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Elect New



A landmark in the struggle of | leadership of James P. Cannon, asthe American proletariat approach- sumed control of the mass worldes. August 22 marks the eighth wide agitation for their release. anniversary of the execution of During the early years, the defense Sacco and Vanzetti. Once again, committee was handicapped by the we shall relive the experience of sectarian nature of its legal defense that hot August night when, as committee. The lawyers obtained midnight neared, we waited with by the committee had no responsianguish for word of a reprieve- | bility for the manner in which they 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 approxicar 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 sive rubber workers this week as fleeting glimpses were obtained of they continued to organize a bloc them. Testimony agreed that a to wrest control of the federal unlight-complexioned man was at the ions away from the A. F. of L. buwheel of the automobile and a for- reaucracy at the approaching coneign-looking man was in the back vention for the formation of an inseat shooting. The prosecution ternational union. could not find anybody, at first, who could describe the criminals more notorious betrayer in the threataccurately. After Sacco and Van- ened strike this spring, to reduce brought to South Braintree where Akron unions was being fought ally got three unsavory characters the Firestone local, Claherty's efing been in the car. These witness- 16 to 4 were defeated. However, es were subsequently so discredited he will try the same thing in other that even the notorious Judge Thay- unions. er, the trial judge, said at a later

that the conviction did not rest on out-of-towners who are more under the identification, but on the fact his influence. Progressives at Goodthat Sacco and Vanzetti betrayed year local are meeting this week to "consciousness of guilt" after they plan their fight next Sunday when

Thayer referred to the fact that date of their arrest. It was shown confronting them. that Sacco and Vanzetti were ac-

tive members of an organization which distributed literature banned

(Continued on Page 2) Progressives Fight for Sway InRubberUnion given to the real problems that face the trade union movement to-

mately \$16,000 and jumped into the Claherty Gerrymandering Meets with Stiff Opposition

By JACK WILSON

recognition more effectively. The AKRON, Ohio. - Two problems effort to tie up the workers' strugoccupied the attention of progresgles in the complicated system of governmental boards has won a temporary victory. Failure and Disappointment Undoubtedly, trade union mem-

day.

Attempts of Coleman C. Claherty,

in the rubber industry this year. His purpose is to cut down the

stage of the case, when motions for Akron delegation so that he can Even in many of the well-estab-by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats to a new trial were presented to him, control the convention through the lished unions of the skilled trades oust the duly elected officials of the delegate election comes out.

Serious events have just taken consider the People's Front as the

Federal Congress which was held Workers' and Peasants' Govern-

on July 21. The different tenden- ment, supported by workers' and

cies were: the Bolshevik-Leninists | peasants' Communes and factory

the average state of mind of the Karl Liebknecht, "The enemy is in

tellectuals, most frequently living its fight against war as well as for

means.

our own country.'

On the International:

tion and social-patriotism.

The National Congress had been the People's Front.

(170 mandates); the Zeller ten- and soldiers' councils.

against us had been exposed, their nationalistic diplomacy.

class youth. The Young Socialists lutionary experiences.

preceded in the Seine district by a

dency (200 mandates)-Zeller is

Regional Secretary-the strongest

tendency in the federation, formerly

hostile to us and recently approach-

ing us very rapidly, representing

Young Socialists of the Seine; the

"Spartacus" tendency, inspired by

the S.A.P., composed mostly of in-

After the Federal Congress on the

cess for the Bolshevik-Leninists,

influence in general had been liq-

uidated in the Seine, the three left

of this motion were as follows:

defend this motion in the National Marxism.

The problem of selecting a slate Sacco and Vanzetti lied to the po- of candidates which will swing the lice about their activities in the majority of delegates behind the \$19 to \$93 a month. period immediately preceding the progressive bloc is another question

Claherty's Maneuvers

Claherty will back either George ed interests to protect. While they suppression and split is a new one by the government. Their comrades B. Roberts, his assistant, who was are unable to separate these interwere being hunted, jailed and de- a rubber worker, or else back John ests entirely from the life and tionaries against progressives. A ported at that time of post-war anti- House, president of the Goodyear growth of the unions, what is now Red hysteria. The third degree local, who while sincere, is easily uppermost in their minds is reflect- tion leaflets will prove this: was commonly used by the police. led by Claherty. Many workers ed in the maneuvering for position

Fight for Spoils at Top; Stalinists Unite With Demands from Ranks **Right Wing to** Sidetracked Gain Control

Comforted by the delightful The first elections, since unificabreezes of Atlantic City, the A. F. tion, to the New York Joint Council of L. Executive Council is now in of the International Fur Worker's session in preparation for the 55th Union have just taken place. The annual convention scheduled for Stalinist leadership of the former October 7. Among the questions industrial union, leided by Ben considered was the report of its Gold, was elected by a large mastewardship to be made to this con- jority. Indications are that they vention, and in spite of meager incould have elected the whole adformation it is already clear that ministration had they chosen to only very scant attention will be nominate a complete slate. Their given to the real problems that endorsement of certain "right wing" candidates and their slanderous campaign against the "Progres-

The stimulus given to union orsives" did not meet with the same ganization by the NRA no longer success. exists. Two serious strike waves

Despite the slanderous attack, were effectively checked with a corfive members of the Fur Workers' responding set-back to the move-Progressive League and one memment. This enabled the employers ber of the Furriers Unity League to proclaim more boldly their open were elected to the Joint Council. shop policy and to resist union 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" canidates endorsed by the Stalinists.

Oppose Removals bership is receding from its peak a

year ago, and receding at a time The elections indicated, as exwhen conditions were favorable for pected, that the Stalinist "Rank gains. The decline is most obvious and File" group has a decisive main the basic and in the mass pro- jority in the union. That majority zetti. were arrested, they were the number of delegates from the duction industries. On the one is reflected in the new administrahand, this is due to sheer disap- tion, and any attempt to oust the Katzman, the district attorney, fin- successfully by the progressives. At pointment of the workers at the democratically elected representafailure to pursue an aggressive tives could only mean an attempt to hesitantly identify them as hav-forts to reduce the delegates from policy of organization; but much to split the union and should be more disastrous in their effects were opposed by every progressive force the outright strike betrayals in the in the union, and in the labor automobile industry last year and movement as a whole.

Though opposed to any attempts there is an appalling loss of mem- $\big|$ union, it must be stated that we bership due to unemployment and have no confidence whatever in consequent inability to pay dues. them. Past experiences with these Above all, however, the whole Am- Stalinists when they were in conerican wage standard is threatened trol of the Industrial Union show by the Roosevelt coolie relief wage that they repressed minority group on the WPA projects ranging from opinion in the most brutal and bureaucratic manner. Their new turn. But these questions are not the which conforms to the opportunistic ones that cause the most worry to and social-patriotic turn of Stalinthe mandarins on the Executive ism on a world scale, only reveals Council. They have their own vest- that added to their past policies of

"Right and Left, Unite" (!)

few quotations from their pre-elec-

WPAStrikeIntoFiasco Leadership LIMIT WALKOUT

AFL Crew Turns N.Y.

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 concentrated efforts, in order to collect the \$2,000 that is necessary.

Our New York organizzation 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 put 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 nber. 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

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, Jeze And thus the matter stands to date. The choice offered Ethiopia

CPShouts for General Strike but Does Nothing About It

By FELIX GIORDANO

the

by the imperialist bandits, aided PATERSON, N. J.-In an article lief for those refusing to accept and abetted by the representative of published in the May Day issue of the Roosevelt "work or starve" the Stalin bureaucracy is indeed the NEW MILITANT we called for edit. In a test case made one that of "assassination or suicide." extensive preparations in the silk worker was granted such relief, but Which road will the kingdom of the Negus take? What can its industry for the expected general even this advantage was not folpeople do under the circumstances? strike. A resolution embodying the lowed up. What solution will the bourgeoisie sam program was introduced to the Reports are now current on the

France and England offer Joint Board, where it was killed projects that the local union offithrough its respective intermediar- Now, three and a half months later, cials are backing down from their ies, Laval and Eden? What solu- the Communist Party suddenly re- once loudly proclaimed intention to tion to the problem of Ethiopia can members the general strike, and fight for the prevailing union rate we, the proletariat suggest? These just as suddenly comes to life of wages, and are scheming to in-

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 vere 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 overwhelmng 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 the failure of the union leaders to take measures to secure home re-

duce General Jonnson



The illegality of the methods rescent to like either Sherman H. that goes on behind the scenes. The sorted to by Palmer and his raiders Dalrymple, Goodrich local president Executive Council is not united. in the Department of Justice was or Thomas Burns, A. F. of L. or- And beneath the surface of comso flagrant that even the capitalist ganizer from New England rubber placent tranquility the issues of the courts were forced to condemn plants for the presidency. Burns life of the movement in the sense them. A comrade named Salsedo led a strong fight against Claherty of the positions of bargaining power had, a few months before, died last year at the rubber workers' afforded by an organization-the after a third degree examination Continued on Page 2

at the hands of Department of Justice men who held him incommunicado in the office of the depart-**Expulsions Hit French Socialist Youth** ment. He either jumped or was pushed from the window of the office. Sacco and Vanzetti were both listed as "dangerous Reds", in the Bolshivik - Leninists and Zeller records of the Department of Justice.

When they were arrested by a **GroupOusted** by Reactionaries lone, hick policemen to whom they offered no resistance, they thought that the charge against them was in reference to their radical activiplace in the French Socialist Youth. rallying center of the exploited ties. They sought, therefore, to The Lille National Congress on French masses and declare their protect their comrades by with-holding information from the po-wing. July 28-29 has decreed the expul- desire to fight inside this group,

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"!

on intrigues against the Bolshevik- World Revolution, a revolutionary Until the early part of 1926, the Leninists (90 mandates); and fin- International is necessary. defense of Sacco and Vanzetti was ally the right tendency in the International does not exist. entrusted to a committee organized Seine, Mireille-Osmin (130 manby their friends in the anarchist dates) which is a Centrist group Most of its sections have followed movement. Thereafter, the Internationally. national Labor Defense, then a healthy organization under the 21st, which had been a great suc-

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your subscription has EX-PIRED. We urge you to send in your renewal by return mail. thus insuring the receipt of your copy without interruption.

(Continued on Page 2)

The Socialist Youth fights for a

They struggle for bread, work,

peace, liberty, by revolutionary

They are true to revolutionary

defeatism and to the teaching of

To guide the world proletariat in

The Y.S.I. is in complete decay

their parties into class collabora-

"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 (Continued on Page 2)

ternational.

crimes

This

are questions which every person shouting and demanding that conscious of the seriousness of the strike be called. situation is asking.

How has the strike been pre-Pathetic Plea for Arms From the viewpoint of his own | Party done to see to it that the particular interest, Haile Selasie is preparations for the strike were Continued on Page 2 (Continued on Page 2)

establishment of a rating board to comprise representatives of the lopared? What has the Communist cal unions concerned. Obviously, the aim would be to secure a some what 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 he most complete coordination beween the unions and the unorganized is imperative.

Groundwork to Lower Standards

The failure of this coordination n 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 chalenged to lead the fight. The fight tey can conduct effectively only through the establishmtne of unity of action between the unions and the unorganized project workers.

United Front Anti-War Meet in Boston

submerged in Class Peace we must firmly convince ourselves and the advanced workers of the need to work for the creation of a New In-This New International will not reject everything in those which mittee, the highest body of the or-

have preceded it. It will reject their mistakes, their errors, their It will be enriched with the ex-

ings of their elders. periences accumulated by them. It In a more or less excited manner will proclaim itself the legitimate heir of the doctrines of Marx and Engels, of Rosa Luxemburg and Monday (vote on the organizational report: 4,082 votes for and 1,389 Liebknecht, of the example of the votes against). Monday afternoon, founders of the Third International. The motion ended thus: our intransigeant 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 The Y.C.I. in spite of the revoluthis joint motion. They had also tionary desires of its rank and file, brought in a further statement on and where the lies of the Stalinists is only the docile instrument of a the international question, making clear their position on the Fourth The Young Socialists of France will fight beside their comrades and International.

tendencies (Bolshevik Leninist, other revolutionary sections and The National Conference at Lille Zeller, and "Spartacus") agreed on minorities for a Youth Internation. The Congress opened in an atmos a common motion and prepared to al on the basis of revolutionary phere of threats against the revolutionary majority of the Seine Congress at Lille. The main points This new International can only Every question (division of delebe founded on criticism of the In- gates, etc.) was a pretext for pro-Today the problem of revolution ternationals which have preceded vocation. An imposing group of is placed before the entire working it and on the lessons of past revo- sergeant-at-arms were massed in the Congress Hall and physical vio-

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 Socalist Youth. "And, whereas the repeated attacks directed against the best

militants of the Party 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-Loninist Group as a tendency within the Socialist Youth. "Further it decrees pure and

BOSTON, Mass.-On August 4,

not directed only against the Bol-The Communist Party and the hevik-Leninists, but against the Young Communist League also had bulk of the majority of the Seine been asked to join in this united Federation. The International dis- front, but had replied (per Sidney cussion had not yet come before the Bloomfield, district organizer of the Congress (the retext of "affiliation" C.P., and Mac Libby, D. O. of the to the Fourth International was in- Y.C.L.) that they "would not enter troduced at the last moment) and any united front with Trotskyists. among the expelled there are some and "would rather unite with Faswho are opposed to the Fourth In- cists."

However, the Workers Party and Conciliatory attempts have been the S.Y.L. are working for a United nade (by Mireille Osmin in partic- Front Sacco - Vanzetti Memorial The conservative bureau- Demonstration on August 23, and cracy attacked in haste, so that will fight for participation by ALL workers' organizations, including the C.P. and the Y.C.L.

Beyond the Second International Entire Seine District Supports which collapsed in 1914 and beyond Leaders: Pivert Urges Fight the Third International which is lence was used on the delegates of simple expulsion for comrades the revolutionary minority (a comwho, having taken an active part

in this movement, have by their rade of the Seine, Bressler, memsectarian action contributed to ber of the outgoing National Comthe development of intolerable ganization was carried out of the

> Genia, Lissansky, Makarowsky, 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 op-21st anniversary of major declaraened on this motion. The attack of the bureaucracy was centered on tions of war, a united front demonthe position taken against national stration against imperialist war defense and class peace, for revo was held on Boston Common jointlutionary defeatism, and also ly by the Socialist Party, the Workers Party, the Young People's Soagainst the appearance of the indecialist League, and the Spartacus pendent paper of the Seine Federa-Youth League. tion, "Revolution." The attack was



ernational.

these attempts would fail.

(Continued on Page 3)

ular).

PAGE 2

NEW MILITANT

this issue contains especially rich

The situation in France, which is

rapidly becoming the storm-center

of revolutionary events, is elucidat-

ed in an Open Letter by L. D. Trot-

sky to the French workers. Ques-

tions 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. Can-

non entitled "The Socialist Party at

the Crossroads," and an article on

the third party movement by Arne

Of special interest, however, will

be the first contribution to a dis-

on the subject "Marxism: Science or Philosophy?" Comrade Trotsky

also contributes a second article

entitled. "Rosa Luxemburg and the

Fourth International." And, final-

ly, there appears in this issue, to-

gether with other valuable mater-

Please remember the combination

offer of \$2.00 for a yearly subscrip-

tion to the NEW MILITANT and

ations against Trotskylsm.

Swabeck.

The Manager's Corner



(Continued from Page 1) 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 Argentine, there were outbursts of indignation against the capitalist colossus of the Western Hemis phere.

Protest Too Late

We, who participated in the mass class.

co and Vanzzetti heroically met of Sacco and Vanzetti. their death at the hands of the agents of capitalist justice.

It is important to remember that 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 iurisprudence. While he underjurisprudence. 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 elo-

quence in his native tongue frequently brought tears to his eyes.

Heroism of the Deffendants 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 rehabiliunion." tating the reputation of Massachusmust be fought with whatever cil).

weapons were available that Sacco The campaign to elect Progres

(Continued from Page 1) scorning men. I might have died, unmarked unknown, a failure. only form in which the leaders un-Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. cause a division. Today, it is ex-Never in our full life could we pressed in the Council sessions in hope do do such work for tolera struggle between the John L. ance, for justice, for man's un-Lewis wing, supported essentially derstanding of man as now we do by the needle trades officials, on by accident. | Our words -- our lives-our pains-nothing! The taking of our lives lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fishpeddler-all. That last moment the main issue is industrial unionbelongs to us that agony is our ism versus cráft unionism.

triumph!" **Rubber and Auto Conventions** On August 22, let all workers This is coming to a head once movement to wrench Sacco and commemorate the deathless mem- more in the projected national un-Vanzetti from the clutches of cap- ory of Sacco and Vanzetti-they ions of the automobile workers and italist law, had no illosions that the were of the flesh and blood of the rubber workers. It is planned to overwhelming evidence of their in- workers. We of the Workers Party issue national charters in the connocense would cause the prosecu- will not merely honor them with ventions that are scheduled for tion to relent. We fully understood words, we will emulate them with these unions, the former to be held that the American bourgeoisie, rid- our deeds. There are working class this month and the latter in Septing triumphantly the crest of a parties which no longer lead the ember. And although it is openly wave of false prosperity, would struggle against imperialist war. acknowledged in all labor circles take vengeance on the two fearless They have left the road of unre- that craft unions in these industries workers in the class struggle who lenting struggle against war, will be doomed from the eutset, had dared to raise their voices for against bourgeois democracy, the the skilled trades are alreadybeing the emancipation of the working road of Lenin and Liebknecht. Con- quietly segregated into the craft un-

scious of our Marxist heritage, ion fold. The national unions The mass protest was organzed pledging ourselves to the carrying would, therefore, consist practicaltoo late, as the case was drawing out of the teachings of Leniu and ly exclusively of production workto its close. The resut was fatally Trotsky, we proclaim our suidar- ers and render them an easy prey tragic. Before the mass campaign ity with the working class, with to the powerful corporations in could reach an intensity and Sacco and Vanzetti. We urge those control of these industries.

strength, both in this country and of our comrades who are following John L. Lewis finds it possible in on an international scale, which the road of the misleaders-the this situation to cover himself with would have challenged the domin- road that can lead only to bitter the progressive mantle of indusant capitalist class decisively, Sac- defeat-to ponder well the lesson trial unionism. Essentially, however, this is merely a cover in the

Let us, also, on this day rally to general jockeying for positions. Inthe defense of class war prisoners sofar as the basis issues are coneverywhere. Let us remember that cerned, all the elders on the Counthese two martyrs to our cause had Tom Mooney, Norman Mini and his cil are guided by more weighty concomrades are still in San Quentin, siderations. Above all, they fear martyrs in the struggle against the the dissatisfaction of the rank and file workers and the possibility of enemies of Sacco and Vanzetti. control of these unions by progres-

sive elements. Both the automobile workers and the rubber workers have clearly expressed their desire for an indus-**Elect New** trial union. Moreover, in the present federal locals in the automobile industry, a distinctly progressive Leadership ovement has been launched, re-

ceiving its impetus and drawing its

inspiration from Toledo. This

(Continued from Page 1) and support Right wing candidates.

At the same time the Progressive dustrial union comprising all the League and Unity Groups were de workers in the auto and auto parts nounced as cliques and the fur factories. It proposes measures for workers were called upon to defeat the election of officials from the rank and file delegates present at their candidates, Ben Gold, in a the convention, for limitation of long manifesto, stated:

"I appeal to everyone of you to give the proper answer to these in the affairs of the union by paid despicable people who have always | been against unity and A. F. of L. organizers, together with provisions for recall of elected offiagainst one union, and who are at present continuing their maliccials any time it is deemed necesious work against unity and one sary. Finally, the progressive move-

ment proposes to introduce measures for the exemption from dues This was directed at the very etts justice than with securing the people who in the past were spat payments of unemployed members strike about, but will not help to possible in arid Eritrea-waiting release of the prisoners. It was on and attacked for proposing unity and for no discrimination in the only at the insistence of Vanzetti, with what Gold then called the establishment of a union because of who correctly urged that the battle "Scab Joint" (Furriers Joint Coun- race, color, nationality, political beliefs or affiliations.

Lowis Pulling W

A.F.ofL.Skates Free the Sacramento Prisoners! The formation of the National such a committee as the N.S.A.C. Sacramento Appeal Committee because of its shameful past in the which was recently announced, is Sacramento case. The Stalinist dis- field in the campaign for the eight- Living up to its usual standard, welcome news, indeed. Especially rupters have backed down on the page weekly with a total contribu-

syndicalism" prisoners now in San "stoolpigeon" but they cannot make with the additional contributions of vital importance to the move-Quentin and Tehachapi, will this anybody forget te sordid spectacle recorded this week, there has been ment. derstand these issues-begins to development give new courage. Stalinism made throughout the 8-Before the trial began in Janu- month struggle preceding convic- standing of the branches, but the ary, the International Labor De tion. The alternative to admitting fense, informed by the Stalinist their past is to split the defense bureaucracy that some of the Sac- and commit more crimes to cover ramento prisoners had not paid the up. We may expect plenty of "cov- York fur workers whose \$10.00 the one hand, and, on the other, the proper respect to the District Com- ering up" from the Stalinists dur-Wm. Green section of dyed-in-the- mittee, sabotaged the whole strug- ing the appeal fight and plenty of wool craft union chiefs. Irrespec. gle for their freedom. The I.L.D. mud-slinging.

tive of the intentions of either side, not only played the case down on This should not discourage the the publicity side, but deliberately new committee. Its policy in pro- Hildegarde Smith, Kans.....\$ 2.00 withheld bail from 16 prisoners for viding an attorney for Norman Mini Eugene Morris, Brush, Col... 1.00 six months.

Not until the Non-Partisan Labor the prisoners is a sound one. The Newark branch 3.50 Defense, at the request of Norman working class will approve it and Boro Park branch, N.Y.C.... 1.00 Mini of the W.P. and Caroline support it. The W.P., on its part, Boston branch Decker and Jack Warnick of the will back the new committee to the W. Greenan, Santa Cruz, Cal. 2.00 C. P., entered the Sacramento hilt. The fight for the release of struggle, did the fate of the prison- Mini and his seven fellow-victims ers become a matter of general of the California agricultural barinterest. Since their conviction, the ons is of deep concern to all class-I.L.D. and C.P. have again played conscious workers of the country. down the case. It was the N.P.L.D. On to victory in Sacramento!

which, by its highly successful Appeal Dinner in New York last month, revived the attention of the Imperialist Ring working class public, and threw the **Around Ethiopia** Sacramento boss press into a frenzy of fear lest the Sacramento (Continued from Page 1) case become a new Mooney issue.

justified in demanding, in a special The N.P.L.D. has also taken a appeal to the League that he be leading role in setting up the new permitted to import arms, to be in united defense committee. On it some measure prepared for the imare the official delegates of the N.P. pending combat which is taking on L.D., the Workers Party, the Soday by day more the character of

cialist Party, the I. W. W., the a horrifying reality. League for Industrial Democracy, Fascist troops are carrying on an the National Unemployed League unceasing penetration into the Italthe Workmen's Sick and Death ian territories bordering on Ethio Benefit Fund, the Spartacus Youth pia. Already valuables are being League and the Y.P.S.L. The crimtransported to the French posses inal syndicalism law being a threat sion off Djibuti from Addis Ababa 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 movement is presenting resolutions of it. For this a national struggle to the coming convention for an in- 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

salaries to be granted officials, and for prevention of any interference 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 their heels-if that were physically make it a success?

Of course not! Fifteen weeks not seem likely that either France

The Boston branch still leads the | INTERNATIONAL is off the press to the eight Sacramento "criminal charge that Norman Mini is a tion to date of \$59,50. However, and fundamental material on topics no change in the comparative

Party organizations have been outdistanced by far through the splendid example set by a group of New contribution is recorded here. During the past week we have

received the following amounts: Contributions and calling for the release of all West Side branch, N.Y.C.... 1.00

> 7.00 Total...... 17.50 cussion submitted by Max Eastman

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

Grand Total\$457,96 UGUST NEW INTERNATIONAL

NEW INTERNATIONAL still holds IS OUT The August issue of the NEW good for a limited period of time.

Call for Uniting Opposition Groups in Teachers Union

This is the last of a series of | voting membership means the defive articles on the situation in struction of the largest local in the the Teachers Union.-Ed. national organization

Unification of opposition groups A unified opposition, united on a within the teachers' union! minimum trade union program. That is the road which heads to boldly and openly confronting the ictory over the Lefkowitz-Linville convention, will constitute the splitters! strongest factor in convincing the

An examination of the programs majority of the delegates that they of two of the largest opposition must reject the course of the Lefgroups in the Teachers Union-the kowitz-Linville faction as destruc-Progressive Group and the Rank tive not only to the local, but to and File-will show that barring the national organization. minor details both programs are in The unification of the opposition

substantial agreement. Both take on a minimum basis has thus bethe same position on democracy in come the most pressing need of the the union, on building the union, on hour. Upon its realization depends mass activity, on admission of the not-only the fate of the opposition, unemployed with full membership but of the whole union as well. If rights at nominal dues, etc. For a this analysis is correct, and there long time, strong sentiment for un- can be no doubt of it, why then has ification inside and outside both the unification not already taken groups have made themselves felt. place? The answer is that factional This sentiment has undoubtedly rivalry and the desire for control grown stronger since the liquidaoutweigh, in the minds of the leadtion of the Classroom Teachers ers of the two groups, their duty as trade unionists. These are the Groups.

Furthermore, the recent action of factors that have thus far blocked the Administration in calling for the road to unification.

the "investigation" as a means of In spite of the difficulties and Some 250,000 troops are cooling getting rid of the opposition has prejudices which undoubtedly exist created an entirely new situation. there are manifestations that these The Administration now has the obstacles are beginning to crumble, official sanction of the powerful although they have not yet been Green-Woll bureaucracy in its cam- removed. The Committee for Demof course not! Fifteen weeks not seem likely that either France have gone by since we first public-ly called for extensive preparations for the strike. In these fifteen economic protectorate. There is e than a united front against a proposal for unification. Mr. expulsions is necessary. It is nec- Hendley, the leader of the Miliessary to confront the Administra- tants, has stated that a realignment tion, here and at the convention, as of the forces in opposition has beone unified opposition in order to come necessary. The Rank and File impress upon the delegates and the has proposed a united front in the leaders of the A.F.T. the fact that elections for the Delegate Assemexpulsion of the opposition which bly this fall, and the Progressives represents over 40 percent of the have indicated that they would be opposed to it. **Fight for Sway** But these manifestations and moves are insufficient. It is nec-InRubberUnion essary to move rapidly even before the convention is opened. Even though it may not be possible to (Continued from Page 1) reach a definitive unification before convention and has a good deal of the school term begins, it is pea-The deceptive motivation of the ship has fallen off, if anything, in Russo-Asiatic nationalities stood prestige. Since then he has become sible to arrange a tentative agreement in that direction. Recourse to technicalities or subterfuges unwill have to prevent a split in their der these croumstances may serivotes or else Claherty's candidate ously hurt the chances of victory or may even prove fatal to the op-The progressive bloc will anposition. The leadership of the nounce a slate of candidates this groups and their membership have week too. A serious attempt will an opportunity to rise to the occabe made by the progressives to co-sion. They must utilize it.. Unifiordinate the local workers so that cation of the opposition is the road they will present a united front which leads to victory over the Adagainst the bureaucrecy. ministration !

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 unleash ing 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. How-

ever, even this effort may fail. Italy is too far involved already. for orders to strike. Besides it does

For a Soviet Italy

induce the enemy to free us"

the essential lesson for the working take the initiative. he was a representative of a moveof the bourgeois, nationalist state, litical tendencies, has been shown branch of the Department of Jus- united progessive group. tice 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 impartial- Saturday-Sunday, August 24-25 ity the vicious system that condemned him, the jury of middleclass 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 Lowitt, etc., etc. life talking at street corners to

continued to collaborate with the sives, though partially successful, legal defense. Vanzetti said, "why was weakened by the fact that they known to prove popular with the been sleeping. Now that the time powers directly involved will decide should we surrender ourselves to were not in one united group stand- rank and file. So the Executive approaches when the strike might to cut up and divide Ethiopia into the enemy before we have exhaust ing on a clear cut program. Groups Council finds itself unanimous in have been called, the Communist three parts and thus again show to ed every means of defense?" And which were formed in the old Joint its efforts to countermand the pro- Party with great shouting and the world what an instrument for again he said, late in 1926, "Only Council and in the former Indus- gressive movement. Its main at- banging of fists demands that the peace is the League of Nations. the thunders of a mighty world- trial Union must now adjust them- tention is centered on the problem wide agitation and protest could selves to the new situation. Friend- of securing control of the imporly discussion on the tasks facing tant elective offices for its trusted

Vanzetti never lost sight of the them and on programmatic differ- lieutenants. But behind the scenes fact that the persecution of the two ences dividing them, must be start the John L. Lewis wing pulls the prisoners was motivated by class ed at once. In this the Unity Group strings for his separate interest in hatred. Tirelessly, he pointed out and the Progressive League should opposition to the craft union offi- to reap the harvest of a successful quo. cials posing as the friend and sup-strike when the season comes. class which the case provided. That | That such a united Progressive porter of industrial unionism. It group can and should contain memappears that John L. Lewis has his pared. No organizational campaign ment which sought the overthrow bers and supporters of different po- own slate to put forward.

the end of imperialist war, the es- by experiences in other unions, not- industrial union wing is even more the union throughout the country; with regard to Russia prior to the an A. F. of L. organizer and his tablishment of workers' rule, the ably the I.L.G.W.U. The narrow clearly demonstrated in the case of no strike fund has been raised, and October revolution. Just as the position is not clear. The workers abolition of the exploitation of the factional and bureaucratic control the maritime unions. On the Paci- the ordinary treasury of the Amer- Revolution emancipated the primimany by the few. That he was be exercized by the newly elected ad- fic Coast, the longshoremen, the ican Federation of Silk Workers is tive, feudal and pre-feudal tribes of ing prosecuted, in reality, for his ministration majority when they seamen, the marine engineers, the mainly a myth. opinions and his activity in the led the Industrial Union, and their masters, mates and pilots, and working class movement. That the present efforts to unite with reac- crafts affiliated with the seamen, chances of our winning the strike, people can be accomplished only by silken ferocity of the trial judge tionaries against progressive forces such as the firemen, cooks and ste-should one be called now, are prac- the world revolution. Concretely and prosecutor who convicted him, indicates clearly that there is no wards, succeeded in setting up a tically nil. To call for strike ac- we mean that a Soviet Italy would of the head of the Massachusetts time to lose in the building of a Maritime Federation. The progression while these conditions prevail be the best guarantor for a free

tor in the leadership. So this ques-What to Attend

Gala S.Y.L. overnite-hike to Lake Tiorati, Bear Mountains. Hitchhike up and back. Swimming, fishing, camp fire, mock-debate (Stalinism vs. Trotskyism), boat-**Federation** ing, group-singing, etc. Leave

At the Crossroads 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 to stand? The Executive Council adequate strike machinery, call for hand. The boycott must however place progressives in control. Then region. Dancing, entertainment fears that this would be tantamount an emergency Convention to declare be so instituted as not to make a the unions must be built up so that and social to raise funds for the to an open recognition and an open the strike, and then go into the negative impression on the Italian they can wage a successful strike 8-page NEW MILITANT. Jenny sanction of activities by revolution- strike with a good chance of win- proletariat. It must be as effective for wages and recognition and re-Lind Hall 2229, Telegraph Ave., ary and Left wing elements within ning it and a firm determination to in its message of class solidarity duction of the speed-up. the unions. Here is the crux of make use of that chance. Oakland. Admission 26 cents. the whole trade union problem as Now even more than fifteen weeks

Free instructions by competent musicians in all hand 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

and what leadership prevails.

SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT.

Of course, such measures are weeks the Communist Party has also the possibility that the three strike materialize. Maxim Litvinoff will again be able

> We do not believe in strikes that to offer his quack remedies for bematerialize out of thin air. We ligerent powers, the world will believe in preparing, patiently again have been made safe for plowing the ground, sowing the peace and Stalin will rest at ease idea of a strike, in order to be able at the safeguarding of the status

But the ground has not been pre-

To a large extent Ethiopia stands with regard to the rest of the world has been carried out: the memberin the same relation as some of the

outlying Czarist Russia so today will win.

Under these circumstances the the emancipation of the Ethiopian sive forces who had advocated this is to doom it to defeat and the unand independent Ethiopia. Commeasure became an important fac- on to liquidation. bined with a Soviet France and

We want the strike to material-Britain the cultural and revolutiontion also looms large behind the ize. But we also want to assure it ary development of Etniopia would be absolutely assured. scenes at Atlantic City. In face of the best chances of victory.

the danger that the Maritime Fed- Fifteen weeks have been lost. Hence all our agitation and proeration may pass into the hands of The season is due shortly. But paganda should be directed to those bunch of reactionaries so he can a progressive leadership, unity pre- there may still be some time to go ends. While it would be impossible vails within the strategy board. It through with preparations, and yet for us to reach the Ethiopian mass. future. His presence will make the presents a solid front, extending it see the strike materialize this year. es with proletarian propaganda, for progressives' job more difficult but to the steamship companies in the Instead of foolishly calling for a the simple reason that there is no they realize it. One thing however attempt to break up the Maritime strike now, we propose that the proletariat there, we can and must appears certain, Coleman Claherty union go to work and prepare ser-

iously for it, initiate a drive to or- A time limited boycott against Fas- ber organizer for the A. F. of L. He However, all these issues are tied ganize the as yet untouched dis- cist Italy such as was proposed has been told he will be removed by up in one knot in the consideration | tricts of inner Pennsylvania espec- | by the International Communist | virtually every union in Akron. The League and printed in a recent is Mohawk local won't let him even given by the Executive Council to ially, get the support of the labor the recently united furriers' union. movement to back the strike, raise sue of the NEW MILITANT is a come to any of its meetings!

Shall that unification be permitted the necessary strike funds, prepare concrete application of the task at with our Italian brothers as in its defiance of Il Duce.

the A. F. of L. officials see it. In ago, there is not a minute to be this they are not in error. Funda- lost. The organization drive must mentally, the future of the move- be started seriously and immediatement depends upon which policies | ly, 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 bandits. It is high time the inter- the Workers Party pledges its loyal vear.

William Green is expected to preside at the convention which means that he, personally, will try to place into office a hand-picked control the rubber workers in the reach the Italian laboring masses, is definitely on his way out as rub-

The convention must be used to

Engrossed in the trade union work, rubber workers are inclined It is important for the interna- to forget at least momentarily the tional boycott to get under way. long time perspectives necessary for Mussolini has made up his 'mind. the rubber industry to insure the The League of Nations, with Lit- working class correct preparation vinoff at its head is only a cover for its historic task-the overthrow for the international imperialist of American capitalism. For this

national working class intervened. assistance and support.

WORKERS

Protect Yourselves Against the Hazards of Life, Join the WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S. 1884-1935

Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose to render protection to member and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers. About 50,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserve \$3,400,000.

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

Monthly assessments from 45c to \$2.20.

For further information apply to Main Office: 714 Seneca Ave., Breeklyn, N. Y

SATURDAY, AUGUST 17, 1935



fuse to employ the term "Stalin

Friday, August 2 a mass meeting

of the Socialist Youth was held

with 400 present. Zeller was ex-

tremely emphatic: he developed

very clear conceptions on the

People's Front, on the role of the

two working class parties, on na-

tional defense, on the struggle

against war, the term "revolution-

ary defeatism" which now is only

used in France by the Socialist

Youth was greeted with endless ap

plause. Finally, speaking of rein-

statement, Zeller declared : "They

must take us as we are, with all

A few words on the Spartacus

ment at any cost. Moreover the

and its success.



A few weeks ago, Ley, the notor- and prevented disciplinary action ious leader of the so-called Labor Only after the wage cut was with-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 marksyou 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." slogans.

It is possible that Ley and his nitwits believe this nonsense. They may even claim originality for this slashed right and left? 79 cominterpretation of national "social- panies reported an increase in diviism.

German workers, however, cannot parisons with profits in 1932 show be persuaded by this kind of pro- the following: paganda. They know too well that millions of Marks, fine homes, etc. do make a difference. Their inter-Krupp (armaments) est in wages in the face of daily Mitteldeutsche Stahl price increases is serious; they have not forgotten how to bear pressure on the bosses in the days of a mili-Opel (Auto Tanks) tant trade union policy. When the Deutsche Nickel (Nickel) 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 offi- gangs proves to be a good invest-

cials threatened dismissal and pros-

A

Leaders; Pivert Urges Fight drawn did the workers go back to their shops. This is not the only strike in recent weeks: 7.000 work-

Profits in Million Marks.

werke (Steel)

I.G. Farben (Chemical)

Vereinigte Aluminum

(Aluminum)

108

22

2

476

(Continued from Page 1) Relatively few of the federations, ism" but now have taken it up) ers struck in Chemnitz Wanderer Works (also armament factories) from the provinces were represent the merger of the two bureaucra and also won their demands, glass- ed at the Congress.' The bureau- cies, reformist and Stalinist. etc. blowers in Frauena, Bavaria laid cracy had in its hands a large numdown their tools against starvation ber of mandates, which it cast in bloc for the expulsion. It must be wages

It is significant that strikes can noted that the federations had not be organized even under the reign discussed the motion of expulsion of terror in Germany. The official and that the vote is completely unconstitutional. 3,667; mandates were harmony of all interests, the peacefor expulsion, 1,534 against, with ful relations of capital and labormore and more workers discover the 331 abstentions.

The majority of the Seine Fedtruth behind this smokescreen of eration, together with a dozen delegates from the provinces, left the What happenel to the profits of hall singing the Internationale. their exploiters while wages were After the Expulsions

Various indications lead us to bedend payments of 36 percent. Comlieve that the top leadership of the our ideas and our entire program. Party (around Blum) were for a 55 out of 80 of the Seine groups evere enforcement of the bureau- were represented and the motion of diate expulsion. In any case the 1932 1934 action having meanwhile been car- tendency, inspired by the S.A.P., 177 ried out by the bureaucracy of the and which was our ally at Lille. youth allied with certain elements At the present time turbulent disof the party (Lagorgette), the top cussions are taking place in it. For 565 leadership of the party can only them "the split is without perspec-82

Reinstatement is an illusion. The attitude of the Seine delega- split itself is partially the work of appear in the special issue of La 2 tion during and after the Congress the Trotskyists because of their Verite (organ of the Bolshevik-The financing of Hitler's murder was excellent. In spite of all the factional habits, etc., and they had Leninist group in the S.F.I.O.) corridor maneuvers no cracks took provoked the reformists. At the place and our allies remained firm-|Friday meeting they were shocked ment of the German barons of steel ecution. It was of no avail. The coal and chemicals. The workers ly welded around the Bolshevik- at the political offensive of Zeller

eninists. Upon returning to Paris we mo-

The French Trotsky ists on the bilized our membership to explain members of the adult Seine Feder-

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

inseparable from that of the creation of the organ of the workers' struggle against capitalism. What Youth of the Seine district: the the Trotskyists who "really are who is from the Gard province

"The National Conference Against Class Peace, organized by the against class peace have if it is United Committee, has been set for merely to consist of organizing in August 10. As has already been order to agree on a contradictory Indicated the Bolshevik-Leninist manifesto which can be nothing

ism itself.

International.

Group (B.L.G.) is participating in but sterile? "No, this must not be one of perthe preparation of this conference. mitting the "pacifists" to sing their "However, from the very outset,

solidarity was 100 percent effective have to pay the bill.

at the formation of the first committee we insisted in clearly stating simple trade unionists of turning our position as set out in the fol- phrases into an attack on Communlowing declaration:

"Declaration of the Bolshevik-Loninist 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,

Peace, Anti-Fascism, Stalinism hollow phrases or of the pure and By A. J. MUSTE From events reasonable human few years, a year, a few months. beings must draw conclusions. They must evaluate them and then act in the actual situation of today? "Just as the only effective instru-

upon those evaluations. I wish to ment of struggle against Class comment briefly on the conclusions Peace was the creation of the Third that are being drawn and that ought their war preparations. Pacifist premises and assumptions the more International by the Bolsheviks, so too today, all the revolutionists to be drawn by certain groups from who really want to struggle not | the present Comintern Congress and only by words but by deeds, are confronted with the most pressing Communist parties and the C. I. need to reconstruct the new revolutionary world party, the Fourth

the reaction of the real intellectuals who are capable of independent "The declaration and manifesto thinking and of probing below the of the majority of the Unity Com-

to the present role of the so-called single moment to embark on war It is not necessary to dwell upon vantage in that course? Disarmament

A few years ago the Soviet (Stalsurface, whose "Marxism," if they inist) "peace policy" was a Disbe Marxists, is not an extraneous armament policy. In those days,

But what exactly does that mean

It means that the capitalist nations

get a breathing space to complete

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 com-

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 his telegram of July 30: "FIGHT BACK! APPEAL TO THE PARTY! SOLIDARITY!" (signed) Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth of the Seine District.

cratic discipline but not for imme-solidarity was carried unanimously. Some members of the Spartacus now we have received a letter from group endorse this plan. Needless a comrade from Gard saying that to say it is doomed to the most in his federation at least a third of the members were against expul-

complete failure. sion (moreover on the basis of the Marceau Pivert, who at the present time is away from Paris, has lying statements of Populaire-orsent letters of solidarity with the gan of the S.P.) and that the rest greet it and acknowledge the split. tive" and we must obtain reinstate- expelled. These letters, together had not pronounced themselves. A fair example of the "democracy" in with numerous other documents. whose name we have been expelled.

> which is now on the press. At this writing we have not a yet received complete reports from the provinces. The Seine-et-Oise At the present time a number of

national defense Federation, a very important one, is largely with us. Up to the presmediately the ideas of the Bolshe- 8 Bolshevik-Leninists and 5 "Zeller- The motion of expulsion was previk-Leninists made a strong impres- ists"), perhaps even some Trotsky- sented to the Lille Congress by a INTERNATIONAL! sion on the mass of the Socialist ists; they would throw overboard member of the National Committee,

Ed. Note: The French Stalinists emerge with a new company which "democracy" within the party, the lacking in tact" such as Craipeau, (center of France) and naturally have greeted the expulsions with: "A sane political decision. . . . A



League of Nations! Is this promoting peace? Is it staving off Disregarding the Marxist answer

more than similar pacifist measures economic, the political, the cultural themselves. did in 1914. Those Who Fear Fascism The same elements of which we

war?

Question Box

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,-At the present time the Seine 000,000 in bonds which pay 5 percent, \$20,000,000 in preferred stock Federation, together with those exwhich pay 7 percent, and keep for pelled still occupies the official headquarters. In the coming days themselves the remaining \$20,000,-00 in common stock, the holders of we are going to start a great campaign of meetings against war and which control the company since

common stock alone has voting The era of democratic process in power. A "holding company" is to the Seine district how and why ation (supporters of Zyromsky) are ent a score of federations are in the socialist ranks is at an end. A then formed which has as its functhe split had occurred. The anger busy seeking a compromise. They their majority with us. In other new road to success is opened be- tion the "managing" of this \$20,would like to reinstate the expelled places throughout the country min- fore us. It is the road of mobiliz- 000,000 in stock, and \$10,000,0000 orities are coming to the fore. Here ing the young workers against the in preferred stock, paying 7 percent, betrayal now openly being pre- is sold, the promoters keeping pared-the road of the FOURTH \$10,000,000 in common stock for themselves. The process can then be repeated so that the promoters

holds the common stock in the first holding company. By selling \$5,000,-000 preferred stock in this com-

pany, paying 7 percent, the total investment of the financiers is now only \$5,000,000, by means of which they completely control the \$100,-Capitalism, we say openly, will 000,000 utility, and obtain for theminevitably seek to resort to Fascism selves the difference between the 8 when in any given nation the eco-percent which is earned by the nomic and political crisis becomes utility and that which is paid to severe enough, when it is only by the middle class bond-holders and means of an open and brutal dic- preferred stock-holders. (In the tatorship that it can push down example assumed this would be to these questions, on their own the standard of living and keep the \$2,550,000 annually on a \$5,000,000 masses in subjection. Liberals and investment, or about 51 percent.) measures have always meant that intelligent liberals and pacifists others cling to the illusion that They also appoint themselves and and it is no different today. Would cannot believe that Stalinism has somehow it will be possible to go their families to positions of high what it symbolizes and confirms as any major power hesitate for a a genuine peace policy, that pacts, back to the "good old (democratic) salaries, or milk the utility by buy-Leagues of Nations, etc. will avail times" under capitalism. But to ing materials at very high prices if it were ready or saw a clear ad- to prevent catastrophe now any "go back"-as Fascism does in the from companies which they own

It is important to note that this field-means, as Hitler continues to prove daily, back to the Middle form of financial pyramiding de-Ages, to barbarism, to savagery. pends for its stability entirely upon have been speaking, and others as The one way to freedom, to ad- the fact that the capitalist governornament, who are not merely sen-timental or professional "friends of tively stable and the political crisis" well, are disposed to think favor-timental or professional "friends of tively stable and the political crisis" well, are disposed to think favor-the Sould Union " (The unit guarantees the rate of profit forward through the workers' revo-for the utility. The entire holding

betrayal of the leaders, Stalinism Van, etc., and they would make he cast all the mandates of his fed-(many Young Socialsts used to re- discipline a little more rigorous. eration in favor of expulsion. Only healthy action."

Conclave Against Class Peace against the buréaucracy is intense. would like to reinstate the expelled Entire sections have declared their non-Trotskyists, Zeller, Corvin, etc. solidarity with the expelled. Im- (out of the 13 expelled there are is a very characteristic example.

real enemy" is our own bour-

"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 jout and out betrayal.

"The U.S.S.R. cannot be defended by diplomatic combinations at the expense of the revolutionary prolocariat 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 concorned. Today Stalin has merely signed the death warrant of the Comhteirn.

"It is indispensable that the new Leminist vanguard be founded on the principles of revolutionary Marxism. Its political and organizational preparations hy the regrouping of the most advanced class conscious ele ments 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 "revo lutionary 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 prob-

lem of the struggle against war is

'We wish to counterpose workers' 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.

mittee which we have not signed

with the comrades of the Teachers

Union (of the Red Trade Unions)

"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 effec tive 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.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D. DANTEL LUTTINGER. M.D. 5 Washington Square North

1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

the Soviet Union." These elements not acute, the Powers could safely port Stalinist auxiliary organizaunity to the splitting influence of are drawing conclusions and their talk about armament reduction,

were not introduced to the revolu- armament talk now?

The Lovers of Peace

itself and the Communist Interna-

change the status quo, etc. Now capitalist nations—aggressive and study carefully the investion on they are impressed by the "peace non-aggressive, bad Fascist powers which we think we can shed considpolicy" of the S. U. and think of and good democratic powers. Such erable light, as to why the most the S. U. and C.I. as a powerful a theory helped pave the way for powerful of all Communist parties, force against war.

attack. But while the Soviet Union pared. 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. flourish. Few even of the more intelligent

pacifists today believe that war can actually be nostponed indefinitely or permanently. It is then a question of putting off the evil day a

tionary movement the day before Now the "peace policy," is a polnot been stultified by too long a Powers are lining up in two groups, sojourn in the thought-stifling at- while feverish increase in armamosphere of Stalinism. These ele- ments is the order of the day. This sions and those conclusions will the signal of approaching war-not bring them to us. That is already a means of staving off war.

being demonstrated by the fact that | Consider, for example, the effect ing closer to our theoretical posi- making. The French course---Vertion even when they do not yet sailles treaty, revenge policy, main-

states has recently come to the when the French imperialist govern-

intern is, however, a favorable one. workers? Can it have any other ward it off in the U.S. We need sons among the Jews in the U.S. that the middle classes were able

put off war. In the past these ele- policy" or the time-honored way to ments regarded the Soviet Union move toward the abyse? tional as disturbing forces, against Stalinism has worked out and is upon!

the Versailles treaty, wanting to advancing a theory of two kinds of

In effect the Comintern says to and liberals in various countries ceed in staving off Fascism there. them: "The Soviet Union wants to into support of the war when it If, for example, he C. P.'s united stave off war in order that there came in 1914. Inevitably it must front-from-below policies and Social nomic regime, 'build Socialism.' It spreads illusions, throws up a strengthen the Red Army for de smoke-shreen behind which the be thought to have admitted by its ther leaders in that task. fense against any possible Fascist armies, the guns, the gas, are pre-precipitate abandonment of them

Already, as we have previously pointed out in the NEW MILI-TANT, 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, albouch Maxim Litvinov sits as 6. sirman of the Council of the is Stalinism an effective and trust-

lution. tions, demonstrations, etc., even di-

Class Peace" which is a perfectly conclusions will bring them to us. etc. In that period, the war pre-Nor do we concern ourselves at parations appropriate to it could be tial funds, on the ground that the standard, also preach a merely de required to maintain payments to the moment with the honest ad. carried on behind this particular C.P., etc. constitute a great bul- fensive war against Fascism, also the bondholders and preferred vanced workers or farmers who smoke-screen. Where is the dis- wark against Fascism. A well encourage the illusions that demo- stock-holders.

known intellectual stated the other cratic rights can be retained under day that many Jewish people, even capitalism, that bourgeois demoyesterday and whose minds have icy of pacts and alliances. The of means, now follow this course. cracies must be fought for, shall than is indicated by our example; The Comintern appears sensible those elements which have such one holding company usually conand temperate. The C.P. is a less abundant reason to fear Fascism trolling a chain of utilities. In this disturbing factor in the labor situ- be deceived into thinking that this country, only a handful of such ments will also draw their conclu- lining up of rival groups is always ation. All it asks of supporters is fellow who takes off his rough pro- companies, connected to the big that they be "against Fascism." letarian blouse and cap and puts

Their class and social status is not on the diplomat's frock-coat and affected. They fear Fascism above top hat, has thereby become a the younger, more militant Social in Germany of the Franco-Soviet all else. They welcome this ally, trustworthy ally, a safe and main ists are coming to us and are draw- rapproachement when it was in the once so unprepossessing, now a bulwark against Fascism? Once again, actual events are so-called "Death Sentence" bill? very decent and sensible fellow.

One may even get the thrill of be- already giving a clear answer. The draw organizational conclusions; tenance of status quo, indemnities, ing something of a "red" himself same Stalinist regime which failed ogy of capitalism in its progressive and by the fact that practically the etc.-paved the way for the nation- without making serious commit- to stay the advent of Hitler today stage, of competitive capitalism. In whole of the former Stalinist farm alist reaction in Germany and even- ments in associating with the C.P. stands with its French imperialist the epoch of monopoly capitalism, leadership in three northwestern tually for Hitler. What happened of the Fourth Period! Unquestionably all liberals, all Germany, but raises no voice against Roosevelt government is an atavment, in making its war prepara- minority racial and national groups, the present course of that arch- ism, evidence of the fact that fintions entered into a pact with the all who have cultural interests, do Fascist Mussolini and of Fascist ance capital had so completely lost There are certain groups whose Soviet Union also? What effect well to fear Fascism and to wel- Italy in Ethiopia! Is this fighting confidence in itself, as a result of first reaction to the present Com- does this have upon the German come all allies in the struggle to Fascim? Do any intelligent per- the economic collapse of 1932-33,

One of these consists of the paci- effect than furnishing Hitler fur- not pause here to paint the horrors or elsewhere believe for a moment to assert themselves. fists of various kinds, those whose ther support in his counter-prepar- of Fascism. By the same token all that given similar conditions Mus- One product of the pressure of absorbing concern is to prevent or ations for war? Is this a "peace elements do well to make sure that solini's attitude toward racial, na- these classes upon the Roosevelt their course will really defeat Fas- tional or religious minorities would government has been to fight cism and that their allies are ef- differ essentially from Hitler's? against the monopolies which were Consider, friends of peace, that feetive-not a broken reed to lean Ask the black peoples of Ethiopia strangling them; the latest expresif it does.

Anti-Fascists will do well to ers of peace and those who dread monopoly of monopolies. the advent of Fascism here and in other lands awake to a true underwar, helped to swing the workers the C.P. of Germany, did not sucstill hang in the balance, while western Europe, the Americas, have a breathing spell, how war may be time to strengthen its eco- perform the same function today. Fascism theory were partly re- and Fascism may be smashed, and sponsible, as the C.P. itself may who are dependable allies, or ra- velt's liberalism which expressed

> recently, then anti-Fascists will do well to make sure that a move-**DIE NEUE FRONT** ment which could once make .uch a colossal "mistake" will not make Organ der Sozialistischen Aranother, that it has indeed changed beiter-Partel Deutschlands. 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

policy" is not what it claims to be.

Erscheint am 1. u. 15 des Monats. Jahresabonnement fur U.S. \$1.60. Einzelnummer: 5 cents. Redakt. u. Administration have shown, the Stalinist "peace 23, rue Mouffetard

Paris / 5 c

company structure would collaps If now the Comintern, the would if the rate of profit earned by the

Actually, the holding companies set-up is much more complicated banks, control all the utilities. * * *

Question:, What is 'the significance of Roosevelt's fight to prohibit the holding companies, the

Answer: Liberalism is the ideolally in preparing for war against therefore, the "liberalism" of the

sion of such struggle being the Before it is too late, let the lov fight against the holding company,

The political lease of life granted the middle classes was not of long standing of the situation. Let them duration, however. As soon as big ponder deeply now while things 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 Roosethe 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 stongly entrenched than ever.

PUSH THE CLUB PLAN.





"Lesser Evil" -- Treachery Rules

Ed. Note: The Jewish Daily Forward, organ of the most out-spoken Right wing section of the

By JUSEPH CARTER 964. The tragi-comedy known as the several others later set were also Seventh Congress of the Commun- postponed. The reason: Stalin was ist International is now being en- preparing a "new course"; the acted in Moscow. The stage set- Franco-Soviet Pact was in the tings were carefully prepared; the making. Once signed and then reactors well primed. The world enforced by the infamous Stalincapitalist press laughs at the farce Laval communique, one other task while the militant workers are am- had to be completed before the azed at the social democratic theme Congress could be held, viz., an songs which the Comintern has agreement with the French Social accepted: social pacifism, social Democrats for organic unity bepatriotism, capitalist coalition gov- tween the Socialist and Communist parties with the proviso that the ernments. "Trotskvites" be expelled from the

"No single previous congress has Socialist party and the Young Sorevealed such ideological and pocialist League. This achieved, the litical unanimity as this," proudly settings were completed for the proclaims Dimitroff, giving eloquent testimony to the hand-picked Seventh Congress.

The speeches at the Congress nature of the Congress delegates. merely repeated what the director What was once the world staff of international working class revolu- had ordered. In the name of a tion has now become a chorus for rejection of "stereotyped phraseoloacclaiming the infallibility of gy, pedanticism, and doctrinarism," the essentials' of revolutionary Stalin.

Despite the tragic defeats of the Marxism, abandoned in practice by past years, Stalin has constantly Stalinism a long time ago, is now postponed the Seventh Congress of overthrown even as to theoretical the Comintern. Though its statutes formulations.

Dimitroff summarizes the "new call for a congress every two years, task": "We must learn to interlink the Third International congress is now meeting for the first time in the tremendous doctrine of Marx, seven years. Not even the destruction and Stalin with working class organizations for the the process of the struggle we will tion of the German working class Stalinist determination, with irreorganizations by Fascism, which concilability of principle against impelled the Labor and Socialist the class enemy and deviations (Second) International to hold an from the line of Bolshevism, with immediate congress, could cut short Stalinist intrepidity in the face of the criminal policy of Stalinism difficulties and with Stalinist revoand lead to a congress which would lutionary realism." (Daily Worker, August 15, 1935). put an end to its fatal course.

Wilhelm Pieck in his opening ad-

"It is not immaterial to us

struggle for the proletarian dic-

Let us examine this "Stalinist The Stalinists feared a Congress. Immediately following the German revolutionary realism." debacle the leading theoretical or-The Struggle Against Fascism gan of the French Communist Party carried "critical" articles of dress declared: the German Communist Party. These were denounced as "Trotwhat political system rules this skyist." Doriot, leader of the St. or that country. Where parlia-Denis section of the Communist mentarism and remnants of dem-Party, drew some of the more obocratic freedom exist, there in vious lessons from the German spite of capitalist interference, catastrophe-only to find himself where it is possible for open expelled. In Czechoslovakia leaders fighting organizations of the proof the Communist party mildly letariat to exist, there we defend questioned the course of their Gerparliamentarism and democracy man comrades-and were quickly against fascism and continue to quieted.

The "New Course"

tatorship." (Daily Worker, July Once "unanimity" was restored, 27, 1935). the Thirteenth Plenum of the Ex-This from a leader of the German Communist Party who yesterecutive Committee of the Comintern (December 1933) decided that day denounced as "counter-revoluthe Seventh Congress would be tionists" those who called for a held "during the second half of working class defense of democrat-

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,

Dimitrov 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:

revolve.

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 participation in such a capitalist between Fascist Germany and the coalition government! "democratic countries" is the main

axis around which Stalinist politics

How is bourgeois parliamentar- unity with the Socialist party. France is concerned. ism to be defended against Fas- Even for the United States this cism? By an "anti-Fascist people's step is contemplated. Earl Browfront." Not the united front of the der informs the Congress that: "In defense of democratic rights, the eliminate the prejudice among the ist great powers . . . or a war in arming of the people, the organiza- Social Democratic masses that the alliance with such powers, is an tion of workers' militia against Communists are splitters of the la- imperialist war." Perhaps for the Fascism but a bloc of workers' or- bor movement, we will further Stalinists this is "stereotyped ganizations with capitalist parties their healthy desire for unity, and phraseology, pendanticism and docfor the defense of parliamentar- discuss with them the question of trinarism"! For Marxists it is an ism. The model is the French organizationally uniting all the ad-essential of the revolutionary pro-People's Front: the bloc with Dal- herents of socialism." (Daily Work- gam against war.

adier and the Radical Socialist er, August 13, 1935). The time Party. Daladier who, although he worn centrist prattle of organic had a parliamentary majority be- unity of "adherents of socialism" hind him, on February 6, 1934 cap is now the slogan of the Stalinists! itulated before the Fascists! These Fascism and Struggle Against War are the warriers against Fascism! On the struggle against imperialist war, the Seventh Congerss The People's Front is to struggle

for govenmental power. Dimitroff again repeated the social patriotic program of social democracy. Pieck told the Congress: eclared:

"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 selze the initiative in forming such a government: The Communist Party will actively support such a government if the

democracy, but between democracy and Fascism and the communthere be no question in those ists therefore must support democountries about communism, but cracy.' that there never was, even in the "A correct word comes from vears when the communists were

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 | against Fascism and reaction resmall nations today will not in gardless of whether the Commuvolve imperialist powers on both nist Party enters into the govsides? ernment or not." (Daily Worker. But, they reply, German Fas-July 27, 1935.) cism's attack on the small pations

Support of a bourgeois "antiis the first step towards an attack Fascist" government! Nay, even on the Soviet Union. Quite true. However, if France despite the

"Should German fascism at-

tempt to conquer the small Eur-

opean states, their war against

Fascism will be a righteous war

which we will support."

And in preparation for such a Thorez, is an ally of the Soviet "people's government" the Commu- Union, the war will be an imperialnist parties are to seek organic ist war in so far as imperialist

In his War and the Second International (1916). Lenin made this clear when he declared: "In brief, war between imperial-

> The French Stalinists are ready to support imperialist France if it is allied with the Soviet Union against Fascist Germany. "De fense of democracy against Fascism," "national defense of our ing instructions to the Executive

"One is that not only can

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."

country" are now the joint slogans Committee: of Stalinism and Social Democracy. Only yesterday, after Hitler's victory the Thirteenth Plenum of the Comintern (December 1933) declared in its theses:

movement, to proceed in deciding "The French Socialists (as well any question from the concrete as the social democrats of Czechosituation and specific conditions slovakia, Poland, etc.) carrying obtaining in each particular coun-What is this but a plagiarism out the 'sacred unity of the nation' try and as a rule to avoid direct from the Vanderveldes and De under the slogans of 'defense of intervention in internal organiza-Mans, the Belgium patriots? But, democracy,' and 'defense against tional matters of the Communist parties." the Stalinists reply, in the last German Fascism,' actively partici war the small nations were pawrs pate in the preparations for war

in the hands of the imperial st against Germany." powers. Quite right! And wat Perfect! And now the French reason is there to believe the, a Communist Party accepts the same pursue diverse tactics depending rates: Two cents per copy. government has a platform war of German Fascism against the program and proposes organic un upon the division of nations into Vol. 1, AUGUST 27, 1935 No. 34

the nation" can be more effective! and second, to permit organic fu-The Stalinists, whether French, sion with the Socialist parties, Czecholslovakian, Polish, German, leading to the organizational liqof American now speak about "our uidation of the Comintern, at least country" in the same sense as the in its present form.

social democrats. The dictum of The second aim is brought out Marx that the working class has clearly in the statement of Dimino country under capitalism has troff in another connection: "We are even ready to waive the

been replaced by the social patriotic nationalist conception. formation of Communist fractions Even the Stalinist Sixth Congress | if necessary in the interests of of the Comintern (1928), in its res- trade union unity." (Daily Worker, olution on war, declared on this August 15, 1935.) Already, the provision for the prohibition of 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.

contrary assertion by Maurice 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 witnessed in the last ten years of organization may be, armies are a Stalinism. Only one instrument constituent part of the bourgeois can stop such betraval: the world state apparatus, which the prole party of revolution, the Fourth Intariat, in the course of its revoluternational.

thousands are already rallying.

French Communist Party today is the Seventh Congress will open the eyes and minds of thousands of others. It is becoming clearer to "Organizational Decentralization" the more advanced workers that The Congress resolution on the Comintern is no longer the In-Pieck's report contains the followternational of Marx and Lenin.

> NEW MILITANT witi which is merged

THE MILITANT

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JAMES P. CANNON: Editor

Subscription rates: In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c per six The aim of this section is two-

fo'd: first, to permit the Commun- months; Canada and foreign \$1.50 ist parties in different countries to per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle

Around this banner, tens of To repeat this conception in the The proceedings and decisions of

tionary organizations!

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

political groups in the trade unions

have been accepted by the French

Stalinists as a condition for unity

between the reformist and Stalin-

ist unions in that country. Trade

union fractions have always been

considered a principle of revolu-

tionary party organizations. It still

remains a principle. But the Stal-

inist parties are no longer revolu-

Social patriotism, class collabor-

ation, ministerialism or capitalist



cient grounds for expulsion!

"While shifting the main stress

of its activity to elaboration of

the fundamental political and

tactical lines of the world labor

tion, must not democratise, but break up." considered "anti-Soviet" and suffi-