

# NEW MILITANT

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## REMEMBER SACCO & VANZETTI!

A landmark in the struggle of the American proletariat approaches. August 22 marks the eighth anniversary of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. Once again, we shall relive the experience of that hot August night when, as midnight neared, we waited with anguish for word of a reprieve—word that never came.

The crime committed at South Braintree, Massachusetts, for which Sacco and Vanzetti were unjustly tried and convicted, was a routine hold-up such as occurred innumerable times before, and since. The paymaster and guard of a shoe company were stopped as they left the factory by bullets fired from an automobile. Two men seized the payroll amounting to approximately \$16,000 and jumped into the car which then gathered speed and disappeared.

### Facts in the Frame-up

Many people witnessed the occurrence. Most of them testified that it was impossible in the brief period of three seconds, during which the crime was expertly consummated, to identify the criminals. Only fleeting glimpses were obtained of them. Testimony agreed that a light-complexioned man was at the wheel of the automobile and a foreign-looking man was in the back seat shooting. The prosecution could not find anybody, at first, who could describe the criminals more accurately. After Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested, they were brought to South Braintree where Katzman, the district attorney, finally got three unsavory characters to hesitantly identify them as having been in the car. These witnesses were subsequently so discredited that even the notorious Judge Thayer, the trial judge, said at a later stage of the case, when motions for a new trial were presented to him, that the conviction did not rest on the identification, but on the fact that Sacco and Vanzetti betrayed "consciousness of guilt" after they were arrested.

Thayer referred to the fact that Sacco and Vanzetti lied to the police about their activities in the period immediately preceding the date of their arrest. It was shown that Sacco and Vanzetti were active members of an organization which distributed literature banned by the government. Their comrades were being hunted, jailed and deported at that time of post-war anti-Red hysteria. The third degree was commonly used by the police. The illegality of the methods resorted to by Palmer and his raiders in the Department of Justice was so flagrant that even the capitalist courts were forced to condemn them. A comrade named Salsedo had, a few months before, died after a third degree examination at the hands of Department of Justice men who held him incommunicado in the office of the department. He either jumped or was pushed from the window of the office. Sacco and Vanzetti were both listed as "dangerous Reds" in the records of the Department of Justice.

When they were arrested by a lone, hick policeman to whom they offered no resistance, they thought that the charge against them was in reference to their radical activities. They sought, therefore, to conceal their movements and to protect their comrades by withholding information from the police.

It was never denied that after the date on which the crime was committed, Sacco and Vanzetti continued the normal existence of the working man—the normal existence of suppressed, exploited proletarians—Sacco working steadily in a shoe factory and Vanzetti peddling fish in the small towns on the coast. Both faithfully carried on the work of advanced workers by agitating and lecturing on behalf of the working class every moment of their spare time. No wonder the "best people" said that "they ought to hang anyway!"

Until the early part of 1926, the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti was entrusted to a committee organized by their friends in the anarchist movement. Thereafter, the International Labor Defense, then a healthy organization under the

leadership of James P. Cannon, assumed control of the mass worldwide agitation for their release. During the early years, the defense committee was handicapped by the sectarian nature of its legal defense committee. The lawyers obtained by the committee had no responsibility for the manner in which they

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## Progressives Fight for Sway In Rubber Union

### Claherty Gerryman-dering Meets with Stiff Opposition

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio.—Two problems occupied the attention of progressive rubber workers this week as they continued to organize a bloc to wrest control of the federal unions away from the A. F. of L. bureaucracy at the approaching convention for the formation of an international union.

Attempts of Coleman C. Claherty, notorious betrayer in the threatened strike this spring, to reduce the number of delegates from the Akron unions was being fought successfully by the progressives. At the Firestone local, Claherty's efforts to reduce the delegates from 16 to 4 were defeated. However, he will try the same thing in other unions.

His purpose is to cut down the Akron delegation so that he can control the convention through the out-of-towners who are more under his influence. Progressives at Good-year local are meeting this week to plan their fight next Sunday when delegate election comes out.

The problem of selecting a slate of candidates which will swing the majority of delegates behind the progressive bloc is another question confronting them.

### Claherty's Maneuvers

Claherty will back either George B. Roberts, his assistant, who was a rubber worker, or else back John House, president of the Goodyear local, who while sincere, is easily led by Claherty. Many workers seem to like either Sherman H. Dalrymple, Goodrich local president, or Thomas Burns, A. F. of L. organizer from New England rubber plants for the presidency. Burns led a strong fight against Claherty last year at the rubber workers' convention.

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## A.F. of L. Skates Face Crucial Issues in N. J.

### Fight for Spoils at Top; Demands from Ranks Sidetracked

Comforted by the delightful breezes of Atlantic City, the A. F. of L. Executive Council is now in session in preparation for the 55th annual convention scheduled for October 7. Among the questions considered was the report of its stewardship to be made to this convention, and in spite of meager information it is already clear that only very scant attention will be given to the real problems that face the trade union movement today.

The stimulus given to union organization by the NRA no longer exists. Two serious strike waves were effectively checked with a corresponding set-back to the movement. This enabled the employers to proclaim more boldly their open shop policy and to resist union recognition more effectively. The effort to tie up the workers' struggles in the complicated system of governmental boards has won a temporary victory.

### Failure and Disappointment

Undoubtedly, trade union membership is receding from its peak a year ago, and receding at a time when conditions were favorable for gains. The decline is most obvious in the basic and in the mass production industries. On the one hand, this is due to sheer disappointment of the workers at the failure to pursue an aggressive policy of organization; but much more disastrous in their effects were the outright strike betrayals in the automobile industry last year and in the rubber industry this year.

Even in many of the well-established unions of the skilled trades there is an appalling loss of membership due to unemployment and consequent inability to pay dues. Above all, however, the whole American wage standard is threatened by the Roosevelt coolie relief wage on the WPA projects ranging from \$19 to \$93 a month.

But these questions are not the ones that cause the most worry to the mandarins on the Executive Council. They have their own vested interests to protect. While they are unable to separate these interests entirely from the life and growth of the unions, what is now uppermost in their minds is reflected in the maneuvering for position that goes on behind the scenes. The Executive Council is not united. And beneath the surface of complacent tranquility the issues of the life of the movement in the sense of the positions of bargaining power afforded by an organization—the

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## Fur Workers Elect New Leadership

### Stalinists Unite With Right Wing to Gain Control

The first elections, since unification, to the New York Joint Council of the International Fur Worker's Union have just taken place. The Stalinist leadership of the former industrial union, led by Ben Gold, was elected by a large majority. Indications are that they could have elected the whole administration had they chosen to nominate a complete slate. Their endorsement of certain "right wing" candidates and their slanderous campaign against the "Progressives" did not meet with the same success.

Despite the slanderous attack, five members of the Fur Workers' Progressive League and one member of the Furriers Unity League were elected to the Joint Council. In addition, Irving Baritz, of the Progressive League was elected as a business agent. Other members of these two groups ran well ahead of some of the "independent" and "right wing" candidates endorsed by the Stalinists.

### Oppose Removals

The elections indicated, as expected, that the Stalinist "Rank and File" group has a decisive majority in the union. That majority is reflected in the new administration, and any attempt to oust the democratically elected representatives could only mean an attempt to split the union and should be opposed by every progressive force in the union, and in the labor movement as a whole.

Though opposed to any attempts by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats to oust the duly elected officials of the union, it must be stated that we have no confidence whatever in them. Past experiences with these Stalinists when they were in control of the Industrial Union show that they repressed minority group opinion in the most brutal and bureaucratic manner. Their new turn, which conforms to the opportunistic and social-patriotic turn of Stalinism on a world scale, only reveals that added to their past policies of suppression and split is a new one—that of collaboration with reactionaries against progressives. A few quotations from their pre-election leaflets will prove this:

### "Right and Left, Unite" (!)

"We want a united leadership in our union to consist of the two main tendencies in the working class movement, namely, the right wing and the left wing." . . . "We pledge ourselves to agitate for

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## AFL Crew Turns N. Y. WPA Strike Into Fiasco

### Follow Their Example!

From a group of New York fur workers we have received a \$10.00 greeting for the 8-page weekly. This is a splendid tribute to our press and the ideas it stands for, but it is also an example worthy of emulation by others. With such encouragement there is rich assurance that the campaign will succeed speedily and the 8-page weekly will soon be an actuality.

To date, however, we have collected only one-fourth of the funds needed. Three-fourths of the way is still to be made. This is the serious question before us. We pass it on to our comrades, our readers and our sympathizers.

Our aim with this campaign is a doubly effective and a doubly powerful NEW MILITANT. To reach this aim, we propose four weeks of concentrated efforts, in order to collect the \$2,000 that is necessary.

Our New York organization is now taking the lead in such a concentrated effort, starting out with a complete mobilization of the whole membership. All will be obliged to go out and visit friends, shop-mates and fellow-unionists with contribution lists and subscription blanks, and we expect a rapid rise in the figure column and a corresponding increase in circulation. Only actual results count in this campaign.

The District Committee will take full charge. Each branch has a quota to fulfill and will keep strict account of the activity of each member. The quota for all the New York branches combined is \$825.

Pursuing this course everywhere, it should be easy to collect the three-fourths still to go. We recommend it.

Four weeks of concentrated effort to go over the top in the campaign. Four weeks of active work visiting friends, shop-mates and fellow-unionists for support to the 8-page weekly. With the energy and devotion, characteristic of revolutionists, we should soon reach our goal.

## Imperialist Ring Tightens Around Ethiopian Nation

By MARTIN A. GLEE

"You offer us the choice between assassination and suicide. We prefer the latter. At least, then, we shall be able to call out for help."

These were virtually the last words spoken at the most recent session of the League of Nations Council, thrown into the teeth of the chairman of the Council, Maxim Litvinoff by the Ethiopian delegate, Zeze.

And thus the matter stands to date. The choice offered Ethiopia by the imperialist bandits, aided and abetted by the representative of the Stalin bureaucracy is indeed that of "assassination or suicide."

Which road will the kingdom of the Negus take? What can its people do under the circumstances? What solution will the bourgeoisie of France and England offer through its respective intermediaries, Laval and Eden? What solution to the problem of Ethiopia can we, the proletariat, suggest? These are questions which every person conscious of the seriousness of the situation is asking.

### Pathetic Plea for Arms

From the viewpoint of his own particular interest, Haile Selassie is

## Prepare Now for Silk Strike

### CPSHouts for General Strike but Does Nothing About It

By FELIX GIORDANO

PATERSON, N. J.—In an article published in the May Day issue of the NEW MILITANT we called for extensive preparations in the silk industry for the expected general strike. A resolution embodying the same program was introduced to the Joint Board, where it was killed. Now, three and a half months later, the Communist Party suddenly re-members the general strike, and just as suddenly comes to life shouting and demanding that the strike be called.

How has the strike been prepared? What has the Communist Party done to see to it that the preparations for the strike were

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## Expulsions Hit French Socialist Youth

### Bolshvik - Leninists and Zeller Group Ousted by Reactionaries

Serious events have just taken place in the French Socialist Youth. The Lille National Congress on July 28-29 has decreed the expulsion of the entire revolutionary wing.

The National Congress had been preceded in the Seine district by a Federal Congress which was held on July 21. The different tendencies were: the Bolshevik-Leninists (170 mandates); the Zeller tendency (200 mandates); Zeller is Regional Secretary—the strongest tendency in the federation, formerly hostile to us and recently approaching us very rapidly, representing the average state of mind of the Young Socialists of the Seine; the "Spartacus" tendency, inspired by the S.A.P., composed mostly of intellectuals, most frequently living on intrigues against the Bolshevik-Leninists (90 mandates); and finally the right tendency in the Seine, Mireille-Osmin (130 mandates) which is a Centrist group nationally.

After the Federal Congress on the 21st, which had been a great success for the Bolshevik-Leninists, and where the lies of the Stalinists against us had been exposed, their influence in general had been liquidated in the Seine, the three left tendencies (Bolshevik Leninist, Zeller, and "Spartacus") agreed on a common motion and prepared to defend this motion in the National Congress at Lille. The main points of this motion were as follows:

Today the problem of revolution is placed before the entire working-class youth. The Young Socialists

consider the People's Front as the rallying center of the exploited French masses and declare their desire to fight inside this group, but state their opposition to the political line actually imposed on the People's Front.

The Socialist Youth fights for a Workers' and Peasants' Government, supported by workers' and peasants' Communes and factory and soldiers' councils.

They struggle for bread, work, peace, liberty, by revolutionary means.

They are true to revolutionary defeatism and to the teaching of Karl Liebknecht, "The enemy is in our own country."

### On the International:

To guide the world proletariat in its fight against war as well as for World Revolution, a revolutionary International is necessary. This International does not exist.

The Y.S.I. is in complete decay. Most of its sections have followed their parties into class collaboration and social-patriotism.

The Y.C.I. in spite of the revolutionary desires of its rank and file, is only the docile instrument of a nationalistic diplomacy.

The Young Socialists of France will fight beside their comrades and other revolutionary sections and minorities for a Youth International on the basis of revolutionary Marxism.

This new International can only be founded on criticism of the Internationals which have preceded it and on the lessons of past revolutionary experiences.

Beyond the Second International which collapsed in 1914 and beyond the Third International which is submerged in Class Peace we must firmly convince ourselves and the advanced workers of the need to work for the creation of a New International.

This New International will not reject everything in those which have preceded it. It will reject their mistakes, their errors, their crimes.

It will be enriched with the experiences accumulated by them. It will proclaim itself the legitimate heir of the doctrines of Marx and Engels, of Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht, of the example of the founders of the Third International.

The motion ended thus: our intransigent opposition to reformism and to Class Peace will not keep us from fighting for the fusion of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party and of their youth.

The Young Communist workers are our brothers. Shoulder to shoulder with them in action, discussing fraternally with all the guarantees of democracy and discipline, we will build the revolutionary vanguard.

The Bolshevik-Leninists signed this joint motion. They had also brought in a further statement on the international question, making clear their position on the Fourth International.

### The National Conference at Lille

The Congress opened in an atmosphere of threats against the revolutionary majority of the Seine. Every question (division of delegates, etc.) was a pretext for provocation. An imposing group of sergeant-at-arms were massed in the Congress Hall and physical vio-

## Entire Seine District Supports Leaders; Pivert Urges Fight

ence was used on the delegates of the revolutionary minority (a comrade of the Seine, Bressler, member of the outgoing National Committee, the highest body of the organization was carried out of the hall unconscious due to blows received.) The young bureaucrats have learned very well the teachings of their elders.

In a more or less excited manner the debates continued Sunday and Monday (vote on the organizational report: 4,082 votes for and 1,380 votes against). Monday afternoon, at the opening of the session, discussion was immediately begun on the following motion:

"Whereas certain comrades have placed themselves on record for their affiliation to the Fourth International and this attitude is incompatible with membership in the Socialist Youth, affiliated to the Second International.

"And, whereas the systematic denigration and violation of the theoretical line of the Socialist Party as formulated by its Congresses cannot be tolerated by members of the Socialist Youth.

"And, whereas the repeated attacks directed against the Bolshevik-Leninists and of the Socialist Youth are guided solely by the well-established intention to split the Socialist organization

"The National Congress of the Socialist Youth decrees the complete dissolution of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group as a tendency within the Socialist Youth.

"Further it decrees pure and

simple expulsion for comrades who, having taken an active part in this movement, have by their sectarian action contributed to the development of intolerable confusion within our organization.

"In conclusion, the congress decrees the expulsion of the responsible militants: Rousset, Van, Ivan and Maria Craipaan, Brando, Bressler, Pero, Fred Zeller, Gentia, Lissansky, Makarovsky, Rigal, Corvin and of all those who in public action follow a policy in opposition to that of the Party."

### Attack on Revolutionary Position

The discussion immediately opened on this motion. The attack of the bureaucracy was centered on the position taken against national defense and class peace, for revolutionary defeatism, and also against the appearance of the independent paper of the Seine Federation, "Revolution." The attack was not directed only against the Bolshevik-Leninists, but against the bulk of the majority of the Seine Federation. The International discussion had not yet come before the Congress (the pretext of "affiliation" to the Fourth International was introduced at the last moment) and among the expelled there are some who are opposed to the Fourth International.

Conciliatory attempts have been made (by Mireille-Osmin in particular). The conservative bureaucracy attacked in haste, so that these attempts would fail.

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## LIMIT WALKOUT

### Sabotage Picketing While they Connive With Gen. Johnson

Due to the glaring incompetence and in many instances downright sabotage by the local trade union officials, the strike on the New York WPA projects entered its second week in a state of utter confusion. Characteristic of this state of affairs is the fact that on some of the projects, one or more of the building trades are called out while others remain at work. In other instances, one or more trades are called out and shortly thereafter told by the business agents to return and await further developments.

On the Astor project, bricklayers were called out; but on the High-Bridge swimming pool project, bricklayers remained working. On the latter project, carpenters were called out one day and later told to return. Moreover, in several instances where committees of the unemployed organizations, whose cooperation had previously been accepted by the union officials, appeared to assist in calling out the unorganized, they were met by some of these officials demanding business agent's credentials, together with policemen ordering them off the projects.

### Workers Want to Strike

From the outset the overwhelming majority of the approximately 100,000 workers employed on the projects, who are unorganized, proved their readiness to make common cause with the unions. This was demonstrated in face of the fact that these workers openly expressed their disappointment at the failure of the union leaders to take measures to secure home relief for those refusing to accept the Roosevelt "work or starve" edict. In a test case made one worker was granted such relief, but even this advantage was not followed up.

Reports are now current on the projects that the local union officials are backing down from their once loudly proclaimed intention to fight for the prevailing union rate of wages, and are scheming to induce General Johnson to accept the establishment of a rating board to comprise representatives of the local unions concerned. Obviously, the aim would be to secure a somewhat better rate of relief wage and drop the fight for the prevailing union wage. But hidden behind this aim lurks the danger of throwing the interests of the unorganized to the winds at a time when the most complete coordination between the unions and the unorganized is imperative.

**Groundwork to Lower Standards**  
The failure of this coordination in the first place accounts for the utter confusion now prevalent in the strike. There exists no doubt in the trade union movement that wherever the monthly relief wage ranging from \$19 to \$93 prevails, the groundwork is laid for the tearing down of the whole standard of union wages. This crucial issue remains. The unions are challenged to lead the fight. The fight can conduct effectively only through the establishment of unity of action between the unions and the unorganized project workers.

## United Front Anti-War Meet in Boston

BOSTON, Mass.—On August 4, 21st anniversary of major declarations of war, a united front demonstration against imperialism was held on Boston Common jointly by the Socialist Party, the Workers Party, the Young People's Socialist League, and the Spartacus Youth League.

The Communist Party and the Young Communist League also had been asked to join in this united front, but had replied (per Sidney Bloomfield, district organizer of the C.P., and Mac Libby, D. O. of the Y.C.L.) that they "would not enter any united front with Trotskyists" and "would rather unite with Fascists."

However, the Workers Party and the S.Y.L. are working for a United Front Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial Demonstration on August 23, and will fight for participation by ALL workers' organizations, including the C.P. and the Y.C.L.

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# REMEMBER SACCO & VANZETTI!

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conducted the legal defense. There was no coordination of the work in the court room with the work outside. The I.L.D. was the moving spirit in the formation of a united front for the defense of the prisoners. The united front succeeded in arousing a storm of protest from the world proletariat. From China to Argentina, there were outbursts of indignation against the capitalist colossus of the Western Hemisphere.

## Protest Too Late

We, who participated in the mass movement to wrench Sacco and Vanzetti from the clutches of capitalist law, had no illusions that the overwhelming evidence of their innocence would cause the prosecution to relent. We fully understood that the American bourgeoisie, riding triumphantly the crest of a wave of false prosperity, would take vengeance on the two fearless workers in the class struggle who had dared to raise their voices for the emancipation of the working class.

The mass protest was organized too late, as the case was drawing to its close. The result was fatally tragic. Before the mass campaign could reach an intensity and strength, both in this country and on an international scale, which would have challenged the dominant capitalist class decisively, Sacco and Vanzetti heroically met their death at the hands of the agents of capitalist justice.

It is important to remember that these two martyrs to our cause had no illusions about the ultimate outcome of the case or the nature of the forces which implacably sought their doom. Sacco, especially, saw no hope in engaging in the interminable legal tangle of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. While he understood the necessity of using the court of the enemy as a forum from which to blazon forth the irreconcilable antagonism of the proletariat, his lack of familiarity with English precluded his taking upon himself the offensive against capitalism which Vanzetti so eloquently carried on. He set himself the task, nevertheless, immediately after his imprisonment of learning English, but never achieved Vanzetti's fluency with the language. The latter has testified in one of his letters that Sacco's warm eloquence in his native tongue frequently brought tears to his eyes.

**Heroism of the Defendants**  
Sacco several times refused to cooperate with the attorney, Thompson, who was representing them in a manner which indicated that he was more concerned with rehabilitating the reputation of Massachusetts justice than with securing the release of the prisoners. It was only at the insistence of Vanzetti, who correctly urged that the battle must be fought with whatever weapons were available that Sacco continued to collaborate with the legal defense. Vanzetti said, "why should we surrender ourselves to the enemy before we have exhausted every means of defense?" And again he said, late in 1928, "Only the thunders of a mighty world-wide agitation and protest could induce the enemy to free us."

Vanzetti never lost sight of the fact that the persecution of the two prisoners was motivated by class hatred. Tirelessly, he pointed out the essential lesson for the working class which the case provided. That he was a representative of a movement which sought the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, nationalist state, the end of imperialism, the establishment of workers' rule, the abolition of the exploitation of the many by the few. That he was being prosecuted, in reality, for his opinions and his activity in the working class movement. That the sullen ferocity of the trial judge and prosecutor who convicted him, of the head of the Massachusetts branch of the Department of Justice who cooperated with the prosecution, of Governor Fuller who refused his petition for executive clemency, of the Advisory Committee selected by the Governor to sanction with their fake impartiality the vicious system that condemned him, the jury of middle-class men obedient to the dictates of the ruling class and subservient to post-war hysteria and race prejudice—that all these phenomena were to be explained as the logical outcome of the hatred and fear of the dominant class in society of the suppressed class, the proletariat. This was the lesson which Sacco and Vanzetti continually hammered home—and which they were joyful and proud to write with their blood.

**Vanzetti's Immortal Words**  
After Vanzetti was sentenced, he was permitted, as is customary, to make a statement. His words were transcribed by a shorthand reporter. The words of Vanzetti, spoken in that uncomprehending courtroom at Dedham are a never failing source of courage and inspiration to us who are carrying on their work.

"If it had not been for these things, I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to

scorning men. I might have died, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as now we do by accident. Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler—all. That last moment belongs to us that agony is our triumph!"

On August 22, let all workers commemorate the deathless memory of Sacco and Vanzetti—they were of the flesh and blood of the workers. We of the Workers Party will not merely honor them with words, we will emulate them with our deeds. There are working class parties which no longer lead the struggle against imperialism war. They have left the road of unrelenting struggle against war, against bourgeois democracy, the road of Lenin and Liebknecht. Conscious of our Marxist heritage, pledging ourselves to the carrying out of the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky, we proclaim our solidarity with the working class, with Sacco and Vanzetti. We urge those of our comrades who are following the road of the misleaders—the road that can lead only to bitter defeat—to ponder well the lesson of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Let us, also, on this day rally to the defense of class war prisoners everywhere. Let us remember that Tom Mooney, Norman Mini and his comrades are still in San Quentin, martyrs in the struggle against the enemies of Sacco and Vanzetti.

## Fur Workers Elect New Leadership

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and support Right wing candidates."

At the same time the Progressive League and Unity Groups were denounced as cliques and the fur workers were called upon to defeat their candidates, Ben Gold, in a long manifesto, stated:

"I appeal to everyone of you to give the proper answer to these despicable people who have always been against unity and against one union, and who are at present continuing their malicious work against unity and one union."

This was directed at the very people who in the past were spat on and attacked for proposing unity with what Gold then called the "Scab Joint" (Furriers Joint Council).

The campaign to elect Progressives, though partially successful, was weakened by the fact that they were not in one united group standing on a clear cut program. Groups which were formed in the old Joint Council and in the former Industrial Union must now adjust themselves to the new situation. Friendly discussion on the tasks facing them and on programmatic differences dividing them, must be started at once. In this the Unity Group and the Progressive League should take the initiative.

That such a united Progressive group can and should contain members and supporters of different political tendencies, has been shown by experiences in other unions, notably the I.L.G.W.U. The narrow factional and bureaucratic control exercised by the newly elected administration majority when they led the Industrial Union, and their present efforts to unite with reactionaries against progressive forces indicates clearly that there is no time to lose in the building of a united progressive group.

## What to Attend

**Saturday-Sunday, August 24-25**—Gala S.Y.L. overnite-hike to Lake Tiorati, Bear Mountains. Hitch-hike up and back. Swimming, fishing, camp fire, mock-debate (Stalinism vs. Trotskyism), boating, group-singing, etc. Leave Saturday, 8 A.M. For information call at office—Spartacus Youth League, 55 East 11th St., 3rd floor, any weekday.

**Oakland, Cal.**  
**Saturday, August 31, 8:30 P.M.**—Attention! Workers in the bay region. Dancing, entertainment and social to raise funds for the 8-page NEW MILITANT. Jenny Lind Hall 2229, Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Admission 26 cents.

Free instructions by competent musicians in all band instruments will be given to all sympathizers, Young Spartacus and Party members. Arrangements will be made to procure instruments. All interested apply at once to Morris Lewis, etc., etc.

## A.F. of L. Skates Face Crucial Issues in N. J.

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only form in which the leaders understand these issues—begins to cause a division. Today, it is expressed in the Council sessions in a struggle between the John L. Lewis wing, supported essentially by the needle trades officials, on the one hand, and, on the other, the Wm. Green section of dyed-in-the-wool craft union chiefs. Irrespective of the intentions of either side, the main issue is industrial unionism versus craft unionism.

## Rubber and Auto Conventions

This is coming to a head once more in the projected national union of the automobile workers and rubber workers. It is planned to issue national charters in the conventions that are scheduled for these unions, the former to be held this month and the latter in September. And although it is openly acknowledged in all labor circles that craft unions in these industries will be doomed from the outset, the skilled trades are already being quietly segregated into the craft union fold. The national unions would, therefore, consist practically exclusively of production workers and render them an easy prey to the powerful corporations in control of these industries.

John L. Lewis finds it possible in this situation to cover himself with the progressive mantle of industrial unionism. Essentially, however, this is merely a cover in the general jockeying for positions. Insofar as the basis issues are concerned, all the elders on the Council are guided by more weighty considerations. Above all, they fear the dissatisfaction of the rank and file workers and the possibility of control of these unions by progressive elements.

Both the automobile workers and the rubber workers have clearly expressed their desire for an industrial union. Moreover, in the present federal locals in the automobile industry, a distinctly progressive movement has been launched, receiving its impetus and drawing its inspiration from Toledo. This movement is presenting resolutions to the coming convention for an industrial union comprising all the workers in the auto and auto parts factories. It proposes measures for the election of officials from the rank and file delegates present at the convention, for limitation of salaries to be granted officials, and for prevention of any interference in the affairs of the union by paid A. F. of L. organizers, together with provisions for recall of elected officials any time it is deemed necessary. Finally, the progressive movement proposes to introduce measures for the exemption from dues payments of unemployed members and for no discrimination in the establishment of a union because of race, color, nationality, political beliefs or affiliations.

**Lewis Pulling Wires**  
Of course, such measures are known to prove popular with the rank and file. So the Executive Council finds itself unanimous in its efforts to countermand the progressive movement. Its main attention is centered on the problem of securing control of the important elective offices for its trusted lieutenants. But behind the scenes the John L. Lewis wing pulls the strings for his separate interest in opposition to the craft union officials posing as the friend and supporter of industrial unionism. It appears that John L. Lewis has his own slate to put forward.

The deceptive motivation of the industrial union wing is even more clearly demonstrated in the case of the maritime unions. On the Pacific Coast, the longshoremen, the seamen, the marine engineers, the masters, mates and pilots, and crafts affiliated with the seamen, such as the firemen, cooks and stewards, succeeded in setting up a Maritime Federation. The progressive forces who had advocated this measure became an important factor in the leadership. So this question also looms large behind the scenes at Atlantic City. In face of the danger that the Maritime Federation may pass into the hands of a progressive leadership, unity prevails within the strategy board. It presents a solid front, extending it to the steamship companies in the attempt to break up the Maritime Federation.

**At the Crossroads**  
However, all these issues are tied up in one knot in the consideration given by the Executive Council to the recently united furriers' union. Shall that unification be permitted to stand? The Executive Council fears that this would be tantamount to an open recognition and an open sanction of activities by revolutionary and Left wing elements within the unions. Here is the crux of the whole trade union problem as the A. F. of L. officials see it. In this they are not in error. Fundamentally, the future of the movement depends upon which policies and what leadership prevails.

**SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE  
NEW MILITANT.**

## Free the Sacramento Prisoners!

The formation of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee which was recently announced, is welcome news, indeed. Especially to the eight Sacramento "criminal syndicalism" prisoners now in San Quentin and Tehachapi, will this development give new courage.

Before the trial began in January, the International Labor Defense, informed by the Stalinist bureaucracy that some of the Sacramento prisoners had not paid the proper respect to the District Committee, sabotaged the whole struggle for their freedom. The I.L.D. not only played the case down on the publicity side, but deliberately withheld bail from 16 prisoners for six months.

Not until the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, at the request of Norman Mini of the W.P. and Caroline Decker and Jack Warnick of the C. P., entered the Sacramento struggle, did the fate of the prisoners become a matter of general interest. Since their conviction, the I.L.D. and C.P. have again played down the case. It was the N.P.L.D. which, by its highly successful Appeal Dinner in New York last month, revived the attention of the working class public, and threw the Sacramento boss press into a frenzy of fear lest the Sacramento case become a new Mooney issue.

The N.P.L.D. has also taken a leading role in setting up the new united defense committee. On it are the official delegates of the N.P.L.D., the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the I. W. W., the League for Industrial Democracy, the National Unemployed League, the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund, the Spartacus Youth League and the Y.P.S.L. The criminal syndicalism law being a threat to the entire working class, it is fitting that such diverse organizations should make common cause to overturn the infamous Sacramento verdict.

It is also fitting that the appeal struggle is being conceived of on a national scale. Hearst is shouting for a Federal criminal syndicalism law to supplement the laws now existing in a dozen or more states. The working class has the task of wiping all such legislation off the books and freeing all the victims of it. For this a national struggle is needed.

It is not surprising to read in the new committee's announcement that the I.L.D. has failed to answer letters of invitation. That organization does not dare come before

## Prepare Now for Silk Strike

(Continued from Page 1)  
carried out? Has the Communist Party learned yet that just shouting for a strike may bring the strike about, but will not help to make it a success?

Of course not! Fifteen weeks have gone by since we first publicly called for extensive preparations for the strike. In these fifteen weeks the Communist Party has been sleeping. Now that the time approaches when the strike might have been called, the Communist Party with great shouting and banging of fists demands that the strike materialize.

We do not believe in strikes that materialize out of thin air. We believe in preparing, patiently plowing the ground, sowing the idea of a strike, in order to be able to reap the harvest of a successful strike when the season comes.

But the ground has not been prepared. No organizational campaign has been carried out; the membership has fallen off; if anything, in the union throughout the country; no strike fund has been raised, and the ordinary treasury of the American Federation of Silk Workers is mainly a myth.

Under these circumstances the chances of our winning the strike, should one be called now, are practically nil. To call for strike action while these conditions prevail is to doom it to defeat and the union to liquidation.

We want the strike to materialize. But we also want to assure it the best chances of victory.

Fifteen weeks have been lost. The season is due shortly. But there may still be some time to get through with preparations, and yet see the strike materialize this year. Instead of foolishly calling for a strike now, we propose that the union go to work and prepare seriously for it, initiate a drive to organize the as yet untouched districts of inner Pennsylvania especially, get the support of the labor movement to back the strike, raise the necessary strike funds, prepare adequate strike machinery, call for an emergency Convention to declare the strike, and then go into the strike with a good chance of winning it and a firm determination to make use of that chance.

Now even more than fifteen weeks ago, there is not a minute to be lost. The organization drive must be started seriously and immediately, the union must be made ready for the strike as quickly as possible, so that we may still be able to utilize our opportunity for a strike this year.

such a committee as the N.S.A.C. because of its shameful past in the Sacramento case. The Stalinist dispirited have backed down on the charge that Norman Mini is a "stoop-pigeon" but they cannot make anybody forget to sordid spectacle Stalinism made throughout the 8-month struggle preceding conviction. The alternative to admitting their past is to split the defense and commit more crimes to cover up. We may expect plenty of "covering up" from the Stalinists during the appeal fight and plenty of mud-slinging.

This should not discourage the new committee. Its policy in providing an attorney for Norman Mini and calling for the release of all the prisoners is a sound one. The working class will approve it and support it. The W.P., on its part, will back the new committee to the hilt. The fight for the release of Mini and his seven fellow-victims of the California agricultural barons is of deep concern to all class-conscious workers of the country. On to victory in Sacramento!

## Imperialist Ring Around Ethiopia

(Continued from Page 1)  
justified in demanding, in a special appeal to the League that he be permitted to import arms, to be in some measure prepared for the impending combat which is taking on day by day more the character of a horrifying reality.

Fascist troops are carrying on an unceasing penetration into the Italian territories bordering on Ethiopia. Already valuables are being transported to the French possession off Djibuti from Addis Ababa in fear of a sudden invasion. Considerably outranked in matters of war materials, supplies, etc., it is pathetic to hear Ethiopia's hopeless plea for equal rights to arms from the very people who control them.

As stated in previous issues of the NEW MILITANT, England would like to find an "amicable" solution to the problem. The reason being that it fears the unleashing of a colonial war that may well put an end to British imperialist oppression in Africa. To a large extent that is the case with France, too. These two powers represent the largest holders of imperialist possessions in Africa. An Italian conflict may put an end to it all.

So Laval and Eden with the consent of Baron Aloisi will endeavor to come to some agreement for the "peaceful" partitioning of Ethiopia, even if they have to resort to the legality of applying treaties never recognized by Ethiopia and since repudiated by all concerned. However, even this effort may fail.

Italy is too far involved already. Some 250,000 troops are cooling their heels—if that were physically possible in arid Eritrea—waiting for orders to strike. Besides it does not seem likely that either France or Britain will grant Mussolini's demands for a political as well as economic protectorate. There is also the possibility that the three powers directly involved will decide to cut up and divide Ethiopia into three parts and thus again show to the world what an instrument for peace is the League of Nations. Maxim Litvinoff will again be able to offer his quick remedies for beligerent powers, the world will again have been made safe for peace and Stalin will rest at ease at the safeguarding of the status quo.

## For a Soviet Italy

To a large extent Ethiopia stands with regard to the rest of the world in the same relation as some of the Russo-Asiatic nationalities stood with regard to Russia prior to the October revolution. Just as the Revolution emancipated the primitive, feudal and pre-feudal tribes of outlying Czarist Russia so today the emancipation of the Ethiopian people can be accomplished only by the world revolution. Concretely we mean that a Soviet Italy would be the best guarantor for a free and independent Ethiopia. Combined with a Soviet France and Britain the cultural and revolutionary development of Ethiopia would be absolutely assured.

Hence all our agitation and propaganda should be directed to those ends. While it would be impossible for us to reach the Ethiopian masses with proletarian propaganda, for the simple reason that there is no proletariat there, we can and must reach the Italian laboring masses. A time limited boycott against Fascist Italy such as was proposed by the International Communist League and printed in a recent issue of the NEW MILITANT is a concrete application of the task at hand. The boycott must however be so instituted as not to make a negative impression on the Italian proletariat. It must be as effective in its message of class solidarity with our Italian brothers as in its defiance of Il Duce.

It is important for the international boycott to get under way. Mussolini has made up his mind. The League of Nations, with Litvinoff at its head is only a cover for the international imperialist bandits. It is high time the international working class intervened.

## The Manager's Corner

The Boston branch still leads the field in the campaign for the eighth page weekly with a total contribution to date of \$59.50. However, with the additional contributions recorded this week, there has been no change in the comparative standing of the branches, but the Party organizations have been outdistanced by far through the splendid example set by a group of New York fur workers whose \$10.00 contribution is recorded here.

During the past week we have received the following amounts:

**Contributions**  
Hildegard Smith, Kans. .... \$ 2.00  
Eugene Morris, Brush, Col. .... 1.00  
West Side branch, N.Y.C. .... 1.00  
Newark branch ..... 3.50  
Boro Park branch, N.Y.C. .... 1.00  
Boston branch ..... 7.00  
W. Greenan, Santa Cruz, Cal. 2.00

**Total** ..... 17.50

**Advance Subs (8-page)**

A. M. Berman, Pittsburgh. .... 2.00

Paul Graves, Detroit ..... 2.00

**Subs (Club Plan)**

Helen L. Frank, Dayton, Ohio 1.00

**Greetings**

Group of N. Y. Fur Workers. 10.00

Previously Reports ..... 425.48

**Grand Total** ..... \$457.98

**AUGUST NEW INTERNATIONAL**

**IS OUT**

The August issue of the NEW

INTERNATIONAL is off the press. Living up to its usual standard, this issue contains especially rich and fundamental material on topics of vital importance to the movement.

The situation in France, which is rapidly becoming the storm-center of revolutionary events, is elucidated in an Open Letter by L. D. Trotsky to the French workers. Questions of particular interest in the United States at the present time are answered in three important articles, one by A. J. Muste on the trade unions and problems of the revolution, one article by J. P. Cannon entitled "The Socialist Party at the Crossroads" and an article on the third party movement by Arne Swabeck.

Of special interest, however, will be the first contribution to a discussion submitted by Max Eastman on the subject "Marxism: Science or Philosophy?" Comrade Trotsky also contributes a second article entitled, "Rosa Luxemburg and the Fourth International." And, finally, there appears in this issue, together with other valuable material, a reply to Olgin's latest fulminations against Trotskyism.

Please remember the combination offer of \$2.00 for a yearly subscription to the NEW MILITANT and NEW INTERNATIONAL still holds good for a limited period of time.

## Call for Uniting Opposition Groups in Teachers Union

This is the last of a series of five articles on the situation in the Teachers Union.—Ed.

Unification of opposition groups within the teachers' union! That is the road which leads to victory over the Lefkowitz-Linville splitters!

An examination of the programs of two of the largest opposition groups in the Teachers Union—the Progressive Group and the Rank and File—will show that barring minor details both programs are in substantial agreement. Both take the same position on democracy in the union, on building the union, on mass activity, on admission of the unemployed with full membership rights at nominal dues, etc. For a long time, strong sentiment for unification inside and outside both groups have made themselves felt. This sentiment has undoubtedly grown stronger since the liquidation of the Classroom Teachers Groups.

Furthermore, the recent action of the Administration in calling for the "investigation" as a means of getting rid of the opposition has created an entirely new situation. The Administration now has the official sanction of the powerful Green-Wall bureaucracy in its campaign. It is determined to go through with its destructive course. To defeat these powerful forces, more than a united front against expulsions is necessary. It is necessary to confront the Administration, here and at the convention, as one unified opposition in order to impress upon the delegates and the leaders of the A.F.T. the fact that expulsion of the opposition which represents over 40 percent of the

voting membership means the destruction of the largest local in the national organization.

A unified opposition, united on a minimum trade union program, boldly and openly confronting the convention, will constitute the strongest factor in convincing the majority of the delegates that they must reject the course of the Lefkowitz-Linville faction as destructive not only to the local, but to the national organization.

The unification of the opposition on a minimum basis has thus become the most pressing need of the hour. Upon its realization depends not only the fate of the opposition, but of the whole union as well. If this analysis is correct, and there can be no doubt of it, why then has the unification not already taken place? The answer is that factional rivalry and the desire for control outweigh, in the minds of the leaders of the two groups, their duty as trade unionists. These are the factors that have thus far blocked the road to unification.

In spite of the difficulties and prejudices which undoubtedly exist there are manifestations that these obstacles are beginning to crumble, although they have not yet been removed. The Committee for Democracy in the Union has paved the way by approaching the representatives of the groups unofficially with a proposal for unification. Mr. Hendley, the leader of the Militants, has stated that a realignment of the forces in opposition has become necessary. The Rank and File has proposed a united front in the elections for the Delegate Assembly this fall, and the Progressives have indicated that they would be opposed to it.

But these manifestations and moves are insufficient. It is necessary to move rapidly even before the convention is opened. Even though it may not be possible to reach a definitive unification before the school term begins, it is possible to arrange a tentative agreement in that direction. Recourse to technicalities or subterfuges under these circumstances may seriously hurt the chances of victory or may even prove fatal to the opposition. The leadership of the groups and their membership have an opportunity to rise to the occasion. They must utilize it. Unification of the opposition is the road which leads to victory over the Administration!

## Fight for Sway In Rubber Union

(Continued from Page 1)

convention and has a good deal of prestige. Since then he has become an A. F. of L. organizer and his position is not clear. The workers will have to prevent a split in their votes or else Claherty's candidate will win.

The progressive bloc will announce a slate of candidates this week too. A serious attempt will be made by the progressives to coordinate the local workers so that they will present a united front against the bureaucracy.

William Green is expected to preside at the convention which means that he, personally, will try to place into office a hand-picked bunch of reactionaries so he can control the rubber workers in the future. His presence will make the progressives' job more difficult but they realize it. One thing however appears certain, Coleman Claherty is definitely on his way out as rubber organizer for the A. F. of L. He has been told he will be removed by virtually every union in Akron. The Mohawk local won't let him even come to any of its meetings!

The convention must be used to place progressives in control. Then the unions must be built up so that they can wage a successful strike for wages and recognition and reduction of the speed-up.

Engrossed in the trade union work, rubber workers are inclined to forget at least momentarily the long time perspectives necessary for the rubber industry to insure the working class correct preparation for its historic task—the overthrow of American capitalism. For this the Workers Party pledges its loyal assistance and support.

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## Nazi Fictions and... Cold Facts

A few weeks ago, Ley, the notorious leader of the so-called Labor Front said in an address:

"The differences between men, as to what they consume are very small indeed. Whether you have millions or only a few marks—you can only sit on one chair, you cannot eat a whole calf at once... you can only wear one suit at a time and not twenty. Those who possess fine houses, well, they are to be envied; but they also can only be in one room at a time... all this does not matter at all. If we try to solve the labor problem from the angle of wages we are already on the wrong road."

It is possible that Ley and his nitwits believe this nonsense. They may even claim originality for this interpretation of national "socialism."

German workers, however, cannot be persuaded by this kind of propaganda. They know too well that millions of Marks, fine homes, etc. do make a difference. Their interest in wages in the face of daily price increases is serious; they have not forgotten how to bear pressure on the bosses in the days of a militant trade union policy. When the Labor Front turned them down with the remark that it "has no jurisdiction over wage disputes" 3,000 workers of the NSU works (armaments) went on strike. Nazi officials threatened dismissal and prosecution. It was of no avail. The solidarity was 100 percent effective

and prevented disciplinary action. Only after the wage cut was withdrawn did the workers go back to their shops. This is not the only strike in recent weeks: 7,000 workers struck in Chemnitz Wanderer Works (also armament factories) and also won their demands, glass-blowers in Frauenau, Bavaria laid down their tools against starvation wages.

It is significant that strikes can be organized even under the reign of terror in Germany. The official harmony of all interests, the peaceful relations of capital and labor—more and more workers discover the truth behind this smokescreen of slogans.

What happened to the profits of their exploiters while wages were slashed right and left? 79 companies reported an increase in dividend payments of 36 percent. Comparisons with profits in 1932 show the following:

Profits in Million Marks.	1932	1934
Krupp (armaments)	108	177
Mitteldeutsche Stahlwerke (Steel)	22	33
I.G. Farben (Chemical)	476	565
Opel (Auto Tanks)	25	82
Deutsche Nickel (Nickel)	2	5
Vereinigte Aluminium (Aluminum)	8	24

The financing of Hitler's murder gangs proves to be a good investment of the German barons of steel, coal and chemicals. The workers have to pay the bill.

## The French Trotskyists on the Conclave Against Class Peace

From La Verite

(Organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group in the S.F.I.O.)

"The National Conference Against Class Peace, organized by the United Committee, has been set for August 10. As has already been indicated the Bolshevik-Leninist Group (B.L.G.) is participating in the preparation of this conference.

"However, from the very outset, at the formation of the first committee we insisted in clearly stating our position as set out in the following declaration:

"Declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group

"1. The declaration of Stalin signifies the abandonment of the principles of Leninism on the critical war question on the part of the Communist International.

"We steadfastly affirm our fidelity to the principle of revolutionary defeatism, and the duty of the proletariat in time of war of transforming the imperialist war into civil war. In the present epoch, every war waged by our own bourgeoisie, even if it is in alliance with the Soviet Union, remains an imperialist war. The real enemy is our own bourgeoisie.

"2. To camouflage the betrayal by Stalin by asserting the necessity of maneuvering on the part of the Soviet State is to add to this crime one of deceit.

"Nobody disagrees with Lenin's contention that it is necessary for the Workers' State to utilize the contradictions among the various imperialist states. But a 'compromise' which means harnessing the French proletariat to the wheels of its own imperialist country is no longer a compromise but an out and out betrayal.

"The U.S.S.R. cannot be defended by diplomatic combinations at the expense of the revolutionary proletariat but only by the development of the world revolution.

"3. The German catastrophe had already marked the end of the activity on the part of the Comintern as far as being the vanguard of the proletariat is concerned. Today Stalin has merely signed the death warrant of the Comintern.

"It is indispensable that the new Leninist vanguard be founded on the principles of revolutionary Marxism. Its political and organizational preparations by the regrouping of the most advanced class conscious elements of the working class is the most urgent task of the hour.

"We declare: the Third International like the Second broke its neck on the question of class peace. Long live the Fourth International!

"4. While retaining its own independence and without assuming any responsibility for any other organization the Bolshevik-Leninists firmly intend to participate in the efforts of the 'revolutionary groups' to initiate a campaign against class peace. It hopes that the various groups taking the initiative in this direction will cooperate in an attempt to hold a united conference.

(Signed)

Bolshevik-Leninist Group"

"It is clear that for us the problem of the struggle against war is

inseparable from that of the creation of the organ of the workers' struggle against capitalism. What importance can the regrouping against class peace have if it is merely to consist of organizing in order to agree on a contradictory manifesto which can be nothing but sterile?

"No, this must not be one of permitting the 'pacifists' to sing their hollow phrases or of the pure and simple trade unionists of turning phrases into an attack on Communism itself.

"Just as the only effective instrument of struggle against Class Peace was the creation of the Third International by the Bolsheviks, so too today, all the revolutionaries who really want to struggle not only by words but by deeds, are confronted with the most pressing need to reconstruct the new revolutionary world party, the Fourth International.

"The declaration and manifesto of the majority of the Unity Committee which we have not signed with the comrades of the Teachers Union (of the Red Trade Unions) and the revolutionary groups states: 'We wish to counterpose workers' unity to the splitting influence of Class Peace' which is a perfectly meaningless and confusionist declaration.

"The unity of both the Stalinist and social democratic camps is being effected precisely under the banner of class peace. It is not absolutely essential to counterpose to this organic unity of class peace the struggle for genuine revolutionary unity, that is for the new revolutionary road, the new vanguard of the proletariat.

"Those in the conference who have decided to evade the issue of the responsibility of the leadership of the parties and trade unions in the preparations of class peace would do well to ask themselves why they participate at all in this conference.

"We state categorically: this conference will be absolutely futile unless it enables the revolutionary militants to take a further step towards the creation of the one effective instrument of struggle against class peace: the Fourth International!"

### CHICAGO PICNIC

Chicago Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense  
SUNDAY, AUGUST 25, 12 Noon  
at Ryan's Grove  
87th St. and Western Ave.  
(North-East Section of Grove. Follow Markers)

### PHILADELPHIA MEETING

"The Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the Franco-Soviet Pact"  
By A. J. MUSTE  
National Secretary of W.P.  
Friday, August 23 at 8 P.M.  
Grand Fraternity Hall,  
1626 Arch Street  
Admission 20 cents  
Auspices: Phila. Local W. P.

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# Expulsions Hit French Socialist Youth

## Entire Seine District Supports Leaders; Pivert Urges Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

Relatively few of the federations from the provinces were represented at the Congress. The bureaucracy had in its hands a large number of mandates, which it cast in bloc for the expulsion. It must be noted that the federations had not discussed the motion of expulsion and that the vote is completely unconstitutional. 3,667 mandates were for expulsion, 1,534 against, with 331 abstentions.

The majority of the Seine Federation, together with a dozen delegates from the provinces, left the hall singing the Internationale.

### After the Expulsions

Various indications lead us to believe that the top leadership of the Party (around Blum) were for a severe enforcement of the bureaucratic discipline but not for immediate expulsion. In any case the action having meanwhile been carried out by the bureaucracy of the youth allied with certain elements of the party (Lagorrette), the top leadership of the party can only greet it and acknowledge the split. Reinstatement is an illusion.

The attitude of the Seine delegation during and after the Congress was excellent. In spite of all the corridor maneuvers no cracks took place and our allies remained firmly welded around the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Upon returning to Paris we mobilized our membership to explain to the Seine district how and why the split had occurred. The anger against the bureaucracy is intense. Entire sections have declared their solidarity with the expelled. Immediately the ideas of the Bolshevik-Leninists made a strong impression on the mass of the Socialist Youth of the Seine district: the "democracy" within the party, the betrayal of the leaders, Stalinism (many Young Socialists used to re-

fuse to employ the term "Stalinism" but now have taken it up), the merger of the two bureaucracies, reformist and Stalinist, etc.

Friday, August 2 a mass meeting of the Socialist Youth was held with 400 present. Zeller was extremely emphatic: he developed very clear conceptions on the People's Front, on the role of the two working class parties, on national defense, on the struggle against war, the term "revolutionary defeatism" which now is only used in France by the Socialist Youth was greeted with endless applause. Finally, speaking of reinstatement, Zeller declared: "They must take us as we are, with all our ideas and our entire program." 55 out of 80 of the Seine groups were represented and the motion of solidarity was carried unanimously.

A few words on the Spartacus tendency, inspired by the S.A.P., and which was our ally at Lille. At the present time turbulent discussions are taking place in it. For them "the split is without perspective" and we must obtain reinstatement at any cost. Moreover the split itself is partially the work of the Trotskyists because of their factional habits, etc., and they had provoked the reformists. At the Friday meeting they were shocked at the political offensive of Zeller and its success.

At the present time a number of members of the adult Seine Federation (supporters of Zyromsky) are busy seeking a compromise. They would like to reinstate the expelled non-Trotskyists, Zeller, Corvin, etc. (out of the 13 expelled there are 8 Bolshevik-Leninists and 5 "Zellerists"), perhaps even some Trotskyists; they would throw overboard the Trotskyists who "really are lacking in tact" such as Craipeau, Van, etc., and they would make discipline a little more rigorous.

## Manifesto of Struggle

Comrades,

The Socialist Youth of the Paris District have been expelled. The best among us: FRED ZELLER, ROUSSET, CRAIPEAU, MARIA CRAIPEAU, BRAUDO, LISSANSKY, GENIA, CORVIN, RIGAL, VAN, with whom we are in complete solidarity have been thrown out of the organization. Simultaneously with the reinstatement of COMPERE-MOREL the whole left wing of our party is threatened. WHY?

Because at the Lille Congress of the Socialist Youth (July 28-29, 1935) as well as in all public activities they have defended our position: AGAINST ALL FORMS OF NATIONAL DEFENSE UNDER A CAPITALIST REGIME, AGAINST CLASS PEACE AS IN 1914.

We, the thousands of Socialist youth of the Paris District in solidarity with the comrades victimized for the crime of having an opinion, appeal to you.

### SUPPORT US IN OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR—

By demanding with us the reinstatement of all the expelled comrades.

By strengthening our organization of the Young Socialists of the Paris District, fighting against any national defense.

All comrades will respond to the appeal of Marceau Pivert, issued in his telegram of July 30: "FIGHT BACK! APPEAL TO THE PARTY! SOLIDARITY!"

(signed) Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth of the Seine District.

Some members of the Spartacus group endorse this plan. Needless to say it is doomed to the most complete failure.

Marceau Pivert, who at the present time is away from Paris, has sent letters of solidarity with the expelled. These letters, together with numerous other documents, appear in the special issue of La Verite (organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist group in the S.F.I.O.) which is now on the press.

At this writing we have not as yet received complete reports from the provinces. The Seine-et-Oise Federation, a very important one, is largely with us. Up to the present a score of federations are in their majority with us. In other places throughout the country minorities are coming to the fore. Here is a very characteristic example. The motion of expulsion was presented to the Lille Congress by a member of the National Committee, who is from the Gard province (center of France) and naturally he cast all the mandates of his federation in favor of expulsion. Only

now we have received a letter from a comrade from Gard saying that in his federation at least a third of the members were against expulsion (moreover on the basis of the lying statements of Populaire—organ of the S.P.) and that the rest had not pronounced themselves. A fair example of the "democracy" in whose name we have been expelled.

At the present time the Seine Federation, together with those expelled still occupies the official headquarters. In the coming days we are going to start a great campaign of meetings against war and national defense.

The era of democratic process in the socialist ranks is at an end. A new road to success is opened before us. It is the road of mobilizing the young workers against the betrayal now openly being prepared—the road of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Ed. Note: The French Stalinists have greeted the expulsions with "A sane political decision... A healthy action."

## Peace, Anti-Fascism, Stalinism

By A. J. MUSTE

From events reasonable human beings must draw conclusions. They must evaluate them and then act upon those evaluations. I wish to comment briefly on the conclusions that are being drawn and that ought to be drawn by certain groups from the present Comintern Congress and what it symbolizes and confirms as to the present role of the so-called Communist parties and the C. I.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the reaction of the real intellectuals who are capable of independent thinking and of probing below the surface, whose "Marxism," if they be Marxists, is not an extraneous ornament, who are not merely sentimental or professional "friends of the Soviet Union." These elements are drawing conclusions and their conclusions will bring them to us.

Nor do we concern ourselves at the moment with the honest advanced workers or farmers who were not introduced to the revolutionary movement the day before yesterday and whose minds have not been stultified by too long a sojourn in the thought-stifling atmosphere of Stalinism. These elements will also draw their conclusions and those conclusions will bring them to us. That is already being demonstrated by the fact that the younger, more militant Stalinists are coming to us and are drawing closer to our theoretical position even when they do not yet draw organizational conclusions; and by the fact that practically the whole of the former Stalinist farm leadership in three northwestern states has recently come to the W.P.

### The Lovers of Peace

There are certain groups whose first reaction to the present Comintern is, however, a favorable one. One of these consists of the pacifists of various kinds, those whose absorbing concern is to prevent or put off war. In the past these elements regarded the Soviet Union as a disturbing force, against the Versailles treaty, wanting to change the status quo, etc. Now they are impressed by the "peace policy" of the S. U. and think of the S. U. and C. I. as a powerful force against war.

In effect the Comintern says to them: "The Soviet Union wants to stave off war in order that there may be time to strengthen its economic regime, 'build Socialism,' strengthen the Red Army for defense against any possible Fascist attack. But while the Soviet Union opposes war for its own reasons, there is no reason why all 'lovers of peace' on whatever ground should not join hands with it for the moment." And thus the Leagues Against War and Fascism, etc.

Few even of the more intelligent pacifists today believe that war can actually be postponed indefinitely or permanently. It is then a question of putting off the evil day a

few years, a year, a few months.

But what exactly does that mean in the actual situation of today? It means that the capitalist nations get a breathing space to complete their war preparations. Pacifist measures have always meant that and it is no different today. Would any major power hesitate for a single moment to embark on war if it were ready or saw a clear advantage in that course?

### Disarmament

A few years ago the Soviet (Stalinist) "peace policy" was a Disarmament policy. In those days, when capitalist economy was relatively stable and the political crisis not acute, the Powers could safely talk about armament reduction, etc. In that period, the war preparations appropriate to it could be carried on behind this particular smoke-screen. Where is the disarmament talk now?

Now the "peace policy" is a policy of pacts and alliances. The Powers are lining up in two groups, while feverish increase in armaments is the order of the day. This lining up of rival groups is always the signal of approaching war—not a means of staving off war.

Consider, for example, the effect in Germany of the Franco-Soviet rapprochement when it was in the making. The French course—Versailles treaty, revenge policy, maintenance of status quo, indemnities, etc.—paved the way for the nationalist reaction in Germany and eventually for Hitler. What happened when the French Imperialist government, in making its war preparations entered into a pact with the Soviet Union also? What effect does this have upon the German workers? Can it have any other effect than furnishing Hitler further support in his counter-preparations for war? Is this a "peace policy" or the time-honored way to move toward the abyss?

Consider, friends of peace, that Stalinism has worked out and is advancing a theory of two kinds of capitalist nations—aggressive and non-aggressive, bad Fascist powers and good democratic powers. Such a theory helped pave the way for war, helped to swing the workers and liberals in various countries into support of the war when it came in 1914. Inevitably it must perform the same function today. It spreads illusions, throws up a smoke-screen behind which the armies, the guns, the gas, are prepared.

Already, as we have previously pointed out in the NEW MILITANT, the effect of such a "peace policy" has been clearly shown in the failure of the Soviet Union to utter one word of protest against the rape of Ethiopia by Italy and against the course of France and Britain in virtually abetting Mussolini's course, although Maxim Litvinov sits as a member of the Council of the

League of Nations! Is this promoting peace? Is it staving off war?

Disregarding the Marxist answer to these questions, on their own premises and assumptions the more intelligent liberals and pacifists cannot believe that Stalinism has a genuine peace policy, that pacts, Leagues of Nations, etc. will avail to prevent catastrophe now any more than similar pacifist measures did in 1914.

### Those Who Fear Fascism

The same elements of which we have been speaking, and others as well, are disposed to think favorably of the C.P. and C.I., to support Stalinist auxiliary organizations, demonstrations, etc., even directly or indirectly, with substantial funds, on the ground that the C.P., etc. constitute a great bulwark against Fascism. A well known intellectual stated the other day that many Jewish people, even of means, now follow this course. The Comintern appears sensible and temperate. The C.P. is a less disturbing factor in the labor situation. All it asks of supporters is that they be "against Fascism." Their class and social status is not affected. They fear Fascism above all else. They welcome this ally, once so unprepossessing, now a very decent and sensible fellow. One may even get the thrill of being something of a "red" himself without making serious commitments in associating with the C.P. of the Fourth Period!

Unquestionably all liberals, all minority racial and national groups, all who have cultural interests, do well to fear Fascism and to welcome all allies in the struggle to ward it off in the U.S. We need not pause here to paint the horrors of Fascism. By the same token all elements do well to make sure that their course will really defeat Fascism and that their allies are effective—not a broken reed to lean upon!

Anti-Fascists will do well to study carefully the question on which we think we can shed considerable light, as to why the most powerful of all Communist parties, the C.P. of Germany, did not succeed in staving off Fascism there. If, for example, the C.P.'s united front-from-below policies and Social Fascism theory were partly responsible, as the C.P. itself may be thought to have admitted by its precipitate abandonment of them recently, then anti-Fascists will do well to make sure that a movement which could once make such a colossal "mistake" will not make another, that it has indeed changed fundamentally, etc. Or again, war will inevitably mean the abandonment of democratic forms and the establishment of Fascism in one guise or another. If then, as we have shown, the Stalinist "peace policy" is not what it claims to be, is Stalinism an effective and trust-

## Question Box

By A. WEAVER

M. V. BOSTON—

Question: What is meant by a "Holding Company"?

Answer: The "holding company" is one of the instruments by which finance-capital monopolizes, or gains control of, industries, particularly the public utilities. Usually such control is characterized by the fact that the finance-capitalists squeeze out large profits for themselves without really owning more than a small portion of the industries. This is made possible through the assistance of the government bodies, the so-called public service commissions, which presumably "regulate" the utilities, but actually function so that high rates of profit are guaranteed.

This is one example of the many ways this may work. Suppose a utility, furnishing electric power and requiring \$100,000,000, is to be built. The government permits the company to charge such rates for electricity that the company can earn 8 percent on its "valuation" (which is usually inflated). The promoters (read banks) sell \$60,000,000 in bonds which pay 5 percent, \$20,000,000 in preferred stock which pay 7 percent, and keep for themselves the remaining \$20,000,000 in common stock, the holders of which control the company since common stock alone has voting power. A "holding company" is then formed which has as its function the "managing" of this \$20,000,000 in stock, and \$10,000,000 in preferred stock, paying 7 percent, is sold, the promoters keeping \$10,000,000 in common stock for themselves. The process can then be repeated so that the promoters emerge with a new company which holds the common stock in the first holding company. By selling \$5,000,000 preferred stock in this company, paying 7 percent, the total investment of the financiers is now only \$5,000,000, by means of which they completely control the \$100,000,000 utility, and obtain for themselves the difference between the 8 percent which is earned by the utility and that which is paid to the middle class bond-holders and preferred stockholders. (In the example assumed this would be \$2,500,000 annually on a \$5,000,000 investment, or about 51 percent.) They also appoint themselves and their families to positions of high salaries, or milk the utility by buying materials at very high prices from companies which they own themselves.

It is important to note that this form of financial pyramiding depends for its stability entirely upon the fact that the capitalist government guarantees the rate of profit for the utility. The entire holding company structure would collapse if the rate of profit earned by the utilities were to fall below that required to maintain payments to the bondholders and preferred stockholders.

Actually, the holding companies set-up is much more complicated than is indicated by our example; one holding company usually controlling a chain of utilities. In this country, only a handful of such companies, connected to the big banks, control all the utilities.

Question: What is the significance of Roosevelt's fight to prohibit the holding companies, the so-called "Death Sentence" bill?

Answer: Liberalism is the ideology of capitalism in its progressive stage, of competitive capitalism. In the epoch of monopoly capitalism, therefore, the "liberalism" of the Roosevelt government is an atavism, evidence of the fact that finance capital had so completely lost confidence in itself, as a result of the economic collapse of 1929-33, that the middle classes were able to assert themselves.

One product of the pressure of these classes upon the Roosevelt government has been to fight against the monopolies which were strangling them: the latest expression of such struggle being the fight against the holding company, monopoly of monopolies.

The political lease of life granted the middle classes was not of long duration, however. As soon as big capital had its confidence restored through a renewal of profits, it again began to breathe fire and launched an attack all along the line against that part of Roosevelt's liberalism which expressed the interests of classes opposed to it. One of the victims of this assault was the bill which would have prohibited holding companies.

Incidentally, the results of this struggle are an object lesson of the revolutionary thesis that, in the final analysis, the state power is the executive committee for managing the affairs of the ruling class: monopoly capitalism came out of the fray a victor, more strongly entrenched than ever.

PUSH THE CLUB PLAN.

### DIE NEUE FRONT

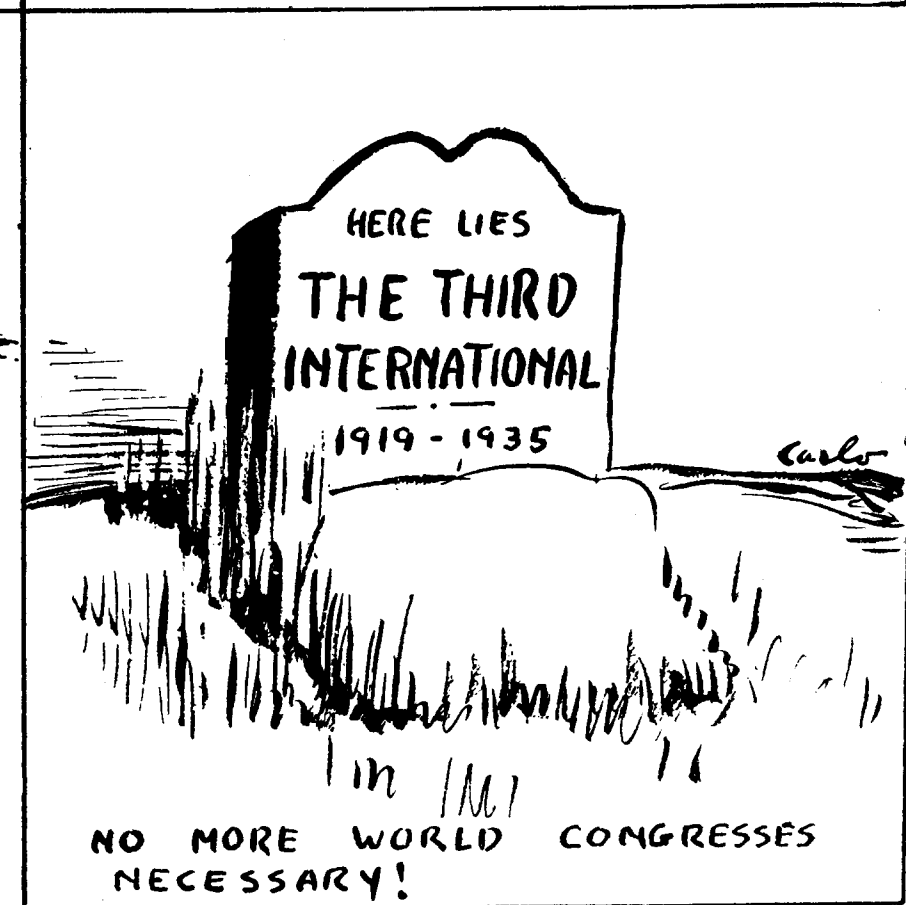
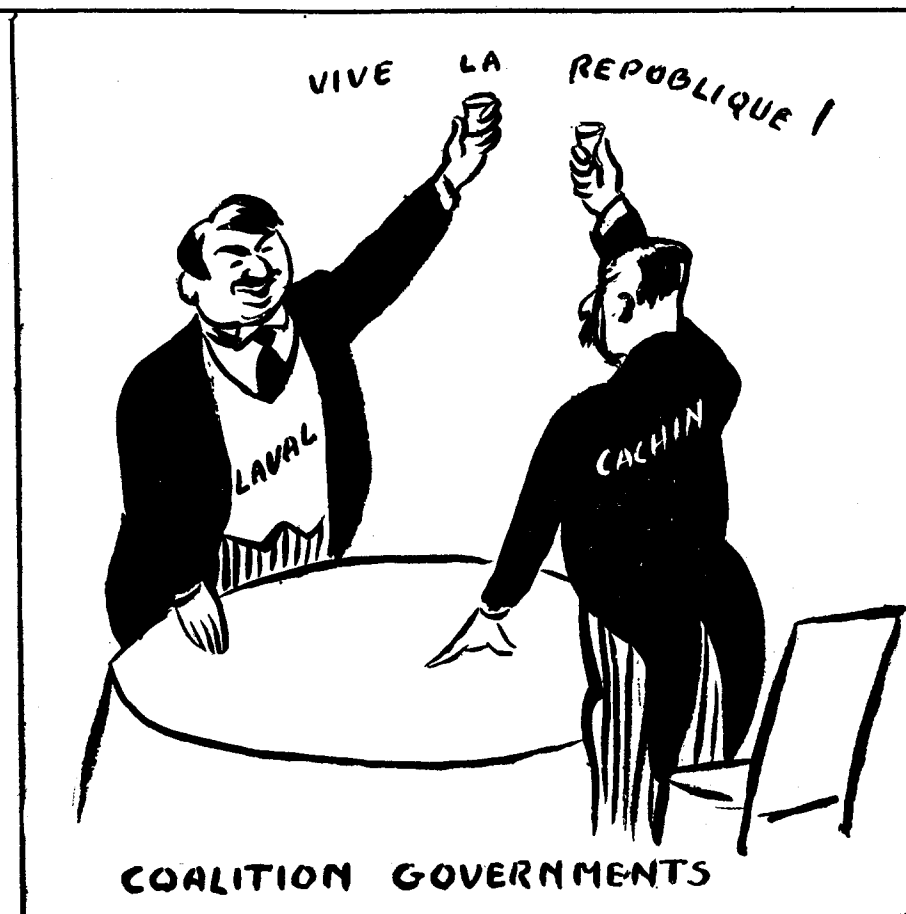
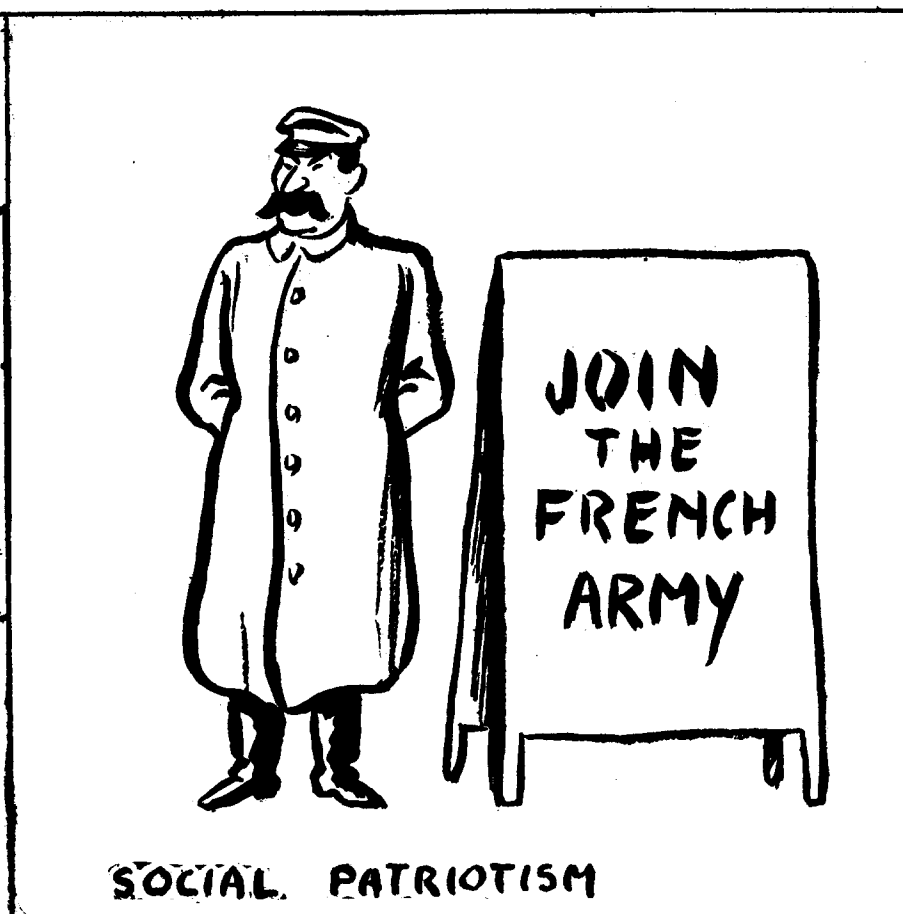
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# The Seventh Congress of the Comintern

by J. Carlo



## The Stalinist Congress of Social Patriotic Betrayal

### Favors Coalition Gov'ts--Cheers "Lesser Evil"--Treachery Rules

By JOSEPH CARTER

The tragedy known as the Seventh Congress of the Communist International is now being enacted in Moscow. The stage settings were carefully prepared; the actors well primed. The world capitalist press laughs at the farce while the militant workers are amazed at the social democratic theme songs which the Comintern has accepted: social pacifism, social patriotism, capitalist coalition governments.

"No single previous congress has revealed such ideological and political unanimity as this," proudly proclaims Dimitroff, giving eloquent testimony to the hand-picked nature of the Congress delegates.

Despite the tragic defeats of the past years, Stalin has constantly postponed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Though its statutes call for a congress every two years, the Third International congress is now meeting for the first time in seven years. Not even the destruction of the German working class organizations by Fascism, which impelled the Labor and Socialist (Second) International to hold an immediate congress, could cut short the criminal policy of Stalinism and lead to a congress which would put an end to its fatal course.

The Stalinists feared a Congress. Immediately following the German debacle the leading theoretical organ of the French Communist Party carried "critical" articles of the German Communist Party. These were denounced as "Trotskyist." Doriot, leader of the St. Denis section of the Communist Party, drew some of the more obvious lessons from the German catastrophe—only to find himself expelled. In Czechoslovakia leaders of the Communist party mildly questioned the course of their German comrades—and were quickly quieted.

#### The "New Course"

Once "unanimity" was restored, the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern (December 1933) decided that the Seventh Congress would be held "during the second half of

1934." However, this date and several others later set were also postponed. The reason: Stalin was preparing a "new course"; the Franco-Soviet Pact was in the making. Once signed and then reinforced by the infamous Stalin-Laval communique, one other task had to be completed before the Congress could be held, viz., an agreement with the French Social Democrats for organic unity between the Socialist and Communist parties with the proviso that the "Trotskyites" be expelled from the Socialist party and the Young Socialist League. This achieved, the settings were completed for the Seventh Congress.

The speeches at the Congress merely repeated what the director had ordered. In the name of a rejection of "stereotyped phraseology, pedanticism, and doctrinarism," the essentials of revolutionary Marxism, abandoned in practice by Stalinism a long time ago, is now overthrown even as to theoretical formulations.

Dimitroff summarizes the "new task": "We must learn to interlink the tremendous doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin with Stalinist determination, with irreconcilability of principle against the class enemy and deviations from the line of Bolshevism, with Stalinist intrepidity in the face of difficulties and with Stalinist revolutionary realism." (Daily Worker, August 15, 1935).

Let us examine this "Stalinist revolutionary realism."

**The Struggle Against Fascism**  
Wilhelm Pieck in his opening address declared:

"It is not immaterial to us what political system rules this or that country. Where parliamentarism and remnants of democratic freedom exist, there in spite of capitalist interference, where it is possible for open fighting organizations of the proletariat to exist, there we defend parliamentarism and democracy against fascism and continue to struggle for the proletarian dictatorship." (Daily Worker, July 27, 1935).

This from a leader of the German Communist Party who yesterday denounced as "counter-revolutionists" those who called for a working class defense of democra-

### Abe Cahan Hails the Seventh Congress

Ed. Note: The Jewish Daily Forward, organ of the most outspoken Right wing section of the Socialist Party, the following significant quotation from an editorial with the very significant title, "A Correct Word from Moscow at Last":

"At the congress of the Communist International in Moscow, Dimitroff made a speech on Wednesday on the sudden turn of the communists towards democracy, and according to the report in yesterday's Times he spoke as follows:

"In many countries the workers are no longer confronted with a choice between communism and democracy, but between democracy and Fascism and the communists therefore must support democracy."

"A correct word comes from Moscow at last, an openhearted declaration that in many countries there cannot now be any talk of communism any longer, and that there is no such thing there, that there are in these countries only two issues, democracy and Fascism."

ic rights! Even after Hitler came to power the Executive Committee of the Comintern (December 1933) attacked the "contrast between democratic countries and the countries of the fascist dictatorship in principle." Now the defense of parliamentarism and the contrast between Fascist Germany and the "democratic countries" is the main axis around which Stalinist politics revolve.

How is bourgeois parliamentarism to be defended against Fascism? By an "anti-Fascist people's front." Not the united front of the working class organizations for the defense of democratic rights, the arming of the people, the organization of workers' militia against Fascism but a bloc of workers' organizations with capitalist parties for the defense of parliamentarism. The model is the French People's Front: the bloc with Daladier and the Radical Socialist Party. Daladier who, although he had a parliamentary majority behind him, on February 6, 1934 capitulated before the Fascists! These are the warriors against Fascism!

The People's Front is to struggle for governmental power. Dimitroff told the Congress:

"A situation may arise in which the formation of a government by the proletarian united front or anti-fascist People's front is not only possible but necessary, even before the revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat. At the appropriate moment the Communist Party, supported by an upsurging united front movement, will seize the initiative in forming such a government. The Communist Party will actively support such a government if the government has a platform

"We sign this declaration with both hands, only with two reservations. One is that not only can there be no question in those countries about communism, but that there never was, even in the years when the communists were blowing the trumpets to bring the news that communism on a white horse is at the gates of the city."

"The second reservation is that if there is at present any question between democracy and Fascism it is thanks to the communists."

But, they reply, German Fascism's attack on the small nations is the first step towards an attack on the Soviet Union. Quite true. However, if France despite the contrary assertion by Maurice Thorez, is an ally of the Soviet Union, the war will be an imperialist war in so far as imperialist France is concerned.

In his War and the Second International (1916), Lenin made this clear when he declared:

"In brief, war between imperialist great powers . . . or a war in alliance with such powers, is an imperialist war." Perhaps for the Stalinists this is "stereotyped phraseology, pedanticism and doctrinarism!" For Marxists it is an essential of the revolutionary program against war.

The French Stalinists are ready to support imperialist France if it is allied with the Soviet Union against Fascist Germany. "Defense of democracy against Fascism," "national defense of our country" are now the joint slogans of Stalinism and Social Democracy.

Only yesterday, after Hitler's victory the Thirteenth Plenum of the Comintern (December 1933) declared in its theses:

"The French Socialists (as well as the social democrats of Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc.) carrying out the 'sacred unity of the nation' under the slogans of 'defense of democracy,' and 'defense against German Fascism,' actively participate in the preparations for war against Germany."

Perfect! And now the French Communist Party accepts the same program and proposes organic un-

small nations today will not involve imperialist powers on both sides?

Amid Hymns of Praise for Stalin 'the Great' another 1914 Emerges

ity so that the "sacred unity of the nation" can be more effective! The Stalinists, whether French, Czechoslovakian, Polish, German, or American now speak about "our country" in the same sense as the social democrats. The dictum of Marx that the working class has no country under capitalism has been replaced by the social patriotic nationalist conception.

Even the Stalinist Sixth Congress of the Comintern (1928), in its resolution on war, declared on this score:

"The proletariat has no country until it has captured political power and has taken the means of production from the exploiters. The expression 'national defense' is nothing but a catchword, and mostly a petty bourgeois catchword to justify war."

The Stalinists further consider, for example, that the French army, could be supported if the Fascist officers are ousted. The same theses of the Sixth Congress stated:

"In imperialist states the attitude of the proletariat towards armies is determined by the following:

"No matter what their form of organization may be, armies are a constituent part of the bourgeois state apparatus, which the proletariat, in the course of its revolution, must not democratize, but break up."

To repeat this conception in the French Communist Party today is considered "anti-Soviet" and sufficient grounds for expulsion!

**"Organizational Decentralization"**  
The Congress resolution on Pieck's report contains the following instructions to the Executive Committee:

"While shifting the main stress of its activity to elaboration of the fundamental political and tactical lines of the world labor movement, to proceed in deciding any question from the concrete situation and specific conditions obtaining in each particular country and as a rule to avoid direct intervention in internal organizational matters of the Communist parties."

The aim of this section is twofold: first, to permit the Communist parties in different countries to pursue diverse tactics depending upon the division of nations into

"pro-Soviet" and "anti-Soviet"; and second, to permit organic fusion with the Socialist parties, leading to the organizational liquidation of the Comintern, at least in its present form.

The second aim is brought out clearly in the statement of Dimitroff in another connection:

"We are even ready to waive the formation of Communist fractions if necessary in the interests of trade union unity." (Daily Worker, August 15, 1935.) Already, the provision for the prohibition of political groups in the trade unions have been accepted by the French Stalinists as a condition for unity between the reformist and Stalinist unions in that country. Trade union fractions have always been considered a principle of revolutionary party organizations. It still remains a principle. But the Stalinist parties are no longer revolutionary organizations!

Social patriotism, class collaboration, ministerialism or capitalist coalition governments, these are the policies of Stalinism! Treacherous betrayal of the working class can be the only result; betrayal on a far larger scale than we have witnessed in the last ten years of Stalinism. Only one instrument can stop such betrayal: the world party of revolution, the Fourth International.

Around this banner, tens of thousands are already rallying. The proceedings and decisions of the Seventh Congress will open the eyes and minds of thousands of others. It is becoming clearer to the more advanced workers that the Comintern is no longer the International of Marx and Lenin.

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