



The New Rift in the Lovestone Group--and the New Party

After having been slain so often, the very much alive flesh and blood specter of "Trotskyism" has risen again to disturb the equanimity of the Lovestone group. A call has been issued for a national conference next month, and the current issue of the *Workers Age* prints a discussion supplement in which are published the statement of the majority "On the New Party and Trotskyism", and the minority statement by Zam "For a New Perspective for Our Group". The dispute is the second one in a year to wrack the frail body of the American Right wing, and the latest one promises to have even more far-reaching consequences than the one which preceded it.

That the discussion should revolve around the recent German events and the problem of a new Communist party and international arising out of them, is already highly significant. In the first place, it is a warning revelation of how the overwhelming pressure of international (the so-called "foreign") questions inexorably crushes every futile attempt to establish a revolutionary organization and policy on purely "American" issues (whatever they may be!). In the second place, it again attests the fact that the regenerated Communist movement will and can come into existence primarily on the basis of the position taken towards the August 4th of Stalinism; its capitulation to Fascism in Germany. And not as an isolated instance, or an episodic incident, but as the crowning point of ten years of policies which have converted the Communist International from the general staff of the world revolution, into a brake on the world revolution operated by the omnipotent Stalin secretariat.

The attitude to be taken to the problem referred to has already aroused stormy discussions in most sections of the radical labor movement of Europe. However contented conservative officials may be with the way matters have gone up to now, however reluctant they may be to engage in a discussion of the problem of the new international which is now posed as imperiously as it was after August 4, 1914, the discussion is nevertheless forcing its way into the pores of one organization after another. Not even the Lovestone group is exempt from this penetration. And if the official Stalinist parties will be among the last to reveal an open concern with the problem and to bring forward a sector which will contribute serious forces to the new movement, it is not because they enjoy any organic immunity from it, but only because the molecular processes of differentiation already at work have not yet gained sufficient strength to break the momentarily effective stranglehold with which the bureaucracy is throttling all criticism and progress.

The Lovestone group suffered a blow several months ago when the group supporting the views of Gltow—which has now taken a favorable position towards the slogan of a new Communist party and international—broke away from it. The new internal struggle is an echo and a continuation of that rupture. The statement of H. Zam, the official and solitary representative of the minority on the National Committee, declares for a new Communist party in the United States and in every other capitalist country, that is, for a new Communist International outside of the Soviet Union and exclusive of any Russian section. Zam's membership on the National Committee facilitates for the time being his role as official representative of the new current, although the genuinely progressive tendency in the Lovestone group does not and cannot find in him anything more than a fortuitous and unauthentic spokesman. But although truer voices will speak out tomorrow, it is the two "official" currents which concern us at present, the official statements in the discussion supplement of the *Age*.

Let us first examine the declaration of the Committee majority.

The Lovestone document—interspersed with the customary falsehoods, inventions, distortions about the "Trotskyites"—proceeds from the idea that no new course is needed for the simple reason that no change has taken place in the situation. The sole criticism that Lovestone musters up boldness enough to make of the disastrous course of Stalinism in the German situation, is contained in the weasel words about "its failure to apply effective tactics to realize its correct Communist principles and aims". Nothing more!

The fact that the Communist party was deliberately prohibited by its own and the Moscow bureaucracy from effecting that elementary, obviously imperative and obviously correct united front which would have crushed Fascism before it came to power; the fact that the

Fascists were allowed to come into power and to consolidate it without the Communist party lifting a finger to organize the slightest resistance to them; the fact that the last of the parties in the Comintern that retained a mass basis up to then now lies crushed, bleeding from a thousand fatal wounds, completely incapacitated—that is, has collapsed; the fact that the catastrophic course which rendered this outcome inevitable has been officially canonized by the Comintern and all its sections without the slightest attempt at self-criticism or reevaluation; these facts and dozens of others which proclaim from the housetops the collapse of the Communist International—are blithely dismissed with the observation that, although they had correct Communist principles (the nationalistic dogma of socialism in one country!) and aims (the "people's revolution" and the "national" emancipation of Germany!), the Stalinists were not so effective with their tactics. Here you have revived the theory that if the monarch lost both battle and kingdom, it was only for want of a horse-shoe nail. The story was plausible and amusing in kindergarten books. In the present case, it is nothing less than a despicable attempt at whitewashing the Stalinist criminals who are responsible for the tragedy of the German proletariat and, implicitly, their discharged Right wing hunkies who seek re-hiring.

"Genuine Opposition to Fascism"

The Stalinists in Germany have not had their August 4th, argues the thesis. "No one can doubt the sincerity and genuineness of the official C. P. G's opposition to Fascism at any stage of development," it declares. There is no way, however, of measuring sincerity in politics. There is no such thing as a "sincerometer", as Lenin once told Serrati, nor is there a need for one in politics. Sincerity does not weigh decisively on the scales of the class struggle, and what is important is not an instrument to measure it (and there is none), but an instrument with which to take the measure of political tendencies, of programs, of actions. That instrument is Marxism.

No sincerer opponent to the im-

(Continued on page 4)

Progressive Enginemen Organize For Reform of Railroad Unions

On July 19th, 1933, at the recent B. of L. E. Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, the "Progressive Club of Enginemen" was started by 74 members of the progressive block in that Convention. The progressive movement has already taken on an organized form inside of the B. of L. E. This minority movement grew up and developed on and around a 25 point program of much needed changes in the organization. Among other things, the progressive minority program called for the "Initiative Referendum and Recall", abolition of all gag laws and secret work and the reinstatement of all gag law victims; for a new set of officials with lower salaries; for the removal of the B. of L. E. headquarters from Cleveland to Chicago, etc.

However, the Johnston machine had a sufficient majority to control the convention, and were able, with one or two exceptions, to prevent the proposals of the progressives from being enacted into law. When these progressive delegates saw that their program was being defeated they decided to launch an organized progressive movement inside of both of the two Engineers' Brotherhoods to perpetuate and keep alive the progressive program defeated at the B. of L. E. convention, and the result was the Progressive Club of Enginemen. Every locomotive engineer, fireman and hostler who is a member or eligible to membership in the two engineers' brotherhoods and who subscribes to the progressive program, may join the Progressive Club of Enginemen.

There is certainly a big and fertile field for an organized progressive minority movement in the Enginemen's Brotherhoods as well as in the 21 Railroad Unions. The Minneapolis Railroad Council Movement aims to do the same thing to a side of the 21 railroad unions that the Progressive Club of Enginemen aims to do inside of the Engineers' and Firemen's unions. Instead of leadership and program the Railroad Brotherhoods have a well organized bureaucratic autocracy which has entrenched itself behind gag laws, obligations, secret work and a very tightly censored Brotherhood press. No member of the 21 Railroad Brotherhoods can even mildly criticize his administration's

Boycott of Germany

(Resolution of the International Plenum of the Bolshevik-Leninists.)

The boycott is an important weapon in the international struggle against Hitler Germany. It is an elementary truth that the boycott cannot overthrow Hitler. But it can force him to make certain concessions and it can help the defeated German working class, as well as the world's working class, in regaining confidence in the power of proletarian internationalism.

The boycott of goods, supported by bourgeois and liberal Jewish organizations, transforms this method of struggle against Hitler into a means of bourgeois competition and ideological preparation for war, and into the creation of a "collaboration" between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, in view of coming war.

The boycott of German goods is also propagated in the same sense by the reformist lackeys of capitalism. The revolutionary proletariat can take part only in an active boycott, which also develops the class struggle against its own bourgeoisie; boycott of shipping, strikes of seamen, longshoremen and railroad workers.

The 3rd International, refusing any boycott in the interest of the commercial policy of the Soviet Union, shows again its inability to defend the class interests of the proletariat; an inability which is due to the non-Marxist policy of socialism in one country. Experience has proved that the boycott has no meaning unless it is conducted by the mass organizations of the proletariat, and if it is designed to attain an aim in a definite period of time. This is why the boycott should be preceded by systematic propaganda and by the creation of a united front, which will permit the projection of the boycott with a determined aim and at the same time with all the necessary force.

It is in this sense that the Plenum of the International Opposition has addressed itself to all workers organizations on August 28, and again in its appeal on the subject of the trial on the burning of the Reichstag for joint action of all workers organizations.

International Secretariat.
September 28, 1933

Stalinists Expel 3 Food Workers from Union

New York.—Three militants of years standing in the revolutionary and labor movements have just been expelled from the Food Workers Industrial Union in New York for the crime of disagreeing with the political views of the Stalinists in control of the organization and for supporting the standpoint of the Left Opposition. At the same time that this reactionary deed was committed, the Stalinists borrowed another leaf from the book of labor fakelard and used the economic club against one of the expelled by firing her from the job which the union bureaucracy controls.

The militants involved are Sebastian Pappas and Sylvia Weiner, two founders of the union, and one of its most qualified organizers, James Gordon. There is not an organized worker in the food industry who is not acquainted with all three militants for their activities in the union, in strikes and on picket lines, for their combativity which has more than once brought about their arrest and imprisonment. Despite the fact that all three of them enjoy a blameless record in the movement, the Stalinists sat in judgment upon them in typical star chamber proceedings and promptly expelled them.

Culmination of Long Fight

The expulsion comes at the conclusion of a long fight within the union which began even prior to inexcusable splitting of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union by the Stalinists for the purpose of creating the "red" Food Workers Industrial Union. For some time now the expelled members, whose loyalty nobody has ever been able to challenge, have been attempting to correct the pernicious course being pursued in the F. W. I. U. by its Stalinist officialdom. The aim of the Left Oppositionists in the organization has consistently been to establish one united union in the industry and to re-establish a genuine Left wing movement not isolated from the masses of the food workers.

Never able to meet the arguments made by our comrades, the Stalinists have instead sought for some time now to whip up the membership to a lynching spirit for the purpose of facilitating the expulsion of the workers who were a thorn in the side of the bureaucracy. Then, having reduced the union to a caricature, not much greater in strength and influence than the Stalinist party fraction which completely dominates it, the officialdom brought trumped-up charges against the three militants and pronounced sentence of expulsion upon them.

The most despicable act of the Stalinists consists in the firing of Sylvia Weiner from her job in the "Coops", a Stalinist institution where she had been at work up to the time of her expulsion. The capitalist uses precisely the same method of firing and blacklisting in order to starve out militants in the shop until "they come to their senses". The A. P. of L. agents of capitalism use the same method in order to rid themselves of critics and opponents in the unions; they take them off the job, keep them unemployed without the possibility of getting work elsewhere, and thus try to starve the class conscious fighters into submission to the machine. Sylvia Weiner's discharge does not leave a single spot on her sterling record in the union; it does, however, brand the cynical bureaucracy which committed the act with an ineradicable stigma.

Rank and File Indignant

Scores of workers are seething with indignation at the expulsion which every rank and file understands to be based exclusively on the political opinions of the three comrades. Militants in the food and needle trades industries who have worked and fought side by side with our comrades in a dozen battles, refuse to swallow the crude and disgraceful action of the Stalinists. The latter have not heard the last of this expulsion. There are many workers who are determined to make a vigorous protest in every organization against the action. The hope of the Stalinists to finish off their business in the dark of the moon and in the confines of their trial chambers will, we are confident, be successfully spiked by resolute militants. The Stalinists, in this case at least, will be compelled to answer for their action before an infinitely more authoritative court than that which tried the three: the court of the workers and their organizations. The Stalinists will be confronted by militants in the food industry, in the needle trades unions and elsewhere and made to explain.

This crime will not be allowed to pass with impunity—bear that in mind, Messrs. Stalinists!

A Letter from Prison

Nov. 6, 1933
Gloucester, N. J.

The Militant,
Comrades:—

I believe you should know that the I. L. D. have not given me any consideration whatsoever at any time during the 5 months that I have been incarcerated owing to my active work for our cause. I expect no action from this source and I feel that the Attorney is not being encouraged to exert the energy in my behalf that I know he can and is quite efficient to do. I am confident that he is perfectly O. K. but is not receiving the attention and care to enable him to forge ahead in the cause for which I confidently stand.

I am personally without funds and deprived of even smoking, also other incidentals which a person really needs. I am sure my comrades do not know these circumstances for I am positive that they realize I face my duty undilutedly and so do warrant consideration in our unity of cause.

It would please me so much if you will kindly forward the "Modern Monthly" and keep me in mind as I am sure you realize I rightly warrant by my comrades.

The Militant is coming to me regularly and I want you to know that I appreciate all you do to inspire and further what is Right-For-All.

I have not heard any definite news for quite some time, the latest given to me here is that I be deported to Italy.

With Kindest Personal Regards,
Believe me Sincerely,
COMRADE BELLUSSI.

Note: Letters to comrade Bellussi should be addressed as follows: Anthony Bellussi, Detention House, Philadelphia Immigration Station, Gloucester City, New Jersey.

'Good Government' Cleans Up in the New York Municipal Election

The Tiger's tail has been twisted. The "rascals" have been driven out of office. The "millennium" of the end of "bossism" has come to New York. Honest-to-goodness government is installed in power and the days of corruption, skull-duggery and political racketeering are over. The shining champion of cheapness and honesty in municipal administration, the master demagogue, Fiorello H. La Guardia is ensconced in City Hall to the great rejoicing of the "economy" experts, the pious Christians, the yellow press, the innumerable office-seekers — not to mention the Big Boys who backed and financed his campaign.

It was a tense campaign filled with recrimination abuse and character assassination in which the right was no doubt shared by all the contestants for the mayoralty alike. There can be no doubt that this election must have been a real tickler to anyone with a sense of humor.

The great issue trumpeted up and down our fair city was boss or no boss. Tammany's candidate, the others admitted, was a square shooter but "Honest" John O'Brien had an evil genius behind him whispering Mephistofelian advice into his ear. "Holy" Joe McKee the crusader against Tammany dictatorship was accused of being the cat-paw of the same kind of boss domineering which he inveighed so strongly against. And La Guardia, ever ready with radical phrases to please the demos, was charged with being a Communist. No less!

A Rude Awakening

The rude awakening will come for the masses in New York when they discover that the election promises to clean up the city, to make an end to corruption, whether carried out or bursting like soap bubbles, will not make a particle of difference in their economic conditions. The dead weight of the four years of abysmal privation, and body-wracking unemployment, will not be lightened when and if the grafters are cleaned out by La Guardia.

Quite another matter are the promises Mr. La Guardia has made to introduce "economy" into the city administration, where he contends extravagant waste has prevailed under Tammany. When La Guardia talks of "economy" he is not addressing himself to the workers but to the gentlemen of Wall Street who will supervise his actions in office. The New York City government is saddled with a huge debt to Morgan, Rockefeller et al. who want it honored, the principal and the interest. The panaceas heralded by La Guardia and others, tant dispensing with useless office holders will balance the budget and provide funds to meet the city's obligations are so much election ranting. If this debt is to be met — and the bankers are demanding

N.Y. Food Workers Turn To Trade Union Action

Sentiment for Aggressive Organization Struggle Follows N.R.A. Fiasco; Hotel Strike in Prospect

New York.—While the organization campaign drive of the Hotel and Restaurant Union Branch of the A. P. W. is going on as reported previously the Union is confronted now with a new serious situation. The bosses realize that our Union is becoming a powerful force and they are preparing to strike the Union a blow.

They failed to line up the Vatel Club members for the Company and they are concentrating at present on the Geneva Association. The big Hotel owners are working methodically in creating the scabbing machinery. They have already begun to force the workers of Taft and New Yorker Hotels to join the company Union, and for obvious reasons. These Hotels so far have very few union members. This fact alone should convince every food worker that in order to protect his interests he must not only join the Union but convince his fellow workers to do the same.

The NRA illusions even among the unionized workers were very strong. But now they begin to realize that the only road to follow is a more direct action against the bosses. The NRA officials did not lift a finger to help any worker but surely they did work very hard in protecting the interests of the bosses.

Besides the above mentioned behavior of the local NRA officials news reached us from Washington that the President is ready to sign the Hotel Code without any consultation with the Labor Unions. Of course this is an open violation of the law known as the NRA but the class conscious workers did not entertain any doubts that the capi-

talists would violate every law which might harm even slightly their sacred interests.

No results whatever were accomplished, whether the matter brought up to the NRA was an arbitrary firing of an individual or of a whole crew of cooks, whether it concerned wages or hours. The new ruling that tips are wages, and the forthcoming signing of a hotel men's code without the participation of the workers, are putting the finishing touches to the hopes and confidence of the hotel and restaurant workers in assistance from the NRA.

Now one ruling after another weakens the position of the workers: the hours of the waitresses at *Loft's* are being lengthened, the waiters are not getting their fixed minimum wages, cooks and waiters are being fired arbitrarily, and the impossible burden of proving that the discharge is for union activity is being put on the organized workers.

They are beginning to realize that their fate is now in their own hands, and that they must look for help only to their own organization, their trade union. Thousands of organized workers, whether working in the biggest hotels or in the smaller restaurants, are preparing for decisive action, completely independent of the NRA.

The workers for their part are prepared to draw the inevitable conclusions from the situation which has been forced upon them. They are prepared to fight back from now on against every aggression of the bosses, whether by the picket line or the strike, and if necessary they will surely not shrink from a general tie-up of the whole hotel and restaurant industry in the city of New York.

The food workers are realizing that only a Union based on class struggle principles is able to defend their interests. That is why they got rid mighty fast of their illusions about the NRA and they are determined to fight for their demands. Their fight will not be an isolated one. Tens of thousands of unorganized will join the ranks of the Union when it leads the fight for the abolition of the miserable conditions that the Hotel Men's Association inserted in their code which the NRA Administration and the President is preparing to sign.

—HOTEL WORKER.

COTTON PICKERS ARRESTED IN STRIKE

Cotton pickers arrested following the attacks on the strikers by the growers' armed "committees of protection" in the San Joaquin Valley, Calif., will be defended by A. L. Wirin of the Southern California branch of the A. C. L. U. Seven workers are charged with murder, a strike leader with criminal syndicalism, seventeen pickers with resisting an officer and rioting, four with vagrancy and disturbing the peace.

The murder charges grew out of the shooting of a Mexican striker at Arvin. Though the strikers, according to all witnesses, were without weapons and the cotton growers carried guns, not a single grower is held. The indictment against Pat Chambers, the leader of the strike, for criminal syndicalism is called a frame-up by Mr. Wirin. Chambers, it is reported, at all times urged the strikers not to resort to violence. His bail was first set at \$2000 and then raised overnight without hearing to \$20,000.

A writ of habeas corpus filed in the Superior Court to reduce the bail proved unavailing. At a hearing on the bail for the four strikers charged with vagrancy, the District Attorney of Kings County declared the defendants were arrested because they were strike leaders and urged that the bail be high to keep them in jail. The bail was set at \$200 and raised at once and the men released. Governor Rolph's fact finding committee investigating the violence reported "Without question the civil rights of the strikers have been violated. We appeal to the constituted authorities to see that the strikers are protected in rights conferred upon them by the laws of the state and by the federal and state constitutions."

OPEN FORUM

THE SOCIALIST PARTY
AFTER HILLQUIT
Speakers:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Friday, November 17, 1933
8 P. M.

at International Workers School
126 East 16th Street
Auspices: Manhattan Branch,
Communist League of America
(Opposition)
ADMISSION 25 CENTS

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Hundreds Hear Mac-Donald at Toronto

Toronto.—With over 700 workers in attendance at the Labor Temple last Sunday, Jack Macdonald spoke on "The Need for a Fourth International". The meeting was composed of a large section of Left wing socialist workers, about 250 Party adherents and sympathizers and a number of I. W. W. members.

The speaker pointed out the international significance of capitalism and showed how the greedy parasitic hand of capital must of necessity expand beyond its own national frontiers. This led up to the famous Stalinist revisionist theory of "socialism in one country". Comrade Macdonald here stated it was the opinion of many workers that this was purely an academic question. He shattered this opinion in the minds of many by showing the significance of this theory in practice. He quoted from Stalin and Lenin to show wherein the difference lay. He pointed out that from this theory came the diplomatic gestures that now leads to confusion and would inevitably lead to disillusion. He challenged the Stalinist to show wherein the Internationalist character of the present Party lies.

In comparing the Red army at the present time and the Red Army of 1923 he stressed the fact that in 1923 it was an international Army that at the present time it had degenerated to a national army. He showed that in 1923 the Red Army was mobilized for the assistance of the German proletariat in case a revolution broke out. This was contrasted with the present policy when not a single word came from the leader of the C. I. for 18 months prior to Hitler's seizure of power.

No word came from the Kremlin through official sources but it was left to a bourgeois correspondent, Walter Duranty, to make a comment in the N. Y. Times that Moscow hails with unhesitant growth of the revolutionary proletariat in Germany. Comment on this was unnecessary. Not only was the Red Army not mobilized for the defense of the German working class but not a single demonstration to protest against Fascism has taken place in the Soviet Union since the day Hitler took power. It is perfectly alright for the workers in capitalist countries to protest against Fascism but in the name of diplomacy this must not be done in the Soviet Union. These are not only the works of Stalinist spokesmen but also the deeds.

At this justice comrade Macdonald quoted from Litvinov's speeches where the Soviet diplomat continually assures capitalist countries that under no conditions will the Soviet Union intervene in foreign affairs. He then ended up, with stirring appeal to all revolutionary workers to study the problems honestly and objectively and emphatically stressed the need for a Fourth International based on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

In the discussion that ensued a few party adherents attempt to pin comrade Macdonald's reference to the Red Army as meaning that the Red Army should have walked into Germany before and as Hitler took power. This speaker in reply stated that this was not so; that the question of intervention is decided by objective conditions and that in case of Germany he blamed the Party for refusing a genuine Leninist united front with reformist organizations and so building up a solid front against Fascism; that since the proletariat in Germany did not fight it would have been both futile and adventurist to do so under such conditions but that in spite of this, the Red Army should have been mobilized to offer every possible assistance in case civil war had broken out. Many other questions were asked which had no direct bearing on the topic but which were nevertheless answered.

That the meeting from our point of view was successful was proven when many workers expressed themselves favorably after the meeting.

—P. S.—

Minneapolis Branch in Action

Minneapolis.—The renewed activity of the American Labor movement is also quite well reflected in Minneapolis. Hundreds of workers have joined the various A. F. of L. local unions and a vigorous campaign of organization is still in progress. Unions that were formerly dormant, and in some cases practically non-existent, have suddenly sprung to life and already occupy a commanding position in the local labor movement. I speak specifically of such unions as the Upholsterers and the General Drivers. The former at the present time is conducting an effective city-wide strike and the latter is putting on an organizational drive that has practically quadrupled its membership in the last 8 or 10 weeks. All local unions are reporting substantial gains with the exception of the building trades. Due to the low ebb of the building industry the basis for organizing these workers into bona fide trade unions has been narrowed down almost to the vanishing point.

The Minneapolis branch has not been slow to take advantage of this revival in the labor movement. Several of our comrades have been

successful in getting into the various A. F. of L. unions and in several instances are already playing leading roles. In fact it can be said that almost the entire activity of the branch is devoted to mass work at the present time.

In addition to the trade union work several comrades are engaged in unemployed activity. Working with a group of trade unionists and unemployed some of our comrades were instrumental in setting up the Councils for United Labor Action, an organization for the unemployed. As a result of working in this organization two League members were invited to join the Volunteer Committee for the Reorganization of Minneapolis Public Relief; a committee composed of professional men, Socialists, Farmer-Labor figures, co-operators and liberals of various shades. At the first meeting of the committee which our members attended, an elaborate plan of decentralizing Minneapolis public relief had already been worked out. The plan was ideal, everybody agreed, but when one of our comrades raised the question on how the committee proposed to put this plan into effect it revealed only the haziest ideas on the matter.

It remained for our comrades to propose the calling of a representative conference to be composed of delegates from the trade unions, and the entire labor movement if possible, to sponsor a program of action to organize the unemployed and by this method get, not only decentralization of relief, but other demands of the unemployed such as unemployment insurance, stoppage of forced labor, etc. This idea was finally adopted. A call was drawn up and signed by fifteen or eighteen prominent individuals; labor leaders, co-operators, liberals, etc. Through considerable work on the part of the League comrades on the committee the call has been sent out to about 150 organizations for a conference to be held at the headquarters of the Central Labor Union, Sunday, October 29, at 1:30 P. M. Through our special efforts, all working class organizations; political, economic, fraternal, co-operative and unemployed are being invited.

But the crowning achievement of our whole work in the Volunteer Committee is the fact that the committee picked one of our leading comrades to make the 30-minute "Report on Unemployment Conditions" to the conference. He is also to submit some well formulated resolutions on the organization of the unemployed in the name of the Volunteer Committee.

There will be more about this conference in a subsequent issue of the Militant.

In spite of the mass activity that the Minneapolis comrades are involved in at the present time, we are still able to carry on considerable League activity. The membership of the branch has been divided into two teams in order to whip up a spirit of rivalry in the present Militant sub drive. This tactic has been applied before in the Minneapolis branch with good results so we are trying it again.

—Cee-Kay...

300 at Montreal Rally

Montreal.—The Left Opposition is becoming a factor to be reckoned with in the class conscious labor movement of Montreal in the I. L. G. W. U., at the anti-Fascist conference, on the issue of Joe Derry and the possible illegalization of the Young Communist League, the L. O. is making its influence felt. The Stalinists are especially frantic because of its honest and clear Marxist position at the anti-Fascist Conference, the L. O. is getting a foothold in Verdun, which has the only militant unemployed organization in Montreal.

Instead of producing ideological arguments, the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucrats do not merely, without further ado, declare the Left Opposition counter-revolutionary because it dares to reveal them as the organizers of the greatest defeats, but with irresponsible and outrageous shamelessness they spread the downright lie that the L. O. is consciously working hand in hand with the police.

Max Shachtman, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and of the editorial board of the Militant, setting out on a tour to Montreal, Toronto, Boston to speak on the 16th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution was arrested at the Canadian border and deported to New York. The Left Opposition in Montreal was formed to replace comrade Shachtman by comrade W. Krehm as speaker. The meeting was patrolled by the Red Squad and everything said was recorded by a police stenographer. The Stalinists attempted to break up the meeting and succeeded only in getting the police on the spot, who were probably called in by the detectives. The measures obviously taken by the authorities against the Left Opposition as a militant workers organization, did not prevent the inspired "Socialists in one country" from hurling the contemptible accusation that the L. O. had called in the police to the great indignation of the audience (some 300).

Stalinist hooliganism reveals it-

BROOKLYN MEETING
Diego Rivera will speak on "REVOLUTIONARY ART AND NATIONAL MINORITIES" at MILITANT HALL, November 25th, 8 P. M. 154 Watkins St.

self time and again as conducive to police interference in workers meetings. Hooliganism is an aid to the activities of the police against the class-conscious workers. Only their bankruptcy forces the miserable Stalinist bureaucrats to resort not merely to misrepresentation of the theoretical position of the L. O. but to the combined method of attempting to break up its meetings and hurling the vilest and most despicable slander.

At the same meeting the stupid Stalinist denial of non-party class organizations of the workers was openly proclaimed. The Canadian Labor Defense League, declared its district secretary, believes in freedom for "working class propaganda, but not for counter-revolutionary Trotskyist propaganda".

To comrade Krehm's analysis of the collapse of the Communist International, through internal bankruptcy and as a result of the reactionary and utopian theory of "socialism in one country" foisted upon it, in lieu of the perspective of the world revolution, by the petty bourgeois bureaucracy in the Soviet Union; to his incontestable contention that the German catastrophe marked the necessity for the creation of a new (Fourth) International as the only guarantee for the preservation of the workers fatherland, now in the most precarious position, the Stalinist spokesmen could only reply with abuse and with the gratuitous and absurd assertion that the Communist International are now stronger than ever.

The advanced workers of Montreal are learning to see these unscrupulous and impotent "leaders" in their true colors. —J. G.

Swaback Meetings in K. C. Successful

Kansas City.—Arne Swaback's three day visit to Kansas City—October 29, 30, 31—showed the rapid strides the branch has made under the banner of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

The address of comrade Swaback, "The Roosevelt Program, the NRA and the Need for a New Communist Party", was enthusiastically received by a crowd of a hundred workers who attended his lecture, Sunday, October 29th.

Swaback pointed out to the audience that the rallying of the liberal messiah, Roosevelt, and his quasi-Fascist assistant, Johnson, meant nothing but added misery for the American proletariat. The efforts of the "middle-of-the-road" sycophants, the "Brain Trust", to prove that capitalism can plan will end in nothing but privation and loss of the worker's rights—if their conniving efforts are not halted by a genuine united front of the workers.

The speaker also showed the hopelessness and blundering of the bureaucratic C. P. under the present favorable conditions resulting from their theories of "social Fascism" and "socialism in one country".

The need for a new Communist International, a live and fighting one, and not the one buried in the Moscow archives, was clearly pointed out to the worker-audience as the next forward step of the world proletariat.

And to prove to our comrades that the workers in this part of the world are fired with the idea of a new party—the collection at the conclusion of the meeting was the largest ever received by the K. C. branch at any of its public meetings.

The meeting the next night for members of the branch and class sympathizers only rivaled our public gathering. Aside from laying the basis for the new Militant drive, a substantial amount of contributions and pledges were made. The branch feels sure it will meet its quota in the expansion and either win the Militant sub-drive or give the winner one hell of a battle.

The last day of comrade Swaback's stay was occupied in renewing old contacts and solidifying the position of the League among its many friends and sympathizers—an urgent need since the Stalinists, like the proverbial Arabs, folded their tents and stole away silently to the oasis of Omaha.

—A. C.

Mass Turnout to Hear Cannon at Toronto

Toronto.—On Nov. 3rd a gathering of more than 900 Toronto workers heard comrade J. P. Cannon deliver a stirring address on "The Sixteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution and the Fourth International". The notices announcing the lecture had informed the Toronto workers that comrade Shachtman would speak but the Canadian immigration officials who, apparently, do not feed on Stalinist tripe, would not believe that he was a counter-revolutionary and warned him to keep out of Canada. Comrade Cannon came in his stead in order not to disappoint the Toronto workers—and they were not disappointed. Comrade Cannon spoke a second time on Sunday, Nov. 5, at the Labor Temple on the subject of "The World Crisis and the Labor Movement". Both meetings were highly successful from a political and propaganda point of view and marked a further advance of the Left Opposition in Toronto.

—B. B.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

Militant Builders

Thirty-three subs last week! That brings the total up to a hundred and thirty-five. That is something, but very far from the possibilities that are presented by the reduced prices of the Militant.

One reason for the slow pace is the fact that our comrades have delayed organizing their participation. The New York units, the Kansas City Branch and others have only now begun to swing into line in a drive to get subs. That means that the results they get will show up only after the drive closes. We will report these results as they come in. But they will not count in the race.

The Youngstown Branch
It seems that we blundered badly in the question of the Youngstown Branch and the sub drive. They

said some time ago that they want the subs sent in from them credited to the branch and not to individuals—except in special campaigns like the present one; in which case they want the individuals credited. Our mistake lay in overlooking the proviso.

The branch has sent us a detailed list of the subs sent in since the beginning of the drive and the comrades who sent them in. According to the list one comrade accounted for all of them. Since the list is large he appears at the head of the list below.

L. Goodman	Philadelphia 3
J. Carter	Brooklyn 3
W. Konikow	Boston 3
C. Shechet	Boston 3
The Standing:	
M. Koehler	Youngstown 27
S. Hardy	Philadelphia 13
S. Jourard	Toronto 8
A. Kaplan	Kansas City 7
M. Aborn	Bronx 6
N. Satir	Chicago 6
V. R. Dunne	Minneapolis 6
C. Hedlund	Minneapolis 4
J. Ruby	Chicago 3
M. Krupka	Pittsburgh 3
J. Ruby	Chicago 3

Philadelphia League Members Repel Stalinist Hooligan Assault

Philadelphia.—The scourge of hooliganism received another setback as the Party and Y. C. L. leaders: Mills and Hathaway called for the Philadelphia Police force to bar the Left Opposition from the 16th Anniversary celebration of the Russian Revolution at the Broadway Arena on Tuesday night.

Precipitating a gangster attack upon comrades of the Left Opposition engaged in the distribution of leaflets calling upon the workers for a protest meeting in the defense of Antonio Bellussi, this reprisal comes as another in the series of crimes perpetrated by Stalinist hooliganism.

Last week, after a few of our comrades had participated in a United Front anti-Fascist demonstration, Mills the district organizer made a malicious attack upon the Left Opposition and incited a lynch spirit among the Stalinists gathered after the demonstration in a hall at 1208 Tasker St. He instructed the party and Y. C. L. members to attack the Trotskyites and beat them up.

Tuesday Night we were prepared to defend ourselves and our democratic rights as workers to distribute our leaflets and to sell the Militant, despite the repeated attacks and threats of the organized hoodlums.

At one side of the entrance comrade Tom Holmes boldly displayed the Militant and proceeded to sell a few copies. At the other side of the entrance comrade Grant, recently expelled from the Y. C. L. was distributing the Bellussi defense leaflets.

The tools of the petty bureaucrats began to flutter about and cackle like hens.

They saw we were in a group and prepared to defend ourselves. For the first half hour we were unmolested as several abortive attempts by individual hoodlums were made to break through our ranks. "Separate them and beat them up individually", was the first order sent out.

One of the well known bureaucrats, not seeming to realize Grant had been expelled for Trotskyism saw him with a group of our comrades and mistook them for Y. C. L.ers.

"Don't you know what Mills said," he directed them. "When you see these Trotskyites knock them on their ear." Just then Goodman stepped forward. He walked away hastily.

Mills, the party organizer was seen reading one of our leaflets. He gave the signal for attack and walked inside of the hall.

Roselle and Miller approached comrade Thomas who was also distributing leaflets. Thomas gave him a leaflet. He tore it up. He snatched at a few more Thomas has in his hand.

"Is that all of them," he asked. Thomas ignored him. "Keep distributing the leaflets," he told the other comrades. The comrades continued with the distribution of the Bellussi leaflets.

"British Communist, Thomas Mann, speaks for the defense of Chinese Trotskyite. Read all about it in the Militant." Holmes was selling his papers.

"Beat up the Trotskyites," the petty bureaucrats shouted as they jumped at our comrades.

The hooligans jumped the comrades with the leaflets. Holmes was selling the Militant. Comrade Roberts and a few others went to the aid of the comrades with the leaflets. The I. L. D. had repeatedly called Bellussi meetings which did not materialize. Now the party and the Y. C. L. was paying the same sabotaging role attempting to stop the distribution of leaflets calling for such a meeting.

Bellussi was a Trotskyite sympathizer!

Our comrades fought back hard giving blow for blow. For a few minutes the struggle was fast and furious.

"Read the Militant." Comrade Holmes was still selling our organ. "Why is the creation of a Fourth International the best defense of the Russian Revolution?"

Roselle and Miller the same bureaucrats who provoked the fight now suddenly became ardent pacifists.

They did not want the workers to

FROM THE MILITANTS

A New Method of Expulsion

New York.—Every C. P. member knows that there is bureaucracy "in the party", and it must be admitted that if this bureaucracy does not grow beyond certain limits it can be a basis only for criticism but not opposition. But every few party members are conscious of the fact that there exists a bureaucracy "over the party" which considers itself beyond criticism.

The Upholsterers section of the Furniture Workers Industrial Union, of which I am a member, contains within it the former Left wing of Local 76, A. F. of L. Towards the latter part of July local 76 called a mass meeting of all the upholsterers. It was rumored that this meeting would call a general strike of the upholsterers for the next morning but no one was certain.

On the same night of this mass meeting the C. P. leadership of the Industrial Union called together its party fraction and a few who were close to the party for a meeting. This meeting opened by baptizing those present as the "strike committee of the union" which began to lay plans for a general strike of its own about two weeks later.

During the discussion a party member who has since dropped out asked about the possibility of a joint strike of the framemakers and the upholsterers. The framemakers were then, as now, controlled by the Industrial Union. The reply was, that if Mr. Thiez, the business agent of local 76 A. F. of L. would sign an agreement with the Industrial Union to keep the upholsterers out on strike in sympathy with the framemakers then the industrial union would keep the framemakers out in sympathy with the upholsterers. I argued his point further saying that the unity of a strike is not a matter to be left to Mr. Thiez and I was answered in effect: that nothing else could or would be done about it. Unconsciously the C. P. leadership was admitting that the upholsterers would overwhelmingly follow local 76 A. F. of L. in the strike. Yet when I made a motion to elect a committee to go to local 76 for the forming of a united front, the motion wasn't even ascended.

The policy which was to be carried out, as expressed by comrades Pizer and Hirsch was so evident that no one dared to second my motion. (Since this time Hirsch has quit the leadership of the union and is now a foreman in a shop). We then received information by phone that the meeting of local 76 was discussing the general strike for the next morning with demands of \$1.40 an hour and a thirty hour week and that it was a certainty the membership would accept them. The C. P. leadership had been

caught unawares. It also was now forced to call their strike for the next morning without consulting their membership.

It was decided to call the strike for 10 A. M. the next morning in order to give themselves two hours time in which to collect the strike tax passed upon at a previous membership meeting. Then they proceeded to pick the full-time workers for the conducting of the strike. When I reminded them that they had forgotten to formulate their demands, they adopted demands of \$1.00 per hour and a thirty-five hour week in the slack time and a forty hour week in the "season" which was considerably lower than those of the A. F. of L. My objection to this was not supported. A recess was called and I was not allowed to remain when the meeting was resumed. I was informed that there would be charges against me but I was not informed of the nature of the charges.

Since then I was not allowed to attend fraction meetings. After a long delay I was finally called to the District Discipline Commission of the C. P. The hearing was postponed and when I demanded to know what the nature of the charges were I was told that at present there were no charges. After another delay I again was called to the District D. C. and the hearing was held.

I was charged with giving information to the "Trotsky faction", breaking up the Tremont Workers Club a year ago where I worked with the party fraction of the club in fighting a financially corrupt opposition and that later when I applied for membership in the C. P. there was a charge of "Trotskyism" against my application of which I knew nothing about. Upon questioning I admitted my disagreement with the party on the trade union question and that I thought it was ridiculous to speak of Trotsky as a "counter-revolutionist". I denied everything else. The makers of the charges were not present at the hearing. No decision was reached, however, and I was told that I would be informed of a decision in about two or three weeks.

Months have passed and I have not yet been informed of any decision and I have not been allowed to attend either fraction meetings or party unit meetings. Neither my fraction nor my party unit was allowed to take up my case in my presence where I might defend myself.

The policy of the Stalinists, as carried out in my union, the bureaucratic handling of my case, the defeat of the C. P. in Germany, and the fact that no congress of the Third International has been called in almost six years proves to me that I belong in the Left Opposition where I can express my opinion without charges being made against me.

—ARTHUR BRANDMARK.

Canned Comedy at the Painters' Banquet

"In honor of Philip Zausner," and further—"to celebrate the birth of the Brotherhood of Painters!"

The affair took place Saturday, Oct. 28 at Beethoven Hall, as advertised, with the exception of the starting time, which was changed from 8 to 11 P. M., due to the arrival of the celebrities. At four in the morning it was still in full swing.

The gathering was one huge conglomeration of painters who still had paint-spots behind their ears from previous days toil, of labor leaders in dashing tuxedos and black low-ties, and their ladies in gorgeous evening gowns and sparkling jewelry. It was one great melange of haggard faces and dirty fingernails, of painted eyebrows and empty heads, of hates and disappointments and hopes and aspirations, of booze, beer and perfumed cigarettes.

Shortly after the "soup" and the "Star Spangled Banner", the speech-making monstrosities began. The orge of inordinate feeding instantly succeeded by an ogre of inordinate monologues. First came the string of clever labor-lieutenants and invited guest politicians, who delivered themselves of much clever talk of complicated nature, of learned disputations. But the practical painters, who composed a good half of the crowd of almost one thousand present, did not seem to like them. At times this disapproval manifested itself in that impromptu musical performance of barbaric nature, as is produced by spoons and chinaware. If the painters were seeking amusement, well and good. Unhappily, they were seeking truth. The speakers all claimed to deal in painters welfare, but they found that they could not stop contradicting one another long enough to satisfy the workers. So they all took to general appraisal and clarification of Mr. Zausner himself, as a solace, and having a sense of humor, tried to shock the congregation present into believing they had taken to drink. It was all canned comedy that passed for wit and reason.

Superior mortals, these labor-fakers! Near superman! They don't consider themselves part of the working class—and they are not, if we mean by that the producing class. They are merely funkies, lackeys and valets of their superiors. And what's a valet to "produce" besides a well-groomed master!

"Zausner is the greatest leader in the country. Long live Zausner!" shouted somebody. The poor simp

actually imagined he had said something in that borrowed bon-mot. The silence which ensued was broken by the a-propos remark of another near-gentleman, who piped "He is doing his best..."

"Zausner is a crook", somebody yelled with the top of his voice. Bang . . . whizz . . . boom . . . boom . . . General Bedlam: men rushed towards the centre of the trouble: bare-backed ladies stood on the chairs. "What is it?" "Who are the Communists?" "Who wants to fight?"

It took several minutes before order was restored. A little later two men with blood streaming down their foreheads were led down the stairs. The orchestra started "East side—West side..." Those nearest to the stage and furthest from fight were emotionally following the tune by singing and swaying.

As time went on, it became evident that the crowd really wanted to hear their leader. Zausner's mug-face on the Menu-card wasn't enough for them. They wanted to hear what he's going to say. It has been a poor season, and thousands of painters had spent the peak of it in the picket lines. What have been the results of the strike so far? How much strength has the Union gained during this organizational drive? What about "after season"? etc.

Finally the dignified gentleman was introduced. He rose, threw his cigarette aside and unfolded his prepared speech. Many workers in far corners of the hall stared at his direction, humbly, hopefully, expecting any moment to hear something worth-while from the lips of the great leader. It was noticeable that the average, frail, vanity-filled worker was tremendously impressed by the commanding personality of the secretary-treasurer, and he waited like a blind fledgling for something to be dropped from his mouth.

But nothing happened. The same old demagoguery with which all class-conscious workers are familiar. He started with that great American delusion, the NRA and its benefits to the painters. Working upon the susceptibility of crowd-psychology, he even used, at times, some very radical phrases. But nothing concrete, nothing definite slipped from his lips that would benefit the worker. As for example of exempting the members of excessive dues-payment during the unemployment, of dividing of available work more equally amongst the members, of proposing an insurance system during the slack months, etc., not a word.

Yet—finally he said something!

Something that crowned the glory of his whole demagoguery. Said he: "...the Union conditions will be forced on whole industry, if necessary," "If necessary!" That reminds us of the br-rave general who, lacking both guns and ammunition, ordered a furious beating of drums to scare the enemy and hearten his followers. It is laughable especially when one notices how the "enemy"—the master-painter, the independent and the cockroach—does not put his tail between the legs and hike, and how some of the "brothers" do cheer the br-rave Phil. "Atta boy Phil! Tell it to 'em." The poor simps, who paid or were forced to pay \$3 and extra for admission, actually believed they were going to get something.

"If necessary!" What deliberate and calculated mockery. There never was a time when it was not necessary. Phil "threatens" "by force" "if necessary" to unionize the whole industry. In time when Local Secretaries are encouraging painters to work for \$5-\$6 a day instead of \$9 scale, in order to get that 50c a day tax, of which more than \$3,000 runs daily into the Union treasury at present. How the spirit of 1933 unconceal reverberates in those imitation-artillery drum beats!

And Phil standing heroically erect at the honor table, faces the enemy, some of whom are sitting right at the tables in front of him, and wig-wag his approval and congratulations at his noisy and harmless bluff. And Phil, in reply, with his back to his "brothers", solemnly winks the other eye.

Will the industry ever be sufficiently organized, to dictate terms to the bosses?

Yes, when "necessary"—which is to say, when painters and all other workers in other industries compel it to be done whether the Zausners think it "necessary" or not.

—e.

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

Discussion Articles

Two Internationals

(Continued from last issue)

The German social democracy, not to be distinguished from its International, did not pursue a revolutionary class policy, but in a period of approaching civil war continued to travel the road of reform. It feared most of all, the possibilities of a proletarian revolution in Germany and the bureaucracy of the G. S. P. did everything in its power to prevent such an occurrence. Taking advantage of the bankruptcy of Stalinism upon all important questions confronting the German workers, the officialdom of the G. S. P. toyed with the idea of the united front, hoping at all times that it would never really be consummated, because the development of the united front struggle against Fascism, would indisputably have pushed to the foreground the struggle for power by the German working class.

The main policy adopted by it during the whole situation was the support of the "lesser evil" as against Hitler. Under the policy of "toleration" of the "democratic elements" in Germany, it proceeded to support the Junker Hindenburg as the bulwark of democracy, against Fascism. Its main struggles against Fascism were purely parliamentary, and its fire was directed against the Communists.

Now that Hitler has taken power, how do these people look upon events in Germany? What have they learned over a period of years in which they pursued the policy of reform, of safeguarding bourgeois democracy, of prolonging the life of capitalism? At the International conference of the 2nd International, held in Paris last month, the German situation was chiefly discussed from the point of view of its effects upon the world socialist movement. The main points of view are presented below.

The opening speech by Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the International, reads as follows: "The German Social Democracy was too busy with its immediate problems and failed to formulate a general policy. THIS WAS THEIR MISTAKE, BUT THE REAL TROUBLE WAS THAT THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT WAS FACED BY THE BITTER HOSTILITY OF ORGANIZED COMMUNISM, and so Social Democracy was crushed..." (emphasis mine—A. G.)

And from Otto Wels, the leader of the German Party, under whose direction the traitorous policies of that organization was initiated: "We made various mistakes but our critics mostly forget the circumstances and facts of the situation in which we worked. Why did we not declare a full socialist revolution in 1918? And here Wels goes on to attack the Allied countries and to say: "If they had been humane to our TENDER REPUBLIC EVERYTHING WOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT." (emphasis mine—A. G.) And again: "We were driven by terrible circumstances... Only people who do not understand our terrible position can criticize us because we thought internationally (1). We estranged the middle class in the crisis and Hitler went on to attack the Allied countries and to say: "If they had been humane to our TENDER REPUBLIC EVERYTHING WOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT." (emphasis mine—A. G.)

The French Socialist Party
The leader of the French Socialist Party, Leon Blum, eloquently declared: "Real political democracy is impossible without economic democracy, bourgeois democracy being but a stepping stone. The Bolshevik think it is necessary only to gain power and to hold it, but we feel that we want real socialism and liberty."

These men who sank in the swamp of chauvinism, who, whenever it was in their power, throttled movements of revolt and rose to save this social order, have summarized the colossal German defeat. You have the results: (1) The Allies were unfriendly to the "tender republic"; (2) The Communists were hostile to social democracy. The conclusions: (1) Greater defense of "democratic" capitalism. (2) Reaffirmation of the policies of the German social democracy.

Here you witness no criticism of the "general line", no questioning of the theoretical outlook of social democracy, no criticism of the tactics of the leadership. It was circumstances and the Communists that were responsible for the defeat. Along with the admission of a defeat, "there are signs that the Hitler regime cannot last much longer. The German socialists and workers will fight bravely and their victory is certain". (Wels). Thus inflated optimism and the promise of struggle in the future.

It is quite true that little else could be expected from this gathering. Every revolutionary worker knew that there could be no other evaluation of the German events by these people. They prepared the ground for all that has taken place. We have treated them briefly, because much has already been said of them and of their role in the labor movement. But it is important to observe their actions during and after great events in order that we may learn from such occurrences, and make comparisons. Here nothing has changed since the first betrayal of 1914. We turn now to the Communist International and its relation to the German events.

III. The Comintern

Matters stand in no different light with regards to the Comintern. The policy pursued by the Stalinist bureaucracy in Germany, was essen-

tially in an active political sense no different than the policy of social democracy. The likeness lay in that neither programs led in the direction of a possible victory of the proletariat. Quite the contrary, the line pursued by both organizations, spelled inevitable defeat for the German workers. And here, the question of consciousness or unconsciousness, has no real meaning. Objectively, the line of march of social democracy and Stalinism led to the victory of Fascism.

If Social democracy held to the theory of the "lesser evil", the Stalinists advanced the position of "national and social emancipation of the German people". When Wels and company came out in support of Hindenburg, Thaelmann and Neumann, drove the Communist party into Hitler's referendum, at the same time substituting the historic slogan of the proletarian revolution with the petty-bourgeois and reactionary slogan of the "peoples revolution". Advancing the theory of Social Fascism, Stalinism refused and prevented the formation of an effective united front struggle against Hitler. On this question, it played directly into the hands of the social democratic bureaucracy. In the course of the past three years, it successively denied the growth of Fascism, or, proclaimed that a victory of reaction would lead to the immediate triumph of the proletarian revolution. Instead of preparing the extra legal struggle, the party of the revolution carried on a purely parliamentary battle against the Brown Shirts, differing in no way from the methods of struggle of the social democracy. Its vacillating and speculative approach to the united front when Hitler was made Chancellor, bound the proletariat hand and foot.

Fascism and Social Democracy
Now, the working class is taught to believe that it has to go through the brutal stage of Fascism before it can experience the victory of the proletarian revolution. The dedicated ranks of the Communist International are given to understand and made to believe too, that the height of revolutionary strategy consisted in maintaining the disunity of the German workers, and conversely, that the united front was inimical to the interests of the revolution. On the day that Hitler was made Chancellor, the G. C. P. proclaimed the main danger to be the social democracy. When the Fascists were marching into power, the Stalinists continued to assert that the main struggle must be directed against the G. S. D. P. All of these outrages were committed in the name of Marx and Lenin. And at each new stage of the struggle, when comrade Trotsky in his numerous pamphlets and articles, and the I. L. O. in its declarations, were pointing the revolutionary way out of the difficult German situation, new repressions, new slanders, new characterizations were invented by these organizers of defeats.

Accepting Fascist functionaries into its ranks, canonizing fascist army officers who excelled in the anti-semitic campaign taking place in Germany, publishing their pamphlets and printing their articles because they announced their adherence to the Party when it issued its nationalistic slogans, only hastened the collapse of the German Party.

Revolutionists never expected the prosecution of a revolutionary course by social democracy. But they did expect that the tactics of the Communists would have severed the millions of social democratic workers from the tail of reformism and win them to the side of the revolution. This was possible only through one tactic: the united front. From the moment that the G. C. P. refused to utilize this supreme tactic of uniting the proletariat, all thought of winning the social democratic worker, was pure illusion. Experience is the only test for policy. What transpired in Germany stands out as the greatest indictment of the policies pursued by social democracy and Stalinism.

Evaluating the German Events

How does the Comintern evaluate the German events? From a disgraceful silence of almost three years, it finally recorded itself in a declaration that appeared in the world Stalinist press. The contents of the declaration can be summarized as follows: The victory of Fascism is not a defeat of the German workers. The German revolution has not only not been defeated, but is well-nigh on the upgrade and will break forth very soon. The German Communist Party is stronger and more active today than prior to the victory of Hitler. The policies of the G. C. P., under the leadership of Thaelmann (that means the policies of the Comintern) were absolutely correct. There were no errors committed. The social democracy is to blame for the victory of Fascism. The Party could not make the revolution because it did not have the support of the workers in Germany (1). Then the statement concludes by garbling and distorting a quotation from Lenin on what constitutes a revolutionary situation, in order to prove that such a condition was absent in Germany prior to March 5, 1933.

What essentially is different here from the "explanations" made by the social democracy? Nothing of genuine importance. Social democracy blames the Stalinists, the

Stalinists blame social democracy. The social democrats feared the united front because it would inexorably have led to the proletarian revolution. The Stalinists played into their hands by preventing the execution of this tactic. The social democracy carried on a pure parliamentary struggle against Fascism, the C. P. G. did likewise, warning the Brown Shirts, following their march before the Liebknecht House, to beware the results of the elections. Social democracy declares that Hitler is on the verge of collapse and that his overthrow is imminent; the Stalinists declare that the revolution is today on the order of the day. Both declare their policies to have been entirely correct and signify their intention to continue along the same lines. The revolutionary worker can begin to draw his own conclusions on the basis of these facts.

IV.

With the defeat of the German party, the backbone of the Comintern was broken. Aside from the German party, the largest and strongest party in the International in the capitalist world, the C. I. is composed of small ineffectual organizations that play either small or no roles at all in the countries where they exist. With the collapse of the German party, the most powerful defense instrument for the Soviet Union has been destroyed. Yet, apparently undaunted, the Stalinist leadership organized distinct defense organizations of musicians, actors, pacifists, soldiers, scientists and others of the same stripe who are and represent nobody in a class sense, as the defenders of the Soviet Union. The anomaly consists in this: that the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat, the only real defenders of the October Revolution, are hampered and made sterile, and are thus unable to build truly revolutionary organizations for the struggle for power (which in the last analysis is the decisive defense of the Soviet Union), while neo-sympathizers of the Soviet Union (those who are rallying to it since the construction of the isolated, independent and nationalist socialist society) are being made the defenders of the Soviet Union and apostles of anti-war work. The latter, as life has shown time and again, will be the first ones to fall and stumble over one another in their hurry to reach their homes, when the first serious conflicts arise, while the revolutionary has been strangled.

Capitulation to Fascism
Before the Nazis gained their victory, the party and the International always boasted about what would happen AFTER Fascism took power. Thus, Remmele in Reichstag: "If they (the Nazis) once come into power, the united front of the proletariat will be established and sweep everything away... They will come to grief more speedily than any other government." (Rote Fahne, October 16, 1931.) We do not doubt that eventually and finally the proletariat will come to victory in Germany as elsewhere. What the

events in Germany prove is what has always been understood by Marxists: there is no hopeless situation for capitalism, just as there is no decisive element in such situations is the party of the working class. Post-war events have shown that in most cases it was precisely this subjective factor that was lacking, in order to bring about victory for the workers. In Germany this failure of the subjective factor has brought about tragic consequences for the international movement. Today, following this defeat, the German Party offers conditions by which to overcome Fascism. These conditions were borrowed almost totally from the proposals made by the Left Opposition of Germany, in December 1931. At the present moment these proposals have no concrete importance. To think that you can today organize a united front of the working class in Germany is to learn nothing from events. Or, to believe that it is now possible to establish committees of action or armed defense corps, to carry on the fight against the fascist butchers, is to run about two years behind events.

The Recognition of the German Working Class

What is necessary in Germany today, is clarity. The workers must be taught to understand what took place and why it took place. The German working class will reconstitute itself in a final struggle against Fascism. But one thing certain, this reorganization of the ranks of the German workers will not take place upon the basis of the social democracy of Stalinism. The lessons of the social-democratic betrayal, the confusion and error of the Stalinists, which objectively brought about the same results as did the policy of Social Democracy, have left deep scars upon the proletariat. The "lesser-evil" theory, the policy of toleration, Social Fascism, united front from below, People's Revolution, bureaucratic centralism and national socialism, are dead in Germany, and cannot play any role in the reconstruction of the German revolutionary movement. The German working class will reconstitute itself on the basis of the proletarian revolution, upon the foundation of internationalism, above all.

The international proletariat is marching toward a new period of clarification. Betrayal by social democracy for twenty years, ten years of defeat under the bankrupt policies of Stalinism are forcing definite changes in the ranks of the world proletariat. Clarification as to these defeats of the working class in the "era" of wars and revolutions is indispensable. The needs of the situation demand a re-examination of our own ranks. In this period of clarification, the world proletariat will march forward on the basis of a revolution of events and a reorganization of the forces upon an international revolutionary foundation. That foundation is Marxism, mutilated today by Reformist Social Democracy and the National Socialist doctrines of Stalinism. **ALBERT GLOTZER.**

The Stalinist Mistake Factory--Karl Radek and the Polish Prince

There are words which have acquired a sort of currency in the official Communist Party. Such for example is the word "mistake". "We made a mistake here"—is a sort of formula in the Stalinist ritual, which is in essence to the Grand Master of defeats. But there are mistakes and mistakes. If a disaster such as that in Germany takes place it is due not to "mistakes", it is due to a break with all the fundamental principles of revolutionary Communism. To call this a mistake is to dodge the issue criminally. And if the history of the party since the defeat of the German Revolution in 1923 is nothing but such kind of dodging, this is because the Stalinist factory of "mistakes" cannot stop by itself. It can be stopped only by timely interference of the Russian and international proletariat before the Stalinist perversion of Leninism succeeds in invoking a terrible disaster on the Soviet Union itself.

Polish Diplomacy Bluntly Explained

Take for example "Izvestia", the official organ of the Russian Soviets. In the issue for September 8, 1933, Karl Radek takes a stand against Prince Sapiega, the former minister of foreign affairs of Poland, and under Pilsudski. Karl Radek informs us that this prince wrote an article in which he stated that Germany should be compensated for the loss of the territory which went to Poland in the "corridor" by "an expansion in grand style" farther to the East than Poland. This, the prince argues, is cheaper than to smash one's head on the barrier of the "corridor".

Here you can see that the Polish prince, defending the interests of "his country" and his class both nationally and internationally, indicates a concrete way out of the present difficulties. But the "international" revolutionist Radek who does his bit in helping to build complete socialism in the Soviet Union alone becomes indignant that Prince Sapiega is attempting "TO DISCREDIT POLISH DIPLOMACY IN THE EYES OF THOSE WHO SUPPORT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT." (underlined by Radek).

Further Prince Sapiega writes that "Poland would be tied by the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union only if this pact would obligate Poland in some more serious matters. But... there are no immediate prospects of an of-

fensive on the part of Poland against the Soviet Union and at the same time the non-aggression pact does not contain any clause which forbids Poland to participate in any economic war against the Soviet Union". Besides, adds the prince, the pact is conducted for three years only, and historically speaking three years is a short period.

Radek's Comment

At this point the indignation of Karl Radek becomes high and carries him away completely into the realm of noble feelings. He dons the robes of one of the highest priests of the infallible idol Stalin and indignantly pointing his finger to the sky solemnly proclaims: "We establish the fact that the former minister of foreign affairs of Poland is attempting to convince the world, that the Polish diplomacy in signing the principle political documents on non-aggression and accepting the greatest political obligations before the face of the whole world is only acting a play for a short period of time"

It sounds unbelievable, but here is the sad truth. A Polish bourgeois statesman informs the Polish and German bourgeois in clear language that the non-aggression pact is not to be taken too seriously. That if Hitler wants to compensate himself for the Polish "corridor" it is no use for him to get embroiled with Poland. That a better way out is an expansion "in grand style" farther to the East. Radek sees far enough to state that the warning of the prince about smashing one's head against the "corridor" is nothing but an offer to give away "the corridor" as agree about this "grand style" of destroying the Soviet Union and compensating themselves for the expenses of this destruction.

And the former revolutionist, Radek, becomes indignant about the chicanery of the former state politician and tells the world proletariat that this politician should be watched because... he wants to mislead those loyal bourgeois politicians who signed the non-aggression pact with the best intentions. —L. KOGAN.

NEXT WEEK

5th Anniversary of MILITANT
In next week's issue, which marks the fifth anniversary of the MILITANT, special articles commemorating the event will appear by various members of the editorial board.

Some time ago comrade E. Islas, secretary of the Left Opposition in Argentina, was exiled to Tierra Del Fuego. He was shipped to Ushuaia, the southern extremity of America, in a semi-polar climate, the regular place for "forced labor". Islas was arrested on board a ship en route to Montevideo to defend the policies of Lenin and Trotsky at the "Anti-War Congress." Upon his release he wrote a brief resume of his experience in exile which we publish herewith. It is reprinted from the August issue of the Bulletin of our Argentinian comrades.—Ed.

Villa Devoto prison, cell 20. Midnight, grating and chain rumbling noise. A company of guards enter. "Come on," they call out names of those to leave. While waiting my name, I deliver a short speech to those I am leaving. I conclude: "Long live the Communist party!" This is repeated in every cell. The anarchist comrades shout: "Long live anarchism!" A minute later the trucks leave for the southern docks. A mob of policemen are waiting for us. "Guns, 'cosacks', infantry, etc. We go down and over the gangplank. We are on the "Pampa" bound for Ushuaia. As the moorings are cut loose we sing "Sons of the People" and the "Internationale".

Prisoners' Manifesto

After two days of sailing we land at Ingeniero White. Here loading and unloading lasts two days. The Anarchists and Communists decide to issue a joint manifesto to the workers of the district. The manifesto is written. Immediately friendly comrades are found who take charge of the distribution. On the day of departure hundreds of workers are in evidence, shouting powerful protests against the capitalist reaction simultaneous with repeated declarations for struggle to the final victory.

We leave. We arrive at our destination ten days later. Snow covered mountains stand out against the background, the triangular building of the ominous penitentiary. The commanding voice is heard. "Get in line!" "No running!" Sentinels armed with Mausers, shining bayonets. Encircled to the right and the left by barbed wire, the caravan painfully mounts a steep road. Once inside the famous "rotunda" they strip us of our clothes. They curiously examine our nude bodies. Then we are given shoddy and infected prison garb....

There are 170 of us in all, twenty anarchists and seven Communists. The others are thieves, forgers, pedlars, all sorts of poor devils. Many are ill: tuberculars, syphilitics, lepers....

Prison Life Begins

Our life begins. Frightful brands on the prisoners: one day they suspend someone (which is death according to the guards) in the middle of the snow with hands bound. At night we hear howls of anguish from the prisoners in the cells where the guards beat them with iron rods and clubs. "Oh! mother, oh, oh....!" This continues day after day.

Tomorrow is the First of May, says a comrade. The vision of thousands upon thousands of workers celebrating May Day in the four corners of the earth passes before our eyes! And suppose we have a meeting, we too?—Here, in Ushuaia? Yes, even here.... Anarchists and Communists together?—Why not?

We meet at dawn. Songs, recitations, speeches. Two comrades speak for the anarchists, two for the C. P. and Y. C. L., and two others in the name of the International Left Opposition. This was a memorable day.

Death of Prisoners

Some days later we hear the funeral song rendered in penitentiary music. Several prisoners loaded a corpse on a truck... A half an hour later, another... Exactly, Comrades! Four prisoners are dead in the twenty-four hours we are here.

The coroner declares: bronchopneumonia... pleurexy... The better informed prisoners signal to us by putting their hands to their throats. A new one appears on pavilion 5 which at first saddens but then fills us with burning indignation. One of the dead ones is comrade Juan P. Garros. A longshoreman, he punished the black insolence of an inspector of the Patriotic League and shot him defending himself. Class justice: twenty years in the penitentiary. Here, they could not subdue his proletarian revolt. Nothing could subdue him, neither horse whipping, nor months "on bread and water", which slid by in the dismal and infected cells of pavilion 5, unsanitary, sleeping in filth, obliged to suffer terrible temperatures.

"They Will Find Him Dead"

Under the Uriburu government, the hangman Cernadas, the warden of the penitentiary had him ferociously beaten. In this way three of his ribs were broken and his hand lacerated. "Insufferable man!" I have heard him called by an old inmate. In the end... some day, "they will find him dead in his cell". He has been in prison for twelve years. He left his wife and two small children in Buenos Aires. He remains here, buried in this hard and cold earth of Ushuaia, not quite so hard and cold, however, as the hard and frozen hearts of his keepers....

We make a civil funeral to his memory. A comrade speaks. We conclude with the Internationale! The spectacle was a very sad one.

Argentine Reactionaries

Use Torture on Militant

Bolshevik-Leninist

There were those old reprobates from justice injured by the storms of life who could not hide their emotions.

Propaganda in Prison

The grey days drag by interminably. We have neither books, pencil, nor a piece of paper. No news of any kind from the outside. A veritable tomb for the living. We decide to break the oppressive atmosphere of this routine life. With another comrade we begin a course on "trade union organization". Then another on the "role of the worker in the revolutionary struggles." Some days later, on the request of comrades, we start a lecture on "historical materialism and political economy." And also on the request of all the comrades, I give a history of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and another on the criticisms and program of the Left Communist Opposition.

Never have I seen a greater interest shown than by these comrades who followed the explanations made in the course day by day. During this time we carried on as intense a political life as the prison rigor would permit.

We are again on board the "Pampa!" A sad ending for this proud boat which bears more resemblance to a slave ship than a war transport. Many things had become worse. They put us in the last hold. They close the hatchways. We suffocate. We must satisfy all our needs here.... A furious storm hits us as we leave the Malre strait. The old "Pampa" rolls and grinds. Everyone is thrown pell-mell; the pans full of urine and excretions roll with the men who vomit over one another.

A Fight On the Prison Ship

It is no longer bearable. We try to speak with the officer of the guards. He answers with insults. We cry out. We decide once for

all, take some planks which serve as a ram and begin to strike at the walls of the vessel. The steam pipes burst open. The hold is filled with smoke. We are suffocated like rats. Several men fall but we continue to bang away furiously. Finally they invite us to a parley. We demand to be let out, in short to travel like men and not to be trapped like beasts. Accepted.

We spend the remainder of the trip on deck except when we enter a port.

After ten days we arrive, half of us are sick. We have returned to Villa Devoto. Strange thing! They place the political prisoners in quarter 30 which is meant for common criminals, instead of sending us to quarter 20 where we belonged. The police are cooking up something against us. We protest; in vain. The fourth day, anticipating the authorities, we begin demonstrations. Outside are workers, awaiting our release, who learn of our protest. In quarter 30 several prisoners cut themselves and carve bloody handkerchiefs and shirts through the windows. The guards intervene at first with water hose and then with tear gas. They cannot subdue us. On order from the chief of police I demand they cease their protest. I will then appeal and they will be put at liberty." We have won.

Again At Liberty

The police plan, which consisted in allowing several days to pass so as to ship us to the department, to put us at liberty in order to lock us up again "for carrying arms", had failed.

We are again at liberty. We will struggle for those who remain in the grip of the hangmen of capitalism, and particularly for the comrades we have left behind in Tierra Del Fuego which can be quite correctly called Tierra Maudite.

We are taking up our place again in the ranks of the Left Opposition, the advanced guard in the struggle for Communism, for the world proletarian revolution.

Buenos Aires, July 1933.
—EDUARDO ISLAS.

International Notes

THE L. O. IN LITHUANIA

The Left Oppositionists in Lithuania have been definitely constituted in an organized group, working in conditions of illegality. The comrades have begun the propagation of our ideas by translating the documents of the League of Internationalist Communists, into the Lithuanian language. A secretary of the organization has been elected—The Lithuanian comrades write that the number of our sympathizers is increasing, particularly in the ranks of the official party. The intellectuals of the group are conducting political courses among the workers—The activity of the Oppositionists has provoked an odious campaign by the Stalinists against them. Every member of the official party has received a warning: fraternization with a "Trotskyite" means immediate and irrevocable expulsion" from the party. The names of the leaders of Opposition are published in the illegal organ of the party, Partijos darbai (Party Activity). This is equivalent to denunciation to the police.

We greet our new adherents and we hope soon to be able more extensive information on their activity.

NATL CONFERENCE OF SWISS

Our Swiss section held its national conference on September 2-3. This conference has an enormous importance for the future development of the Bolshevik-Leninists in

Switzerland.—After approving the new orientation, the conference adopted the name, "Marxist Action". A new organ under the same name has been issued. The first number dealing with the very important questions of the Zurich elections, has reinvigorated in the whole Swiss press.—It is very significant and encouraging to note that the members of the S. A. P., living in Switzerland belong to this new organization.

Great opportunities are opening for our Swiss comrades. It is a known fact that a development to the Left has taken place in the Schaffhausen organization, still affiliated to the I. C. O. of Brandler.

THE ILP AND THE MOVEMENT FOR THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

The London New Leader, central organ of the British Independent Labour Party announces, in the last issue of the paper received here, the publication of a discussion paper entitled, *Controversy*, (Controversy the London paper says "will we hope, all the need for an organ where party policy and other points of difference can be thrashed out. The paper is for inner party circulation and members of the I. L. P. will be expected to participate in the discussion ranging over its pages. The first issue will appear on November 11 and will contain, besides articles on party policy, an article by Trotsky on "Whither the I. L. P. The Need for a New International")

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EDITORIALS

Bellussi

THE attitude toward foreign-born workers menaced by deportation has been a touchstone of labor solidarity in this country for many years—since the United States ceased to be an asylum for political refugees and its government officials became man-catchers for the tyrants of other lands. Twenty-five years ago the move of the U. S. government—during the administration of another Roosevelt—to hand over a refugee to the rulers of Czarist Russia, for torture and death at their hands, became an outstanding political issue of the day. All the radical labor bodies united in a stormy protest movement which raised the workers to their feet and stopped the deportation. Since that time, especially since the war, the club of deportation earned its place as one of the chief weapons of reaction and its victims have always counted on the warm sympathy and support of the class conscious workers.

This has been especially so in the case of those brought up for deportation to countries diled by white terror and fascism. The soulless brutality of sending a worker to prison or death in another land, without even the accusation of a crime being laid against him in this country, revolts every human instinct. More than one intended victim has been saved from this fate by the intervention of the radical workers through protests, legal talent and financial aid. Solidarity with the foreign-born workers up for deportation has been a bond of unity between all the class conscious workers worthy of the name.

Anthony Bellussi, held in prison today with an order of deportation to Fascist Italy already pronounced against him, presents a case of exceptional importance and appeal. Here is the now long-familiar story of the rebel against tyranny in his own country seeking asylum in America and finding it a trap, its government officials in league with the foreign tyrant and catching victims for him. Here is the story, ever new, bright and fresh, of the indomitable militant who travels the world as a refugee and remains true to the banner wherever he may be. Here is the whole rage and hate and fury of the struggle of the workers against fascism embodied in the person of a single man, a prisoner marked for the vengeance of the fascist beast.

Why is this case not raised to prominence in the radical labor movement and made an issue of the anti-fascist struggle? Why is his name not made a symbol of the fight as it deserves to be? Why are no serious efforts being made to save him from the vengeance of Mussolini by providing transportation and securing asylum for him in some other country? Let the International Labor Defense answer that question—it receives the support of radical workers on its express promise to defend the interests of all victims of bourgeois class justice regardless of their affiliations. Let the *Daily Worker* answer and explain why it suppresses all news about the Bellussi case and does not even mention his name.

Is it because comrade Bellussi, although not a member of the Left Opposition, was arrested on a charge of distributing copies of the *Militant*? Is it because the persecution of Bellussi for this offense contradicts the theory that "Trotskyists" are counter-revolutionists and fascists combined? And one more question: Many workers slated for deportation to fascist and white terror countries have finally been saved from this fate by securing permission to enter the Soviet Union. Will this opportunity be given to Bellussi? Perhaps Litvinoff can answer the last question. It is a matter of international proletarian solidarity. Can anything be more important?

The C. P. L. A. Convention

WHEN the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (C. P. L. A.) meets at Pittsburgh on November 18th it will confront as its major problem the outstanding issue presented by international developments—the question of a new International and, consequently, of a new party. This issue of internationalism will overshadow all the convention proceedings despite, or more correctly because of, the deliberate policy of home-grown American radicalism espoused by the organization. Internationalism dominates working class politics and grants no exemptions. It takes its revenge, with a special ironic twist, precisely on those nationally-limited groups which seek to enclose themselves in a national stockade and shut out the winds of Europe and the whole world.

The Lovestone group dedicated itself with a touching "realism" to the idea of a special American brand of Communism. Within the year it suffered one convulsion over the "Russian" question and is now in the throes of another over the "German" question. The C. P. L. A.—still more "American"—is next in order. It is caught in the whirlpool of international issues and every attempt, at Pittsburgh and afterward, to build exclusively on the basis of America will result all the more surely in a demonstration of the utter futility of such a program.

Internationalism is the motto of our epoch, and the determining influence in all tendencies in the labor movement. For all its ardent "Americanism", the C. P. L. A. is itself a by-product of the crisis and disintegration of official Communism in America which proceeds from international causes. The emergence of the C. P. L. A. as an organized body of "progressives" in the trade unions coincided with the first signs of the devastation wrought by the notorious "third period", in America—and not by accident either. Each step the C. P. L. A. has taken to the left—and that has been the general line of its recent development—would have rendered its separate existence more precarious, unnecessary and, eventually, impossible if official Communism had not reflected, in the same period, the general bankruptcy of Stalinism on an international scale.

The existence of a healthy party of revolutionary Communism on the one side, and an organization breaking away from reformism and proclaiming revolutionary aims on the other, would raise insistently in the minds of the revolutionary workers, and especially those in the C. P. L. A., the question of fusion into a single party. If the contrary has been the case; if the ill-starred bloc with the Stalinists came so soon to such a sorry end; if the Muste organization even has experienced a certain growth of influence in the recent period—the real explanation does not lie in "American peculiarities" but rather in the American expression of an international phenomenon—the bankruptcy of the Comintern. The C. P. L. A. owes its transient hour as an independent American movement primarily and fundamentally to factors which are international in their scope.

This situation is, by its very nature, temporary. Further developments of the crisis in the international movement of the workers' vanguard are up-

setting the old conditions. Positive forces of new revolutionary life are making their way against the stream, combatting the disintegration, preparing the foundations of a new movement. This is the meaning of the steps already taken in Europe toward the formation of a new Communist International. These new developments are bound to exert a powerful influence in all workers' political organizations and to lead irresistibly to the fusion of all the genuinely revolutionary elements into a single party. Peripatetic centrist groupings, such as the C.P.L.A., will not be able to stand aside. They will be drawn with compelling force into the process of differentiation taking place under the sign: for or against the new Communist Party and the New International.

The influence of this issue in the ranks of the C. P. L. A. is already demonstrated in the fact that the question of a new political party has taken the central place on the agenda of the Pittsburgh Conference. It would be too much to expect that a conclusive answer will be given there. The C. P. L. A. as a whole is by no means yet prepared to participate in the formation of a new party of Communism, to say nothing of playing a leading or monopolistic role in this enterprise. The plan to change the name of the C. P. L. A.—to label it the new party—as indicated in the programmatic article by Budez in the Nov. 8th issue of *Labor Action* is doomed to complete failure. It is an "easy" answer that solves nothing. Proclaiming itself the new Party will not relieve the organization of the problem which will arise the day after the adjournment of the Conference and grow more insistent every day.

The organization of a new party is a colossal undertaking. What is to be its principle basis, what consciousness does it draw from the Russian Revolution and the experience of the Comintern under Lenin and under Stalin, with whom is it to be formed, what shall be its international affiliation?—these are the vital questions to which all the revolutionary workers in the C. P. L. A. and those moving toward a revolutionary position will demand a clear answer.

The Left Opposition has given its answer to these questions already. Our program is Marxism—the first four Congresses of the Comintern, and the 11 points of our International pre-Conference, the September 30th Declaration of the League. We are ready to unite with the revolutionary elements of other organizations for the formation of a new party and a new International—on the condition that it be a Communist Party and a Communist International. This is our message to the C. P. L. A. Conference. We trust it will be given consideration there and that those who stand for a new party through the union of all the revolutionary Communist forces will see the importance and necessity of the conference taking a definite and precise attitude toward our proposals.

Trade Union Tactics

WITH the entrance of new masses of workers into the A. F. of L. unions a new favorable basis for the rapid reconstruction of a strong Left wing in the labor movement has been provided. If the correct tactics are employed, the new Left wing should take on a broad scope. The narrowing down of the trade unions in the period preceding the recent labor revival gave exceptional advantages to the conservative officialdom which based itself on the more skilled and relatively well-placed workers. Supported from the left by the bankrupt trade union policy of the Stalinists the reactionaries tightened their grip on the unions all along the line. The heavy influx of new members radically changes the internal situation of the unions in favor of a revolutionary development. Will the Left wing be able to seize the opportunity and press forward with a realistic line of tactics? Or, will the same bankrupt policy, which aided the annihilation of the organized Left wing before, operate to prevent its resurgence now. At the present moment this is the most important question of the revolutionary movement.

The problem is especially acute in the needle trades, and notably in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The outcome of the strike, on top of previous developments, finally consolidated the position of the I. L. G. W. U., swelled its ranks with new thousands of members and eliminated the Industrial Union as a trade union factor.

The workers who once followed the Left wing, first inside the International and later outside, are back in the old union. If the militants now adjust themselves to reality and work on the basis of the union, to strengthen it as a fighting instrument of the workers, great successes for the new Left wing are inevitable. But if they take the position that the International is not their union, if they appear in the International as agents of the non-existent Industrial Union, they are bound to isolate and discredit themselves and alienate the workers who regard the union as their own and want it to serve them. By that they will strengthen the grip of the reactionary bureaucrats in the needle trade for a long time to come. Yet this idiotic tactic is precisely the one which the Stalinists, who learn nothing and forget nothing, are prescribing for the Left wing of the International!

This is the greatest menace to the prospect of a resurgent militant movement in the needle trades. The wrecking crew which ruined everything before by its stupidity is trying now to prevent any serious repairs being made. The question of what to do about it is being raised by those workers who want to struggle for a militant policy in the International and, at the same time, count on the cooperation of the Stalinists. The answer is clear. It is impossible to work successfully in one union in the interest of another. You cannot even begin a serious struggle inside the International until you make a complete break with the sabotaging policy of the Stalinists.

Does this imply a break with those who follow or try to follow the Stalinist policy in the union. Absolutely. And the sooner the better. Cooperation in the task of rebuilding the Left wing is possible only on the basis of a correct policy. Stalinism which destroyed the Left wing will never be the policy which rebuilds it. The new Left wing in the needle trades will arise from the joint labors of those workers who understand this thoroughly and do not hesitate to draw the full conclusions from it.

Hesitation on this crucial point out of reluctance to make a division in the opposition can only paralyze the work of the revolutionary militants and play the game of the reactionaries in the International, as in every other trade union. A clean break with the bankrupt and discredited tactics of Stalinism is today the first prerequisite for the emergence of an effective Left wing. Those who mean business in the labor movement and see the issue clearly will make this break at all costs and without delay.

(Continued from Page 1)

peralist war ever lived than Eugene Debs. He was however debased to the function of window-dressing for the party which represented in this country the International of capitulation and betrayal. In his day, there were not a few rogues who sought to conceal their own shame and criminal record under his untarnished mantle, just as years later the Italian social democrats who paved the way for Mussolini hid behind the coffin of the immortal Matteotti. This revolting practice does not become one whit more alluring when the Stalinist bureaucracy and its Right wing attorneys take refuge behind the magnificent conduct of Dimitroff at Leipzig and Berlin or demagogic references to the thousands of party militants prostrate under the heel of Fascism. What is decisive is not the heroism of Matteotti; it is not the superb courage of the martyrs to Fascism who are now in its docks and concentration camps. What counts is the systematically fatal policy of Stalinism which led to the situation where Torgler is in the docks instead of Hitler, where the Communists and Socialists are imprisoned instead of the mad dogs of reaction!

The "Existence" of the German C. P. "The C. P. G. certainly exists, although greatly reduced in numbers, and still includes in its ranks some of the most advanced and most courageous class conscious workers of Germany, an essential element for the reconstruction of the C. P. G." Upon this fact, says Lovestone, "any realistic policy in Germany must be based".

A fact it certainly is, but it is not upon that that the policy must be based. In 1917, and 1918, the same and more could have been said about the American Socialist Party. Hundreds of its militants were imprisoned by the American Socialist Party. Hundreds of its militants were imprisoned by the Wilson regime, its papers suppressed, its meetings prohibited. Yet the proletarian revolutionists declared that the old party no longer sufficed—a new one had to be built. The old party, its program, its bureaucracy, had failed to meet the test of the war, to learn the lessons of the collapse of the Second International and to absorb the teachings of the Russian revolution. The Communists of that day did not (Lovestone deliberately attributes such a stupid attitude to us today) thereupon give up hope of winning over the "most advanced and most courageous class conscious workers" in the Socialist parties. Quite the contrary. They set themselves that task and accomplished it with varying success, winning over the majority in some cases. But this was nowhere done on the basis of continuing with the attempt of "reforming" what was beyond reform, but of building up new and independent Communist parties.

When Lenin in 1914, and the Comintern in 1919, declared that the Second International was dead, the Lovestones of that day made the clever retort that there were hundreds of thousands and even millions of workers still in the ranks of the social democracy, which as a matter of fact even experienced a period of growth after the world war, without bringing the Second International to life again. But as is known to most six-year olds, it was never a question of the physical existence of the Second International. It died on August 4th as a revolutionary or progressive force. It was on that historic day that the progressive function it had fulfilled in the two preceding decades—the function of breaking the proletariat away from the bourgeoisie and organizing it into independent mass working class parties—came to a dead stop. The possibilities for progress within the framework of the old International were completely exhausted and a new one had to be built on different foundations.

1914 and 1933

The collapse of 1914 and the collapse of 1933 have this in common essentially: the possibilities for progress, for reform of the Stalinist have now proved to be completely exhausted. Just as the collapse 19 years ago was the expression of the socialist bureaucracy's attempt to save its own hide and its organizational base at the expense of the interests of the proletariat, so the collapse today expresses the Stalinist surrender of the interests of the German proletariat, of the world revolution, in order to preserve the interests of the reactionary bureaucratic caste which has usurped the Soviet state apparatus and which counterposes the building of socialism in Russia to the extension of the revolution on a world scale. Therein lies the August 4th of the International today.

It is not hopeless, insists Lovestone: "The official Communist party is today more accessible than ever to the influence of the Opposition struggle carried on by our group." Precisely so did the Kautskys and other Centrists argue against Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the formative period of the Comintern. Lovestone has here dislocated the subject and the object, for the sentence should read: "The Lovestone group is today more accessible than ever to the influence of the Stalinist party." When the apologists for social patriotism outside the ranks of the Second International clamored loudest that the old socialist parties were on the verge of succumbing to their in-

fluence, of being won over to "revolutionary" Kautskyanism—the noise served only to cover up the retreat of the Centrists into the camp of the social patriots. If Lovestone is painting up the Stalinist parties to make them look pretty and robust, rejuvenated instead of sterile, it is only with a view to the approaching return of the Right wing to them.

What Lovestone writes about the relationship between the German events and the Comintern, or between them and the C. P. S. U., in his anonymous polemic against Zam, is quite correct, even if it deals a stiff blow to the whole body of dogma erected to justify the queer policy of international Brandlerism. In defense of this policy, Brandlerism has contended that while Stalinism is more than capable of pursuing a wrong policy in the capitalist countries, it is capable of pursuing only a correct policy in the U. S. S. R., where it is historically necessary, justified and irreplaceable. Now Lovestone argues from exactly the opposite standpoint: if new Communist parties are to be built in Germany and the rest of the capitalist world, "very obviously, this means a 'new' party in the Soviet Union" because "the C. P. S. U. and the C. I. . . . are at least as responsible for this (the German) course as the C. P. G. leadership itself".

A Brandlerist Contradiction This is quite correct, even if it does not constitute the only reason why a new Communist party must be formed in the Soviet Union. But how is such a line of reasoning to jibe with the previous Brandlerist philosophy according to which Stalinism in Russia was an entity by itself, separate and apart from Stalinism in the capitalist world? That Stalinism had to be defended in Russia regardless of what criticisms or attacks were made upon it elsewhere? That in a capitalist country independent "Communist parties" (Alsace, Sweden) were permissible provided they condoned the Stalinist robbery of the Russian party's independence? The philosophy is simply ignored—not, god forbid! because it has been discarded by the Brandlerites, but paradoxically enough because in this particular instance a pseudo-internationalist universality is needed by Lovestone & Co. for his unaltered defense of Stalin's security in the national apparatus.

The nationalist philistinism of the Lovestone position sticks out like a swollen thumb in his rejection of the new party for the United States. "Neither political nor organizational relations in the revolutionary movement of this country have changed materially in the last period of time. . . . To urge the formation of a new party in the U. S. A. on the basis primarily of alleged changes in the Communist movement in Germany, as do both the Trotskyites and others (that tells Zam where he belongs!—S.), discloses a hopeless divorce from

the actualities of the labor movement and class relations in the United States." How genuine and touching a tribute to the spirit of the late Morris Hillquit! It will be remembered how the recently deceased fulminated against the Left wingers in his party in 1919 because they wanted to build a new party and discard the old "on the basis primarily of alleged changes" produced by the equally alleged Russian revolution, and not on the basis of "the actualities of the labor movement and class relations in the United States". Hillquit wrote more gracefully and persuasively; otherwise the arguments are identical, equally reactionary and intentionally misleading.

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Culmination of Ten Years The Left wing demanded a Communist party in 1919 not simply because "something" had happened in Germany in 1914 or in Russia in 1917, but because August 4th had sealed the fate of the Second International, its program, its philosophy, its tactics and because November 7th had verified the need of a new international, introduced a new program and new tactics of world wide applicability. We propose today a new International and new Communist party not because a little slip was "sincerely and genuinely" made in Germany, but because the German events marks the culmination of ten years of Stalinist revisionism, because the old Comintern has collapsed, because it was shipwrecked after the bureaucracy threw overboard its revolutionary internationalist ballast, sails, rudder, helm: because the German events were the outcome of ten years of the dismemberment of the body of Leninist ideas put into the foundation stones of the International, ten years of socialism in one country, of repudiation of socialist intervention, of capitulation to the petty bourgeoisie, of objective aid in the preservation of the discredited social democracy, of "social Fascism" and the united front from below, of strangling the Chinese revolution and the British revolutionary movement, of poisoning the ideological wellsprings of the Communist parties, of corruption, degeneracy and usurpation, of enormously enhancing the dangers to the Soviet republic, of systematically crushing the vanguard movement and reducing the International to a foreign agency of the Soviet bureaucracy.

It is not we who are hopelessly divorced from actualities, but the Lovestones who are hopelessly fascinated and in love with the prospect of being graciously permitted to crawl back to the antechamber of the Stalinist chancelleries. In a deeper sense than is generally recognized—there lies the difference between us. That is why Lovestone continues to prop up the collapsing structure of Stalinism by means of specious argument and falsification.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

The Crisis in the Cuban Revolution

Events in Cuba are moving toward a crisis. The strike wave is coming up again. The struggle against American imperialism is taking a violent form in the cities. In the interior the situation is still deadlocked: the workers hold some mills and plantations as guarantees of their demands for higher wages and better conditions while the soldiers and student bands of the Carribean Army sent against them have not come to grips with the workers except in one or two cases.

But this state of affairs cannot long continue. One way or another they must be resolved definitely in the interests of the workers or the American imperialists and their Cuban bourgeois servants. The sugar crop in Cuba matures in autumn or early winter. The harvesting begins in December. It is the aim of the government to drive the workers off the seized plantations, before the harvest season comes round to insure the American and Cuban owners their vested rights and whatever potential profit there is in the crop.

The workers on the plantations who are armed and organized to some extent will resist the attempt to evict them. In the one or two attempts to evict them that have already taken place the workers have demonstrated that. The coming conflict may develop into a widespread civil war. If the government is successful the United States warships will not land their complement of devil dogs.

But if the fighting should go the other way through the going over of the soldiers to the workers as is not impossible, the American imperialists may resort to armed intervention. The capitalist press reports that the Washington administration is looking for a formula by which it can land marines.

The difficulty here is the result this action and its consequences in Cuba would have in Latin America. Today the Latin American aspect of the question is at an acute stage. The attempt to drive the workers off the plantations coincides in time with the Pan-American Congress which is to convene shortly in Montevideo. For the United States capitalists this congress is an extremely important one. They will make a determined effort there to "adjust" the South and Latin American markets in the interests of "our" own trade. Any misstep in Cuba may tip the scales at Montevideo in favor of English,

which have been making inroads into these markets at the expense of the American brigands.

But if the policy of Yankee piracy is beset with difficulties from its trade rivalries it is unhampered by the international working class outside of Cuba. Nowhere is there a broad movement of the workers in defense of the struggling Cuban workers. The responsibility rests, in the first instance, on the Stalinized Comintern.

The policy of the Comintern in the Cuban revolution is also the policy of the Communist Party of the United States, which of all the Communist parties outside of the Cuban party is the most directly involved in the struggle against American armed intervention. There is no movement in the United States. The Communist Party of the United States has demonstrated again its conception of internationalism. Its agitation is confined to articles in the *Daily Worker* and forum lectures. Demonstrations? There was one puny affair of the "vanguard" in Philadelphia. There may have been one or two others. But there has been no serious attempt to build a movement of support to the Cuban workers! Are the American Stalinists under orders not to "interfere" with the success of Litvinoff's diplomatic mission?

It is now the immediate, burning task of the advanced section of the American working class to come to the aid of the Cuban workers.

—T. STAMM.

BROOKLYN BR. ACTIVITIES Wed., Nov. 15th, 8 P. M.—Meeting of Sympathizers on Branch Activities. Wed., Nov. 22nd, 8 P. M.—International Workers School Student Assembly. Fri., Dec. 1st, 8 P. M.—First Open Forum—Max Shachtman—The Soviet Union and the Fourth International. Sun., Dec. 3rd, 8 P. M.—Private Showing of the Movies—The Russian Revolution. Fri., Dec. 8th, 8 P. M.—Open Forum—Jack Weber—The New Deal and the Working Class. Classes of the International Workers School, Brooklyn Branch, open the week of Nov. 27th. Classes are held from 8 to 10 P. M. Monday Evenings: Principles of Communism. Fundamentals of Marxism. Wednesday Evenings: History and Program of the Left Opposition. History of the Russian Revolution.

Notes of the Week

"Pigs Is Pigs"

It might have been another chapter of the Mad Hatter and the March Hare. But it was actually a news account in the *New York Times*.

We refer to a story of triumphant justice as it is practised in these United States, in this day and age—After NKA, after the New Deal and after the Rooseveltian exaltation and mobilization of the "Human Agencies".

In Brooklyn, the other day, a magistrate held court over a villain who maltreated three poor little pigs, cooped up uncomfortably in a cage too tightly built. A representative of the S. P. C. A. after pondering over this sight (which was used as a display advertisement for a popular porcine comedy at the Flatbush Theatre) had the perpetrator of the . . . crime . . . arrested.

The judge, whose commiseration with such animals thereby becomes understandable, ordered the hogs freed, scolded the defendant and snapped the cryptic sentence: "Pigs is pigs and not subway sardines."

All this may be found to be an exact rendition of the *Times* story on Wednesday, October 26, 1933. The magisterial announcement, reported here in all its cynicism, gives a good measure of capitalist justice and the system on which it is based. "Fit for pigs"—that's capitalism alright.

A Subway Sardinie Commits Suicide—With Apologies to the Police

John Subway Sardinie, on election day known as Mr. Taxpayer or the Voice of the People and otherwise regaled with eulogies on the dignity of labor, leads a less dignified existence than the three little parkers. The courts are not for him. He is not provided with any warm covering to protect him from the cold (that was another point of litigation in the case of the Flatbush Theatre). There is no S. P. C. A. to prevent cruelty against him.

Yet, he holds the proud title of human being. He is, by the law—"a free man". Free: to sell his labor power to the boss. Free: to starve when the "supply of labor hands exceeds the demand".

How fictitious this freedom is, how much human dignity is lowered, beyond the range of swine by the "commodity market" which produces unemployment, may be gathered from another item in the week's news (*World Telegram*, Tuesday, November 7, 1933):

JOBLESS, GOING BLIND,
HE SLASHES WRISTS

Note on Park Bench Apologies to Police For Trouble

Robert Guinehwal sat on a park bench in Central Park before dawn today and took stock of himself.

He was 45. He was hungry, jobless. He was going blind, and he could not pay for medical care. It would become worse when winter came.

He scribbled a note to police:—I am sorry, for causing all this trouble," then he cut his wrists with a razor blade. He collapsed finally from loss of blood. A motorist took Guinehwal to Bellevue. Doctors said he might live.

Boss class justice deals kindness to pigs. Working class victims apologize for committing suicide! This is the U. S. A., 1933.

How long will workers stand for pig justice? How long will they apologize for going under? How long will they allow a system of society which degrades them to a fate lower than the beasts, to do its work of human distraction? —G. . . . n.

CORRECTION

The first paragraph of comrade Abern's article in last week's *Militant* contains a misprint. The first fourteen lines of the article should have read as follows:

Eduard Bernstein led the attack of reformism against the revolutionary doctrines of Marx and Engels. Laying emphasis on immediate gains and objectives, Bernstein completely subordinated or submerged the need of revolutionary strategy to guide the proletariat in its struggles. He lost sight of the ultimate goal of socialism—the goal which, on the one hand, conditions the character of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary workers and, on the other hand is determined by them. For the means employed will also determine the end.

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