

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 22, 1922 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 44 [WHOLE NO. 191] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

G. Gourov

Left Socialist Conference

A Firm Nucleus for A New International Emerges

The conference is over. As yet we have neither the minutes nor the final text of the resolution. Nevertheless the principal conclusions can be drawn. These conclusions are entirely favorable to the Left Opposition. This can be seen best of all by the comparison of what we expected to obtain and what we obtained. In preliminary discussions and correspondence we all agreed that if we should succeed in getting four or even three signatures under a clear and precise document in favor of the new International, we would make an enormous step forward. We obtained the four signatures that we counted on (the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, the Socialist Labor Party of Germany and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland together with the International Left Opposition) under a document which is the only tangible result of the conference and which may and should become of historic importance.

We achieved this momentous result not by some chance combination or skillful maneuvers (on the contrary, in this field we made some errors) but due to the fact that the historic step made by us has fully matured. In spite of ten years of world wide baiting and slander of the Left Opposition; in spite of the fact that this slander left its trace even in the consciousness of the opponents of Stalinism, among them in the ranks of the social-democratic workers; in spite of all this, three organizations which lead a few tens of thousands of workers found no other path but to unite with us on a common document which presupposes a long and stubborn struggle. A wide breach was made in the wall surrounding the Left Opposition. We can expect with certainty that new and more organizations and fractions which are pushed to the revolutionary path by the whole situation will with every passing month convince themselves that the only banner under which the proletarian vanguard can rally is the banner of Bolshevism-Leninism.

Only Serious Result

The Declaration of four is called above the only serious result of the Paris conference. As far as the vague decisions of the majority are concerned, they have no future. This will not be hard to understand if we should analyze the composition of the conference. If the delegates of the four organizations which signed the declaration made up its Left wing, then the Right wing was made up of the representatives of the Norwegian Workers party which aims at the creation of a Scandinavian "International" through an alliance with the Swedish and Dutch social-democracy and is afraid, therefore, to compromise itself by proximity to Communists. One must be a hopelessly naive person, or what is worse, an unprincipled schemer to hope for a union or collaboration with this, through and through, opportunistic party or with the small groups which gravitate to it like the French Pupils, the Italian Maximalists, the Catalan Federation of Maurin, the Polish group of Debor Cruck, or the altogether humorous party of Steinberg (former "People's Communist").

Urbanus represented at the conference that little which remained of the Leninbund. If, with all his best revolutionary intentions, Urbanus proved anything in the last years, it is his total incapacity for collective work, on one side, and for systematic thinking, on the other. Alone his laughable theory of "state capitalism" which puts on the same level the U. S. S. R. the U. S. A., the Germany of Hitler and the Italy of Mussolini excludes the possibility of joint work with him in the creation of a new International.

The Swedish Ind. Communists

The Swedish Independent Communist party (Kilbom) and the British Independent Labor Party stand in a class by themselves. Both these organizations are at the crossroads. The Swedish party represents too solid a workers' organization to follow the policy of Brandler-Thuheime, based entirely on the servile hope that, perhaps, Manulsky will pardon them and call them to power. On the other hand, the party of Kilbom is, apparently, as yet strongly infected with rightist tendencies and especially with distrust towards the Left Opposition. It cannot retain its present intermediary position. It must make a choice. We must help it make the right choice.

If the party of Kilbom vacillates between the Right and the Left Communist oppositions, the Independent Labor party vacillates between the Comintern and the new International. Maybe not at once, but inevitably the bureaucrats of the Comintern will push the Independent Labor Party on the road of the new International. Sooner or later this party, at least its revolutionary nucleus, and we shall meet.

It is absolutely clear, that the de-

cisions adopted by such a heterogeneous majority can have only a platonic, decorative character. Not a few are all too willing to "condemn" the Second International, to shout about its bankruptcy, so as to carry on in practice a policy of opportunism. Not a few are willing to shout about the bankruptcy of the Third International so as to carry on in reality a policy of back-stage combinations which are in spirit very much akin to bureaucratic centrism. Not only are denunciations of the Second and Third Internationals insufficient to advanced workers but the bare admission of the necessity of a new International does not suffice either. It is necessary to say clearly what international we have in mind: the restoration of the miserable Two and a half International, or the unification of the international proletarian vanguard on the basis of a revolutionary program really corresponding to the problems of our epoch. To elaborate such a program in the company of Trammell, Louis Selier, Maurin and others, or even to support the fiction of an international organization in common with them would mean to sow chaos and ideological demoralization instead of the necessary saving clarity.

The "Yesterday" and "Tomorrow" of the Movement

We cannot pass by the fact that two of our allies (the German S. A. P. and the Holland O. S. P., Independent Socialist Party) enter not

(Continued on Page 3)

Historic Words

The Gazeta Polska, official organ of the Polish government, writes on the reasons which determined the Soviet-Polish rapprochement:

"One of the reasons, and not the least, was the defeat of Trotsky's line and the triumph and strengthening of Stalin's line, the building of socialism in one country."

Gazeta Polska, Aug. 29, 1933
The Polish government like the world bourgeoisie knows who is the real revolutionist. And not alone the bourgeoisie. Millions of workers will note the reasoning of the Polish Government and draw the correct conclusions. Let the Stalinists rave—

Reichstag Fire Frame-Up Unmasked

The international commission of lawyers at London, which has just concluded its hearings of evidence connected with the German Reichstag fire, has exonerated the Communists framed-up by the Nazis. It accepted the alibis of these accused and found it physically impossible for them to have taken any active part in the fire. It has turned the accusation of the incendiary right back where it belongs—upon the Nazi themselves.

The commission says in its findings, that, "no connection whatever could be traced between the Communist party and the burning of the Reichstag." On the other hand it declares that, "grave grounds exist for suspecting that the Reichstag was set afire by or on behalf of leading personalities of the National Socialist party."

There need not be the slightest doubt that the findings of this commission are entirely correct. Workers familiar with the Nazi terror and frame-up methods will entertain no such doubts. But what will happen at the trial of the frame-up victims at the Fascist controlled supreme court at Leipzig, Germany, which is now on, that is again a different matter. The accused are in reality denied all defense. The working class of Germany has no means of expression, it is entirely at the mercy of the blood thirsty brown-shirted executioners. Right along these bandits are staging new raids upon Communists and anti-Fascists to keep the demand for more blood alive. They are sharpening the axe.

Workers everywhere protect this outrageous frame-up!

Save these militant workers from the Nazi Axe!

NEWARK MASS MEETING

Comrade Arne Swaback will speak in Newark on Sept. 29th at the
S. T. REGIS HOTEL
34 Park Place

THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

Auspices: Newark Br. C. L. A. (O.)

Joint Declaration for New Internat'l

In full realization of the great historic responsibility which devolved upon them, the undersigned organizations have unanimously decided to combine their forces for joint work for the regeneration of the revolutionary proletarian movement on an international scale. As the basis for their activity they lay down the following principles:

1. The mortal crisis of imperialism which has taken the shape of the break with reformism (social-democracy, the Second International, the bureaucracy of the International Federation of trade-unions) poses imperatively the question of the break with reformist policy and of the revolutionary struggle for the conquest of power and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship as the only means for the transformation of capitalist society into a socialist society.

2. The problem of the proletarian revolution bears, by its very nature, an international character. The proletariat can build a complete socialist society only on the basis of the world division of labor and world cooperation. The undersigned categorically reject, therefore, the theory of "socialism in one country" which undermines the very foundation of proletarian internationalism.

3. No less energetically must be rejected the theory of the Austro-Marxists, centrists and left reformists who, under the pretext of the international character of the socialist revolution, advocate an expectant passivity with regard to their own country, delivering thereby the proletariat in reality into the hands of Fascism. A proletarian party which evades the seizure of power under the present historic conditions, commits the worst of betrayals. The victorious proletariat of one country must strengthen its national dictatorship by socialist construction, which remains of necessity incomplete and contradictory until the working class seizes political power in at least a few advanced capitalist countries. Simultaneously, the victorious working class of one country must direct all its efforts to the extension of the socialist revolution to other countries. The contradiction between the national character of the seizure of power and the international character of socialist society can be resolved only by courageous revolutionary action.

4. The Third International which grew out of the October revolution laid down the principles of proletarian policy in the epoch of imperialism and gave the world proletariat the first lessons in the revolutionary struggle for power, fell victim of a chain of historical contradictions. The treacherous role of the social-democracy, the immaturity and inexperience of the Communist parties led to the breakdown of the post war revolutionary movements in the East and in the West. The isolated position of the proletarian dictatorship in a backward country gave an extraordinary power to the ever more conservative and nationally-limited Soviet bureaucracy. The slavish dependence of the sections of the Comintern on the Soviet top led, in its turn, to a new series of grave defeats, to bureaucratic degeneration of the theory and practice of the Communist parties, to their organizational weakening and more than that the Comintern proved not only incapable of fulfilling its historic role but became more and more of an obstacle in the way of the revolutionary movement.

5. The advance of Fascism in Germany put the organizations of the working class to a decisive test. The social-democracy once more confirmed the designation given it by Rosa Luxemburg and revealed itself for the second time as "the stinking corpse." The overcoming of the organizations, ideas and methods of reformism is the necessary prerequisite for the victory of the working class over capitalism.

6. The German events revealed with no less force the collapse of the Third International. Despite its fourteen year existence, despite the experience gained in gigantic battles, despite the moral support of the Soviet state and the plentiful means for propaganda, the Communist party of Germany revealed under conditions of a grave economic, social and political crisis, conditions exceptionally favorable for a revolutionary party, an absolute revolutionary incapacity and had thereby shown conclusively that despite the heroism of many of its members it had become totally incapable of fulfilling its historic role.

7. The position of world capitalism; the frightful crisis which plunged the working masses into unheard of misery; the revolutionary movement of the oppressed colonial masses; the world danger of Fascism; the perspective of a new cycle of wars which threaten to destroy the whole human culture—these are the conditions which imperatively demand the welding to-

gether of the proletarian vanguard into a new (Fourth) International. The undersigned obligate themselves to direct all their forces to the formation in the shortest possible time of this International on the firm foundation of the theoretic and strategic principles laid down by Marx and Lenin.

8. While ready to co-operate with all the organizations, groups and factions which are actually developing from reformism or bureaucratic centrism (Stalinism) to wards revolutionary Marxian policy, the undersigned at the same time declare that the new International cannot tolerate any conciliation towards reformism or centrism. The necessary unity of the working class movement cannot be attained by the blurring of reformist and revolutionary conception, or the adaptation to the Stalinist policy, but only by combatting the policies of both bankrupt Internationals. To remain equal to its task the New International must not permit any deviation from revolutionary principles in the question of the insurrections, the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet form of the state, etc.

9. By its class basis, by its social foundations, by the incontestably prevailing forms of property, the U. S. S. R. remains also today a workers' state, that is an instrument for the building of a socialist society. The new International will inscribe on its banner as

one of its most important task the defense of the Soviet state from imperialism and internal counter-revolution. Precisely the revolutionary defense of the U. S. S. R. places upon us the imperative task of freeing the revolutionary forces of the entire world from the corrupting influence of the Stalinist Comintern and of building a new International. Only under the condition of complete independence of the international proletarian organizations from the Soviet bureaucracy and the tireless unmasking of its false methods before the working masses is a successful defense of the Soviet Union possible.

10. Party democracy is a necessary prerequisite for the healthy development of revolutionary proletarian parties on a national as well as on an international scale. Without the freedom of criticism, without the freedom of functionaries from top to bottom, without the control of the apparatus by the rank and file, no truly revolutionary party is possible.

The need for secrecy under conditions of illegality changes completely the forms of the internal life of a revolutionary party and makes wide discussions and elections difficult, if not altogether impossible. But even under the most difficult conditions and circumstances the basic demands of a healthy party regime retain their full force: honest information of

(Continued on Page 4)

Civil War Looms in Cuba; Situation Tense

The situation in Cuba is developing into civil war. Soldiers have been sent against the striking sugar workers to recapture from them the plantations they have seized. The workers are armed and are determined to resist. Conflicting press reports state that the soldiers fired on workers; that they fraternize with the workers. At any rate the struggles of the workers for increased pay, better working conditions, and against imperialism has brought them to the point where they are beginning to confront the army. Will the soldiers go over to the side of the workers? Or will the soldiers support the government, which it is leaning ever more heavily upon the Cuban bourgeoisie and the American imperialists? The next days will decide.

With the passing of each day the ground is being cut from under the feet of the San Martin government. On the one hand it is being subjected to enormous pressure from the Cuban bourgeoisie and the United States. The Menocal and Mendota factions together with the ABC are insistently demanding the resignation of the government. The financial sabotage continues unremittingly. Welles is busy conniving and plotting to replace the Martin government with an outright bourgeois regime.

The petty bourgeoisie, too, bringing pressure to bear on the government to drive it to the Right, against the workers, on the ground that strikes are paralyzing business and ruining them. In Havana they threatened a 24 hour closure of all

Military Intervention by United States Imminent

business houses "in protest against workers' acts of violence." Another report has it that they "threaten to close their doors unless the government compromises with the opposition (bourgeois factions) and agrees to a coalition cabinet that will satisfy all, win U. S. recognition and restore the country's economic life." Out of fear of the workers the petty bourgeoisie are asking the Cuban bourgeoisie and the U. S. imperialists, to suppress the workers.

The rising tide of workers' struggles is leaving the San Martin gov-

ernment suspended over an erupting volcano. The workers are seizing the sugar plantations and are attempting to operate them by workers' committees. They are arming themselves against the threat of the government to retake the plantations by force. The strike wave is spreading continuously. Santiago is threatened with a complete tie-up. The struggles of the workers to improve their economic condition is bringing them into more direct conflict with the bourgeoisie and with the American imperialists upon the fundamental issues of the Cuban revolution, the influence of Communism is growing.

Condemned to futility and extinction from its birth the government of the petty bourgeoisie, both as revolutionary junta and as its offspring, the San Martin government, has pursued a steady course toward the Right, toward the bourgeoisie and American imperialism. Although it came into power as an anti-imperialist government it promised the payment of all foreign obligations, that is to say, of the enormous debt to Wall Street which can be paid only by the sweat and blood of the toiling masses. On the 14th of September it guaranteed the investments of the United States in its statutes: "No one shall be deprived of legitimate property except by competent authority and for verified reasons of public welfare after proper indemnification."

This regime which began to conciliate the workers by sending arbit-

(Continued on Page 3)

Swaback National Tour Begins

The following is the schedule of cities:

Fri., Sept. 29th....Newark, N. J.
St. Regis Hotel—34 Park Place
Sun., Oct. 1st....Bethlehem, Pa.
Tues., Oct. 3rd....New Haven, Conn.
Wed., Oct. 4th....Boston, Mass.
Social Science Hall, 28 Hayward Pl.
(Off Washington St., near R. H. Whites)
Thurs., Oct. 5th....Boston, Mass.
Fri., Oct. 6th....Boston, Mass.
Sun., Oct. 8th....Rochester, N. Y.
Mon., Oct. 9th....Buffalo, N. Y.
Tues., Oct. 10th....Toronto, Can.
Wed., Oct. 11th....Toronto, Can.
Fri., Oct. 13th....Pittsburgh, Pa.
Weinstein's Restaurant
1830 Center Ave., 2nd Fl.
Sat., Oct. 14th....Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sun., Oct. 15th....Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mon., Oct. 16th....New Castle, Pa.
Tues., Oct. 17th....Youngstown, Ohio.
Wed., Oct. 18th....Youngstown, Ohio.
Thurs., Oct. 19th....Cleveland, O.
Fri., Oct. 20th....Cleveland, O.
Sat., Oct. 21st....Chicago, Ill.
Sun., Oct. 22nd....Chicago, Ill.
Mon., Oct. 23rd....Chicago, Ill.
Tues., Oct. 24th....Chicago, Ill.
Wed., Oct. 25th....Springfield, Ill.
Thurs., Oct. 26th....Stanton, Ill.
Fri., Oct. 27th....St. Louis, Mo.
Sat., Oct. 28th....St. Louis, Mo.
Sun., Oct. 29th....Kansas City, Mo.
Mon., Oct. 30th....Kansas City, Mo.
Thurs., Nov. 2nd....Minneapolis, Minn.
Fri., Nov. 3rd....Minneapolis, Minn.
Sat., Nov. 4th....Minneapolis, Minn.
Sun., Nov. 5th....Minneapolis, Minn.
Tues., Nov. 7th....Chicago, Ill.
Thurs., Nov. 9th....Davenport, Ia.
Fri., Nov. 10th....Davenport, Ia.

Silk Strikers Hold Firm; Reject N. R. A. Truce

N. T. W. Forms Splitting Strike Committee; All Unions Must Unite in Associated Silk Workers

Despite all the efforts of the bosses the national silk strike still holds solid. Monday morning, September 18, the bosses of Paterson, the stronghold of the strike made a feeble attempt to open the mills after getting plenty of support from the local newspapers. Militant mass picketing by the workers quickly shut them again. Over 50,000 are on strike for \$36, a 30-hour week, two looms and the abolition of night work.

On Saturday the bosses had offered the workers a "temporary truce settlement" on the basis of a slight increase to four and a half cents for 100,000 picks (approximately \$22 a week) for weavers and slight increases for the auxiliary crafts until the adoption of a permanent code. At the membership meeting of the Associated Silk Workers—U. T. W., the strikers overwhelmingly rejected the bosses truce and voted to continue the strike.

The National Strike Committee very correctly pointed out in a leaflet that this offer of only a slight increase by only a part of the silk manufacturers offered no guarantee that all the bosses would accept it. The only settlement acceptable to the strikers is a national agreement.

The strike was called by the American Federation of Silk Workers which is now a part of the United Textile Workers but having local

autonomy. The reactionary U. T. W. leadership, headed by MacMahon, did not sanction the strike but attempted from the outset to smash it by maneuvers in Washington with the Roosevelt arbitration board. MacMahon entered into and accepted the truce settlement for which he had no authority from the workers. This treacherous attempt received its proper reward in the unanimous repudiation of the truce settlement. But these maneuvers of MacMahon should serve as a serious warning for the striking workers to be on their guard against further attempt to sell them out. They must be on guard against his endeavors to prevent the Federation of Silk Workers from becoming a really representative organization.

The Jacquard bosses tried to split the ranks of the strikers by offering their workers, a skilled section of the trade, a separate settlement embodying a standard scale. This was a maneuver. The offer constituted a small wage increase for the workers in the lower paid shops and a wage cut of 1 and 2 cents per yard for the workers in the better paid shops. The Jacquard workers unanimously rejected this attempt to split the ranks of the strikers.

Along with the fierce struggle against the bosses and the disruptive tactics of MacMahon, the workers face the danger of disunity presented by the Stalinist controlled National Textile Workers Union. Last Sunday the NTWU arranged a conference of striking textile groups in Allentown, called by the Independent Allentown Silk Workers Union which is under Stalinist influence. Representatives from several independent groups met there and formed "one National Strike Committee". To the 40,000 militant workers following the real National Strike Committee of the American Federation of Silk Workers this dual strike committee can mean only disruption of the strike. Our fellow workers of the Independent Allentown Silk Workers Union have been confused and do not understand that their action leads to a division of the strike ranks.

Already the effects of the dual National Strike Committee are apparent. The Daily Worker of Sept. 14 carried a report of a telegram sent to Senator Wagner declaring that the UTW does not represent the national silk strike nor the Allentown strikers and that only the "national strike committee" is authorized to represent the strikers. These things bode no good for the silk workers. The false policy of the NTWU and its efforts to capture the leadership of the strike is not serving the best interests of the workers. The Allentown workers must be made fully aware of the danger that threatens from this direction.

The American Federation of Silk Workers must make determined efforts to draw these workers into the main stream of the movement of the silk workers. The sentiment among the Allentown workers is reported favorable to the AFSW. The Allentown Independent workers want a place on the National Strike Committee of the AFSW. This the AFSW must grant to the Allentown workers. In this way can there be unity between the American Federation of Silk Workers—UTW in Allentown and the Allentown Independent Silk Workers.

Perhaps the clearest example of the maneuvering of the Stalinists is to be seen in their work against the warkers in the United Warkers League. This organization although started by the N. T. W. U. as a means to corral the unwilling workers into their paper union has long since got out of the hands of the local Stalinists. They have not abandoned hope of recapturing it. Saturday last a proposal was made that the United Warkers League of Paterson send two delegates to the Allentown Conference. Militant workers in the League got up and denounced the idea as an attempt on the part of the NTWU to lead the independent silk crafts away from the main stream of the silk workers. The proposal was voted down by the warkers by an overwhelming majority. After this conference, the warkers, who were not willing to follow this direct path of division, agreed to send two delegates to the committee formed at Allentown as observers only.

At a Joint Strike Committee meeting of the United Warkers League, the Independent Loomfixers League and the United Twisters Club, N. T. W. U. men on the committee brought forward a resolution correctly demanding that the Joint Strike Committee of these independent craft organizations be represented on the strike committee of the Associated. But it also demanded that other textile organizations

(Continued on Page 2)

William Green "Friend" of Cuba

"In 1927 Chester Wright, editor of International Labor News, organ of the Federation of Labor, and English Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, brought to Washington the account of 147 assassinations committed by the Machado regime. This evidence was given much publicity. The New York port workers voted to sabotage Cuban sugar arriving in the port. Then something happened."

"Machado hastened to Washington and met Green in the Belgian legation. Green thereupon issued a public statement that from this date on the condition of Cuban workers 'would be improved'. After all a great labor leader must feel honored when a president calls upon him regardless of the fate of mere workers."

"Wright presently was out of his two jobs, and despite the fact that the conditions of Cuban workers has grown steadily worse, that assassinations have continued, that men then jailed are today in jail without trial, Green never once has lifted his voice in their behalf."

From The Crime of Cuba by Carleton Beals, page 247-8.

BOSTON MASS MEETING

ARNE SWABACK
on
THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM
FRIDAY, OCT. 6, at 8 P. M.
SOCIAL SCIENCE HALL
28 Hayward Place (Off Washington St. near R. H. Whites)

Declaration for a New Internat'l

(Continued From Page 1)

the party. Freedom of criticism and a real inner unity between the leadership and the party majority. Having suppressed and crushed the will of the revolutionary workers, the reformist bureaucracy turned the social-democracy and the unions into impotent bodies despite their membership numbering millions. Having stifled inner democracy, the Stalinist bureaucracy stifled also the Comintern. The new International, as well as the parties adhering thereto, must build their entire inner life on the basis of democratic centralism.

11. The undersigned created a permanent commission of delegated representatives and assigned the following to it.

(a) The elaboration of a programmatic manifesto, as the charter of the new International;

(b) the preparation of a critical analysis of the organizations and tendencies of the present-day workers movement (theoretical commentary to the Manifesto);

(c) the elaboration of theses on all the fundamental questions of the revolutionary strategy of the proletariat;

(d) the representation of the undersigned organizations before the outside world.

SIGNED:

E. Bauer—International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists)

J. Schwab—S. A. P. (Socialist Workers Party of Germany)

J. P. Schmidt—O. S. P. (Independent Socialist Party of Holland)

K. Sneevliet—R. S. P. (Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland)

A.F.W. Extends Organization

New York.—In the September 2 issue of the *Militant* the united front mass meeting of the Amalgamated Food Workers and the Food Workers Industrial Union, controlled by the Stalinists, was briefly reported. As we predicted the united front was broken, principally on account of the half heartedness of the Stalinists' participation. Our comrades and the Gitlowites proposed that a fusion of the two unions take place, because it was evident that an organization drive could not be sustained forever with two unions competing for membership within the industry, and that unavoidably confusion would be created in the ranks of the workers.

The result was that—last Thursday, September 14, the Industrial Union called a mass meeting of the hotel and restaurant workers. The attendance was so poor that the Stalinists were forced to postpone the meeting.

Following this action the Hotel Workers Section of the A. F. W. called a mass meeting for Tuesday, September 19, in the same hall at which about twelve hundred workers appeared. At this meeting several workers described the conditions in the industry, the miserably low wages and long hours prevailing. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Pick of the Music organization, by Ben Gitlow, by comrades B. J. Field and by comrade Cannon of the Left Opposition.

Secretary Bourget, before adjourning the meeting, made it clear that the Hotel Workers Branch of the A. F. W. is a genuine industrial union, and accepts as members with full rights all workers employed in hotels, not only cooks and waiters, but also dishwashers, porters, elevator men, etc.

The hotel code has been delayed because so far the bosses have not been eager to sign it, since no pressure on them was exercised by organized labor. The first sign of the splendid organization by the A. F. W. of such big hotels as the Waldorf-Astoria, Astor, Pennsylvania and others have made the bosses uneasy and anxious to sign the shameful code with its provisions for a fifty hour week, a twenty cents an hour minimum wage and a whole network of treacherous ambiguities, which by no means will ameliorate the present miserable conditions, but on the contrary will worsen them.

Hundreds of workers are pouring into the offices of the union every day, join its ranks and engage actively in organizing their fellow workers. Daily the numbers increase and before long the entire hotel and restaurant industry of New York City and environs will be covered by this organizations drive. This will obviously raise the question of a more decisive and wide scale action which will force the powerful hotel trust to recognize the union and accept its demands for decent standards.

—A. C.

BOSTON ANNOUNCEMENTS
VETTERINKA—Saturday, Oct. 7 at 8 P. M.

FORUM—every Friday evening.
SOCIAL SCIENCE CLUB meets every Monday evening at 8 P. M., starting October 9th.
MARXIAN YOUTH CLUB meets every Thursday 8 P. M.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Successful Meetings in Montreal

Montreal.—With the beginning of this fall the Left Opposition in Montreal has proceeded to turn to advantage the inevitable discontent which Stalinist bureaucracy and political stupidity arouse in the healthiest elements. Up to now our group has been very small, all young comrades. But the logic of the German events has more than doubled the best youth elements, including YCLers are being won over to our side. We also have some contacts in the Party and the Jewish field is particularly ripe for our activity. We intend to proceed to the creation of a Spartacus Youth Club and an Unser Kampf Club.

On September 3, Comrade Krehm lectured before an audience of 100, including many YCLers and Party members, on the subject of a "New Communist Party in Germany." Sketching the history of the C. P. G., comrade Krehm explained its natural weakness (due to youth) in the November 1918 revolution; its fatal hesitation (thanks to Stalin-Broder) in 1923, when it had the majority of the working class on its side; and its inability in the last few years to keep back the tide of Fascism due to the "theory" of "social fascism", "united front from below" and its market-competition with the Nazis (its slogan of "national and social liberation, etc.).

In the discussion period the Stalinist spokesmen justified their stupidities by the treachery of the social democracy, accused us of concealing before the workers the revolutionary mass actions in Germany which they themselves trump up and repeated Hecker's falsified quotations from Trotsky in defense of parliamentary democracy. We challenged them to a debate which due to the pressure of the crowd, they accepted, intentionally choosing what these "practical" people consider the most academic topic, "Can Socialism Be Built in Russia Alone?"

On September 6th before an audience of 300 the Stalinist representative, Baker, repeated all the scholastic Bucharinist argument, viz., Trotsky has no faith in the inner power of the Russian proletariat in the revolution in Russia has already taken place, not so in other countries! If not socialism shall we build capitalism in Russia? etc., etc., ad nauseum.

In reply comrade Krehm pointed out that it was none other than the Left Opposition which for five years (1923-1928) demanded in vain a speedy tempo of collectivization and industrialization that the workers' republic can be merely the base (for a breathing space though prolonged) for the extension of the international proletarian revolution and not for the independent construction of an isolated socialist society.

Baker declared the very origin of "socialism" in one country to have been mistaken and subsequently to have changed his view! Baker deviated once again from the "general line" by denying that Stalin propounds the Messianic completion concerning Russia as the one country in the whole world where a self-sufficient classless society can be constructed. The Stalinist spokesman took advantage of his being the last speaker by hurling abuse and making personal attacks.

On September 8th, comrade Krehm lectured before an audience of 100 on "The Foreign Policy of the U. S. S. R."

This time M. Buhay, an old party leader, attempted to divert attention from the logic of the arguments made by the speaker adopting an all-wise attitude towards comrade Krehm: what right have you to laugh at Manulinsky? The Soviet diplomats know what they're about with their "maneuvering", the very Friends of the Soviet Union and the Anti-Imperialist League show that the Comintern has the international revolution at heart (as if it were a question of good intentions rather than of false orientation), why bring in the question of socialism in one country? Buhay, further, instead of conceiving, as we do, of the Soviet

FROM THE RHINELAND.

Things are terrible in X. Many comrades have been arrested. The students belonging to our group have been expelled from the university. The leading comrade was frightfully mistreated and lies in a serious condition in the hospital. At the present moment there is no opportunity for any broader political activity. A printed proletarian newspaper seems like a fairy tale.

In Y, on the other hand, the work is still going on fairly well. The comrades meet regularly, issue mimeographed material, and have created new points of support in the big shops.

In general, however, the situation has become terribly sharper in the last three weeks. Difficulties in carrying out work are increasing on every side. In a few weeks the situation should be clearer, but the perspective is one of a long period of hard work. The comrades are almost exhausted.

The C. P. is no longer to be seen in this district. It is "supposed" to be still working in the Ruhr district, but nobody really believes that....

Red Army, as an auxiliary arm of the international revolution, virtually intimidated that only in case of an armed occupation by foreign imperialists of a country close to the Soviet Union with the view of an attack on the Soviet Union, it is permissible to send the Red Army into that country. He also wrongly stated that Trotsky had been for a revolutionary war during the Brest-Litovsk negotiations and that Trotsky himself had favored the slogan of a Labor Party for America. Workers who look to Buhay with respect expressed surprise at his method of argument.

—J. G.

A Criticism of the Militant

To the Editor of the *Militant*:
Allow me to protest the printing of the article, "The Daily Worker Goes to the Masses"—in the *Militant* of September 16th.

There is absolutely no law in nature which says that a Communist paper should not take up the question of sports or even breakfast menus; on the contrary, it is obligatory for Communists to approach and penetrate into the sports clubs, social clubs, etc., and present the class point of view there, of course, and explain to the workers the class struggle from the angle with which they are most acquainted with and interested in.

Writing about workers sports or even submitting medical advice is very important and even necessary—in a workers' Sports Club Magazine or the Bulletin of a Workers' Mutual Benefit Society.

For the central organ of the Communist party however; to emulate capitalist papers in their drive for circulation, devote columns of advice to the sick and the love-lorn and the well-dressed; to waste pages in all sorts of nonsense and tomfoolery of that sort... that is absolutely impermissible. "A Bolshevik paper should be a Bolshevik paper." Its circulation and influence can only be increased by penetrating into the organizations of the workers, by becoming a leader of their struggles and by awakening to political life strata of indifferent and solid workers. It can only gain prestige and confidence by posing and answering the burning problems of the working class, providing leadership in workers' struggles and by working out correct slogans, to which the workers will inevitably be attracted. It can only be done in this way.

All this should have been explained simply; clearly; the purpose of a Bolshevik paper, its functions, etc., etc., but t. n., either through inability or because he just didn't want to, splurged through a lot of stupidities accompanied by all sorts of "smart" asides worthy of College Humor, with "brilliant" fanfarinos and frills.

Such stuff does not belong in a Bolshevik paper.

Editorial Note.—It should be needless to say that we agree entirely with what comrade A. G. says about the duty of the central organ of the Communist party. But we cannot entirely accept his criticism of the jest we made in our article in question. Moreover, sometimes we even feel a temptation to jest at the humor contained in the *Daily Worker* political articles and refrain only because it is too tragic. But when confronted with the silly bourgeois apings of these special *Daily Worker* departments, what else could we do. Sometimes ridicule becomes an effective means of correcting foolishness.

DANCE AND BANQUET
The Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition is holding a celebration for the opening of its beautiful new headquarters at
2550 W. NORTH AVE.
ON
SATURDAY, OCT. 7th—8 P. M.
—Real Spaghetti Dinner—
—Peppy Orchestra—

Silk Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

not affiliated to the Associated been given representation on the strike committee. This was defeated on the ground that representation on the strike committee "be restricted to those having no political affiliations."

Undoubtedly the rejection of this proposal by the NTW for representation on the strike committee was caused entirely by the suspicion which the disruptive maneuvering of its leadership has created in the minds of the workers. Nevertheless it is impossible to agree with the motivation. The fact that the NTW is under politically conscious direction should in no way disqualify it as a direct participant in a united strike leadership. The correct way to put the question would be, to demand from the NTW that it renounce the mass movement, that it make common cause with the majority organization in the strike and become an integral part of its ranks by joining the Associated Silk Workers.

The independent craft unions of Paterson are in a critical state today. On the one hand they have not yet been made a direct part of the Associated strike committee leading the largest section of the 22,000 striking textile workers in Paterson. On the other hand they are being sorely pressed by the

Painters Strike-Stalinist Union Delays

NEW YORK.—

The general strike, called suddenly Monday, Sept. 18th by the New York Painters District Council, to take place the next day, has brought about 8,000 painters down from the jobs.

This strike was not entirely unexpected. Several weeks ago the Brotherhood called a strike for a day to check up on its membership, started an organizational campaign and taxed all working members fifty cents a day. These obvious preparations, the fact that the painting season is at its height, the terrible conditions in the trade, the wave of strikes throughout the country and the NRA gave the Left wing in the Brotherhood (such as it is), and the Alteration Painters Union TUUL, "revolutionary union" plenty of time to get ready for the strike. But as usual they were caught entirely unprepared.

At the meeting of the Bronx local of the A. P. U. the same Monday night the organizer reporting on the strike presented the proposals of the TUUL that we watch for developments in the coming week and to go out on strike next Monday.

This proposal brought protests from the rank and file, some of whom correctly stated that to remain at work would be scabbing and that we should go on strike, right away. In the face of this protest chairman Weitz retreated and stated that the TUUL proposal was to go out on strike as soon as possible.

Fellow worker Kitt took the floor and demanded that we strike the same time as the Brotherhood. He pointed out that the elementary duty of class conscious workers is to support their fellow workers in a strike situation. He said that remaining on the job, even if only for a day after the strike was declared would play into the hands of the bosses and the A. F. of L. fakers and that the rank and file of the Brotherhood would brand us as scabs and strikebreakers. This, he declared, would result in the complete discredit of the A. P. U.

In outlining the policy that the A. P. U. should follow he stated that the main task of the Left wing workers was to be with the masses and to influence them with the correct class struggle policies. Kitt explained that under the influence of the NRA and the pressure of conditions the workers at this stage are standing into the Right wing unions. This makes it necessary for the A. P. U. to enter as a block into the A. F. of L.

The leadership viciously attacked this point of view with the same line of tripe so characteristic of the Stalinist bureaucrats: "When the workers see through the treachery and fakery of the A. F. of L. they will come to us," said one of them. Others took the floor attempting to justify delaying strike action on the ground that time for preparation was needed, made similar arguments entirely evading the issue.

Attempting to crawl out of a bad hole Weitz amended Kitt's motion for an immediate strike to the effect that a strike committee be elected to decide on the date for the walkout. He succeeded in obtaining the support of the membership for this compromise.

At the meeting of the strike committee, the following evening, the TUUL leaders again succeeded in throwing confusion into the issue of an immediate strike in solidarity with the A. F. of L. painters. Weitz told the workers that if they "felt uneasy" they could stop work. This provoked an uproar, but the confusion remained despite the fact that most of the workers who spoke were for immediate action. Finally a motion prevailed, against the wishes of the leaders to leave the jobs immediately pending the following week. It is therefore no wonder that the workers left this meeting discouraged and dissatisfied.

The Stalinist trade union policy has left the New York alteration painters in a blind alley. These leaders failed to steer a course toward unity with, and affiliation to the A. F. of L. They asked these men to remain on the job while the Brotherhood is on strike. Could there be any better proof that they have failed and failed miserably.

—BILL KITT.

NTW which is making feverish efforts to capture control of the strike and is attempting to use these groups for that purpose. The Associated in Paterson must prevent these craft unions from being drawn into the dual National Strike Committee. That would serve only to divide the workers instead of uniting them. It is absolutely essential for the victory of the strike that the Associated recognize the request of these groups for representation on the strike committee. This step can lead to the further strengthening of the American Federation of Silk Workers as a body embracing all silk workers.

—R. M.

PITTSBURGH MASS MEETINGS
ARNE SWABECK
will speak at
WEINSTEIN'S RESTAURANT
1830 Center Ave., 2nd Floor
on
Friday, October 13 at 8 P. M.
THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM
Saturday, October 14 at 8 P. M.
THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM AND THE WORKERS

FROM THE MILITANTS

Brownsville Jobless Councils Collapse

Brooklyn, N. Y.—Nowhere has the ineptitude and bankruptcy of the Communist party manifested itself as graphically as in the Party controlled Unemployed Councils. Despite the fact that almost four years have passed since their formation; countless inner party meetings held, and thousands of pronouncements issued by the party leadership, the membership and influence of the councils today constitute—zero. Since the inception of the councils, thousands of rank and file Communists have untiringly and courageously devoted entire weeks and months in the struggle to build up a mass unemployed movement. Their heroism and devotion were displayed in scores of battles with the police at evictions, demonstrations and Home Relief Bureaus. Yet all this has gone for naught. The failure that has marked every other project of the bureaucratic apparatus in the past, repeated itself tragically in the attempt to organize the millions of the unemployed.

For example: the Brownsville section of New York City supposedly had one of the best unemployed councils in the district. A few weeks ago the lessons of Brownsville were being discussed throughout the city and Brownsville was the center for the talks with which Winters and Sullivan sought to bolster up the flagging morale of the various other councils. The Bryan eviction—the embroglio with the police at the Home Relief Bureau—the resulting shrieking headlines in the yellow press were pointed out as real achievements of the unemployed. Winters, Sullivan and the other heads of the City Councils knew; that while they are making these blatant speeches the Brownsville actions were not the result of any influence that the councils exerted over the unemployed—but rather to the bravery of a handful of Party and YCL members. Yet this was permitted to act as a gauge for carrying out future work. Nothing could serve better to give a true picture of the sincere than that. Indeed the very moment that these speeches were being made, the Brownsville Unemployed Council had again relapsed into the oblivion that the sporadic and individual actions of a few comrades had lifted it out of.

Naturally enough, this artificial method of building up a movement has its resultant consequences. What really is the case in Brownsville today? Weeks if not months have passed without a single meeting of the executive, let alone the membership. The unvarnished truth is that neither the former or the latter exists. Entire days pass without a worker crossing the threshold of the council. Secunde and Sadie Berg, secretary and organizer, sit in the headquarters drawing up innumerable leaflets; while they wait for something to happen—and when it does they are helpless. Nothing does however.

Three years of ruinous leadership: three years of disappointments for the workers who come to the councils; three years of opportunistic and reformist policies, have served either to repel or demoralize the unemployed of the neighborhood. And the prestige of the council built up by flamboyant headlines and shrieking sensationalism has disappeared. The very Party and YCL members who are unemployed show that they know the futility of the councils accomplishing anything, by avoiding it as they would a plague.

It is no wonder then, that the Tammany administrated Home Relief Bureau has taken advantage of the collapse of the Unemployed Council. The furniture littering the streets of Brownsville bears mute testimony to the havoc that the impotence of the councils has brought in its wake. Even the miserable amount of food that the bureau allots is in danger of being cut down. Rumors have it and they are not without foundation considering what is happening, that the Home Relief Bureau will shut down in the near future, this of course would condemn thousands of families in the neighborhood to starvation. Despite this, there is no resistance anywhere. To this dark and gloomy state of affairs have the dilapidated Stalinists brought the unemployed. Apply this picture to every section of New York City and a true image of what really is happening in the unemployed movement can be gotten.

Why this inability to organize the unemployed, when years of the greatest destitution have presented an unparalleled opportunity to do so? Why after years of experience in working with the unemployed workers and having a virtual monopoly in the field are the unemployed councils shattered and annihilated? It is due, of course, to the incorrect and opportunist approach of the party, which flows out of the general incorrectness of the party line. From soup kitchens for the unemployed it ended with the mere granting and in most cases just asking for a food ticket (amounting to 18c per person per day). There was no prolongation of the fight for higher relief; no continuous struggle for the revolutionary demand of social insurance. Rarely if ever was it explained to the unemployed that to do away with the curse of unemployment—the capitalist state must be done away with. Can there then be any wonder that the unemployed councils have collapsed like a house of cards?

But the unemployed councils can be revived. A wave of regenera-

tion can sweep through the working class drawing the millions of unemployed behind it. The disappointment which the NRA is sure to bring to the unemployed, makes the moment more propitious than ever. It is only necessary to cast behind the proven worthless policies of the City Council and the ultimatic directives of the party leadership. Instead of sectarian, isolated councils with paper membership, a federation of unemployed embracing the various unemployed movements must be formed. The struggle for immediate relief must not be isolated from the fight for social insurance and the ultimate abolishment of capitalism. Let the Communist prove from within the ranks of the unemployed that they are correct and they will achieve their objective.

—A. Y. C. LER.

Youngstown Steel Workers Meet

Youngstown, O.—About six hundred enthusiastic steel workers attended a mass meeting of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers held in Youngstown on September 17. Gene Blair, local A. A. organizer, presided. Mike Lyden, one of the Youngstown, A. F. of L. leaders, was the first to speak; he made a good plea for organization but revealed himself to be little more than a typical enthusiastic trade unionist. Then Judge Beckenbaugh, so-called "friend of labor", was given the floor. After dealing in a lot of petty-political, vote-searching flattery of the A. A. and its "great leaders" such as Gompers and Tighe, this good judge advised the workers to "organize and collaborate fairly with your employers".

Mike Tighe, president of the A. A. was the main speaker of the afternoon. What he said there revealed completely (to those who are able to understand the A. B. C. of politics) the principles and policies of the A. A. and its parent organization, the A. F. of L. He said in words almost as plain as those that he believed in the "unity of capital and labor", that the workers who are associates in business with their employers should not try to deprive their bosses of their profit but only ask that the profit be shared between capital and labor.

He spoke frequently of the necessity of cooperation between employers and workers, and said that the workers should always deal fairly with their employers, that they should "organize" and then "discuss" their problems with the bosses, but that they should not "be led into strange pastures"—meaning strikes and other militant action. He echoed William Green in saying that the Amalgamated Association would "help Roosevelt to put over the Recovery Program." Unfortunately, however, the majority of the workers do not yet understand the real significance of Tighe's statements, they do not yet understand that he is only willing to "lead" them as long as they do not threaten the interests of capital, that whenever they are forced to take action against the bosses and the government in order to defend their right to live that Green and Tighe and all their sort will be found on the side of the capitalists fighting tooth and nail to keep the workers down.

These workers, as a whole, still have faith and confidence in Tighe, the A. A., the A. F. of L., and they will follow Green and him until hard experience has convinced them that they must take more radical steps in order to better their conditions and solve their problems. They naturally and inevitably look for the easiest, the most conservative way out of their predicament, and they never take a step to the Left, towards a more radical program, until they are convinced that this step is necessary and that anything less than this is futile. Many battles will have to transpire, the A. F. of L. leaders will have to be put to the test many times, before the workers finally lose confidence in these labor fakers.

Two possibilities then exist: (1) in the absence of workers who have proved their worth and who have a militant program to offer them, they will try one labor faker after another until they quit fighting in despair, helplessly enslaved to capitalism; (2) in the presence of co-workers who have been tried and tested in many skirmishes and trials and who have a practical, fighting program to offer, they will become dissatisfied with their old leadership, revolt, and placing revolutionary at the helm forge ahead to victory. Consequently, it is our duty to help strengthen the unions that the workers accept, to fight side by side with them, in order that later on we can help them to free themselves mentally and physically from the A. F. of L. misleaders and use their organizational strength to defend their interests against the bosses.

We must not make the mistake that the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union made at this mass meeting. Although many of the facts and criticisms of the A. A. it offers against this union are true and correct, its policy of competing with it is incorrect at this time under the present conditions. The fact that a few of the workers are ready to join a union with a more radical organizational and economic program does not prove that the majority of them are prepared to do so. And until the majority of the unorganized workers are ready to take these steps it is

Terzani United Front Meet

New York.—The Terzani United Front Conference was called for the alleged purpose of gaining mass pressure and financial support for the defense of Terzani, a young Italian student worker who is under a trumped up indictment of second degree murder for the murder of Fierro, a friend of his, who was killed by the Fascist Khaki Shirts at their meeting in Astoria, L. I. The actual reason for calling the conference seems to be that the Socialist wanted to try their hand at stage managing a united front conference. The Socialists, by means of their bloc with the I. W. W. and the anarchists and by means of packing the hall during the vote succeeded. That is about all that can be really said of this completely negative conference.

The conference was called by the Terzani General Defense Committee, upon which the Socialist Party, the I. W. W., the Civil Liberties Union, the International Labor Defense, and various Anarchist groups are represented. The Communist Party was not given representation on the ground that it was represented by the I. L. D.

But even less was accomplished than at like Stalinist affairs. This was a "genuine united front" that was based upon the principle of avoiding all points of dispute including particularly all common action. The Stalinist conference amount to the Party and its periphery meeting together and pretending that they represented the workers united. At least at such conference the Party can transact its own business, subject only to a little interruption from the Trotskyites who are naive enough to believe that united fronts are made for the purpose of uniting all real working class organizations in common action.

At any rate, the Socialist majority passed a resolution putting the conference on record as demanding that Governor Lehman order the indictment against Terzani dropped and the Khaki Shirt, who committed the murder, indicted. This was the sum total of the activity of the conference, the Socialist's answer to Norman Thomas's statement that mass pressure alone will save Terzani.

As for the Stalinist minority, they brought in a resolution which was a miniature Stalinist program, which stated the N. R. A. receives its main support from the Fascist bands, the need for united struggle of negro and white, Scottsboro, Tom Mooney, and Sacco and Vanzetti.

Only a Stalinist could support this document, as a whole. Even the Left Opposition could not sign its name to it, because of its monumental confusion on the relation between Fascism and the NRA. This minority resolution did, however, contain proposals of action, that are generally correct. These Stalinist proposals for enlarging the General Defense Committee, (of course to include the C. P.) formation of local Defense Committees local and city-wide demonstrations, were referred to the present General Defense Committee, where doubtless they will die a lingering death. We think that it is high time that these maneuvers and bickering when the fate of class war prisoners are at stake be made an end of. It is the duty of every class conscious worker to bring pressure to bear that the Terzani defense be taken seriously on the basis of a united struggle by all organizations willing to fight in his defense.

—P. M.

SUB NOTE

Not since comrade Caplan of Kansas City made sub history in the last drive has there been anything like the work comrade Newby of Youngstown has been doing of late. Within the last two weeks he has sent in sixteen subs. That, of course, is an evidence of the increasing interest of the workers in the ideas of the Left Opposition. But it is also and emphatically the result of comrade Newby's efforts to spread our paper.

That is the bright spot in otherwise unexciting routine of renewals of expiring subs and the steady trickle of new subs. A record like this is very encouraging.

There's a new sub drive coming. The details will appear in next week's issue. This is a sort of warning so that all our sub getters can shake the dust of their sub getting abilities and warm them up for the contest. All the signs point to a good campaign with more comrades participating in it than in our previous drives.

necessary for the radical unionists to stay inside the conservative trade unions and there prepare the ground for someday competing for the leadership of the union or else a mass reorganization of it. The policy of the S. M. W. I. U. as put forth in its leaflet distributed at this meeting must be condemned for it plays into the hands of the conservative trade union leaders (by allowing them to have uncontested control inside the unions) and thereby indirectly into the hands of the bosses who like to see the radical workers isolated from the conservative ones.

—M. KOEHLER.

Whither the I.L.P. of Great Britain

The latest political decisions of the National Council of the British Independent Labor party show clearly that after its break with the reformists this party continues to move leftward. Similar processes are to be observed in other countries: a Left wing forms within the social democratic parties which splits off at the following stage from the party and tries with its own forces to pave for itself a revolutionary path. These processes reflect on one side the deep crisis of capitalism and of reformism which is inseparably bound up therewith, and on the other—the inability of the Comintern to group around itself revolutionary currents within the proletariat.

In England, however, the situation is further complicated by an unheard of combination. Whereas, in other countries, the Comintern continues to treat the Left socialist organizations as "Left social Fascists" and as "the most dangerous counter-revolutionists", a permanent collaboration has been established between the I. L. P. and the Communist party of Great Britain. How the leaders of the Comintern combine this collaboration with the theory of "social Fascism" remains a mystery. In the July issue of the theoretical organ of the Comintern, Fenner Brockway, the newly appointed secretary of the I. L. P. is called a "counter-revolutionist" as heretofore. Why the British Communist party made a united front with this time not from below but from above, moreover, with leaders who prove to be "counter-revolutionists" and a united front made not for one single practical action but for collaboration in general, no mortal can solve these contradictions. But if the principles be left aside, the matter can be explained very simply: under the exceptionally favorable conditions of Great Britain the Comintern managed completely to isolate and weaken its British section by the ruinous policy of the Anglo-Russian committee, the "third period", "social-Fascism" and the rest; on the other hand, the deep social crisis of British capitalism pushed the I. L. P. sharply towards the Left; not heeding consistency or logic the totally discouraged Comintern this time grabbed the alliance proposed to it with both hands.

We could have and should have welcomed and heartily supported the collaboration of the I. L. P. with the Communist party had it not been based on evasiveness, suppressions and ambiguities on both sides.

Of the Communist party the National Council says that it is "revolutionary in outlook as ourselves". That is all that we learn with regard to the appraisal of the Communist party and of its policy. Every serious and thinking worker will inevitably ask: why are two parties necessary if they have both an equally revolutionary outlook. The worker will be more astonished upon learning that the leaders of one of the equally revolutionary parties consider the leaders of the other party as "counter-revolutionists" and "Left social-Fascists". Possibly the National Council refrains from a critical estimation of its ally so as not to undermine the alliance itself. But an alliance of revolutionary organizations which is based on an open mutual criticism but on diplomacy will be thrown over by the first gust of the political storm, like a house of cards.

The theses of the National Council explain the bloc with the Communist party, first, as a step towards the united front, secondly as a stage in the creation of a mass revolutionary party. Each of these two arguments has its weight; but mechanically placed side by side they contradict each other. The theses repeat that the united front should embrace any and all organizations of the proletariat insofar as they wish to participate in the struggle: the Labor Party, the trade-unions, even the Co-operatives. But we know well, and not from literature but from the tragic experience of the German catastrophe, that the Comintern rejects the united front with reformist ("social-Fascist") organizations. How does the I. L. P. intend to build a united front with reformist organizations in alliance with the Communist party: only from below and under the leadership of the Communist bureaucracy guaranteed in advance? To this question there is no answer.

Mentioning in passing that the bloc with the Communist party has pushed certain sections of the "official movement" to the Right, the National Council expresses the hope that these prejudices can be conquered by an active participation in daily struggles. The fact that the reactionary prejudices of the leaders of the Labor party and of the General Council of trade-unions do not frighten the leaders of the I. L. P. only does the I. L. P. credit. Unfortunately, however, it is not only a question of prejudices. When the Communist bureaucracy declares that reformism and Fascism are twins, it not only criticizes the reformist leaders incorrectly, but it provokes the rightful indignation of the reformist workers. The theses, it is true, say that the criticism of reformism should correspond to actual facts and push the reformist workers forwards and not back; but the Communist party is not mentioned in this connection by one word. What can be made of the theory of "social Fascism"? And how can the policy of the united front be built on this theory? To pass such questions in silence in the resolution does not mean to remove them from life. An open discussion could possibly force the Communist party to adopt a correct position, diplomatic evasiveness can only pile up contradictions and prepare a new catastrophe for the next

Its Present Position and Perspectives by L. Trotsky

Without defining in principle their attitude to official Communism (Stalinism) the theses of the National Council stop midway in their relation to reformism. The reformists must be criticized as **conservative democrats** and not as **Fascists**, but the struggle with them must be no less irreconcilable because of it, since British reformism is the main hindrance now to the liberation not only of the British but also of the European proletariat. The policy of a united front with reformists is obligatory but it is of necessity limited to partial tasks, especially to defensive struggles. There can be no thought of making the socialist revolution in a united front with reformist organizations. The principal task of a revolutionary party consists in freeing the working class from the influence of reformism. The error of the Comintern bureaucracy consists not in the fact that they see the most important condition for the victory of the proletariat in the leadership of a revolutionary party—that is entirely correct—but in that that being incapable of gaining the confidence of the working masses in daily struggle starting as a minority in modest roles, it demands this confidence in advance, presents ultimatums to the working class and disrupts attempts at a united front because other organizations are not willing to voluntarily hand it over the marshal's baton. This is not Marxian policy but bureaucratic sabotage. A se-

ure and firm victory of the proletarian revolution—we repeat it again—is possible only under the condition that a revolutionary party, a truly Communist party, succeeds in gaining the firm confidence of the majority of the working class before the overthrow. This central question is not touched in the theses. Why? Out of "tact" with regard to the ally? Not only that. There are deeper causes. Insufficient clarity of the theses with regard to the united front flows from the incomplete realization of the methods of the proletarian revolution. The theses speak of the necessity "to wrest the control of the economic system and the State from the capitalists class and to transfer it to the working class". But how solve this gigantic problem? To this pivotal question of our epoch the theses reply with a naked phrase: "this can only be achieved through united action of the working class". The struggle for power and the dictatorship of the proletariat remain abstraction which can be easily dissolved in the amorphous perspectives of the united front.... In the realm of ready-made revolutionary formulae the bureaucracy of the British Communist party is immeasurably better equipped. Precisely in this lies now its advantage over the leadership of the I. L. P. And it must be said openly: this superficial, purely formal advantage may under the present circumstances lead to the liquidation of the I. L. P. without any gain accruing to the Communist party and to the revolution. Objective conditions have more than once pushed tens and even hundreds of thousands of workers towards the British section of the Comintern, but the leadership of the Com-

intern was capable only of disillusioning them and of throwing them back. If the I. L. P. as a whole should enter today the ranks of the Communist party, within the next couple of months one third of the new members would return to the Labor Party, an other third would be expelled for "conciliatory attitude towards Trotskyism" and for similar crimes, finally, the remaining third, disillusioned in all its expectations would fall into indifference. As a result of this experiment the Communist party would find itself weaker and more isolated than now.

The I. L. P. can save the workers movement of England from this danger only by freeing itself from all uncertainty and haziness with regard to the ways and methods of the socialist revolution and by becoming a truly revolutionary party of the proletariat. There is no necessity of inventing anything new in this field: all has been said and said well by the first four congresses of the Comintern. Instead of feeding on bureaucratic substitutes of the epigones it is better to set all the members of the I. L. P. to the study of the resolutions of the first four congresses of the Comintern. But this alone does not suffice. It is necessary to open a discussion in the party on the lessons of the last decade which was marked by the struggle between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Left Opposition. The content of this struggle was made up of the most important stage of the world revolutionary movement; economic and political tasks of the U. S. S. R.; problems of the Chinese revolution; the policy of the Anglo-Russian committee; methods of the united front; problems of party democracy; the causes of the German catastrophe. This enormous cycle of problems cannot be passed by. These are not Russian but international problems.

In our epoch a revolutionary party cannot be **international**. What is the position of the I. L. P. on this? Having entered into an alliance with the Communist party the I. L. P. has not determined its international position. It broke with the Second International and made an alliance with the Third, but it also enters into a labor alliance with Left socialist parties. This alliance, in its turn, is not homogeneous. There are elements in it which gravitate towards Bolshevism, but there are also elements which pull towards the Norwegian Workers Party, that is, in reality towards the social-democracy. What position does the I. L. P. take on all these questions? Is it willing to share the fate of the already historically doomed Comintern, does it want to try to remain in an intermediary position (which means to return by round about ways to reformism), or is it ready to participate in the building of a new international on the foundations laid by Marx and Lenin?

To the serious reader it is clear that our criticism is least of all inspired by animosity towards the I. L. P. On the contrary, we see too clearly that if this party should ingloriously disappear from the scene socialism would suffer a new blow. And this danger exists and it is not far removed. In our epoch it is impossible to remain long in intermediary positions. Only political clarity can save the I. L. P. for the proletarian revolution. The aim of these lines is to help revolutionary clarity to pave its way.

L. TROTSKY.

* See the declaration of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) at the Paris conference.

Demand Freedom for Chen Du Siu

The life long fighter in the cause of the oppressed masses of China, Chen Du Siu, still lies in the dungeons of Chiang Kai-Shek. The International Labor Defense needs the Stalinist slander of Chen being a "counter-revolutionist" and renounces its duty to defend him. Yet they fail entirely to explain why Chen is imprisoned by the hangmen of the Chinese revolution, by the agents of world imperialism. Chen's long magnificent record in the Chinese movement is well known to these people. They are perfectly aware of his leading part in founding the party and his years of devoted service to it. Twice before have the imperialists and the Chinese bourgeoisie paid Chen the tribute of arresting him and on each occasion the workers brought about his liberation. And this time he is sentenced to thirteen years imprisonment. Arrested last October, after having been sought for by the police for many months, he made a magnificent stand at the trial and now lies in the death dungeon of Chiang Kai-Shek. Fifty-five years of age, a sentence of this kind, under the conditions existing in Chinese jails, means the slow death of our comrade.

Is this great old fighter to be left to his fate? Is the I. L. D. to be permitted to sacrifice the life of a revolutionist because of preservation of bureaucratic prestige of Stalinism? Was not the International Labor Defense organized for the defense of all class war prisoners? Is it not necessary for the working class to make common cause against the imperialist oppressor and its hangmen? The I. L. D. fails to defend Chen Du Siu because he, after the disastrous experiences in China, adhered to the Left Opposition. He has remained a revolutionary fighter ever since and a fighter better equipped with the weapon of Marxism. The workers everywhere must demand that efforts be made by the I. L. D. for the liberation of Chen Du Siu.

Warms of Crime

It is the task of the Left Opposition to warn the advanced workers of the whole world of the crime which is being prepared. The poisoned weapon should be turned against the poisoners. At the same time we must vigilantly watch that the rightful indignation of the world proletariat at the Bonapartist methods should not turn its sympathies completely away from the Soviet state. The proletarian vanguard should take upon itself the defense of the heritage of the October revolution—against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

—ONKEN.

READ YOUNG SPARTACUS OUR YOUTH ORGAN OUT EVERY MONTH

Alignment of Forces in Mexico

A New Revolt Is Growing Out of Split in Ruling Party

especially within the last two year period. While the demagoguery of the ruling clique has suffered little change unless it be to appear each time more radical in its phraseology, the government of the revolutionary bourgeoisie of 1910, turned counter-revolutionary, has been unable to satisfy the needs and demands of the masses. It has demonstrated its unwillingness and inability to solve the democratic tasks of the revolution, and the stage is being set for the next act.

1924-29 Kuo Min Tang Policy of the C. P.

During the period included roughly between the years 1924 and 1929, the revolutionary workers' movement, and especially the Communist Party, permeated with a national and peasant ideology, product of the soil of the country itself and strengthened by the opportunist colonial policy of the Communist International, supported with a mildly critical attitude the "revolutionary" bourgeoisie personified in Calles-Oregon. The several counter-revolutionary uprisings of the clergy and feudal landlords, were suppressed by the government, thanks in large part to the collaboration of the peasant masses led by members and sympathizers of the Communist Party.

Late in 1928 however, with the stabilization of the bourgeois counter-revolution and the adventist turn in the Communist International (third period) the relations between the party and the bourgeois politicians were rapidly altered.

The threatening clouds of approaching civil war once more discernible on the Mexican political horizon. The revolution, which since 1910 has cost that country more than half a million lives, with a minimum of benefit for the toiling masses, again shows signs of surging forward.

The attempt of the national bourgeoisie and the newly rich of the revolution, grouped together under the leadership of ex-president Plutarco Elias Calles, to firmly consolidate and perpetuate the one-party rule of the National Revolutionary Party (P. N. R.) at last seems to have encountered an obstacle that may upset their plans for strangling the revolution at its present bourgeois stage.

A strong Left wing led by Adalberto Tejeda, ex-Governor of Veracruz and calling itself the Left Socialist Party, representative of the radical petty bourgeoisie and various peasant groupings, has definitely split off from the dominant party, and has elaborated its platform, which in spite of demagoguery and confusion presents certain positive features. This new party has openly proclaimed its intentions to participate in the elections in opposition to the candidate of the official and heretofore almost omnipotent P. N. R. An election in Mexico, especially under such circumstances as those created by the profound economic crisis, can mean nothing but an armed struggle for power between the opposing groups. All the political forces of the nation are now aligning themselves for the impending clash.

The National Revolutionary Party (Calles-Portes Gil-Ortiz Rubio-Rodriguez) has moved constantly towards the Right since 1928, and only in the bloc of four which signed the Declaration but also in the Committee of the majority (together with two representatives of the I. L. P. and one representative of the Norwegian party). We, the Left Opposition, cannot expect and do not expect anything positive from this Committee. We consider the participation of two of our allies (S. A. P. and O. S. P.) in the Committee (the RSP, the party of Sneyvelt does not enter in the Committee) as a glaring contradiction, we consider also the voting of the representatives of the O. S. P. and the S. A. P. for the resolution of the majority as a grave political error which is capable only of sowing illusions and confusion. But it would be entirely wrong if we should on this basis renounce the honest attempt at collaboration with these two allies. Their participation in a bloc with us is the tomorrow. Their participation in the "Committee" is the yesterday.

Revolutionary irreconcilability consists not in demanding that our "leadership" be recognized a priori, not in presenting our allies at every occasion with ultimatums and threatening with a break, with the removal of signatures, etc. We leave such methods, on one hand, to the Stalinist bureaucrats, on the other, to our impatient allies. We realize that our allies will arise more than once. But we hope, more than that, we are convinced, that the march of events will reveal in deeds the impossibility of participating simultaneously in the principled bloc of four and in the unprincipled bloc of the majority. Without resorting to any unbecoming "ultimatums" we retain, however, the full right not only to appear under our own banner, but also to tell our allies openly our opinion with regard to that which we consider their mistakes. We expect the same frankness from our allies. Our alliance will only be strengthened by this.

The elaboration of a programmatic document stands now on the order of the day. The Manifesto of the new International should give a general picture of the modern capitalist world (as well as of the Soviet Union), of its economy, politics and international relations. All the convulsions of our epoch (wars, crisis, fascist barbarism) should be explained as the result of the tardiness of the proletarian revolution. The responsibility for this tardiness must be placed on the Second and Third Internationals. A special chapter of the Manifesto should be devoted to the picture of the decline of both Internationals. Conclusion: the problems of the proletarian revolution, as well as the problems of saving the U. S. S. R. demand the creation of a new International. The concluding chapters should outline the program of struggle of the new International.

The elaboration of such a document is the task of the coming two months. So responsible a task can be solved well only in a collective manner. Although it is a question of a document of an international character, the most impor-

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THE MILITANT
126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

THE MILITANT
Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swaback
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1933
Vol. VI, No. 44 (Whole No. 191)
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year
Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

Declaration of International Left Opposition to Left Socialist Conference

DECLARATION OF THE DELEGATION OF BOLSHIEV-LINISTS AT THE CONFERENCE OF LEFT-SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS. THE COLLAPSE OF BOTH INTERNATIONALS

Despite the evident disintegration of world capitalism as an economic and social system, the workers' movement of the world is now passing through a deeper crisis than after the smashing of the Paris Commune, or during the imperialist war. Two working class parties, the Communist parties which led behind them 13 million voters, capitulated without a fight before the Fascist regime. Two internationalisms were subjected to a test and proved bankrupt.

The social-democracy the bankruptcy of which became apparent in the imperialist war of 1914-1918 tried to reconstitute its ranks on the morrow of the world catastrophe thereby hindering the workers from going over to Communism and to the Third International. The defeat of the German social-democracy confirms that reformism which has brought the Second International to disaster can and could lead the workers only to new catastrophes. The social-democracy which held on to the end to the soil of rotting capitalism was itself drawn into the process of decay. However the Third International whose task it was to organize the forces of the proletariat for a revolutionary rise against the bourgeoisie of all the countries and for the victory of socialism has also failed in its task. It fell victim to bureaucratic centrism which is based on the theory and practice of Socialism in one country; in a word, it was wrecked by a system of errors which entered into history under the name of Stalinism. At the time when capitalism, torn by world contradictions, placed the international revolution on the order of the day the Comintern became only a submissive and impotent chorus to the conservative and nationally limited bureaucracy of the Soviet Union.

Thousands of Communists are now trying in Hitler's Germany to save the official party by continuing the old policy under the new conditions. With all our revolutionary sympathy for the self-sacrificing fighters we must tell them that wrongly directed efforts and sacrifices will be fruitless. Under the conditions of Fascist terror the Stalinist policy is doomed to a complete smash-up within a short time. An illegal revolutionary party in Germany must be built on new foundations.

After the living march of events had shown that Fascism and the social-democracy, the two polar tools of the bourgeois regime, exclude each other not only politically but physically, it was necessary to put the simple conclusion of this experience as the basis for all our international agitation pushing the social-democracy to the path of a united front with Communist parties. Despite all evidence, the bureaucracy of the Comintern proclaimed the firmness of the theory of social-Fascism and having completely blocked itself thereby the approach to the reformist mass organizations, it substituted masquerade blocs with impotent circles of pacifists and adventurists for the proletarian policy of the united front. If the lesson of the German catastrophe did not help the Stalinist bureaucracy, nothing will help it. New national parties and a new international is necessary.

THE POSITION OF THE BOLSHIEV-LINISTS

The participants to the present conference are of different political origin. Some split off in recent years from the parties of the Second International; there are finally some of a mixed or intermediary origin. Some acted as independent parties, others considered themselves and worked as fractions. If these organizations came together today for the first time at a common conference to try and find bases for joint work, all of them have by this very fact openly admitted the necessity for the welding together of the proletarian vanguard on new foundations.

With regard to Germany our international organization (Bolshevik-Leninists) has after serious and heated debates almost unanimously adopted this position. With regard to the Comintern as a whole, the question was formally placed by us for discussion only within the last couple of weeks. We are speaking here in the name of the International Plenum of the Bolshevik-Leninists which has approved this declaration. Our national sections have not as yet had time to fully express themselves. But the question has been prepared to such an extent by the foregoing development of events as well as by the development of the Left Opposition itself; that we have no doubt as to the verdict of our organizations. At any rate the final word belongs to our sections.

Some participants of the present conference are probably of the opinion that we came to the break with the Stalinist bureaucracy with unnecessary belatedness. It is not the place here to return to the old disputes. The fact, however, is such that our policy having taken into consideration objective conditions and not subjective moods, has given us the possibility to form stable organizations of Bolshevik-Leninists in more than twenty countries. Although in their majority they are cadres and not mass organizations, their invaluable advantage lies in the fact that they are

tied on an international scale by a unity of programmatic and strategic conception which has evolved gradually from the experiences of great events and from the struggles of the proletariat.

THE STRUGGLE WITH REFORMISM

From what has been said already, it is clear, that the break with the Centrist bureaucracy by no means makes our attitude to reformism less sharp. On the contrary, it is more irreconcilable now than ever before. We see the chief historic crime of the Stalinist bureaucracy precisely in that, that by its whole policy it renders an invaluable aid to social-democracy and hinders the proletariat from going over to the path of revolution.

For us, Bolshevik-Leninists, and we trust, also for all of you there can even be no thought of constant work in common with organizations which have not broken with the principle foundations of reformism, which continue to hope for the regeneration of the social democracy as a party or which consider the unification of the Second and Third International as their mission. Groupings permeated by such tendencies can only pull the workers backwards. And we, basing ourselves on all the lessons of the past, we want to go forward.

The "21 conditions" for the acceptance to the Communist International elaborated in its time by Lenin for the purpose of a decisive separation from all types of

BOOK REVIEW:

U. S. S. R. and World Revolution, by M. T. Florinsky, MacMillan Co. \$2.50.

Somebody, sooner or later, was bound to write this book. To readers of the *Militant*, however, there will be little in it that he or she is not already acquainted with.

Written from a professional-objective (above the classes) point of view, the book does manage to give a fairly accurate picture of the attitude of the Soviet government, the party and the Communist International leadership to the question of World Revolution from the earliest days of the Dictatorship to the present. Mr. Florinsky has, in fact, confined his book to examining that one particular question... no small task in itself.

As would be apparent, any effort at approaching the question of World Revolution would of necessity bring in the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky—or to express it in a less personal manner—between Socialism in One Country and the Permanent Revolution. The author used as his main sources of reference the theses and statutes of all the six congresses of the Comintern, and Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution* and the French edition of "The Communist International After Lenin." (The Criticism of the Draft Program, Strategy of the World Revolution).

After explaining and quoting with an air degree of accuracy from these documents, Mr. Florinsky comes to some conclusions: The first years of the Russian revolution he characterizes as the "heroic" period. It was a period when of a sudden a group of revolutionists—world revolutionists—had suddenly seized the reins of power in a country the size of one-sixth the earth's surface. Inspired by their sudden success and still mindful of the teachings of that "bearded German professor with a black frock coat" they saw the revolution as only one link in the chain forged for the inevitable world revolution. The author looks back upon those early revolutionary utterances of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek with a relieved, if somewhat, superior and tolerant feeling. It was, at least, not without a certain "grandeur"—and it was "heroic". True the Marxism of it was a little closer to the letter than the present day Stalinist brand. True enough the Communist International of those days was much more of a threat to the world bourgeoisie than the present edition of it. But, forgives Mr. Florinsky, those were "romantic" days in a "heroic" period. Let us not quibble with the author if he fails to see the whys and the wherefores of the events of 1923 in Germany. Or the raison d'être for the fascists in Hungary, Finland, etc. Others who make greater claim to being Communists have not been able to analyze the distinction between the objective and the subjective factors in the revolution as related to the party and the class.

What is important, however, is that the author is able to distinguish between a revolutionary utopianism and a nationalist utopianism. Though he wouldn't call it utopian—but sober. With the decline of the "romantic" era, continues our author, an era of sober and responsible stock-taking took place. Stalin came forward with the theory (bless the mark!) of Socialism in One Country, Trotsky reaffirmed the vitality and moving force of the theory of Permanent Revolution. Mr. Florinsky recognizes that the latter theory has much more Marxian logic than the former, but—the former (Socialism in One Country) is more sound state policy. So far as the author is concerned, a shift from the policy of World Revolution (the U. S. S. R. as the first fortress of the world revolution) was bound to take place—and needless to say, he welcomes it. As Mr. Florinsky would have it, it was the necessity of keeping Russia in step with the progress and development akin to all nations, that is, finding a mar-

reformism and anarchism, acquire at this stage again an urgent character. It is of course not a question of the text of this document which should be radically changed in accordance with the conditions of the modern period but of its general spirit of revolutionary Marxist irreconcilability.

Only under the condition of irreconcilable separation from reformism is it possible and necessary to enter into friendly cooperation with all those proletarian organizations which are actually developing from reformism towards Communism. We condemn and reject categorically the mode of actions of the Stalinist bureaucracy which treats as "left social-Fascists" all revolutionary organizations which—by the fault of the Comintern—find themselves outside the Comintern, and on the morrow of a catastrophe next in turn touchingly invites them into the Comintern as "sympathizing" parties. The Comintern is capable only of decomposing and destroying proletarian organizations but not of strengthening and educating them. The cooperation which we have in mind presupposes an honest attitude to facts, ideas, mutual comradely criticism and respect for each other.

THE FIRST FOUR CONGRESSES OF THE COMINTERN

Revolutionary policy is unthinkable without revolutionary theory. Here we need least of all to start from the beginning. We stand on the basis of Marx and Engels. The first congresses of the Communist International left us an invaluable programmatic heritage: the character of the modern epoch as an epoch of imperialism, that is of capitalist decline; the nature of modern reformism and the methods of struggle with it; the relation between democracy and proletarian

ism, guaranteeing peace, etc., etc., that prompted the U. S. S. R. to abandon its original "heroics". That real peace can be guaranteed for the U. S. S. R. by the world revolution, never for a moment occurs to professor Florinsky.

Seeing clearly that the Stalinists have abandoned world revolution for Socialism in One Country the author quotes the following from *Investigation* of February 8, 1933: "Litvinov's declaration not only is aimed against intervention in a country where there is no revolution, but in the name of the U. S. S. R. undertakes the obligation not to intervene in a country where there is a counter-revolution." No wonder that this former czarist and present professor of Columbia can exclaim: "...what an extraordinary attitude for the knights errant of world revolution!" Truly extraordinary! What a convenient promise to Hitler!

Towards the end of his book, Mr. Florinsky poses the following question: "Which of the two speaks for the real Russia of to-day? Is it the bearded and black frocked Florinsky poses the following question: Lenin, with their elaborate and dubious schemes of world revolution, their 'general' and 'inevitable' revolutionary situations, their inevitable downfall of capitalism? Or is it the young workmen and peasants awkwardly approaching new machines and tractors... standing dazzled by the wonders of the future as unfolded by their (present) leaders (Stalin, Molotov et al.)"

The author's happy conclusion is Mr. comrade Walter Duranty's whom he quotes as follows: "...the Bolshevik Kremlin to-day regards the growth of the revolutionary movement in Europe with real anxiety." *Times*, November 20, 1932. If it is hard for the workers to understand Stalin; the Campbell, Florinsky and Durantys do not find such hardships.

—MARTIN GLEE.

dictatorship; the role of the party in the proletarian revolution; the relation between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry (agrarian question); the problem of nationalities and the liberation struggle of colonial peoples; work in the trade unions; the policy of the united front; the relation to parliamentarism, etc.—all these questions have been subjected to a principled analysis by the first four congresses which has remained unsurpassed until now.

One of the first, most urgent tasks of those organizations which have inscribed on their banners the regeneration of the revolutionary movement consists in separating from the general mass the principle decisions of the first four congresses, in bringing them in order and in subjecting them to a serious discussion in the light of the future tasks of the proletariat: the present conference must, in our opinion, indicate the ways and the first steps of this necessary work.

STRATEGIC LESSONS OF THE LAST DECADE

The political life of the proletarian vanguard did not stop at the first congresses of the Communist International. Under the influence of historic circumstances, that is, of the march of the class struggle, the apparatus of the Comintern has completely gone over from Marxism to Centrism, from internationalism to national limitedness. If the building of the Third International was impossible without cleansing the teachings of Marx from the layers of reformism, so now the creation of revolutionary parties of the proletariat is unthinkable without cleansing the principles and methods of Communism from the layers and falsifications of bureaucratic centrism.

The struggle of the Left Opposition against the oscillations of the Stalinist apparatus connected with numerous and heavy sacrifices is imprinted in a series of documents of a programmatic and strategic character. In accordance with the most important political stages of the last decade the following problems have been illuminated in these documents: the economic construction of the U. S. S. R.; the party regime; the policy of the united front (Anglo-Russian Committee, on one side, the German experience, on the other); the path of the Spanish revolution ("democratic dictatorship"); the fight against war; the fight against Fascism, etc. The basic conclusions of this ten year struggle are given in a form of a synopsis in the "11 points" of the International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition. We are submitting this programmatic document here to your attention.

It is superfluous to say that on our part, we will consider with the greatest attention all the theses, resolutions and programmatic declarations in which other organizations represented here have expressed or may express their estimation of the tasks and perspectives. We do not want anything so much as the mutual exchange of experience and ideas. We wish to state with great satisfaction that the "Declaration of Principles" of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland concurs on all the basic questions with the platform of the International Left Opposition.

The present pre-conference cannot of course discuss with the necessary profundity the programmatic and strategic lessons of the world revolutionary struggle. But it is time to make a start. We permit ourselves to express the wish that each of the organizations represented here reprint our "11 points" in their press with the necessary commentaries, and that afterwards the possibility be given to us to defend our theses in the same press in discussion order. On our part we obligate ourselves to publish for the information and discussion of our sections every programmatic

document which may be introduced by other organizations and shall willingly give to the defenders of the document corresponding space in our press.

THE U. S. S. R.

The exceptional importance to the workers movement of the world and therefore also to the correct orientation of the present conference. We, Bolshevik-Leninists, consider the U. S. S. R. even in its present form as a workers' State. This estimation needs no illusions or embellishment.

One cannot feel anything but contempt for those "friends" of the U. S. S. R. who declare every work of criticism against the Soviet bureaucracy as a counter-revolutionary act. If revolutionists had been guided by such rules of conduct, the October revolution would have never taken place.

We reject as a mockery of Marxism the Brandlerian position according to which the policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy represents a chain of errors in all other countries, but remains infallible in the U. S. S. R. Such a "theory" is based on the negation of the general principles of proletarian policy and brings the International down to a mere sum total of national parties the leaders of which are always ready to close their eyes to mutual sins. A Marxian can have nothing in common with this social-democratic conception.

The policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the U. S. S. R. is of the same principle nature as the policy of the Comintern. The dif-

ference lies not in methods but in objective conditions: in the U. S. S. R. the bureaucracy bases itself on the foundations laid by the proletarian revolution, and if in a decade it succeeded in squandering the capital of the Comintern, in the U. S. S. R. it has undermined but not liquidated the foundations of the socialist state. The Soviet proletariat, practically deprived of the party, trade unions and Soviets which were seized by the bureaucracy, defends by its revolutionary traditions the workers' state from a bourgeois overturn.

To identify the social order of the U. S. S. R. with "state capitalism" or German type, is to ignore the main question of the social order, namely the property character and to open the doors wide to false and dangerous conclusions. On this question there can be for us no ambiguities and no compromises. The defense of the workers' state from imperialism and counter-revolution remains as heretofore the duty of every revolutionary worker. But to serve this defense does not at all mean to become a tool of Soviet diplomacy.

The acts and declarations of Soviet diplomacy have provoked not once, especially in the past period, the burning and entirely righteous indignation of the advanced workers. Nothing weakens the international position of the U. S. S. R. more, despite all recognitions and non-aggression pacts, than the through and through opportunist external policy of the Stalinists, permeated by the pacifying illusions

of "socialism in one country". One cannot defend the U. S. S. R. without the revolutionary struggles of the world proletariat; there can be no revolutionary struggles without independence from Soviet bureaucracy as well as from Soviet diplomacy. On the other hand, the most irreconcilable criticism of Stalinism does not exclude but on the contrary prescribes a united front with the Soviet bureaucracy against the common enemies.

THE PARTY REGIME

The question of the party regime should become the subject of the greatest attention in the building of new parties and of a new International. Workers' democracy is not an organizational but a social problem. In the last analysis the stifling of workers democracy is the result of the pressure of class enemies through the medium of the workers' bureaucracy. This historic law is equally confirmed by the history of reformism in capitalist countries as well as by the experience of the bureaucratization of the Soviet state.

The social-democracy attains the regime necessary for it by means of a complicated system: on one hand, it systematically expels not only from the party but also from the trade unions radically or critically inclined workers, if they cannot be bribed by remunerative positions; on the other hand, it frees its ministers, parliamentarians, journalists and prof-bureaucrats from submitting to discipline with regard to the party. The combined methods of repression, betrayal and bribery permit the social-democracy to retain the semblance of discussions, elections, control etc., while remaining at the same time the apparatus of the imperialist bourgeoisie within the working class.

By means of the state apparatus, the Stalinist bureaucracy liquidated the party, Soviet and trade-union democracy not only in essence but also in form. The regime of personal dictatorship has been fully transmitted from the C. P. U. to all the parties of the capitalist countries. The party bureaucrats' sole aim is to interpret the supreme will. The party masses have only one right: to keep silence and to obey. Repressions, baiting, bribery are the usual methods for keeping "order" in the party. Such is the path of decay and ruin of the proletarian parties.

A revolution is brought up only in the atmosphere of criticism of all that exists, including also his own organization. A firm discipline can be attained only by conscious trust in the leadership. The trust can be gained not only by correct policy but also by an honest attitude to one's mistakes. The question of the inner regime acquires for us thus an extraordinary importance. The advanced workers must be given the possibility of a conscious and independent participation in the building of the party and in the direction of its whole policy. Young workers must be given the possibility to think, criticize, make mistakes and correct themselves.

It is clear, on the other hand, that the regime of party democracy can lead to the creation of a hardened and unanimous army of proletarian fighters only in case our organizations basing themselves on the firm principles of Marxism, are ready to fight irreconcilably but with democratic methods, all opportunistic, centrist and adventurist influences.

The orientation towards a new International is dictated by the whole course of development. This does not mean, however, that we propose to proclaim a new International immediately. We would have introduced such a proposal without hesitation had the organizations represented here already been in actual, that is tested by experience, agreement with regard to the basic principles and methods of revolutionary struggle. But we have not got it. We can arrive at a principle unanimity and therefore on an International only through joint revolutionary work and serious mutual criticism.

A new International cannot be prepared without practical participation in the unfolding events. To counterpose a programmatic discussion to the revolutionary struggle would of course be false. It is necessary to combine the two. We welcome the fact that the conference placed on its agenda urgent questions in connection with the fight against Fascism and against war, and in each of these fields we are ready, hand in hand with other organizations to make a real step forward.

Comrades! Without leadership, without international direction the world proletariat will be unable to free itself from the present oppression. The creation of a new International depends not only on the objective course of events but also on our own efforts. It is very likely that already now we are much stronger than it may seem to many of us. Not in vain does history show us how an organization possessing authority but having lost direction may for a long time keep on piling up errors seemingly unpunished; but finally the course of events brings the inevitable collapse. On the contrary, an organization which is armed with a reliable compass but has for a long period remained in an insignificant minority, can without the advance of a historic turn suddenly rise to a higher level. Under the condition of correct policy on our part, such a possibility opens up before us. With joint forces let us try not to miss this opportunity. Our revolutionary responsibility is immeasurably great. Let our creative work rise to the height of this responsibility.

—JACK WEBER.
(To Be Continued)

Discussion on the N. R. A. and the Slogan of Nationalization

This article deals with a subject which has not formerly been discussed in the *Militant*, it is therefore accepted explicitly as a discussion article. The views expressed are those of the writer. Other contributions in discussion of this subject are invited, but they should not exceed 700 words—Ed.

(Continued from last issue)

In answer to the industrial codes adopted by the capitalists in their desperately organized attempt to bring about "recovery" from the crisis, the Communists have now the task, with the aid of the workers in the several industries, of laying out specific workers' codes of action. But before proceeding with a model of such a code of action as applied to coal mining and involving the slogans of nationalization and workers' control, it may help to forestall first of all objections raised against these slogans "in principle".

No field offers greater danger of blundering and of falling into opportunism than that of partial demands and intermediate slogans. Nevertheless the Communist does not reject such demands and slogans in toto just because there is this danger. A criterion for the choice of our tactics and slogans was given by Lenin in his brochure on Left Communism: "The whole point lies in being able to apply these tactics to raise and not to lower the general level of proletarian class-consciousness and revolutionary ability to fight and conquer." Thus the decision as to the correctness or incorrectness of a slogan rests to a large extent on our judgment of the ripeness or unripeness, not of the advanced workers but of the mass of workers to rally around and fight for a given slogan. Our purpose is not to sink to the level of the backward masses, not to hide the truth from them by sinking into opportunism, not to win them over to false slogans and to a false ideology, but to take into account as an objective factor for us, the Communists, the present mood, state of consciousness and preparedness of the class as a whole.

Life alone is the final arbiter in the matter of choice of tactics. Literature is never decisive, but it can be extremely helpful if properly understood and applied. In this sense it would be a worthwhile task to collate all the writings, particularly since the formation of the Comintern, on the questions of nationalization and workers' control. For particularly at the present moment in America, with events moving at tremendous speed, with the working class commencing anew its lessons in organization first of all in trade unions, with the posing of economic and political problems to the workers on a vaster scale than ever before in American history, it is of vital importance that we understand their true dialectic nature, their usefulness in elevating the plane of struggle at the proper moment from that of immediate and intermediate demands to that of power, and consequently their proper place in the strategy of revolution.

The Struggle Against Ultra-Leftism

Theses on Partial Demands and Intermediate Slogans were adopted by the Leninist Third and Fourth Congresses of the Comintern. Just before the Third Congress Lenin gave cognizance to the sharp ultra-Leftist trend in the international movement with Bucharin as its foremost theoretician in the Soviet Union. Lenin wrote his pamphlet on "Left Communism" to combat this infantism and had it distributed among the delegates to the Third Congress in order to alter the "intransigent" attitude of some towards partial demands and slogans. So much did the false position of Bucharin and others cause concern to Lenin that he

took the unprecedented step of announcing at the Congress that he spoke in favor of the theses proposed on partial demands only under the discipline of his fraction. Between the Third and Fourth Congresses, Lenin, Trotsky, Radek and Zinoviev carried on a struggle against the ultra-Leftist position to such good purpose that at the Fourth Congress Bucharin himself was forced to read a Declaration in which the Russian fraction announced that they considered as false and incorrect the view expressed on partial demands, the idea that these were opportunistic in the Third Congress theses.

In his desire to correct the views which had caused Bucharin and others to attack Lenin and Trotsky as Rightists and opportunists at the Third Congress, Lenin posed the questions at issue in the simplest yet sharpest terms. For example: "Communists, adherents of the Third International, exist in all countries precisely for the purpose of adapting, along the whole line in every domain of life, the old socialist, trade unionist, syndicalist and parliamentary activities to the new Communist idea." Again: "We do not know and we cannot know which of the inflammable sparks which now fly in all countries, fanned by the economic and political world crisis, will be the one to start the conflagration (in the sense of a particular awakening of the masses); we are therefore bound to utilize our new Communist principles in the cultivation of all and every field of endeavor no matter how old, rotten, and seemingly hopeless."

What were the specific issues in the controversy over partial demands? Radek, working closely together with Lenin and Trotsky at that time, proposed for capitalist countries (particularly but not solely for Germany), the ideas of partial confiscation of capitalist property (satirization of trusts), workers' government, workers' control of production. These slogans were not given for the future when a revolutionary situation would once more arise, but for the period preceding it and which is preparing it. And in view of the existence of the separate organizations of the working masses at that time (2nd, 2nd and one-half, 3rd international, and social democratic trade unions), Radek proposed the adoption of the United Front tactic to carry out these slogans. Bucharin was so much opposed to the United Front tactic as to the slogans to which the tactic was to be applied. In the settling of this controversy, it was carried before an enlarged Plenum of the C. I. in Dec. 1921 when for the first time the C. I. gave its formal adherence to the tactic of the United Front despite the argument of Bucharin that this essentially class slogan might become, in a pre-revolutionary situation, a cover for class collaboration.

The argument against intermediate slogans as being essentially class collaboration (including that against the United Front) would be correct if these slogans are divorced from the slogans involving the struggle for power and for the seizure of industries and these latter from a real mass struggle. To hide our real views and ultimate goal would be to practice opportunism. At all times we warn the workers that their final salvation under capitalism is an utter illusion, that even the partial nationalization of any industry cannot help the working class in any final sense, that only the workers can achieve their own emancipation, and only by the overthrow of the capitalist system and the seizure of all industries by the workers.

—JACK WEBER.
(To Be Continued)

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