

Expel 13 Bolsheviks From S.P. of France

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as undisciplined by the Bureau of the Party are also considered by the bourgeoisie to be a violation of social discipline within bourgeois society!"

Fourth in the list of the crimes of the Bolshevik-Leninists are their articles on the events of Brest and Toulon which were greeted by the Stalinists and Socialists as acts of "provocation" and by the Bolshevik-Leninists as symptoms of the sharpening of the class struggle. "We maintain," they declared, "that at a time when the fires of revolution are being lighted, that at a time when the workers rise in their might, arms in hand, against the state forces of repression, to give the miserable explanation that all this is the provocation of 'suspicious elements' instead of a Marxist constitution outright treason! A simple comparison of extracts from the bourgeois press and from the Populaire and l'Humanite suffices to confirm our charges."

Agitated for Fourth International
Finally, the Bolshevik-Leninists are indicted for the crime of agitating for and publishing an appeal for the formation of the **Fourth International**. On this subject an earlier leaflet of the Bolshevik-Leninist group made the position perfectly explicit. "Partisans of the Fourth International? We have never concealed that for a single moment. When we entered the Socialist Party it was perfectly well known that we considered neither the Second nor the Third Internationals to be instruments of the struggle of the proletariat and that an international regrouping of working class fighters on a revolutionary basis was on the order of the day."

Appealing to all revolutionary elements in the Socialist Party to resist the expulsion of the left and to expose the reactionary policies of the bureaucracy, the Bolshevik-Leninist group declared:

"Expelled or not, we shall continue our policy of revolutionary regrouping. Expelled or not, while war thunders, we shall fight patriotism and chauvinism in the workers' ranks."

"Expelled or not, we shall fight to face the Fascists with something better than pitiful invocations! We shall fight to build the people's militia which alone can smash the Fascist leagues."

"Expelled or not, we shall fight to orient the popular masses along the lines of the class struggle, for the revolution, for a workers and peasants government and to prevent the Front Populaire from ending up in a government of class collaboration with the Radical traitors."

The thirteen expelled leaders are comrades Hic, Frank, Rous, Rousset, Gerard, Melchior, Martin, Moliner, Van Naville, Rigal, De Vreycere and Danno.

A few days after the expulsions, comrade Rous, who was a member of the Permanent Administrative Committee of the Socialist Party, was asked to leave the session of that committee. Comrade Marceau Pivert solidarized with Rous. A discussion followed which showed that the ferment is having its effects even in the topmost rungs of the Socialist Party. In reply to the attack of the bureaucrats, Rous demanded a national congress to decide the question of the party's attitude toward war, to answer the following question: "Is it or is it not a violation of discipline to be an implacable enemy of national defense, to work for the defeat of the bourgeois government?"

S.P. Central Committee Splits
The reply was a motion to exclude comrade Rous from the meeting of the C.A.P. Among those who voted for it were Zyromski and Descountieux, members of the "left" Battalion Socialiste which is Stalinist and therefore thoroughly social patriotic in its tendency. But a minority motion which secured the votes of seven members, all of whom with the exception of Marceau Pivert are anything but Bolshevik-Leninist sympathizers, showed that a process of differentiation is taking place even at the summit of the Socialist bureaucracy.

Allies of the French Bolsheviks

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The Theoretical Origin of Social Patriotism

THE SOURCE

Called from Leon Trotsky's immortal classic, "The Criticism of Fundamentals: the Draft Program of the C. I." which exposed the foundation of Stalinist degeneration, the following section showed as far back as 1928 how the revisionist theory of "Socialism in One Country" led inevitably to social patriotism. This prediction, considered at the time of its presentation to the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern to be an academic deduction, especially in view of the solemn pronouncements of the Congress in favor of revolutionary defeatism, needed hardly seven years and another Congress of the C. I. to find its confirmation in life itself and in the official minutes and resolutions. Indeed, so true has this prediction become that the official organ of the French Communist Party speaks ad nauseum of the need to defend French culture and patrimony, as the inheritance of the working class alone, against German invasion. A casual glance at the Daily Worker will reveal a similar and probably more obnoxious social patriotic propaganda.—Ed.

By LEON TROTSKY

The principle question raised in the quoted passage, namely, THE CONCEPTION OF BUILDING UP OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY AS A SOCIAL PATRIOTIC CONCEPTION was undoubtedly formulated correctly. The patriotism of the German social democrats began as a patriotism of their own party, the most powerful party of the Second International. On the basis of highly developed German technique and the high organizational abilities of the German people, the German social democrats were bent on the construction of their "own" socialist society. If we leave aside the die-hard bureaucrats, careerists, parliamentary sharpers and political crooks in general, the social patriotism of the rank and file social democrats was a result of precisely in the building up of German socialism. One cannot think that the hundreds of thousands of rank and file social democrats—let alone the millions of rank and file workers—wanted to defend Hohenzollern and the bourgeoisie. No. They wanted to defend German industry, the German railways, a highways, German technique and culture and especially the organizations of the German working class, as the "necessary and sufficient" national prerequisites.

A similar process took place also in France. Guesde, Vaillant and thousands of the best rank and file party members with them, and hundreds of thousands of rank and file workers in general believed that precisely France with her revolutionary traditions, her heroic proletariat, her high culture, her flexible and talented people was the promised land of socialism. Old Guesde and the Communist Vaillant, and with them the thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers did not fight for the bankers or the rentiers. They sincerely believed that they defended the basis

and the creative power of the coming socialist society. They proceeded entirely from the theory of socialism in one country and made sacrifices to this idea, believing that "temporarily" this was international solidarity.

The comparison with the social patriots will of course be answered by the argument that patriotism in relation to the Soviet States is a revolutionary duty whereas patriotism in relation to a bourgeois state is treachery. This is surely so. Can there be any dispute on this question among grown-up revolutionists? But this incontrovertible idea becomes, as we progress more and more, a scholastic cover for deliberate falsehood.

Revolutionary patriotism can be only of a class character. It begins at patriotism to the party organization, to the trade union, and rises to national patriotism when the proletariat has captured power. Wherever the workers have power patriotism is a revolutionary duty. But that patriotism must be an inseparable part of revolutionary internationalism, the invincible conviction that the main class aim, even less so than partial aims, cannot be realized by national means or within national boundaries, constitutes the heart of revolutionary internationalism. If, however, the final aim has been realized within national boundaries by the efforts of a national proletariat then the backbone of internationalism has been broken. The theory of the possibility to realize socialism in one country destroys the inner connection of the patriotism of the victorious proletariat with the defeatism of the proletariat of the bourgeois countries. The proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries is still on the road to power. How and in what manner it will march toward it depends fully and entirely on the question as to whether it considers the building up of socialist society a national or an international task.

If it is at all possible to realize socialism in one country then one can believe in that theory not only AFTER the conquest of power but also "prior" to it. If socialism can be realized within the national boundaries of backward Russia then there is the more reason to believe that it can be realized in advanced Germany. Tomorrow, the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany will surely bring forward this theory. The Draft Program empowers them to do so. The day after tomorrow the French party will have its turn. That will be the beginning of the downfall of social patriotism. The Communist Party of any capitalist country which will have become imbued with the idea that its particular country possesses all the "necessary and sufficient" prerequisites for the independent construction of a "complete socialist society" will in substance in no respect differ from the revolutionary social democrats who also began not with Noske but who definitely stumbled on August 4, 1914 on this very same question.

If they say that the very existence of the U.S.S.R. is a guarantee against social patriotism because in relation to a Workers' Republic it is a revolutionary duty, in this one-sided utilization of a correct idea is expressed national narrow-mindedness. Those who say so have in mind only the U.S.S.R., closing their eyes to the entire proletariat of the world. To lead the proletariat to the idea of defeatism in relation to the bourgeois state is possible only by an international orientation in the program on the main question and by a merciless resistance to social-patriotic contraband which seeks to establish a theoretical nest for itself in the program of Lenin's International.

(From "Criticism of Fundamentals: The Draft Program of the C. I." Submitted July 1928. Pp. 72-75.)

LAKE CHARLES, La. (FP).—Machine gun bullets protecting scab operations in several gulf ports closed by striking International Longshoremen's Assn. members, killed three men, injured at least eight, opened one port and forced Gov. O. K. Allen of Louisiana to call a 3-day truce while port authorities and union officials sought an agreement.

The Machine Is A Communist

Industry Idle to Keep Parasites in Power Cost Workers Three Hundred Billion in 1930-34 -- The High Cost of Capitalism!

By HILDEGARDE M. SMITH

There is proof enough in just one circumstance that Roosevelt and his New Dealers are insincere about their advocacy of "a more abundant life." That circumstance is their utter ignoring of their own "National Survey of Potential Product Capacity." Have you heard the Ginning Messiah give a "fire-side chat" on the finding of this—his own commission? No! And you won't! For just what were the findings of this government commission? Revolutionary stuff!

Our Production Capacity

This board of sixty experts worked for nearly a year measuring the product capacity of our United States. They did a good job. And an honest job. Too good and honest—too many unpleasant truths about how the masses in this country are being cheated—for Roosevelt and his New Dealers to tell the workers about it. True, a resume of it has been published, called "The Chart of Plenty." It is in many public libraries and all workers should read it. For in this survey is ample and reasonably authentic information as to just how abundant a life might be given to the mass of the American people. It is a careful study of not only how much is produced, but how much with the present equipment—the natural resources and the industrial plant—could be produced and how much for the best interests of the people should be produced. And the result was briefly this: If the resources of this country and its man-power were really put to work for the welfare of its citizens, every family in the United States could have an annual income in goods and services of \$4,400 per year valued in 1929 dollars. And that on a short work week! Also, with efficient planning this annual income could be greatly increased within a decade.

This is seemingly refuted by the survey made by the Brookings Institution, "America's Capacity to Produce," which has been hailed by advocates of the present social order as "proof" that the "Economy of

Abundance" is a fiction. But, as Mr. Harold Loeb, director of the H. S. of P. P. C., points out, the Brookings Institution survey was figured within the framework of the existing economic system. That is, their survey was not strictly a survey of physical factors but they entangled themselves in two contradictory frames—the commercial and physical—which made their findings meaningless as far as actual physical capacity is concerned.

In brief, the facts established by the two surveys is this: the Brookings Institution survey makes it evident that abundance, in spite of our enormous resources, cannot be given to the people of the country under the capitalist system. The profit motive won't stand for it. The National Survey of Potential Product Capacity in essence establishes the fact that only under a socialist system can the resources be efficiently used to give the people the abundance to which they are entitled. For instance, in the four years, 1930-1934, nearly three hundred billion in goods and services could have been produced which were not produced. And on this point Mr. Loeb himself makes the following statements:

"The difference between actual production and possible production represents the cost to the people of the United States of maintaining present financial institutions. . . . The existing resources, plant and personnel of the United States, are not only capable of providing a high standard of life for the entire population, but are also capable of simultaneously replacing obsolete equipment and expanding the plant at a rate somewhat higher than the satisfactory rate practiced during the years 1923 to 1929. . . . A most curious spectacle this. . . . The American people, through their authorized agents are found using governmental power to maintain the 'blessed state of poverty.'" And to the favorite cry of the opponents of a socialist society that it would be the end of "liberty" Mr. Loeb says: "Liberty would be enjoyed by most people. Today over 90 percent of

our people have their freedom restricted by material necessities, releasing of production and the resulting abundance would enormously expand their freedom. . . ."

A Machine Civilization

But the most curious fact established by this survey—a government survey, remember—is this: our mass production factories, our machine civilization, can only be used efficiently. . . . If it is put to work producing things for the masses, food, clothing, houses, furniture and other household supplies. . . . all the things the masses want and need—and are now so largely deprived of. How many times have you heard some "statesman" or some capitalist journalist proclaim that our "American system has built the greatest civilization on earth?" Hundreds of times of course! And this "greatest civilization" today is what? A machine civilization. That is irrefutable. And now this government survey shows that this machine civilization can only be used efficiently if it is put to work producing for the masses. . . . dividing the wealth among the people. So what does that make the machine? A Communist! Nothing less. The machine is a communist!

This might be a joke on the rich exploiters and their lackeys. But as yet the "joke" is on the workers. For as the rich few who control this "wonderful civilization" have the workers "fooled"—persuaded to believe that this potential plenty is a delusion. Just as the powers that rule us are today suppressing the Marxists—the communists—so are they today suppressing the communist machine lest it give this potential wealth to the masses. Theirs is a "dog in the manger" economics. They cannot possibly use the potential products themselves. . . . so they, with gas bombs, National Guard, bullets and oratory, are fighting the workers to keep them from getting what they cannot use themselves, but want to keep anyhow—to preserve their privileges and power.

Why They Buried the Report

No wonder the New Dealers and Roosevelt himself have buried the report of this, their own, commission! For they are "the authorized agents using governmental power to maintain the blessed state of poverty!" They aided and abetted the exploiters who control the product capacity of the country in their decision that those three hundred billion in goods and services which the people needed, would not be produced because it could not be produced at a profit to them! They are the ones, these advocates of "a more abundant life" who are willing that millions should live on the verge of starvation—the infamous Roosevelt subsistence wage—so that these rich and privileged persons—and they themselves—might continue to satisfy their swollen egos with opulence, and their lust for power and privilege. Their words say—"we bring you a more abundant life." But their actions say—"we are willing that millions should be deprived of what is rightfully theirs—the abundance of this country—in order that we may hog the fat of the land."

Workers! Your ancestors gave of their sweat and their blood to build up the abundance of this country! You have done likewise. That abundance is your rightful heritage! And now, every day of your lives, you and your children are being cheated—yes, shamefully cheated!—of what is yours. Give the lie to those who would tell you that "socialism is just dividing poverty." You can get the facts about that from this Government survey (of course you could tell your exploiters that Karl Marx said practically the same thing long ago) and throw this information in the teeth of anyone who tries to tell you that our abundance is "bunk." Their own dope now refutes them. \$4,400 a year might be "poverty" to a Roosevelt, or an Astor or an Andy Mellon, but to you and your children it would truly mean "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." And that is what you are honestly entitled to today.

3500 at Herndon Farewell

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Despite the participation of the League for Industrial Democracy, headed by Norman Thomas, there was a notable absence of Socialists in the audience. Those who were not Stalinists were almost entirely Workers Party or I.W.W. elements, or non-proletarians.

Among the other speakers were Mary Fox, secretary of the Joint Committee; H. D. Sizemore of the General Defense Committee; Anna Damon, Secretary of the I.L.D.; Murray Baron; Heywood Brown, who called William Pickens of the N.A.A.C.P., also on the speakers' list, a scab; and Rabbi Sidney Goldstein of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Browder was sitting on the platform but did not speak. His silence was made up for, however, by C.P.

Resist Attempt to Deport Warnick

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brought about by the special snooping committee of the American Legion. Warnick has been bailed out of Angel Island Prison, and is represented legally by Austin Lewis, well-known local attorney of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The National Sacramento Appeal Committee has been authorized by Warnick to undertake activity in support of his fight. It was the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, now a constituent of the N.S.A.C., which raised \$3,200 bail to take Warnick out of Sacramento County Jail last January after he had been there for six months.

Norman Refused Parole

Another example of continuing persecution is the failure of an attempt by Lorine Norman, one of the eight convicted Sacramento workers, to secure parole because she will shortly become a mother. She has been released on bail temporarily to go to a hospital. Governor Merriam is under pressure from the reactionary bloc to compel her to return to prison as soon as her child is born.

Recently also, as a result of the insidious campaign of the Chamber of Commerce, Associated Farmers, Industrial Association and American Legion, Charles McLaughlin of Santa Anna was held for criminal syndicalism, charged with being a member of the Communist party. If convicted, he would get 14 years in San Quentin along with Norman Mini, Caroline Decker and the other Sacramento workers. The case is pending.

1500 in Paris Cheer Group

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Populaire for "(1) the absence of a progressive program; (2) the failure of 'automatic' self-defense, leading to the necessity for speeding the formation of groups by a public political campaign, without falling into adventurism or premature slogans; (3) the abandonment of anti-government work in the army; (4) the weakness of the fight against the two-year military training extension. . . . etc." These comrades criticize the C. P. leadership for lacking "a precise orientation in what they do, lacking any sign of political, organizational or technical preparation for giving a revolutionary outlet to the movement created by the Front Populaire."

Y.C.Lers Join With Bol-Len.

In addition to these signs of the times, there are dozens of members of the Young Communist League who have joined sections of the Socialist Youth in different parts of Paris, all under Bolshevik-Leninist influence. Similarly in the provinces, at Centre and Lille, Young Communists have come over to the Bolshevik-Leninists directly. At Nice at a regional conference of the Stalinist party, two comrades, Bolvert and Campa, dared openly to criticize in strong terms the "chauvinist policy of Stalinism." Underneath the waving flags of electoral "victories" and "unity" the bureaucratic shell is beginning to crack. The speed with which revolutionary elements free themselves from it and take the struggle on their own shoulders will determine in the near future the fate of the French proletariat.

West Coast Fight Rages

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opment of the warfare over the hot cargo issue. The struggle at present revolves around these two important points:

1. Refusal to move ships that are bound for areas where strikes are in progress.

2. Refusal to sail ships which are using fuel oil supplied by the boycotted Standard Oil Co.

At San Pedro on Tuesday morning of last week the crew of the Matson freighter "General M. H. Sherman" struck in protest against loading with fuel oil furnished by Standard Oil. On the 16th the crew of the "Point Ancha" refused to take her out of San Pedro as she was bound for Gulf Coast ports where the longshoremen are out on strike. At Seattle on the same day, the union refused to furnish a crew for the "Point Caleta" until the owners promised not to send her to British Columbia ports where the longshore strike is still on. Later in the week the crew of the "Judith" tied her up in Seattle rather than take her to British Columbia. On Saturday the crew of the "Admiral Sem" walked off at Alameda.

At the present time these five ships are tied up with the seamen expressing determination to win on this vital point.

"Red Herring" Again

A struggle of major proportions will undoubtedly develop if the waterfront employers attempt to have hot cargo from the Gulf coast unloaded. The maritime unions have expressed their determination to handle this cargo. For once they have the support of the top officials, as Ryan has also given orders to boycott this cargo.

As was to be expected, the waterfront employers have again brought forth the old shopworn "red herring" to drag across the trail in order to divert the workers from the real struggle. Their spokesmen, Hugh Gallagher of the Shipowners Assn., has appealed to Green to cast the red devils out of the unions, that the present struggle is a deep plot on the part of Moscow to ruin American shipping, etc., etc. But Green, no doubt having in mind the strength of the progressives in the maritime unions out here, shows no great inclination to assume the

role of the protector of American shipping. He replied that he would take no action until after a thorough investigation had been made.

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 20.—Violence again flared in the bitter class war raging in Los Angeles, when on October 9, Phillip Weiss, a member of the I.L.G.W.U. was shot down by Sam Lubarsky, part owner of a cloak shop.

A strike has been in progress at Lubarsky's shop for some months. On the morning of the day of the shooting the union had pulled out two workers in the shop, and during the noon hour Lubarsky went to a restaurant patronized by union workers and attempted to recruit scabs. He was chased out of the restaurant by indignant workers. Outside on the street he got into an argument with Lutsky, of the I.L.G.W.U. and a crowd of workers gathered. Lubarsky suddenly pulled a gun and the crowd fell back. While the workers were still retreating to get out of range of his gun he fired and Weiss fell. Luckily the bullet went completely through the body after passing through the right lung, thus lessening the danger of complications. However, pneumonia developed and Weiss is not yet entirely out of danger. Lubarsky was held on \$5,000 bail.

Between 1,500 and 1,800 fish cannery workers will be affected by a strike against five large canneries which has been called for Tuesday morning. The strike call was issued by the Fish Cannery Workers Union.

Demands are for 40 cents per hour for the first eight hours, 45 cents an hour for the next eight hours, and 50 cents thereafter, for the women workers. Their demand for the men is 5 cents per hour higher. About 75 percent of the cannery workers are women. The closed shop is demanded.

The plant of the Van Camp company will not be affected as it has already granted the demanded wages, but refused the closed shop. The strike has an excellent chance of succeeding as the sardine packing season is due to begin about November 1.

Mass Meeting

EIGHTEEN YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Speakers:

JAMES P. CANNON
A. J. MUSTE

ARNE SWABECK
MAURICE SPECTOR

Thursday, November 7th -- 8 p. m.

IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place and 15th Street

Auspices: Worker's Party, N. Y. District, 55 E. 11th Street.

J. P. Cannon
A. J. Muste

FRANCE
The Key to the Int'n'l Situation

Sunday, Nov. 3 - 8 P.M.
IRVING PLAZA HALL
Irving Place & 15th St.