

NEW MILITANT

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

VOL. 1, NO. 32

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 3, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

FOR THE 4th INTERNATIONAL Five Organizations Issue Call for New World Party; Answer New Betrayal of 7th Comintern Congress

Open Letter to All Revolutionary Working Class Organizations & Groups

Hitler's assumption to power, which did not meet with the slightest resistance on the part of the two "mighty" working class parties—one of them, moreover, basing itself upon the U.S.S.R.—has exposed decisively the internal putrefaction of the Second and Third Internationals. In August, 1933, four organizations (International Communist League, Revolutionary Socialist Party, Independent Socialist Party—both of Holland, and the Socialist Workers Party of Germany) formulated for the first time in a programmatic document the new historic task: the creation of the Fourth International. The events that have transpired since that time have been irrefutable confirmation that there is no other road.

The annihilation of the Austrian proletariat has demonstrated that victory cannot be gained by issuing last minute call for insurrection, the masses, disoriented and misled by opportunism—after the party had been driven into a blind alley. It is necessary to prepare systematically for victory by means of revolutionary policies in every sphere of the working class movement.

The very same lesson immutably flows from the annihilation of the Polish proletariat. Under all conditions, especially during a revolution, it is impermissible to turn ones back upon the toilers for the sake of a bloc with the bourgeoisie. It is impossible to expect and demand that the duped and disillusioned masses will fly to arms upon the stated call of a party in which they have lost confidence. The proletarian revolution is not improvised by orders of a bankrupt leadership. The revolution must be prepared through incessant and irreconcilable class struggle which gains for leadership the invincible confidence of the party, fuses the vanguard with the entire class, and transforms the proletariat into the savior of all the exploited in the city and country.

Following the ignominious downfall of the principal section of reformism—the completely corroded German social democracy—the "left wing" of the Second International went down in ruins in Austria and Spain. But these fearful lessons assessed by without leaving a trace; the leading cadres of reformism

within the party and in the trade unions have degenerated to the marrow of their bones. Their personal interests and their patriotic views bind them to the bourgeoisie and they are utterly incapable of resorting to the road of the class struggle.

Social Democracy Bound to the Chariot of the Bourgeoisie

The parties of the Second International calmly reconcile themselves to the fact that their Belgian president, at the very first beck of finance capital, joined hands with the Catholic and liberal middle-men to salvage the banks at the expense of the toiling masses. In the wake of Vandervelde there followed De Man, the vainglorious critic of Karl Marx, the originator of a "Plan"; nor did the "left" centrist Spaak fail to betray the socialist opposition in return for the livery of a minister.

Mindful neither of lessons nor warnings, the French Socialist Party continues vainly to clutch at the tailcoats of the "Republican" bourgeoisie, and it pins greater hopes upon the friendship of the Radicals than upon the revolutionary might of the proletariat. In all other countries, in every part of the world, in Holland, Scandinavia, Switzerland, the Social Democracy, despite the decay of capitalism, continues to remain the agency of the bourgeoisie within the working class and reveals its utter inability to mobilize the masses in its own

Introduction to the Open Letter

The Workers Party of the U. S. participates this week in an action of the greatest significance for the international proletariat, viz. the publication of the Open Letter on the Fourth International. Signing this letter in addition to the W.P.U.S. are the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party of Holland (R.S.A.P.), the International Communist League, the Workers Party of Canada and the French Bolshevik-Leninists. Of course the signature of the I. C. L. implies that of its other sections also, Russian, South African, Chilean, Cuban, Chinese, etc.

The signature of the Open Letter by the W.P.U.S. was authorized, depending upon the fulfillment of certain conditions, by the June Plenum of the National Committee of the party. The chief conditions were that the S.A.P. (Socialist Workers Party of Germany) should be given a month's time to join with other signers, the S.A.P. having been one of the signers of the Declaration of Four in 1933 where the concept

of the Fourth International was proclaimed; that the headquarters of the Provisional Contact Committee provided for in the Open Letter be Amsterdam; and that certain paragraphs dealing with the Franco-Soviet pact and with the situation in the U. S. and other American countries be included.

The S.A.P. expresses sympathy with the movement to build the Fourth International but asks that parties such as the W.P. join the I. A. G. (London-Amsterdam Bureau of centrist parties), a condition which the W.P. plenum rejected.

The other conditions laid down by the W.P. have been fulfilled.

In accordance, therefore with the action of the June Plenum of the N. C. the Political Committee of the Party has ordered the publication of the Open Letter in our official organ as the official proclamation to the world labor movement of our concurrence in the Open Letter and renewed evidence of our determination to pro-

ceed as rapidly as possible to the building of the Fourth International.

In this hour of mounting war danger and on the other hand of renewed evidence of capitulation of the Second and Third Internationals to social patriotism, the W.P.U.S. joins with joy, pride and hope in raising higher the banner of the Fourth International. We call upon the workers and intellectuals throughout the world, and especially here in the United States, to whatever organization they may today belong, to read and study the Open Letter and in the light of its contents and the present world situation to determine where their allegiance belongs. We have no time to lose in deciding how the working class may be saved from fresh betrayals and defeats, under what banner and how the vanguard and the masses may be rallied for the revolutionary victory over capitalism and the building of a workers' world.

A. J. MUSTE,
National Sec'y, W.P.U.S.

imperialism, publicly renounced the American Communists. This party, corrupted by a decade of unprincipled maneuvers and liquidationist experiments with parties (Farmer-Labor Party) which have nothing in common with proletarian parties either in their composition or program—this Stalinist party, upon orders from Moscow confines itself to the role of a radical-intellectual movement which functions in the United States as the valet of Stalinist diplomacy. But the deep-going crisis of American capitalism is awakening wide layers of workers from their semi-provincial slumbers, gradually dispelling bourgeois and petty bourgeois illusions, impelling the proletariat towards large scale class actions (Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco) and creates for the revolutionary Marxist party the possibility of gaining a wide spread and profound influence upon the development and organization of the American working class. The historic roll which accrues to the Fourth International and its American section not only within the confines of the Western hemisphere but on the world arena as well is of exceptional importance, since the smashing of American imperialism is of extreme significance for the world proletariat.

In Austria and Spain, the Communist International, despite extremely favorable circumstances, failed not only to create an organization in the least influential, but systematically compromised in the eyes of the workers the very idea of the revolutionary party. The Saar plebiscite is evidence that the German proletariat lost every vestige of confidence not only in the social democracy but in the Communist party as well—the party that so ingloriously capitulated to Hitler. In Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia, on both American continents and in the Orient the sections of the Communist International, burdened by twelve years of fatal policies are unable to emerge from their obscurity.

True, after the German debacle, the Communist International substituted the capitulatory policy of the united front at any price for the adventurist policy of the "third period." However, the experience in France, where this latest turn has attained its greatest development, demonstrates that the Communist International, with all its contradictions and zigzags, manages to retain its function of being a brake upon the proletarian revolution. Rejecting the creation of a workers' militia in face of the immediate fascist danger, substituting its program of immediate demands and a policy of parliamentarism for the struggle for power, the Communist International is the sower of the worst illusions of reformism and pacifism, gives actual support to the right wing in the Socialist Party against the Left, demoralizes the proletarian vanguard, and clears the road for a fascist overturn.

Finally, the founder of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been completely crushed during the last few years by the uncontrolled bureaucracy which has turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the conservative absolutism of Stalin. By means of persecutions, frauds, amalgams and bloody repression the ruling clique strives to nip in the bud every manifestation of Marxist thought. Nowhere in the world is genuine Leninism hounded so bestially as in the U.S.S.R.

Stalin Has Signed the Death Warrant of the C.I.

The most recent opportunistic somersault of the Communist International.

(Continued on Page 3)

Manifesto of the W. P. U. S. on Anti-War Day

For the working class the greatest tragedy in connection with the World War of 1914-18 was its betrayal by the Socialist leaders and the trade union leaders under social democratic influence. These leaders who had ostensibly been engaged in the struggle against imperialism war capitulated at the outbreak of the war to the capitalists and militarists, voted the war credits demanded by the various governments, and made it possible for these governments to lead the workers of one nation to slaughter and be slaughtered by the workers of another nation.

The greatest tragedy which threatens the workers of the world

on this twenty-first anniversary of the outbreak of the first World War, which finds all the capitalist powers engaged in war preparations on the most extensive scale, is not only fresh betrayal by the social democracy but betrayal also by the Third (Stalinist) International and the Communist (Stalinist) parties throughout the world and by the Stalinist bureaucracy which controls the Soviet Union today.

The most urgent task of the advanced workers is to expose the utter and abject surrender of the Stalinist parties to social-patriotism; to expose the so-called "peace policies" of the present Soviet leadership as leading not to peace but to capitulation in war, not to the defense of the Soviet Union but to the breakdown of its best and only defense, namely, the world revolutionary movement; to smash the influence of the Stalinist parties over the workers and their allies throughout the world; and to raise aloft the banner of the New, Fourth, International, under which alone the uncompromising revolutionary struggle against imperialism war and against imperialism can be carried to a victorious conclusion.

Fervent War Preparations
At this very moment when the children who were born during the period of the Great War, are of age for military service, all the capitalist nations are engaged in war preparations on the most colossal scale and the "coming war" is no longer something that may or may not appear in the remote future. The diplomats of the Great Powers discuss cynically not whether war is to come but when it will break out. In portions of Asia and Africa the armies are already being drawn up in battle formation.

Hitler Germany has defied the Versailles treaty, introduced universal conscription and begun the rebuilding of a navy to make her a dominant sea power once again, at least in the North Sea.

Fascist Italy has announced its intention to subjugate Ethiopia and is daily transporting thousands of armed men to that country's frontiers.

Once more the fuse has been lighted that may blow up the pow-

der barrels of the Polish Corridor, for which Germany is now renewing its claim, and of Memel, where the antagonism between Germany and Lithuania is only a superficial expression for a deeper rivalry among all the rival imperialist powers of the Old World.

The hegemony of France over Continental Europe, temporarily secured by the Versailles treaty, is now threatened; and France must

Green Dodges Convention of Auto Workers

Rank and File Determined to Form International

By BURKE COCHRAN

DETROIT, Mich.—The unofficial date for the convocation of a constitutional convention of delegates from the present federal unions to set up an International in the automobile and auto parts industry, is supposed to have been set for August 26. This unofficial notice has already engendered a tremendous enthusiasm among automobile workers throughout the country. The response has proved again that the time is doubly ripe for the establishment of an International and will undoubtedly become a major factor in the organization of the workers of this key industry.

President Wm. Green, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and Francis Dillon, head of the National Council of the United Automobile Workers Union, however, have not yet broken their silence with regard to the proposed convention. Nobody in the Dillon office at Detroit, knows what arrangements have been made for this convention, where it will be held or anything else about it. None of the locals have yet received instructions with regards to the convention, on what basis delegates will

(Continued on Page 4)

slip back unless she reasserts herself and goes forward—that is, unless she is a victor in another war.

The economic contradictions in which the Japanese ruling class finds itself continue to drive Japan toward expansion in China, Manchukuo, Mongolia, all along the borders of the Soviet Union, and finally past them, in Siberia.

British interests are threatened by the adventures of Italy and Japan and the economic expansion of U. S. capitalism, so that at the very moment when a poll of British citizens records a ninety percent vote for universal disarmament the British government launches a colossal naval building campaign.

The European continent is being overrun by the diplomatic advance agents of imperialist armies. From London to Paris to Moscow to Vienna to Berlin, Warsaw, the Balkan capitals—the lines are kept feverishly busy by the wire-pullers who are setting the stage for the impending war, jockeying for favorable positions and the greatest and most potent set of confederates.

Terrorism Grows

As capitalism everywhere in spite of its most frantic efforts, finds it more and more difficult to satisfy the most elementary needs of the masses, as it further depresses the standard of living even in relatively favored nations such as the U.S. and as the discontent of the masses seethes and boils over, expresses resentment against misery and war preparations, the capitalist nations seek to establish the "national unity" which will enable them to lead the masses to war in an attempt to resolve the crisis. Hitler is today compelled to resort to terroristic methods even against those very lower middle-class elements which helped to bring him into power (the persecutions of Catholics and Protestants, the Hitler press attacks on small business men). The Hitler regime has not been able to fulfill its demagogic promises to these elements; he is already in danger of losing their support. Thus we are shown that the German economic crisis is so severe that Hitler may be compelled any day to embark upon war. At

The Frightful Wreckage of the C.I. Over the World

In the meantime the Third International does nothing except squander the remaining shreds of influence and authority acquired during the first five years of its existence.

the same time the masses in other countries are reminded that it is but a question of time until there is too capitalism, either in preparation for war or in the conduct of it, establishes an equally brutal and barbaric terrorism.

All of these war preparations of the imperialist powers are in reality directed also against the Soviet Union, though only some of them have this avowed aim and some capitalist governments even profess to be eager to help "defend" the Soviet Union. Capitalism cannot live peacefully side by side with the workers' state which is laying (Continued on Page 4)

Move for Omaha General Strike In Support of Tram Workers

OMAHA, Nebr.—General strike sentiment in Omaha in support of the striking streetcar men has risen so strongly that the executive board of the Central Labor Union has agreed to place a general strike call before that body Aug. 2.

The executive board's action followed pressure from the streetcar men's rank and file strike committee of 13, who demanded that the C.L.U. endorse a call for the general walkout within two weeks.

A conference of all organized labor in the city has been called for August 6 to form a general strike committee. At that time the date for the strike will be definitely set.

On the following day there is to be a conference of unaffiliated and unorganized workers and farmers to form a supporting committee of action.

The aggressiveness of Omaha labor was aroused by the continued delay of C.L.U. officials, by the vicious "red baiting" and splitting tactics of the daily press, and by open threats by bosses of wholesale firing of union labor.

In a press release, James C. Perkins, strike leader, called upon all groups to support the program of unity and militant action as the only means of winning strike.

Should the general walkout take place, some 35,000 Omaha families

will be affected. Strikers followed the recent Terre Haute general tie-up with keen interest, and it is felt that the Indiana situation has been a great influence in creating general strike sentiment here.

In support of the streetcar workers, the Omaha and Council Bluffs Central Labor Unions and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen have issued 70,000 circulars explaining the strike, to be distributed in every home in Omaha and Council Bluffs. Organized labor contributed the stock, members of the printing crafts donated their labor, and the Farmer-Labor Press of Council Bluffs gave the use of its press.

The leaflet emphasizes the fact that the streetcar strike is the same one which was called April 20, 1934, and has been repeatedly interrupted by conferences, only to have the company ignore all decisions of such conferences. Some weeks ago, Gov. Roy Cochran forced an agreement after compulsory arbitration only to have the company violate it by ignoring the seniority decision.

The local C.L.U. calls attention to its offer of "free-ride cars" identified by red and white stickers, a convenience developed by organized labor for the citizens to enable them to boycott the streetcars.

10,000 Rally for Tom Mooney In Frisco on 19th Year of Arrest

SAN FRANCISCO, July 28.—10,000 workers filled the Civic Auditorium today, on the nineteenth anniversary of the framing of Tom Mooney. The all important and immediate purpose of this mass meeting was to signalize attention to the continued imprisonment of Mooney on the rankless frame-up conspiracy ever perpetrated by open hop employers against active militant trade unionists.

Harry Bridges, militant maritime labor leader, was one of the principal speakers who emphatically protested against continuing this monstrous injustice.

Leo Gallagher, former attorney or Mooney, commented at length on the legal aspects of the Mooney case; and Melvin Jackson who represented the Tom Mooney Molders defense Committee spoke on the role of Youth in the struggles of labor for a place in the sun and in the fight for Tom Mooney's freedom.

Kanji Kato, Chairman of the National Trade Union Congress of Japan, brought a message of peace and friendship from the workers of Japan, and expressed international solidarity in the demand that Tom Mooney be freed. He delivered his oration entirely in Japanese and at intervals passed so that his interpreter could translate for the audience what he had said.

The entire program of three hours was broadcast over radio station KROW, and the only unexpected occurrence was during Rev. Alexander's speech, when he asked for a demonstration by the audience for the special benefit of Tom Mooney who was listening to the meeting over the radio from San Quentin. The radio station immediately cut him off the air, and the announcer explained to the radio audience that it was a federal offense to communicate with a prisoner inside a penitentiary by radio.

The sponsors of the meeting, those who helped to make it a huge success, included the International Longshoremen's Association 38-79, the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the Ship Stewards 38-100, the Communist Party, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union No. 8, the I.L.A. Auxiliary, the Workers Party of U.S., the Walters Union, the Waitresses Union, the Auto Mechanics Union, the Carpenters Union No. 518, the Painters Union No. 1158, and the Machinists Union.

Tom Mooney on this August 2 will have been a continuous active member of the International Molders Union for thirty-three years, and the unions of San Francisco supported him loyally in this mighty demonstration of solidarity.

Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Brides...

From the New York Times, July 22: "Mrs. Ottilie Stufmann Umbach, 28 year old bride, drowned Saturday near Washington Bridge when a torrent of rain water swept her down a drain in which poverty had driven her and her husband to seek refuge. . . . The couple had moved to New Jersey about a month ago, police said, after Umbach had lost his job and they had no living quarters. With a crude tent, they camped in Palisades Interstate Park by night, hiding the tent by day, until the rains of last week forced them to seek other shelter. Then they moved to the mouth of the drain, a concrete tunnel about four feet in diameter. . . . From the same issue of the N. Y. Times: "Jim (a polar bear) will bring his mate to one of the finest dwellings to be found in any zoo, with the latest and most modern improvements. At least fifty feet long, the ground is slanted, with a drop of about thirty feet from the top of the stone cliffs to the semi-circular swimming pool below. A narrow waterfall separates the two cliffs under one of which is a roomy and comfortable den." . . .

Housing...

The courts have ruled that land may be condemned to build railroads, arsenals, military camps and public buildings. . . . The circuit court of Louisville, Ky., has denied the power of the government to condemn land for housing workers. . . . Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Sonnes, transient workers, occupied the Barnesville, Ohio, fairground stable during the birth of their baby. . . . The HOLC up to July 15 had started foreclosure proceedings against 712 home owners who failed to meet payments on loans granted to save their properties from foreclosure. . . . The government has appropriated a half million dollars to install a heating and ventilating plant in the Statue of Liberty. . . .

New Deal...

John Dickinson, former counsel for the Sugar Trust and most vocal opponent of the Securities and Exchange Act, has been appointed Assistant Attorney General in charge of anti-trust suits. . . . The U. S. Shipping Board sold 146 ships, some of which cost as much as \$2,500,000 for \$4,600 each. The company that purchased the ships made a profit of \$35,000 each on the steel alone, selling it to Japan for munitions. . . . In 1933, 80,539 corporations reported incomes below \$100,000 and 284 above \$1,000,000. The aggregate income of the big corporations exceeded that of the small. . . . \$25,000 has been appropriated for a photo-electric eye to check examination papers for the Civil Service Commission. It will displace 100 clerks. . . . Figures compiled by the FEBA show that 29 percent of the employed heads of rural households have shifted from their usual occupations, most of them going one or more steps downward on the occupational ladder. . . . Dr. I. M. Hargrett, Methodist minister, criticizes Roosevelt's policies: "I wish the President would not make such a pleasure day of Sunday." . . .

Prosperity...

Last February General Charles Daves predicted that prosperity would return by July, 1935. . . . Apple growers in Illinois are permitting their fruit to rot for lack of a profitable market. . . . Eight children in Fresno, Cal., were poisoned from eating contaminated garbage. . . . Household workers in Harlem place themselves on the public auction block and sell themselves to the highest bidder. . . . The home of Mrs. Anna Roosevelt Dall Boettger near Ossining, N. Y., is being sold to foreclose a mortgage. . . . Huey Long's newspaper, The American Progress, has curtailed its staff from 22 to 16 and doubled its subscription price. . . .

Royalty...

When Haile Selassie was crowned Emperor of Ethiopia, the King of England presented him with a one tone Angel Food cake. The King of Italy sent 500 bottles of Chianti. . . . John D. Rockefeller, at 96, has 19 of his own teeth. . . . The monarchist Austrian State Council approved a bill to restore Hapsburg property the income of which, estimated at \$200,000 per year, has since 1919 been used to aid crippled war veterans. . . .

Book Review...

Walter Pitkin of the Columbia University School of Journalism, in his "Capitalism Carries On": "Who are the Coolies? Hundreds of thousands sweatshop workers. They live in squalor that a fastidious animal would shun. . . . How grotesque to ask scientists and engineers and administrators to spend their lives supporting such rabble." His solution is sterilization. . . .

The Role and Position of the Various Groups in the Struggle Occurring in the Teachers Union

Below is the third of a series of articles on the situation in the Teachers Union, its background, the policies of the groups within it, and the struggle for union democracy as occasioned by the recent attempt of the administration to drive minorities from the organization.—Ed.

In 1928, a small group of Union teachers organized the Progressive Group based upon a program designed to make the Union a more effective force among the teachers. The Union then had within its ranks less than 1,000 members out of a teaching body of over 30,000 and was making little progress in organizing them. Two years later certain sections of the left wing within the general labor movement adopted a policy of seeking to build a new national trade union center in opposition to the A. F. of L. The influence of this policy was soon reflected within the ranks of the Progressives, which resulted in a split into two groups, one retaining the name of the group and the other group representing this new influence adopting the name of Rank and File.

The Progressive Group

The Progressive Group based its policies on building the Union as the sole economic organization of the teachers and was opposed to all independent activity outside the Union. Although it has been in opposition to the Administration and fights it on many issues on the floor of the Union, it does not seek to oust the Administration from the leadership—it seeks to reform it in a progressive direction. It takes the position that at present the Administration is much to the left of the great mass of teachers—hence what is needed is not a new leadership but a reform of the policies of the present one.

Bertram D. Wolfe, one of the leaders of this group, declared at one of its meetings that it would be disastrous to the Union or the present Administration to be replaced by a left wing leadership because the latter would be so much out of touch with the point of view of the majority of the teachers as to cause a collapse of the Union and the ruin of many years of hard work in building the organization. Ben Davidson, the chief of the Progressives, declared that if Dr. Lefkowitz should resign as legislative representative of the Union, he believed it would go to pieces. With this defeatist point of view as its guiding line, it becomes clear why the Progressives did not put out a full election slate until 1933, offering until then no candidates in opposition to Lefkowitz and Linville. It also becomes clear why the Progressives centered their main attack during this period upon the Rank and File for its dual-unionist policies, and not upon the Administration, thus giving the latter fuel for its attack upon the entire opposition. That is why the belief has existed among many teachers that the Progressives are simply a pseudo-opposition.

After the formation of the Unemployed Teachers Association in the spring of 1931, upon the initiative of the Rank and File, the Progressives, in the fall of the same year, sponsored the organization of the Association of Unappointed Teachers as a rival organization of unemployed teachers—thus splitting the movement at the very outset. This policy it has maintained until the present despite the fact that there does not exist any legitimate reason for two organizations in this field.

The leaders of the Progressives—Davidson, Wolfe and Wittes solemnly promised that as soon as the Rank and File Group abandoned its dual unionist position, liquidated its Classroom Teacher Groups, etc., it would propose a merger of the Progressive Group and the Rank and File and other opposition groups. In this event it further promised to merge the Association of Unappointed Teachers with the Unemployed Teachers Association and strive for the eventual entry of both into the Teachers Union. Despite the fact that the Rank and File has changed its policies in this respect—despite the dissolution of the Classroom Teachers Groups—the Progressives leader refuse to carry out their promises and hide their opposition to the long overdue merger under various untenable pretexts.

Policies of Rank and File Group

The Rank and File group, as stated above, came into existence as a result of the movement, during 1929 to 1934, for the building of a new national trade-union center, and as a result of a split within the Progressive Group. The Rank and File is officially allied to the "Rank and File" movements in other A. F. of L. unions, such as the A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance. Its official organ is "The A. F. of L. Rank and File". The Rank and File, under the leadership of Isadore Begun, originally took the position that it was hopeless to seek to reform the union and have it adopt and carry out a

progressive or militant program.

In accordance with this orientation, it initiated the organization of the Committee to Protect Salaries (1931) ostensibly for the purpose of organizing school salary committees to fight the then proposed salary cuts, but actually for the purpose of laying the basis for a rival organization to the Teachers Union.

After this attempt had failed, it initiated and organized the Classroom Teachers Groups on a similar anti-Union basis and used this organization as a means of attacking the Union from the outside. Attempts by members of the Rank and File to correct this policy proved of no avail; they were simply dropped from the group, received no notices, were refused the floor, etc.

Similarly, the Rank and File undertook the organization of the Unemployed Teachers Association in 1931, which was a correct move in itself due to the refusal of the Administration to organize or permit the organization of the unemployed teachers under its auspices. But the Rank and File leadership (Begun, Citron, Levine) misused their influence within the U.T.A. to lead it into anti-Union channels. Within the U.T.A. a struggle was carried on by a group of leading members to correct this false course. The result was the same as in the Rank and File: the opposition was removed from the Executive Board and ostracized within the organization.

The leadership of the Rank and File proved in action that in addition to steering a dual unionist course, it could outdo the Lefkowitz-Linville faction in using the same bureaucratic and anti-democratic measures against those who disagreed with them in their own organization. Through these destructive activities the Rank and File leadership played into the hands of the Administration which used their tactics as arguments to confuse the membership and to prevent the adoption of mass action policies by the Union.

A Bankrupt Maneuver

After the liquidation of such dual organizations as the National Miners Union, the National Textile Workers, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, etc., the policy of the Rank and File also was changed. At first it proposed a united front of the Classroom Teachers Groups with the Teachers Union (June, 1934). When this maneuver failed, it proposed that the Teachers Union call a conference of all teachers' organizations for the purpose of uniting, although the Rank and File leaders knew perfectly well that the only organization that would respond to such a call would be its own controlled Classroom Teachers Groups. This maneuver was designed to cover the bankruptcy of its own policy and to act as a face-saving device while a change of policy was being effected, likewise failed. The Rank and File leaders were compelled to order the liquidation of the Classroom Teachers Groups, thus substantiating the charge that its intent was to create a rival to displace the Teachers Union.

In spite of its false policies, the strength of the Rank and File has increased considerably during the past year, a contradiction which not

only does not justify its past anti-Union course, but serves to emphasize how much greater its strength might have been had it followed a pro-Union course. In the last few months of the school year it strove feverishly to bring in as many members as possible into the Union from among its followers which it had previously kept from joining the Union. But the Administration made good use of the Rank and File's previous blunders to win in the elections of 1935. This soon made it possible for the Lefkowitz-Linville faction to block the rapid growth of the opposition by closing the books of the Union against the entrance of new members.

The Committee for Democracy

Because the leaders of the Rank and File refused to reform their policies in a pro-Union direction, because they refused to organize a broad and non-factional united front movement together with the Progressives and other independent elements to restore democracy in the Union, because they resorted to expulsion and ostracism against those of its members who advocated these changes—the Committee for Democracy in the Union came into existence. Dissatisfied members of the Progressive Group and independent members likewise joined the committee. The aim was not to create a third opposition group with a complete trade union program but to develop a non-partisan movement to restore the democratic rights of the membership to determine the policies of the Union.

The program of the Committee consists of the following:

- 1) The restoration by constitutional amendment of the right of the membership to determine the basic policies of the union.
- 2) The democratization of the Delegate Assembly, which will then constitute the working body of the Union between membership meetings.
- 3) The admission into the Union, with full membership rights and at nominal dues, of unemployed and unappointed teachers of the city.
- 4) Reduction of dues to facilitate an organizational campaign to make possible the drawing into the Union of the great mass of teachers who are still outside it.

The Committee for Democracy in the Union, in the brief period of its existence (Nov. 1934) engaged in a remarkable amount of constructive activity in a hostile atmosphere created by a highly factionalized situation. In this brief period it issued a program for the democratization of the Union. Six bulletins explaining this program were issued to the membership. It sounded the alarm and called for a united front when the Organized Union Majority was organized and when Dr. Linville sent out his unauthorized letters to the membership attacking the right of minority groups to exist in the Union. Predicting that these moves were preliminary to the renewal of the Administration's campaign to crush the opposition groups by ousting them from the Union, the Committee pointed out the dangers and appealed to the Rank and File and to the Progressive Group to form a united front with it on a limited program of restoring and extending democracy (Nov. 1934). Both of these groups refused to heed the appeal, each denying that an immediate danger of expulsion existed and each setting forth ultimatum demands which made a united front impossible. They were soon to learn how costly their blunder would prove.

Party Grows In Cleveland

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—The recently organized Downtown Branch of the Workers Party began its organizational and agitational work with a bang here Wednesday night, July 24, through the medium of an open organizational meeting attended by approximately fifty workers. The meeting had been well advertised at several open air meetings held during the week at Public Square.

Harry Thurman, branch secretary, in opening the meeting gave a short report dealing with the great need of an organization of the type of the Workers Party in Cleveland and showing the necessity for such an organization nationally. He also brought out the necessity for every class conscious worker to be in its ranks. After this preliminary report the floor was thrown open for discussion. The majority of the questions asked dealt with the difference between the Workers Party and the C.P., and S.P. They also stressed the necessity for a united front of all political working class organizations against the common enemy—capitalism.

As a result of this meeting fifteen workers who attended signed applications for membership in the Party. Besides holding these open meetings, the downtown branch plans to help in the organization of an Unemployed League.

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—"C. A. Hathaway was responsible for my resignation from the Communist Party and my intention to join the Workers Party," Harry Thurman, young C. P. member answered in

response to a question from the District organizer of the C.P. as to why he was leaving the Stalinists for the Workers Party. Thurman, a member of the Communist Party for two years, became convinced of the bankruptcy of the Third International after reading statements of Thorez, leading "theoretician" of the French C. P., in which he attempted to explain away the entangling alliance the Soviet Union has just concluded with France, which forces the French C. P. members to act as recruiting sergeants in time of war. Other members of the C. P. and Y.C.L. in Cleveland announced their intention of leaving the Stalinists for the same reason.

CHELSEA, Mass. (FP).—A unique decision closely affecting the labor and radical movements was recently handed down when Judge Samuel R. Cutler of Chelsea district court found the Western Union Telegraph Co. in contempt of court and fined it \$500 for accepting, transmitting and delivering protest telegrams against the arrest of two defendants appearing before his court. If this decision is upheld, it will deprive the great majority of the people of the right to inform public officials of their opinions, and bring mass pressure to bear on reactionary officials.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays
and Holidays

Lumber Strike Ends; Obtain Few Demands

Labor Skates Expel All Rebellious Locals from Union

By EARL LANE

PORTLAND, Ore., July 31.—The great Northwest lumber strike virtually ended in this important lumber production center when on its 80th day the Sawmill and Timber Workers local voted overwhelmingly to accept a compromise settlement of 50 cents per hour minimum wage scale, a 40-hour, five consecutive day week, no discrimination against workers who participated in the strike, re-employment as soon as each department re-opens, and collective bargaining between the individual employers and employees in the individual mills. The workers in each mill are to be represented by a committee elected by them. The original strike demands were: 75c per hour minimum wage scale, 30-hour week, one week's sick leave and one week's vacation annually with pay, and union recognition.

The bosses were reluctant to grant even the meager concessions contained in the final settlement, and only did so after the workers had flatly rejected a proposed agreement that would have left the operators free to discriminate against the militants in the union's ranks and put the matter of re-employing the strikers off into the nebulous future, "whenever it is possible to do so." In the case of the militants, "whenever it is possible" would with a creativity have been never. Another concession forced by the union was the five consecutive day week.

Concessions Inadequate

In spite of the fact that these concessions were won the settlement must be considered a defeat. The fact that the workers in two plants were not included and were left to settle with their bosses by themselves was a serious departure from true union solidarity. But the gravest defeat is the splitting up of the union into separate mill locals, thus preventing the presentation of a united front to the attacks of the bosses which are sure to follow as soon as they feel themselves strong enough.

In the face of the fact that the strike has virtually ended in every other important center, the workers in Tacoma and Aberdeen are still out, the Tacoma local having rejected a compromise settlement last Saturday night.

Abe Muir, with the support of the top leadership of the A. F. of L., is continuing his campaign to smash the militant locals of the S. & T. W. U., using the same charter revoking tactics that are being used against the Minneapolis militants. William Green injected himself into the struggle to smash local 2504 which has been fighting Muir and his sell-out policies. In a telegram to Hutcheson, reactionary president of the Carpenters and Joiners, he threatened to revoke the charter of Longview-Kelso Central Labor Council if they did not unseat delegates from 2504 and completely disassociate itself from the militant local. The federation executive's threat is contained in this message sent to P. W. Dowler, general representative of the Carpenters and Joiners.

Green's Papal Bull

"Just received following telegram from President Green. 'Have dispatched a letter with seal attached thereto to officers Central Labor Council, Kelso and Longview by airmail instructing them to disassociate delegates from suspended local 2504 from affiliation with central body and also wiring organizer Watson instructing him to proceed to Longview and if necessary revoke the charter of the central body in order to enforce compliance with my instructions.' Wm. L. Hutcheson."

Thus we see that the labor fakers will not hesitate to use any methods, no matter how vile, to smash militant unionism.

Promote the Struggle

Although the workers fell far short of winning their original strike demands, and agreements such as the ones concluded in Portland represent a real setback, nevertheless some definite gains can be recorded. Wage increases were won, the company union (4L) has been smashed in the largest production centers, and although its ranks are infested with such rats as Muir, a bonafide trade union has been established.

The Northwest lumber workers must gird themselves for a struggle to cleanse their ranks of the fakers and build a strong rank and file movement that will wage a determined struggle for better living conditions.

Above all the workers must realize that labor fakers, the bosses, and the government are one big union of exploiters which the workers must unite to banish from the earth or gradually sink back to the level of the serfs of the Middle Ages. Join the ranks of the Workers Party. Onward to the goal of a classless society.

The Manager's Corner

The realization of the eight-page weekly is now assured by the enthusiastic response given to our call for the strengthening of the party press. The figures of total contributions received to date for this special purpose would hardly seem to substantiate our claim. But these figures do not tell the whole story. So while we have now reached only a little less than 20 percent of the \$2,000 set as a goal for the campaign to launch the eight-page weekly, the real situation is that we are building up a solid economic foundation for our press, and above all, we are really beginning to extend its circulation.

Our appeal was not in vain. The party branches and the bundle agents are undertaking in a serious manner to pay up on their accounts, regular subscriptions are rolling in, subscription renewals are given attention and advance subscriptions for the eight-page weekly are appearing.

Postponement Unavoidable

When we announced our campaign for the eight-page weekly we set August 3 as a tentative date for its appearance. Many comrades undoubtedly expected this issue to be it. But we were a little too rash in our estimates. We did not fully realize that because we had been so badly remiss in the past, resulting in so many frightfully delinquent accounts, there was so much to be done before a sound economic basis could be assured. In addition we were ourselves so much delayed in getting the campaign underway. And let it be clearly understood, we have no interest in making a show of progress that is not real and does not rest on a realistic basis enabling us to maintain every gain and to march forward. Our aim is not merely to add to the pages of the NEW MILITANT, rather it is to make the kind of advance that will produce a vastly improved party organ and produce a worthy spokesman for the militant workers.

Since last week's report the following amounts have been received:

Contributions	
Newark branch	\$12.00
Boston branch	6.00
Harlem branch, N. Y. C.	4.05
Gulfport, Miss. branch	5.00
Kansas City branch	3.00
East Side branch, N.Y.C.	6.00
Herman Kressig Brjl, N. Y.	1.00
Workers of Bangor, Maine	2.00
Flatbush branch, N.Y.C.	1.25
Bronx branch, N.Y.C.	6.00
Paterson branch	1.00
Center branch, N.Y.C.	8.50
Boro Park branch, N.Y.C.	2.00
Total	\$56.80
Advance Subscriptions	
New Haven branch (Gendelman)	\$ 2.00
Philadelphia branches (Goodman)	7.00
Subscriptions (Club Plans)	
Chicago branches	3.80
Boston branch	1.50
Greetings	
Philadelphia branches	6.00
West Side branch, N.Y.C.	5.00
Kansas City branch	3.00
California District Committee	1.00
Libby Rockhill, Brooklyn, N.Y.	.25
Previous total	\$276.48
Grand Total	\$362.86

What to Attend

Friday—Dram group of S. Y. L. meets regularly Friday-evenings at 8 P.M. at 55 E. 11th St. All comrades interested in dramatics are asked to attend.

Sunday, August 4—Come boating and swimming with the Spartacus Youth League. Meet at Pelham Bay Station at 10:30 A.M.

(Bronx east side Pelham Bay line to last stop). Cost per day per person, boat 25c. Bring lunch.

Friday, August 9, 8 P.M.—Special lecture: "The Third International Meets at Last." Speaker: A. J. Muste. 1776 Pitkin Ave. Ausp: Brownsville Branch, W. P.

Saturday, August 10, 8:30 P.M.—Brownsville Package Party and Dance. 7176 Pitkin Ave. Adm. 15c with package. Free refreshments, songs; Spartakive Ballet.

Moonlight On The Hudson

ATTENTION—moonlighters, comrades and sympathizers. The preparations for the Moonlight Sail are going full steam ahead. We have engaged the services of a well known New York music maestro for those who like dancing in the moonlight. There will be entertainment and games galore. Don't wait until the last moment to purchase your tickets. Only 300 tickets will be sold and those who wait too long will find it impossible to obtain them. Tickets can be bought at 55 E. 11th Street, and at the Bookshop, 96 Fifth Avenue.

MUSIC	DANCING
<h3>MOONLIGHT SAIL</h3> <p>S.S. ISLANDER TO HOOK MOUNTAIN</p>	
<p>LEAVES PEIR W. 132ND ST., 5.30 P.M. SATURDAY AUGUST 17, 1935</p>	
<h3>BENEFIT 8 PAGE NEW MILITANT</h3>	
<p>TICKET \$1.00</p>	
ENTERTAINMENT	REFRESHMENTS

Five Organizations Issue Call for New World Party

(Continued on Page 2)

Fight Hitlerism!

Out of the hell-holes of German fascism, the concentration camps, and the illegal activity once again comes the imperious cry of the revolutionists for assistance. Faced with tremendous obstacles such as were unknown since the days of Czarism, which seems mild and heavenly in comparison with the Nazi inferno, the German internationalists are carrying on in spite of all. At the risk of life and limb they are circulating their literature, educating the workers anew and preparing for the day when they will be strong enough to throw off Hitler's yoke. Many are thrown into prison, others are mauled beyond description by the Brown sadists and still others make the supreme sacrifice in the cause of the revolutionary movement.

These comrades have appealed to us directly through their friends in Paris. Their organization, the International Communists of Germany is affiliated to the I. C. L. with which the Workers Party is in fraternal relations. They give instances of the arrest of several of their best fighters as quoted in Nazi papers their indictment for high treason and their condemnation to between one and three years in the concentration camp. Such cases exist by the hundreds. Yet the work continues; each case of persecution only spurring on the members of the I. C. L. to greater activity.

They speak in their communication of the dreadful shambles that once was the proud Socialist party and the Communist party; how the youth are looking for a new road after the shameful collapse of both these parties in face of the Hitlerite aggression. Disillusionment has not only spread to the adherents of working class parties but also to large sections of the middle class—for whom the Nazi promises have all turned to dust. Possibilities for revolutionary activity are greater in view of the let down of espionage among large sections of the populace that previously acted as stool pigeons for Hitler.

Although the political advantages and opportunities of the International Communists have increased because of the disillusionment that has spread in both old parties, nevertheless they operate under tremendous handicaps. While the Stalinist and reformist parties command huge sums of money wherewith to carry on their illegal activity, the revolutionists are forced to rely on the meager pennies and nickels of their comrades and the occasional contributions of sympathizers.

Up to now the International Communists have refrained from making public appeals for funds for fear of jeopardizing the physical safety of those comrades in the clutches of Fascist "justice." Changed conditions however have obliged a change in this policy and through us they are appealing for aid. A committee has been set up in Paris to forward such funds as are received for the purpose of smuggling literature into Germany, distributing it in the Reich and helping those comrades fleeing from the Fascist butcher and so on.

All funds should be sent to: Jean Meichler, P. B. 14, 248, rue des Pyrenees Paris (18). Money orders to: Jean Meichler, Paris 1268 14.

YOUNG SPARTACUS OUT
YOUNG SPARTACUS has come out after a lapse of a couple of months and its contents compensate for the delay. Articles on the Y.P. S. L. convention, the A. Y. C. congress, and Tom Paine, and excerpts from a manifesto of the Bolshevik-Leninist Youth of France make the paper interesting reading.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

WORKERS
Protect Yourself Against the Hazards of Life, Join the WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S. 1884-1935
Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose: to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers.
About 60,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserves \$3,400,000.
Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick benefit payments from \$360 to \$900—to men and women, according to classes.
Monthly assessments from 45c to \$2.20.
For further information apply to Main Office: 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

International is intimately linked up with the Soviet turn in foreign policy towards the League of Nations and the military alliance with French imperialism. The ruling bureaucracy of the U.S.S.R. has definitely arrived at the conclusion that the Communist International is impotent to afford it any assistance whatsoever against the war danger and at the same time, it hinders the work of Soviet diplomacy. The humiliating and truly servile dependency of the Communist International upon the Soviet upper crust is expressed in a particularly glaring light in connection with the recent declaration of Stalin, approving the national defense of French imperialism.

Through the medium of an imperialist minister the leader of the Communist International passed the order to the French Communist party to conclude a patriotic truce today with the French bourgeoisie. Thus the Third International whose congresses have not been convoked for almost seven years has now officially gone over from the internationalist position to that of the most outright and servile social patriotism. Whether or not the Seventh Congress, so continually postponed, convenes—the Third International will not be resuscitated. The Stalin-Laval communique is its death warrant.

A New Slaughter and a New Betrayal Imminent

Meanwhile, the destructive forces of capitalism continue their hellish work. The disintegration of world economy, the unemployment of tens of millions, the ruin of the peasantry put imperiously on the order of the day the task of the socialist revolution. The toilers, embittered and aroused, are seeking a way out. The prostration, collapse and putrefaction of the Second and Third International leave the proletariat without revolutionary leadership and impel the petty bourgeois masses on the road of despair. The bankrupt leaders seek to shift the responsibility for the triumph of fascism on the "passivity" of the proletariat; thus political betrayal is supplemented with calumny.

Threshing in the grip of insoluble contradictions, capitalism is preparing to plunge the peoples into a new slaughter. Ministers and diplomats openly speculate whether the outbreak of the war will come in one or in three years from now. All the governments, vying with one another, are preparing the most destructive instruments, and thereby from every side they are hastening the explosion which may be immeasurably more frightful than the war of 1914-1918.

The leaders of the so-called working class parties and the trade unions sing loud the praises of the beauties of peace, they babble about "disarmament," exhort their governments to make peace among themselves, arouse the hopes of the working masses in the League of Nations, and at the same time swear fealty to the cause of "national defense" i.e. the defense of bourgeois rule with its inevitable wars.

Under cover of the "united front" and even of "organic unity" Soviet diplomacy is preparing, behind the backs of the class conscious workers, class peace between the sections of the two Internationals and the bourgeoisie of those countries which are in military alliance with the Soviet State. Thus the outbreak of a new war must lead to a new betrayal which will eclipse that of August 4th, 1914.

We Are Stronger Today Than the "Lefts" in 1915

The betrayal of the cause of the international revolution by the Soviet bureaucracy has thrust the world proletariat far back. The difficulties that face the revolutionary vanguard are incredible. Nevertheless its position at the present time is incomparably more favorable than on the eve of the last war. At that time capitalism appeared to be all powerful, almost invincible. The patriotic debacle of the International came utterly as a surprise, even to Lenin. Everywhere the revolutionary elements were caught unprepared. The first international conference—very small numerically and its majority indecisive—took place more than a year after the outbreak of the war. The formation of revolutionary cadres proceeded slowly. The possibility of proletarian revolution was rejected even by the majority of the "Zimmerwaldists." Only the October victory in Russia in the 40th month of the war produced a change in the situation, providing a mighty impulse for the formation of the Third International.

Today the internal weakness and

The Signers of the Open Letter

The following is a brief resume of the history of the five organizations that have signed the open letter for the Fourth International and have joined the Provisional Contact Commission which is initiating the concrete activity, practical and theoretical, towards the formation of the new International:

WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.: Formed by the fusion of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America, the founding convention of which was held in December, 1934. The Communist League originated with the expulsion of Cannon, Shachtman and Abern from the Communist Party in 1923 for supporting the Russian Opposition led by Trotsky and was affiliated to the I.C.L. until the fusion with the A.W.P. The latter organization emerged from the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Its first convention was held in December 1933.

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS SOCIALIST PARTY OF HOLLAND (R.S.A.P.): On March 3, 1935 a unification congress between the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Independent Socialist Party resulted in the formation of the above-mentioned organization. The Revolutionary Socialist Party affiliated with the I.C.L. in 1933 and was led by H. Sneevliet, one of the outstanding trade unionists of Holland. The Independent Socialist Party (O.S.P.) began as an opposition in the Social Democratic Party and was expelled for its oppositionist views. With the removal of the right wing of the O.S.P. it began to evolve in a Marxist direction and fusion was made possible. The new party numbers some 4,500 members, publishes a bi-weekly paper, "Nieuw Fakkel" and a monthly theoretical organ, "Internationale." P. J. Schmidt and H. Sneevliet are its outstanding leaders. It has strong influence over an independent revolutionary trade

union movement of about 15,000 members, the N.A.S. (National Workers Secretariat).

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LEAGUE (I.C.L.): This organization, with groups and members in most of the countries of the world, had its inception with the struggle of the Russian Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1923. Its outstanding leader, who has headed this movement throughout the years of repression by the Stalinist bureaucracy is Leon Trotsky. Until August 1933, after the full effects and the meaning of the defeat in Germany had become clear it was called the International Left Opposition, the name then changing to the I.C.L. it ceased to be a faction of the Comintern and directed all its energies toward creating the Fourth International.

BOLSHEVIK-LENINIST GROUP IN THE S.F. I.O. (French S. P.): Previously the Communist League of France, it entered the Socialist Party as a faction in the Summer of 1934 in order to carry on a fight within it for the ideas of the Fourth International. It propagates its program of revolutionary Marxism through its paper "La Verite" and its action within the party. At the recent Congress of the S.P. at Mulhouse, it was the butt of attack by all the reactionaries in the leadership but nonetheless gained several thousand votes for its outspoken Leninist position and succeeded in electing one member to the Political Committee of the S. P. They have further been instrumental in organizing and leading the fight against social patriotism in a congress recently convened.

WORKERS PARTY OF CANADA: Affiliated to I.C.L., it formed its independent party in the fall of 1934, having up to then been part of the Communist League of America. It issues a twice-weekly paper, "The Vanguard."

Revolution Alone Can Eliminate War

The war danger which is a life and death question for the people is the supreme test for all the groupings and tendencies within the working class. "The struggle for peace," "the struggle against war," "war on war" and similar slogans are hollow and fraudulent phrases, if unaccompanied by the propaganda and the application of revolutionary methods of struggle. The only method to put an end to war is to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The only method to overthrow the bourgeoisie is by a revolutionary assault.

As against the reactionary lie of "national defense" it is necessary to advance the slogan of the revolutionary destruction of the national state. To the madhouse of capitalist Europe it is necessary to counterpose the program of THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE, as a stage toward the United States of the World.

Marxists irreconcilably reject the pacifist slogans of "disarmament," "arbitration" and "amity between peoples" (i.e., between capitalist governments) etc., as opium for the popular masses. The combinations between working class organizations and petty-bourgeois pacifists (the Amsterdam-Pleyel Committee, and similar undertakings) render the best service to imperialism by distracting the attention of the working class from reality with its grave struggles, and beguiling them instead with impotent parades.

The struggle against war and imperialism cannot be the job of any sort of special "committees." The struggle against war is the preparation for revolution, that is to say, the job of working class parties and of the International. The Marxists pose this great task before the proletarian vanguard, without any frills. To the enervating slogan of "disarmament" they counterpose the slogan of WINNING THE ARMY AND ARMING THE WORKERS. Precisely in this is one of the most important dividing lines between Marxism and centrism drawn. He will never find the courage to solve the revolutionary tasks who dares not utter them aloud.

The 4th International Stands on the Shoulders Of its Forerunners

During the year and a half that has elapsed since the publication of the first program of the Fourth International, the struggle for its principles and ideas has not abated for a single day; the revolutionary national sections and groups have grown in number; some of them extended their ranks and influence, others attained to a greater homogeneity and cohesion; organizations within the same country have united.

democratic movement in the trade unions.

Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the congress, has been severely criticized by his own Electrical Trades Union for accepting a knighthood from the national government.

Passing a motion of regret that Citrine, one of Britain's most prominent labor leaders, had seen fit to accept a knighthood from a government of "hunger and war," a branch of his union called for expulsion of Citrine from the trade union movement on the ground that "he has brought ridicule on our movement."

Support the Fight—
Page New Militant!

Move to Oust Lackey In British Unions

LONDON, England.—Two of England's largest and strongest unions have rejected a call from the Trade Union Congress executive to expel radicals.

At the recent convention of the National Union of Railwaymen, whose membership numbers around 400,000, delegates voted 44 to 35 to reject a demand from Trade Union Congress headquarters that no Communist be allowed to hold official positions in the union. Shortly before that the Locomotive Engineers Union rejected the same order on the ground that it throttled the

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

A. V., NEW YORK—

Question: When the social-patriotic position of the C. I., and the fact that it is opposed to revolution in the capitalist countries, is called to the attention of Stalinists, they reply that this means nothing since the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union only stands to gain by extending the international revolution and that therefore the whole thing can merely be a maneuver to outwit the capitalists. How do you reply to this?

Answer: It is extremely difficult, of course, to discuss with people who refute facts with "theory," and the argument of the Stalinists really means that, regardless of the evidence, they do not want to believe anything which may smash their "ideals," or interfere with their sinecures, or social and personal connections.

However that may be, even their "theory" is untenable. A conclusion such as theirs can be drawn only by identifying the interests of the bureaucracy with that of the Soviet State, which is false. While the workers' republic stands to profit by an extension of the world revolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy does not.

To clarify matters, let us consider some analogies, bearing in mind the points of difference. Logically, it might appear, Green, Wolf, and Co., would be better off if the A. F. of L. were several times its present size, since they would then have at their disposal larger dues payments, more jobs, etc. To build up the A. F. of L., however, it is necessary to set the workers into motion against the capitalists which could mean nothing else than the end of control of the A. F. of L. by the reactionary bureaucracy because of the latter's ties with the capitalists. In other words, under present day historical conditions, it is not in the interests of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to really build the trade unions.

An extension of the world revolution would set into motion the Russian workers as well as the proletariat of the world. To the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union this would mean the end of their special privileges precisely because the latter are conditioned by a decline in the revolutionary mood of the masses resulting from international proletarian defeats (China, Germany, British General Strike, etc.).

Consider dialectically, therefore, the Stalinist bureaucracy will not benefit by an extension of the world revolution. This is merely another way of repeating our thesis that Stalinism is reactionary and a brake on revolutionary progress.

Question: What evidence is there that the Soviet bureaucracy enjoys the "juckiest" steaks and "Rolls Royces" to which Trotsky has referred in his pamphlet on the Soviet Union?

Answer: The Stalinist bureaucracy does not oblige us, of course, with statistics of the amount of national wealth which it consumes, but we do get an occasional glimpse behind the curtains.

Here, for example, is an account of a "dinner recently given by M. Doletsky, the general manager of Tass, the official Soviet press agency, for Kent Cooper, general manager of the Associated Press, and Karl A. Bickel, general manager of the United Press.

"Among those who attended were ambassador Bullitt, L. M. Krestinsky, Soviet Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs; leading member of the Soviet press and correspondents for the American newspapers.

"This banquet, which was called a dinner, was held in the vast mansion of a former textile magnate named Morosoff, the rooms of which are decorated with carved oak and light blue paper decked with fleur de lys, which is the crest of the royal house of the Bourbons of France. In this dignified setting the sixty guests sat down before long tables with glasses, plates and cutlery from the Czars' palaces.

"Twenty white clad waiters served caviar on ice and chilled vodka. Then followed hors d'oeuvres, cold and hot. Then came borsch, a soup with sour cream, and white Caucasian wine.

"Then salmon with white French wine. The next course consisted of roast pheasant and turkey, with red Crimean wine. This was followed by sweets and fruits with French champagne, in accordance with the Continental custom. The fruits were not so lavish from the American point of view—oranges, pears and apples—but they were accompanied by ice cream worthy of America." (Walter Duranty, New York Times, March 22, 1934.)

Imagine, if you can, capitalist agents being fed like this under the regime of Lenin and Trotsky.

