MARCH OF EVENTS

America Plans for War

pends on the home front as much plants. But it would be quite inif not more than on the battle front. correct to assume that the only The availability of resources at the reason is to assure a supply of tin beginning of, and during a war, and for the war. That is a relatively the level of the technical productive minor purpose. The real motive forces are vital matters that enter must be sought in the process of into all the plans and preparations detinning, in the chemicals formed of the General Staffs. Thus one during the process of recovering tin large section of the United States from scrap. This process uses War Department has as its task the chlorine in considerable quantities. keeping of up-to-the-minute files of Chlorine is one of the elements that statistics and technical information enter into the production of certain on every raw material and com- of the poison gases. The tetrachlormodity that enters into military use, ide of tin, one of the chemicals proeither directly or indirectly. These duced, is used in explosives to pro-Commodity Files show the annual duce a concealing smoke, and is also needs of the country, both civilian used in producing glares. It is for and military, the sources of supply, these purposes that the war departthe stocks on hand in warehouses ment is anxious to keep going these and in factories, the possibilities detinning plants, and not for the but agree on the following measures crops; development of pasture for quick expansion of production, tin primarily. Of course tin enters as necessary to "public peace": the available substitutes in case of into the making of all Babbitt bearshortage. Where certain materials ings which are so essential to all necessitate importing from abroad, machinery, particularly on ships and particularly from South America, in mechanized warfare. But Bolivia fenses after November 1933, and the navy is assigned the duty in ad- is a source of tin that is under the vance of keeping the sea lanes open direct control of the United States released by the April, 1934 amnesty. to protect the ships delegated to navy, a source that could not poscarry these materials. The war sibly be closed to American imperioffice keeps a watchful cyc on the alism in wartime. No, it is poison stocks on hand so as not to be gases and the materials for produccaught with a shortage of some ing glares and concealing smokes strategic commodity on the outbreak | that motivate Hull and Roosevelt, of war. Naturally in carrying out this phase of its imperialist duties, PREPARATIONS FOR WAR the War Department is in close touch with the capitalists who con- the utmost need of technical pretrol the supplies, with the trusts paration, the careful planning of where many were fired after a and combines.

port of tin scrap is an indication of for a country to build up the stocks dustries shall have their rights tivated for some time shall be availthe mutual helpfulness of this in- necessary and to see that the plant protected by the labor boards. able for acquisition by the cultivatimate relationship. At the out- equipment is adequate. The United (Though the clause referring to tor. Cooperatives (consumers and break of war certain factories will States today is engaged in these private industry is weaker than agricultural) shall be stimulated. be immediately mobilized according technical preparations, just as is those preceding it, apparently pri- Colonization of peasant families to prearranged plan to start pro- every other power. The rivalries, vate industry followed the rest in with necessary technical and finanduction of military supplies. These the competition for markets and strategic plants are naturally sub- colonies, the need for expansion on sidized and given every assistance in the part of each national branch of

DETINNING AND WAR

venience in modern life than a wars have as their aim the bolsternecessity. Substitutes could easily ing-up of a decaying and tottering tablished; al violations of it to be tion by the state, according to a the necessary dispositions in order for each district, or "Department." be found for tin in the food industries and in the manufacture of autotries are a contracted and tries mobiles. It seems strange, at first of the working class at home by (the Supreme Court, which is electronic aprignt sense of justice, or smart, can send one decease of justice, or smart, can send o sight, therefore, that Secretary of extending their field of operation to ted by an intricate system which consequence it is in order": State Hull in his capacity as Secre- other lands and to other peoples. gives undue weight to universities 1. To dictate law or system of more concrete than this). port of scrap tin for three months, technical preparations of the war trary to the regime. to be followed by licensing of such mongers and their military servants | 2. Laws necessary to implement tance which the state may conceive of Sewaren, N. J., and the Mutual final analysis, the primary and ab- pecially the municipal and provin- To promote the national recovery and Thermit Co. of N. Y., the two solutely essential productive force cial regulations as provided for in of industries in order to lighten the major producers of tin from scrap, is the man-power of the worker him- the constitution (local government), load of speculation that has hamclaim that the running of their busi- self. The capitalists can conduct Reform of the rules and regula- pered industry. ness profitably is being threatened war only so long as they can suctions of the procedure of the Corby Japan's extraordinary purchases cessfully suppress the militant work- tes (not clear for what purpose). of scrap metal here. Therefore, in ing class, only so long as the proleconformity with the War Depart- tariat is forcibly prevented from ment plan for mobilization of in- taking the means of production out dustry in time of war, Hull took of the hands of the exploiters and quick action. Evidently the war into its own.

The outcome of modern war de-|department wishes to maintain these

The news of the embargo on ex- nation, it takes a number of years those unjustly fired in private in- carried out by the renter; land culcapitalism, have reached the explosive point. The capitalist world is on a volcano ready to blow up and to destroy civilization. The lic authority and the police." Tin is not an essential or "strat- workers of all countries will be the egic" commodity. It is more a con- victims of imperialist war. Such tary of the National Munitions Con- If. workers once learn that such and the upper classes) shall be re- laws which shall fix the basis of 2. Reorganize the jurisdiction of

Tokyo-Berlin Alliance

(Continued from Page 1) newed pressure on Nanking, once in the United States, the Stalinists more circulated the report that a now seek to do in China. Soviet-Nanking pact was likewise

in the offing.

There has never been any basis for previous Japanese reports of has not gone as far as actual consimilar tenor and the sharp denials tact between Nanking and Moscow. be simplified. Speed up the civil 1. "Great plans" of construction the attention they deserve in any 35), primarily selected from among issued at Nauking and Moscow on Nanking is Tokyo's vassal and too courts and increase their power; of urban and rural housing, also civilized land, without stopping at those functionaries who reside in this occasion can be taken at their subject to Tokyo's pressure, espe- and greater protection for defen- cooperative and public services, face value. Japan still stands too cially at the present time. The solidly athwart the path of possible Japanese circulate such reports Sino-Soviet rapprochement. The only to use them as a lever to press present regime at Nanking is com- Nanking harder for the concessions mitted to a policy of capitulation it demands. to Japan and there is no sign that On the very day of the Tokyo Prisons "shall be humanized and it is prepared to swerve from that report of a Nanking-Soviet agree- bad treatment done away with; no orientation. The Nanking govern- ment, Nanking forwarded a protest arbitrary solitary confinement. ment, or any other similar Kuomin- against the Soviet-Mongolian pact tang regime, will tread the danger- of mutual assistance, claiming that ous path of resistance to Japan it infringed Chinese sovereignty. only when it is assured of power- Moscow replied on April 8 with an mined and punished. Commanding the subsidy to unemployment rhythm as in the first years of the might imagine, after all the talk ful support from the outside, pre- attempt to justify the pact in terms officers to be re-examined and all ((dole) solicited by the workers' Republic the creation of primary about rank and file rule, that the bloc won 263 seats. The Socialist ers, primarily Britain and the in which Chinese sovereignty over United States.

Offer to Liquidate Red Army

date completely the peasant Red who established their own indepen- ruary, 1936.) armies and to suspend entirely all dent regime. We would refer Chirevolutionary struggle within the nese claims of sovereignty to Urga country (if it can), represents an -but Moscow, you see, is commitattempt on the part of the Soviet | ted to the inane notion of the "inbureaucracy to find possible allies violability of pacts" so the myth the Chinese bourgeoisie.

For such is the nature of all Stalinist pacts. There would not nor could be any objection to a Soviet pact with Nanking or any other bourgeois government if required Published weekly by the New Miliby the diplomatic and strategic interests of the Soviet Union. But the Stalinist quid pro quo is always Entered as second class mail matter the suspension of the class strug- at the Post Office at New York, N. gle in order to conciliate the bourgeois ally. That is, Stalinismwhich rests on the theory of socialism in one country-establishes a Subscription rates: In the United farmer ("cultivador directo," ap- numeration of examples, we point contradiction between the interests States \$1.00 per year; 65c per six parently the farmer, peasant, or out the following measures: of the international proletariat and months; Canada and foreign \$1.50 landworker indiscriminately, only 1. Direct the Bank of Spain in the supposed interests of the Soviet | per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle | differentiating them from the non- | such a way as that it shall fulfill Union, a contradiction which in the rates: Two cents per copy end has always proven fatal for Vol. 2, No. 14 (Whole No. 66) Moscow cannot understand. As they have done in Czechoslovakia and in

(2 Tokyo, preparing to bring re- morrow (indeed, already today!)

The Treaty Myth

But in any event, this process

NEW MILITANT with which is merged THE MILITANT

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JAMES P. CANNON: Editor

SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 1936

THE ELECTORAL PACT

Full Text of the People's Front Agreement in Spain for the Elections to the Cortes

Editor's Note: In response to | zation of the products of the land, | assets, many requests for the full text of the Spanish electoral pact, we publish it below as translated from El Socialista (Jan. 16, 1936), organ of the Socialist Party of Spain. All remarks in parenthesis are editorial comment, not contained in the pact, but which will facilitate the understanding of the reader. Only material in quotation marks is directly quoted, but the rest is carefully sum-

The pact begins with a few sen-

1. Amnesty for all political of-"those of a similar character" not

2. Public functionaries (municisuspended for political reasons to Precisely because war involves (refers notably to the postoffice the complete industrial life of the strike) shall be reinstated; and all useful and necessary improvements reinstating the workers.)

> victims of revolutionary events returned or paid for grandees land. (those killed in October, 1934) or "victims of illegal acts of the pub-

ercise is bound up with full recog- commerce." nition of the principles of liberty and justice." Revision of the law of public order (the laws which institute state of alarm, state of siege, and martial law) to avoid self-liquidating public works. "abusive uses" of it (i.e., don't drag France, as they will seek to do to- out martial law too long!).

> lays down. Civil procedure shall private entrepeneurs. of guards from civil courts, prose- ments. cution of civilians assaulting guards in military courts, etc.).

sponsibility; guilt shall be deter-

for officials who abuse their power.

struction":

working landowner); lowering of its function of regulating the credtaxes and tributes; special atten4 it according as the interests "of lowering of abusive rents; increase its character of partner of the

especially of wheat and other cereals (in Spain, the government fixes the price of wheat); adopting measures for the elimination of the middleman; doing away with the agreements (confabulaciones) among the experience of the last crisis," the millers; and stimulation of the export of agricultural products (this last is bait for the small landowning farmers of the Mediterrancan coast, who depend on ex-

2. As measures to improve the condition of agricultural producizations retain their own principles the state; plans for rotation of lands, cattle industry and reforestation; water works and dams and irrigation works to reclaim land; roads and rural construction.

port of olives, grapes, etc.).

3. As measures to reform the property of the land: the law of tenantry (passed by the reaction) shall be immediately cancelled; all pal and provincial officials) fired or evictions shall be re-examined; old and small renters (sharecroppers) be returned to their jobs; workers shall be aided to buy the laud they ared from public utilities, railroads till on a plan of long-term liquida-(bank of Spain and other institu- tion; pass a new tenantry law tions and industries in which the which shall guarantee tenure (stagovernment holds shares or has a bilidad) on the land; rents subject soice), and from public services to revision shall be made moderate; prohibition of sub-renting and its concealed forms; indemnification of cial aid. Measures for recovery 3. Laws to be passed, granting of the communal land (the comadequate reparations to families of mons). Laws to be cancelled which

"Our industry cannot raise itself from the depression in which it

kets, and other methods of assis-

2. Institutions to guide industry (dept. of commerce, labor, etc.) 3. "The principle of authority is 3. "Adopt necessary measures

declared in all its vigor but its ex- to protect small industry and small

4. "To elevate the activity of

4. Reorganization of the courts | The Republicans consider public "to free them from the weights of works not only as a public service of youth and without forgetting the representative from each syndicate, irreconcilable struggle against the social hierarchy, tradition and eco- or an imperfect method of unem- institutions of planning and insur- with a single vote). nomci privilege." "Justice, once ployment relief, but also as a po- ance which, promised by the conreorganized, shall be given the in- tent means of developing sources stitution, should be begun. dependence that the constitution of wealth not being developed by

dants in criminal cases; cut down ports, communications, irrigation the direction of the state private then handpicks a small Bureau (a special privileges (such as freedom works and other land improve-2. To carry these out, legisla-

tive and administrative arrangements to be made, which shall guarantee the usefulness of the work, its good administration and 5. Police abuses under the reac- "its contribution of the same to the cation as the inalienable attri- structure, so ideally suited for bution to be investigated to place re- private industries directly favored." bute of the state"

those guilty of abuse or political delegation. They believe that the schools, canteens, clothing depots Stalinists would seize upon a Party obtained—94 seats. The prejudice to be dismissed. Reor- measures of agrarian policy and (for schoolchildren), school colon- chance to demonstrate their pro- Communist Party-14. The seats Outer Mongolia was specifically ganization of the guards (vigilan- those which are to be carried out ies. Private eduction shall be subrecognized. That clause of the cia) with officials loyal to the re- in industry, public works and, in ject to vigilance in the interest of ganization. And, indeed, they did bourgeois partners in the electoral The new turn of the Stalinist treaty has been rendered inopera- gime. (This section deals with sum, the whole plan of national re- culture analogous to that of the propose a "reform." Speaking in bloc, the party of the Left Repubparty in China, the offer to liquiits own ends but also the essential 6. In future, grave punishments task of absorbing unemployment."

The Treasury and the banks "The Republicans do not accept shall be at the service of the effort in Nanking or in other sections of of 1924 has to be repeated in 1936. the principle of the nationalization of national reconstruction, without of the land and its free distribution slurring over the fact that such guarantee to the youth of the workto the peasants, solicited by the subtle things as credit cannot be ing class and in general to students then proceed to select the Bureau seats. delegates of the Socialist Party. forced "outside of the sure field of of capacity, access to intermediate of Eight, with Jouhaux as Genenral The relationship of forces in the They (the Republicans) consider profitable and remunerative effort." desirable the following measures "The Republican parties do not acwhich are aimed at the redemption cept the measures of nationalizaof the peasant and the medium and tion of the banks proposed by the small farmer, not only because it workers parties. They know, how-(the land program) is justice, but ever, that our banking system re- oriented in the direction of adhebecause it constitutes the strongest quires certain perfectings if it is sion to the principles and methods basis for national economic recon- to fulfill the mission that is put in of the League of Nations." its hands for the economic recon-1. Measures to help the direct struction of Spain." As mere re-

2. Subjecting the private bankwhich shall benefit its liquidity on the "basis of the classic principles which have been emphasized by in order to guarantee depositors' accounts, etc., etc.

creasing the public debt.

(1) Direct taxation to be completely revised and reorganized on a progressive basis:

(2) Indirect taxation reformed "aiming at cordination"- (compoint important to workers);

fected to serve as an efficient in- ternational affiliatious to maintain. strument.

VII.

republic directed by social or eco- stitute "progressive" reforms. The of democratic liberties impelled by phere of "mutual trust." considerations of public interest and social progress. But precisely production permits," without stop- rigid bureaucratic control. ping at making all the sacrifices that may have to be imposed on economic and social privileges. The Republican parties do not accept the workers' control solicited by the socialist delegation."

They (Republicans) agree to:

now finds itself unless we revise lation "in the purity of its princi- hand, they are also united territori-1. The constitution to be re-es the complicated system of protec- ples" for which they will dictate ally into Departmental Unions, one ments established . . . (nothing single vote (the National Federa- gone through on the second point

endorse the protect of two definning thou as at the "enemy" abroad by force of the constitution from fall. endorse the protest of two definning them as at the "enemy" abroad by fense of the constitution from fall- tariff laws, tax exemption, methods of independence, in order not only firms and place an embargo on ex- the home capitalists, then all the ing into the hands of these con- of coordination, regulation of mar- that the interested parties "may exports. The Vulcan Detinning Co, will come to nought. For in the the constitution shall be passed, es- of interest to national production, also in order "that in no case shall

> ing minimum salaries in order to proportional representation. guarantee all the workers a worthy our fundamental industries by mic reconstruction is aimed at the Central Committees of the Nation- of the working class formulated in means of a plan of public works." absorption of unemployed, it is also al Federations and the Departmen- the Labor Plan of the C.G.T." empower the government to quickly Organization and assistance to the necessary to organize administrated Unions. This joint Committee Thus, the social-patriots of 1936 rural population in the form of tively and technically the struggle is not elected by the Congress but are standing shoulder to shoulder

ceased" (this refers to church in the C.G.T. stitutions).

VIII.

2. develop intermediate and professional education. 3. Amalgamation of universi-

more adequate ones.

and superior education. The signatories shall replace in all its vigor the autonomous legis- and the hoary, reactionary struc- right wing led by Prieto and the lation of the Constitutent Cortes. "International policies shall be

SIGNATURES. . . .

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WORLD OF LABOR

What Happened at the Trade Union Unity Congress in Toulouse, France

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The Congress held in Toulouse, March 2-5, was not a fusion Cougress, but the first Congress of an already united trade union moveing system to rules of organization ment. The Toulouse Congress only ratified formally the already effected merger between the reformist C.G.T. and the Stalinist-controlled C.G. T.U., which took place last September, when, after both the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. had held their conventions, the parallel units of these organizations merged on a local, territorial and national scale,

The membership of the new Gen-® 3. Improve the functioning of eral Confederation of Labor is patible with the traditions and the savings banks in order "to make about 1,000,000 (in 1920, on the principles of the labor movement them fulfill their role in the creation eve of the split, the old C.G.T. had for a trade union functionary to of capital," dictating also those a membership of 1,500,000). More occupy an important political post measures necessary to protect pri- than 1,700 delegates attended the The Congress recorded itself overtion: agricultural instruction and vate savings and the responsibility Congress to deal with the two ques- whelmingly in favor of the "Intences that the undersigned organ- technical aid to be organized by of the initiators and promoters of tions that were before the Con- compatibility' clause, and Frachon them. Equalize taxes, and stop in- gress: (1) the statutes of the uni- and Racamond, who by previous fied Confederation; (2) the polit- agreement were slated for the Buical policy to be pursued.

Under the organizational queswere in dispute: what the strucpletely unclear) (yet the one combine trade union posts with Communist Party of which they leading functions in political or-(3) Fiscal administration per-[ganizations, and, finally, which in-

Jouhaux and Co., the leadership of the old C.G.T., stood pat on the "old" traditions; the leadership of "The Republic that the Republi- the Stalinist U.C.G.T. went through can parties conceive of is not a the motions of attempting to innomic class motives but a regime debates took place in an atmos-

The structural make-up of the because of this, the Republican hidebound C.G.T. appears on the policy has the duty of elevating surface to be very loose, very authe moral and material conditions tonomous and quite de-centralized, of the workers to the maximum but, in reality, its so-called Federlimit "that the general interest of alist structure is ideally suited for

The basic, and "traditional" unit of the C.G.T. is the local trade work for international unity. union organization known as a syndicate. In the majority of cases these local syndicates are quite small. Nationally, these syndicates are united into Federations, one for 1. Re-establish the social legis- each industry; and, on the other

> tions and the Departmental Unions of the agenda, pertaining to the can send delegates to the Congress,

gresses of the C.G.T. are not rep. claim that the program of the acquire a consciousness of the impartiality of their decisions" but also in order "that in no case shall rescutative democratic bodies. In 1925, the representation of the larger syndicates was increased to the general interests be minimized." make up for this crying discrep-ancy, but this purely formal ges-3. Rectify the process of the ture was intended only to screen tion (to quote the dispatch in falling salaries of the land work- the fact that the Congresses are a Pravda, March 4) to the effect ers, truly starvation salaries, fix- democratic sham-tar removed from that: "the General Confederation

existence, and creating the offense face the role of the highest direct. the People's Front . . . the resoluof dragging down salaries, which ing organs. But that is another tion goes on to point out that the shall be prosecutable before the sham. Between the Congresses, program of the People's Front courts. Although policy of econo- the C.G.T. is directed by the joint should include the specific demands against it, establishing statistics, comprises the representatives of with those who betrayed the French classification, employment agencies all the Federations, and of the working class in 1914. The united and workers exchanges, with spe- Departmental Unions (which are trade union movement in France cial attention to the unemployment themselves made up of a single will march to victory only in the

The joint Committee (which is Racamond and their associates. not a representative democratic The Republicans shall dedicate body), in its turn, selects an Ad- RESULTS OF THE SPANISH sacrifices. They will unify under Paris. This resident Committee welfare and health institutions secretariat, headed by Jouhaux) without violating wills of the de- which is the actual leadership of

It goes without saying that Jouhaux and his associates were ada-The Republic must consider edu- mant in preserving this antiquated and of the Center. reaucratic machinations and so of the elections as reported in a "The Republicans do not accept 1. "shall impel with the same obviously in need of "reform." One Havas dispatch of March 3rd. the name of democratic centralism licans, were 85. (no more, no less!) they proposed the Administrative Committee be Robles) getting 99 of them. and that this Committee, to be 10 seats. 4. The necessary methods to elected by a Congress far removed ture was preserved intact.

> troversy was over the decree of Praesidium of the Socialist frac-Jouhaux and Co. that it was "in- tion: in the voting, 49 votes were compatible" for a leading func- cast for Caballero and 32 for Prietionary of the C.G.T. to be a n.em- to. ber of the leading body of any political party.

READ THE NEW MILITANT o. agricultural credits; re-valori- banks and liquidating its frozen READ THE NEW MILITANT argued that it was entirely com- capitalize on these policies.

reau, proceeded to declare demonstratively that they considered the tion, the following three points decisions of the Congress as absolutely binding, and in proof of ture of the Confederation should their good faith immediately rebe, whether it is "compatible" to signed from the N.C. of the French are members.

> The third and final organizational dispute revolved about international affiliations. Jouhaux and Co. proposed affiliation to the Amsterdam International. Once again the Stalinists were most modest and reasonable. Far from proposing affiliation with the Red Trade Union International, they pleaded that the Confederation adhere to neither International, but maintain connections with both, and work for the calling of an International Trade Union Unity Congress as soon as possible. Could anything be more reasonable? Yet, Jouhaux in his speech simply passed in silence over the proposal to maintain any ties with the Profintern, and

The Congress once again voted overwhelmingly against the Stalinist proposals. The purely formal character of the Congress is best illustrated by the fact that after the stage play, speeches and votes for the record, the Statutes were referred back to the Commission and were then accepted unanimous-

an impassioned speech, pleading

Obviously, therefore, the Con- that the Congress solemnly proof Labor will struggle decisively

The Congresses play on the sur- for the demands in the program of

policy and practice of Jouhaux-

ELECTIONS

We have received an inquiry relating to the results of the last Spanish elections. The reports as to the outcome in the American bourgeois press appear to conflict primarily because the various reporters in recording the results of the elections differ in their manner of listing the parties of the Right

We print below the final results

The "People's Front" electoral

The three parties of the extreme --in sum and substance--not pro- Right obtained 135 seats, the C.E.D. portional representation, but that A. (the concentration led by Gli

ties and superior schools to obtain henceforth elected by the Congress | The Basque Nationalists obtained

Listing all the other parties in from proportional representation, the Center, the latter obtained 65

Secretary. But even this sham re- parliamentary fraction of the Soform was overwhelmingly defeated, cialist Party of Spain between the left wing led by Caballero can be gleaned from the results of the The second lively point of con- contest for the election of the

The elections show that as a result of the People's Front policies Semard, one of the Staliaist not only did the petty bourgeois leaders, made an eloquent speech parties obtain representation far in which he declared that such a exceeding their actual social and proposal was tantamount to "sanc- political weight in the country, but tions" against the leading workers also within the Socialist Party itin the trade union movement, and self. the Right wing was able to