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Trotsky Shows Road of Struggle in France

Thomas Leads Break with Old Guard as NY Socialist Party Splits

Danger of Patch-up with Right Wing is Still Great

The struggle for supremacy within the Socialist Party between the Old Guard and the Thomas-Hoan-Militant coalition reached the stage of open split in New York City this week.

When the Militants' proposal to reconsider the motion of the Old Guard to expel "the Left Wing" and reorganize local New York under their control was defeated at the meeting of the City Central Committee meeting last Wednesday, forty-seven delegates from thirty-six Militant-led branches quit the meeting and proceeded immediately to constitute themselves the official City Central Committee of the party.

The two City Centrals have since been hurling statements and counter-statements at each other. In a letter to S. P. members, the Militants charged Waldman, Oneal, Gerber, and Lee with being "party-wreckers and breeders of disunity" and gave a list of their anti-working class actions, ranging from protection of Harry Lang, Cahan and Hearst's anti-Soviet penman, to "condoning corruption by Socialist trade unions and permitting persons found guilty of misconduct in their unions to remain members of the party."

Statements Fly

The Old Guard answered that the action of the Militants was "a secessionist movement" of a minority; that the newly-formed committee was an outlaw organization; and that "the break between the Socialist Party and the Left Wing group has taken place over the resistance of the party to the attempt to impose upon it by these Left Wing elements of three doctrines—dictatorship, advocacy of insurrection and violence, and united front with the Communists—doctrines which are not acceptable to Socialists."

The Militants replied that "it is indeed because this group is loyal to Socialist principles, one of the chief of which is inner party democracy, that it was forced to take such steps as would safeguard the Party from Old Guard maneuvers."

Both groups held rival meetings last Sunday night. The Militants' meeting, held at Irving Plaza, was attended by about 1,200 people. Three significant announcements were made. The first was a wire from Norman Thomas pledging support to the Militants and breathing defiance against the Old Guard. "We are not splitting the party," said Thomas. "We are saving it from petty tyrants. We are not denying democracy; we are saving it from lawless dictation of the Old Guard-Forward coalition. The position of these party-wreckers is clear. They are trying vainly to tear down a party they can no longer control. They support the New Leader which has slandered the party, and seek to ruin the Socialist Call, which has fought for it. They are capable of reacting only to hate of Communism and fear of losing their control in the party. They have lost their capacity to hate and fight the exploitation of capitalism. Their record has been a grievous burden for socialism to carry."

N.E.C. to Send Delegation
The second was the announcement by Jack Altman, Militant leader and temporary secretary of the new City Central Committee, that the Militants planned to hold a state convention of the party in Utica on December 27 and 28. The third was a letter from the National Executive Committee of the S. P., signed by National Chairman Leo Kryzcki, stating that it would send an official delegation to the Utica convention, consisting of Kryzcki, Darlington Hoopes, Clarence Senior, National Secretary, Thomas, and Oneal, Old Guard leader. It also stated that the decision had been approved by Hoan.

The Old Guard at the Rand School did nothing more than stand pat in repeating accusations of split against the Militants. Old Guard supporters passed resolutions supporting the old Central Committee; condemning the "bolters"; and welcoming efforts to heal the party split "provided all doctrines of dictatorship and violence were repudiated" by the Militants. Solomon criticized Thomas for having ceased to become the leader of the party in order to become "the

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Profiteers Clear Decks For Big Drive on Labor

Mf'r's Asso. Opens Fight For "Freedom" -- To Exploit Labor

Herbert Hoover has come out of his hole and is making snappy speeches. In itself this is an indication of how many years we are removed, psychologically and politically speaking, from March 4, 1933. More substantial evidence to the same effect has been given by the annual convention of the National Association of Manufacturers held in New York last week and the pathetic attempt of Major George L. Berry, formerly president of the Printing Pressmen's Union, and now Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation (in effect head of what is left of the NRA) to stage one of those immense get-togethers of labor and industry out of which Hugh Johnson and his aids made such gaudy shows in the summer and fall of that year—in the age of the honeymoon of the New Deal and the ascendancy of the Blue Eagle.

The bankers and industrialists who in 1933 were being told that they were going to be "driven out of the temple," who in chastened mood urged the government to come to their aid and accepted, not without some reluctance, it is true, some items of labor legislation, are now again fully on the offensive. Mr. Clinton L. Bardo, president of the N.A.M., pointed in his opening address with pathos and feeling to the ignominious position in which employers found themselves until recently: "For the past two years industry has been driven into the cyclone cellar and the normal problems of depression have been magnified many times by a deliberate and well-timed rapid fire and devastating attack by economic crackpots, social-reformers, labor demagogues and political racketeers."

"Saving the Country"
The new offensive of the employers is characterized by a high moral, crusading mood. Alfred P.

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Japs Snatch North China; Put Screws on Chiang Gov't

By LO SEN
Japanese imperialism gave another twist this week to the screws it holds around China. Under Japanese military auspices an "autonomous" state was set up in Eastern Hopei on Nov. 24. Three days later Japanese troops took over control of all railways in North China. Japanese troop trains moving down across the Manchukuo border brought more than 10,000 troops into Tientsin where they are being held in readiness for action in North China should such action prove necessary.

The provinces of North China are in the process of being added to Manchuria and Jehol to swell the boundaries of the Japanese Empire on Continental Asia. This process of addition is taking place not in the swift, surgical manner that characterized the previous conquests but in a slower fashion attenuated to the presence of greater international complicating factors and the desire of Japan to avoid, if possible, the expense of military action.

Tremendous pressure is being brought to bear by Japanese military authorities on the Chinese generals in the North to declare a species of "autonomy" to provide the cloak of respectability for Japanese control.

In this situation the Kuomintang regime has been trying to squirm its way into a settlement which will avoid military conflict by giving Japan what is wanted and at the same time preserve the nominal shreds of Chinese sovereignty in the North.

Japanese military moves in the North during the past ten days have been meant to serve eloquent notice on the Nanking government that equivocation or evasion have limits.

Press reports of the past week have contained seeming contradictions—some alleging that Nanking

Six YCLers Join S Y L

Symptoms of Ferment Over New Turn To Betrayal

Symptomatic of the ferment in the Young Communist League is the expulsion of six members of the Y.C.L. and Communist Party. These comrades were expelled in recent weeks in New York for criticizing the policies of the Communist and Y.C.L. and defending the views of Marxism.

They are among the dozens expelled in recent months from the Stalinist organizations for revolutionary criticism, a number of whom joined the S.Y.L. and the W.P. Only recently over half a dozen leaders among the New York Scandinavian workers were expelled from the C. P. for "Trotskyism" (!). Others in the Y.C.L. who question the recent turn towards "a broad non-party youth organization" and social-patriotism have likewise been expelled or "dropped for Trotskyism."

The Spartacus Youth League has covered open Y.C.L. meetings with its literature and speakers. Recently, a four page leaflet was issued by the Chicago S.Y.L. to the meeting held in that city. In New York, in addition to the large district meeting covered, sectional meetings in Manhattan and Harlem have already been covered. Last Sunday evening four members of the S.Y.L., including one of the expelled, spoke at the East Side meeting of the Y.C.L. The following evening a Spartacus presented a criticism of the Y.C.L. turn at the Harlem Y.C.L. meeting. The expelled are: Ethel Winston, Sec. 22; Louis Mednick, Sec. 22; Nat Herman, and Jerry King, Sec. 15; E. Wexler, Sec. 17; W. Levitsky, Sec. 8.

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is preparing to oppose Japan, others indicating continued surrender to Japanese pressure by Chiang Kai-shek. These contradictions have a logic of their own—for the Nanking government and the bourgeoisie it represents are a dilemma from which there seems no way out—along a bourgeois road.

Complete Japanese imperialist control of China means the final extinction of any hopes for independent bourgeois development, even if limited. The Chinese bourgeoisie has been unable to resist Japanese imperialism because to do so it would have had to run the danger of rousing the people in a national war. To do this would amount to the signing of its own death warrant.

It could only hope for the active aid of some "benevolent" imperialism, the British or the American for example, to take up the cudgels against Japan. From such a struggle the Chinese bourgeoisie might hope for a crumb. But in these past four years Japanese imperialism has been able to proceed practically without hindrance. Not the least reason for this is the fact that Anglo-American antagonisms have prevented their cooperation in the East—and in addition, both countries hoped the U. S.S.R. would break its back in a struggle with Japan.

As a result of this conjuncture of circumstances Japan has advanced unopposed and carved for itself an enormous empire on continental Asia. In this the bourgeoisie has cooperated by suppressing the mass movement. There is a section of the Chinese bourgeoisie, however, which has never given up hope of getting the imperialist aid it needs to oppose Japan, in whom it sees its nemesis. That section of the

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Committees of Action--- Not Peoples Front

By LEON TROTSKY

"The Peoples Front" represents the coalition of the proletariat with the imperialist bourgeoisie, in the shape of the Radical party and smaller tripe of the same sort. The coalition extends both to the parliamentary and the extra-parliamentary spheres. In both spheres the Radical party preserving for itself complete freedom of action coarsely imposes restrictions upon the freedom of action of the proletariat.

The Radical party itself is undergoing decay. Each new election gives added proof of the passage of supporters away from it to the right and to the left. On the other hand, the Socialist and Communist parties—because of the absence of a genuinely revolutionary party—are growing stronger. The general trend of the toiling masses, including the petty bourgeoisie, is quite clearly to the left. The orientation of the leaders of the workers' parties is no less self-evident: to the right. At the time when the masses by their votes and in their struggle seek to cast off the party of the Radicals, the leaders of the united front, on the contrary, seek to save it. After obtaining the confidence of the masses of workers on the basis of a "socialist" program, the leaders of the workers' parties then proceeded to concede voluntarily a lion's share of this confidence to the Radicals, in whom the masses of workers have absolutely no confidence.

Radicals Dominate Peoples Front.

"The Peoples Front" in its present guise, shamelessly tramples not only upon workers' democracy but also upon formal i.e. bourgeois democracy. The majority of the Radical voters do not participate in the struggle of the toilers and consequently in the Peoples Front. Yet the Radical party occupies in this Front not only an equal but a privileged position; the workers' parties are compelled to restrict their activity to the program of the Radical party. This idea is most outspokenly advanced by the cynics of L'Humanite! The latest elections to the Senate have illuminated with special clarity the privileged position of the Radicals in the Peoples Front. The leaders of the Communist party boasted openly of the fact that they renounced in favor of non-proletarian parties several mandates which justly belonged to the workers. This merely means that the united front re-established in part the property qualification in favor of the bourgeoisie.

The "Front," as it is conceived, is an organization for a direct and immediate struggle. When struggle is in question, every worker is worth ten bourgeois, even those adhering to the united front. From the standpoint of the revolutionary fighting strength of the Front, the electoral privileges should have been given not to Radical bourgeois but to workers. But in essence, privileges are uncalled for here. Is the Peoples Front intended for defense of "democracy"? Then let it begin by applying it to its own ranks. This means: the leadership of the Peoples Front must be the direct and immediate reflection of the will of the struggling masses.

The Committees of Action.

How? Very simply: through elections. The proletariat does not deny any one the right to struggle side by side with it against Fascism, the Bonapartist government of Laval, the war plot of the imperialists, and all other forms of oppression and violence. The sole demand that class conscious workers put to their actual or potential allies is that they struggle in action. Every group of the population really participating in the struggle at a given stage and ready to submit to common discipline must have the equal right to exert influence on the leadership of the Peoples Front.

Each 200, 500, or thousand citizens adhering in a given city, district, factory, barrack and village to the Peoples Front should in time of fighting actions elect their representative to the local committee of action. All the participants in the struggle are bound by its discipline.

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HERNDON FREED

Answer the Fascist War Mongers; All out Dec. 14!

New York anti-Fascists are called upon to demonstrate before Madison Square Garden Saturday, Dec. 14 at 7 P.M. against the openly-proclaimed threat of Mussolini's American agents to arouse sympathy for his highway-robbery in Ethiopia and to terrorize all Italo-American and American opponents of the Italian Fascist murder regime.

This demonstration is being organized by the Italo-American Committee Against War and Fascism, a united front body. The Workers Party is participating in the demonstration and all its members are requested to be there.

Following are excerpts from the leaflet issued by the committee which gives more detailed information.

"The Italian Fascists are going to meet in Madison Square Garden this Saturday night, Dec. 14 for the purpose of glorifying Mussolini's aggression of Ethiopia and to raise funds to enable the Black Shirt hordes to deprive the peaceful Ethiopians of their independence.

"High American officials, such as Supreme Court Justices Salvatore Cottilo, Ferdinand Pecora, General Sessions Justice John Freshi and others, are to be found among those who will "Hed" tyrant Mussolini in Madison Square Garden.

"This Fascist rally was decided upon at a dinner in the Ricciardi Italian Restaurant, on the evening of Friday, Nov. 15, 1935.

"Supreme Court Justices Salvatore Cottilo and Ferdinand Pecora participated.

"The purpose of the Madison Square Garden rally, as the Fascist daily 'Il Progresso ItaloAmericano'

informed us in its issue of Nov. 17 is as follows:

"To once more demonstrate that the hearts of the Italo-Americans beat with the heart of the far away Motherland and that each and every national who resides in this Motherland of adoption is ready to give all within his power to help Italy fight the brutal International Coalition led by England with the utmost resistance and give a chance to the Italian soldiers who are now in Africa to write another epic page of glory in the history of civilization."

"The Fascist sheet further stated:

"When the Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy, Mr. Pope, began speaking to explain the purpose of this gathering, the throng which packed the Hall of Ricciardi's Restaurant, which was decorated with flags of the two Nations, the colors which are in the heart of every Italo-American, an impetuous and lasting applause broke out. This stirring applause manifested the spontaneous promise of those present to enthusiastically contribute to the success of the Madison Square Rally, which also must be a warning to those who want to deny Italy her holy and sacred right to live. It must also serve to show that the five million Italian Americans who live in the United States are ready to sacrifice themselves on the altar of their great Motherland and will respond as the Consul General has said with a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye."

Everybody out— Give the Fascist vermin the answer they deserve.

Yipsels Unite With Spartacus at Toledo Meet

By ART PREIS

TOLEDO, Ohio—The youth section of the local Stalinists succeeded in capturing themselves and several Y. W. C. A. secretaries at the Toledo Youth Congress held at the Central Labor Union Hall, Saturday afternoon, November 30. Going one better on the Elders of the Church (Stalinist), who held the fort at the recent American League Against War and Fascism conference, the fledglings succeeded in preventing entirely any discussion on the war and sanctions question, which had been introduced into the conference by a joint resolution against support of imperialist governments and their sanctions submitted by the Young Peoples Socialist League and Spartacus Youth League.

Highly advertised and ballyhooed, the conference began on the evening of November 29, with a meeting at the Civic Auditorium featuring a symposium of representatives of the Republican, Democratic, Socialist and Communist Parties on "What Our Party Offers American Youth." For over three hours, the 300 of the faithful who lost themselves in the echoing vastness of the huge auditorium were drenched by the greatest outpouring of reactionary balderdash ever saved over a helpless audience—saved only by the forthright utterances of Ben Fisher, national secretary of the Yipsels, who openly denounced the chauvinist policies of the Stalinists and attacked the support of sanctions and one's own imperialist government in a war crisis.

The Minimum is Zero.

William Weinstein, who represented the Stalinists in the Symposium, completely skirted the entire war question, ducked the direct challenge of Fisher on the C. P. position on sanctions, and confined the greater portion of his remarks to sugary sentimental plea for organic unity between the Socialists and Stalinists. Waldo McNutt, Chairman of the American Youth Congress, one of the two main speakers on the program, distinguished himself in his remarks by declaring the purpose of the Congress to be "the untiring of the youth on a minimum program on which everyone could agree." Everyone agreed on the minimum

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Mass Pressure Forces Release of Class War Prisoner

Confronted by a tidal wave of mass protest which has been mounting ever since the formation of the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense ended Angelo Herndon's isolation from the broad labor and radical movements, the State of Georgia has executed its first retreat since the struggle began three years ago.

Judge Hugh M. Dorsey of Atlanta has declared unconstitutional the 1866 "slave insurrection" law, under which Herndon was sentenced to an 18-20 year term on the chain gang. Herndon is now in New York, under \$8,000 bail.

The state of Georgia has until Dec. 27 to appeal from Dorsey to the state Supreme Court. If it does not appeal, or if it loses its appeal, the law will be a dead letter. Herndon will be unconditionally free, and 18,000 other workers will be null and void.

If the state does appeal, and if the Georgia Supreme Court declares the law to be constitutional, the defense will take the issue back to the U. S. Supreme Court, which twice before refused on technical grounds to hear an appeal. Unquestionably, the defense would be much stronger in legal ammunition this time. It will also be stronger in its mass backing, if every effort is made to build a militant movement not only to save Angelo Herndon, but also to establish the principles and rights involved in his fate.

Judge Dorsey's decision was by no means a concession of any rights or principles. He was forced to release Herndon because, in the face of growing mass pressure, neither the Talmadge faction nor the Roosevelt faction of Georgia politicians wants to go before the workers of the country to justify Herndon's conviction. At the same time, the Judge's decision, declaring the 1866 law to be "vague" in phraseology, suggests to the legislature how it can adopt a law under which any opponents of the existing Bourbon capitalist regime of Georgia could legally be sent to the chain gang.

Dorsey for Rigid Gag-Law

In so doing, Dorsey is satisfying the demands of the Georgia ruling class. These were expressed at the recent hearing in Atlanta by County Solicitor Lecraw. He affirmed the need of silencing all radicals by court action now, in order to prevent the growth of militancy to a point where the capitalist forces would have to fight labor outside the courts.

Lecraw's argument was opposed by W. A. Sutherland, Atlanta attorney, who argued that the best way to preserve the existing economic order and the existing "good" relations between whites and negroes in Georgia is to allow a little freedom of speech. By suggesting a new water-tight gag law to the legislature Judge Dorsey shows that he did not take seriously the opportunist "argument" of Sutherland.

What he did was to accept the scholarly, technical, legal contentions put forward by the New York state attorney, Whitney North Seymour, at the same hearing. The total political situation, measured in terms of the Talmadge-Roosevelt squabble for the title of "friend of the people," and in terms of the pressure organized by the Joint Committee, dictated by Dorsey the decision that Seymour was "correct" and Lecraw was "wrong" on technical points.

Pressure is not yet great enough, however, to "convince" him that there should be free speech in Georgia. He wants an iron-clad law to prevent it.

Herndon's return to New York was signalled by an ovation at the Pennsylvania Railroad Station. The Joint Committee, of which the Non Partisan Labor Defense is an active constituent, is planning a mass meeting on the case. Among the other defense bodies in the Joint Committee are the I. L. D., which controls the defense policy, as well as the L. I. D. and the GDC. Even if this struggle must go through more courts, victory can still be won by the presentation of able legal arguments and above all by a campaign of pressure based upon a broad appeal to militant principles.

The Central Labor Union pledged to call a city-wide mass meeting in support of the Strutwear strike.