

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE

THE MILITANT

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For a New Party and a New International!

After the ignominious collapse of both the Social Democracy and the Communist International in Germany, and the subsequent inability of both these organizations to draw any lessons from this historical catastrophe, it is impossible any longer to conceal the fact that a revolutionary organization of the proletariat capable of leading it to victory does not exist. It must be created anew.

The National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is in complete agreement with the declaration issued to the Paris conference by the delegation of the International Left Opposition and approves its actions there. The N. C. likewise endorses the steps taken by the four organizations at the Paris conference toward the formation of a new Communist International and will devote its efforts henceforth, in cooperation with all other revolutionary groups and organizations willing to participate, to the task of directly assembling the forces for the creation of a new party, as the American section of the new (Fourth) International.

The entire membership of the League has unanimously endorsed this course after a thorough internal discussion of the question and has empowered the National Committee to proclaim its complete break with the Stalinist Comintern and its American section and to renounce the struggle to reform them. From this time onward the Communist League ceases to regard itself as a faction of the official Stalinist Party, which has become a direct brake on the development of the workers' movement, and invites the cooperation of all revolutionary workers, regardless of their present affiliation or non-affiliation, in common efforts leading to the construction of a genuine Communist Party in America.

Taking the necessity to create a new party as the point of departure, the Communist League proposes a frank and comradely discussion with other individuals, groups and organizations aiming toward the same goal and submits, for their consideration, the following points:

American Perspectives

Under the terrific pressure of the crisis years the conditions have been rapidly maturing for the class awakening of the American workers and for an enormous acceleration of the class struggle. In the next period the social contradictions will explode in a series of gigantic class battles in the course of which the workers can assimilate the revolutionary lessons in an abridged form and rapidly leap forward on the path toward revolutionary action. To assist and guide this process a new party, wresting the banner of Communism from the sabotaging bureaucratic clique of Stalinism, must be created. And, under the given conditions, this new party will have before it the possibility and prospect of expansion into a powerful mass organization within a comparatively short time.

Fundamental Principles

The new Communist Party, the necessity for which arises from the complete bankruptcy of reformism on the one side and of bureaucratic centrism (Stalinism) on the other, cannot consist of an indiscriminate combination of reformist and centrist elements. On the contrary, the new party can come into existence, take shape and grow up to the requirements of its colossal historic task only if it stands on a firm programmatic foundation and tolerates no conciliation toward reformist and centrist currents. For this program no new revelation is needed. The revolutionary teachings

Declaration of the National Committee of the Communist League of America - Opposition

of Marx and Engels, cleansed once again of the reformist and centrist distortions and falsifications, are the fundamental principle guide for the new party.

The first four Congresses of the Comintern, conducted under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, have concretized these teachings and applied them, in a series of unsurpassed theses and resolutions, to the basic problems of our epoch. The ten-years' struggle of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists), during which the guiding ideas of the first four Congresses of the Comintern were carried forward and counterposed on each and every important question of the living movement to the degenerating course of Stalinism, have been summarized in the "11 Points" adopted by the International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition. All these documents referred to above retain their fundamental validity and constitute, in our opinion, the programmatic basis for the new party.

For Revolutionary Internationalism -- Against the Theory of Socialism in One Country

The theoretical source of the degeneration and final downfall of the Communist International and its national sections, including the American, was the rejection of the Marxist principle of revolutionary internationalism and its substitution by the theory of "socialism in one country". The Communist movement which has been destroyed by this reactionary-nationalist theory cannot arise again without a clear and categorical rejection of it.

Defense of the Soviet Union

The ten-year regime of Stalinism has strangled the party and the workers organizations in the Soviet Union and has facilitated enormously the danger of a counter-revolutionary capitalist overthrow. The Stalinist regime has undermined the foundations of the Soviet state and is leading it toward destruction. The social content of the October revolution, however, is still alive and, by its property character, which is the decisive criterion, the Soviet Union remains, even with the monstrous bureaucratic distortions, a workers' state.

The defense of the Soviet Union, encircled by a world of class enemies and systematically weakened from within by the Stalinist regime, is the unconditional duty of the international proletariat. The formation of new parties and a new international does not contradict this task but is necessitated by it. The reform of the Soviet workers' state in the U. S. S. R., and its defense against capitalist intervention and counter-revolution, now depend upon the formation of strong revolutionary organizations in the capitalist countries which will be capable of putting up a revolutionary resistance at home to capitalistic military ventures and of exerting a pressure on the internal regime in the U. S. S. R. and influencing the Soviet proletariat. Under the theory of "socialism in one country" the role of the Communist parties has been debased to the task of the pacifist "defense of the Soviet Union", and for this all kinds of dubious "Friends of the Soviet Union" have been recruited and hired

while the tested revolutionary militants have been persecuted, slandered and expelled.

But it is precisely in the task of defending the Soviet Union at the moment of danger that the present Stalinist parties are most completely impotent. The strongest party of the Comintern, the German C. P., capitulated without a sign of resistance to the Fascist bands before the latter were armed with state power. The possibility that the weakest of such parties can offer any resistance whatever to the military designs of the capitalist states must be dismissed altogether as the most dangerous phantasy. The internal reform and regeneration of the Soviet state and its defense against world imperialism is the joint task of the new parties in the capitalist countries and in the Soviet Union.

The United Front

From its inception, and also in the process of its formation which may be more or less prolonged, the new party will naturally take part in the living movement of the working class and employ therein the tactic of the united front. This tactic, which presupposes temporary agreements with reformist organizations for specific separate actions, requires the categorical rejection of the theory of "social fascism" and the united front from below only. On the one hand, the new party should conduct negotiations and make temporary agreements with the official representatives of reformist organizations when they take a step forward under the pressure of the masses—a tactic which the Stalinists have rejected "in principle"—and on the other hand, it will reject any proposals for a "non-aggression pact" excluding criticism—which the Stalinists have accepted.

Trade Union Policy

The new party will find its road to the masses and gain influence over their movement only on the condition that it follows a Marxist policy on the trade union question, that is, the most important question of the American movement. Such a policy requires a penetration of the workers' mass organizations as they exist in reality, regardless of their form, and at the same time an irreconcilable struggle against the capitalist agents within them. The Stalinist dogma of "red" paper unions and the opportunist policy of "adaptation" to the reactionary leadership in the trade union movement are equally pernicious.

Against the Right Wing Apologists of Stalinism

The new party cannot represent a mechanical combination of "opposition" groups, but will be obliged to take a precise attitude toward each of them with respect to its platform and, especially, with respect to the general direction of its development. The Brandlerist clique (Lovestone, Wolfe & Co.) which effected a formal separation from the Stalinists with the dissolution of the Right-Center bloc in 1929, devotes itself to servile attempts to reestablish this bloc. It remains in fundamental unity with Stalinism on all the principle questions and shamefully justifies and apologizes for its systematic errors and crimes. The irreconcilable struggle of the new party against Stalinism presupposes and requires an equally unrelenting hostility to the Right wing camp followers of Stalinism.

Party Democracy

The new party must establish within its ranks a regime of democratic centralism which permits freedom of discussion and criticism on the one hand and unity of action on the other. The free election of officials from top to bottom, the control of the officials by the rank and file and the right of every member to express his opinions in an atmosphere free from baiting and threats of expulsion, must be combined with a clearly defined principle foundation for party membership and a disciplined unity of the entire organization in action before the outside world.

Forces for the New Party

The Communist League, as it is at present constituted, does not consider itself a party and has no intention of anticipating the real establishment of the new party by proclaiming itself as such. The task now is to recognize firmly that our role as a faction striving to reform the party of official Stalinism is exhausted, to strike out on a completely independent path, and to prepare, in cooperation with all other groups and organizations moving in the same direction, for the formation of a new party.

In the course of its struggle to reform the official party, as a faction of it, the Left Opposition worked out a program, consolidated a cadre of principled militants and formed the skeleton of a national organization. These accomplishments can be regarded now as part of the capital of the new movement; not all that is necessary for the formation of the party, but contributions to it.

What is needed now is the coming-together of the various groups* of revolutionary workers who have broken, or who are in the process of breaking, with reformism and centrism as well as those dispersed individual revolutionists who have been repelled by the Stalinist bureaucracy and remain without affiliation. It is self-evident that the working out of a common program and the eventual concentration of these forces into a single party must be preceded by an exchange of opinion and discussion and, very probably, will involve a transition period of cooperation before the final fusion.

Whatever form the next development may take, the Left Opposition is ready now, to enter into open and comradely negotiations and discussions with other groups which seriously set for themselves the same goal. After its long and unrelenting struggle against the arrogant bureaucracy and ultimatic methods of Stalinism, the Left Opposition least of all can seek to impose anything on others or to demand the acceptance in advance of its proposals, its program or its "leadership". Submitting the foregoing points for discussion, we on our part are ready to give attentive and comradely consideration to any different proposals and to bring them to the attention of our members and supporters by publication in the *Militant*, together with our comments on them.

With this object in view the columns of the *Militant* will be open for a discussion of the question of a new Party and a new International.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA
(OPPOSITION)

The Eleven Points - The Fundamental Principles of the International Left Opposition

We are republishing herewith the Eleven Points of the International Left Opposition Pre-Conference Thesis, as amended at the last international plenum. The amendment is contained in Point 10. Formerly this point corresponded to our position as a faction working for the reform of the Comintern, for the victory within the Comintern of Marxism over the Right and Centrist currents. The present text contained in this point corresponds with our orientation for regrouping into a new International. This text is proposed for the ratification of the various International Left Opposition sections.—Ed.

The International Left Opposition stands on the ground of the first four congresses of the Comintern. This does not mean that it bows before every letter of its decisions, of which many had a purely temporary character and in individual practical consequences have been refuted by subsequent practice. But all the essential principles (relation to imperialism and to the bourgeois state; the dictatorship of the proletariat; the re-

lation to the peasantry and to the oppressed nations; soviets; work in the trade unions; parliamentarism; the policy of the united front) remain even today the highest expression of proletarian strategy in the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism.

The Left Opposition rejects the revisionist decisions of the 5th and 6th World Congresses and considers necessary a radical restatement of the program of the Comintern, in which the gold of Marxism has been rendered completely worthless by the Centrist ally.

In accordance with the spirit and the sense of the decisions of the first 4 world congresses, and in continuation of these decisions, the Left Opposition sets up the following principles, develops them theoretically and carries them through practically:

1. The independence of the proletarian party, always and under

- all conditions; condemnation of the Kuo Min Tang policy of 1924-1928; condemnation of the policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee; condemnation of Stalin's theory of two-class (worker and peasant) parties and of the whole practice based on this theory; condemnation of the policy of the Amsterdam Congress in which the Communist party was dissolved in the pacifist swamp.
2. Recognition of the international character of the proletarian revolution; rejection of the theory of socialism in one country as well as of the policy of national bolshevism which complements it in Germany (platform of "National Liberation").
3. Recognition of the Soviet state as a workers' state in spite of the growing degeneration of the bureaucratic regime. Unconditional command that every worker defend the Soviet state against imperialism and

- as well as against internal counter-revolution.
4. Condemnation of the economic policy of the Stalinist faction both in its stage of economic opportunism in 1923 to 1928 (struggle against "overindustrialization" and staking all on the kulaks), as well as its stage of economic adventurism in 1928 to 1932 (over-stretched tempo of industrialization, thoroughgoing collectivization, administrative liquidation of the kulaks as a class). Condemnation of the criminal bureaucratic legend that "the Soviet state has already entered into the Socialism". Recognition of the necessity of a return to the realistic economic policies of Leninism.
5. Recognition of the necessity of systematic Communist work in the proletarian mass organizations, particularly in the reformist trade unions, condemnation of the theory and practice of the Red Trade Union of a developed united front policy with respect to the mass organiza-

- tions of the working class, both of trade union and political character, including the social democracy as a party. Condemnation of the ultimatic slogan "only from below", which in practice means a refusal of the united front and consequently the refusal to create soviets. Condemnation of the opportunistic application of the united front policy as in the Anglo-Russian Committee (bloc with the leaders without the masses and against the masses); double condemnation of the policy of the present German Central Committee, which combines the ultimatic slogan "only from below" with opportunist practice on the occasion of parliamentary pacts with the leaders of the Social Democracy.
6. Rejection of the theory of social-fascism and of the whole practice bound up with it, as serving Fascism on the one hand and the Social Democracy on the other.

7. Rejection of the theory of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" as a separate regime distinguished from the dictatorship of the proletariat which carries along the peasant and the oppressed masses in general behind it, rejection of the anti-Marxist theory of the peaceful "growing over" of the democratic dictatorship into the socialist one.
8. Recognition of the necessity of mobilizing the masses under transitional slogans corresponding to the concrete situation in each country, and particularly under democratic slogans insofar as it is a question of struggle against feudal relations, national oppression or different varieties of open imperialistic dictatorship (Fascism, bonapartism, etc.).
9. Recognition of the necessity of a developed united front policy with respect to the mass organiza-

10. The struggle for the regrouping of the revolutionary forces of the world's working class under the banner of International Communism. Recognition of the necessity of the creation of a genuine Communist International capable of applying the principles enumerated above.
11. Recognition of Party democracy not only in words but also in fact; ruthless condemnation of the Stalinist plebiscitary regime (gagging the will and the thought of the party, the rule of the usurpers, deliberate suppression of information from the party, etc.).

The fundamental principles enumerated above, which are of basic importance for the strategy of the proletariat in the present period, place the Left Opposition in a position of irreconcilable hostility to the Stalinist faction which currently dominates the U. S. S. R. and the C. I. The recognition of these principles on the basis of the decisions of the first 4 congresses of the Comintern, is an indispensable condition for the acceptance of single organizations, groups and persons into the composition of the International Left Opposition.

mass
meeting

For a NEW INTERNATIONAL!
And a NEW COMMUNIST PARTY for AMERICA!

SPEAKERS

JAMES P. CANNON
MAX SHACHTMAN

Irving Plaza Hall
IRVING PLACE and 15th STREET
SATURDAY, SEPT. 30, 8 P. M.
ADMISSION: 15 CENTS

60th Birthday of Rakovsky His Activities During War

The sixtieth birthday of Christian Georgievich Rakovsky (born September 1, 1873) brings to mind again some of the episodes in his life during that crucial period of the world war when the proletarian international was breaking through the sea of depression, treachery and slander like new life surging out of the primeval slime.

Christian Rakovsky was the inspiring leader of the modern socialist movement in Rumania. The labor movement as such took shape there only in 1905, under the direct influence of the Russian revolution, and it bore an almost exclusively economic character. "Later on," writes one of the founders of the Rumanian Communist Party, Arhori-Ralli, "after the year 1907, when the government proceeded to mass deportations of Jewish, Hungarian and Transylvanian workers and banished the labor leader Rakovsky from the land, the movement took on a political coloring. In the spring of 1909, the arrest of Rakovsky on the border of Rumania, coinciding with the protest meeting on the occasion of Ferrer's execution, produced the first significant collision between the working masses and the police."

The representative of the Rumanian social democracy in the Bureau of the Second International up to the outbreak of the war, was comrade Rakovsky. His Bulgarian origin (the rabid bourgeois press always referred to him contemptuously as the "Rumanian" Rakovsky), far from militating against his activity in Rumania, contributed to making him known as the most prominent internationalist in the Balkans, one of the leading proponents of the Balkan Federative Republic, the socialist who was equally at home in Bucharest, Sofia, Belgrade, Athens or Constantinople. Of all the members of the doomed Bureau, Rakovsky was perhaps the only one who remained a genuine internationalist. The others flocked either to the standard of the Allies or of the Entente.

Delegate to Zimmerwald

The Rumanian party instantly took a position against the war and until the country was drawn into the European shambles, the party developed a systematic agitation against it. In February 1915 it was represented at the all-Balkan protest meeting against war organized in Sofia by the Bulgarian Left wing socialists (the "Narrows" inspired by Blagov, Kolarov and others). At a conference which took place there at the same time, the Rumanians joined with the Left wing Bulgarians and the Serbians under Lapchevitch to break conclusively with the Right wing Bulgarians (the "Broad-minded"). In July of the same year, finally, with representatives attending from Bulgaria, Greece and Rumania (the Serbs were prevented from sending a delegate because of the war conditions), the social patriots of Europe were decisively condemned and with them, the policy of the Second International. At the same period, the Rumanian socialists associated themselves openly with the Zimmerwald Commission and delegated comrade Rakovsky to attend the first conference at Zimmerwald.

At Zimmerwald, Rakovsky found himself side by side with his life long friend and comrade, Trotsky. At that time, as is known, both Rakovsky and Trotsky were still engaged in that sharp dispute with Lenin which marked many of the pre-October years of the evolution of Bolshevism. Internationalists to the core though they were they did not eye to eye with Lenin on all the burning problems of the day. Trotsky, in particular, exerted his efforts towards arriving at a solution which would not only produce a unanimous manifesto out of the Zimmerwald Conference but would leave the true Left wing the opportunity of maintaining close contact with the millions of confused and war socialist workers who had not yet found the revolutionary path. Rakovsky, like Lenin, Kolarov, Yarsky, Lazzari and a score of others appended their names to the compromise manifesto of Zimmerwald drafted by Trotsky.

In France, the internationalists, who had to be sought with lanterns, enlisted the aid not only of Trotsky, but also of Rakovsky. His polemic with the chauvinist Charles Dumas, was published as a brochure both in Bucharest and Paris, and circulated clandestinely throughout France by the first internationalist group of Rosmer and Monatte. The French chauvinist press denounced him as the grand chief of Austrian espionage in the Balkans, just as Trotsky was denounced as "the principal agent of Rakovsky" before the war!

"Rakovsky," wrote the Paris *Matin* at the end of 1917, "in order to establish a center of surveillance and propaganda, granted funds to Trotsky and the latter opened a little bookstore in Vienna where papers and pamphlets in the Slavic language were put on sale. All those of Russian birth living in Vienna would come together in this bookstore which rapidly became their habitual meeting place. They were not alone to come there; they encountered Serbians, Bulgarians, Macedonians... A revolutionary circle, a laboratory of espionage, Trotsky's bookshop was still another thing: a mouse-trap, coming out of which certain revolutionists could be picked up by the Russian police..." Elsewhere, Rakovsky was attacked by the gutter press of the French bourgeoisie (itself heavily subsidized by the Czar's Foreign Office to support the Pan-Slavic

policy in the Balkans) as the man "elected by Suedekum to assist in the Boche's maneuver in Rumania". (Perhaps it now becomes clear from what spiritual springs some zealous Stalinists have quaffed the inspiration for the attacks upon Trotsky and Rakovsky as agents of the Rumanian Siguranza, the Polish Schlyachta, etc., etc.)

Rakovsky Imprisoned

On August 15, 1916 Rumania finally declared war on the Dual Monarchy. The last public anti-war meeting of the Rumanian socialists, scheduled for the same day, was surrounded by troops; the masses were dispersed by cavalry charges. Two weeks later, the daily paper of the party, which Rakovsky helped so generously to maintain, was suppressed by the government. Almost all the party members were called to the front. All the members of the Central Committee, with two exceptions, were instantly arrested. Rakovsky himself met with the same fate and was interned as a dangerous enemy of the state. The two members of the Committee who had remained at liberty, were then also arrested after having sent a written protest to Bratiansu, the president of the ministerial council, against the imprisonment of Rakovsky. The party itself was driven into virtual illegality.

Rakovsky, "the valiant leader of the Rumanian social democracy," as he was called by the attorney, Nicolau, remained imprisoned at Jassy for months. In March 1917, the proletariat of Rumania, despite the occupation of most of the country by the German troops, was brought to its feet again by the intoxicating news of the overthrow of the Czarist regime in Russia and the triumph of the insurrectionary masses. For the first time since war was declared, thousands of men and women appeared in half-spontaneous demonstrations on the streets, demanding bread and freedom. The Russian revolution was discussed on every hand and the outlawed socialists began to resume their activities. It seemed as if the release of Rakovsky would soon be effected.

Russian Troops Release Rakovsky

The German forces of occupation became alarmed at the ferment in the masses. Meetings were forbidden. The May Day demonstrations, for which permission had first been obtained, were ordered called off by the German officials. But in one part of Rumania, the May Day of international proletarian solidarity was celebrated nevertheless. The Russian revolutionary soldiers, stationed on the border which divided Rumania from the Ukraine, moved in upon Jassy, red flags at their head, and tore upon the prison doors which confined Rakovsky and his comrades. The internationalists were liberated and put at the head of a triumphal procession that went through the streets of the city.

Immediately thereafter, Rakovsky passed the frontier into turbulent Russia to put his magnificent talents at the disposal of Bolshevism and the proletarian revolution. A new epoch was commencing in his life.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Doll Workers Strike Strong

The Doll and toy workers, 6,000 strong, are now in the fifth week of their strike. We now have one strong union, thanks to those workers who forced the shops controlled by the Stalinists to liquidate their paper union, join our A. F. of L. union and come down on strike. The Stalinists, matched their step forward with a corresponding step backward; they entered the A. F. of L. individually, not as a body. The workers are not in a position to offer organized resistance as a Left wing to the administration which is showing signs of capitulation.

Cannon and Farulla, the Right wing leaders of our union, are following a policy that will lead to defeat. They refused to let certain shops where scabs were working have a mass picket line. At a meeting of shop chairmen, workers from the Rosenberg Toy shop came in and asked for a mass picket line because scabs were working there. Farulla told them to do without mass picketing because the union had no money to get arrested pickets out of jail.

The Freindlich Doll Shop pickets asked for mass picketing because of scabs. Again the leadership tried to talk the workers out of it, but they kept demanding until three days later, Tuesday, September 26, the leadership was forced to give in 400 strikers picketed the shop, and their militancy and solidarity struck fear into the hearts of the scabs. Only about 10 percent of them showed up for work Wednesday morning and even these didn't go up to work. Some of the scabs even picketed. No one was arrested, in spite of what the leaders told us. Workers must fight for mass picket lines at those shops reporting scabs and we can win the strike.

Some of the scabs said that the reason they went back was because they have to eat. We must demand and fight for strike relief.

The workers should be on guard and fight for the above demands. Regular and frequent meetings of all committees (shop, strike, settlement, etc.) must be had so that we can collectively work to win the strike.

—A DOLL WORKER.

Brandler International Makes Overtures to Stalin

The Brandler-Lovestone "International," or whatever is left of it, held a plenary meeting, following right upon the heels of the gigantic German experiences, and once more demonstrated its incapacity to distinguish the face of the revolution from its rear. The sum total of its deliberations it crystallized into new efforts to pull the revolutionary movement backward to the Stalinist Right-Centrist bloc. A resolution adopted imposes this orientation as binding upon its affiliated groups. But hardly was the ink on the signatures dry before its biggest affiliate, the Swedish (Kilbom) Communist party, which was not represented at the meeting, broke the binding decisions and attended the Paris conference of Left Socialists and Communist parties. Meanwhile the split-off Gitlow group in the United States has come out openly against the Brandler policy and proclaims the collapse of the Brandler-Lovestone "International".

This is true; this "International" is collapsing. After Jilek and Hais of Czechoslovakia led their trade union following back to the social democracy in the Amsterdam International, the French P. U. P. started to tread the same ideological path. The Neurath group of Czechoslovakia took the opposite course to the Left Opposition, and the Swiss Brandler section is permeated with and learning from the ideas of the Left Opposition. Stagnant ideologically, this "International" is dimly, organizationally. With all its opportunist practicality it neither embraced masses nor brought correct ideas into the movement. From the German experiences it has learned nothing. Its orientation to pull the movement backward becomes so much more distinctly fallacious in this epoch of deep going differentiations in which groups and parties, formerly social democratic, are groping their way toward Communism.

Right Wing Prepared the Ground For Bureaucratic Adventurism

The Brandler-Lovestone meeting brought forward a document which, theoretically verifies what has been said above. This document is characteristic for its lamentations over the ultra-Leftism pervading the Comintern, for its fulminations against "Trotskyism" and for its overtures to the Stalin regime on the basis of live and let live.

But it is precisely these partners of the former Right-Centrist bloc who prepared the ground for the "ultra-Leftism"—it should be called by its correct name, bureaucratic adventurism—which they lament so much. It is their opportunism which prepared the zig-zags to the "Left", to adventurism by the fact of Centristism, having no consistent Marxian position. In pursuing its empiricist outlook and methods it recoils from opportunism to adventurism when pressed by events and

the catastrophes resulting from its own policies. These Right wing lamentations have no complaints to make over the disastrously false and opportunist bloc with Chiang Kai-Shek in the Chinese revolution or the bloc with the strike-breaking bureaucrats in the Anglo-Russian Committee, or the many other similar combinations.

Their fulminations against "Trotskyism", that is, against the Left Opposition, are all borrowed from Stalin, and they have made no improvements upon them. It is quite natural that these people should find themselves at one with Stalin in this respect for today after the terrible German catastrophe, it has been demonstrated more clearly than ever that the Left Opposition, with its orientation for new national parties and for a new International, represents the main kernel of the progressive forces within the proletarian movement. Moreover, these people also know that it is only through such fulminations that the requirements can be met for application for re-entry into the Stalin bureaucracy.

The Anti-Trotsky Crusade

In essence this Right wing document, except for its lamentation over "ultra-Leftism", absolves Stalinism from any complicity in the German defeat. It says—we quote from the document published in the *Workers Age*, of September 15: "Especially it is necessary to expose all attempts to attribute tactical mistakes to the C. I. and its P. U. P. and the defeat of the German working class to the alleged national interests of the Soviet Union. The assertion that the theory of the construction of socialism in one country has made the Russian Communists sacrifice the interests of the workers of other countries, must be branded as dangerous anti-bolshevism."

This is their type of crusade against so-called Trotskyism. But first of all this itself contains a politically dishonest distortion of the views of the Left Opposition in substituting the "national interests of the Soviet Union" for the bureaucratic interests of the Stalin regime. Between these a definite distinction must be made. Comrade Trotsky, more than anyone else has repeatedly pointed out the "between the interests of the Soviet

BOSTON ANNOUNCEMENTS

VETCHERINKA—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.

MARKSIAN YOUTH CLUB meets every Thursday 8 P. M.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT—On Club Plan (Clubs of Four)—One year \$2.00; six months—\$1.00 Six months 50 Cents.

Stalinists Split Food Workers

About four weeks ago a leaflet signed by the Amalgamated Food Workers and the Food Workers Industrial Union was circulated among hotel, restaurant and cafeteria workers, calling for a united front mass meeting on August 22 against the intolerable conditions in the industry.

This leaflet said, "For the first time in the history of the Hotel and Restaurant workers, labor and fraternal organizations, representing workers in the industry, have united, set aside all differences, and are pulling together with one common purpose: to eliminate the inhuman, nerve-racking, miserable, working conditions in the industry. This is a great step forward. Only united action of all workers regardless of affiliation will be our mightiest weapon against the employers."

"The only way we can force the employers to live up to the code and even force better conditions out of them, is when we will organize and fight!"

"Now is the time, the NRA gives us the right to organize."

"Let us test this right."

Against One Union
In admitting that the proposed united front was a step forward, the Stalinists must have realized that their past action in splitting the A. F. W. and organizing a separate Industrial Union must have been a step backward.

What was the conclusion which we drew from the speeches of the Stalinist leaders at this mass meeting? The organizer of the cafeteria local, comrade Kramberg, in his speech said nothing about the necessity of one union for the industry, devoting his whole speech to the question of the code which had been already worked out and was present to be approved by the mass meeting. The chairman, comrade Reich, in answer to the speeches of Gitlow and Lyons, representing the A. F. W. in which they emphasized the urgent need of one union in the industry, said that the urgent necessity now is not for one union in the industry, but for a united front against the bosses' code presented under the NRA.

Cut-Throat Competition

What has happened since then? Not a single step was taken toward even a united front, not to speak of unity. The two organizations held separate mass meetings in support of their separate organization drives. More than that—the leadership of the Industrial Union made a conscious attempt to sabotage the most recent mass meeting of the A. F. W. on Tuesday, Sept. 19, at

Palm Garden, by posting pickets and distributing leaflets in the neighborhood of the hall, to announce that the Tuesday meeting had been postponed until Wednesday at the same place, where their own meeting was scheduled!

Instead of engaging in such a low type of petty bourgeois cut-throat competition, splitting the forces of the working class, the Stalinist leaders should have emphasized the necessity of united action against the bosses, so as to concretize the slogan of the united front, and as Communists urged their membership to support this mass meeting. Such united action would have served as a first step toward unity.

The reformists and the reactionaries within the trade unions, as comrade Trotsky has pointed out, function to split the ranks of the workers. It is the task of the Communists to unite them. In this case the Stalinist leadership of the F. W. I. U. has assumed the splitting task of the reformists, and this under the title of "a step forward."

Perspectives Under NRA

Under the NRA new perspectives are opened for the reformist organizations for rapid growth of forces, as has already been seen in the coal mines, needle trades, etc. Unless there is a powerful Left wing in these unions, the movement, though a progressive step compared with the conditions of the unorganized workers for the time being, will inevitably be led by the A. F. L. fakers toward degeneration in the direction of class-collaboration and company unions.

The food industry is by no means excluded from these perspectives. The Left wing must be ready to meet this situation. But the policies of Stalinism in the F. W. I. U. are an obstacle in the road.

We appeal to the rank and file of the party and the FWIU membership, to bring pressure to bear on their leadership and the TUUL leadership for an immediate and sharp change in the course which they have been pursuing up to this very day.

Concretely, the FWIU must take immediate steps toward reuniting with the AFW. With the AFW in which a different situation prevails, on the other hand, it should propose a concrete program for united front action as a first step toward one union in the industry.

—S. PAPPAS.

DANCE AND BANQUET
The Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition is holding a celebration for the opening of its beautiful new headquarters at
2559 W. NORTH AVE.

ON
SATURDAY, OCT. 7th—8 P. M.
—Real Spaghetti Dinner—
—Poppy Orchestra—

State and those of the international proletariat there is and there can be no contradiction. But it is false to the roof to transfer this law over to the Stalinist bureaucracy." This is precisely what the authors of this opportunist document have done. By this they brand themselves as flunkies of the Stalinist bureaucracy anxious to crawl back into its good graces.

Defenders of the Theory of Socialism in One Country

If it is not the theory of Socialism in one country, with its resulting reactionary national position, which is bringing the Stalinist bureaucracy into contradiction with the interests of the Soviet Union as well as the interests of the world revolution, how then explain the Comintern responsibility in the German catastrophe? But with this the authors of the document were not concerned and they stated further: "The I. C. O. fights to liquidate the false tactics of the C. I., not, however, to oppose the policy of the C. P. U. S. in the Soviet Union." By this they only further reveal themselves, not as revolutionary theoreticians but as "practical" opportunists of give and take. You let us have our policies for our respective countries; we will let you have yours. For them as for the reformists the international situation is a sum of the national situations. But this is also what led the social reformists to their August 4.

To Reestablish the Right-Centrist Bloc

This "remarkable" document concludes with a proposal from the Brandler-Lovestone "International" to the Comintern for the "setting up of a working bloc, which... can establish joint action for carrying out united front tactics, for a common struggle against reformism, centrism and Trotskyism."

Here we come to the very crux of the issue: the reestablishment of the Right-Centrist bloc for a common struggle against the Left Opposition, against the progressive force within the revolutionary movement. The struggle against reformism and centrism is thrown in only for embellishment.

There need be no denial of the fact that much of the Brandler-Lovestone criticism of the Stalinist bureaucratic adventurism has been stated correctly; but it is animated by entirely different motives and is heading for an entirely different course from ours. From the German experiences they draw the conclusion for the practical abolishing of responsibility and for the further strengthening of the Stalinist bureaucratic regime. We draw the conclusion leading to the creation of new national parties and a new International. There is the course toward the strengthening of revolutionary internationalism.

—A. S.

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

MARKSIAN YOUTH CLUB meets every Thursday 8 P. M.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT—On Club Plan (Clubs of Four)—One year \$2.00; six months—\$1.00 Six months 50 Cents.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT—On Club Plan (Clubs of Four)—One year \$2.00; six months—\$1.00 Six months 50 Cents.

Swaback Tour Itinerary

The following is the schedule of cities:

Sun., Oct. 1st....Bethlehem, Pa.
Tues., Oct. 3rd....New Haven
Workmen's Circle Center
72 Legion Ave.
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 Centre Ave., 2nd Fl.

Sat., Oct. 14th....Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sun., Oct. 15th....Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mon., Oct. 16th....New Castle, Pa.
Tues., Oct. 17th....Youngstown
Wed., Oct. 18th....Youngstown
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. 30....Kansas City, Mo.
Thurs., Nov. 2nd....Minneapolis
Fri., Nov. 3rd....Minneapolis
Sat., Nov. 4th....Minneapolis
Sun., Nov. 5th....Minneapolis
Thurs., Nov. 9th....Davenport, Ia.
Fri., Nov. 10th....Davenport, Ia.
Tues., Nov. 7th....Chicago, Ill.

Underwear workers—25,000; painters—15,000; toy makers—5,000; tailors—2,500; metal workers—3,000; shoe and slipper workers—8,000; waist and blouse makers—5,000; bakers—2,500; lockwork workers—2,000; belt and leather workers—800; mirror makers—200; knitted goods—3,000."

With deep concern he looks upon the mood and organization of the city's 35,000 transportation workers and its longshoremen who will strike or get a raise in pay and exclaims with anger, "the time has come to call a halt to industrial strife."

Wolff refers to the President's no-strike truce concluded with Wm. Green of the A. F. of L. some weeks ago and observes that "their program has not worked....Industrial warfare is sweeping over the city to such an extent that the machinery set up to handle these emergencies has proved insufficient."

He proposes measures through which the NRA, and more especially its committee, which he heads, can hope to break the workers' strikes—getting the public to condemn the strikers—forcing the workers to go to the NRA slaughterers of their efforts to raise their wages or better their conditions.

The speech of Mr. Wolff reveals the purpose for which the NRA is designed—deceiving the workers with "concessions" and strike-breaking when they try to gain real concessions.

British Labor Skates Have Own Way at Congress

EDINBURGH.

To outward appearances, capitalist Britain is coming through the prolonged crisis with no signs of depression. The large towns are managing to conceal their troubles under a veneer of seeming well-being. New buildings are being constructed everywhere and the gaudy new designs for shops, houses, and cinemas raise the enthusiasm of the local journalists who have developed the theme of a "brighter Britain". The theatres and cinemas are crowded and the masses roll along in their thousands to roar themselves hoarse at football matches and greyhound meetings.

The speed-up in industry and the spectre of unemployment has created a lust for entertainments and sports; anything to detract the mind from the reality of impending disaster. The financial journals have not let this phenomenon pass without notice and they advise their get-rich-quick readers to invest in cinema and greyhound enterprises. The small investor has already been crushed out here and it is computed that several thousand American dollars have found their way into the British entertainment industry where fortunes are being made upon the exploitation of sweated labor.

In this connection the attitude toward the invasion of American capital is a new one of hostility and in line with the present diplomatic policy of the ruling class, a definite anti-American tone pervades the press.

Despite this, however, there is a sneaking admiration for America. Especially is this so among the small business people of the middle-class who greedily devour the sensational stories of the yellow press and the motion pictures, where young men arrive on Wall Street and become millionaires as if by magic. To emulate America is the secret dream of every British "Babbitt". In this category belong the thousands of well-paid trade union officials who have been raised by their former workmates into a new world of ease and comfort. Traveling the country on union business or sitting in conference with the bosses in some palatial hotel, these gentlemen soon develop a new outlook on life. They begin to see certain good points in the capitalists whom they formerly vigorously denounced in their trade union branches.

Strikes are now frowned upon as tending to drain the union funds and the unemployed are also looked upon as being a source of trouble to the union. Is it not much easier to negotiate wage-cuts with a pleasant employer than to reason with angry strikers or discontented unemployed? Thus reasons the

CHICAGO LECTURE

The Friends of the Militant Club announces the opening of the season with a lecture on

"THE SPLIT IN THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL"

by Comrade Albert Glotzer
On Sunday, Oct. 8th at 8:30 P. M.
at the Scholem Aleichem School
1214 North Washtenaw

New York Strikes
Alarm N.R.A.

New York.—With strikes in New York City spreading and sharpening the NRA here is rapidly stripping itself of all working class coloration and nakedly manifesting itself as the bosses weapon for strike-breaking.

This is brought to our attention by an article in the *New York Times*, Sept. 22, 1933, written by the NRA's chairman of the Labor Mediation Committee, Henry W. Wolff, who points an accusing finger of the most wide awake workers as he publishes the following list of strikers:

Underwear workers—25,000; painters—15,000; toy makers—5,000; tailors—2,500; metal workers—3,000; shoe and slipper workers—8,000; waist and blouse makers—5,000; bakers—2,500; lockwork workers—2,000; belt and leather workers—800; mirror makers—200; knitted goods—3,000."

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—GEORGE J. SAUL.

trade union bureaucrat and in this frame of mind he arrived at the annual Trade Union Congress. The full-time officials usually manage to gain election as delegates to these congresses and as a consequence the official policy as formulated by the General Council is well guarded from the thrusts of any militant elements who might upset the bureaucracy if elected in sufficient numbers by the branches.

No Opposition to Bureaucrats

This year, at Brighton, the bureaucrats had it all their own way and when the President of the Congress, Mr. Walkden, made the opening speech there were no interruptions or no ill-mannered attempts to find fault with his carefully prepared outline of policy. His address was a model of bankruptcy but it acted like soothing syrup on the bureaucrats. Before the Great War, former presidents of the congress extolled the great industrial system and social legislation of Germany. The fatherland was the pattern to be copied.

Since the war the T. U. C. has found a new model in America. A few years ago it was Henry Ford who was their hero. Not only did his system of mass production stagger the minds of these glibble ones but they actually thought that at last they had found the weapons with which to destroy Marx. Today, Ford is replaced by Roosevelt and "the policy of the American President," declares Walkden, "is one which organized Labor has long advocated as a solution to the present crisis." In America thousands of workers strike against the Roosevelt policy but here in Britain the T. U. C. finds time to praise Roosevelt.

How to American Plutocrats

Not a message of fraternity and encouragement to the scarred fighters in the ranks of the American working class but a meek bow to the plutocrats of Wall Street and Tammany Hall. Not one voice was raised at the Congress against this monstrosity. Likewise upon the question of war. The old formula of the general strike was brought forth and then quietly laid upon the shelf and when a lone delegate rose to protest against this travesty he was promptly steam-rolled by the chairman.

On Fascism, Mr. Citrine delivered a well-documented speech exposing the horrors of Hitlerism. According to his admirers, Mr. Citrine's speech "will become historic", but upon the question of how to fight Fascism the speech is strangely vague if not completely silent. According to Citrine, the real reason for the advent of Hitler was the huge army of unemployed which made the calling of a general strike impossible and if here in Britain the unemployed continue to increase then Mr. Citrine will not be responsible for what will happen, which all sounds very much like saying that Fascism is inevitable and that so long as there is an unemployed army then the trade unions cannot fight.

Unemployed Refused Hearing

A "left" M. P. protested against this speech without obtaining much support. As for a band of unemployed who had marched all the way from London in order to place their demands before the Congress, they were refused a hearing, which does not look as though the bureaucracy is really greatly concerned about the unemployed. Everything in connection with unemployment was shelved and the Government has now a clear field when launching its next attack upon the unemployed.

A much-advertized debate upon workers' control proved a complete muddle as the delegates were not clear upon whether workers' control is possible under capitalism or only after the latter system has been overthrown.

The Congress ended on a note of pessimism which even the well-oiled bureaucratic machine could not conceal. From the point of view of the militant trade unionist, the main feature of the Congress was the lack of any opposition to the feeble policy of the General Council. The main issues of war, the general strike, Fascism, workers' control, simply cried aloud for a Communist interpretation but, alas, there was not one Leninist there.

C. P. Conspicuous by Absence

Where was the Communist party? A year ago, the Party announced a drive back to the unions. From time to time, great successes have been claimed for the new trade union line but here we arrive at the Brighton Trade Union Congress and the Party representation has reached rock bottom. The reason is not hard to find. The majority of the 4,000 Party members are unemployed and are not members of trade unions while the trade union members of the Party are not consistent in their trade union work. The leaders of the Party have neglected to train the trade unionists for work in the unions and as a consequence the reformist officials can easily out maneuver the new Communist recruits whose passion for propaganda speeches bores the rank and file and plays into the hands of the bureaucrats.

The I. L. P. is in much the same plight although they at least admit their weakness and are now calling for an attempt to hammer out a trade union policy. If the Brighton Congress brings home to the militants the need for a fresh start in the building up of a strong trade union opposition based upon sound principles and free from sectarianism then it may have been a blessing in disguise.

—T. C., September 17, 1933.

The I.L.P. & the New International

After a brief interval I am returning again to the policy of the Independent Labor Party. This is occasioned by the declaration of the delegation of the I. L. P. at the Paris conference which permits a clear idea of the general tendency of the I. L. P., as well as of the stage at which now it finds itself.

The delegation considers it necessary to call a World Congress of "all" revolutionary parties beginning with those adhering to the Third International. "If the Third International proves unprepared to change its tactics and organization, the time will have come to consider the formation of a new International." This phrase contains the very essence of the present policy of the I. L. P. Having shifted decisively to the left, to Communism the members of this party refuse to believe that the Communist International which disposes of numerous cadres, of material and technical means, is lost for the revolutionary movement. It is necessary, they say, to make one more test of the ability or inability of the Comintern to change its policy.

Working Class "Parliamentarism"
It is incorrect, even naive, to pose the question in this manner. The ability or inability of a party is not determined at a Congress

but in daily struggle, and particularly, in time of great dangers, momentous decisions and mass action. After the victory of Hitler for which the Comintern bears a direct responsibility, the leadership of the Comintern had not only left its policy unchanged but on the contrary has intensified its disastrous methods. This historic test weighs a thousand times more than all the declarations which the representatives of the Comintern might make at any one Congress. It must not be forgotten that Congresses represent elements of "parliamentarism" in the workers' movement itself. While parliamentarism is inevitable and necessary it cannot add anything fundamentally new above what has been actually attained in mass struggle. This refers not only to parliamentarism of the bourgeois state but also to the "parliamentary" institutions of the proletariat itself. We must orientate ourselves by the real activity of working class organizations and not expect any miracles from the proposed World Congress.

During a period of ten years (1923-1933) the Left Opposition acted as a fraction of the Comintern hoping to attain an improvement in its policy and regime by systematic criticism and an active participation in the life of the Comintern and its sections. The Left Opposition therefore has a colossal experience of an international character. There was not a single important historic event which did not force the L. O. to counterpose its slogans and methods to the slogans and methods of the bureaucracy of the Comintern. The struggle around the questions of Soviet economy and the regime in the Communist party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese revolution, Anglo-Russian committee, etc., etc. remained comparatively little known to the workers' parties of the West. But two chapters of this struggle passed before the eyes of the advanced workers of all the world; they deal with the theory and practice of the "third period" and with the strategy of the Comintern in Germany.

No Impatience in L. O.
If the Left Opposition can be blamed for anything, it is certainly not for an impatient break with the Comintern. Only after the German Communist party which has been gathering millions of votes, proved incapable of offering even the least resistance to Hitler, and the Comintern refused not only to recognize the erroneousness of its policy but even the very fact of the defeat of the proletariat (in reality the victory of Hitler is the greatest defeat of the proletariat in the history of the world!) and replaced the analysis of its mistakes and crimes by a new campaign of persecution and slander against real Marxists—only after this did we say: nothing can save these people any more. The German catastrophe, and the role of the Comintern in it, is infinitely more important for the world proletarians, congresses, evasive declarations, diplomatic agreements, etc. The historical judgment on the Comintern has been pronounced. There is no appeal from this verdict.

The history of the Comintern is almost unknown to the members of the I. L. P., which has just recently taken the revolutionary path. Besides no organization learns only by books and files. The I. L. P. wants independently to undergo an experience that was made by others on a much larger scale. Had this involved only the loss of a few months, one could have reconciled oneself to it despite the fact that each month of our time is much more than years of another. The danger, however, lies therein, that aspiring to "test" the Comintern by a closer drawing together to it, the I. L. P. may follow unnoticed by itself the ways of the Comintern—and ruin itself.

A Criticism of Its Paris Declaration by Leon Trotsky

The trade union question remains the most important question of proletarian policy of Great Britain as well as of the majority of old capitalist countries. In this field the mistakes of the Comintern are innumerable. No wonder: the inability of a party to establish correct relations with the class reveals itself most glaringly in the trade union movement. That is why I consider it necessary to dwell on this problem.

The trade unions were formed during the period of the growth and rise of capitalism. They had as their task the raising of the material and cultural level of the proletariat and the extension of its political rights. This work that lasted in England over a century clothed the trade unions with a tremendous authority among the workers. The decay of British capitalism under the conditions of the decline of the world capitalist system, undermined the basis for the reformist work of the trade unions. Capitalism can maintain itself longer only by lowering the standard of living of the working class. Under these conditions the trade unions could either transform themselves into revolutionary organizations or become the helpers of capitalism in the intensification of the exploitation of the workers. The trade union bureaucracy which solved satisfactorily its own social problem took the second path. It turned the whole accumulated authority of the trade unions against the socialist revolution and even against any attempts of the workers to resist the attacks of capital and reaction.

The Most Important Task
Henceforth the liberation of the workers from the reactionary influence of the trade union bureaucracy has become the most important task of a revolutionary party. In this decisive field the Comintern revealed a complete inadequacy. During the years 1926-27 and first of all during the miners' strike and the general strike, that is, at the time of the greatest crises and betrayals of the General Council of the trade unions, the Comintern obsequiously lauded before the honorable strike-breakers covering them up before the masses by its authority and helping them to remain in saddle: thus, a mortal blow was struck at the "minority movement". Brightened by the results of its work, the bureaucrats of the Comintern went to the extreme of ultra-radicalism: the fatal excesses of the "third period" were due to the desire of the small Communist minority to act in a manner presupposing that they had a majority behind them. Isolating itself more and more from the working class, the Communist party counterposed to the trade unions embracing millions of workers its own trade union organizations, most obedient to the leadership of the Comintern but separated by an abyss from the working class. No better favor could be done to the trade union bureaucracy. Had it disposed of the Order of the Garter it should have decorated all the leaders of the Comintern and the Profintern with it.

As was said, the trade unions now play not a progressive but a reactionary role. Nevertheless they still embrace millions of workers. One must not think that the workers are blind and do not see the change in the historic role of the trade unions. But what is to be done? The revolutionary way out compromised itself badly in the eyes of the Left wing of the workers by the zigzags and adventures of official communism. The workers say to themselves: the trade-unions are bad but without them it might be even worse. This is the psychology of an impasse. Meanwhile, the trade union bureaucracy persecutes the revolutionary workers ever more boldly, replacing ever more impudently inner democracy by the arbitrariness of cliques, transforming in essence the trade unions into some sort of concentration camps for the workers under declining capitalism.

Can We Skip Over the Trade Unions
Under these conditions the thought easily arises: Is it not possible to skip over the trade-unions? Is it not possible to replace them by some sort of fresh, incorruptible organizations of the type of revolutionary trade unions, shop committees, soviets and the like? The fundamental mistake of such attempts lies therein that a great political problem of how to free the masses from the influence of the trade-union bureaucracy is replaced by organizational experiments. It is insufficient to show the masses a new address. It is necessary to find the masses where they are and to lead them.

Impatient "lefts" sometimes say that it is in any case impossible to conquer the trade unions because the bureaucracy subjects the inner regime of the organization to its interests of self-preservation, resorting to the basest machinations, repressions and plain crookedness in the spirit of the parliamentary oligarchy of the time of the "rotten boroughs". This argument signifies in reality the giving up of the actual struggle for the masses under the excuse of the corrupt character of the trade union bureaucracy. This argument can be developed further: should we not abandon revolutionary work altogether because of repressions and provocations on the part of the government bureaucracy? There exists no principled difference here since the trade union bureaucracy has completely become a part of the

capitalist apparatus, economic and governmental. It is absurd to think that it would be possible to work against the trade union bureaucracy with its aids, or even with its consent. Insofar as it defends itself by persecutions, violence, expulsions, frequently resorting to the assistance of government authorities, we must learn to work in the trade unions discretely finding a common language with the masses but not revealing ourselves prematurely to the bureaucracy. It is precisely in the present epoch when the reformist bureaucracy of the proletariat has transformed itself into the economic police of capital, that revolutionary work in the trade unions, performed intelligently and systematically, may yield decisive results in a comparatively short time.

The Capture of Trade Unions
We do not at all want to say by this that a revolutionary party is assured of the complete capture of the trade unions for the purposes of the socialist overturn. The problem is not so simple. The trade union apparatus has attained a great independence from the masses. The bureaucracy is capable of retaining its positions a long time after the masses have turned against it. But precisely this situation, when the masses are already hostile to the trade union bureaucracy and the bureaucracy is still capable of misrepresenting the opinion of the organization and of sabotaging the re-elections, is most favorable for the creation of shop committees, workers' councils and other organizations ad hoc, that is for the immediate needs of the given moment. Even in Russia, where the trade unions have not possessed by far the powerful traditions of the British trade unions, the October overthrow occurred with the predominance of the Mensheviks in the administration of the trade unions. Having lost the masses these administrations were still capable of sabotaging the re-election of the apparatus, although already powerless to sabotage the proletarian revolution.

It is absolutely necessary right now to prepare the mind of the advanced workers to the idea of the creation of shop committees and workers' councils at the moment of a sharp change. But it would be the greatest mistake to "play" in practice with the slogan of shop committees comforting oneself with "this idea" because of the lack of real work and real influence in the trade unions. To counterpose to the existing trade unions the abstraction of workers' councils would mean not only to set the bureaucracy against oneself but also the masses, and to deprive oneself thereby of the possibility of preparing the ground for the creation of workers' councils.

In this the Comintern has gained not little experience: having created docile, that is, purely Communist trade unions it counterposed antagonistically its sections to the working masses and has thereby doomed itself to a complete impotence: this is one of the most important causes for the collapse of the German Communist party. Is it true, the British Communist Party, insofar as I am informed, opposes the slogan of workers' councils under the present conditions.

The Stalinist Program for the Cuban Revolution

The Stalinist theoretical program for Cuba places on the order of the day the "agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution." According to the Stalinists the task of the Cuban Communist Party is to "agitate and organize the peasants" for this end. Among their slogans stands the demand for the division of the land which they apply to the sugar plantations.

Unquestionably the central problem of Cuban economy is the agrarian question. But the agrarian question in Cuba has an entirely different content than it had in Russia. Russian agriculture was organized on the basis of a number of large estates in the hands of feudal landowners and a myriad of small holdings worked by individual peasants. The land was cultivated with primitive methods and equipment. Those who worked the land stood in the relation to it of peasants. They constituted the majority of the population.

That is not the picture which greets the eye in Cuba. Most of the land under cultivation is devoted to sugar cane. In area this is equal to more than one third of the land. Ninety percent of this land is owned or controlled on long term leases by large American sugar companies. Some of these plantations embrace tens of thousands of acres. As early as 1900 one plantation alone refined 200,000 bags of sugar, ten per cent of the entire crop. Since then centralization has gone on apace by consolidation of large plantations and the bankruptcy of the smaller ones under the prodding guidance of the Chase National and National City banks. The Chaparra plantation which began in 1900 with 66,000 acres had grown to 250,000 by 1926.

Millions of dollars in machinery have been poured into the sugar plantations. The process began in 1820 with the introduction of steam machinery. In 1840 the appearance of railroads gave this process a new development. Today the plantations boast the most up to date machinery in the world.

In short the sugar plantations

Superficially this may seem like a realistic appraisal of the situation. In reality, the British Communist Party rejects only one form of political adventurism for another, more hysterical form. The theory and practice of social-Fascism and the rejection of the policy of the united front creates unsurmountable obstacles to the work in the trade unions, as each trade union is, by its very nature, an arena for a prolonged united front of revolutionary parties with reformist and non-party masses. Insofar as the British Communist Party proved incapable, even after the German tragedy of learning and re-learning itself anew, an alliance with it can only pull to the bottom the I. L. P., which has just recently entered into the period of revolutionary study.

Pseudo-Communists will, no doubt, refer to the last Congress of trade unions which declared that there can be no united front with Communists against Fascism. It would be the greatest folly to accept this piece of wisdom as the final verdict of history. The trade union bureaucrats permit themselves such boastful formulae only because they are not immediately threatened either by Fascism, or by Communism. When the hammer of Fascism is raised over the head of the trade unions then, with a correct policy of the revolutionary party, the trade union masses will show an irresistible urge for an alliance with the revolutionary wing and will carry with them to this path even a certain portion of the apparatus. On the contrary, if Communism should become a decisive force, threatening the General Council with the loss of positions, honor and income, Messrs. Citrin and Co. would undoubtedly enter into a bloc with Mosley and Co. against the Communists. Thus, in August 1917, the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries together with the Bolsheviks repulsed general Kornilov. Two months later, in October, they were fighting hand in hand with the Kornilovists against the Bolsheviks. And in the first months of 1917, when Messrs. reformists were still strong they declaimed just like Citrin & Co. of the impossibility for them to make an alliance with a dictatorship either of the Right, or of the Left.

Revolutionary Realism
A revolutionary proletarian party must be welded together by a clear understanding of its historic tasks: this presupposes a scientifically based program. At the same time a revolutionary party must know how to establish correct relations with the class: this presupposes a policy of revolutionary realism, equally removed from opportunism, vagueness and sectarian aloofness. From the point of view of both these criteria intrinsically connected, the I. L. P. should review its relation to the Comintern as well as to all other organization and tendencies within the working class. This concerns first of all the fate of the I. L. P. itself.

— L. TROTSKY.
* This article is in print, however, in a series of studies and documents published partly also in foreign languages. For the English comrades the publications of the American League (Pioneer Publishers) are of great importance. Whoever wishes to study seriously the ten year struggle of the Left Opposition for the reform and improvement of the Comintern must study all these documents.

are operated on an INDUSTRIAL basis. For the most part the men who toil on them are wage workers. Wages are unbelievably low; in Camaguey under Machado they were as low as three cents a day, the working year in many cases does not exceed one month. A number of the sugar workers try to supplement their meager earnings between harvests by cultivating the small and patches of relatives.

Because of the high degree of concentration of the industry large numbers of workers are massed on the plantations. As early as 1893 twelve hundred workers were required to harvest the crop on one plantation. Carleton Beals reports that one sugar company in 1933 fed "over 7,000 unemployed persons—not so much out of charity as to prevent sabotage and the burning of cane fields."

Moreover, the majority of the sugar workers have little or no affinity with the soil in the sense of a peasantry. It is estimated that from 1913 to 1927 forty thousand negroes a year were smuggled into Cuba. During the World war, in the period of the great expansion of sugar lands, thousands of negroes from Haiti and Jamaica and even Chinese coolies were brought into Cuba to work on the sugar plantations. Inasmuch as the number of sugar workers today is estimated at 500,000 the labor turnover on the plantations has been great. The sugar workers, for the most part, have no roots in the soil. There is, in Cuba, no land hunger comparable to the land hunger of the Russian peasants.

Thousands of the half million plantation workers—approximately half of the entire working population—have been organized into TRADE UNIONS.

One strike brought out twenty thousand. Sugar workers participated in the general strike of two hundred thousand workers in 1930 in protest against the terrorism of the trade unions by Machado. Today they are on strike on a scale surpassing all previous struggles. The press reports state that the workers have seized 15 sugar mills and are attempting to operate them by workers' committees. The New York Times

of September 20 reports that

More on the Paris Conference

When a movement enters a new, a higher stage, there are always elements who defend the yesterday. A wider perspective frightens them. They see nothing but difficulties and dangers.

Comrades who participated in one of the meetings of Bolshevik-Leninists communicated to me somewhat the following criticism of one of the participants: "We made no gains at the Paris conference; the whole matter came down to negotiations and agreements at the top; such a policy cannot have any revolutionary significance; the joint declaration signed by the 'summits' of four organizations signifies in reality a deviation towards the social-democracy...." Since this criticism, reflects—it is true, in a very exaggerated form—the doubts and apprehensions of a certain number of comrades (according to all information, of a small minority), it is necessary to examine seriously the above enumerated arguments. "The negotiations were carried on by the tops". What does this argument mean? Conference and conventions always consist of the "tops", that is of representatives. It is an impossible task to assemble in one place all the members of the Left Opposition, the S. A. P., R. S. P. and O. S. P. How can agreements between organizations be made without negotiations of the representatives, that is "tops"? On this point the criticism evidently lacks any sense.

Pressure from Ranks
Or does the author of the criticism want to say that the representatives of the organizations which signed the joint declaration do not express the opinion of the rank and file? Let us examine this argument as well. With regard to the S. A. P. it is known to all that the rank and file of the party have been striving for a long time not only for a closer approach to us but for a complete fusion with us, while until very recently, the tops evaded the issue, put breaks upon it, fearing a separation from possible allies of the right. In this case what does it mean that the tops found themselves compelled to sign jointly with us a most important document? The answer is clear: the pressure of the rank and file towards the Left, that is towards us, became so strong that the leaders of the S. A. P. were forced to turn to us. Those who know how to interpret political facts and symptoms correctly, will say that this is a great victory. This conclusion retains its full force independently of the fact how adroitly, or skillfully the negotiations between the tops were carried on. Not the negotiations decided the matter but the whole preceding work of the Left Opposition.

With regard to the O. S. P. (Holland) (the situation is approximately the same. This organization was not connected with us at all. Two years ago it found itself in a bloc with Seldevitz and Rosenfeld. Today it drew nearer to us. It is clear that the leaders of this organization would have never made this step if there had not been a strong pull to the left on the part of the rank and file.

With the R. S. P. (Sneevliet) the matter stands somewhat differently. Friendly relations existed here already for quite some time. Many comrades know what active support

the owners of the plantations "are willing to make concessions on wages, hours, and working conditions but say the workers demand 'the impossible'". And what is the impossible demand of the workers? They want their committees to manage the mills. In a word the sugar workers are putting forward the demand for workers control and management of industry. In the next stage this will lead to the demand for nationalization of the industry and will indicate the corresponding state form under which alone it is possible—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A peasantry exists in Cuba but its weight in economy is small and consequently its weight in society is correspondingly small.

But it is hopeless to think that the peasantry can lead the Cuban revolution. The Stalinists who want to "agitate and organize the peasants" to lead the "agrarian revolution" do not know what they are talking about.

It is no better with the "anti-imperialist revolution." Ninety percent of the sugar industry is in the hands of American capital. Most of the tobacco industry is likewise. Nearly all the banks, railroads, street car lines, electric plants, the telephone systems, public utilities, docks, etc., etc., are owned by United States capitalists. Three banks, principally, control all of Cuban economy: the National City Bank, the Chase National Bank, and the House of Morgan.

Thus the struggle of the Cuban workers in all industries for higher wages and better conditions must, of necessity, develop into a struggle against American imperialism. The universal impoverishment of the Cuban workers has profoundly imbued them with a hatred of their imperialist masters.

If we are to speak of an "agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution"—an impermissibly ambiguous formulation—we can do so only in the sense of the proletariat leading the struggle. The first steps are indicated—the slogan of the nationalization of industry under workers' control of production.

—T. STAMM.

A Step Forward or A Step to the Right?

Sneevliet and his friends have rendered the Left Opposition during the Copenhagen conference and especially, during the Amsterdam anti-war congress. The Comintern question prevented this political proximity from taking on an organizational form. When we declared ourselves for a new International the wall dividing us was broken down. Is it not clear that in this case our new orientation brought immediately a concrete and valuable result?

Our Conjectures
About three months ago we wrote hypothetically that with a broad and decisive policy we could probably find not a few allies among Left socialist groupings. A month, a month and a half ago, we voiced the conjecture that a break with the Comintern would greatly facilitate the influx of our side of revolutionary groupings of social-democratic origin. Is it not clear that the Paris conference confirmed both these conjectures and on a scale that we ourselves could not expect two, or three months ago? Under these conditions, to complain that everything came down to negotiations by the "tops" and to assert that the new alliance has no revolutionary significance is to reveal a complete ignorance of the basic processes which are now taking place within the proletariat.

But particularly strange (mildly speaking) sounds the argument that we are making a turn towards... reconciliation with the social democracy. The Stalinists slander us in this manner and not for the first time. What basis is there for carrying these "arguments" into our own organization? Let us, however, examine them somewhat closely. The Paris conference was called not by us. We take not the slightest responsibility for its composition and agenda. We came to this conference to present there our point of view. Possibly our Declaration contained some concessions to the social-democracy? Let someone get up courage to say it! The Declaration signed by four organizations, it is understood, does not contain our program. But it defines clearly the road of the Fourth International on the basis of an irreconcilable struggle with the social-democracy, a complete break with bureaucratic centrism and a resolute condemnation of all attempts on the manner of the Two and a Half International. Where are in this concessions to the social-democracy?

Principled Declaration
The Declaration of four does not give, and, under the circumstances of the matter, could not give an answer to all the problems of program and strategy. It is clear that it is impossible to build a new international on the basis of this Declaration. But neither did we intend anything of the sort. The Declaration itself states clearly that the organizations which signed the Declaration obligate themselves to elaborate, within a short time, a programmatic Manifesto which should become the fundamental document of the new International. All our sections, all the three allied organizations, as well as all sympathizing groups and elements should be drawn to this work. Do we intend to make any concessions to the social democracy in this Manifesto? The Declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninists made public at the conference, states clearly on what basis we propose to write the Manifesto: the decisions of the first four Congresses of the Comintern, the "21 Conditions", the "11 points" of the L. O. Only the future will show whether any serious disagreements will arise on this basis between ourselves and our allies. If disagreements should arise, we will seriously fight for our point of view. Until now we have not shown any excessive piety in questions of principle.

The same critics also add the following argument: the new International can be built only on the wave of the ascent of the revolutionary movement; now, however, in the atmosphere of decline all attempts in this direction are doomed in advance to failure. This profound historic argument is borrowed as a whole from the sterile scholastic Souvarine (who, alas, as far as I know, has meanwhile had time to make a turn of 180 degrees). The necessity of a break with the Second International and the preparation for the Third International was proclaimed by the Bolsheviks in the Autumn of 1914, that is, in the atmosphere of a frightful disintegration of socialist parties. At that time also there was no lack of wise men who spoke of the "utopianism" (the word "bureaucratism" was not in such abuse then) of the slogan of the Third International. Kausky went further in his famous aphorism "The International is an instrument of peace and not of war". In reality the same idea is expressed by the critics quoted above: the International is an instrument of ascent and not of decline! The proletariat has need of an International at all times and under all conditions. If there is no Comintern today, we must say so openly, and immediately start the preparation for a new International. How soon we will be able to put it on its feet, depends, of course, on the whole march of the class struggle, on the decline, or ascent of the workers' movement, etc. But even in the period of the worst decline it is necessary to prepare for a future ascent, giving our own cadres a correct orientation.

—G. GOUROV.

* The differences on the trade-union question lost their former sharpness, if not disappeared altogether.

** By the way, some wise men, recall without any rhyme, or reason the "August bloc" of 1912 which had only national limits, but leave unobserved the international Zimmerwald conference, the analogy with which suggests itself.

Fatalistic complaints about the objective decline most often reflect a subjective decline.

Zimmerwald and Kienthal
Let us take the conferences of Zimmerwald and Kienthal as a comparison. They consisted, necessarily, of the "tops" (every conference consists of tops). By the number of workers directly represented they were weaker than the Paris conference. The majority in Zimmerwald and Kienthal consisted of Right-Centrists elements (Ledebeur who could not resolve to vote against the war badge, Hoffman, Bourdon, Merheim, Grimm, Axelrod, Martov, and others). Lenin found it possible to sign the Manifesto of the whole conference despite the vagueness of this document.

As far as the Zimmerwald "left" was concerned, it was extremely weak. After the rout of the Bolshevik Duma fraction and of the local organizations, the Bolshevik party was no stronger during the war than the present Russian Left Opposition. Other left groups were incomparably weaker than our three present allies. The general position of the workers' movement in the conditions of war seemed absolutely hopeless. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviks, as well as the group of Nashe Slovo took a course towards the Third International from the very beginning of the war. Without this course the October revolution would have been impossible.

We repeat: Lenin found it possible under the then existing conditions to sign together with Ledebeur, Bourdon, Grimm and Martov a Manifesto against the war. The Bolshevik-Leninists did not sign now the resolution of the majority of the Paris conference and will, of course, take no responsibility upon themselves for this majority. Perhaps the policy of Lenin at Zimmerwald and Kienthal was... a turn towards the social-democracy? But the objection may be raised that now under the conditions of peace a stricter selection is necessary than in war time. Correct! Ledebeur and Bourdon endangered themselves by signing the Manifesto of Zimmerwald, while Trannell and Co. carry on their maneuvers (the right hand to the Scandinavian social-democracy, the pink of the Left—to the Paris conference) without running any risk. It is precisely for this reason that we refused to sign the meaningless resolution of the Paris majority. Where are here concessions to the social-democracy?

Not Responsible for Allies
However, two of our allies—our opponents will say to us—have signed the resolution of the majority showing thereby that they have not as yet made the final choice. Absolutely correct! But neither do we take any responsibility for our allies just as they take no responsibility for us. The terms of our agreement are clearly formulated and are now accessible to all. The future will show which side our allies will finally choose. We want to help them make the right choice. One of the most important rules of revolutionary strategy reads as follows: watch your ally as well as your enemy. Mutual criticism on the basis of full equality. In this there is no trace of back-stair diplomacy of the tops; everything is done and will be done in full view of the masses, under their control, for the purpose of the education of the masses. Other ways and means of revolutionary policy do not exist at all.

There are also other rules of revolutionary policy which it is advisable to remind of: do not get frightened in vain and do not frighten others without cause! do not invent false accusations; do not look for capitulation where there is none; do not replace Marxists by unprincipled squabbles. Long experiences have shown that precisely at the time when an organization is getting ready to get out from the narrow alley onto a wider arena, elements can be always found who have grown fast to their ally, know all their neighbors, are used to carry all the ally news and rumors and are busy with the terribly important affairs of the "change of ministries" in their own alley. These conservative and sectarian elements are very much afraid that on a wider arena their art will find no application. They grab, therefore, the wagon by its wheels and try to turn it back, and they justify theirs, in essence, reactionary work by terribly "revolutionary" and "principled" arguments. We have tried above to weigh these arguments on the scale of Marxian dialectics. Let the comrades themselves decide what is their weight.

September 10, 1933.

—G. GOUROV.

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The Cuban Challenge to U. S. Imperialism

Reports from Cuba, no matter from what political source, indicate that the revolution has passed beyond the stage of a simple political revolution and has entered the first stage of a social revolution. The ruling cliques and exploiting class are in confusion. The crisis and economic conditions had reached a breaking point. The American imperialists, facing the coming Pan American conference, pressed upon all sides by the new measures adopted to surmount the mounting world contradictions, were forced to delay open armed intervention. In place America uses a new form of intervention, a method of bottling up the island with the Atlantic fleet and secretly aiding counter-revolution within, and at the same time endeavoring to further worsen the economic and political situation to either force a surrender or hasten the downfall of the present petty-bourgeois revolutionary government, headed by Grau San Martin.

Communist Activity in Cuba

The New York Times of September 20th, reports: "Communist seizure of mills approaching Havana with no government curb." "Workers hold 15 mills." "Communist leaders have been very active since Senor Machado's fall." "Cuba is now at the cross road and must go right or left." "The Cuban labor trouble began with the spontaneous seizure of sugar mills by syndicalist unions and is now taking the form of an organized Communist movement that is sweeping the interior of the island from end to end and is daily approaching closer to Havana. Other papers report Soviets are being set up.

The revolution in Cuba is the most important political event of the day. It overshadows the NRA in importance. In spite of the profound effect the Blue Eagle will have on the lives of the American people and the class relations. The NRA in all its magnitude is a stop-gap and capitalist attempt to stem the tide—while the revolution in Cuba is a wave of the social tide breaking through the world structure of American imperialism. This means that the Cuban revolution must be studied in detail, especially by the American revolutionists, because it foreshadows and confronts America with all that the capitalist defenders said was impossible. That is, the first steps toward a social revolution on American soil, in one of America's most important colonies.

At Gates of U. S. Imperialism
Most significant is the fact that while American hegemony is spreading to a greater degree over the east and desperate steps are being taken internally and internationally to hold the dominating position in the downward curve of decay capitalism—America finds that she is confronted with the menace of Soviets at the gates of her 48 states. Her world struggle since 1917 to prevent the spread of the October revolution, can be revealed by the events in Cuba and its implications for America as a futile struggle in spite of Stalinism and its aid to capitalism as a leader of proletarian defeats.

The Cuban revolution comes at a most difficult period in world politics. The Cuban revolution as the first stage of a social revolution takes place on American soil, on the heels of the victory of Fascism in Germany and when the world proletariat has just passed through the most disastrous defeat, and in a period when reaction flows from it. It is logical to face world wide repercussions from the victorious October Revolution. And it is not a surprise, yet seemingly a contradiction, to be confronted with the Cuban situation after the German event.

Trotsky's Prediction

It was almost ten years ago that comrade Trotsky startled many when he pointed out that the economic center of the world was shifting from Europe to America. Since then the forces making up the International Left Opposition and its American section have pointed out that with the shifts in world relations goes increased class conflicts and revolutions. In this case Cuba, even at this stage, is a certain raiser, informing the world that America will have its share of the remnant that haunts the capitalist world—the proletarian revolution. The NRA stop-gap, and the special struggles America is conducting a gigantic scale with Europe, Latin America and Japan, (on three different fronts), all indicate that conditions and class relations within the United States are going to shift rapidly forward to struggles that will take on a revolutionary scope.

The Cuban revolution, under proper guidance and cooperation from the American Communists, could be the spark to start a more rapid shift of the American workers to the Left. Will that be its direction? This question will be answered within the next few months or sooner. However, at the very least, if we consider the worse variant—that reaction triumphs and American imperialism gains its objectives (as well as the fact that one must take into consideration the position of Stalinism)—nevertheless, the importance of Soviets on American soil, in Cuba, must not be underestimated.

Marxian Communist Party Vital
A significant fact is revealed when one studies the economic and social forces of Cuba. The objective conditions in Cuba are in favor of the task of carrying the revolution beyond the present stage. The spontaneous action of the workers in strike struggle and united front

developed to its highest stage—Soviets. A major shortcoming is the fact that we have a Stalinist Communist Party in Cuba and not a Marxian Communist Party. Without a leadership, without a program there can be no successful revolution regardless of the revolutionary struggles of the masses. Worse yet, we do not have a Marxian Communist Party in the United States. It is our task to hurry and build one. The revolutionary struggle in Cuba shows the importance and the speed required.

Must Abrogate Platt Amendment
The Cuban people must abrogate the Platt Amendment. The present petty-bourgeois government cannot carry out this task nor will it be able to stand the pressure of the class struggle between the national capitalists and the American imperialists against the workers and peasants. The workers must fight for a free and democratic constituent assembly. The workers must demand that the election be called while the revolution is still on the upgrade. This can only be accomplished if the organs of Soviets are functioning to protect workers' democracy, to beat down the head of counter-revolution, to further develop the revolution, and to thereby confine the Constituent Assembly to its proper place.

In the United States united front mass meetings must be called throughout the country. The fact that the Stalinists with their huge apparatus have not started this shows how "seriously" they take the Cuban situation. The A. F. of L. unions must be drawn into this protest. Financial aid must be forwarded to Cuba. Petty bourgeois and anti-imperialist forces must be organized behind Cuba's struggle against American imperialism. The workers and liberal forces in every Latin America country must bring pressure upon their governments to protest and demand that the United States withdraw the ships and Marines from Cuban waters. Cuba must have the right of self-determination. Such a move in all of the Latin American countries, connected with the struggle of the American workers against American imperialism, will have powerful pressure. It will also make a distinction between words and deeds of many so-called anti-imperialist forces in Latin America and expose the puppet governments to a greater degree before the eyes of the workers and peasants.

The argument that the Communists of Cuba cannot establish a Soviet Government at this stage and therefore must be satisfied with more modest demands has no place in the plans of the revolutionist and the Left Opposition. No doubt Soviets are very difficult to establish. But once the fires of the social revolution are started in this decay stage of capitalism it can sweep beyond Cuba, providing there is a Communist party, and a leadership with a program. It is up to the American workers to come to the aid of the struggles of the Latin American workers just as it was the duty of the European workers to come to the aid of the Russian workers after the October days. The Cuban revolution must be used as a lever against American imperialism.

—HUGO OEHLEH.

Before the Court of the Fascists

Four men are on trial for their lives, at the Leipzig supreme court in Germany, together with the Nazi dupe Van der Lubbe. The charge is high treason and whatever the monstrously farcical court procedure may reveal the accused are in advance condemned to the executioner's axe. That is, if the Nazis are permitted to pursue their prey unhindered.

It is the aftermath of a drama of two world forces at grips—Fascism and Communism. But the Fascists, drunk with victory, are tightening their stranglehold upon the throat of their victims. They demand their blood, and the very last drop. What an insolent challenge is this trial, not only to the Communist movement, not only to the working class, but to all that bears the name justice within this capitalist world.

Communists Meet Challenge

The Communists, who are before the bar at Leipzig, have met this challenge and stood up manly as only soldiers of the proletarian army can do. They did not disavow their creed or hide their convictions, but proudly asserted their Communist aims. And the official Communist

St. Louis Strike Briefs

St. Louis.—Six thousand workers on strike in St. Louis and the bosses build an organization to kill the organization of the working class. The purpose of the St. Louis League for Industrial Peace, to quote one of the big open shop clothing manufacturers, S. H. Curle, is to "combat the epidemic of strikes which is disturbing and preventing industrial recovery in St. Louis."

With 1500 silk dress workers returning to work there is great danger that the remaining 1500 cotton dress workers will lose their strike. The silk dress workers had been the most militant (over 300 arrests in one week) and their going back to work will leave the arena more open for the expounding of the I. L. G. W. U. leadership's circus talk about the new Messiah Roosevelt. The local leaders do not believe that honesty is the best policy. They are strict advocates of class collaboration policies. The Left wing of the silk dress workers must continue to fight against the leaders of the ILGWU lest one-half of their union membership is sold out.

The strike of the 2,000 hat and cap workers, settled by Max Zaritsky's arbitration powers under the banner of the NRA, may again be resumed tomorrow. The open shop manufacturers are refusing to re-employ the union strikers, as they agreed to when the strike was "settled." The hat and cap workers are still as disgusted with their "union" conditions as they were with their "open shop" conditions. "The only difference," as one striker expressed it, is, "that now the windows are slightly closed." Hell's winds will blow here in St. Louis this winter unless the bosses and their Judas' gold agents give the under-paid and over-worked hat and cap workers some concessions. There can be no cheering of pay when "union" workers get \$10 checks....

—MARTIN PAYER.

movement, which has for its leadership the Stalin clique, what has it done in this situation? Vociferous protests have been heard against the Nazi attempt to railroad the accused. But these protests have come almost exclusively from the liberal bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Even sections of the reactionary capitalist world press find the nauseating stench from this "travesty on justice" too revolting. In other words whatever comfort and help has reached these victims of a dastardly frame-up has come from these quarters and not from the official Communist movement.

The party and the Comintern capitulated to Fascism without attempting to strike a blow. That fact has burned itself deeply into our conscience. But have they also abdicated the right of protest against the Nazi hangman's work which is now cloaked in a court procedure? Almost the entire western world is aroused by this hangman's work. Even the A. F. of L. officials give vent to their condemnation. What is the so-called anti-Fascist united front movement doing about it? The truth is that it remains as dead and meaningless as intended by its Stalinist initiators. But what is the Comintern doing about it? What are the official parties doing about it? Around this issue was another opportunity to actually set a powerful protest movement on foot. And the official party in the United States when it proclaimed its demonstration in New York mobilized about a thousand workers; less than the party membership itself.

No Protest in Soviet Union

From the Soviet Union, from the proletarian stronghold, has come no protest. The Pravda has confined itself to the demand for an apology because its reporter was molested by the Nazis, in the city of the trial and it remained satisfied with the explanation that this was a mistake. Such are the depths to which Lenin's Pravda has sunk....

But the working class cannot remain satisfied with such explanations. They cannot remain satisfied with the Comintern abdication even of the right of protest. The Fascist executioners are hanging over their heads and they will rightfully demand that this menace be fought every inch of its way. In this there is not a minute to lose.

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Before the A.F. of L. Convention

Reactionaries Plan to Harness Labor at Momentous Gathering Opening Oct. 2

President William Green is advancing claims for the coming A. F. of L. convention, to begin October 2, to become the most momentous gathering of this body in sixteen years. This comparison refers to the wartime convention held in Buffalo, in 1917, at which Samuel Gompers, together with his whole staff, made their "heroic" efforts to harness the American Federation of Labor as an auxiliary machinery to serve the interests of the imperialist war mongers. The comparison is ominously sinister in its implication.

No doubts need exist of this gathering becoming a momentous one. It will be so, not by virtue of what the skilled pie-card artists in attendance can be expected to do, but by the special period and exceptional conditions under which it takes place. In the first place this convention gathers under the sign of another "heroic" effort to harness the American working masses

in the chains of the brand new NRA machinery of regulating class relations and reinforcing the means of keeping them in subjection as a class. But on the other hand, the very developments growing out of this, already indicate that the A. F. of L. is arriving at its crossroads with a speed which is truly American. How it will attempt to, or rather how it will fail to, with this new situation will be of decisive importance for the future.

The Growth of the A. F. of L.

The A. F. of L. executive claim at least 500,000 new members. There is no reason to doubt this figure, the acrobatic arithmetics of Stachel—the "head" of the TUUL—notwithstanding. In a Daily Worker article, of September 19, by the process of deducting from the A. F. of L. claims and padding the TUUL claims, all on paper, he succeeds in proving, apparently to his own satisfaction that the latter has made gains amounting to al-

most fifty percent of that of the former. Despite this juggling the truth remains that the overwhelming trend of labor organization flows at this moment, toward the A. F. of L. while the TUUL unions, in making certain gains in isolated cases, are being wiped out elsewhere, and precisely in those cases where the A. F. of L. has growth to record. Once more, and by the process of life itself, this proves the fact that the official party TUUL policy runs in violent contradiction to the curve development of the living movement.

The present record growth of the A. F. of L. almost amounts to a stampede with genuine mass strikes everywhere for recognition of its unions. In such cases where the party unions exist alongside of them the former are, by their radically false policy, forced to trail behind. In many cases they are even more conservative in their demands, and impotent to influence the workers where they are not entirely eliminated. These are salient facts of which the reactionaries do not fail to take notice. The reactionists, above all, must take notice and act accordingly.

It would be idle to speculate on what the reactionary A. F. of L. capitalist agents will do at this convention. First of all they will endeavor to strengthen their own positions and strengthen their own relations with capitalism, by correspondingly reinforcing the means of holding the working masses in subjection. It is in this sense, and distinctly in this sense, that they have embraced the NRA. The A. F. of L. will demand adequate representation in the machinery created under the codes, says Green. Will this be for the purpose of advancing the ideas of workers' control of production? Will these leaders demand that the books of the industrial enterprises be thrown open for the inspection of labor's representatives and by this method begin to give labor a say in the matter of control of production? Of course not. The A. F. of L. demand will be advanced with the purpose of strengthening the relations with capital for more effective class collaboration under the new conditions.

But there are also other trends indicated for the coming convention. The Metal Trades Department is now about to propose the industrial form of organization for the basic industries. This shows the pressure to which the A. F. of L. will likely feel itself compelled to yield, if not now, then later. This pressure will increase under the new conditions. Most significant, however, is the statement made by Green that the A. F. of L. is going to be the recognized all-embracing spokesman for American labor. That means there is no room in the United States for any other labor movement.

That no efforts will be spared to make good on this threat is certain. To that the convention will unquestionably be keyed up. That is one of the duties which American capitalism imposes upon its agents within labor's ranks to be carried out with the assistance of the NRA. Its intention is to crush any and all militant or progressive unions outside of the A. F. of L. and, in this manner, help to head off and forestall the development of working class militancy finding organized expression. For the moment this may be comparatively easy; but it will begin to really bring to the fore the contradictions of the A. F. of L. position because it implies a more open suppression of the militancy bound to develop within its own ranks. In this lies the prospects for revolts from within.

The A. F. of L. officialdom is entering upon its thorny road. The reconstitution of a Left wing is now more essential than ever.

NEW SPLIT IN CHILEAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Each day the disintegration of the official C. P. of Chile (Latterist group) (becomes more accentuated to the point where the few Bolsheviks still in its ranks find themselves obliged to openly unmask the adventurist bureaucracy in the leadership.

In the last national conference of the party, which took place recently, with the participation of only those closest to the leadership, and absolutely without the knowledge of three of the members of the Central Committee these latter were accused of being oppositionists and were summarily expelled.

Until recently all three of these comrades were considered loyal Bolsheviks and now for having protested against, and criticized the party policies, they have been expelled and branded as traitors. Their "treason" consisted in demanding a discussion of the past errors of the party.

The Political Bulletin of the Chilean Communist Left reports that the units to which the three expelled Central Committee members belonged are also to be expelled en masse.

BRONX MASS MEETING

FOR A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY AND A NEW INTERNATIONAL at
New Hollywood Gardens
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Friday, October 6, 1933
Auspices: Bronx branch of the Communists League of America (O.)

A Letter from Shanghai

Shanghai.—About Huang Ping, whose capitulation the New York Stalinists deny as an Opposition "slander," I am in a position to give you direct information supplied by Madame Sun Yat-sen. Notwithstanding her close connections with the League Against Imperialism and the Paris Anti-War Committee she is a genuine protagonist of the workers' cause. In China, she has played a prominent part in a hedge-podge organization of liberal intellectuals known as the China League for Civil Rights, which has been agitating for better treatment of the Kuo Min Tang's political prisoners. The organization is now practically defunct—it bumped up against too many matters involving class issues, which, because of its composition it was incapable of handling. It tried to be "non-political" and inevitably failed. When its secretary, Yang Chen, was assassinated recently by "Blue Shirts" (Fascist) agents employed by Chiang Kai-shek, most of its more prominent adherents decided it would be healthier if they became even more respectable than they had been.

Interview with Huang Ping

But to get on with the story. Madame Sun had occasion to visit Nanking shortly after Huang Ping's arrest, in connection with her work in the China League for Civil Rights. At the time Huang Ping's fate was unknown, beyond the fact that he had been tortured and that a recantation had appeared under his name in the People's Tribune, Wang Chin-Wei's organ. Madame Sun determined to find out what had happened to Huang Ping. Due to her personal influence, she managed to persuade the Kuo Min Tang authorities to allow her to interview Huang. She challenged them to produce him and prove that he had not been murdered, as had been rumored.

Huang was brought to her at the Yangtze Hotel, accompanied by a guard who remained throughout the interview—such as it was. In Madame Sun's words, Huang had

been reduced to a skeleton of his former self. A wrecked and tortured body, the physical fiber all gone, stood limply before her. Listless, lifeless eyes stared out from what once had been a human being, but which was scarcely one now. Madame Sun's questions brought no answers. Had he been tortured (the question seemed so superfluous)? Head bowed, Huang made no reply, but the guard returned an eager negative to the question put to his charge. "You have not been tortured, have you, Mr. Huang?"

Torture of Huang

Questioning was obviously useless, and Madame Sun's last question to Huang Ping was: "Did you write or give out any statement to the People's Tribune containing a renunciation of your past?" Huang hung his head and gave no reply. His father answered, "Yes, of course Mr. Huang wrote it—didn't you Mr. Huang?" That was all. Huang failed to repudiate the article when given the opportunity of doing so. All that could be done to a man but take away the spark of life had obviously been done to him. On the verge of the grave he refused the opportunity of vindicating himself before his comrades.

Rumor has it that Huang Ping has since been done to death, his jailers finding him an unnecessary burden on their hands, but it is not possible to obtain confirmation. From the time of his arrest, the only one interested in his fate who managed to see him was Madame Sun, and she seems satisfied that the recantation attributed to Huang by the Kuo Min Tang was dragged from him in the anguish of physical torture, when his wracked body could endure no more and live.

"Blue Shirts" in North China

Chiang Kai-shek's "Blue Shirts", who commenced their activities in Shanghai in a big way, working through the local police organizations, and succeeding in arresting many Communists and Communist "suspects", have now invaded North China. Scores of Communists have been arrested in Peiping (now virtually in Japanese control) in the past couple of months. Each Communist arrested, we learn, is offered his liberty if he will renounce his principles and sign a declaration to that effect. Torture is employed, of course, to "induce" prisoners to make these declarations, which are immediately used as propaganda against Communism. Many of these recantations have lately been published in the press of the north. In one instance, only last week, a group of Communist renegades were brought by the Kuo Min Tang officials to a public park in Peiping where they addressed large crowds, attacking the principles they had renounced.

The Communist party organ in North China, I learned this week, circulates about 100 copies. Completely disoriented, it fails to meet the urgent needs of the masses and is entirely unpopular. One party member expressed to a friend of mine who has just returned from the North his disappointment with party activity. Outright lying and exaggeration are the chief characteristics of the party newspaper. As this man remarked: "We read in the party organ things we know are not true." Voicing what was, probably, an unwittingly devastating criticism of this organ, he said, "My idea of good propaganda is presentation of the facts, however unpalatable, and their correct interpretation. A good cause has no need to resort to lying and exaggeration. On the contrary, it harms the cause."

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

The September issue of YOUNG SPARTACUS is out. It contains news of the youth movement and articles on the current working class issues.

Discussion on the NRA - The Slogan of Nationalization

The following article is a contribution to the discussion on the NRA. It represents the views of the author.

Other articles are invited but should not exceed 700 words.
(Continued from last week)

The slogan of nationalization of industries is at the present stage not one of immediate agitation but rather a propagandistic slogan laying the basis and setting directives for the movement in the period of upheaval which lies ahead. Even with American economic development (taking the most favorable course for the capitalist class—even, that is, with a coinciding of the NRA and a real expansion of production resulting in the temporary liquidation of the crisis,—the class struggle will necessarily take on new forms owing to the trend of development towards state capitalism. The "new" capitalism will be militantly imperialistic. The violent struggle for control of markets will base itself at home on the ever more oppressive exploitation of the working class. For the moment the stream of mass pressure follows the Roosevelt, but as events (the clarity of inflation for example) clarify the situation the stream will over the confining walls.

We cannot wait expectantly for well and become a flood breaking the period of open struggle to "educate" the workers. We must set forth our views and a corresponding plan of action now, correcting in the light of events those errors that will naturally adhere to our rough draft as we go along. Meanwhile we patiently answer the queries and objections raised by the serious workers looking for a solution to their problems.

Compensation or No Compensation?

In the mind of the worker the question of compensation naturally arises when nationalization is under consideration. Losovsky, in approving of the slogan at the 15th C. P. U. Congress in 1927, thought that the fight for "no compensation" serves to distinguish the Communist from the socialist. But to Trotsky, viewing the slogan as a slogan for the formation of a labor means of engaging the workers in a gigantic struggle with the bour-

geoisie, the question of compensation is entirely secondary, if not irrelevant. It is entirely a matter of objective conditions and not a matter of principle, as is indicated in the work "Whither England": "Besides the financial side of the question is of secondary importance. The principal task is to create the political conditions for nationalization, whether by purchase or without purchase, that is, of no immediate powers under the state. In the last instance it is a matter of life and death for the bourgeoisie. Revolution is inevitable for the reason that the bourgeoisie will never permit itself to be strangled by Fabian banking operations. Even a partial nationalization can be undertaken by bourgeois society in its present form, only by surrounding it with such conditions as would render the success of these measures extremely doubtful, thus compromising the principle of nationalization and with it the Labor Party. The bourgeoisie would oppose as a class every straightforward attempt at even a partial nationalization. The other branches of industry would resort to lockouts, to sabotage, to a boycott of the national industry; i. e., bring about a life and death struggle. However guarded the first steps might be, the task will nevertheless lead to the necessity of breaking the opposition of the exploiters." Here we have clearly given the dialectic nature of the struggle for nationalization.

Nationalization and the Labor Party
The U. M. W. of a Committee on Nationalization stated in their report in 1924 that the struggle for nationalization would build up a labor party. We Communists are party. Why then propose nationalization?

It might be conceded, for exam-

BOSTON MASS MEETING
ARNE SWABECK 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)

ple, that in the case of England, where the Labor Party existed as a stumbling block in the road of the proletariat, it was perfectly proper for the Communists not merely to pose the problem of nationalization but to set in motion mass pressure for an actual struggle for its realization, at the same time pointing out its inadequacy. But how does this apply to America where the masses are so backward, where the Left organizations, even including the reformists in this category, are so few in number? The answer depends on our judgment as to the mode of awakening of the masses and the speed with which this will occur. We are opposed to the formation of a labor party here because among other things the English experience warned us how such a party diverts the energy of the masses from a real struggle acts as a brake and helps to defeat our aims. But in that case it is our duty to take over those slogans which appeal to the masses and lead in a progressive direction, making them the basis not for programs to fool the masses, but for but filling them with our content, actual class struggles conducted with every weapon in our power.

Our Tasks

The way in which even now the workers are showing initiative in taking full advantage of the "pacifying" collective bargaining clause in the NRA, gives every hope for expecting the speedy political development of class consciousness in the American working class. In that case the slogans of nationalization and of workers' control of industry will be pushed more and more to the fore and we must be ready to fill them with our class content at the proper time, and to make them the basis for a real and not a sham battle. Under proper conditions these slogans offer every possibility of rallying the miners, the railroad workers and the entire working class for a struggle against the capitalists, they offer a means of striking a blow at finance capital, and with a real struggle they permit development of our strategy on the widest scale for orienting the working class towards the

NEW HAVEN MASS MEETING

"The Future of International Communism"

Speaker: Arne Swaback at the

Workers' Circle Center, 72 Legion Ave., (Opposite Dwight St.)
Tuesday Evening, October 3rd, 1933 at 8 P. M.

Admission 10 cents
Auspices: New Haven Br. C. L. A.