## Treaty

Hardly one week after the Tories took over the British government the new foreign minster, Hoare, resorted to direct action to resolve the contradiction between the reality of German rearmoment and the fiction of the maintenance of the Versailles Tready. The tripling of the German navy is "legalized" by the Anglo-German agreement. In this fashion British imperialism tries to solve a number of its problems, external and internal. Faced with the possible danger of a new naval race in the North Sea with a resurgent German militarism, Britisn capitalism preferred to make concessions relatively harmless to herself, even if a menace to her former allies. England thus takes one step further in encouraging Germany to seek the salvation of its power of its correct Marxist apcapitalism by expansion to the East, at the expense of the U.S.S.R. A German navy of the size permitted of the Fourth International, the in- olutionary actions of previous genmeans the control of the Baltic Seas, hence the possibility of attacking Leningrad safely.

ruling class serves notice to France The next wave of revolution, or- was born and matured in violence that the latter had better come to ganized under the banner of the -that those who struck out for terms also with Hitler and abandon new international, will sweep out their rights relied not upon "Eternthe Soviet Union to its fate. This of power and into utter oblivion the al Truths," but upon the more subin that pact France can "legally" defeats. The venomous hatred man- factors in American society were be released from its operation in ifested by Stalin for the "Trotsky- permitted to expand and the basis case England and Italy refuse to ists," the attempt to confuse the laid for a social change. define the aggressor in the coming workers by slanders and by lumping A century before the armed conin. Internally the British tories tremes of the class struggle-are New York, were plunged into the sult. are preparing for the coming gen- themselves the recognition that the throes of a civil war. These were eral elections. They can point to Stalinists will have to pay for their the Bacon and Leisler uprisings, the naval agreement as being one crimes the moment the workers be- taking their names from the leadstep in the direction of limitation come aware of them. of armaments, which adds nothing to the British naval budget at the moment. If the tories are successentirely different aspect of things It is the builders of the Fourth In- the severity with which they were

#### Stalinism Grovels Before *Imperialism*

tion, the more desperately the Stal- ileged clique, to fasten more firmly nists grovel before world imperial on the necks of the workers the ism to prove that the Soviets are yoke of capitalism. The Stalinist not really a menace to the bour- Defenders of the Soviet Union are geois ruling class. Ambassador ready to become also the Defenders Troyanovsky, former Menshevik of the Allies of the Soviet Union, and fit representative of the corrupt the upholders of French militarism. Stalinist bureaucracy, assures Am- With England already openly tosserica that the Soviet Union under ing aside the Versailles Treaty, the Stalin is merely the continuator of Stalinists are becoming the chamthe policies of the Kerensky Provi- pions of this treaty insofar as it sional Government. And in this he aids Stalin in his reactionary alli-

England Ends Versailles engaged in erasing every trace of one to review some of the revoluthe October Revolution in order to tionary traditions of the American prove their worthiness to exist side working class. Class struggles in by side with reactionary world imperialism. As the preliminary to 1776. Nor did the first American further concessions to reaction, the Revolution solve the contradictions Stalinists are proceeding to anni- in American society. hilate physically all Bolshevik op-

cess" in blocking the road to power tionary traditions may deny this; of the proletariat of Western Eu- but the past itself is the greatest day? rope. That force, still small but living proof of the class battles in growing in influence through the American society. proach to the revolutionary tasks of the working class, is the nucleus letariat of today a rich legacy. Revnationals. To the Stalinists the order to abolish the ills and ail-Fourth International is a greater ments of present day society. The At the same time the English menace than capitalist imperialism. lesson they teach is that America

preparation for the next war. The rebels in New York. justifiers of the Franco-Soviet Pact. the lackeys of Soviet diplomacy, are The nearer the war of interven- working, in the interests of a privtells the truth. The Stalinists are ances with capitalist imperialism.

### The Manager's Corner

(Continued from Page 1)

some good news. The New York and more extensive bundle sales beparty district has pledged itself to comes an important feature. All raise not less than half of the funds received for new subscribers amount stipulated. And, while at the new rate, whether they be these comrades were a bit slow in regular subscribers, or whether getting started, they are leaving no these are obtained by the club plan pebbles unturned now. Very ex- system, together with amounts for tensive preparations have been greetings obtained are recorded as City Hall and at the Board of Ed- tion in October. In order to premade to make good on the pledge. part of the campaign. On this basis ucation. (59th St., N.Y.) It relies vent this it has resorted to two We shall render regular accounts we have received during the last so that every reader may watch week the following amounts: how well this district puts its words into action.

The Boston branch made a preliminary pledge of \$53.50 and in accord with the habit it has already established it proceeded to make good right away. Last week we reported \$25.00 from Konikow. There was a slight error. It should have been listed to the credit of the Boston branch. In this issue we can report an additional sum of \$14.00 for this branch. In other words \$39.00 on its account made good already. Of course, the pledge was only a preliminary one.

Contributions To Date We have organized this campaign

#### WORKERS

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

Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose: to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of tollers.

About 50,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserves \$3,400,000.

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

to \$2.20. For further information apply

Monthly assessments from 450

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

in such a way that the increase of far from this goal. But here comes circulation, getting new subscribers policy. The basic differences be- stated by Dr. Lefkowitz, a leader Contributions:

I	Contributions.	often subordinates its own inde-	the growth of the opposition by a	H
i	Boston Branch\$14.00	pendent action to that of the Joint	series of expulsions.	ı.
ı	Brownsville Br., New York 2.50	Committee of Teachers Organiza-	At the last meeting of the Execu-	I.
١	J. Rorty, Conn 1.00	tions, which is controlled by the su-	tive Board it voted to close the	Ľ
١	Back Seat Driver, N. Y. C 1.00	pervisors in the school system, who	books of the union against the ad-	Ľ
l	Hildegard Smith, Kansas 1.00	act in confunction and are inspired	mission of present applicants until	Ľ
į	Grote, Branch 3, N.Y.C 10.00	by the Board of Superintendents	the American Federation of Teach-	Ľ
l	Astoria Branch, N.Y.C 1.00	and the Board of Education at 59th	ers makes its decision in the in-	D
I	Bronx Branch, N. Y. C 3.00	St. In the salary struggle of 1933.	vestigation. This action was taken	Ľ
١	Flatbush Branch, N. Y. C 1.00	in the furlough fight of 1933, in the	without even permitting the Oppo-	Ľ
ı	Center Branch, N. Y. C 8.00	campaign for salary restoration of	sition an opportunity to discuss the	Ľ
i	Harlem Branch, N. Y. C 11.28	1935, the Administration abandoned	question. This arbitrary command	Ľ
l		the nellow declared by the mountain	to enguend the functioning of the	1

......\$53.78 ship and followed at the tail end of union shows that the Administra-Total reported last week .. \$54.00 the conservative and treacherous tion fears that the influx of new Subscriptions (Club Plans): Center Br., N.Y.C. (8 subs).. 3.00 Minneapolis Branch (8 subs) 3.00

Special Subscription Contest

For the best subscription getters, seek the widest possible basis for during the period from July 1 to support among the teachers through September 1, the following prizes consistent organization activities will be awarded:

Any comrade sending in 10 new through the lowering of dues, yearly subscriptions (\$2.00 each), through the organization of the unor 20 new subscriptions (\$1.00 each) employed teachers upon a nominal will receive a complete set of dues basis with full right. They Trotsky's "History of the Russian have declared for a course indepen-Revolution" in three bound volumes. dent of the oint Committee when the of the groups. They would like-Any comrade sending in five new latter fails to defend teachers in- wise be prohibited from putting up yearly subscriptions or 10 six tersts. Finally, in order to carry slates of candidates in the elections

Of course, these are subscriptions cies. for the eight-page issue only. We To accomplish these objectives shall keep an exact account of all the opposition groups ran candisubs received and make sure that dates in the annual elections, and the prizes are awarded properly and in the May elections of this year only to those who reach the goal succeeded in polling over 40 percent

In each case we will also change of the executive board. They would Board; its policy-making powers the prizes for an equivalent of any have elected delegates to the na- would be taken from it. set of books from the Pioneer Book tional convention had not the Ad- 5) All power to determine poli- speaks on "Recent Events in Soviet Shop if so desired.

# Heritage of Class

The week of July 4th is a fitting America did not begin with July 4,

The history of this country is repositionists, past or present. This plete with class conflicts. From the can only mean a further attack on time of the first indentured and the working class in the Soviet Un-chattel slave down to the modern ion, an added preparation for the wage earner an unceasing struggle betrayal of this working class as has taken place between the conwill as the world proletariat to tending classes. Nor is this strange. bourgeois reaction, solely for the For America, almost from the day purpose of maintaining in power the colonies were founded, has been the reactionary Stalinist bureau- subject to the laws of the class struggle. Those who are ignorant Only one force stands in the way of the past, or who deliberately of Stalin and endangers his "suc- seek to hide and distort its revolu-

A Legacy of Force

The past has bequeathed the pro-

The Fourth International alone these revolts. Both met with tem-

The Rebels of Yesterday Bacon gathers about him a

two articles on the present situa-

tion in the Teachers Union.-Ed.

groups are:

Joint Committee.

For the past five years a struggle

Work of the Opposition Groups

groups (Rank and File, Progres-

mass activity. Consequently they

which the Administration neglects,

In opposition to this the minority

ences, place the main emphasis on form:

In Teachers Union Threatens

Progressives in A. F. of L.

tion.

has been going on in the Teachers tration has resorted to anti-demo-

Union of New York, Local 5, the cratic practices, to arbitrary deci-

largest local of the American Fed- sions, to red-baiting, to violations

eration of Teachers, over the fun- of the union's policies, and now to

damental question of the Union's the "investigation" whose aim as

tween the administration, now of the Administration, is to oust the

known as the Organized Union Ma- Opposition from the union. The

jority, and the minority opposition Administration also fears that it

Mass activity: The Administra- the Delegate Assembly, a body con-

tion believes in confining its chief sisting of representatives elected

activities to lobbying at Albany, from the schools, in the coming elec-

upon the support of the teachers main measures: It has secured the

in the upper salary brackets. It "investigation" in order to cut off

often subordinates its own inde- the growth of the opposition by a

- the policy desired by the member- to suspend the functioning of the

#### Struggle in U.S. History

ple, whose conditions are such as by a change could not admit of worse, with these began to stand in Defyance against the government. . . . These are the men that are sett up for the good of ye

Country; who for ye ease of the Poore will have no taxes paied . . Would have all magistracle and government taken away & set up one themselves & to make their good intentions more manifest stick not to talk openly of shareing men's estates among themselves."

How familiar is this cry from the lips of a colonial master, to us to-

The American Revolution of 1776 armed means. Underneath the surface of the civil war was, of course, of the Second and the Third Inter- of revolutionary methods today in hampering the development of the torship. colonies. The mercantilists (who act makes of the Franco-Soviet corrupt bureaucracy that exists stantial method of force. It was westward. They prevented the ship- lion down to the present day a red ist phrases if you are organizing pact virtually a scrap of paper, for only so long as the workers suffer in this way that the progressive ping of American raw materials to thread of revolt runs through Am- for nationalism? At this time only who interrupts him at this point:) war. England is doing everything together the counter-revolutionary flict between the colonies and the was becoming a fetter on the strikes of the present period, all bourgeoisle. possible to force France to repudi- imperialist robbers and the Bolshe- mother country, England, two of growth of the colonies. The inter- bear witness to the class conflict ate the military alliance with Stal- vik-Leninist vanguard—the two ex- the largest colonies, Virginia and ests clashed—civil war was the re- raging in the United States.

Suppressing the Poor

For us the heritage of 1776 lies ers of the oppressed who headed Declaration of Independence or the can accomplish this necessary task porary successes but were later ation of Independence is violated by The first influenced the course of gress on February 29, 1920: of ridding the working class of the suppressed with the utmost cruelty, the capitalist class whenever their the Great French Revolution and ful in the elections there will be an poison and treachery of Stalinism. The reasons for the rebellions and interests clash with those of the working class. As for the leaders democratic ideas through Europe. after the elections. The naval race ternational who alone can forewarn put down is given by a member of of the revolution, they were almost The second helped bring about a will then be resumed full speed the advanced workers against the then existing Virginia Council, entirely motivated by personal in- series of important reforms in the betrayers who are already sowing While his description refers speci- terests and not idealistic concep- old world. Who can say that the the seeds of social patriotism in fically to Bacon it fits perfectly the tions. The revolution did not live revolutionary events which will revolt of Daniel Shay, an army col- onl the American proletariat but rabble of the basest sort of pec- onel, and those he led in an at- that of the entire world?

contested at the national conven-

To prevent the opposition from

members means the end of its rule.

The "Investigation" Maneuvers

peals to the membership, presenting

motions and resolutions in the name

ganized" union.

being, at any rate.

icies would be continued.

gaining a majority, the Adminis-

tempt to garner for the workers and poor farmers the promises made to them. Shay and those with him were defeated by an army, especially raised for that purpose. But that action destroyed the myth that the revolution was fought for the inalienable rights of man. Wherein then are the revolutionary tradi-

The revolution broke the domination of the mother country and gates to the Second International. iberated the colonies. It opened the west for expansion and made is not the question of approving Austria, in Spain, in Belgium, where possible the unleashing of the pro- some points of opposition of the the former president of the Internaductive forces in American society. French delegation but of posing tional presides at the imprisonment Besides it set up a republican form here briefly the International prob- of striking miners! The corpses of government and gave an impul- lem in all its amplitude. sion to the progress of revolution in Europe. As such, it was pro- determines all others, which delingressive and we salute it. The eates the political evolution of the said: heritage of the inalienable rights of tendencies: the crossroad where man and the heroic suffering of the they meet or divide, a problem throughout the world. soldiers in the colonial armies be- which determines their will to carlong not to the American bourgeoi- ry on a real struggle against war, it mean to split when one fights for was the class struggle breaking out sie who are only too anxious to for- It is on the international scale what principles? into the open and taking place by get the revolutionary actions of the armament is on the plane of the past, but to the American proletar- struggle for power. iat who will truly complete the first a clash of economic interests. Eng. American Revolution by the estabheritors of the militant traditions erations hammer home the necessity land by a series of decrees was lishment of a working class dicta- every time the question of war or

The bourgeoisie claims that the were the ruling class in England) Revolution abolished the difference prevented the establishment of Am- between classes and the necessity development" or coordinated intererican industries so that their own of strife. But the whole history of national revolutionary action. factories would have a market. America since then is a history of They succeeded in passing laws for- violent clashes between exploiter debates. bidding the colonists to expand and exploited. From Shay's Rebelother nations and imposed restric- erican society. Nat Turner's revolt, the bourgeoisie acts in concert in "It is only natural that you defend tions upon the colonists purchasing John Brown, the civil war, the the world and when the socialist goods from other countries. In strike years of 1877-78, May 1, delegates go to these conferences level." short the domination of England Homestead, the large and fierce they act there as hirelings of their

the stimulating influences of the Second International who still have ist? not in the eloquent phrases of the American Revolution of the 18th authority in the eyes of the majorcentury and the American Civil War ity of this Congress? revolutionary fathers. The Declar- of the 19th on European society. brought in its train a spread of up to its fine promises once it suc- take place in American society in ceeded. Witness for instance, the the 20th century will liberate not

hands of the Executive Board in Administration Split Policy cluding the power to suspend and expel members. The present very limited democracy would be succeeded by a bureaucratic dictatorship of the officers and the Executive Board. The road would be clear for further expulsions of members if they raised any organized objections to these measures or This is the first of a series of [constitutional ruling which will be to any policies which the clique sought to pursue.

#### Effect on Other Unions

If the Administration succeeds in carrying through its program it will give the Green-Woll leadership encouragement in their present campaign to expel the communists from the unions-which is their device for labelling and getting rid of the progressives. If minority groups can be sup-

pressed in one union, then they can

be suppressed in other unions as will lose its present majority in well. It is to be expected that the reactionaries in other A. F. of L. unions will not be slow in seizing upon similar "reorganization" measures. The demagogical cry will be raised that progressive groups Zack Expelled from which has for one of its slogans: based upon a simple trade union program are taking orders from "outside organizations," meaning by that the working class political parties. The pretext for the suppression of progressive minority from the Workers Party of the U. announcing himself as speaker at groups will have been obtained by S. for gross violations of discipline. a public meeting at which he promthe precedent set in the case of the He wrote to a leading comrade in ises to "expose" alleged controver-Teachers Union. Thus the investigation of Local 5 acquires significanie for the progressive forces in an N. C. decision on a grave trade ness of the action taken some weeks the entire labor movement. It is union matter in action. He further ago by the Political Committee not an exaggeration that these ma- openly violated party discipline by meeting jointly with the N. Y. Disof the progressive forces.

come to the assistance of the large been participating, without any con- nels within the Party but for flagmilitant membership of the Teach- sultation even with the Party, in rant and persistent disregard and If the Lefkowitz-Linville faction ers Union in their efforts to pre- efforts to launch a paper to be violation of the elements of revolusucceeds in its present move to re- serve the unity of the organization called "Independent Unionist" tionary discipline. Total ....... \$ 6.00 sives, Committee for Democracy, organize the Teachers Union, the against the Administration split-cuss this question in their own 1) Leaders and many prominent groups. They should raise this members of the union will be ex- question in their unions and try if pelled or excluded from the "reor- possible to have them pass resolutions condemning the investigation 2) The minority groups will be and defending the right of organdissolved and illegalized. They will ized minorities to exist in the be prohibited from holding group Teachers Union. Protests of this meetings, issuing literature and ap- kind should be sent to:

The Executive Council, American Federation of Teachers 506 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

FORT WORTH, Tex. (FP). months subscriptions will receive a out these policies, upon the fullest or to conduct an organized cam- Though the Texas Electric Service bound copy of "The Correspondence activization of the union member- paign in behalf of their candidates. Co. at Eastland, Tex., denies that of Karl Marx and Friedrich En- ship through its democratic control The growth of the Opposition would a strike is in progress, about 40 in the determination of union poli- probably be checked for the time union and non-union men have walked out, according to Interna-3) The policy of no membership tional Vice-Pres. W. L. Ingram of the International Brotherhood of meetings with power to decide pol-Electrical Workers. The men struck 4) The Delegate Assembly would in protest against the firing of three be stripped of its present powers to union employees.

Protest Meeting Friday, July 12, 8 P.M.—A.J. Muste ministration blocked it by an un- cies would be concentrated in the Union" at 1776 Pitkin Ave., B'klyn.

#### MARCH OF EVENTS From The Very Beginning Bolshevik Speaks for Fourth International at SFIO Congress

The following is a summary of the speech of Molinier, for the Bolshevik-Leninist group, at the Mulhouse Congress of the Socialist Farty of France:

He explains why some of the members in various sections will vote against the report of the dele-

What is involved here at this time

This is the key question which

tional poses itself again and again by Stalin.

Of what value are international-

Have we an international? That is, have we a coordinated political Marx, in the introduction to the organization of international strug-

Lebas said at the National Con-

". . . The war, as comrade Raffin-Dugens, has so correctly observed, has killed not only men and destroyed wealth . . . one of its corpses, one of its victims was the International. . . .

". . . One must examine the situation created in the Party in all countries and observe moreover if we can agree on saying how we can reconstitute it, this we give It. . . . " ". . . These, of course, are the

reasons why the Federation of the North has decided in almost complete unanimity to propose to the Party to withdraw from the Second International. This, of course is not because we are throwing mud at It but because we very sincerely believe that we can work more effectively for the reconstitution of the new International outside of the old and decadent one rather than by remaining inside it." Paule Faure at the National Con-

gress. February 29, 1920: "... We ask, comrades, that the French Socialist party leave the Second International.

"I listened to Renaudel and vainly sought in his speech for decisive reasons which to my mind he did not produce for maintaining our adherence to this organization.

"Our resolution remains un-

shakable. We became more and more impatient, understanding that from the socialist standpoint the atmosphere of the Second International became absolutely unlivable. . . ."

Since when has it come back to

Defeat in Italy, in Germany, in are rotting.

The Third International? Let us consider it. It must be

It bore the banner of revolution

Did it organize the split? Does

It degenerated with the degeneration of the Russian revolution; it And this question of the Interna- bas seen its death certificate signed

It is now the International whose the seizure of power appears in a parties after many zig-zags are besharp form. The dilemma: Either coming the means of national de-"gradual national and international fense in conformity with the fluctuations of the foreign policy of Russia; such a betrayal means This difference crops up in all the placing the official seal upon the tombstone of the oppressed of the

> (Molinier retorted to Dormoy Stalin after he has sunk to your

WHAT IS TO BE DONE? Unity of the Second and the Third

Internationals? On what basis? The basis which allows the same class influences, first volume of Capital speaks of gle? What do those think of the the same germs of difference to ex-

> Or our basis? Concerted, joint, action against capitalism, which is concentrated and spirited action driven forward. Never class peace! No theory of socialism in one coun-

> In the present state of things one must base himself on experience to rebuild the International. WE MUST BUILD THE FOURTH

INTERNATIONAL which means to take into account the life and the death of the others. In many countries: Holland (R.

S.P.-O.S.P.), America (C.L.A,-A,W, International, whatever number | P.) unity was achieved on this basis. All the living forces of the two

> internationals must be organized on this basis! What about the big parties? Win over the decisive ele-For that: without subordinating daily action to the creation of the Fourth International, we will group

> around us on the principles of revolutionary action all the active forces of the Party, and with them pave the way for the Fourth International. Molinier's speech was for the

most part heard in intense silence, interrupted very infrequently and applauded lustily by a small minority of the Congress.

The defense of the Stalinist policy fell upon citizen Grumbach, one of the most active defamers of the Communist International in its best

READ THE NEW MILITANT

# Workers Party

Minneapolis advising him to violate ditional confirmation of the correctchinations endanger the existence contradicting and challenging to a trict Committee in expelling him debate the Party speaker presenting from the Party-not for his views It thus becomes the duty of the the Party point of view at an open which he was given every opportunprogressives in other unions to mass meeting in New York. He has ity to set forth in the regular chan-

"For A New Progressive Federation of Labor." The W. P. has never issued any such slogan; it is contrary to the Party's trade union Joseph Zack has been expelled line. The fact that Zack is now sies within the W. P., furnishes ad-

LECTURE

### The Truth About "Trotskyism"

REPLY TO OLGIN'S PAMPHLET AGAINST "TROTSKYISM" What is the connection between the new slanderous attack and -Stalin's Campaign Against the Bolsheviks in Russla?

-The Social-Patriotic Policy of the French Communist Party? -The Right Wing Swing of the American Communist Party? -The growth of the movement for the Fourth International in

France, Holland and the United States?

MAX SHACHTMAN Editor, The New International

WEDNESDAY, JULY 17th at 8:00 P.M.

At IRVING PLAZA Irving Place and 15th Street, New York

Questions and discussion in Jewish and in English Auspices: New York District, Workers Party of the U. S.