## OF FIRST LENINIST EVER TO ESCAPE FROM STALIN'S SIBERIA! STORY

NEW MILITANT

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# WAR CENTER SHIFTS TO EUROPE Britain - Italy Threaten War For Control of

# Green - Woll Forces Suffer Heavy Setback At AFL Convention

Rift Among Fakers Gives Industrial Unionism an **Opportunity**; Red Resolution May Fail to Pass

By A. J. MUSTE The fortunes of battle ebb and flow at Atlantic City in thhe most exciting convention of the American Federation of Labor since the war.

While the convention is still in progress as we go to press and a progress as we go to press and a definitive evaluation must wait until its close, certain assertions can safely be made as a result of the events of the last couple of days. The rift in the leadership between the Green-Woll and Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky, etc. forces is out in the open. There will be a more open Georgia Negro Is Given and intense struggle between various tendencies in the Federation during the coming year than at any time since the early 1920's. Thereby genuine progressive and militant

opportunity, if they know how to Herndon has given added importake advantage of it.

The old guard received a stun- mittee to Aid the Herndon Defense, ning blow when John L. Lewis it was stated yesterday by Mary arose in the dramatic fashion he Fox, secretary of the newly formed knows so well how to use and asked defense body which includes repre-(after the regular time for pre-senting resolutions had expired) for beforese, the League for Indusunanimous consent to introduce trial Democracy, the General Detwo resolutions. Amid electric fense Committee, the International tension two die-hard old guard Labor Defense and several other leaders, Wharton of the Machin-defense bodies. ists and Covelski of the Hotel

and Restaurant Workers, objected unless the resolutions were first ence in New York on October 19, read.

The Slam at Woll

Thus the drama was heightened. which undoubtedly was just what of Georgia for the release of Hern-

MUSTE SPEAKS ON A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

A. J. Muste will speak on "Lessons of the Atlantic City For Herndon "Death" Sentence on

The refusal of the U.S. Supreme elements are given a magnificent Court to rehear the case of Angelo

Chain Gang

tance to the work of the Joint Com-

In addition to holding a confer-

the Committee is planning a variety of activities to push the signing of petitions and to increase the pressure on Governor Eugene Talmadge

don. The Committee has already issued a pamphlet, "Wisdom, Justice and Moderation-Motto of the State of Georgia," which tells the



# Partners in Social-Fatriotic Betrayal against the troubled sounding board of Asia. Japanese imperialism, in the full stride of its own expansion is systematic agitation against Eng-

Here is a clear and unashamed

By A. TAROV

lishers, 100 Fifth Ave., at 2 cents of the Old Guard Socialists. The

story of the Herndon case. Copies port in their battle for sanctions in may be obtained from Pioneer Pub- the New Leader, New York organ issue in this light." Now they take the form of a

conflicts never cease for a moment. precipitated by Mussolini's African 'adventure.

The Mediterranean France Caught Between Two Fires; Germany Waits Opening

PRICE 3 CENTS

In response to the grave danger of a new imperialist The flare-up in Ethiopia is rapidwar flowing from the League of Nations policy of sanctions and the need for solidarity with the ly taking on the proportions of a world conflagration. Inside of less than a month the smokescreen be-Ethiopian people against Italy's hind the colonial "incident" has robber war, the New York Discleared up and the real contenders trict of the Workers Party has in the struggle have become fully called a mass rally for Sunday revealed. It is now evident that evening, October 20, at Irving we are confronted not merely with Plaza Hall, Irving Place and a case of national rape but with a Maurice Spector, former mem-

N. Y. Mass Meet

**On War Crisis** 

ber of the Executive Commit-

tee of the Communist Interna-

tional and one of the pioneers

of the present movement for the

Fourth International, will be

China Grab

Market Snatch During

African Trouble

By LO SEN

Japan Moves In

The Oppositionists who were im-

15th Street

the main speaker.

major inter-imperialist struggle. Great Britain and Italy are at each other's throats in a fight for control of the Mediterranean.

Fascist Italy at last embarked upon the conquest of the much heralded new Roman Empire. For more than one reason, Il Duce's decision is irrevocable. The Mediterranean is the indispensable gate-Japs Plotting for generations, must maintain control of the route to her plundered possessions in India, Australia and Far East as a matter of self-preser-

vation. Threat of U.S. War Ove, Faced with a national economy declining to ever new lows and the first symptoms of internal rebellion, the Fascist dictatorship has grasped at the Ethiopian adventure with the frenzy of a drowning man grabbing Echoes from Ethiopia, bringing for a straw. That the blackshirts nearer to Europe the thunder of were not unaware of the impending a new imperialist world war, have already resounded ominously gainst the troubled energy discussion of the investment of the investment for the investment of the investment o against the troubled sounding board first day of the invasion the entire on the Asiatic continent, has dis- land, largely as a protective measplayed its readiness to squeeze the ure to stiffen the backbone of their The Stalinists find yeoman sup-isolationists, embracing the Trot-lexpand. No matter what political last drop of advantage out of Eu-over the static for solution in solution is advantage out of Eu-

England Acts Rapidly

The cagy statesmen at Downing The "utilization" of imperialist Street have likewise worked over contradictions is by no means, un- time to check the desperate offenfortunately, the exclusive monopoly sive of the Fascist upstarts. (Withof "realistic" Stalinist bureaucrats, out any serious opposition they the approach of a new 1914, distin- exceptional phenomena, it is simply not develop much further in Europe France-for whom, as the major quish themselves in this fundamen- the logical outcome ("the exten- without leading to new explosions beneficiary of the Versailles system, as England-in a policy of sanctions against Mussolini carried Great Britain, as part of her huc- through with such speed and sweep ried preparations to counter Italy's as to leave the diplomats of the African advance, has transferred Quai D'Orsay in an extremely empractically her entire Asiatic fleet barrassing position. They have from its China station to the Medi- countered Mussolini's invasion and

on Sunday evening, October 27 at Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place and 15th Street, N.Y.C.

Lewis wanted. His first and most was convicted for the crime of orhis reading of it was referred to ployed together in Atlanta and made all too clear. We quote from who have moved not one inch from the Resolutions Committee, would fighting for better relief.' His contorbid any officer of the A. F. of L. viction was a blow at organized from holding membership or office labor and all elements who dare in the National Civic Federation, challenge the existing social order skyist position that the Socialist the peace-between-capital-and-labor of the Jim Crow South.

organization founded by Mark The U.S. Supreme Court hides Hanna, which in recent years, with behind technicalities in order to Matthew Woll as acting president evade the real issue. This body, and the notorious Ralph Easley as which some people praised so highsecretary, has specialized in red- ly for its attitude in the Scottsboro baiting and other forms of extreme case, lines up in the Herndon case economic organizations has taken nomics on another plane," and you Toryism. The Lewis resolution was, with the Bourbon rulers of Georgia. of course, aimed primarily at Woll | The latest Supreme Court decision | himself, leading spokesman and is really a sentence of death against strategist of the old line craft un- Herndon, since few if any people and Hitler, placing itself squarely ionists in the convention. To smear have ever lived through 20 years

Woll as one primarily identified on a Georgia chain gang.

with an organization outside the labor movement and against which a deep resentment existed at least in many of the unions, and thereby to deprive the craft unionists of their right to claim that they are the only simon-pure pillars of trade unionism, was Lewis' aim.

That his shot took effect in a vital spot was indicated when only a lew hours later Woll announced

that he had resigned from the Na-Stalinist prisons. Only yesterday I was one of them, and together with tional Civic Federation! Never, at them I underwent every conceivable brutality at the hands of the Stal-least in the past 30 years has a leader of Woll's prominence in the inist jail keepers. Today I find myself in a semi-capitalist country, a tion. A. F. of L. "lost face" so swilly "free man." Sad to say, it seems to me that there is no free spot for a and thoroughly. revolutionist on our planet. But for better or worse, today I have the

Not only was this a blow at the opportunity to speak out publicly in protest against the Stalinist usurpcraft unionists' position but Lewis' stroke also served to discredit the ers. My duty as a revolutionist obliges me to turn to the world prole- an answer which would free me "red baiting" proposals of Woll and tariat with an appeal for help to free from the Stalinist jails the devoted from paragraph 58, and restore my Company and the indications now and true revolutionists, the martyrs,-the Bolshevik-Leninists. The party rights. Legally, to be sure, are that the two-thirds vote neces- world proletariat must learn that the land of Soviets as such is perishing paragraph by any judge. But in

Industrial Unionism Edged Out fatal degeneration.

(Continued on Page 4)

New Leader, an old hand at reformeach. support of all militant workingsanctions policy than the novice present in support of government class elements. Tried under an old "slave insurrection" law, Herndon

Leader that the real basis, purpose, in detail it is important to note: and effect of the sanctions policy is The social democratic betrayers

"With the exception of small extremist groups who take the Trotextremist Trotskyists." parties and labor must reject any

cooperation with democratic gov-A military writer once remarked ernments and the League of Na- that "war is merely the continuations in its efforts to curb Fascist tion of politics by other means." Italy, organized labor throughout Add to that the dictum that "Polithe world through its political and tics is merely the extension of ecotions and armed resistance, if need ysis of the war question.

be, to the war policies of Mussolini In the period of imperialism, the present period, the economies of the behind the League. . . various capitalist nations are in "Only small groups of utopian constant conflict in their efforts to

Tarov Relates Torture of Real

"peaceful" struggle for markets, ism, gives a much clearer theoret- exposition of the social democratic now a diplomatic struggle, now a warlike struggle. Politics is mere-Daily Worker. It is in the New sanctions. Before we deal with it ly the the outward form of this struggle which, change as it may, Events of the past week along the have cloaked their campaign for cannot do away with the struggle. China coast and at the Soviet-Man-War is one of the political forms chukuo frontier already offer suffi- moral authority of the League of the traitors' role of 1914. now at of this struggle. War is not some clent assurance that the crisis can- Nations. They have even involved

> tal question only from "the small sion") of the struggle. In the im- in Asia. perialist epoch war is almost unceasing; sometimes in the form of nere diplomatic threats, sometimes

in the form of economic boycotts, sometimes as colonial expeditions, sometimes as open large scale war. The treachery of both the Stalin- terranean and Red Sea ports. The the troop movements of the Fascist

a determined stand in favor of sanc- have the basis for a Marxian anal- ists and the social democrats begins response of Japanese imperialism General Staff with the complete when they regard war as some ex- was so prompt as to be almost au- militarization of Egypt and their

traordinary event, some political tomatic. A strong Japanese flotilla other colonial possessions in Africa phenomena apart from and excep dropped anchor in the harbor of and with the greatest naval concentional to the ordinary run of pol- Swatow, a Kwangtung port in the tration in the Mediterranean since (Continued on Page 4)

(Continued on Page 4)

the last world war. The battle lines between the two imperialist powers have been drawn. Both sides are prepared to plunge wildly into the new holocaust.

The French imperialists, whose whole system of security hinges today upon the task of bringing about an Italo-British rapproachement, have been left floundering in the has rejected any and all suggestions of retreat. The British have refused Laval's mediation in the naval conflict. The French bourgeoisie is thrown into a terrific turmoil by the diplomatic dilemma. prison, but many were transferred The cabinet of M. Laval is due for a fall in the midst of the strife between the pro-British and the pro-**Fascist** factions.

> The rest of the European nations are drawn into the same vortex of conflicting currents. Nazi Germany maintains a "neutrality" that has its eye peeled for the prospects of entering the fray with an attack in the direction of its formidable Eastern neighbor. Japan is threaten-

(Continued on Page 4)

#### NEXT WEEK

The series on the Socialist Party and the program of the Socialist "Militants" will be continued next week with an article on the "Militants'" answer to the Bauer-Zyromski thesis on war and the S.P. National Executive Committee's resolution on the war danger.

Bolsheviks in Stalin's Prisons conquests and of the socialist con-theless I was arrested and commit ("freed" only after a 14-day hunger midst of an internal crisis. Rome Hundreds and thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists are languishing in

struction, and at the same time I ted to jail. Any one who is a Trot-strike, i.e., I was sent into exile. . underscored the need for joint ac-skyist-must sit in jail or exile. tion on the part of all communists | Should one renounce the Opposition, against the advancing Fascist reac- then one obtains a "minus," i.e. the

The "Reward" for Capitulation After sending this telegram to the Central Committee, I awaited

sary to pass the amendment to the imperceptibly, for Soviet power is unthinkable without a party of active reality, I was condemned to jail and advice to renounce their views. A. F. of L. constitution barring all and self-reliant Communists. That "Communists" from membership is why the struggle for a genuine the struggle for a genuine a journey to Moscow, to appear this time I saw no living soul ex-the struggle of the defendant that he the struggle of the sen-the exile for life. I had spent four years After an examination the magis. to improve the "conditions" of the best the old guard will be able to put over some comparatively mild resolution against the "reds."

salvation of the Soviet system from with the proper people. Back in examining magistrate, as a rule, a categoric refusal, it was my good were given a new sentence for the March, 1934, I sent a telegram to would go through a formal examin- fortune to hear in the sentence all term of two years. This was the On the other hand, as the NEW To acquaint the working class the Central Committee stating that ation, and the turnkey would lock the conceivable and horrendous epi- sole accomplishment of this com-MILITANT predicted last week, the with the condition of the Bolshevik- I, as an Oppositionist and a follow- and unlock the door of my cell thets: ". . . for anti-Soviet, anti- mission for "improving the condiadvocates of a clear-cut resolution Leninists in the U.S.S.R. under the er of Trotsky, was ready to cease whenever it became urgently neces. Communist, counter-revolutionary, tions" of the Bolshevik-Leninists for industrial unionism in the mass Stalinist regime, I intend to sketch ideological and organizational strug- sary. I was "sentenced" to solitary and other unspeakable activities. production industries proved too briefly my own personal experience, gle against the party leadership, confinement without any material ..." I served my last sentence on optimistic in their expectation that in its unvarnished form. On June and ready to faithfully fulfill all evidence whatever. My room had January 22, 1934 — a three year prior visits from any commission. they could get a majority in this 30, 1934 I escaped from exile, from the orders of the party in the strug- been searched three times-and ab prison term in the chief jails of the We had demanded this commission the city of Andijan, having in view gle for the defense of the October solutely nothing was ound. Never- G.P.U.-but, nevertheless, I was

prisoned in the Verkhne-Uralsk penitentiary, about 150 in numberright to live in the U.S.S.R., "minthere had been 485 of us in this us" all the key centers of the country. To some degree this to other jails until only 150 re-

would constitute an improvement. mained there-went on a hunger For instance, one might be transstrike in protest against the addiferred from Northern Siberia to tional new prison terms. Prior to Southern Siberia. the hunger strike, in the summer of

Rank and file Oppositionists are 1932, a Commission headed by a feruthlessly tortured while given the male, one Andreyev, arrived from Moscow to Verkhne Uralsk in order imprisoned Communists. To all

imprisoned in the Verkhne-Uralsk penitentiary. We had received no

(Continued on Page 2)



to Germany, the others deported to man S.J.V. swung to the left by

Belgium. Two of the comrades, signing, together with the I.C.L.

Bobzien and Liebermann, delivered representative, a letter to the Swed-

to Germany, were in the meantime ish S.J.V., calling upon the latter

(It goes without saying that our sentative in the Youth Secretariat.

solidarity with these comrades and The Swedes did not reply to this

limited only to the field of a mixed several times before urging his types of wars today...." This is retreated. Women who remained tantamount to saying that the C.I. on the picket line were subjected to participants arrested. Four German group. Horrified by this degenerathe same intimidating treatment. will betray the workers only in But in spite of threats and official those countries which may be the violence the strikers stood firm in temporary ally of the Soviet Union, their determination not to starve. whereas the Second International Unemployed Relief League, had condemned to long prison terms. to disavow its Mot Dagist reprebetrays the workers in all countries. The contention is false, however. previously been formed and this It is impossible to betray the workbody sent a wire to President Roosevelt protesting against the use of the struggle for their liberation letter and consequently the work of ers in certain countries and mainstoolpigeons against them as well will be carried on as before with the Secretariat was suspended. tain a revolutionary position in as against the conditions which all our energy despite the liquida- Once again they called for a sesothers at the same time.

Point 2: "With the C.I. beginnings (???) of dangers towards national defense practices are strictly limited, may be resorted to for a time as a means of helping the U.S. S.R. False and harmful as the recourse to such tactics of helping the U.S.S.R. are, their motive is credits in 1914, they also claimed that it was necessary to do so to the proletariat by the social democracy in the "interests" of the proletarian organizations. None of the broken. socialist parties have ever openly advocated that the workers support imperialism. They were "motivated" by the need of defending "democracy" against Prussian militarism, or against Czarist autocracy, etc., etc. Today the Stalinists are "motivated" by the need of defending the "remnants of bourgeois democracy" against fascism, etc. Hell, for the proletariat, is paved with such "motives." which are identical in the Stalinist and social democratic bureaucracies: Each proceeds from the point of view of its own special interests.

tion of the youth bureau.) After sion under the chairmanship of the made the strike inevitable. The the expulsion, the remaining dele | Swedish Youth and once again, as ing that all workers who did not gates convened in Brussels. The before, it was postponed. In the show up on their respective jobs on discussion, in the main, took place meantime the Swedes did not show Oct. 11 would be deprived of all between the representatives of the any inclination to terminate their relief. The ultimatum was issued S.A.P. and the I.C.L., the latter friendship with Mot Dag and by Daniel W. Streeter of ERB who struggling primarily for a clear and proved this fact on every occasion further attached a number of con-precise expression in favor of a new (collaboration of the Mot Dag peomotive animating international So-ditions impossible for the workers international of the youth in the ple in the Swedish press, etc.) But cial Democracy. . . ." In order to to accept. Some jobs had been operated all week by scabs under tional. After some ardent debates S.J.V. also changed his mind by Lovestone distorts the truth miserably. When the Socialist Party of there were always about as many this line were added to the resolu- gle against Mot Dag and once again Germany voted to support the war cops as ERB or WPA workers. Streeter's insulting public threat But we, on our side, committed a view which helped to prepare the serious error. The arrests and the session of the Secretariat with the turning to their jobs on the date of joint expulsion from Holland had Swedish Youth he declared that the tions from being destroyed; i.e., the the deadline. Most of them, howbetrayal of the proletariat by the ever, remained only long enough to we failed to implement the declar- the S.J.V. were of a more deep-Stalinists in the "interests" of the persuade others to join the walkproletarian state stands on precise-out. A few hundred actually re- International with the necessary the S.J.V. and Mot Dag. level as the betrayal of sumed work. That evening relief organizational guarantees. We ac- On August 18 the session of the officials and police announced to cepted the creation of the Interna-

the attacks of the I.C.L. against the present policy of the majority of the Secretariat. By the same tdken I am responsible for the policy of the Secretariat of the I.C.L. youth, I am ready to admit an error in the fact which occurred in the section dealing with the Youth Bureau in the article "Centrist Alchemy or Marxism?" appearing in No. 5 of Unser Wort and the July issue of the NEW INTERNATIONAL. The Youth Bureau was not founded with the N.A.P. but with Mot Dag, which organization has the disadvantage of meaning nothing with regard the N.A.P., while the N.A.P. represents almost the entire Norwegian working class. As for the political side the articles were 100 percent correct. If the Youth Bureau continues to work in its present manner it will only be another edition of the Amsterdam Bureau, whose work has only now been so strikingly characterized by P. J. Schmidt, up till now its secretary. The most obvious example proving the correctness of our attacks is given by this session itself. The German S.J.V. delegate could find not a word against Mot Dag and calmly accepted the Mot Dag repetition of the S.A.P. arguments. ] It has rized Davenport-Monday, Oct. 28. the Swedes although they main-Albert Lea-Tuesday, Oct. 29. tain a close friendship with Mot Austin-Wednesday, Oct. 30. Dag; it defends the Swedes against the attempts of 'disloyal' Minneapolis-Thursday to Satur factional work on the part of the lay, Oct. 31 to Nov. 2, I.C.L. But the S.A.P. itself uses Fargo-Sunday, Nov. 3. its connections in the Dutch R.S. Williston-Tuesday, Nov. 5. Plentywood-Wednesday, Nov. 6. A.P. and the Workers Party of Salt Lake City-Saturday, Nov. 9. the United States to develop a San Francisco-Monday to Wedpoisoned propaganda and to carry on factional work against the esday, Nov. 11-13. champions of the Fourth Interna-Los Angeles-Friday to Monday, Nov. 15-18. tional. 'Lovalty' to the Right and struggle against the Left. that is Kansas City-Sunday, Dec. 8. St. Louis-Monday, Dec. 9. the real character of the S.A.P. Springfield-Tuesday, Dec. 10. I found in re-reading the mani-Columbus-Thursday, Dec. 12. esto against the war danger, proposed by the German S. J. V. Akron-Friday, Dec. 13. Pittsburgh-Saturday, Dec. 14. among other things that the centrism of Fenner Brockway, Kil-Charleston-Sunday, Dec. 15. boom, etc., is not criticized. To Washington-Tuesday, Dec. 17. Allentown-Wednesday, Dec. 18. this, the representative of the S. J.V. replied: But Fenner Brockway is with us. Finally we have

Communist International with our Practically speaking, with the dear comrade Stalin, best disciple expulsion of the I.C.L. the Youth of Lenin, at the head (Loud laugh-Bureau has been buried. What reter from all parts of the hall, mains is the Swedish S.J.V., which shouts: "You'll have to learn to in fact is not interested in the in- sing better than that") for the ernational work and whose only privilege of begging forgiveness for 'activity" in the Youth Bureau con- my errors. I now pledge support sisted in hindering international to our great leader Stalin who has work; the small Mot Dag group; always been correct. (Loud laughperhaps a small group in Rumania; ter and shouts: You're a bit late and the illegal German S.J.V. The with that, fellow. How can we whole thing is less than nothing. trust you?) I have always fought While the work to reorganize the against Trotskyism. I expelled the proletarian youth movement on the American Trotskyists. I sent gangs basis of the Open Letter for the to raid their homes." (Browder Fourth International, which up to interjects: "How about your robnow bears the signatures of the bery of our National Office?" dele-Dutch R.S.A.P., the W.P.U.S., the gates: "Thow him out!") . . . W.P. of Canada, the Bolshevik-Len- Chairman Darcy: "Is there any nist group of the S.F.I.O. and the delegate here who wants Lovestone I.C.L., and in which new groups to continue?" All shout "No!" from all parts of the world are Lovestone kneels in silent prayer. continually joining, the Internation-

al Bureau of Revolutionary Youth WOMEN'S DEB DENOUNCES Organizations, born in a transition- LOVESTONE ...

al period, has passed from the Martha Stone, leader of the workscene. Long live the youth section ing women of America, takes the of the Fourth International, the world party of the revolutionary proletariat !

#### CHANGES IN SHACHTMAN TOUR ITINERARY

Toledo-Sunday, Oct. 20. Detroit-Monday, Oct. 21.

floor and denounces the right opportunist Lovestone who had opposed the decisions of the great leader Stalin. (Congress cheers for 45 minutes. Japanese delegates shout "Banzai." British delegate: "Hear, hear.") Lovestone jumps on a chair and sings: "One, two three, Chicago-Tuesday to Sunday, Oct. | four, who are we for-S-T-A-L I-N, Stalin! Rah! Rah! Rah!" (Ed.

remarkable statement, which, ii 1t. proletariat on an international, i.e., meal

attempting a distortion, for a brief ern methods of strike warfare. The from each other by several days of period (???) of sound principle; the L.S.I. is definitely committed to

politics, is the distinction between viet Union as a workers' state has nally a compromise was found. The this year as it was last a weekly a betrayal over a "brief" or over a not prevented the Stalinist betray- work of the Secretariat was con- discussion meeting, marked the oclong period of time? Only a Jesuit als. The existence of the Hitler centrated in another Scandinavian casion. Comrades Cyrus Rigby and could answer this. What Lovestone regime is sufficient proof of this. locality and the Mot Dag group of Peter Hansen are to alternate as is attempting to claim, as indicated On the contrary, the bureaucracy, Norway, an organization friendly chairman and other W.P. members by the word "beginnings" in his by usurping the prestige of the to the Swedish Youth, was instruct- sell Marxist literature at all meet- the mass meeting are under way. Point 2, is that the C.I.'s "distor- October revolution, and cloaking it- ed to represent the latter. The work ings. One unusual feature of the tion," in principle, began with its self with it, has had a compara- of the Secretariat went on-always meetings is that both Stalinists and present war position, a conclusion tively easy time of deceiving the hampered by internal conflict. In S. P.ers not only attend but actively which naturally flows from his con- workers. It is only by his identifi- the autumn of 1934, for example, participate. tention that the errors of the C.I. cation of the workers' state with at a session of the Bureau at Copenrect tactics.

Insofar, however, as the betrayal of the workers by the C.I. can be different but otherwise there is compared to the "August 4th" of difference between the betrayals of from the Secretariat. the Second International, this oc- the Second and of the Third Inter- However, these internal conflicts ing of the classes. curred over two years ago with the nationals, and Lovestone merely did not reach their peak until after capitulation before Hitler in Ger- makes the feeble attempt at finding the piti'ul conference of the Intermany. The C.I.'s war position is a distinction in favor of the latter national Community of Labor of crawl back into it. ies of betrayals.

Nor does Lovestone's reference to

the press that the strike had been tional Bureau of Revolutionary representative of the German S.J.V. Youth Organizations with Stock- again opposed placing the question holm as headquarters. The Secre- of the Mot Dag group as the first No Settlement At All

But none of the conditions which tariat was composed of a represen- point on the agenda and insisted forced the strike had been settled. tative of the German S.J.V., the that they deal with the differences It was still necessary for workers Swedish S.J.V. and the I.C.L. (It between the I.C.L. and the Youth to accept the starvation wages of is true the Swedes were not them- Bureau. He stated that the version \$55 a month , so their temporary re- selves present at the conference, of his statement as quoted above turn to work was without meaning although their acceptance was con- to be inexact in this form. He had and shortlived as soon as they real firmed by the representatives of the wanted to say that the differences ized that it meant continuation of German S.J.V. and by the Mot Dag on the one hand with the I.C.L. and utterly impossible living conditions. group). The Young Workers of on the other with Mot Dag existed Within a few hours the walkout Norway had left the conference be on two entirely different planes. But began again, this time taking hun- fore the resolutions were adopted the entire proceedings of this sesdreds more than on previous days. and later displayed hostility to the sion of the Secretariat gave con-On Monday 500 workers from the creation of the Youth Bureau. Lackawanna slag pit, which was

Sabotage from the Start

After the arrival of the I.C.L. the first job where women as well as men picketed the week before, representative in Scandinavia he the C.I.'s approach, the Comintern's dropped their tools and marched in discovered that the Swedes had no agenda, believed necessary a reorviewpoint is international, while a body to the nearest relief job in intention at all of taking any re-Buffalo proper. Here they began sponsibility for the Secretariat and in the framework of the Fourth Inoughly nationalist, dyed-in-the-wool mass picketing and were able to that they opposed with all their ternational and demanded that the ougnly nationalist, dyeu-in-the-wool social chauvinist." This is truly a remarkable statement, which, ii it that project to join them before representative in Stockholm. The has meaning at all, can only mean block intervened with the use of German S.J.V. had also forgotten that the Stalinists are betraying the clubs. The effectiveness of mass the conciliatory spirit of the Brus-

picketing and flying squadrons, sels conference and supported the however, had been proved during Swedes in their negative attitude. social democracy is doing it piece the days before, so now the strike They suggested the absurd proposihad reached the point where the tion of scattering the Secretariat Point 4. "The C.I. is guilty of workers were ready to employ mod-over three distant cities, separated

second WPA strike in New York travelling and concentrating the State continues!

practical work in the hands of the Workers Party had a formal openrepresentative of the German S.J.V. ing of its new headquarters on entire question of war." What, in stronger. The existence of the So- This we categorically refused. Fi- October 13. An open forum, to be

The branch plans soon to ineu to date were limited to some incor- the Stalinist bureaucracy that hagen, the representative of the S. gurate study classes in the rudi-Lovestone can conclude as he does. J.V. with the assistance of the Mot mentary principles of Marxism, as The actors and the staging are Dag group and the Swedish S.J.V., well as in subjects such as Ameritried again to remove the .I.C.L. can labor history. No definite date has yet been set, however, for open-

The Boston branch has opened Youngstown, New Castle and posnew headquarters in an attractive sibly other branches in the state of thus not the first but one of a ser- in order to justify his attempt to the S.A.P. in February, 1935 in room in the heart of the city. The Ohio are holding a conference in Paris, where the S.A.P. for the first first public meeting was held on order to establish cooperation in time openly expressed its hostility Friday, October 11, with a lecture carrying on educational work and RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE to the Fourth International. It is by A. J. Muste on "Social Patriot- mass meetings in that territory question make his position any EIGHT PAGE NEW MILITANT! true that Brandt as the representa- ism vs. Revolutionary Defeatism." during the coming season.

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

Note: The Lovestone group actually did this at the 1929 convention of the Communist Party held in New York.) Lovestone begs for a chance to work in the C.I., with Stalin at the head. . . .

STALIN TAKES THE FLOOR ....

As Stalin arose to speak the Congress went into its usual two-hour orgy of applause and singing. Stalin: "Many comrades have made mistakes. (Radek interjects: "Quite right!") Mistakes will be made in the future by other comrades, big mistakes. (Loud applause.) We must always correct mistakes. Self criticism is necessary to our party. We tried, dear comrades, to correct the mistakes of Lovestone. You know how crystal pure were my intentions. (Stachel: "How true, how profound.") Comrades, can we trust Lovestone? No, dear comrades, we cannot trust Lovestone. Does that mean, comrades that he cannot work in our party? No, comrades, that does not mean that he cannot work in our party. I propose that he be given work in the Communist Party of the United States. I propose that he be put in charge of Hathaway's People's Front election campaign on the Eastern Coast of New York City. Now Lovestone poshol von, poshol von! (Russian ior scat)." Lovestone backs out from the hall bowing low repeatedly and crying: "Thank you, comrade Stalin, thank you dear comrades. Down with Trotskvism. Thank you, comrade Stalin."

. . . A FEW MORE SUGGESTIONS ....

Following the great acclaim with which the reading public received "Lovestone's Speech at Madison Sq. Garden If He Had Been There" we suggest some new titles to the editor of the Workers Age. Lovestone's Radio Speech at Valley Forge; Lovestone's Speech at Ceasar's Funeral; Lovestone's Inaugural Address as President. Any ingenious comrade can add to this list, to his heart's content.

SUPPORT THE KIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT CAMPAIGN FUND. GET SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Los Angeles reports arrangements for a lecture on the War Danger, a banquet and social, and a lecture on the Seventh Comintern Congress on November 15-16-17 respectively in connection with the Diego are also clamoring for meetings. An effective "Sacramento" (N.S.A.C.) united front committee, including the Socialist Party, Y.P. S.L., I.W.W., Workers Party and

\* \* \*

Spartacus, has been organized. Unions are to be contacted. literature is being distributed and plans for

\* \* \* The Kansas City branch has also teken steps to organize an N.S.A.C. committee and is assigning comrades to contact the unemployed organizations in Kansas City in order to establish cooperation with the National Unemployed League in

demonstrations and other activities.



PARTY AT WORK

firmation to our version.

Touching Solidarity

The representative of the I.C.L.

speaking on the first point of the

ganization of the youth movement

#### SATURDAY OCTOBER 19, 1935

# **MARCH OF EVENTS**

#### By JACK WEBER

RENEWED MENACE TO CHINA | aid the penetration into Outer Monity to make further inroads into Mongolia can only mean the prelude China while the other imperialists to war against the Soviet Union. are preoccupied with the Ethiopian situation. There is every indication ATTACK ON SOUTH CHINA ...

that Japanese imperialism.is pre-The plundering of China is not paring more extended operations to be confined to North China alone. for plundering China. A series of The situation at Swatow threatens extraordinary meetings of the Jap- to become the pretense for the beanese army and navy commanders ginning of Japanese invasion into and the diplomatic corps are in pro- South China. Already all shipping gress. One meeting is to take place to this port is forced to pass be in Dairen October 13 to 15. A sec | tween two lines of Japanese cruis ond in which the various consular ers and destroyers, holding the harofficials in China are to receive in- | bor in a tight grip. The Japanese structions from the army is sched- object to the tax imposed by the uled for October 16 in Shanghai. Canton militarists on rice imported A final gathering of all army com- into Kwantung Province which manders to work out details of the raises only a two months supply of next steps in the seizure of China, this necessity for thirty-five million is also planned in Shanghai for people. The Japanese have been Oct. 20 and 21. The pronounce smuggling tremendous quantities of ments of the Japanese Military cheap Siamese rice into the prov-Attache in China, Maj. Gen. Iso- ince. The seizure of a small quangaye, provide several keys to what tity of this smuggled rice has preis intended. A "final" settlement of cipitated the issue, Japan claiming the North China problem is first on a violation of the treaty permitting the agenda. The Kuomintang gov- only the national import tax, not ernment is told plainly what is ex- involved here. By this pretext pected of it by its imperialist ally. Japanese imperialism seeks to gain "We do not want to provoke a control of the vast trade of the crisis in North China but we hope East River District of Kwantung. that the Chinese will themselves At the same time this is a blow at make all the necessary changes to the Canton militarists whose miliassure the establishment of author- tary machine is based on the soity with a reponsible person at the called agricultural tax. The Chinhead who would have Japan's con- ese are entrenching along a fifty fidence.... However, should a crisis mile front in Kwantung expecting arise which would endanger the momentarily an ultimatum, to be lives of foreigners, Japan will be immediately followed by invasion. ready to make sacrifices to take the The reactionary bandit-generals of necessary steps for establishing a Canton will hardly organize any strong North China regime." What real resistance to Japanese enthis means is the setting up of an croachments, no more than the extended puppet state to include the "central" Kuomintang leaders, five provinces north of the Yellow Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Ching-River: Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Wei. On the contrary, these cor-Shansi and Shantung, all now un- rupt betrayers of the Chinese enter der Japanese control.

## WHICH THEATRE OF WAR? ... other imperialist powers are great-

There have been previous indica- ly disturbed at the present situations that Japan wishes to add to tion, seeing in it not only the poits present booty Outer Mongolia. tentialities of another Shanghai in-This territory is not nearly so im- cident, but also a fresh move of portant economically as Manchuria. Japanese militarism. American war-But its control by Japan would de-ships have been sent to Swatow to termine the main theatre of war in take care of "American interests." the coming struggle against the U.S.S.R. Manchuria is too close to Japan to suit the Japanese strategists. Soviet aircraft are a menace not to be neglected. The seizure of Outer Mongolia would permit greater safety to the attack from the northwest corner of Manchuria, from the railroad line running from cational forum here last Sunday kent, there being two of us-myself. Hailar to Manchuli, on Chita, the evening with a lecture on "The and comrade Zhahntney. In Tashmost important railroad junction in Truth About Trotskyism." Eastern Siberia. Chita is the point Transsiberian Railroad (to Vladi-1"Trotskyism, Counter-Revolution in vostok) joins the branch line to Disguise," exposing all the falsity

ourselves, in protest against the the guards fired their guns through our cell windows, with the result that one of our comrades, Yessayan was shot in the chest. We demand-Japan will not miss its opportun- golia. But the attack on Outer ed a commission, but, as a rule, we were refused.

The Hunger Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

Then, 485 imprisoned Commun ists went on a hunger strike that lasted 18 days. A Commission arrived, transferred the "active prisoners" to other penitentiaries, and exiled the wounded Yessayan to Siberia. Thus, it "improved" our position. And then, another Commission came next year and extended our sentences. For this reason all of us who were imprisoned in the Verkhne-Uralsk penitentiary went on a hunger strike, in protest against this unheard of lawlessness. We began the strike on December 11, 1933. On December 20 the hunger strikers were dragged from their cells-in order to search the latter. Then they began feeding us by force. Unheard of scenes took place, desperate fights broke out between the jailers and the hunger-strikers. The latter were of course ignominicusly beaten up. In our exhausted condition we were subjected to forced feeding by means of rubber tubes. The treatment was indescribable: thick rubber hose was shoved down our throats, the strikers were dragged into the "feeding cell" like dead cattle. There was not a single case of surrender.

tinue it because many of the famlands. Our comrades, of course, into competition to become the first decision of the committee to call off to sell out to the imperialists. The G.P.U. representative was compelled Moscow to have some personal in- a mistake. to make a verbal promise (for some reason he refused to put it in writing) that all those who had served their sentences would be freed. there was no answer. My attempts "freed."

On January 22, I was consequently set "free." Under a close guard, PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Oct. 15-I was shipped to Central Asia, un-Warming up for his national tour. comrade Max Shachtman opened the der the jurisdiction of the Centralseason for the Workers Party edu- Asiatic G.P.U. We arrived in Tashkent we were lodged in jail; the next day, after stubborn protests. The speaker dealt very effectively

tenced. Zhantnev to the city of

voted to the cause of the world | functionary became confused when proletariat. I consider him my ideological companion and comrade. I have no wish to fool the party, I can not consider as counter-revolutionary the revolutionary views of the Opposition."

My interlocutor would sit mum, with his head on his chest. Inci- tions of my own personal welfare. dentally, this chap was a fine fellow I have in mind the necessity of a with some brains. But apparently joint struggle on the part of all the he had had little occasion to listen revolutionary forces of the proleto Oppositionists themselves, but he tariat against the advancing coun had heard a great deal about them ter-revolution. I cease the struggle from the official sources.... I had not because I am in agreement with no job for a man who comes out an identical conversation with one the opportunistic views of the buof the representatives of the local reaucratic upper-crust of the party, section of the G.P.U. I remarked, but because I hope our party will among other things: "What is your still succeed in restoring its rights opinion of such an act of lawlessand drive the brazen usurpers from ness as this: I have passed six its ranks."

months in exile already without But whom are you telling this to? any sentence being passed, after The apparatus bureaucracy, of course, well understood my letters At the meetings, "bold" speeches serving a three year prison term." The assistant chief of the G.P.U. in and telegrams. That is why it reanswer pulled out from a drawer fused to reply to my application. I some kind of a paper and read me remained in exile, without any new e new sentence, three years in exsentence having been passed on me. ile. But for some unknown reason For some how or other, the governhe refused to allow me to read the ment finds it difficult, without even sentence myself. This, of course, a false document, to sentence one was a common trick on the part of of its citizens to some sort of punthe apparatus hirelings. They prob ishment. The tasks of the party ably wished to scare me with a new bureaucracy boils down to isolating sentence so as to make me snitch and torturing the Oppositionists unon the Opposition. Here I became til they publicly turn into so many completely convinced that these rags, i.e., into miserable, political miserable functionaries had long bystanders. The bureaucrat just weased being communists, that I does not want you to be a real comhad to deal with a gang of hard- munist. He has no need for it. He boiled bureaucrats who were incap- finds it harmful, and mortally dan-On the 15th day of the strike our able of understanding the integrity gerous. The bureaucrat does not strike committee decided to discon- of sincere revolutionary words. want a self-reliant communist. he Nevertheless I decided to go to wants miserable flunkies, grafters, ished Communists tried to commit Moscow, and personally speak with and bystanders of the worst type. suicide. One of the G.P.U. function- the upper crust of the party appar- That's what he needs. He does not aries from the Ural District ap atus, in order to find out at last want a Communist party, he toler peared in the penitentiary and precisely what it represents, what ates only the name in order to use threatened the starving Communists sort of people were they who shriek it for his usurping aims. Sad to with transfer to the Solovsky Is- about revolution and socialism and say, the bureaucracy has attained communism and compel me to con- its goal in many cases. Many Opdrove him from their cells. The sider my purely communist views positionists were unable to withas counter-revolutionary. In May stand the harsh and interminable the hunger strike was accepted by I sent a telegram to the C.E.C. with isolation—and they capitulated. But all the strikers unanimously. The a request for permission to go to in my case, the bureaucracy made

#### terviews concerning my case. This **Communist Despite All!**

time I sent a telegram, with an answer prepaid. But it was useless-In jail, in exile, and emigration I remained what I was, a Commun-Since my sentence terminated on to gain permission to go to Moscow ist, a devoted defender of the Soviet January 22, 1934, I was transferred for personal interviews were not power and of the socialist constructo the cell of those about to be crowned with success. Then I de tion. The land of the Soviets is cided to go without any permission. my tatherland, in the socialist sense En route it became all too clear to o, the term. Under a different rule, me that no one would listen to me under the rule of the enemies of in Moscow, and that I would be im- the proletariat it would be alien to mediately arrested for having fled me. I am always ready to the last rom exile. I had no recourse left, moment of my life to fight for the land of the Soviets. Is it conceivexcept to escape abroad. able that under a genuine proletar-

## Torn From His Family

ian rule the struggle against bur-My renunciation of the Opposieaucrats, thieves, and plunderers tionist struggle was sincere. Even who unscrupulously appropriate at which the main line of the with Olgin's slanderous pamphlet, we were exiled, without being sen-at the present time I still hold to Soviet wealth and who are the this point of view. From 1933, after cause for ruining hundreds of thou-Frunze, myself to Andijan. And, the victory of Fascism in Germany, sands in hunger and cold-is it con-Manchuli. The seizure of Chita and rottenness of the fight against then, in March, I sent a telegram to the Central Committee about my munist and revolutionary forces of mere protest against these scoup

would cut off communication with the living leader of world Bolshe to the Central Committee about my munist and revolutionary forces of the entire world had to be united the entire world had to be united the considered a counactivity. Two months elapsed with- against the Fascist reaction, no letter to the Central Committee. gard to the internal differences be-Another two months went by, and tween proletarian organizations, no Leminist program and Leminite program and Leminist program and Leminite program and Lemi again there was no answer. Both matter how serious these might be. statutes of our party. I fought and 26 at New York. The intensive Comrades Stamm and Ochler in the telegram and in the letter I This is the point of view that I deand position to be "counter-revolu- solidarize with the bureaucracy, as tionary," as is usually stated by I emphasized in my letter of April, of our party, the elected party, the capitulators, but I emphasized 1934 to the Central Committee. I trade union and Soviet organs must be re-elected annually from top to bottom. But what do we see today? The post of party secretary has become a sort of specialty. If, for example, a Kahyani had served 8 years as secretary in the C.E.C. of would no longer tolerate him not craft of General Secretaryship departs from Tiflis, on the good counsel of the supreme authorities of course, and hies himself to Alma Ata, again as General Secretary of G.P.U. pleading for mercy. The Kazakstan. And a Mirzoyan belongs to the same species as Kahyani-from Baku to Uralsk. as the secretary of the District Committee. It is precisely for this reason that the party leadership feels itself absolutely under no obligation to the 'I cannot fool the party, I am not party masses who presumably electa bystander, I am a revolutionist ed him. They recognize only suand I am unable to serve passively in order to keep my belly full. I of the party apparatus Hence of the party apparatus. Hence was an active communist-I still flows the shameless servility and am and will remain one; there isn't the shameful mutual covering-up of anything or anybody in this world the bureaucratic upper-crust. Of that can sever me from my genuinely communist convictions; I conparty mass puts no trust in the sidered and still consider the views of Trotsky and his followers to be party working class masses, the genuine communist views. These views are a direct continuation of the views of Marx and Lenin."

Given Long Terms Without A Trial is being written in the official press, viets the imprisoned communists and so much pother made by out | hang out the red banner from their bestial treatment of the prison ad-ministration. We were often beaten, reaucratism. But in reality, let turnkeys rip it down with rakes? . .

Even the Infants Persecuted some one dare point a finger at a I refused categorically. I told him, bureaucrat—and it is prison, or ex-Unfortunately I am unable here "Up to now I fought against the ile, or, at any rate, unemployment. to dwell on all the abominations C.E.C., and I fought according to And do any of you know what it perpetrated in the Soviet prisons all the rules of the Opposition; I means to be unemployed under the under the regime of the usurpers. assume the responsibility of this present regime? It means outright I will depict only a single scene struggle against the leadership ruin for the family of the unem- that I witnessed. In the Petropavwithout proceeding from considera- ployed. He wanders from one office lovsk prison, in a small cell, some to the next, and is refused every 25 cubic meters in volume, are where, despite the fact that suitable lodged 35 women, eight with suckwork is available. Everywhere ling infants. The cell is ventilated every conceivable personage finds by a peep-hole. I shall never foremployment, there are jobs for get those tiny emaciated bodies-I thieves and swindlers. But there is saw them through the peep-hole of our cell. The children stood in line, clasping their mothers' bosom

in order to obtain their infinitesimal Destroying the Revolution At party and workers' meetings | ration of fresh air at the peep-hole. the assembled are in complete Let the world proletariat look upon this brand of shame on the faces of apathy. They have to be almost the jail-keepers of the plebiscitary driven to meetings. Not only nonparty but even party workers are regime. Is it conceivable that there very reluctant to go to meetings. were no communists in this city? Is it possible that they remained can be made only by the party and uninterested in the jails of their trade union parrots. They can be city where thousands were suffering so bold as to always and every. from hunger, cold and filth? Wasn't where praise the leadership, begin- there a prosecuting attorney? One ning with Stalin, and then down the is ashamed even to mention this line according to rank. Then a res- title. There were! They were all olution is presented, and the assem- | there ! Even a member of the Cenbled are terrorized by labelling as tral Committee was in this city at counter-revolutionists anyone who the time-Mikoyan, by name. His dares to object even to a single picture was printed on the front point in the resolution. Naturally, page of the local paper. But Miksuch a situation in the country oyan was a personage in transit, tends to discredit the authority of his arrival could serve only as the the Soviet power and of the Revo- signal for arresting an additional lution. The party leadership has hundred women with suckling babes. despotically terrorized the entire One can refrain from mentioning party. In the party there is a com- Mikoyan. But what were the local plete lack of the conscious party communists doing? Nothing! They discipline which was once the pride have no independent voice. They of our party. Barracks discipline haven't the right to think. For exeigns in the party, a mechanical ample, if a suckling babe is in the fulfillment of orders. Hence, it is hands of an arrested working or easily understandable why all sorts a peasant woman, then it means of grafters, charlatans, and shady that the baby is guilty, it must sit characters of every description- in its mother's lap in a small cell with 35 women, and stand in line thieves of the "gentleman" typefeel very much at ease and are very for "fresh" air. bold in the party, the Soviet, and

The brazen bureaucracy of the Stalinist regime will label my trade union apparatuses, and conwords conuter-revolutionary. Let sider it their native duty to look them label them as they will. upon Soviet wealth as their own My duty is to tell the truth. and 'property." And who is there to supervise them? Who is there to only the truth, for truth is the punish them for the plundered namost dependable weapon in the tional resources? The rank and hands of the proletariat against file communists? Sad to say, the its enemies. | Indeed, if all the latter have been frightened by prisworking class organizations told only the truth and nothing but ons and the Solovsky Islands, where the truth, then the victory of the languish for many long years the boldest communist and non-party world proletariat over its enemies workers, under lock and key, behind would have been assured long bars. Is it really possible that the ago.

A. TAROV.

# Plenum Meets; Plans A Campaign Against War

The third plenary meeting of the vious discussion, was likewise re-National Committee of the Workers jected by the plenum. The refer-

railroad and would make the main Marxism. A mass of evidence was seat of war the territory about Lake produced, much of it from Olgin's out an answer. I sent a special matter what the cost, without re-Baikal. Already special Japanese own writings, to expose the Trotsky divisions in full war strength, with baiting campaign. The audience large numbers of tanks and armored was attentive and asked many quescars are concentrated about Hailar. The latter is an important air base. The military railroad from Jehol cars are concentrated about Hailar. tions. Comrade Shachtman summed Province to Dolonor was built to working class.

Shachtman Phil. Meeting

# International Workers School

55 EAST 11th STREET, N. Y. C. Second Year-Fall 1935. Beginning October 21, 1935.

1. ORGANIZATION PRINCIPLES-Martin Abern. Monday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Eight sessions.

This course will analyze party structure and methods of work. Open only to members of the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth

2. FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF MARXISM-Ben Borkeson. Monday, 8:40-10:10 P.M. Eight sessions.

An elementary course which will trace the basic economic and political features of capitalist society, the development of the modern class struggle, the need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the dictatorship of the working class and the role of the revolutionary party.

3. PROGRAMMATIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORKERS PARTY -J. G. Wright.

Wednesday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Seven sessions.

An advanced course which will analyze the contradictions of the imperialist epoch, the rise and degeneration of the Second and Third Internationals, the struggle against Fascism and war, the working class struggle for power and the need for the Fourth International.

4. CURRENT TRENDS IN AMERICA, TRADE UNION AND POLIT-ICAL—A. J. Muste.

Wednesday, 8:40. Eight lectures.

Lectures on the A. F. of L., unionization in the basic industries, the capitalist political parties, the third party movements, the Socialist and Communist parties.

5. THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF KARL MARX-Rubin Grote. Thursday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Seven sessions.

An advanced course which will consider the origins and social roots of Marxism, the materialist conception of history, Marxian economics, the class struggle and the political party, theory of the state and working class internationalism.

6. STATE AND REVOLUTION-J. Weber. Friday, 8:40-10:10 P.M. Eight sessions

The course will real with the origin and development of the state from the earliest times to present day capitalism. A detailed discussion of the capitalist state machinery, the attitude of the working class towards the capitalist state and the role of the workers' state.

Fees: \$1.00 per course, 50c payable at time of registration. For information, write to: International Workers School, 51 East 11th Street, New York City.

that I would cease ideologic and always held and still hold the organizational struggle against the standpoint of a stubborn and mercileadership. In short, from my com- less struggle against the brazen munications the Central Committee bureaucracy which has usurped the and the G.P.U. could conclude that rights of our party. My sincere the leadership under the pressure letter and telegram to the C.E.C. of the Opposition had not betrayed and the G.P.U. were assumed, howthe revolution as yet, and had even ever, by the bureaucracy to be the corrected its mistakes on certain first step of an ignominious capitupoints. And what was most impor- lation. The miserable bureaucrat tant now was to purge the party considered that I had become worn apparatus of the debris of bureau- out in prisons and exile during the cratism, and to wage a struggle long years, torn away from my against advancing Fascism by com- family, my wife and child, that I bined forces of the Communists and could bear up no longer and was revolutionary forces in the U.S.S.R. | ready at last to kneel before the and the whole world. The bureaucratic leadership evi- miserable bureaucrat overlooked dently deemed it offensive to reply that in my letter I asked no mercy, to such a communication. No an- but demanded the restoration of my swer came from Moscow. But the party rights. The miserable burlocal department of the G.P.U. sent eaucrat evidently attached no imits own agents who plied me with portance to my words when I said, the following questions:

The "Interview"

"Tell me, please, do you consider your views counter-revolutionary, or don't you? In your opinion, is the Opposition and its activities counter-revolutionary or no? Do you think that Trotsky, for example, is the leader of the counter-revolutionary vanguard of the bourgeoisie, or don't you?" In answer I went into a detailed exposition of my views as to the Opposition, headed by Trotsky, and in turn I asked such questions as, "And, what do you say, dear comrade, are these views of mine counter-revolutionary? Do you consider counter-revolutionary our Oppositionist work from 1923 up to 1930 against the Right opportunist tendency in the party? Indeed, in 1930 Centrism also began to fight against the Rights. Is one to consider this struggle counter-revolutionary too? As regards Trotsky, in my opinion, he is the

A Bureaucrat and a Communist whole. Hence flows the administra-

U. addressed me as follows: "Now, peasants. what can you tell us about your I do not intend to go into the specifically endorsed. The proposal of comrades Ochler and Stamm to organization? Who was the leader controversies between the Opposiof the Opposition movement in the tion and the leadership, but I think "condemn" the tactics of the Bol-Caucasus? Where did you function it necessary to say a few words on shevik-Leninists in this respect, alactively? We must make it hot for the question of the struggle against ready rejected by the overwhelming most unswerving revolutionist de | these Trotskyists." The miserable bureaucratism about which so much majority of the party in the pre-

Party, held at New York October ence to our French comrades as ter-revolutionary crime? For my 4-9, adopted resolutions on the main "capitulators' was branded as imfight was for internal proletarian party problems and issued the call permissible slander which has noth-Leninist program, and Leninist party which is to convene December the Workers Party.

party apparatus bound by mutual June meeting of the N. C. is to be and methods of building the party continued at membership meetings and our attitude toward opponent and in the party internal bulletin organizations. The resolution on until the convention. the internal situation drew atten-

world proletariat will maintain sil-

ence while in the land of the So- August 4, 1935

against the bureaucracy.

The plenum held open sessions tion to the repeated violations of with the New York party members party discipline committed by the and numerous delegations from Ochler-Stamm group and the reother cities in attendance. Party opinion on the main questions. which has crystallized in the course protests of party branches against Georgia until the membership of the three-months' discussion, was reflected also in a strong consolida- lution specifically provided that the only as the secretary of the Georg- tion of the leadership at the plenian C.E.C. but in the party as a um. All the important political whole, then this specialist in the resolutions presented by the Polit- in the pre-convention discussion as ical Committee were adopted by a hitherto. Their resolutions and arvote of 18 to 2.

The first point on the agenda was devoted to a discussion of the Len- of all party members and they are inist position on the war situation to be given adequate time to preand the preparation of the party to sent their point of view in the meet the test of war. Party activ- branch and general membership ity in the next period is to be or- discussion meetings. As a further ganized around a campaign on the question of war, public agitation being supplemented by intensive study and discussion in the party of proportional representation. At ranks. In addition to the public statement issued by the plenum the tion gave the Ochler-Stamm group Political Committee was instructed to prepare material for the branches in the campaign.

ruption and disloyalty to the party Extended discussion took place on will not be tolerated. the subject of international relacourse, under these conditions the tions and the struggle for the is swinging into action through its Fourth International which stood leadership. As regards the non-as the second point on the agenda. campaign on the war question and The resolution of the Political Comlatter see the party only in the mittee, adopted by a vote of 18 to 2, shape of the apparatus, and put no declared in favor of an internatrust in the Communist Party as a

Never in my life have I run tive pressure upon the party and national and expressed full solidar cross so malicious and cynical a the working class. That is why all ity with the International Commufunctionary as the assistant chief jails, Solovsky Islands and exile nist League and the R.S.A.P. of of the local G.P.U. section, Margo- areas are crammed today with Holland in their common struggle' lin by name, who, after reading my party and non-party workers. And toward this goal. The tactics of telegram to the C.E.C. and the G.P. there is no need to talk about the the Bolshevik-Leninists in entering the French Socialist Party were

ADMISSION 15c UNEMPLOYED FREE Aus: Chicago branch of W. P.

tional conference to proclaim the establishment of the Fourth Inter-

in other fields, while also carrying tion.

forward intensive discussion in preparation for the December conven-CHICAGO MEETING "ETHIOPIA-

peated censures and warnings of

the political committee and the

their disruptive course. The reso-

opposition comrades are to be as-

ticles are to be published in the in-

ternal bulletin for the information

safeguard of the rights of the min-

ority, elections to the party conven-

tion are to take place on the basis

the same time the plenum resolu-

a final warning that further viola-

tions of discipline and acts of dis-

Following the plenum the party

Beginning of a New World War' Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN SUNDAY, OCT 27, 2:30 P.M. Capitol Bidg., Room 412 159 No. State Street.

## **NEW MILITANT**

expressed (in this paragraph): (1)

Trade Unions Merge In France

#### By H. F. ROBERTS

The recent fusion of the two big French trade union federations, the C.G.T. (reformist) and the C.G.T.U. (Stalinist), which took place in line with the Comintern's efforts to disembarrass itself of its Third Per- the unification of the two parties. pulsion to the negotiations underway for the organic unity of the French Socialist and Stalinist parthe social patriotism following the Seventh Congress has cleared the members can participate in a capi-

ample, revolutionary principles.

organizations took place on the basis of the complete abdication by the Stalinists of all revolutionary political activity in the union ranks. Party doesn't believe it necessary A disavowal of factional activity to modify somewhat its first text." was demanded in advance by the labor faker Jouhaux and was readily made by the Stalinist bureaucrats who announced that the Stalinist workers' political activity would be strictly outside the unions! Speculation concerning the possibility of struggles between opposing political tendencies within the unified trade union confederation is answered by Marcel Gitton. secretary of the French Stalinist Party, with the remark:

#### One Happy Family Now!

"The unhappy past will not have been without its lessons. The trade union movement, it seems, has cured itself of the anarcho-syndicalism which was one moment in its history. . . . Comrade Jouhaux (the equivalent to Comrade William Green!-H.F.R.) said: 'In the diversity of temperaments, in the diversity even of ideas, unity can be realized and maintained.' This is our absolute conviction." (Emphasis by Gitton, l'Humanite, October

2.) The "one moment" of trade union history is past and the Stalinist bureaucrats have arrived at a common "absolute conviction" with Jouhaux as a basis for trade union unity. Thus the Stalinists arrive at their real spiritual home.

The same features characterize the course toward the organic unity between the two parties. The Stalinist party misses no opportunity now to push forward the idea of unity, and on their part, the Socialist bureaucrats are seeking guarantees that the fundamental principles of revolutionary Marxism will be left by the wayside on the path to unification. This question is frankly and unashamedly posed by Lebas in a recent article in Populaire, central organ of the French Socialist party.

Stalinists to Swallow Everything Lebas, remarking that the trade union fusion "will facilitate, if not precipitate" political unity, recalls to the Stalinists the text issued by sales. No more effective greeting the latter last June as a basis for could be given to the convention

C.P. Gives Up Political on, "two important political facts Activity at Reformists **Bidding** 

iod baggage, has given a new im- From this text he quotes the following passage:

"The unified party of the prole the parties and fractions of repubties, as a first step toward the tariat, seeking to combat and de- lican bourgeois parties may enter merging of the two Internationals. stroy the capitalist system, gener- for common anti-Fascist action. The final plunge of the Stalintern ator of misery and wars, cannot From this new action necessarily into the swamps of reformism and admit any policy of collaboration results a new Communist policy. with the bourgeoisie. None of its (Emphasis mine-R.F.R.) And this policy, concludes Lebas with perpath toward organic unity of all talist government. Its parliamentfect justice, can scarcely be reconpolitical obstacles, such as, for exrefuse to vote for military credits from the Stalinist draft for a com-The fusion of the two trade union destined to prepare imperialist mon declaration. He puts the queswars," etc. tion squarely. I quote the balance

of his article: Now, says Lebas, "it is permis-"Exceptional Tactics" Throw sible to ask whether the Communist **Over Marxism** 

"Two things of importance are

NOV.

For the eighteenth anniversary of a revolutionary party than to of the Bolshevik revolution the attain this immediate goal. The NEW MILITANT will appear in funds coming in for the new suba special eight-page edition. It scriptions and for the enlarged will be a fore-runner to the regubundle sales will put the camlar eight page weekly to appear paign for the eight-page weekly SOOL

PAGES ON

Several feature articles tracing the important lessons of this great revolutionary act of eighteen years ago and dealing with the world shaking events of today, especially the all-overshadowing issue of new imperialist wars and the duties and tasks of the revolutionary movement, are in preparation for this issue. It should furnish an inspiration for new strides toward the building up of a stronger revolutionary

press

This is the particular duty now before us. Our ideas become a power when translated into action in the living movement of the proletariat. Our message must therefore reach wider fields. **Only the Fourth Internationalists** are maintaining a consistent rev-

olutionary position in the face of the developing wars of imperialist aggression and the horrors of Fascism. The NEW MILITANT is our main instrument in making this position clear to wider masses and extend the revolutionary influence amongst them.

We propose that this announcement be the signal for a largescale subscription drive. Start out right now with the zeal of true fighters for an invincible

We have set for ourselves idea. an immediate goal of 1,000 new subscribers by the time of the second Workers Party convention, 1626 Arch Street. The schedule of to be held December 26, and a coming weeks is as follows: corresponding increase in bundle Oct. 27: Karl Lore on "The A. F. of L. Convention."

Green-Woll Suffer Big Setback Prohibition for the unified party of tomorrow to pursue any policy of collaboration with the bourgeois Since that text was issued, he goes parties, and even more especially of

have intervened. First there was participation in 'a capitalist govern- ton forces rallied by 18,025 to the Congress of the Communist In- ment.' (2) Refusal of military 10,826, the majority report of the ternational and the vote on the credits, of credits for colonial con-Dimitrov report whose conclusions quests and the whole of the budget. sensibly modified, I believe, the po-"A Socialist can ask me: What sition of the Communist parties toobjection have you to this?

ward coalition governments. Sec-"For me, none, or almost none. ondly, there was the formation of These the Popular Front into which all tional circumstances, creating for the proletariat and its Party an exceptional situation justifying an exceptional tactic. They also introduced into the charter this simple phrase: 'Even in the case of excencraft groups. tional circumstances, the elected

representatives of the party cannot Company in developing governmentinvolve the party without its consent.' Which means that the policy sponsored unionism on which, inciof the party, even in such a case, is fixed only by the party itself. "Doesn't the Communist Party in the convention, must wait for our when he who was an unswerving ticians gauge the spirit of insurbelieve that this phrase or a similar next issue. Suffice it here to make supporter of Tory Republicanism gency among the workers, plus the

one should have its place in the charter of tomorrow?

"Doesn't the Communist Party agree that it cannot maintain the text of the unity charter presented to us at a time when it is making the greatest effort to extend to the

proachment of the working class ing a new offensive in the Far East parties and the bourgeois republican parties for the fight against Fasall of Europe will be sucked up cism and to conserve democratic by the struggle.

Where Are the Pacts. The irony of the whole situation JapanesePlot China Grab "Doesn't the Communist Party onsider," asks Lebas finally, "that the common struggle against the various "Pacts." There is the "Pact decree laws . . . poses the question of the Four," to which both Engof a coalition government to which land and Italy are signatories. Now it would be impossible to reply in

The Way Is Cleared

"In any case, the Communist Inand by Dimitrov's report answered other experiences what value can any realist attach to it? it in a favorable sense. The strong-

The fate of Europe 4s at stake. er then the reasons for us to be The Soviet Union is in danger. lieve," Concludes Lebas, "that the Communist Party will not maintain too absolutely its text at the forthcoming commission, whose work

will thereby be facilitated." (Populaire, Oct. 2. Emphasis inserted.) And we may be sure that Lebas. has put the matter in a nutshell. The Stalinist call for unity of the two Internationals is a call for the the workers: submergence and rejection of intransigeant proletarian independence, of the concept of class strugtheir "sanctions." gle and revolutionary defeatismin short, of revolutionary Marxism.

The logic of their course will not even permit them to maintain these principles in words. No prediction could be safer than the prophecy that the French Stalinists will sub-

nolds meetings every Sunday at mit without murmur to the princ- ranks of labor-the social-patriots of democracy. 15 P.M. at Grand Fraternity Hall, iples of Vandervelde, Blum, Lebas of all stripes. & Co. For such submission is now the sanctified "line" of the International which once, long ago, knew the leadership of Lenin.

(Continued from Page 1) collaboration taking the form of convention. The Woll-Frey, Whar-Lewis Tirade Reflection

Resolutions Committee which reaffirms the San Francisco decision of last year. This decision permits the Executive Council to issue in-

ternational charters to workers in one important point. Lewis is nothtwo imperative ideas are such industries as rubber and auto- ing if not a shrewd politician. He found in the charter of the Social mobiles but specifies that the craft seeks power. He does not cast himist party founded in 1905. But the unions of the Federation retain jur self in the role of a martyr making lution already referred to indicates founders of the party were careful isdiction over the skilled craftsmen a splendid but futile fight for lost that the old guard is far from to foresee the possibility of excep in these industries. The effect is causes. When, therefore, Lewis now licked. It would be dangerous for instead of setting up a genuine in- delivers a bitter and devastating genuine progressives to cherish any dustrial union to put the unskilled attack on one of the pillars of the illusions about a smooth road and semi-skilled into a "restricted Federation, Matthew Woll himself, ahead. It would be downright suiindustrial union" and to separate when he deliberately and publicly cidal to get a false conception of the skilled workers from them and widens the breach between the old the role Lewis himself will playfrom each other in a dozen or more

behind closed doors by any prom- than the mere has-beens, Woll and

War Looms

Matthew Woll's proposals to protect the Federation from "reds" as simply part of a general movement It is only a matter of time before throughout the country against all City convention says to the mili-"progressive and liberal thought,"



himself in the role of a progressive and fighter, even a "radical"! The vote on the craft union resoguard and other elements, when he for them to regard him as basically shouts from the housetop what a friend rather than as a much Analysis of the role of Lewis and hitherto has been whispered only more subtle and powerful enemy

inent Federation leader, namely, Green. But the indications which dentally, reactionaries such as Woll that the A. F. of L. is "a total fail- this convention has given of how and Frey made acute observations ure" under its present leadership, astute and hard-boiled labor poliunder Coolidge and Hoover, flirts fact of a rift in the A. F. of L. with the idea of a labor party, when | leadership such as have never behe who in the past has hounded fore occurred in all the 55 years progressives, not to speak of radi- of its history, opens wide the door cals in his own union more bitterly for a mighty advance in building than any other international presi. the left wing in the various unions dent, now protests against one of and in the A. F. of L. as a whole.

Take the offensive! Press the fight. Be hold, he hold, he thrice **bold.** That is what the Atlantic tants.



wick of British imperialism. It is only a matter of time be-fore the waves of war will reach our shores. At the same time "incidents" are

firm more than ever the realism and viet protest delivered in Tokyo, ment with Japan. the correctness of the Marxist pol- Japanese and Manchukuo forces icy for the working class. The crossed the Soviet frontier no less events in Airica and the Mediterwhole course of events dictates to than three times since October 6, ranean bring a forcible settlement An immutable distrust of the im- Red Army border guards. Neither disputes once more onto the order perialist governments, their "peace "side," according to press reports, of the day, the Wall St. head office pacts," their League of Nations, expects "serious consequences" in of U.S. Imperialism Inc. will keep

A determined struggle against im- crudescence of these "incidents" at the strong-arm squad, Marines and perialist war by the only means this particular time indicate that all, will go to work in the Pacific. possible-by the revolutionary de- Japan stands poised to strike as And any reader of the Daily Workfeat of the imperialist governments. soon as events in Europe draw the er in these weeks may be sure that A consistent fight against the U.S.S.R. into a holy war for the when that time comes, the Ameriagents of the imperialists in the defense of the Versailles system and can lackeys of the Stalinist bureau-

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY. EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT | of the United States consists prim- ! the Soviet Union !

arily in the maintenance of its enthe other is due for the scrapheap a local tax matter may prove the tion, forced her famous "Twenty ernational recently in session at shortly. Then there is the Franco-starting point for Japan's long one Demands" on China. American Moscow itself posed this question Soviet Pact. In the light of the dreamed-of and long heralded ex- pressure after the war forced a tension of her continental drive into Japanese retreat from the positions South China, for decades the baili- gained. But since 1931 Japanese imperialism has extracted from China far more than her Twenty-

the most recent experiences con-been recorded. According to a So-have an accounting and a settle-

If the further development of provoking sharp skirmishes with of all outstanding international the immediate future. But the re- the European situation in hand but cracy will be calling upon the boys to unlimber their guns and to give U. S. Imperialism Trains Its Guns it to that reactionary-Fascist-feudal

It is because of this situation in Mikado and his generals for the de-GET SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE the Far East that the "neutrality" fense of peace, of democracy and of

Partners in Social-Patriotic Betraval moment break out into open war-of "peacetime" politics. maintenance lovers become just as the last manute before lovers become just as the last manute before some stalling in a some s Now what sense is there in this ardent war lovers . . . and the cialists took a revolutionary posi- becomes evident. We will support the Labor and Socialist Internation- in a box we find the following sid-al in this crucial matter and who gans: "Withdraw the Italian Troops appeal to "all peace loving people?" workers whom the Daily Worker tion on war. But the Stalinists, al- the government now, they say, but (Continued from Page 1) None. As a matter of fact, almost and the New Leader have taught to ready before the war, are forcing when it turns in another direction, under the head "Sanctions Do Not tion of this policy by urging oppo- nomic Sanctions! No Arms to every man in the country, with the look to these peace lovers are easily the question. If any value can be toward war with the Soviet Union, Mean War." This is precisely the sition to the stand of the League of Italy! No Embargo On Arms to exception of a few adventurers, is led into the maelstrom. a peace lover. Ask an army gen- October 9-From an article by of the Kautskys with the pre-war This the Stalinists consider to be thesis of the Stalinists who, like Nations and advocating revolution Ethiopia! Close the Suez Canal!" eral, a president, a senator, a bank Marguerite Young of the Daily position of the Stalinists we must another smart trick, like their pol-During the Russian revolution head-they are all peace lovers by Worker Washington bureau: "Sec- conclude that the latter are prepar- icy of supporting the British imthe Socialists, are obliged to cover in democratic countries when they the Bolsheviks appealed to foreign their own admission. But they are retary of State Hull's announce ing for a recruiting campaign un-perialist government and at the up their first concrete step toward may be confronted with the necessity of taking up arms against the soldiers to withdraw and throw supporters of the capitalist regime, ment today that the United States rivaled in the history of socialism, same time calling for insurrection fascist dictatorships are, whether down their arms—but they did not been there are found to represent the rivaled in the history of socialism, same time calling for insurrection the support of imperialist war be- sity of taking up arms against the soldiers to withdraw and throw hence they are forced to support has warned Rome not to bomb or even surpassing the efforts of cap in the Italian army. It is just as hind a denial of its existence. The Socialists are as hard pressed they know it or not, doing the work appeal as an enemy power, but as the wars which are its living mani- injure American lives or property italist recruiting agents! What else treacherous. For by advising the workers' government, as a deadly festation. The Daily Worker by in case of military operations at is to be concluded from the vain workers to support their bureaucraenemy not of the soldiers, but of appealing to all peace loving people Addis Ababa was received today as boast of having forced the Secre- cy and their government the Stalinwar as the Stalinists. To quote: This is in complete agreement their officers and their bourgeoisie. is simply confusing the issue, which another indication that mass anti- tary of State, the very leader of ists bring those workers under the with the Stalinists, who have stated They appealed to the foreign soldis not between peace lovers and war sentiment is finding its mark all the forces of reactionary im- leadership of that bureaucracy and the Nobel Peace prize, replied to that the French workers would be perialism, to protect American im- that government-they teach the the objection that sanctions mean traitors if they made their revoluiers not to desert a cause, but to war lovers (show me an avowed in the Roosevelt administration. war with the words: 'Sanctions do tion in the midst of a Franco-Gerenter the service of a higher cause. war lover) but between capitalists | Here we have the same misdirec- perialist property? workers to look up to and rely on This propaganda was effective. October 11-An editorial on sanc- that bureaucracy and government. and proletarians; between support- tion of the workers' attention away ers of the capitalist regime and its from their own struggle against tions: "Now the A. F. of L. can add And when in the future these man war. Today the Stalinists appeal to Further on: "The Joint Anti-war The basis of this line in both the Italian workers to withdraw, incessant open and concealed war- war to the maneuvers of the capital- its might and weight for such ac- extra smart Stalinists decide to cases is the same. It lies in this but at the same time they support fare and enemies of the capitalist ists in preparation for war. This tion (sanctions)—by endorsing the change their line again they will case in the failure of the social the bourgeois governments of enemy regime and its warfare. When the is an especially brazen example; resolution before it, urging the find that the workers no longer are democrats to combat fascism . . powers (by appeals to enemy gov-Daily Worker appeals to peace lov- brazen or stupid, it is hard to say. Roosevelt government to act with under their influence . . . the worktheir policy of compromise with the ernments to apply sanctions) ! Their ers to stop war it is appealing to So anxious are the Stalinist lack- the League of Nations on collective ers will be under the influence of bourgeoisie having crippled the propaganda falls upon the ears of capitalists, to army generals, gov- eys to register a victory for their economic sanctions." the bureaucracy and the governworkers and handed them over to the Italian soldiers with exactly ernment figures, fascists (for they treacherous war policy that they The Stalinists encourage the A. ment, under the "influence" of the the fascists, the social democrats, the same effect of propaganda from profess to love peace too!) to over- seize upon the slightest incident and F. of L. to follow the same treach- officers in the army. instead of purging their movement the British government directly! throw the capitalist regime! For magnify it all out of proportion. erous path-support the Roosevelt Not only do the Stalinists advise serve peace.'" of compromise, pass even further And it is just as easy for the Italian that is the only way peace lovers Secretary of State Hull, it seems government, they advise. It is just the workers to support the Rooseover into the camp of the bourgeoi- dfficers to dispose of it as enemy or anybody else will ever stop war. almost superfluous to remark, it possible that this advice will ulti- velt government, but they advise sie and appeal to the democratic Like the social democrats the only following the ordinary diplo- mately filter down to the ranks and them to support the League of Napropaganda. That is why the corhourgeois governments to overthrow rect slogan for withdrawal in jux-Stalinists appeal to the capitalist matic procedure in warning Rome have some influence on the mem- tions. The League of Nations is Japanese Federation, all approve the fascist bourgeois governments. taposition with the incorrect slogan government to stop war. The Brit- not to damage American imperialist bership. If the "red" Stalinists no more than the sum of its parts, The fact that the very democratic for sanctions, military and economish Labor Party is ready to support lives and property in Ethiopia. support the "peace" moves of the it is an association of international governments they are appealing to | ic, from Great Britain and the "our government" in its efforts to Last week we remarked on the government there must be some robber imperialists. If one imperare already themselves tottering on League, becames perfectly useless. maintain peace. The Stalinists are "forcing" policy of the Daily Work- thing to the government peace pol- alist government is a reactionary not mean war! the edge of fascism seems to make Unless you follow a true and comready, indeed they call upon Roose | er, whereby they will soon be forc | icy. Indeed if there were any op | force, how reactionary is a league There are no arguments. All the no impression on the social demo- plete internationalist line no amount velt and congress, to support cap ing themselves into an imperialist position to support of the Roosevelt of fifty-two capitalist governments? Socialist ghouls of the dead Second cratic dunderheads. That they ap of phrase mongering can have any army. This week we have another government in the ranks, the rotten The League is the International italist measures to "stop" war. International can do is to point peal to the enemy of the working effect. The Stalinists may think Now it is possible that a capital | example . . . the Daily Worker has | bureaucracy could use the Stalinists | Burglars' Union, no more, no less. with pride to the extent of their class, the bourgeoisie, to perform they are pretty smart supporting ist government may stop open war forced the Secretary of State of an as an example to force support of It has not changed one whit since betrayal and gloat. But gloating the tasks that the working class the democratic British government the day Lenin called it "the Thieves for a short period . . . but only be- imperialist government to protect the government. does not make treachery any the alone can perform, is an index of and calling for the overthrow of It is in just this situation that Kitchen of Geneva.' cause that government does not con- its imperialist property! less treachery. their bankruptcy. the Fascist Italian government . . . Where does all this lead? It sider the time ripe for war. For The Stalinists have to be a little but actually, they are redoced to instance: it is conceivable that leads the Daily Worker to an even-"Those who oppose the policy of more cautious about their approach complete and bankrupt ineffectual-Roosevelt, like Wilson, might keep tual campaign of forcing the United Mass Meeting to social-patriotism, to the support ity. us out of the war for a year or two States into a war with Italy (or of the bourgeois government in its On the last page a streamer edi-... but only in order better to pre- Germany, or Japan, or any other EIGHTEEN YEARS OF THE imperialist war moves. They con- torial concludes with the words: power that threatens the Soviet Unpare for the war when it comes. ceal their social patriotism behind "All peace loving people and oppowith which is merged The treachery of the social demo- ion). The Stalinists have stated an even greater fog of phrases, mis- nents of war should demand that THE MILITANT crats and the Stalinists lies not in that they are ready to support wars Published weekly by the New Mill- statements and equivocations. But Roosevelt follow up his latest pro- the fact that Roosevelt can't stop of democratic states against fascist RUSSIAN REVOLUTION tant Publishing Co., 55 East 11th the direction of the movement is the clamation by calling a special ses- war for a year or so, but in the states (Stalin-Laval pact, "defend St. N. Y. C. Phone: ALgon. 4-9058. same. It is safe to say that unless sion of congress to amend . . ." etc., fact that they teach the workers the remnants of bourgeois democra-Entered as second class mail matter some earlier catastrophe overtakes etc. not to rely upon themselves who, cy," etc.). It is possible merely to Speakers: at the Post Office at New York, N. them the Stalinists will line up 100 Recall once more that war is not as enemies of the capitalist system support war. During the last war and the bourgeois governments, of single controlists. It is the territ JAMES P. CANNON ARNE SWABECK Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. percent with the social democrats MAURICE SPECTOR A. J. MUSTE Subscription rates: In the United the democratic countries at least single capitalists; it is the inevit- but upon Roosevelt, Congress, and of Kautsky and MacDonald may be able law of a functioning capitalist a host of peace lovers who only love said merely to have supported the States \$1.00 per year; 65c per six (and of the fascist countries which Thursday, Novemcer 7th -- 8 p.m. months; Canada and foreign \$1.50 which it allied with the governments economy. The imperialist capitalist peace as long as peace lasts. The war. They did not campaign aceconomy is driven to expand; this majority of so-called peace lovers, tively for war, at times they even **IRVING PLAZA**, Irving Place and 15th Street per year: \$1.00 six months. Bundle democratic). in the next war. expansion drive is reflected in a love capitalism infinitely more than criticized it, but they did not campolitical drive for "markets; this they love peace, hence they can paign against the war.

**Italo** British whole country the policy of rap-(Continued from Page 1)

over the top. The extended circulation will form a solid basis ensuring its future existence. liberties? We ask the party branches to go to work without delay. We

ask our sympathizers and the readers of the NEW MILITANT to pitch in and help. When all shoulders are put to the wheel we can reach this immediate goal. the negative?

The party branches and the bundle agents should order an extra supply of this special eightpage anniversary edition as a first step toward increased bundle sales. It will be off the press the week before Nov. 7 and reach all

cities in time for the anniversary. The special distribution of this issue should be used as a means for new contacts to gain new readers and obtain regular subscriptions. Above all, we want all forces

to concentrate during this period mentioned on the job of building up a far wider circulation for the NEW MILITANT. It is the way to bring the campaign for the regular eight-page weekly to a real climax. Let the subs come rolling in and the rest will be easy. Let all go to work in this great job

in the manner that only revolutionary fighters can do. PHILADELPHIA FORUMS The Workers Educational Forum

to prove that sanctions do not mean of Mussolini and Hitler."

"Sir Norman Angell, winner of not mean war-they insure peace.""

Committee of the Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions . . . declared it was even more obvious today 'that only the energetic policy of collective security demanded by the two internationals in their resolution of September 6 can still pre-

The article continues with a list. The American Federation of Labor. the New Zealand Federation, the the sanctions policy of the League. But nowhere is there one single argument to show why sanctions do

The article concludes:

## NEW MILITANT

rates: Two cents per copy

Take the issue of the Daily Work political drive is always more or never be relied upon to put a stop The Stalinists indicate their in-Vol. 1 OCTOBER 19, 1935 No. 43 er of October 8: On the front page less belligerant, and may at any to the wars that are the natural tention not merely to support the



