE "GENERAL STRIKE" MYTH

7. We have dealt with six major aspects of the war program as if they were sins of omission. Actually they constitute a program on war which is false in its essential aspects. The failure to mention pacifism and progressive wars, the omission of the doctrines of revolutionary defeatism and civil war, the avoidance of criticism of the various false Socialist war programs—all this necessarily flows from the utter falsity of the slogan enunciated by the "Militants" of working "for a general strike to paralyze

Program of the "Militants"

(Extracts from the new program presented at the Socialist Call Institute at Bound Brook, N. J.)
"The World War was not an accidental occurrence, but was a logical, an inevitable outcome of imperialist rivalries. The imperialist world aligned itself into two camps, with Great Britain and Germany heading them. The war was not fought for "democracy," for the "rights of small nations," or for "civilization." It was fought for territory, for markets, for sources of raw materials, and for fields for investments—in short, to determine which group of imperialists was to dominate and exploit the world and its toilers.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1933

Of the New Militant, published weekly at New York, N. Y. for Oct. 1, 1935. State of New York, County of New York.

MYTH VERSUS REALITY

It is part of the very definition of a war situation that proletarian resistance has been broken by propaganda, betrayal by leaders, passivity etc. Part of the preparation for war is the destruction of potential resistance by the workers. That there is a war danger today means that the German and Austrian labor organizations have been smashed, and that with the aid of Stalinism and the Socialist chauvinists the workers of England and France have been made ready to support "their" democratic governments. No imperialist nation would dream of war until this necessary precondition of disintegrating proletarian opposition had been fulfilled. Hence pacifist talk of a general strike to "paralyze the conduct of the war" is sheer poppycock.

LEFT JABS

CHAMPION OF TWO WORLDS . . .
Joe Louis' jabbing left and powerful right not only left Max Baer kneeling on the canvas last Tuesday but incidentally knocked out "God." Yes Sir, Father Divine, "God" to thousands of his dupes and leading C. P. United Front, has been knocked clean out of his position as chief Stalinist hope for gaining a foothold in Harlem and replaced by Joe Louis himself. The Daily Worker is ready to make a "people's front" broad enough to include Mrs. Hearst's Milk Fund in support of the fight racket if only they can bask for a moment in the reflected glory of Louis' powerful mitts.

PEOPLE'S FRONTS . . .

Since the French Stalinists have formed the People's Front and enrolled as comrades in arms no less than two former French Premiers, Herriot and Daladier, there has been keen competition among the Stalinists in the U. S. to see who would be first to organize a similar "People's Front" in the U. S. Oligo, not content with the same, sent up a trial balloon for a united people's front with Hoover. Considering the scarcity of ex-Presidents in the U.S. as compared with ex-premiers in France, that was a bold step by Oligo. Its failure should not be held against him. It was a good try but, as they say in baseball, the breaks were against him. Next came Browder in his famous interview to the World-Telegram where he issued a cautious bid to Roosevelt. Spurred to action by these attempts of the leaders, the lesser bureaucrats were on their toes and it was not long before a real "People's Front" was in the bag.

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(Seal.)
(My commission expires March 30, 1936)

PARTY AT WORK

The Washington, D.C. branch is offering splendid cooperation to Arnold Johnson, the Secretary of the National Unemployed League, which has recently moved its headquarters from Columbus, Ohio, to Washington. A committee to contact persons who may be able to help in setting up a Research Bureau of the N.U.L. and another committee to help with the preparations for the coming N.U.L. convention, has been set up. The Organizing Committee of the branch reports activity and the Educational Committee is making plans for a study class, a forum and a party mass meeting.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

The Utica, N. Y., branch plans to open its own headquarters on Oct. 1 and shortly thereafter will initiate an open forum.

Progress is being made in Los Angeles in setting up a sub-committee of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee. The Socialist Party and Y.P.S.L. are cooperating and the indications are that other groups will also join the local committee.

THE ROLE OF ZAM

Let no one be under the illusion that the "Militant" program at this point merely suffers from unclarity, and that when they write "general strike" they really mean revolution. The fact that Zam, the ex-Lovestoneite, had a hand in writing the program, alone precludes such a possibility; Zam knows better; but he has adapted himself to the non-revolutionary views of the "Militant" centrists who are, largely, still no further advanced than the pacifist Devere Allen on the war question. In thus adapting himself, Zam rendered a disservice to those "Militants" who honestly seek the right road, and produced a program which is a mockery of the name "revolutionary."

NOTE: Next week we shall discuss the trade union section of the new program of the Socialist "Militants."

Let the honest Socialists, however, ponder on the lessons of the October Revolution and read Lenin on war. They will find our criticism of the "Militant" program, sharp as it may seem, justified to the hilt.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1935