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

est resistance on the part of the struggle. two "mighty" working class parties—one of them, moreover, basing itself upon the U.S.S.R.—has exposed to the Chariot of decisively the internal putrefaction of the Second and Third Interna- the Bourgeoisie tionals. In August, 1933, four organizations (International Commuist Party, Independent Socialist selves to the fact that their Belgian 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 toiling masses. In the wake the Fourth International. The events that have transpired since that Man, the valugiorious critical man, the originator of a "Plan": time have been irrefutable confirmation that there is no other road.

oletariat has demonstrated that minister. ctory cannot be gained by issuing

ohere of the working class move-

panish proletariat. Under all conitions, especially during a revolua bloc with the bourgeoisie. It

impossible to expect and demand nat the duped and disillusioned asses will fly to arms upon the slated call of a party in which ley have lost confidence. The prostarian revolution is not improvised

pain. But these fearful lessons nation. assed by without leaving a trace: ne leading cadres of reformism threatens the workers of the world

Open Letter to All Rev. within the party and in the trade unions have degenerated to the olutionary Working Class marrow of their bones. Their personal interests and their patriotic Organizations & Groups views bind them to the bourgeoisie Hitler's assumption to power, and they are utterly incapable of which did not meet with the slight- resorting to the road of the class

The parties of the Second International calmly reconcile thempresident, at the very first beck of finance capital, joined hands with the Catholic and liberal midde-men to salvage the banks at the expense of Vandervelde there followed de Man, the vainglorious critic of Karl nor did the "left" centrist Spaak fail to betray the socialist opposi-The annihilation of the Austrian tion in return for the livery of a

Mindful neither of lessons nor last minute call for insurrection warnings, the French Socialist , the masses, disoriented and Party continues vainly to clutch at rained by opportunism—after the the tailcoats of the "Republican" arty had been driven into a blind bourgeoisie, and it pins greater ley. It is necessary to prepare hopes upon the friendship of the stematically for victory by means Radicals than upon the revolution-defense against fascism. revolutionary policies in every ary might of the proletariat. In all ows from the annihilation of the despite the decay of capitalism, ation of Great Britain, but the continent. continues to remain the agency of solidation of imperialist reaction,

Introduction to the Open of the Fourth International was

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 Internationat. 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 Afri-

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

can, Chilean, Cuban, Chinese, etc.

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. 4London-Amsterdam Bureau of centrist parties), a condition which the W.P. plenum

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-

Should the electoral successes of The parliamentarian and trade un-

ceed as rapidly as possible to the building of the Fourth Interna-

Letter

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 Internation-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.

reveal its complete bankruptcy. izations, against the background of world proletariat. the possibilities provided by the other countries, in every part of the Labor Party raise it once again ionist morons have yet to be con-demagogy of the Roosevelt "plan," the world, in Holland, Scandinavia, to power, the consequence would be vinced that the threat of Fascism run up against profoundly conser-The very same lesson immutably Switzerland, the Social Democracy, not a peaceful socialist transform- in England is no less real than on vative and bourgeois forces within of the C.I. Over the World the struggle for power, the Commuthe working class movement. As The turbulent development of the for the Stalinist party, it is hogtied the bourgeoisie within the working that is to say, an epoch of civil crisis in the United States, the un- by the solemn declarations of Lit- der the remaining shreds of influon, it is impermissible to turn ones class and reveals its utter inability war, in face of which the leadership ending chain of strike struggles and vinov, who in return for the recog- ence and authority acquired during ack upon the toilers for the sake to mobilize the masses in its own of the Labor Party will inevitably the growth of working class organ- nition of the U.S.S.R. by Yankee the first five years of its existence.

American Communists. This party, ist International, despite extremely corrupted by a decade of unprincipled maneuvers and liquidationist only to create an organization in experiments with parties (Farmer- the least influential, but systemat-Labor Party) which have nothing ically compromised in the eyes of in common with proletarian parties the workers the very idea of the either in their composition or pro- revolutionary party. The Saar plebthe role of a radical-intellectual fidence not only in the social democrisis of American capitalism is Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, from their semi-provincial slumbers, gradually dispelling bourgeois and tions of the Communist Internapetty bourgeois illusions, impelling tional, burdened by twelve years of the proletariat towards large scale fatal policies are unable to emerge class actions (Toledo, Minneapolis, from their obscurity. San Francisco) and creates for the revolutionary Marxist party the the Communist International subpossibility of gaining a wide spread stituted the capitulatory policy of and profound influence upon the the united front at any price for development and organization of the adventurist policy of the "third the American working class. The period" However, the experience historic roll which accrues to the in France, where this latest turn Fourth International and its Am- has attained its greatest developerican section not only within the ment, demonstrates that the Comconfines of the Western hemisphere munist International, with all its but on the world arena as well is contradictions and zigzags, managof exceptional importance, since the es to retain its function of being a smashing of American imperialism brake upon the proletarian revoluis of extreme significance for the

The Frightful Wreckage

In the meantime the Third International does nothing except squan-

imperialism, publicly renounced the In Austria and Spain, the Communfavorable circumstances, failed not gram—this Stalinist party, upon or- iscite is evidence that the German ders from Moscow confines itself to proletariat lost every vestige of connovement which functions in the cracy but in the Communist party United States as the valet of Stal- as well—the party that so inglornist diplomacy. But the deep-going iously capitulated to Hitler. In awakening wide layers of workers Scandinavia, on both American continents and in the Orient the sec-

> True, after the German debacle, tion. 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 ist 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 countries are reminded that it is dictatorship of the proletariat into but a question of time until there the conservative absolutism of The economic contradictions in too capitalism, either in prepara- Stalin. By means of persecutions, which the Japanese ruling class tion for war or in the conduct of frauds, amalgams and bloody refinds itself continue to drive Japan it, establishes an equally brutal and pressions the ruling clique strives to nip in the bud every manifesta-

Stalin Has Signed the

The most recent opportunistic somersault of the Communist In-(Continued on Page 3)

Manifesto of the W. P. U. S. on Anti-War Day on this twenty-first annivers the same time the masses in other bureaucracy which has turned

For the working class the great ill of the principal section of re- manded by the various governments, ormism-the completely corroded and made it possible for these goverman social democracy—the "left | ernments to lead the workers of one ring" of the Second International nation to slaughter and be slaughvent down in ruins in Austria and tered by the workers of another

he revolution must be prepared est tragedy in connection with the the outbreak of the first World War, for which Germany is now renew-self and goes forward—that is, unrough incessant and irreconcil- World War of 1914-18 was its be- which finds all the capitalist powers ing its claim, and of Memel, where less she is a victor in another war. ble class struggle which gains for trayal by the Socialist leaders and engaged in war preparations on the the antagonism between Germany ne leadership the invincible confi- the trade union leaders under social most extensive scale, is not only and Lithuania is only a superficial ence of the party, fuses the van-democratic influence. These leaders fresh betrayal by the social demo-expression for a deeper rivalry uard with the entire class, and who had ostensibly been engaged in cracy but betrayal also by the among all the rival imperialist ansforms the proletariat into the the struggle against imperialist Third (Stalinist) International and powers of the Old World. ader of all the exploited in the war capitulated at the outbreak of the Communist (Stalinist) parties the war to the capitalists and mili-throughout the world and by the Continental Europe, temporarily Following the ignominious down- tarists, voted the war credits de- 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 imperialist war and against imperialism can be

At this very moment when the children who were born during the 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 the workers of this key industry. out. In portions of Asia and Africa up in battle formation.

least in the North Sea.

lighted that may blow up the pow

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

Green Dodges Convention of **Auto Workers**

Rank and File Determined to Form International

late for the convocation of a con-

President Wm. Green, the execuation of Labor, and Francis Dillon head of the National Council of the office at Detroit, knows what artions with regards to the convention, on what basis delegates will

most potent set of confederates. Terrorism Grows

British government launches a col-

London to Paris to Moscow to Vien-

capitals-the lines are kept fever-

ishly busy by the wire-pullers who

are setting the stage for the im-

pending war, jockeying for favor-

ossal naval building campaign.

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 bor in the city has been called for uted the stock, members of the preparations, the capitalist nations August 6 to form a gneral strike printing crafts donated their labor, establish ever more repressive re-committee. At that time the date and the Farmer-Labor Press of gimes and by unlimited terrorism seek to establish the "national unity" which will enable them to be a conference of unaffiliated and lead the masses to war in an at-unorganized workers and farmers tempt to resolve the crisis. Hitler to form a supporting committee of is today compelled to resort to ter-action. roristic methods even against those very lower middle-class elements which helped to bring him into delay of C.L.U. officials, by the vicpower (the persecutions of Catholics and Protestants, the Hitler tics of the daily press, and by open press attacks on small business threats by bosses of wholesale firmen). The Hitler regime has not ing of union labor. been able to fulfill its demagogic promises to these elements; he is kins, strike leader, called upon all is daily transporting thousands of anything else about it. None of the already in danger of losing their groups to support the program of to its offer of "free-ride cars," idenration entirely in Japanese and at ers Union for thirty-three years, and armed men to that country's front- locals have yet received instruc- support. Thus we are shown that unity and militant action as the tified by red and white stickers, a the German economic crisis is so only means of winning strike.

toward expansion in China, Manbarbaric terrorism. All of these war preparations of tion of Marxist thought. Nowhere chukuo, Mongolia, all along the borders of the Soviet Union, and the imperialist powers are in real- in the world is genuine Leninism ity directed also against the Soviet hounded so bestially as in the U.S. British interests are threatened Union, though only some of them | S.R. by the adventures of Italy and have this avowed aim and some

Japan and the economic expansion capitalist governments even profess of U. S. capitalism, so that at the to be eager to help "defend" the Death Warrantof the C.I. very moment when a poll of British Soviet Union. Capitalism cannot citizens records a ninety percent live peacefully side by side with vote for universal disarmament the the workers' state which is laying (Continued on Page 4)

Movefor Omaha General Strike London to Paris to Moscow to Vienna to Berlin, Warsaw, the Balkan In Support of Tram Workers

OMAHA, Nebr. - General strike will be affected. Strikers followed sentiment in Omaha in support of the recent Terre Haute general tieable positions and the greatest and the striking streetcar men has risen up with keen interest, and it is felt so strongly that the executive board that the Indiana situation has been of the Central Labor Union has a great influence in creating genagreed to place a general strike eral strike sentiment here call before that body Aug. 2.

The executive board's action followed pressure from the streetcar Central Labor Unions and the men's rank and file strike commit-Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen tee of 13, who demanded that the C.L.U. indorse a call for the gen- plaining the strike, to be distributed eral walkout within two weeks.

for the strike will be definitely set. Council Bluffs gave the use of its On the following day there is to press.

The aggressiveness of Omaha labor was aroused by the continued ious "red baiting" and splitting tac-In a press release, James C. Per-

In support of the streetcar work-

ers, the Omaha and Council Bluffs have issued 70,000 circulars exin every home in Omaha and Coun-A conference of all organized la- cil Bluffs. Organized labor contrib-

The leastet 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 convenience developed by organized severe that Hitler may be compelled | Should the general walkout take labor for the citizens to enable them lany day to embark upon war. At place, some 35,000 Omaha families to boyeott the streetcars.

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

nt trade unionists.

Harry Bridges, militant maritime abor leader, was one of the princial speakers who emphatically proested against continuing this montrous injustice.

Leo Gallagher, former attorney or Mooney, commented at length on he legal aspects of the Mooney ase; and Melvin Jackson who reresented the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee spoke on the ole of Youth in the struggles of abor for a place in the sun and in

Kanju Kato, Chairman of the lational Trade Union Congress of apan, brought a message of peace and the Machinists Union. nd friendship from the workers of apan, and expressed international olidarity in the demand that Tom fooney be freed. He delivered his member of the International Moldnce what he had said.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 28-10,000 | The entire program of three orkers filled the Civic Auditorium hours was broadcast over radio ere today, on the nineteenth anni- station KROW, and the only unexersary of the frameup of Tom pected occurrence was during Rev. (qoney. The all important and Alexander's speech, when he asked mmediate purpose of this mass for a demonstration by the audineeting was to signalize attention ence for the especial benefit of Tom o the continued imprisonment of Mooney who was listening to the looney on the rankest frame-up meeting over the radio from San onspiracy ever perpetrated by open Quentin. The radio station immedhop employers against active milit- lately 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 Scalers 38-100, the Communist Party, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union No. 8, the I.L.A. Auxiliary, the Workers Party he fight for Tom Mooney's freedom. Waitresses Union, the Auto Mechof U.S., the Waiters Union, the anics Union, the Carmens Union No. 518, the Painters Union No. 1158,

Tom Mooney on this August 2 will have been a continuous active ntervals paused so that his inter- the unions of San Francisco supreter could translate for the audi- ported him loyally in this mighty demonstration of solidarity.

carried to a victorious conclusion. Feverish War Preparations

Hitler Germany has defied the

Once more the fuse has been

The European continent is being overrun by the diplomatic advance agents of imperialist armies. From

finally past them, in Siberia.

By BURKE COCHRAN DETROIT, Mich.—The unofficial

stitutional 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 Augperiod of the Great War, are of age ust 26. This unofficial notice has already engendered a tremendous enthusiasm a mong 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 armies are already being drawn tive council of the American Feder-Versailles treaty, introduced uni- United Automobile Workers Union, versal conscription and begun the however, have not yet broken their rebuilding of a navy to make her a silence with regard to the proposed dominant sea power once again, at convention. Nobody in the Dillon Fascist Italy has announced its rangements have been made for this intention to subjugate Ethiopia and convention, where it will be held or

(Continued on Page 4)

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

=By BILL REICH=

Brides...

From the New York Times, July 22: "Mrs. Ottilie Stufmann Umbach, 26 year old bride, drowned Saturday near Washington Bridge when a torrent of rain water swept her down a drain in which poverty top of the stone cliffs to the semicircular 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 Dickenson, former counsel for the Sugar Trust and most vocal opponent of the Securities and Exchange Act, has been appointed As- Progressives, declared that if Dr. sistant Attorney General in charge Lefkowitz should resign as legislaof anti-trust suits. . . . The U. S. tive representative of the Union, Shipping Board sold 146 ships, some he believed it would go to pieces. of which cost as much as \$2,500,000 With this defeatist point of view for \$4,600 each. The company that as its guiding line, it becomes clear purchased the ships made a profit why the Progressives did not put of \$35,000 each on the steel alone, out a full election slate until 1933, ence of all teachers' organizations selling it to Japan for munitions. . . . In 1933, 80,539 corporations re- opposition to Lefkowitz and Lin- the Rank and File leaders knew ported incomes below \$100,000 and ville. It also becomes clear why perfectly well that the only organ-FERA show that 29 percent of the that the Progressives are simply a employed heads of rural households pseudo-opposition. have shifted from their usual oca pleasure day of Sunday." . . .

Prosperity...

Last February General Charles Dawes 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 is being sold to foreclose a mort-

gage. . . . Huey Long's newspaper, The American Progress, has curtailed its staff from 22 to 16 and doubled its subscription price. . . .

Royalty...

Emperor of Ethiopia, the King of the Classroom Teachers Groups- worker to be in its ranks. After tone Angel Food cake. The King carry out their promises and hide was thrown open for discussion. The of Italy sent 500 bottles of Chianti. their opposition to the long overdue majority of the questions asked 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 as a result of the movement, during tions against the common enemy—protest telegrams against the ar- must gird themselves for a struggle since 1919 been used to aid crippled 1929 to 1934, for the building of a capitalism. war veterans. . .

Book Review...

his "Capitalism Carries On": "Who of L. unions, such as the A. F. of plans to help in the organization of are the Coolies? Hundreds of thou- L. Committee for Unemployment an Unemployed League. sands sweatshop workers. They live Insurance. Its official organ is "The in squalor that a fastidious animal A. F. of L. Rank and Filer"). The would shun. . . . How grotesque to Rank and File, under the leader- thaway was responsible for my reask scientists and engineers and ad-ship of Isadore Begun, originally signation from the Communist ministrators to spend their lives took the position that it was hope- Party and my intention to join the supporting such rabble." His solu-less to seek to reform the union Workers Party." Harry Thurman,

The Role and Position of the Union course, but serves to empha-Various Groups in the Struggle Occuring in the Teachers Union

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 h d driven her and her husband to teachers organized the Progressive seek refuge. . . . The couple had Group based upon a program demoved to New Jersey about a signed to make the Union a more month ago, police said, after Um- effective force among the teachers. bach had lost his job and they had The Union then had within its no living quarters. With a crude ranks less than 1,000 members out tent, they camped in Palisades In- of a teaching body of over 30,000 tempts by members of the Rank terstate Park by night, hiding the and was making little progress in tent by day, until the rains of last organizing them. Two years later proved of no avail; they were simweek forced them to seek other certain sections of the left wing ply dropped from the group, reshelter. Then they moved to the within the general labor movement mouth of the drain, a concrete tun- adopted a policy of seeking to build nel about four feet in diameter" . . . a new national trade union center From the same issue of the N. Y. in opposition to the A. F. of L. The Times: "Jim (a polar bear) will influence of this policy was soon bring his mate to one of the finest reflected within the ranks of the dwellings to be found in any zoo, Progressives, which resulted in a with the latest and most modern split into two groups, one retaining improvements. At least fifty feet the name of the group and the other long, the ground is slanted, with a group representing this new infludrop of about thirty feet from the ence adopting the name of Rank and File.

> The Progressive Group policies on building the Union as carried on by a group of leading the sole economic organization of members to correct this false the teachers and was opposed to all course. The result was the same independent activity outside the as in the Rank and File: the oppo-Union. Although it has been in opposition to the Administration and tive Board and ostracized within fights it on many issues on the floor of the Union, it does not seek to oust the Administration from the File proved in action that in addileadership-it seeks to reform it in tion to steering a dual unionist a progressive direction. It takes course, it could outdo the Lefkothe 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 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 offering until then no candidates in

After the formation of the Uncupations, most of them going one employed Teachers Association in or more steps downward on the oc- the spring of 1931, upon the initiacupational ladder . . . Dr. I. M. tive of the Rank and File, the Pro-Hargett, Methodist minister, criti- gressives, in the fall of the same cizes Roosevelt's policies: "I wish year, sponsored the organization of the President would not make such 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 the Workers Party began its organ- why he was leaving the Stalinists emnly promised that as soon as the a bang here Wednesday night, July a member of the Communist Party Rank and File Group abandoned its 24, through the medium of an open for two years, became convinced of dual unionistic position, liquidated organizational meeting attended by the bankruptcy of the Third Interits Classroom Teacher Groups, etc., approximately fifty workers. The national after reading statements it would propose a merger of the meeting had been well advertized of Thorez, leading "theoretician" of Progressive Group and the Rank at several open air meetings held the French C. P., in which he at-Dall Boettiper near Ossining, N. Y., groups. In this event it further Harry Thurman, branch secrepromised to merge the Association tary, in opening the meeting gave has just concluded with France, of Unappointed Teachers with the a short report dealing wth the Unemployed Teachers Association great need of an organization of bers to act as recruiting sergeants and strive for the eventual entry the type of the Workers Party in in time of war. Other members of of both into the Teachers Union. Cleveland and showing the neces- the C.P. and Y.C.L. in Cleveland an-Despite the fact that the Rank and File has changed its policies in this tionally. He also brought out the the Stalinists for the same reason. When Haile Selassie was crowned respect—despite the dissolution of England presented him with a one the Progressives leader refuse to this preliminary report the floor . . John D. Rockefeller, at 96, has merger under various untenable pretexts.

Policies of Rank and File Group stated above, came into existence new national trade-union center, As a result of this meeting fifteen and as a result of a split within the workers who attended signed ap-Walter Pitkin of the Columbia File is officially allied to the "Rank Party. Besides holding these open University School of Journalism, in and File" movements in other A. F. meetings, the downtown branch and have it adopt and carry out a young C. P. member answered in

Below is the third of a series | 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 rganization 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. Atceived 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. The Progressive Group based its Within the U.T.A. a struggle was sition was removed from the Execu-

the organization. The leadership of the Rank and witz-Linville faction in using the same bureaueratic 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 leaders of this group, declared at hands of the Administration which used their tactics as arguments to confuse the membership and to pre vent 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 conferfor the purpose of uniting, although tent was to create a rival to displace the Teachers Union.

past year, a contradiction which not would prove.

size how much greater its strength might have been had it followed 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-Lenville faction to block the rapid growth of the opposition by closing the books of the Union against the entrance of new mem-

The Committee for Democracy Because the leaders of the Rank and File refused to reform their policies in a pro-Union direction, dent members likewise joined the with a complete trade union pro- nition. gram 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 onsists 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

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 possble 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 in Tacoma and Aberdeen are still 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 284 above \$1,000,000. The aggre- the Progressives centered their main zation that would respond to such preliminary to the renewal of the tactics that are being used against gate income of the big corporations attack during this period upon the a call would be its own controlled Administration's campaign to crush the Minneapolis militants. William exceeded that of the small. . . . Rank and File for its dual-unionist Classroom Teachers Groups. This the opposition groups by ousting Green injected himself into the \$25,000 has been appropriated for a policies, and not upon the Admin- maneuver was designed to cover them from the Union, the Commit- struggle to smash local 2504 which photo-electric eye to check examin-listration, thus giving the latter the bankruptcy of its own policy tee pointed out the dangers and apation papers for the Civil Service fuel for its attack upon the entire and to act as a face-saving device pealed to the Rank and Fle and to out policies. In a telegram to Hut-Commission. It will displace 100 opposition. That is why the belief while a change of policy was being the Progressive Group to form a cheson, reactionary president of the clerks. . . . Figures compiled by the has existed among many teachers effected, likewise failed. The Rank united front with it on a limited Carpenters and Joiners, he threatand File leaders were compelled to program of restoring and extending ened to revoke the charter of Longorder the liquidation of the Class- democracy (Nov. 1934). Both of view-Kelso Central Labor Council room Teachers Groups, thus sub-these groups refused to heed the if they did not unseat delegates stantiating the charge that its in- appeal, each denying that an im- from 2504 and completely dissassomediate danger of expulsion existed ciate itself from the militant local. and each setting forth ultimatistic The federation executive's threat is In spite of its false policies, the demands which made a united front contained in this message sent to strength of the Rank and File has impossible. They were soon to P. W. Dowler, general representaincreased considerably during the learn how costly their blunder tive of the Carpenters and Joiners.

Party Grows In Cleveland

CLEVELAND, Ohio.-The recent- response to a question from the

ly organized Downtown Branch of District organizer of the C.P. as to

-Davidson, Wolfe and Wittes sol- izational and agitational work with for the Workers Party. Thurman, necessity for every class conscious

dealt with the difference between the Workers Party and the C.P., political working class organiza-

CLEVELAND, Ohio.-"C. A. Ha-

Harry Thurman, branch secre- tangling alliance the Soviet Union which forces the French C.P. mem-CHELSEA, Mass. (FP).-A un-

and S.P. They also stressed the ion Telegraph Co. in contempt of as Muir, a bonafide trade union has The Rank and File group, as necessity for a united front of all court and fined it \$500 for accept- been established. ing, transmitting and delivering The Northwest lumber workers rest of two defendants appearing to cleanse their ranks of the fakers before his court. If this decision and build a strong rank and file is upheld, it will deprive the great movement that will wage a deter-Progressive Group. The Rank and plications for membership in the majority of the people of the right mined struggle for better living to inform public officials of thei 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 Holidaya.

Lumber Strike pro-Union course. In the last Ends: Obtain **Demands**

LaborSkatesExpelAll 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 ly to accept a compromise settlement of 50 cents per hour minimum because they refused to organize a wage scale, a 40-hour, five consecubroad and non-factional united tive day week, no discrimination front movement together with the against workers who participated in Progressives and other independent the strike, re-employment as soon elements to restore democracy in as each department re-opens, and the Union, because they resorted to collective bargaining between the tention and advance subscriptions with a total of \$45.00 contributed. expulsion and ostracism against individual employers and employes those of its members who advocated in the individual mills. The work- pearing. these changes—the Committee for ers in each mill are to be repre-Democracy in the Union came into sented by a committee elected by existence. Dissatisfied members of them. The original strike demands the Progressive Group and indepen- were: 75c per hour minimum wage other publication in the field al. The New York district made and scale, 30-hour week, one week's sick committee. The aim was not to leave and one week's vacation ancreate a third opposition group nually with pay, and union recog-

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 creatinty 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 settle with their bosses by thempreventing the presentation of a the militant workers. united front to the attacks of the bosses which are sure to follow as soon as they feel themselves strong

In the face of the fact that the strike has virtually ended in every other important center, the workers 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

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 in-

structions.' 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 sity for such an organization na- nounced their intention of leaving strike demands, and agreements such as the ones concluded in Portland represent a real setback, nevertheless some definite gains can be ique decision closely affecting the recorded. Wage increases were labor and radical movements was won, the company union (4L) has recently handed down when Judge been smashed in the largest pro-Samuel R. Cutler of Chelsea dis-duction centers, and although its trict court found the Western Un- ranks are infested with such rats

conditions. Above all the workers must real-

ize 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

Exact Date in Next Issue

The realization of the eight-page weekly is now assured by the enpercent of the \$2,000 set as a goal the exact date. for the campaign to launch the

away Arizona, writes to us: "The results in this respect we shall pub-NEW MILITANT overshadows any lish in our next issue. ready. Organizational gains are excellent promise at the inception bound to flow from a larger and of the campaign. It undertook to even better paper." nessages arrive.

Postponement Unavoidable

When we announced our campaign for the eight-page weekly we set August 3 as a tentative date for It could get into action much quickits appearance. Many comrades un- er in the campaign and all that doubtedly expected this issue to be remained was to make good on the it. But we were a little too rash promise. Let us compare how well in our estimates. We did not fully this advantage has been utilized. realize that because we had been so badly remiss in the past, result- New York branches is \$184.03. In ing in so many frightfully delinquent accounts, there was so much cent of the pledge. No, the advanto be done before a sound economic tage is not yet made use of. More basis could be assured. In addition we were ourselves so much delayed in getting the campaign under way. And let it be clearly un- have received from the other derstood, we have no interest in branches in the various cities in making a show of progress that is the country a total of \$131.08. From not real and does not rest on a individual supporters we have remust be considered a defeat. The realistic basis enabling us to main-ceived a total of \$42.75. fact that the workers in two plants tain every gain and to march for- In the New York district the were not included and were left to ward. Our aim is not merely to West Side branch has maintained add to the pages of the NEW MIL- its lead with a total of \$38 turned selves was a serious departure from ITANT, rather it is to make the in. The Harlem branch follows true union solidarity. But the grav- kind of advance that will produce closely with \$33.53 and the Center est defeat is the splitting up of the a vastly improved party organ and branch is next with a contribution union into separate mill locals, thus produce a worthy spokesman for of \$32.75. Let us see which of these

That basis is now actually in the thusiastic response given to our making due to the gratifying recall for the strengthening of the snonse from our comrades and supparty press. The figures of total porters. Plans for the further orcontributions received to date for ganization work are going ahead, this special purpose would hardly and with the present beginnings of seem to substantiate our claim. But excellent results it will be only a

these figures do not tell the whole very few weeks before the eightstory. So while we have now page weekly will be in your hands. reached only a little less than 20 In our next issue we shall give you The most excellent example of eight-page weekly, the real situa- responses made to the party's call tion is that we are building up a for the strengthening of its press

solid economic foundation for our and of responsible attention to the Workers local voted overwhelming press, and above all, we are really campaign to make the eight-page beginning to extend its circulation. weekly possible is set by the Our appeal was not in vain. The branches of Boston and Minneapoparty branches and the bundle lis. Both branches settled their deagents are undertaking in a serious linquent accounts in short order manner to pay up on their accounts, and simultaneously made good conregular subscriptions are rolling in, tributions to the campaign. The subscription renewals are given at Boston branch still leads the field for the eight-page weekly are ap- Other branches have made a beginning toward getting their ac-Comrade Lloyd Lassen, from far counts in good standing. The total

Many similar raise half of the funds needed for the eight-page weekly, not less than \$1,000. Magnificent. The New York district had the jump on all the other party units in the country. To date the total contributions from action, more speed is necessary.

Totals Going Up

Compared to these figures we

branches will be ahead next week. Since last week's report the following amounts have been received:

Colitations	
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	5.00
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 (Gendleman)	
Advance Subscriptions New Haven branch (Gendleman)	7.00
Advance Subscriptions New Haven branch (Gendleman)	2.00 7.00 3.80
Advance Subscriptions New Haven branch (Gendleman)	7.00
Advance Subscriptions New Haven branch (Gendleman)	3.80 1.50
Advance Subscriptions New Haven branch (Gendleman)	3.80 1.50
Advance Subscriptions New Haven branch (Gendleman) Philadelphia branches (Goodman) Subscriptions (Club Plans) Chicago branches Boston branch Greetings Philadelphia branches West Side branch, N.Y.C.	3.80 1.50 6.00 5.00
Advance Subscriptions New Haven branch (Gendleman) Philadelphia branches (Goodman) Subscriptions (Club Plans) Chicago branches Boston branch Greetings Philadelphia branches West Side branch, N.Y.C. Kansas City branch	3.80 1.50 6.00 5.00 3.00
Advance Subscriptions New Haven branch (Gendleman) Philadelphia branches (Goodman) Subscriptions (Club Plans) Chicago branches Boston branch Greetings Philadelphia branches West Side branch, N.Y.C. Kansas City branch California District Committee	3.80 1.50 6.00 5.00 1.00
Advance Subscriptions New Haven branch (Gendleman) Philadelphia branches (Goodman) Subscriptions (Club Plans) Chicago branches Boston branch Greetings Philadelphia branches West, Side branch, N.Y.C. Kansas City branch California District Committee Libby Rockhill, Brooklyn, N.Y.	3.80 1.50 6.00 5.00 3.00 1.00
Advance Subscriptions New Haven branch (Gendleman) Philadelphia branches (Goodman) Subscriptions (Club Plans) Chicago branches Boston branch Greetings Philadelphia branches West Side branch, N.Y.C. Kansas City branch California District Committee	3.80 1.50 6.00 5.00 3.00 1.00

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.

ENTERTAINMENT

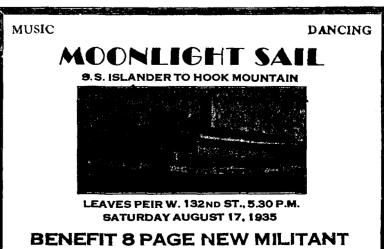
(Bronx east side Pelham Bay line to last stop). Cost per day per person, boat 25c. Bring lunch. Friday, August 9, 8 P.M.—Special lecture: "The Third International Meets at Last." Speaker: A. J. Muste. 1776 Pitkin Ave. Ausp: Brownsville Branch, W. P.

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

REFRESHMENTS

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 🖫. 11th Street, and at the Bookshop, 96 Fifth Avenue.



TICKET \$1.00

Five Organizations Issue Call for New World Party

Fight Hitlerism!

and the illegal activity once again comes the imperious cry of the revolutionists for assistance. Faced Nazi inferno, the German inter- proving the national defense of nationalists 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 Htler'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 A New Slaughter and a fighters as quoted in Nazi papers their indictment for high treason New Betrayal Imminent and their condemnation to between one and three years in the concentthe hundreds. Yet the work conthe I. C. L. to greater activity.

tion of the dreadful shambles that aroused, are seeking a way out, ment within all working class oryouth are looking for a new road International leave the proletariat a mighty development of the revoafter the shameful collapse of both without revolutionary leadership lutionary movement in North Amthese parties in face of the Hitler- and impel the petty bourgeois masses erica. The example of the first ite aggression. Disillusionment has on the road of despair. The bank- victorious proletarian revolution not only spread to the adherents rupt leaders seek to shift the re- lives in the memory of the masses. of working class parties but also to sponsibility for the triumph of The experience of the great events large sections of the middle class- fascism on the "passivity" of the lof the last twenty years have been for whom the Nazi promises have proletariat; thus political betrayal burned into the consciousness of all turned to dust. Possibilities is supplemented with calumny. for revolutionary activity are greatstool pigeons for Hitler.

and opportunities of the Interna- in one or in three years from now. fluential, homogeneous and steeled gardless of what unification mantional Communists have increased All the governments, vying with than the "Zimmerwald left" which euvers the two equally depraved command huge sums of money wherewith to carry on their illegal activity, the revolutionists are forced to rely on the meager pen-unions sing loud the praises of the the sections of the Communist In- doomed. The new epoch requires nies and nickels of their comrades and the occasional contributions of "disarmament," exhort their gov- prison regime, the opposition as- ary condition for success on this (the Amsterdam-Pleyel Committee, sympathizers.

Communists have refrained from working masses in the League of as well. Even in the U.S.S.R. the genuine proletarian revolutionists, distracting the attention of the making public appeals for funds for fear of jeopardizing the physi- swear fealty to the cause of pressions is proof of the fact that a common program, and under a grave struggles, and beguiling them cal safety of those comrades in the "national defense" i.e. the defense the bureaucracy is unable to root common banner. clutches of Fascist "justice." of bourgeois rule with its inevit-out the spirit of Marxist criticism Changed conditions however have able wars. obliged a change in this policy and through us they are appealing for and even of "organic unity" Soviet aid. A committee has been set up diplomacy is preparing, behind the in Paris to forward such funds as backs of the class conscious workare received for the purpose of ers, class peace between the secsmuggling literature into Germany, tions of the two Internationals and distributing it in the Reich and the bourgeoisie of those countries helping those comrades fleeing from which are in military alliance 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 1258 14.

YOUNG SPARTACUS OUT

YOUNG SPARTACUS has come out ater 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 Yourselves 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 50,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserves **\$3,4**00,000.

Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick benefit payments from \$360 to \$900—to men and women, according to

Monthly assessments from 45c For further information apply

o Main Office: 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. J

ternational 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 assist-Out of the hell-holes of German ance whatsoever against the war fascism, the concentration camps, danger and at the same time, it hinders the work of Soviet diplomacy. The humiliating and truly servile dependency of the Communist with tremendous obstacles such as International upon the Soviet upper were unknown since the days of crust is expressed in a particularly Czarism, which seems mild and glaring light in connection with the heavenly in comparison with the recent declaration of Stalin, ap-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.

Meanwhile, the destructive forces of capitalism continue their hellish ration camp. Such cases exist by work. The disintegration of world theme for fascist demagogy. In International and of its national Eliminate War economy, the unemployment of tens tinues; each case of persecution of milions, the ruin of the peasantry States, in the no less colossal unthe revolutionary Marxist foundaonly spurring on the members of put imperiously on the order of the employment, in the economic advention, which in its turn can be creday the task of the socialist revol-They speak in their communica- ution. The toilers, embittered and of the strike struggles, in the fer-

Threshing in the grip of insolv- olutionary organizations, or at least diplomats openly speculate whether ally. Even at present they reprehas spread in both old parties, destructive instruments, and there- tive in preparing for the Third In- not they who will create the unity nevertheless they operate under by from every side they are hasten-ternational. tremendous handicaps. While the ing the explosion which may be Stalinist and reformist parties immeasurably more frightful than trade unions opposition groupings efforts of the centrists to reconcile the war of 1914-1918.

The leaders of the so-called Some of these assume the form of means of patching the pieces what working class parties and the trade independent organizations. Within is fated to be destroyed, are forebeauties of peace, they babble about ternational, as a consequence of the a New International. The primitions and petty-bourgeois pacifists ernments to make peace among sumes a more mute and masked road is the close consolidation na and similar undertakings) render Up to now the International themselves, arouse the hopes of the character, but it is developing here tionally and internationally of the the best service to imperialism by Nations, and at the same time n

> Under cover of the "united front" 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 itable transitional stage even for trade unions. Assuredly, no matter

Than the "Lefts" in 1915 international revolution by the in order by example and propagan, the new parties of the Fourth In- ary tasks who dares not utter them Soviet bureaucracy has thrust the da to speed their passage to the ternational, parties which may be aloud. difficulties that face the revolution- condition for success is irreconcil- ment of the revolutionary elements ary vanguard are incredible. Nev- able criticism of the centrist lead- of the old organizations, or through ertheless its position at the present ership, exposure of the attempts to the agency of independent organtime is incomparably more favor- create the 21 International, and a izations. But on whatever arena, able than on the eve of the last ceaseless explanation of the fact and whatever the methods of funcwar. At that time capitalism ap- that the revolutionary tasks of our tioning, they are bound to speak in peared to be all powerful, almost epoch doom beforehand to ignomin- the name of unqualified principles of the International came utterly which are hybrid and amorphous. as a surprise, even to Lenin. Evthan a year after the outbreak of ists who are more farsighted, and WHAT IS. the war. The formation of revolu- who fear, with good cause, being tionary cadres proceeded slowly. thrown overboard. The centrists The possibility of proletarian revolu- often substitute the idea of mergtion was rejected even by the ma- ing the two old Internationals for jority of the "Zimmerwaldists." the idea of a New International. In Only the October victory in Russia reality, unity with reformists and

The Signers of the Open Letter

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 Interna-

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 1928 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 (B.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, "Niewe Fakkel" and a monthly theoretical organ, "Internationale," P. J. Schmidt and H. Snievliet are its outstanding leaders. It has strong influence over an independent revolutionary trade weekly paper, "The Vanguard."

the colossal crisis in the United

the best militants. Genuinely rev-

which is so hateful to it.

"Unity" at any Price Is a

The oppositionist moods and ten-

CENTRIST character, that is, in-

ism and revolution. Under condi-

Monstrous Deception

dent that they serve as the main event of war. Genuine unity of the

are emerging and growing stronger, the irreconcilable and to save by

eed for ever new purgings and re- the disciples of Marx and Lenin, on

tions when the traditional mass or- Leninists) can come forward, now

ganizations are in process of col- in the form of an independent or-

represents in many cases an inev- faction in one of the old parties, or

sections can be assured only upon

A New International

Any attempt to prescribe an iden-

internationalists, the Bolshevik-

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

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LEAGUE (L. 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 Com-It issues a twice-

munist League of America.

corrosion of capitalism are so evi- as nationally, especially in the Revolution Alone Can The war danger which is a life

and death question for the people is the supreme test for all the which coincides with the historic it might appear, Green, Woll, and turism of Roosevelt, in the sweep ated only by a break with the social groupings and tendencies within rise of the proletariat. The First Co., would be better off if the A. patriots. To remain silent about the working class. "The struggle International advanced the scienti- F. of L. were several times its the principled conditions and guarfor peace," "the struggle against once was the proud Socialist party The prostration, collapse and putre ganizations there are being lodged antees for proletarian unity is to war," "war on war" and similar olution, but it fell victim because have at their disposal larger dues and the Communist party; how the faction of the Second and Third for the first time the conditions for join in the chorus for broadcasting slogans are hollow and fraudulent it lacked a mass base. The Second illusions, duping the workers and preparing new catastrophes.

The Norr Freeh Possions | Slogans are hollow and fraudulent phrases, if unaccompanied by the propaganda and the application of revolutionary methods of struggle millions of workers but in the delignment.

I lacked a mass base. The Second payments, more jobs, etc. To build international dragged from the propaganda and the application of darkness, edurated and mobilized necessary to set the workers into revolutionary methods of struggle. revolutionary methods of struggle. The only method to put an end to war is to overthrow the bourgeoisie. by the parliamentary and the trade and of control of the A. F. of L. by the parliamentary and the trade and of control of the A. F. of L. by the parliamentary and the trade and of control of the A. F. of L. by the parliamentary and the trade and of control of the A. F. of L. by the parliamentary and the trade and of control of the A. F. of L. by the parliamentary and the trade and of control of the A. F. of L. by the parliamentary and the trade and the The only method to overthrow the union bureaucracy depraved by the reactionary bureaucracy bebourgeoisie is by a revolutionary rising capitalism. The Third Incause of the latter's ties with the

> "arbitration," and "amity between victorious assault upon the strongpeoples" (i.e., between capitalist holds of world capital. governments) etc., as opium for the popular masses. The combinations between working class organiza-

instead with impotent parades. The struggle against war and tical course for all countries would imperialism cannot be the job of be fatal. Depending upon national any sort of special "committees." conditions, upon the degree of the The struggle against war is the decomposition of the old working preparation for revolution, that is class organizations, and, finally, to say, the job of working class dencies bear today a predominantly upon the state of their own forces parties and of the International. at a given moment, the Marxists The Marxists pose this great task termediate between social patriot (the revolutionary socialists, the before the proletarian vanguard, without any frills. To the enervating slogan of "disarmament" they counterpose the slogan of WINlapse and decomposition, centrism ganization, now in the guise of a NING THE ARMY and ARMING THE WORKERS. Precisely in this is one of the most important dividprogressive working class group what the time or the arena may ing lines between Marxism and ings. Marxists must be able to be, this factional work serves only centrism drawn. He will never find The betrayal of the cause of the find access to all such tendencies, as a stage on the road of creating the courage to solve the revolution-

Move to Oust Lackey democratic movement in the trade

They do not play hide and seek with

land's largest and strongest unions knighthood from the national govhave rejected a call from the Trade ernment. 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 branch of his union called for exreject a demand from Trade Union pulsion of Citrine from the trade Congress headquarters that no Compositions in the union. Shortly before that the Locomotive Engineers Union rejected the same order on the ground that it throttled the

the congress, has been severely criticized by his own Electrical LONDON, England-Two of Eng-Trades Union for accepting a

Passing a motion of regret that inent labor leaders, had seen fit to al documents of the Fourth Inter- French champagne, in accordance accept a knighthood from a govunion movement on the ground that ceived and the general course of munists be allowed to hold official "he has brought ridicule on our the preparatory work. movement."

Page New Militant!

ed (Holland, U.S.A.); a number of programmatic and tactical documents have been elaborated. All this labor will indubitably proceed much better if correlated and unified on a world scale under the banner of the Fourth International. The impending war danger does not brook a delay in this task for even single day.

The new parties and the New In-

ternational must be built upon a The tempo and the time of the new in the capitalist countries, is called revolutionary upbuilding and its to the attention of Stalinists, they consumation depend, obviously, upon the general course of the class struggle, the future victories and only stands to gain by extending defeats of the proletariat. The the international revolution and Marxists, however, are no fatalists. that therefore the whole thing can torical process" those very tasks capitalists. How do you reply to which the historical process has this? posed before them. The initiative | Answer: It is extremely difficult, lutionary party a socialist revolu- sonal connections. tion is inconceivable.

Only in the socialist revolution is cy does not. there salvation for mankind.

fic program of the proletarian revthe experience of their victories and this would mean the end of their pacifist slogans of "disarmament," the Occident and the Orient for the latter are conditioned by a de-

> Workers of the World, Unite! (Signed)

P. J. Schmidt, H. Sneevliet.

ternational Communist League (Bolshevik - Leninists) : Crux, Dubois, Martin.

the S.F.LO. Workers Party of Canada (W.P

C.): J. MacDonald, M. Spector.

We herewith append the "Declaration of Four" (See Militant, August, 1933) on the Fourth Interna- tional wealth which it consumes, tional. Not a single line of this but we do get an occasional glimpse manifesto has become antiquared, behind the curtains. The present letter is only a restatement of the "Declaration of Four" in the light of the experience of Doletsky, the general manager of the last year and a half. We call upon all parties, organ-

izations, factions, both within the old parties as well as the trade unions, all revolutionary working class associations and groupings who are in agreement with us upon the fundamental principles and upon the great task we have the preparation for and the building of the Fourth International—to send us their signatures to the present Open Letter, together with any proposal or criticisms they may have. Individual comrades who have not been connected with our work up to now, if they seriously intend to henceforth join the common ranks should get in touch with us.

are signatories to the Open Letter long tables with glasses, plates and have resolved to create a PROVI- cutlery from the Czars palaces. SIONAL CONTACT COMMITTEE "Twenty white clad - waiters between those parties and groups served caviar on ice and chilled which stand upon the position of vodka. Then followed hors d'oeuthe Fourth International. The Pro- vres, cold and hot. Then came visional Committee is to be en- borshch, a soup with sour cream, trusted with the issuance of an in- and white Caucasian wine. formation bulletin.

mittee is to assure the regular and roast pheasant and turkey, with collective working out of the fun- red Crimean wine. This was foldamental programmatic and tactic-lowed by sweets and fruits with national.

The question of preparing an International Conference will be de American point of view-oranges, cided on the basis of replies re- pears and apples-but they were ac-

The Provisional address is: P. J. Schmidt or H. Sneevliet, Paramaribostraat 10 huis, Amsterdam-W. Holland.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

A. V., NEW YORK-

Question: When the social-patrinew foundation: that is the key with which to solve all other tasks. They do not unload upon the "his- merely be a maneuver to outwit the

of a conscious minority, the scien- of course, to discuss with people tific program, the bold and cease who refute facts with "theory," and less agitation in the name of clear- the argument of the Stalinists really formulated aims, the merciless ly means that, regardless of the criticism of all ambiguity—that is evidence, they do not want to beone of the most important factors lieve anything which may smash for the victory of the proletariat. their "ideals," or interfere with Without a fused and steeled revo- their sinecures, or social and per-

However that may be, even their The conditions are difficult; the "theory" is untenable. A concluobstacles are great; the tasks are sion such as theirs can be drawn colossal, but there is no reason only by identifying the interests of whatever to become pessimistic, or the bureaucracy with that of the to lose courage. Despite all the de Soviet State, which is false. While feats of the proletariat, the position the workers' republic stands to proof the class enemy remains a hope- fit by an extension of the world less one. Capitalism is doomed. revolution, the Stalinist bureaucra-

To clarify matters, let us consid-The very sequence of the Inter- er some analogies, bearing in mind nationals has its own internal logic the points of difference. Logically, present size, since they would then ternational set for the first time capitalists. In other words, under As against the reactionary lie of letarian revolution, but it found itreational detense" it is necessary self ground between the millstone.

An extension of the world revolution would set into motion the Ruscline in the revolutionary mood of the masses resulting from international proletarian defeats (China, Germany, British General Strike, etc.)

Revolutionary Socialist Workers | Consider dialectically, therefore, Party of Holland (R.S.A.P.): the Stalinist bureaucracy will not benefit by an extension of the world Workers Party of the United revolution. This is merely another States (W.P.U.S.): A. J. Muste, way of repeating our thesis that Stalinism is reactionary and a International Secretariat of In- brake on revolutionary progress.

Question: What evidence is there that the Soviet bureaucracy enjoys The Bolshevik-Leninist Group in the "juciest" steaks and "Rolls Royces" to which Trotsky has referred in his pamphlet on the Sov-

iet Union? Answer: The Stalinist bureaucracy does not oblige us, of course, with statistics of the amount of na-

Here, for example, is an account of a "dinner recently given by M. 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 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 initiating organizations who the sixty guests sat down before

"Then salmon with white French In the immediate future the Com- wine. The next course consisted of with the Continental custom. The fruits were not so lavish from the companied by ice cream worthy of America." (Walter Duranty, New York Times, March 22, 1934.)

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

"UNSER WORT"

in the 40th month of the war pro-social patriots of the social demo-

duced a change in the situation, cratic or Stalinist variety signifies

formation of the Third Internation- national bourgeoisie, and, conse-

Halbmonatesschrift der Internationalen Kommunisten Deutschlands (Bolschewiki Leninisten)

Bestellungen an: J. Meichler, B. P. 14 248 Rue des Pyrenees Paris 20e Preis des Abonnements fur 1 Jahr \$1.20; 1 Jahr 60c

The New Epoch Requires The humiliating and hopeless

position of the old Internationals assault. is adequately characterized by the tion. fact that the President of the one er in view of the let down of esp- able contradictions, capitalism is groups, exist in all countries. They became the humble Minister of His national defense" it is necessary self ground between the millstones of L. bureaucracy to really build ionage among large sections of the preparing to plunge the peoples into are closely bound together ideolog- King, while the real master of the to advance the slogan of the revo- of the bureaucracy in the isolated the trade unions. populace that previously acted as a new slaughter. Ministers and ically, and in part also organization other uses the world proletarian lutionary destruction of the nation- Soviet State and the reformist but organization as so much small al state. To the madhouse of cap- reaucracy of the West. Today, un-Although the political advantages the outbreak of the war will come sent a force incomparably more inchange for diplomatic deals. Rejitalist Europe it is necessary to der the conditions of decisive capcounterpose the program of THE italist collapse, the Fourth Inter-SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF national standing upon the shouldbecause of the disillusionment that one another, are preparing the most in the fall of 1915 took the initial bureaucracies may undertake, it is has spread in both old parties destructive instruments and there were two equany depraved SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF national standing upon the shouldist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union but of their would mean the end of their United States of the World. Marxists irreconcilably reject the defeats, will mobilize the toilers of special privileges precisely because of the proletariat, and it is not for Within the reformist parties and them to point the way out. The

world proletariat far back. The revolutionary road. In this, the created either through the regroup- The 4th International Stands on the Shoulders Of its Forerunners

During the year and a half that has elapsed since the publication of invincible. The patriotic debacle ious bankruptcy those unifications and clear revolutionary slogans. the first program of the Fourth International, the struggle for its The slogan of "unity" of all the working class; they do not con- principles and ideas has not abated erywhere the revolutionary ele- working class organizations re- ceal their aims; they do not substi- for a single day; the revolutionary ments were caught unprepared gardless of their program and tac- tute diplomacy and combinations for national sections and groups have The first international conference— tic is being zealously propagated a principled struggle. MARXISTS grown in number; some of them very small numerically and its ma- at present by the centrists, and is AT ALL TIMES AND UNDER extended their ranks and influence, jority indecisive—took place more being ably exploited by the reform- ALL CONDITIONS OPENLY SAY others attained to a greater homogeneity and cohesion; organizations within the same country have unit-

In British Unions

providing a mighty impulse for the in the last analysis unity with the quently, the inevitable split of the

Today the internal weakness and proletariat, internationally as well

Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of

Citrine, one of Britain's most promernment of "hunger and war," a

Support the Eight-

bloody denouement approaches.

with which is merged THE MILITANT Published weekly by the New Militant Publishing Co., 55 East 11th Street, New York City Phone. Algonquin 4-9058

Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 8, 1879.

JAMES P. CANNONEditor

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c six months. Canada and Foreign \$1.50 per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle Rates: Two cents per copy.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 3, 1935. No. 32 Vol. 1

Dark Clouds in Italy

Considerable significance may be attached to the report from Rome that the government has issued a decree permitting the Bank of Italy's gold reserve to fall below the statutory 40 percent coverage. The action is "unanimously interpreted in Italy," according to the Times correspondent, "especially in banking and Stock Exchange circles, as the thin end of a devaluation wedge." Of further significance is the fact that such fiscal measures usually taken when a government is exhausted after years of war comes in Italy before the war has even begun!

To this should be added another item in the report to the effect that the Fascist regime now finds itself owing foreign governments the sum of 500,000,000 lire (ap. \$4,000,000), for which it does not have on hand sufficient foreign curency and, payment for which would have to be made by digging into the gold reserves of the Bank of Italy.

If it is borne in mind that the rising debt has been incurred by the increasing purchases of materials abroad for the Italian preparations of war against Ethiopia, and that the impending "devaluation" hits directly at the living standards of the masses in Italy, a clearer picture is presented of the inseparable connection between Mussolini's African adventure and the prospects of mutiny behind the lines-

The living conditions of the workers and peasants of Italy after more than a decade of ment the world over.

a few years ago, the League of Nations made public data which showed that the standard of life of the Italian workers was close to if not actually the lowest on the European continent. The bourgeoisie of Italy owes a great debt of gratitude to Mussolini for having saved the profit system from being overthrown by the eastern Africa, "is a gun aimed masses by the simple expedient of reducing the against the security of Italy." Just latter to the state of serfs, held under the yoke the contrary is true. By massing by the drawn pistol and the naked sabre.

The imminent outbreak of the war against aiming his cannon against these the Ethiopians may, and does mean increased people in order to seize their terriprofits for the ruling class, as is already shown tory, profiting by the general chaos by the rise, in one day, of the shares of the now prevailing in the entire capi- people who endanger it, the imperlargest Italian rayon concern from 401 to 410, of automobile shares from 394 to 401 and of mining shares from 188 to 102. But it most because the capture talist world. Mussolini wants to repeat against Abyssinia the very same operation with which Japan mining shares from 188 to 193. But it means succeeded in the Far East against invest this decadent organization only increased misery and poverty for Italy's Manchukuo. Will Mussolini be pertoilers. The "devaluation" which is inevitable as a result of the tremendous expenditures that bandits acted against Manchukuo? will be required to keep a quarter of a million This time the consequences will be against each other. Its impotence armed men in the field against the Ethiopians, much more serious. Peace which as an instrument of peace was remeans only a further rise in the cost of living rests on crossed bayonets cannot vealed in the case of the Chaco which, under Fascism, is not going to be compensated by an increase in wages.

Mussolini is thus preparing for himself a will only be the signal for the defeat on two fronts. The subjugation of the European powers which are suffo-Ethiopian people will not prove to be a simple cating in their steel cages. matter, and will not be accomplished in a day, if at all. Every blow that the dark-skinned the vise of unprecedented internal the vise of unprecedented internal the vise of the flag they fly. Laval, warriors deliver to the Fascist conscript army, difficulties (unemployment, deep- Mussolini, Hitler and their ilk-is will be an axe-blow at the legs of Mussolini's going financial crisis, extreme imthrone. Every depreciation of the standard of poverishment of the peasant massliving of the masses at home will produce such an addition to the accumulated hatred for the needs, etc.) Mussolini is seeking a regime as will ever more threaten its very ex- way out of these unsurmountable geoisie of their own country as

Herein, once more, is shown the community of interests of the Italian masses and the Ethiopian peoples. They have one foe: Italian Japan also have their rapacious ap- workers are to be strong, they must Fascism. Into this community of solidarity petites to satisfy. And Germany is be united, but there is no condition must enter the workers of the entire world. A not the last of the European pow- for unity other than a break with death-blow to Italian Fascism will mean the beginning of the end of Fascism everywhere.

The naval pact between England with all its agents in their own national bourgeoisie and by its contradictions, corroded by and Germany on the one hand, and ranks. Thus the problem of the one again to utilize the colossal It will restore the self-confidence and the mili- the German-Polish pact on the struggle against war is the probtancy of the labor movement in every land. It other demonstrate that Germany is lem of revolutionary unity of the will destroy the made pretensions to immortal- feverishly seeking a favorable op- working class. To feed the workity of the assassins of the people. It will give portunity to provide the spark for ers on the illusions of pacifism a tremendous impulsion to the liberating move-

Fascist sovereignty, are quite different from the glowing idyll depicted by the blackshirted demagogues prior to the march on Rome. Only Against Italian Agression in Ethiopia!

"Abyssinia," states Mussolini, pretending to justify his invasion of For World Struggle directed against the U.S.S.R. his troops on the frontiers of the For the struggle against war we The Thieves' Kitchen Ethiopian plateaus Mussolini is Thus it can be seen how criminal it is to spread the illusion that

peace can be assured by the very ialist bandits. The entry of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations was depicted as an attempt to rewith new prestige and force. Vain hope! The League of Nations has war, in the case of the aggression long endure. The hour of the against Manchukuo, and now it is Mussolini's war against Abyssinia

> The toilers have nothing to hope from those who incessantly conspire against peace. The latter are it not significant that all these gentlemen lay equal claim to the self-same desire for peace?

rape of Ethiopia.

Once more we say to the toilers that those who paint up the bourcontradictions by a war against peace-loving, deceive and betray Abyssinia. But this country is not them. The toilers can rely only on only the coveted booty of Italian their own strength in the struggle rope; to this we must add the Au- such a struggle. Ours is a clarion fascism. England, France and against war. Assuredly, if the else is lacking. The aim of the sibilities would be to open the road explosion is already apparent: it is to war and fascism.

force: Under the leadership of this

international party the masses

for the one real war against war

of the workers' state under which

On with this struggle against

war, which must also be the

struggle against perfidious social

democracy and Stalinism, the

Against the imperialist arma-

ments race! Against the war pre-

parations of the Roosevelt admin-

Against Fascism! For the de-

fense of workers' rights! For

the liberation of political prison-

For the support of Ethiopia

against the aggressions of Fascist

Italy and the manipulations of

other imperialist robber nations!

undermines the foundations of

the Soviet Union!

of the Soviet Union!

Down with Stalinism which

For the revolutionary defense

For the revolutionary struggle

For the Fourth International-

banner of hope and pledge of vic-

tory for the workers of the world!

against war and imperialism!

struggle for the Fourth In

No other conclusion can be drawn unemployment and starvation will

tional!

istration!

ers!

from the social democratic-Stalin- be abolished and a higher civiliza

to be seen in the case of the Italian If Mussolini is allowed to have his London to Moscow, from Paris to

Action Alone Counts

must no longer wait for what tomorrow will bring, no longer wait until it is too late to translate into action the threats which fill all the appeals and all the resolutions passed at meetings. War cannot be staved off by protests filed by Barbusse and Co. with the League of Nations. The imperialist bandits will not be halted by addressing petitions and sighs to them. Words must be followed by deeds. That is what we propose to all organizations that sincerely aspire to the struggle for peace.

Mussolini attacks Ethiopia. This the rest of the world as a consequence. can we do?

Proletariat Still Mighty of the bloody dictatorship of fast fend the right of self-determination cism in Italy has paralyzed the for the peoples in the Dark Conworking class; undoubtedly Hitler- tinent. We must immediately esism in Germany has annihilated the tablish contact with all working most powerful proletariat in Eu- class organizations prepared for strian and the Spanish defeats. call issued so that the slogan be Nevertheless the proletariat in Eu- put into effect everywhre and withrope and in the other continents out delay. remains a titanic force while the imperialist enemy is torn internally decay. The problem is to be able once again to utilize the colossal revolutionary potentialities of the for action on the part of the toilers workers, while confusion reigns in against Italian Fascist aggression the enemy camp. If the enemy is aimed at the Abyssinian people. given the time to act, it will also gain the opportunity to consummate its destructive plans.

ation of our brothers in Vienna and tors while the bandits pillage and proletariat. run roughshod as in the Far East over Manchukuo. Every inch of soil lost by the toilers in any couninto a disciplined, solid, aggressive try whatsoever is a loss for all toilers. But, if the working class has the will, it can still do wonthroughout the world can be rallied ders by its prowess. Let us set to FASCISM! work to imbue the working class the one war in which the workers with this will. The Fascist aggrescan win, the revolutionary struggle sion against the Abyssinian people for the overthrow of capitalism and is the link which we must seize imperialism, for the establishment upon today.

Organize the Boycott organize an international boycott of YOKE!

International Communist League Calls | Fascist Italy and its allies in the war against Ethiopia. If we are unable to organize such a boycott, Italian Fascism may well, as it does, laugh at our appeals and pro-

> No convoy of soldiers and ammunition must be permitted to embark in Ethiopia.

Every shipment, every Italian boat carrying merchandise of Italy or for that country must be stopped. It is not a question of proclaiming "not a penny, not a man" for the war of Italian imperialism against Ethiopia, it is a question of organizing the international struggle which will enable the workers of Italy to feel the solidarity of the international proletariat, and, imbued with this solidarity, to resume te march toward their emancipation

Those who speak of "unity of action" must demonstrate by deeds is an indisputable case of banditry. that they really mean it. From way, then in the coming months we New York let us organize. There shall witness the transition from is no time to be lost in this or that the stage of preparations to that negotiation with the two Internaof open warfare, with all that we tionals, as was done at the time have predicted for Europe and for when the miners in the Asturias were mowed down, arms in hand. How prevent it? What From all corners of the earth, in a mighty universal action we must speak to the workers of Italy and Without a doubt, thirteen years prove to them our firm will to de-

Organize for Action Now!

An international day of struggle must be organized which will serve as the crystallizing center and at the same time the starting point

Let such a proof of the will for action, concrete proof of the international front of the oppressed and There must be no repetition of the toilers against their enemy, imwhat took place during the annihil-perialism under all banners, be given, and the forward march of in the Asturias. We can no longer Fascism will be truly checked by remain passive and neutral specta- the resurgent power of the world

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN NTERNATIONALISM!

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM, BREEDER OF WARS! LONG LIVE THE INTERNA-

TIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST AGAINST ITALIAN AGGRES-

SION IN ETHIOPIA! BOYCOTT THE BLACK SHIRT

"CIVILIZERS"! FOR THE LIBERATION OF ALL OPPRESSED NATIONALI-Without delay it is necessary to TIES FROM THE IMPERIALIST

Green Dodges that only bonariue using beautiful to the locals be permitted to vote: that an International Auto Confab

(Continued on Page 2)

be elected, what the powers of the convention will be, or for that matter, even received an announcement of the fact that on August 26 a constitutional convention will be

Officials Dodge Question

and that they are not seriously con-political affiliation. cerned about the setting up of an International in the automobile and become steeled in two years of auto-parts industry.

of the A. F. of L. is characterized treacherous officials in their own by delay and sabotage, the growing midst. They are now in no mood rank and file movement in many for "playing around" with the idea of the federal automobile locals, of an International union. Regardstarts in the unusual condition of having a cash surplus of about \$50 sixed for the course of the co cious leadership, and a growing con-progressive workers in the autowith all trial expenses paid. Rough-fidence in its ability to organize mobile unions are determined that the automobile industry and con- a constitutional convention be called duct the affairs of the union. The on Aug. 26, for the purpose of setvoice of this progressive movement ting up an International on the is making itself heard in many of above mentioned basis, and are the federal locals more and more determined that nothing shall stand clearly, demanding that a constitut- in their path for the realization of ional convention be convoked in their goal.

Detroit on Aug. 26th, as announced; ted to vote; that an International be set up including all workers skilled and unskilled, engaged in he manufacture of automobiles and auto parts.

An Industrial Union Aim In other words the demand is

unmistakably for an industrial union to be completely democratic in form, electing out of the convention all of its officers and that the membership have the right to recall any officer who does not carry out his In view of the fact that only duties in the organization; that the about four weeks intervene between new International include tool and now and Aug. 26th, and that some die makers, maintenance men, etc. of the federal automobile locals meet | etc., and that all workers of this only once every two weeks, the con- industry be eligible for membership duct of the A. F. of L. officials can in the union with no discrimination only be characterized as lightminded because of race, color, creed or The automobile workers have

battle with government mediators, If the activities of the leadership boards, automobile corporations and

Manifesto of the W. P. U. S. on Anti-War Day nist International and its sections! If war occurs against the U.S.S. taught the workers: The enemy | this banner, the forces of the vanthe foundations of socialism. No under Stalinist domination stand R. and you make your revolution, is in your own country. Stalin guard workers may be welded again capitalist state, whatever temporary condemned as renegades to the you will be traitors!" tells the workers that their own

military maneuvers it may execute, teachings of Marx and Lenin, encan loyally and effectively defend gaged in capitulating to pacifism ried out their historic betrayal unthe Workers' State, can in the end and social-patriotism, preparing der the slogan "Defense of the Fado ought but seek to destroy it. | jointly with the Second Interna- therland" and by means of the The whole system of imperialist tional to betray the masses in the fiction that there are "advanced" or war preparations constitutes the next war and by that same token "liberal" capitalist powers which weapon for an attack upon the very to betray the Soviet Union. existence of the Soviet Union. The real defense of the Soviet Union of all the workers of the world.

War Will Involve U.S. All this directly involves us, the workers, farmers and intelbe no greater error than to conthat the U.S. will not enter the coming war. No war, for example, in which Japanese imperialism was involved, as in a war against the Soviet Union, is thinkable without the participation of the U. S. American imperialism has interests in Latin-America, in Europe and Asia far too vital to its expansion and its very existence to allow them to be affected by the outcome of the next war without the direct and active intervention of American forces. Else why the vast naval-building program under the allegedly liberal and pacifist Roosevelt admin-

istration? such swift precision upon us and after failing to meet at all for democratic state is another thing for publishing the Open Letter for in which the American masses are seven of the most critical years in certain to be involved, will if it which the proletarian movements precipice into complete disaster. runs its course without the revolu- in Germany, Austria and Spain extionary intervention of the workers. wreak unimaginable havoc and destruction. It may give a crushing intern in France, the United States blow to all western civilization and and elsewhere the conclusive evi plunge whole nations back into dence that this betrayal in the war-

barbarism and savagery. There is only one way to destroy the curse of war-capitalist-imperialist war. That is to destroy capitalism and imperialism. Pacifist patriot in the last war. measures of all kinds, disarmament campaigns, "peace pacts," League of Nations, etc. fail, in fact serve as the screen behind which war preparations go on, because none of these measures strikes at the root of the matter.

Only Revolution Can Stop War Capitalism and imperialism can be stopped and crushed only by the working class and its allies. They under the leadership of the international revolutionary party of the working class based upon the tested principles of Marx and Lenin.

First and foremost, therefore, in this awful crisis impending for the working masses and for all humanity, the workers must know where the Marxist-Leninist party is, and must subject every party and group, no matter how great its numbers or how imposing its traditions, to the severest test in order to determine whether it will lead the masses to victory and freedom or repeat under far more dangerous conditions, the monstrous betrayal of 1914.

By this test the so-called Commu-

Behind the screen of Stalinist and "autocratic" capitalist powers lip-service to revolutionary internative must be fought, though that is the elementary and weighty duty tionalism, of imposing but impo- did not prevent these social demotent "united front" maneuvers, of cratic fakers from fighting for or loudly heralded "Leagues Against side by side with either "type" of ist repudiation of the revolutionary tion built. War and Fascism," of entry into capitalist state when the "Defense struggle against war-their betraythe League of Nations, of military of the Fatherland" required it. lectuals of the U.S. There could alliances between the Soviet Union and capitalist states, this complete sole ourselves with the illusion and shameful betrayal of the working class of the world in its great- of the imperialist powers and help est crisis proceeds.

that the Stalinist doctrine of build- But Fascism is only one of the state

tariat in the crisis of war. Stalinism Has Betrayed! Today in the most official manner perienced tragic defeats, from the responsible spokesmen of the Comcrisis has been fully prepared. It is indeed fitting that the reporter on War at the Comintern Congress

Stalin himself states that he "understands and fully approves the national defense policy of France keeping her armed forces at a level required for security." These are the "armed forces" required for "security" of French imperialism and the suppression of the French proletariat!

should be Ercoli, himself a social-

Thorez in France and Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily can achieve the revolutionary over- Worker, in the U. S. say that if throw of the capitalist states only an imperialist nation such as France engages in a war against a Fascist nation and is allied in that war with the Soviet Union, then that imperialist nation will not be waging an imperialist war but a war in defense of the Soviet Union. An imperialist nation can wage a war, according to these "leaders" of the working class, for other than the youthful ex-West Pointer and er and Herbert Solow. imperialist ends! An imperialist nation can and will defend the Soviet Union!

> Chemadanov, the secretary of the Young Communist International, on this basis threatens the Socialists of France, brazenly seeks to club them into support of war carried on by the French imperialist state saying: "War?

The social democrats in 1914 car

may be supported and "barbaric"

Lenin or Stalin

Now the Stalinists confuse the corkers, aid the war preparations to make the outbreak of war more We of the Workers Party and certain by creating the myth of the Bolshevik-Leninists throughout bad, Fascist capitalist states and the world have long proclaimed good, democratic capitalist states. ing Socialism in the Soviet Union forms through which the capitalist alone, would, after emasculating dictatorship operates. Capitalism the revolutionary parties in capital- inevitably resorts to Fascism everyist lands and transforming them where when it can no longer escape into mere border defenses for the its contradictions by less open and Soviet Union, lead to complete and brutal measures. The outbreak of open betrayal of the world prole- war will see an iron dictatorial regime established in the "democratic" nations also. To fight to defend such democratic rights as workers we have from the lips of Stalin may still retain in certain countries himself, from the Comintern Con- is one thing. To fight anywhere to This war which advances with gress, now in session in Moscow defend the hypocritical bourgeois -is to plunge the workers over the Lenin and Karl Liebknecht

United Front

on Sacramento

NEW YORK CITY.-With eight

national organizations already in,

and others expected to join shortly,

the National Sacramento Appeal

Committee at a meeting here has

taken its first steps to open a

broad, aggressive fight for the re-

versal of the infamous, union-

smashing Sacramento criminal syn-

dicalism verdicts. Thus the work-

ing class will answer William Ran-

dolph Hearst's proposal that the

Sacramento cases become a model

for bosses in all states seeking to

make union organization impossible.

organize a union, have been sent to

and labor attorney who represented

dicalism trials some years ago.

By decision of the Committee, in-

workers, the Workers Party of the United States, along with the International Communist League, the Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party (R.S.A.P.) of Holland, the Workers Party of Canada and the French Section of the Bolshevik-Leninists joins this week in again raising aloft, higher and higher, the banner of the Fourth International. Forward for the 4th International

capitalist government is their

enemy—but only under certain

Lenin said: Turn the imperial-

ist war into civil war. Stalin

says: Do not interfere with the

military operations of the capi-

al of the masses in this world crisis

ties and a new revolutionary Inter-

national must be built, and built

As the banners of the Second

and the Third Internationals are

once more lowered and dragged

in the dust of treason against the

immediately!

-than that new revolutionary par-

talists who are our "friends"!

No more appropriate time could be found than this Anti-War Week

the Fourth International. On the basis of revolutionary internationalism which it lays down, under League for Industrial Democracy, verdict which one of the jurors has the Committee will again urge the International Labor Defense, repre-

draw in other national bodies and trade unions.

Broad Committee N.P.L.D., League for Industrial Deland its organiztions. mocracy, S. P. and W. P., which Information from San Quentin sent out invitations to the July 16 reveals that copies of the New Milimeeting, and the Workmen's Sick tant, Socialist Call, New Internaand Death Fund, Spartacus Youth tional and Modern Monthly have League, Young Peoples Socialist been denied Mini. The N.S.A.C. League. The Workers Alliance of question of Mini's rights to receive America, General Defense Commit- these papers. tee, American Civil Liberties Union and Communist Party Opposition have sent observers to the Commit vitations to represent Norman Mini, tee, and have been asked to join Sacramento worker now in San actively. The members of the com-Quentin for the crime of helping to | mittee at present are Selmar Shockan, Murray Baron, William Gom-Albert Goldman, Chicago Socialist berg, Karl Lore, Jack Herling, Ernest R. McKinney, George Street-

Workers Party member in the trial Solow, who directed the N.P.L. court, and to Attorney Henderson, D.'s work in California during the well-known California attorney who Sacramento trial, is temporary sec- Bridges charged. He also accused handled many I.W.W. criminal syn-The Committee took steps toward pointing out that if the attorneys' broadening itself before opening its legal arguments are backed by an fund and mass campaign. Reaffirm- aggressive, broad, serious campaign ing the stand taken earlier by the they will cause the higher Californ-Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the ia court to hesitate to sustain a

Socialist Party and Workers Party already impeached in an affidavit. in favor of a unified defense staff The N.P.L.D. gave the new body a for all eight Sacramento prisoners, financial report, showing that it senting Mini's fellow-prisoners, to collaborate. It will also seek to ly estimated, the appeal may cost fifteen hundred dollars. In addition to the other reasons for a unified appeal, there would be the fin-The Committee now includes the ancial saving to the working class

League and National Unemployed will raise with the Warden the

SAN FRANCISCO.-Demand that waterfront employers pay retroactive wages to which longshoremen are entitled has been made by Pres. Harry Bridges of the San Francisco local, International Longshoremen's

Failure of employers to live up to an arbitration award granting the men retroactive pay is responsible for unrest on the waterfront, retary of the N.S.A.C. He reported the U.S. army with violating the on the present status of the case, award in regard to work at the army docks.

> Solicit Subscriptions! Push the Club Plan!

BOOK SALE

SUMMER CLEARANCE SPECIALS By LEON TROTSKY: Problems of the Chinese Revolution\$1.00 \$.60 .40 .15 .10 **IMPORTATIONS** Special The Web of Thought and Action, by H. Levy.....\$1.98 Essays in the History of Materialism, by G. Plekhanov..... 1.98 Aspects of Dialectical Materialism (Symposium) 1.47 The Bolshevik Theory, by Raymond Postgate 1.75 A Brief History of the French Revolution, by F. W. Aveling.. 1.00 Labour and the Industrial Revolution, by E. C. Fairchild.... 1.00 Commercial Crisis of the 19th Century, by H. M. Hyndman.. 1.00 The Outlook of Science, by R. L. Worrall 2.50 No Mail Orders Under \$2.00 During Sale. Add 10% for Postage. PIONEER PUBLISHERS 96 Fifth Avenue, New York City