

PRICE
2
CENTS

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1923 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 52 [WHOLENO. 199] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18 1933 PRICE 2 CENTS

Probation for Food Workers

Stalinist Expulsion Order Revoked Under Pressure

The framed-up expulsions of James Gordon, Sec. Pappas and Sylvia Weiner from the Food Workers Industrial Union for the crime of "Trotskyism" (?) were revoked at the last membership meeting of the union at which the Stalinist inquisitors who put through the expulsion at the meeting of the so-called "trial committee" were compelled to make a sham-faced retreat under pressure of the protest movement which was rising in the ranks not only of the Left wing workers in general, but even of members of the official Communist party. Instead of being formally expelled, the three comrades are now put on probation.

A whole squad of Stalinist functionaries from the "Trade Union Unit League" headed by Sam Nesman, were in attendance at the membership meeting in order to supervise the discussion, procedure and conclusion. They had hoped that the original expulsion order could be put over without creating much of a stir, and that they would thereby be rid of three militants whose impeccable record in the union they were quite prepared to ignore completely in view of the fact that these Oppositionists had become a thorn in their sides, fighting their bureaucraticism and their disastrous policies at every turn.

This plan came a cropper, however, when scores of workers, especially in the food and needle trades industry, made it perfectly clear that they intended to carry on a determined fight in behalf of those expelled and against those who so criminally kicked them out, going so far as to take one of them off her job simply because of her political views.

With the protests of these workers ringing in their ears, the Stalinist officials were compelled to reverse the decision of expulsion arrived at by their own party faction and present to the membership meeting a "recommendation" from the New York T. U. U. L. Council that the expulsion action be revoked and the three comrades put "on probation." "Expulsion," explained Nesman to the meeting, "is too good for these individuals. We don't want to make heroes or martyrs out of them."

Purpose of "Probation"
When Gordon, in the course of an impassioned indictment of the bureaucrats and their course, demanded to know the precise nature of the "probation," the Stalinists refused to make any explanation at all. Gordon and Weiner both declared that they would accept no conditions. They were not guilty of any crime against the interests of the trade union or labor movement, and the charges concocted by the bureaucrats either had to be substantiated—which was impossible—or to openly withdrawn and squashed. The purpose of the so-called "probation" was, however, made clear by the Stalinists in an ineffectual manner. Their courage having failed them, and having been compelled to withdraw the expulsions in the face of the indignation of Left wing workers, they are now seeking to accomplish the same end without the cause of the formal action. "We're going to make life miserable for you in this union until you're forced to quit," was the illuminating observation of one of the machine-men.

The final action taken by the meeting, the bulk of which was under the disciplinary domination of the Left party faction to which this union—like most of the C. P.-controlled unions—has been reduced in essence, was as follows:

Graduated "Sentences"
Comrade Gordon was put on probation. Comrade Weiner was also put on probation, and the job from which she had been removed in the party "Coops" restaurant, was returned to her, also "on probation." Comrade Pappas, who could not be present at the meeting because he was in the hospital, is to be forced to accept a "withdrawal card" from the union—which is a "polite" way of effecting his expulsion. Pappas, besides the crime of "Trotskyism," must also pay for the fact that his physical condition has been undermined by the loss of health and blood in dozens of militant battles of the union against employers, gangsters, and police. Rarely does even the most reactionary union in the country permit itself so cynical and brutal measures against a militant who has sacrificed as much for the working class movement as has Pappas. Gordon was given a bare five

(Continued on Page 4)

Tag-Day for Terzani Defense This Week—End in N. Y. C.

To all Labor Organizations:

FELLOW WORKERS:

The United Front Terzani Tag-day Conference, held at 94 Fifth Avenue, Saturday, November 11th, decided on the following addresses as the Regional Headquarters for the Tag-days. On the 17th and 18th the United Front Committee will sit to issue collection cans and receive collection cans from the collectors of all organizations participating in the Tag-day.

Addresses of Headquarters

Brooklyn:

Williamsburgh:

289 S. 3rd Street

Flushing:

844 Utica Avenue

2239 Church Avenue

Brownsville:

219 Sackman Avenue

Bronx:

9 W. 170th Street

809 Westchester Avenue

2700 Bronx Park East

792 East Tremont Avenue

Boro Park:

1377-42nd Street

Brighton:

1113 Brighton Beach Ave.

Manhattan:

7 East 15th Street

100 W. 72nd Street

2005-7th Avenue

94 Fifth Avenue

1148 St. Nicholas Ave.

Queens:

30 Flushing

b206-27th Street

Near Queens Plaza

Long Island City.

Downtown Brooklyn:

157 Montague St.

Bensonhurst:

87 Bay 25th Street

2202 Mermaid Ave.

333 Sheffield Ave.

Coney Island:

The necessity of every labor organization and every worker giving the fullest support to the Tag-day cannot be over-emphasized. Terzani goes to trial November 27 and the results of the trial will ultimately affect every worker in America. Regardless of our union affiliation or political allegiance we must combine our forces at this time to defeat the common enemy of all mankind. The best way that we can do this at this time is to give the maximum support to the Tag-days, November 17th and 18th.

Call at the Regional Headquarters that is nearest to your home, get a collection can, contact every worker in your neighborhood and ask them to contribute toward the defeat of Fascism. Bring your membership card for identification. Have the representative of your organization get the collection cans for distribution from your local center.

—TERZANI DEFENSE COMM.

Socialist Mayor Promises Cheap Government

An interesting incident of the recent elections in the election in Bridgeport, Conn. of a socialist to the mayoralty and an entire socialist city administration. Whether this rebirth of municipal "socialism" in another city besides Milwaukee, indicates a change towards radicalism in the moods of the masses or whether it is the triumph of good clean government is not within the province of this article to answer. Significant it is, however, that whatever causes motivated the majority received by Jasper McLevy, the new socialist mayor, his statement to the press must be received with jubilation by the solid citizens of Bridgeport.

No real threat of expropriation hangs over the heads of the property interests of this New England city. The first socialist administration to be elected in Bridgeport, McLevy makes it quite clear, is out to bring "economy" into the city finances, to save the taxpayers money. The unemployed and striking workers are not even mentioned by implication.

"I intend," says Jasper McLevy, ranking socialist, "to administer the affairs of the city with common sense and sound business judgment." This statement approximates the post election effusions of Mayor La Guardia or any successful Republican of Democratic candidate. It means balance the budget and if it fits into the financial pattern then the bothersome unemployed will get a look in.

"I intend to rehabilitate the financial and social life. I will introduce civil service and the merit system in the Police and Fire departments." Don't be astonished if the workers aren't mentioned, and the cops get attentive consideration. This is a socialist talking.

"I have no obligations." No, not to the working men. "If necessary I will go unhesitatingly out of the party to fill key posts." No doubt a banker would make a better administrator of the city finances than an exploited proletarian.

"I realize that I cannot introduce socialism by a municipal victory, but we can sweep clean the city government and lay the foundation for a good, sound, constructive administration."

Take note of this municipal socialism. It has great potentialities...for the bosses.

OPEN FORUM

THE NRA AND THE TRADE UNIONS

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON

Friday, November 24, 1933

8 P. M.

at International Workers School

126 East 16th Street

Auspices: Manhattan Branch,

Communist League of America

(Opposition)

ADMISSION 15 CENTS

A. Bellussi Deporting Imminent

Quick Action Needed to Save Anti-Fascist

The decision against Anthony Bellussi has been upheld and his immediate deportation to Italy has been ordered by the Department of Labor. The danger of this militant being delivered into the hands of Mussolini's hangmen is now imminent. Heroic efforts will have to be made in the next days to save him from this fate.

All that is left now—since the deportation order has been confirmed—is to secure for comrade Bellussi the right of voluntary departure to another country, to find another country which will admit him and to provide him with passage money.

This right of voluntary departure has been granted by the Department of Labor in similar cases and, if the proper efforts are made, it should be secured for Bellussi. Also, in other cases, the International Labor Defense had secured permission for deportee to enter the Soviet Union and has provided the expenses for the journey. Only two weeks ago a case of this kind was reported in the *Daily Worker*. No move has been made to extend this solidarity to Bellussi, and, we can be sure, none will be made.

As the final hour draws near it becomes absolutely clear that if he has to depend on the I. L. D. Bellussi will be handed over to the Fascist butchers. Although he is not a member of the Left Opposition, Bellussi is regarded as a sympathizer and was arrested on a charge of distributing the *Militant*. For that "crime" he is receiving a double punishment: Deportation by the U. S. Government and sabotage of his case by the Leftists. The bail fund of the I. L. D. was not available for him. Up till the present day, although he has been in jail for months, the *Daily Worker* has not printed a line about his case.

To leave the fate of Bellussi in the hands of these cynical saboteurs would be a crime. We must act independently without delay to save this sterling militant from the danger of torture and death in Fascist Italy. A defense committee is cooperating with the American Civil Liberties Union to secure a delay of the deportation and permission for him to enter another country. Efforts are also being made to secure his temporary release on bail. We hope for success in our efforts. Your help is needed. Send funds to the Bellussi Defense Committee, J. P. Cannon, Secretary, care of the *Militant*, 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

LYNCH THREAT FOR SCOTTSBORO BOYS

As we go to press, dispatches from Decatur, Alabama, arouse anxiety over the fate of the Scottsboro boys whose re-trial starts this week.

Lynch mobs are being organized by reactionary Southern politicians to rid themselves of all legal embarrassments.

Threats have been directed not only against the nine boys, but also against Ruby Bates, star witness for the defense and the defense attorneys.

Lovestone Evades Challenge

On October 18, 1933, the following letter was sent to the Lovestone group by special messenger: "Dear Comrades:

"Some time ago there was an exchange of correspondence between your organization and ours concerning the arrangements for a debate at which the fundamental differences dividing us would be discussed in public. For a number of reasons, the debate did not materialize at that time.

"With this letter, we renew our proposal for a debate between a prominent representative of your organization and a spokesman for ours. We are prepared to have our committee of two meet with a similar committee from your organization to discuss all the details involved, such as the subject-title of the debate, the speakers, the date, the date, the financial arrangements, etc., etc. It appears to us that there is a growing interest in those questions upon which our respective organizations take opposing stands. A public debate would not only draw several hundred workers but would serve to clarify many of the problems now confronting the Communist movement in this country and throughout the world. We might add that we are especially inclined to have the debate take place around the question of your position and ours

towards the present Communist International and the new Communist International which is now being discussed in revolutionary circles everywhere.

"We hope you find it convenient to reply to this communication at an early date so that the preliminary agreements can be made as soon as possible.

"Fraternally yours,

"City Committee,

"Local New York, Communist

League of America (Opposition).

"Max Shachtman, Organizer."

One month has passed now since this letter was delivered and to this date there has not yet even been an acknowledgment of its receipt, much less an acceptance of the debate challenge. The issue was raised by a representative of the Opposition at the Lovestone forum lecture on "Trotskyism" by Bert Wolfe, last week, with nothing but an evasive reply being made by the speaker and the chairman. The pretext offered that a debate would not offer sufficient time to discuss all the disputed questions, is wiped out by the fact that several months ago the Lovestone group did agree to the debate and then proposed to postpone it until the "meeting season" comes around.

Why do the Lovestoneites fail to accept our challenge?

Wave of Repression in China; Left Opposition Threatened

Peiping.—About a month ago we sent you a letter in which we gave a rough description of conditions here. Now, however, the situation in North China is changing rapidly. The conditions for revolutionary activity have become more difficult than they were a month ago. The first maneuver of General Ho Yin-Chin, the right hand of Chiang Kai-Shek, upon his arrival in Peiping was the destruction of the C. P. and the organizations affiliated with it and the suppression of the anti-Japanese fighters.

A Wave of Arrests
In a short time mass meetings were forbidden, several party militants were shot, a wave of arrests spread everywhere, three comrades of the Left Opposition and many important leaders of the party were arrested. Practically all the party organizations in North China (including Peiping, Tientsin, Pootin, Shantung, etc.) are annihilated.

An important fact: Many of the party members who but yesterday slugged our comrades as counter-revolutionaries have been converted by Ho Yin Chin and are joining the Blue Shirt Fascist clique. All these gentlemen are saying today: "Only the 'Three Principles' and the Kuo Min Tang can save China from imperialist attack.... The Communist party is a foe.... we must crush it!"

The party organ, *Red Flag*, analyzing this trend of capitulation, concluded: "It is inevitable that in the process of the revolutionary

movement some members pass over into the camp of the enemy." This is an indication of how blinded are the bureaucrats in face of a critical situation.

There can be no argument as to whether capitulation is inevitable in the revolutionary movement. But at present it is not a question of a handful but of a current, a movement! This movement is taking place while the bureaucracy is at the helm of the party.

Some months ago the *Red Flag* wrote: "About one hundred workers (?) have joined the Communist Youth League in one month! About ten workers a day!" While they howled with glee over the quantity, the quality was ignored, party education was trampled under foot and the Communist party was consequently transformed from a vanguard of the proletariat into a mass organization. The current of capitulations is the result of this policy.

The Left Opposition Fights On.
Recently a rumor has been spread around that the Police Department is planning to destroy the Left Opposition just as it has destroyed the party. This is quite possible. The burden of oppression of the ruling class is great but we are continuing our fight, never tiring, never faltering.

Please send us some of the new books which you have published, such as "The Only Road", etc., etc. With Communist greetings,

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Peiping, Sept. 24, 1933.

Hitler's Secret Police in Terror Campaign

The following report is taken from a news item in a London newspaper:

From a Special Correspondent
A new and sinister organization—Hitler's Secret Police—is now coming to the forefront of the news from Germany.

Wielding far greater authority than the chiefs of the ordinary police force, and bowing the knee to none but Captain Goering, the drug-audited Prussian Premier, their excesses are causing a reign of terror in Germany.

No one—not even a Nazi—knows whether he is safe from them. Not only do they wage uncontrolled war against the opponents of Hitler but they also provide the Nazi leaders with a handy instrument for settling private feuds.

The Secret Police are composed of men, hand-picked by Captain Goering.

Hiddled With Bullets
One of their chief roles is that of executioner. Day after day, reports reach London from Germany of the body of this man or that being found riddled with bullets.

The official "inquiry" that takes place almost invariably comes to a sudden stop. It is found that the murder is the work of the Secret Police—and there is nothing more to be said.

The Secret Police hold their own "trials" at their various headquarters.

The prisoner—previously beaten to ensure his docility—is sentenced regardless of the accuracy of the charge.

They All Die

Prisoners tried by this new Star Chamber are whisked off to the concentration camp at Oranienburg, near Berlin, the most dreaded of all camps.

The mortality among prisoners here is so great that it is reported from Berlin that the camp will be shortly closed, not from motives of humanity, but because the death rate exceeds the supply.

Rising at 5 A. M., the prisoners have 15 minutes in which to wash and dress. Work, under the rule of the whip, lasts till midday, when a "dinner" of cabbage and potatoes is served. More work follows till 7 P. M., when tea with bread is provided. Eight o'clock is bedtime, and so the days pass in an animal sort of existence.

No one in Germany has yet heard of a prisoner coming from Oranienburg alive.

NAZIS INVESTIGATED
Clarence Hathaway, of the New York *Daily Worker*, presented damaging evidence, incriminating prominent American reactionaries, before the investigation of Nazi activities in the U. S. A., begun on November 15 in Washington, D. C. by the Dickstein (Congressional) Committee.

Hearings were disrupted by a head-on collision between Hathaway and Rep. Focht, who called the former an "anarchist."

Open sessions of the investigation were postponed to Dec. 4.

SAVE TORGIER AND DIMITHOFF!

Too Much Bread

Gutzon Borglum, famous sculptor, in an article on conditions observed traveling through the Dakotas, makes the following observations which should give us an insight on what's behind the hunger of farmer and worker alike. He says in part, in the *New York Times* for November 12, 1933:

"A few weeks ago when the poorest of our farmers were trekking into the towns, their poor, out-morale cattle piled on to a trailer, they explained they wanted to be with people, that they might get a little help during the winter."

This farmer himself a chattel of the banks and the landsharks, can't get enough for his produce to use him through the winter. He must throw himself on the goodwill of his friends and relatives. The poor farmer lives in penury because the price is too low and the taxes and interest too high unless the worker must avenge never-ending. How explain this? Borglum gives the answer in another paragraph:

"A few weeks before Mayor Carmack of Chicago was killed he told me: 'There are over a half a million loaves of stale bread in the market every morning in my city, I can't get hold of more than a few thousand. They are systematically burned, burned to protect the market while Chicago is struggling to feed one of the great overcrowded breadlines on the earth.'

There's the answer. The farmer leaves the land. The prices are too low because there is too much wheat. The city worker suffers from "under-nourishment" while the surplus bread is burned to make prices high.

Figure it out for yourself! What kind of a system is this for the farmer and the worker?

"Emancipated" Children

One of the greatest boasts of the NRA is that the new deal has eliminated the curse of child labor from American industry. The "Brain Trust" is willing to concede that wages have not been raised as high as was necessary or hours as low as called for—but the abolition of child labor is the accomplishment of the generation and Roosevelt.

What is to happen to these children released from bread-winning and factory-killing toil? Mrs. Perkins, crusader against child labor and secretary of labor had the following to say at the Biltmore Hotel before the women's division of the Crusade for Children on Oct. 30, 1932:

"That means," she said, "that there are six million children in want and in hunger, not through any fault of their own, but because the bread winners of their families are out of work."

How make restitution for these little victims, whose bones are rickety from hunger and the lack of sunlight and fresh air? Abolish the system greedy for the huge profits wrung out of the toil of children? Or if that is too radical pass an unemployment insurance

Big Sums for War Purposes

Huge Appropriations for Military Revealed

"Uncle Sam's" War and Navy departments are very busy. All western ports are being enlarged. Recruiting offices are open and the pick of the unemployed are being accepted—mostly college graduates. New barracks are being built in nearly all government towns and military posts, enlarging their quarters for officers and men. Contracts for ammunition have been let to several large companies including Chase Brass & Copper Co., Inc. or Waterbury, Conn. and the Bridgeport Brass Co. These contracts average \$3,000,000 apiece. General Electric got a contract for \$5,000,000. Doubtless the regular arms companies like Winchester, Remington, Savage, Western, Dupont, etc., also received large orders but no complete figures are available. (All figures given here are as of Nov. 9th).

Huge Army Contracts

Contracts have been let for Coast Guard, Radio and Air Corp. Stations, Air Corp. Hangars, research laboratories, ordinance warehouses, auxiliary barracks, magazine and shell houses, military police barracks, and chapels. These contracts amount to at least ten and a half million dollars, fully 90% being for new barracks. The reports are scattered and not clear but evidently from 500 to 600 new barracks are going up in regular army camps entirely apart from the conservation camps for which no figures are given here.

Plans are also in progress for a detention farm in Michigan owned by the Dept. of Justice and for a "inspection" stations along the entire Mexican and Canadian boundary lines.

New contracts totalling the same amount as those already let—\$10,000,000—are being awarded to unaging contractors daily. The capacity and adaptability of factories for making ammunition is thoroughly known and orders for each one according to this knowledge are lying in War Department files ready for immediate release. "Uncle Sam" is concentrating on the army and navy and these he is concentrating on the West coast. Fort Sam Houston, Texas, gets over one and a half million dollars for new barracks. The Macon, largest dirigible in the world, has been transferred to California.

Hundreds of Millions For War

All this expansion of the military machine is in addition to the ship-building for the Navy which runs into many hundreds of millions (many of these hundreds of millions for the Army and the Navy) being labelled for public consumption as NRA and "Public Works" projects. Compare this with the fact that cities most urgently in need of federal assistance for building projects cannot obtain it from the Public Works Administration because a city seeking this help must first turn over bonds for 70% of the cost of an undertaking and many cities cannot do this because of tax delinquencies and heavy debts to bankers.

With the collapse of the NRA the government has an excellent excuse for enlarging its war machine: it puts men to work and money into circulation. War itself will be a heaven-sent boon bringing new markets and "prosperity" for "all". Capitalism will have its roast pig if it has to burn its own house down.

Rushing War Preparations

But at present there is no immediate war crisis and no need for ballyhoo. Even "preparedness" bloodhounds must be satisfied. All is quiet; without batting an eye or apologizing to any one the government is rushing its war preparations, far outstripping other items of its Public Works, NRA and "Conservation" programs which serve as bait to public hopes for jobs and wages, peace and better times. Yes, not only will we have better times; we will celebrate. On the first fair day there will be an international picnic.

—MARTIN BEARDSLEE.

measure so designed that the worker can support his child in moments of enforced indigence?

Perish the thought!

The solution is the old-shell game. Charity. A committee of 400 men and women have been appointed, headed by none other than the famous philanthropist, Thomas W. Lamont, to raise \$400,000 for six New York City child welfare agencies. The Child slaves are converted into child paupers. That is the great "Roosevelt Revolution"

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Swabeck Meetings Minneapolis

Minneapolis.—An interesting series of meetings was held in Minneapolis during comrade Swabeck's stay from Thursday, November 2, to Sunday, November 5 inclusive.

On Thursday evening a semi-public meeting was arranged for a group of trade unionists at which comrade Swabeck explained the trade union policy of the Communist League. The meeting was advertised only by means of personal contact. About 25 people were present and everybody showed a high degree of interest in the subject as the meeting progressed. This was distinctly demonstrated in the interesting question period, following Swabeck's talk, that lasted until after 11 o'clock.

Swabeck began his talk by reviewing briefly the present world crisis and gave a picture of the economic forces that are responsible for the crisis. He showed how capitalism, if it is to live, must continue to expand and how this expansion is dependent upon being able to conquer ever wider markets for the goods it produces. He pointed out how world capitalism had already entered its stage of decay and was now on its downward curve. He showed how every capitalist country is striving to conquer world markets for itself and how, in the present era of capitalist decay, it can only result in the further exploitation of wage workers and a further lowering of their standard of living.

Issues of A. F. of L. Unions
The history of the trade union movement in America was reviewed to some extent. The basis on which the A. F. of L. unions are organized was examined in detail and it was shown to rest on the aristocracy or the American workers, namely, the skilled crafts. But due to the further division of labor and the increasing modernization of industry, craft lines are rapidly being destroyed and the bases for organizing unions along such lines are rapidly disappearing.

The American workers, Swabeck continued, will be forced to organize in the immediate coming period to make a struggle against the onslaught of capital on their standard of living. They are already knocking into the A. F. of L. unions by the thousands in spite of its conservative leadership. Under such circumstances it is highly important how the militant revolutionary workers react to the conservative mass unions. Swabeck pointed out that the peace for militants is in the conservative A. F. of L. unions where the masses are. It is their place to be where they can propose their tactics and ideas directly to the workers and where they can work side by side with them in their daily struggles. It is only by this method that militants can hope to convert the masses to their ideas and be able to win leadership.

False Policy of Stalinists
He severely condemned the Trade Union Unity League policy of the official Communist Party for having pursued the very opposite course by pulling all the Left wingers out of the conservative unions and organizing them into separate, so-called, revolutionary unions. This only isolated the militants and left the masses more firmly in the control of their reactionary leaders. The masses, not being revolutionary minded, will not join the T. U. U. L. When the masses become conscious of the need for organization they will stream into the conservative unions as they are streaming into the A. F. of L. at the present time. Swabeck said that the militants should be "in on the ground floor" to organize the masses now, and that the militants must lend a constant ear to the needs of the masses and be on deck when they are ready for struggle.

In the question period that followed it was brought out more fully how a revolutionary worker should act in the labor movement generally; how it is necessary to work not only with conservative and reactionary workers, but even with their conservative and reactionary leaders through the medium of the united front, etc. Most of the workers seemed to be very much pleased with the meeting and registered further interest by attending subsequent meetings at which comrade Swabeck spoke.

"The Future of International Communism"

On Friday evening, comrade Swabeck spoke to a crowd of 85 or 90 people at Pythian Hall on the subject "The Future of International Communism." Several Socialists, Farmer-Laborites and trade unionists were present at the meeting. A few outspoken Stalinist sympathizers were also present which added considerably to the liveliness of the question and discussion period. However, none of the leading lights in the official Communist party were present to attempt to defend the party position.

The world war openly exposed the weakness of the Second International and brought it crashing to the ground. But out of the Second International was rescued the Marx-Lenin kernel that, under the leadership of Lenin, made the proletarian revolution in backward Russia and set up the first workers' state. It was the new revolutionary leadership that set itself the task of gathering up the Marxian elements from the wreckage of the Second International to build the Third (Communist) International. Lenin knew that if the workers' state is to survive the revolution will have

to spread to other countries.

The New Revisionism

Swabeck explained how, after the death of Lenin, revisionism again crept into the workers' International. He showed how the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country" was gradually substituted for the Marxian theory of the World Revolution. He reviewed the record of the Third International under its present leadership in the Chinese situation from 1925 to 1927, in the British General Strike in 1926, and in the German situation in 1933. He showed how the real revolutionists (Trotsky, Rakovsky, etc.) have been suppressed, persecuted and exiled, and how the present Soviet regime has become thoroughly bureaucratized. A World Congress has not been held since the 6th Congress in 1928, and there is no sign that the 7th will ever be called. But worst of all was the criminal silence of the Communist International when the Nazis brought the iron heel of Fascism down upon the German workers. All this, said Swabeck, is unmistakable evidence that the working class of the world can no longer depend on the Third International to lead it in struggle against its enemy, the capitalist class. It is time for the workers to build a new international (the Fourth International) and new Communist parties.

Comrade Swabeck pointed out that the International Left Opposition does not consider itself the Fourth International, nor does the Communist League of America declare that it is the new American party. Instead it will take the initiative to bring together the various, independent, revolutionary groups who agree that a new International must be built and who agree with the first four congresses of the Third International. Out of this closer connection the Left Opposition hopes to be able to take joint steps with other groups toward the formation of a new International. By this method, the great task of building the new International and the new parties can be undertaken on the broadest possible basis.

The question and discussion period lasted until 11:30 P. M. Several Stalinist sympathizers took the floor and argued from the point of view that the Soviet Union would be attacked if the Communist International should continue to espouse the theory of the World Revolution.

A substantial collection was taken up at the meeting and considerable literature was sold, including three copies of "Germany—What Next?", by comrade Trotsky.

The Banquet
A banquet was arranged in the Labor Lyceum for Saturday evening. In a speech that lasted perhaps an hour at this banquet, comrade Swabeck gave us an intimate picture of comrade Trotsky. About 45 people were present including several who had had little or no contact with the revolutionary movement. Swabeck's talk made a profound impression on some of these people. As a matter of fact it impressed the League comrades no less.

In comrade Swabeck's speech at the banquet, he related several of his experiences while in Europe and pointed out some of the extreme sacrifices that the European comrades have to make in order to carry on the work of the movement. Preliminary speeches were made

earlier in the evening by some of the branch members. There were followed with a banquet lunch immediately preceding comrade Swabeck's talk.

At Workmen's Circle Open Forum

The Workmen's Circle branches scheduled comrade Swabeck to speak at their open forum at the Labor Lyceum on Sunday morning. The title of his address was "The Roosevelt Program." In his address he pointed out how monopoly capitalism has been strengthened by the reconstruction Finance Corporation and by the closing of the bank last March. This was part of the readjustment of capitalism to the crisis. He showed how the NIRA is designed to make further readjustments in American capitalism to further enable it to penetrate the world market. He showed where the workers cannot hope to get any benefits except through their own organizations.

About 50 workers were present at the meeting and among them were quite a number of socialists. Several questions about trade union matters and the tactics of the united front were asked of the speaker. One member of the audience wanted to know how it was possible for Left wingers to work in the same united front with reactionary labor leaders who had already betrayed the working class. Swabeck said that this is the best method of exposing their betrayal.

Everybody at this meeting seemed to be pleased with the answers Swabeck gave to the numerous questions asked.

Shactman Lectures in Boston

Boston.—Comrade Max Shactman at a well-attended forum meeting in Social Science Hall, Sunday evening, November 5th, recalled for the benefit of the audience, the events in the early life of Lenin's Third International, its internationalist ideology, its robust growth, followed after Lenin's death by its infection with the disease of Stalinism, to the progressively shriveling effect of which were added, climactically, three staggering blows: the Chinese workers' defeat of 1927, the debacle of the Anglo-Russian Committee 1928-1927, and the German defeat of 1933. The German defeat crushed and annihilated beyond recovery, a body whose internal vital organs had been faulty, all but consumed by the unchecked rotting process of a decade of Stalinism.

The speaker drew several parallels in events and in principles between the historic period of Leninism as contrasted with those in the subsequent period of Stalinism. The inspiring events of the Leninist period flowed inevitably from the Marxian principles of revolutionary internationalism which was the guiding ideology of the Third International; and so also did the catastrophic events of the Stalinist period flow inevitably from the non-Marxian principle of "socialism in one country."

The composition of the audience represented practically all of the tendencies in the socialist and communist movement including some advancing elements still adhering to the party. The result was a lively and instructive period of questions and discussion in the period that followed the lecture.

FROM THE MILITANTS

Statement on Expulsion from Party

The Western Worker of October 17th issued a vicious, lying and unwarranted attack upon myself and certain other comrades whom I had not seen for months and with whom at that time I had no connections. In this article the bureaucracy branded me as a servant of the police, as a stool pigeon. When I protested against this slander to the leadership of the party, they remained silent. They have refused me the columns of the Western Worker to reply and defend myself and have excluded me from the meetings of the party.

They force me to throw this lie back into their teeth. I challenge them to offer facts to prove their accusations. I demand of Sam Barry or any of his sycophants that they name even one police agent with which I am or ever have been associated. They cannot do it. They will not admit their lie. They can only remain silent, which is in itself an admission that their accusation is pure slander.

Six months ago I withdrew from all Communist party activities convinced that I could no longer function under the insufferable bureaucratic clique which dominates the party and destroys all concrete organizational activity.

In this six months I carefully refrained from any activity which could in any way be construed as attacking the party. On the contrary, I have supported the party, against my better judgment, before comrades who like myself were smarting under the lash of the bureaucracy.

The bureaucracy of District No. 13 have dragged me out of the obscurity where I was content to remain and have endeavored to use me as a scapegoat to cover their own misdeeds which have disrupted and destroyed the mass work and which stand as a wall of stone between the working masses and the Communist party. There remains only the Left Opposition to point the correct Leninist road. I call upon all honest members of the Communist party to repudiate the careerist elements now in control of the Party and to join hands with the working masses of America. To march forward together in one mighty mass united front against the common foe.

NOTE: The accusation made against the writer of the above letter is a matter of interest to all working class organizations in the California East Bay section. No such organization can admit police agents into its ranks. At the same time any individual confronted with such an accusation is entitled to a fair and honest trial. If the Communist party refuses to comply with the demand of the accused for such a trial, then the other working class organizations have the right and the duty to act in the matter. It would be in order, in our opinion, for the local organizations of the Communist League, to arrange a public hearing on the case, invite the Communist party to bring its evidence and invite representatives of other organizations in the radical labor movement to participate in the trial with voice and vote. By this method the facts can be clearly and publicly established. If the accused is guilty of

being a police agent, he can then be excluded and ostracized from the entire workers' movement and shunned by all organizations. On the other hand, if the accusation is a slander, the slanderers can be called to order, the reputation of the accused restored and the right of any organization to accept him confirmed. One way or the other, mass accusations and denials in matters of this kind must not be allowed to stand. Let the facts be established.)

The Blight of Stalinism in Mass Work

Oakland Calif.—The blight of Stalinism in the mass organizations is shown once again in the experience of a comrade who carried on activity among the unemployed in a place near here.

"The Brotherhood for the betterment of the Unemployed" (B. B. C.) was organized by a single comrade in the little farming center of Hayward. The majority of the population around Hayward are semi-proletarians, eking out their living on small chicken ranches or fruit farms and, in good times, also working on jobs in Oakland or San Francisco. The crisis caught thousands of this element with their little ranches unpaid for and undeveloped. They were forced to work for the County which gave them one week of road work each month or \$24. They were intensely dissatisfied and anxious to fight, and in their ranks numbered many splendid, though not as yet class-conscious, proletarian elements.

Comrade Steele undertook to organize these elements over a year ago. Fifteen attended the first meeting, consisting of 3 Portuguese field workers, one carpenter, (American, A. F. of L. trade unionist), one painter, two laborers, one brewery worker (Brewery workers union) two Spanish field workers (railroad), one truck driver, one civil engineer (formerly of the K. of L.) and 3 more American laborers. An organization was formed. Comrade Steele was elected secretary.

Comrade Steele reported the results of his meeting to the Party Section and was reprimanded for not affiliating to the Unemployed Councils with a questionable 200 total membership. In addition there were a number of independent organizations such as the B. B. U.

Leavitt and Shern, leaders of the conservative faction of the B. B. U., proposed that the organization affiliate with the Unemployment Cooperative Relief Association as it would leave the organization free to pursue its independent course and would have the additional advantage of a large central commissary to draw from. The Party fraction had twice brought forward the matter of affiliation with the Unemployed Councils but had twice been voted down by the arbitrary conditions laid down by the U. C. Leavitt's proposal was accepted and the B. B. U. became unit No. 19 of the U. C. K. A. with Steele, Leavitt and one other as delegates.

Suddenly relief was cut to a miserable diet of tomato puree, beans, rice, flour, and salt pork. Throughout the country the unemployed sent delegations to the board of supervisors in protest, demanding free choice of food, cash, road work, no evictions for non-payment of rent, against water, gas or electric shut-offs. Hundreds crowded the hall and other hundreds overflowed outside in a splendid, militant, spontaneous united front.

To build a bigger and stronger stockade and \$23,000 for the expenses of the prosecution. Strikers, and those connected only remotely with the strike were sluggish, tarred and feathered and left lifeless along the road. Incoming freight trains were searched for "agitators". The kept press unleashed a howl of lynch talk. All sorts of ruses were used to find a pretext for frame-up. The workers are indicted under charges ranging from vagrancy to criminal syndicalism.

Unspeakeable Conditions

Conditions among the imprisoned workers are unspeakeable. A mild description is contained in this letter received by the General Defense Committee: "All the fellow workers in the can are in a very bad shape—one blanket each in a chicken house. All need clothes bad. A cold wave hit this section, snow 18 inches 70 miles from here; at present a cold rain is falling. The fellow workers are dressed for July in Florida, without coats many of them. If anything can be done about this it should be done right now, as all of the fellow workers have colds, etc. W. I. Fischer spends half his time in the county hospital."

Meanwhile these strikers are to stand trial where the boss class justice will endeavor to railroad them from five to twenty-five years. They are to be tried in the city of Yakima where mob law prevails and the respectable citizens are howling for blood, where the slightest sympathy for the imprisoned men is a crime punished by lynching.

This is a class battle of the first water. Action from the organized, militant workers are the only effective instruments in this fight which is the fight of every wage slave.

—GEO. CLARKE.

Contributions for the defense of the Yakima strikers should be sent to Harry J. Clark, Yakima Defense Committee, Box 365, Seattle, Washington, or to the General Defense Committee, 2422 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.

by 32 workers and a petition was drawn up to get the privileges of a school to meet in. When comrade Steele made his report to the Party Section, he was censured heavily for approaching granges and small community improvement clubs with any sort of a petition. He was accused of hiding the face of the party and of sabotaging the work of the Unemployed Councils.

The section appointed a comrade of three weeks standing as unit organizer in his place. Even so Steele continued to guide the unit, particularly in its work on the unemployed fraction, and to draw new proletarian elements into the party from the B. B. U. as fast as they proved their development and readiness to join. Although the petition of the N. N. U. did not gain support from any substantial number of improvement clubs or granges, it did accomplish its main purpose. It started labor controversy in these organizations which has grown steadily since, it created a wedge, splitting the proletarian elements away from their petty bourgeois leaders, and began to rally these elements around the banners of the class struggle, so that today, one year later, these organizations are breaking apart over wage and labor controversies which were unknown until the advent of the B. B. U. Also, the petition did win considerable support both directly and indirectly for the unemployed.

Twice in this time Steele was arrested for "inciting to riot"—once at the outset of the organization for addressing a mass meeting; the second time when the summer march came through Hayward.

In the B. B. U. two tendencies were evidenced almost from the first. The most exploited workers, the Portuguese and the Portuguese, were for a political fight and mass action. The second faction, primarily Americans, worked to turn the organization into a co-operative movement.

In November road work ended and the unemployed were deprived of any cash money. All through the fall months numerous unemployed groups had been organizing, growing and banding together. There were 3 principal groups; the Unemployed Cooperative Relief Association, with 18 affiliated units and around 3,000 members; the Natural Development Company, a smaller outfit; and Unemployed Councils with a questionable 200 total membership. In addition there were a number of independent organizations such as the B. B. U.

Leavitt and Shern, leaders of the conservative faction of the B. B. U., proposed that the organization affiliate with the Unemployment Cooperative Relief Association as it would leave the organization free to pursue its independent course and would have the additional advantage of a large central commissary to draw from. The Party fraction had twice brought forward the matter of affiliation with the Unemployed Councils but had twice been voted down by the arbitrary conditions laid down by the U. C. Leavitt's proposal was accepted and the B. B. U. became unit No. 19 of the U. C. K. A. with Steele, Leavitt and one other as delegates.

Suddenly relief was cut to a miserable diet of tomato puree, beans, rice, flour, and salt pork. Throughout the country the unemployed sent delegations to the board of supervisors in protest, demanding free choice of food, cash, road work, no evictions for non-payment of rent, against water, gas or electric shut-offs. Hundreds crowded the hall and other hundreds overflowed outside in a splendid, militant, spontaneous united front.

**READ AND SUBSCRIBE
TO THE MILITANT**

WORKS by TROTSKY

ON GERMANY

The ONLY ROAD	WHAT NEXT?
100 pages .25	192 pages paper cover .45
Postage—.06 extra per copy	cloth cover .65
	Postage—.06 extra per copy

ON RUSSIA

PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF U.S.S.R.
Price .15
Postage—.01 extra per copy

ON SPAIN

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER
Price .15
Postage—.01 extra per copy

ON THE TRADE UNION QUESTION

COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM
Price .15
Postage—.01 extra per copy

ON THE THEORY OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY AND THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION	THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION
.25	180 pages paper cover .50
Postage—.06 extra per copy	cloth cover 1.00
	Postage—.06 extra per copy

ON CHINA

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION
450 pages paper cover 1.00
Postage—.06 extra per copy
cloth cover 1.50

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
84 EAST 10th STREET, N. Y. C.

Militant Builders

THE WINNERS

One change of note in the standing of the highest scoring sub-getters from last week took place in the displacement of S. Jourard of Toronto from third place by A. Caplan of Kansas City. Last week they stood as follows: S. Jourard 8; A. Caplan 7. Since then Caplan sent in four subs and Jourard none.

Koehler of Youngstown tops the list with 27 and S. Hardy of Philadelphia is next with 17. He is a newcomer in these drives.

To Koehler go the three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky, the first prize; to Hardy—two volumes and to Caplan—one volume, second and third prizes respectively.

The books will be in the mail to them within a week.

SHORTCOMINGS

Thirty-one subs last week brought the total in the drive up to a hundred and sixty-five. With that figure the drive closes. It can not be called a success. Previous drives netted many more subs. And they were conducted in condition that were less favorable for their success.

At the beginning of the drive we pointed out that if we worked toward a new subscriber for every one then on the list we could double our circulation of single subscriptions. We fell below that figure. We tell below that figure.

It is possible that we set too short a period for the drive and that our comrades and branches took more time than we thought was necessary to swing into line. If that is so it will show up in the next few weeks. We will continue to record them as they come in. But, of course, they will have no bearing on the drive which is closed and the winners who are listed above.

And in view of that possibility we suspend judgment. When we know we will offer our explanation for the failure of the drive.

MORE SUBS

The work of building the Militant will continue. Let us see if we cannot at least hold the average we have struck in this drive of about thirty subs a week. That should not be very difficult. If we go to it with a will it will be surprisingly easy.

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MILITANT

We want to make a standing offer to sub-getters. To every comrade who sends in 20 subs (either half year or year or both) we will give a bound volume of the Militant, series two. Series two is the file that runs from the first issue of the present format, July 4, 1931 to the end of 1932.

Scoring will begin on November 20 and will continue until further notice. Weekly reports will be made in this column.

"WHAT NEXT?" IN RUSSIAN.
Pioneer Publishers has just received a number of copies of comrade Trotsky's monumental work "What Next?" in the Russian language. They can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C. at 75 cents a copy.

MY LIFE
A few copies of comrade Trotsky's brilliant autobiography are on sale at Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, N. Y. C. at the reduced price of \$2.50. Avail yourself of this opportunity before it is too late.

IMPORTANT DOCUMENT

"Russia and Germany at Brest-Litovsk" by Judah L. Magnes can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers for twenty-five cents.

The Flames of the Class War In Yakima, Washington

The tranquil quiet of Yakima Valley, Washington, where the hops are grown, later to be dispensed over a brass rail as foaming New Deal beer, is raging with bitter class war. For some time now the slaves who pick the essence of your refreshing drink have been in full revolt against their profit-lusting masters under the auspices of the Agricultural Workers Union No. 110 of the I. W. W.

What do these slaves want? They want to live, decently, like ordinary human beings. They want something to fill their bellies, to stop that gnawing ache that never seems to cease. They want a roof over their heads and a bed under their toil-worn bodies.

Not much, you think. In these days of the NIRA the laboring people should be striving a higher goal than mere animal existence. Hasn't the grinning Moses in Washington led his people into the promised land where hunger and want are no more, where the well-fed workman consecrates his efforts to culture and character building? Do you believe this? Then listen to the dream-shattering story of Yakima, Washington.

The Beer Ballyhoo
You remember the ballyhoo that attended the propaganda that the return of legal beer would make millions of jobs and bring prosperity in its wake. If your pockets are empty and your eyes open then the Great Delusion must be apparent to you. But what of that? Prosperity did come to the brewery owners and the big farmers who grow the hops on their ranches.

These ranchers saw the vision of gain, of making their pile. The brewers needed their hops. Their damaged fortunes would be repaired, they would get rich again. But one thing stood in their way. They had not reckoned with this. The workers were demanding consideration. Downright unreasonable! Yes,

it was quite unreasonable to the masters that the slaves should protest against working in the fields for a piece-work rate amounting to one and one half cent on the pound, and sometimes merely for their meals and the privilege of sleeping in the barn. Decent conditions of existence and lucrative profits don't jibe.

Harvesting Ceases

The hop pickers organized and presented their demands to the farmers. The farmers laughed at them. 35 to 50 cents an hour? The eight-hour day? The abolition of child labor in the field under the age of 18? Never! The strike was on.

The hop pickers left the fields. The harvesting of this golden crop came to a standstill. The picket line was formed. The rich farmers took this little "spree" of the workers jocularly. At first. But when the limitation failed, when appeals to "Americanism" and race prejudice were ignored, when all their elaborate stratagems came to naught and the workers remained firm, the farmers became desperate at the sight of their golden crop rotting on the ground.

They too began to organize. Not the kind of organization intended to bring better life to human beings. They were bent on the direct opposite: grinding the heel of oppression deep into the workers' back. The riff-raff of the town and the country was called to arms. Mobs of Vigilantes roved the countryside. Pickethander brigades armed with clubs and pitchforks terrorized the striking workers, bulldozing them, looking for an excuse to club and murder. The business men and their "law-and-order" hoodlums were determined to crush the strike. No method that would attain this end was too low, too brutal, too savage.

Mob Fury

They precipitated a fight with the pickets. A fight? Outnumbering the strikers six to one, armed with pickhandles, gaspipes and rocks they sailed into this peaceful, unarmed group of workers and round an outlet for their crazed, gmented fury by cracking their bones and skulls, beating them into insensibility. The pickets fought valiantly but the odds were too great. When the smoke of the slaughter had cleared they marched those workers who still could walk into town.

Here without warrant, trial or arrest they flung the workers into a makeshift contraption of barbed wire, a bull pen. The legal sanction was, of course, quickly granted. The bullpen, hardly known in the east, is a familiar Western institution employed to sap every grain of rebellion out of militant workers. The only comparison that approaches it is the black hole of Calcutta. It has been used time and again to imprison striking metal miners, the I. W. W., in Idaho and Colorado. This is the description given it in the bulletin issued by the General Defense Committee on the Yakima struggle:

The "Bulpen"

"These stockades, commonly called 'bullpens,' were rotten ramshackle affairs, open to wind and rain, often two stories high, with toilet facilities—such as they were—in the same enclosure where men and women had to spend every moment of the many days they were held, and often so crowded that there was hardly more than enough room to stand up in. Such a structure is the place where eighty men and women were placed, for the elements to attack and the crowds to stare at, in Yakima City. And there they have remained since that memorable day in August when terror broke loose in lovely Yakima Valley."

Then martial law was proclaimed. Street meetings were forbidden and broken up. The I. W. W. camps were destroyed, the men driven out, the property burned. A grant of \$3000 was asked of the state

The Rift in the Lovestone Group

The declaration of the Lovestone majority "On the New Party and Trotskyism" is equally divided between a general philippic against the idea of a new Communist International and new Communist parties in every country, and a specific assault upon that current in the revolutionary movement which is in the forefront of the new movement: the Left Opposition. Before passing over to a consideration of the standpoint of the official minority (Zam), let us devote a few observations to the latter half of the Lovestone document.

As is known, there is hardly a name which has not been hauled out of the catalogue of abuse for the purpose of designating the so-called "Trotskyists": Left Mensheviks, Right Mensheviks, counter-revolutionists, super-individualists, anti-individualists, super-anti-Kulaks, pro-Kulaks, Leftists covered with tight phrases or Rightists covered with Left phrases. The last name to be attached to the Opposition would seem to have eliminated the possibility of any of the previous ones recurring in Stalinist literature: "the vanguard of the world counter-revolution."

Lovestone now retraces these steps—as if everything he said yesterday had not been meant seriously—and solemnly explains that we are taking the place of Austro-Marxism and are being transformed (at this late date!) "from a tendency in world Communism to the ideological focal point of a new international Centrist concentration.... Today it is Trotskyism that serves as the binding force, as the ideological platform, for the various groups attempting to crystallize an international organization 'in-between' the Socialist and Communist Internationals. Trotskyism is rapidly becoming Centrist in its contemporary classical form."

The Austro-Marxist School

The identification of our fundamental standpoint with that of the Austro-Marxist school was first made some eight or nine years ago by the Russian party bureaucracy, for the purpose of covering up its own reconciliation with Centristism. Lovestone's revival of the calumny has no other aim in mind.

The fundamental attitude of the Austro-Marxists towards that problem in which are comprehended the essential questions of contemporary revolutionary politics—the proletarian revolution in Russia—is not so obscure or unknown as to permit of much confusion. According to them, Marxism left no room in its conception for the outbreak of the first proletarian revolution in a country like Russia. The Russian revolution is therefore not only illegitimate, but it is not and cannot be socialist, and whatever it may be, it is doomed in advance. Russia, as an economically backward and capitalist country, simply did not have the right to a socialist revolution, and for arrogating to itself this right it is doomed to the brimstone and hellfire of damnation. Russia should have waited its turn until a more advanced capitalist country—Austria let us say—had its revolution first. And Austria must wait with its revolution until its more powerful capitalist neighbors succumb to the revolution, otherwise isolated proletarian Austria would succumb to the counter-revolutionary forces around it. And Germany and Hungary must wait with their proletarian revolutions, for should they materialize, the French and English imperialists might become so wrathful at the impudence of the former Entente proletariat as to smite them with their superior military forces.

Austro-Marxism and Bureaucratic Centristism

These elaborate apologies of Austro-Marxism for the policy of passivity, capitulation and despair pursued by Messrs. Adler, Bauer, Renner and Co., are based on an approach to the problem of proletarian revolution which is blood brother to that of bureaucratic Centristism in the Soviet Union today. To substantiate their contentions, the Austro-Marxists produce voluminous statistical data to prove that Russia in 1917 was a backward agricultural country, with a small industry and proletariat, and not a land possessing the material prerequisites for socialism.

The Stalinist proponents of the theory of socialism in one country place themselves on exactly the same ground as the Austro-Marxists! They differ from the latter only in this, that they produce equally voluminous data to "justify" the seizure of power by the Russian proletariat and the independent construction of a classless society by furnishing statistical proof that Russia does possess the "material prerequisites for socialism."

This approach to the problem which Austro-Marxists and Stalinists have in common, leads the one to national passivity and the other to national utopianism. It flies directly in the face of the con-

The Alleged 'Trotskyist Centrism' and the Truly Bureaucratic Centrism

ception held by all genuine Marxists before the war—and up until today. There can no longer be a premature revolution in Europe, a quarter of a century ago. Capitalism on a world scale has become rotten ripe for socialism, wrote the internationalists during and after the war; it has entered the epoch of world revolution.

Lenin's Point of View

Russia has not reached such a stage of development of the productive forces as would render socialism possible," Lenin quoted the Russian Austro-Marxists a year before his death. "This is the sentence with which all the heroes of the 11 International, among them of course Suchanov, are starting around, decorated with it like a peacock's feather. They repeat this indisputable statement in a thousand tones. But it seems to me that it is not decisive for the estimation of our revolution."

If the debate with the Austro-Marxists is conducted—and that is how the Stalinists are compelled to conduct it—by challenging this "indisputable statement," which "is not decisive for the estimation" of the Russian revolution, the Russian centrists (and their right wing camp followers a la Lovestone) actually accept the fundamental postulate of national "maturity" laid down by the Austrian Centrists and differ from the latter only to a statistical degree, as it were.

On the basic question, therefore, of internationalism versus socialism in one country, it is not "Trotskyism" which is rapidly becoming (1) Centrist in its contemporary classical form, but Stalinism which is Centrist in its Soviet-bureaucratic form. Lovestone, who takes his oath on the Stalin theory of national socialism, is thus giving a clear example, in his document, of how convenient it is to lay down a smoke-screen of attack against "Trotsky-Centrism" in order to cover up an obsequious apology for Stalinist Centrism. There is no such thing as the former; the latter, however, not only exists but—do you understand?—also disposes of and dispenses great power and office, and let it be noted, as is magnanimous in forgiving an erring but penitent underling as it is useless in ousting him from the American party's Political Secretaryship.

The "Declaration" on Centristism

The identification of our position with Austro-Marxism stands out too badly as a mere assertion in the Lovestone statement. If therefore proceeds to enlarge upon it with a casual reference to the "Declaration of Four" (Left Opposition, Socialist Workers Party of Germany, and the Independent Parties of Holland) as indicating "very clearly" its essentially Centrist character. Here, as so often in his whole political career, Lovestone is simply relying on the artifice of trading on the gullibility of readers who may not take the trouble to read original documents. In point 3 of the "Declaration of Four" we read:

No less energetically must be rejected the theory of the Austro-Marxists, Centrists and Left reformists who, under the pretext of the international character of the socialist revolution, advocate an expectant passivity with regard to their own country, delivering thereby the proletariat in reality into the hands of Fascism."

And in point 8: "While ready to cooperate with all the organizations, groups and factions which are actually developing from reformism or bureaucratic Centristism (Stalinism) towards revolutionary Marxian policy, the undersigned at the same time declare that the new international cannot tolerate any conciliation towards reformism or Centristism. The necessity unity of the working class movement cannot be attained by the blurring of reformist and revolutionary conception."

A Deliberate Falsification

These two passages, it would seem, ought to "indicate very clearly" not only to what extent the Opposition has become the ideological focal point of a new international Centrist concentration but also the extent to which Lovestone is accustomed to stating facts correctly. But there is more material before us. Whoever thinks that one swindle per document is enough; does not know the gentleman and the school we are dealing with.

"The Trotskyist Manifesto for a new International," writes the artful dodger, "carefully avoids all reference to Soviets as the form of the proletarian dictatorship. The deliberate refusal even to mention the Soviets likewise constitutes a virtual renunciation of the fundamental principles of Communism."

Here we reach a point where it requires a physical effort to overcome a feeling of revulsion and to continue the article. Is it possible or worth while even to write against persons who so obviously and deliberately lie—not exaggerate, not misunderstand, not misinterpret, but simply and flatly lie? Yet there are workers who read such abominations and put credence in them; so we swallow hard and proceed.

The manifesto, we are told, has not merely "overlooked" the Soviets, but has "carefully avoided" and "deliberately refused even to

mention" them. We turn to the Militant of September 23, and read in point 8 of the Declaration: "To remain equal to its task the new International must not permit any deviation from revolutionary principles in the question of the insurrection, the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet form of the state, etc."

The Truth About the "21 Points"

Apparently under the illusion that like Stalin who enjoys an absolute monopoly of the Soviet press, he can lie wholesale and with impunity, Lovestone goes on with his arraignment of "Trotskyist-Centrism" to show that we demand the "radical revision" of the 21 points of the Comintern which, he reminds his readers, "were first formulated as a means of radical differentiation of Communism from Centristism." So they were. Now let us see precisely what we do demand, as stated in the declaration of the Opposition representatives at the Paris conference:

"The 21 conditions for the acceptance to the Communist International elaborated in its time by Lenin for the purpose of a decisive separation from all types of reformism and anarchism, acquire at this stage again an urgent character. It is of course not a question of the text of this document which should be radically changed in accordance with the conditions of the modern period, but of its general spirit of revolutionary Marxist irreconcilability."

In other words, if the text of the 21 conditions is to be changed then, only in the sense of making more distinct the line of demarcation between the Communists of today and the Centrists and reformists of all varieties, including Stalinists and all their apologists and attorneys. The 21 conditions must be revised not by watering them down to make them more acceptable even to the most radical of the reformists, but so that they may reflect the significance of those thirteen years of tremendously important events in the international class struggle which have intervened since the Second Congress of the Comintern. These events have deeply confirmed the soundness of the intransigent spirit of the conditions set down in 1920. Anyone who would cling rigidly to the liberal text of the 1920 document, and refuse to incorporate into it what we have been taught by the rise to power of Stalinism, the dispute over national socialism, the defeat of the Chinese revolution, the catastrophe in Germany, the problem of Fascism and social democracy—would not be a revolutionary Marxist but a poor borework of an archivist. Lovestone is not even the latter, for there is something honorable and respectable about that vocation which has nothing in common with forgery and misrepresentation.

The "August Bloc" Hoax

As the trump card in his marked deck, Lovestone plays the "August bloc." He is returning here, let it be emphasized, not to the bloc with Tsereteli and the Mensheviks proposed in March 1917 by Stalin, not to the bloc with LaFollette in 1924, and Purcell in 1926, and Chiang Kai-Shek in 1927, and Upton Sinclair in 1933, nor even to the Lovestone bloc with pseudo-progressive labor skates in certain trade unions, but to the "opportunistic concentration against Bolshevism" in 1912.

Now, who are the representatives of Bolshevism today against whom are united the "heterogeneous tendencies, running all the way from open reformism to self-styled ultra-radicalism" of which "the ideology of Trotskyism is the binding force"? Surely, nobody will ask that the flexibility of one's sense of honor should be taxed to the point of considering the Brandlerites more than half of whom have already passed into the camp of the social democracy, as the modern representatives of Bolshevism? For, after all, who is there with time and energy hanging so heavily on his hands as to go through the trouble of making a bloc with anyone else for the purpose of an international campaign against.... the Brandlerites?

Or perhaps the representatives of Bolshevism today are the Stalinists? "Should this standpoint be adopted by the Communist Opposition," Zam writes with some concern in his minority declaration, "there would be left no alternative but to liquidate and return to the Comintern." That is precisely what Lovestone's new sortie against "Trotskyism" signifies: his preparing for a complete reconciliation with the Stalinist apparatus.

The Position of the Centrist Parties

But the "bloc" of all these heterogeneous Centrist groups for the new International—what about that? It does not exist, uneasy and unfortunate reader of the Workers Age, not even in Lovestone's mind. At the Paris Conference of independent socialist and Communist parties and groups, held in August 1933, there were more than one "contemporary classical" Centrist organization represented. Some of these organizations were close to the Second International or moving (at least in sections) towards it. Others were close to Communism or moving towards it. Still others stood for the merging of the two Internationals or for the creation of an intermediate organization. These included such groups as the English Independent Labour Party, the Norwegian Labor Party, the Party of Proletarian Unity in France, the Italian Socialist Party (Balebanova), the Independent Communist Party of Sweden (Kilboom), the Russian Left

S. R.s of Steinberg, and the Right wing Iberian Federation of Maurin & Co.

On the key question of the new International, the official minutes report (page 24): "For the second amendment of the S. A. P. (Germany), declaring in principle for a new International—all the seven organizations used above are recorded as voting 'Against'! The Lovestone document 'carefully avoids'—or shall we say 'deliberately refuses even to mention'—any reference to this revealing little detail. Nor would it be appropriate for him to do so. It would fit into the rest of his document like a fly in a sewage bucket.

A Pragmatism from Minut

Lovestone so notoriously rooted in the American class struggle, takes "Trotskyism" to task for the "political justification" for this sudden change of position in the American class struggle it finds exclusively in some alleged developments in Germany.... It still remains without roots in its own conditions, a mere international extension of Russian Trotskyism in its new form."

It is not entirely fair to attack Lovestone for this wretched nationalistic distortion of Marxism, because the real author of it is, as we suggested last week, the late Morris Hillquit. In his time, he so polemized against the Left wing in his party and the Communists in general as to justify the change in the position now because of some alleged developments in Russia. In September 1920, he inveighed in the New York Call, with all the ardor of a one hundred percent American revolutionist, against "the incorrigible tendency of the Moscow international to deduce from specific and casual Russian conditions infallible social maxims or universal application." A few years later, that other learned pillar of genuine, unrefuted American socialism, James O'Neal, who also could not conceive of the American Communist movement taking shape upon the basis of any event occurring outside the purlieus of Union Square and who still looks upon the movement as a foreign product smuggled into this country without even the payment of customs duties, explained away the aberration by writing: "The split in the American organization was a direct outcome of the Russian revolution and the attacks made upon pro-war Socialists by the Russian Communists. Even the manifesto and program of the Left wing which formulated the grievances of the insurgents did not charge the American Socialists with support of the war."

Clearing the Atmosphere

We have no record at hand of what Lovestone thought of or replied to the Mayflower socialists at that time. From his present-day attacks upon the idea of the new international and a new Communist party in the United States, however, one can only conclude that the reasoning of Hillquit and O'Neal must have made a persuasive and lasting impression upon him. The Lovestone statement, ends with a not very elaborately concealed bid for unity with the Stalinists "to prevent this Centrist crystallization into new 'Communist' parties, nationally and internationally." The right wing leaders are ready to crawl back, especially if the terms of their pardon are not too obtrusively humiliating. We speak as disinterested observers: by all that has been said above, we see no good reason why the reunion of Lovestone and Co. with their Stalinist taskmasters should not be speedily effected. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished for. It will clear the atmosphere.

(Our next article will deal with the statement of the Lovestone group minority.)

Brooklyn Branch Activities

Headquarters: Militant Hall, 154 Watkins St. (Near Belmont Av.), Brooklyn.

Sat., Nov. 25th, 8 P. M.—Diego Rivera on Revolutionary Art and Oppressed Minorities.

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: History and Program of the Left Opposition.

History of the Russian Revolution.

Wednesday Evenings: Principles of Communism.

Fundamentals of Marxism

If the number on your wrapper is 199 your subscription has expired. If you want to get the Militant promptly every week, renew your subscription at once: \$1 per year for fifty two weekly issues; \$5 a half year for twenty-six weekly issues.

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

To the Cuban Workers & Peasants

(Ed. Note: We print below the full text of the manifesto recently published by the newly-formed Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba.)

The delegates of the sections and nuclei of the Communist Opposition of Cuba, assembled on September 14th, 1933, after an extensive and thoroughgoing study of recent events decided to constitute nationally the BOLSHEVIK-LENINIST PARTY and to publish and circulate this manifesto which contains an initial statement of clear and definite principles.

The Importance of the Party

In the political struggles of the Cuban proletariat no event has ever occurred as important as this step which we have just taken. In the midst of the present turbulent political situation accompanied by the most frightful confusion and chaos, the minority formed by the Communist Left Opposition has made a resolute decision and has worked out through the iron will of hundreds of workers, the form and essence of a new workers revolutionary party.

This party, which rises after a long and difficult struggle of over a year, does not hesitate to openly declare before all the workers, that it emerges from the very womb of the Communist party of Cuba and that it is historically the negation of the latter.

It has become evident in the most recent times in the complicated economic and political situation of Cuba, that the lack of a real revolutionary party has frustrated the ascending developing of the revolutionary many times. The great tragedy of the oppressed Cuban masses consists in their not having found as yet a vehicle capable of carrying them on the road towards their full emancipation. On the crossroads to victory the masses have always felt the lack of the subjective factor which is necessary for the achievement of its liberation.

The existence of deep ferment and decomposition in the whole capitalist regime, means nothing at all, nevertheless, there does not exist the organized force of a proletarian revolutionary party able to direct realistically the protest and rebellion of the masses during a political upheaval.

Irrespective of our wishes, a revolutionary workers vanguard can only be organized at certain historical conjunctures. In periods of great revolutionary struggles, the ebb and flow of the mass movement automatically produces the necessary means for carrying out successfully the creation of a new party.

The Cuban Situation and the Bolshevik Party

In the present period of rapid developments and sharp crises, the Cuban working class needs and produces a revolutionary vanguard from its own ranks. This step does not need justification before his people because it is an integral and fundamental part of the historical process itself.

The present situation and the difficulty of our position in it is no secret to the Bolshevik-Leninist Party. Armed by Marxism with the most efficient instrument for analyzing the historic processes, understanding the extent and consequences of their development, we are able to comprehend that never before in Cuba has there taken place such an outstanding political event as the rising of the rank and file of the army in the early morning of September 4th. The revolt of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the army opens a new stage in the revolutionary process in Cuba. This rebellion completely confirms our correct political line wherein we affirmed, ever since March 1933, that the fall of Machado would provoke clashes between the reactionary bourgeois wing of the Opposition, and the various elements of the petty bourgeoisie. The theory held by the leaders of the Communist party several months ago (May 30), that "a broad radicalization of the masses" existed, which "obliged the forces of the counter revolution to unite", has fallen to the ground smashed by the reality of the situation. Can it be said that there exists a broad radicalization of the masses at the very time when an uprising of the rank and file of the army takes place, and this uprising brings the petty bourgeois elements of the Directorate Estudiantil to the seat of power?

The coming to political power of the petty bourgeoisie has already placed before the masses in a practical form, the questions of bourgeois democracy and the instability of this ontological state form. In the face of the violent break of the petty bourgeoisie with the reactionary "mediation" forces, a regrouping of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces in struggle for the holding of power is taking place. Yankee imperialism, represented in Cuban politics by Sumner Welles, openly supports the formation of the counter-revolutionary front led by the ABC and Menocal.

In this situation the Bolshevik-Leninist party clearly understands that only a truly independent class position can save the proletariat from defeat. Confronted by the forces of the counter-revolution, the Bolshevik Party takes a determined stand, in the belief that in the present historical conjuncture the worker and peasant masses are in a position to marshal their forces and to prepare themselves for the revolution. The national liberation of Cuba, as a colonial

Manifesto of Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba

country, must be posed in a concrete form. Under the pressure of imperialism the Grau San Martin government, successively wavers, gesticulates, threatens, yields; but does not firmly conduct the direct and fundamental attack against Yankee intervention. Only the working class in alliance with the poor peasants can liberate Cuba from the iniquities and oppression of imperialism.

The International Situation

The formation of a new revolutionary workers' vanguard, must necessarily deal not only with national questions but also with international problems. The present historical period characterized by the decline of finance capitalism has transferred the solution of complicated national problems on to the international arena.

Bolshevism was the inspiration of the glorious launching of the Third Communist International. Those of us who today militate in its ranks must honestly declare that a new stage has begun in the history of the world's workers movement. The catastrophe which took place in Germany with the shipwreck of the German Communist Party and the triumph of Fascism, have forever destroyed the possibilities of a regeneration of the Communist International. The cadres which throughout the world have broken from the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy, now pose resolutely the question of a new International, which will turn its back on the bureaucratic centrism of Stalin, Manulsky and face towards a real Marxist-Leninist conception of the class struggle.

At this juncture, we declare, as in the Bolshevik-Leninist statement at the recent conference of Left groups (the Paris conference—Ed.) that even in its present state the USSR is a workers state and that we are prepared to defend it. But his defense cannot be expected from the degenerate Soviet bureaucracy, but rather from the proletarian masses themselves guided by the new political orientation of International Leninism.

The Bolshevik Party and the Revolution in Cuba

Cuba, a semi-colonial country, which is rapidly becoming—if it is not already so—a Yankee colony, presents to the proletarian vanguard the clearest possible idea of the character and the realization of the agrarian revolution.

The Bolshevik Party, cannot predict the exact date of the agrarian revolution, neither does it pretend to be able to build socialism overnight in a country of poor and middle peasants, with a proletariat that is still politically too weak to rally the peasants around itself and come to power. Like every other colony Cuba lacks independent economic unity, and on the whole its economy is still in a pre-capitalist stage. Favorable objective conditions coincide with the marked liquidation of the subjective factor. And the possibilities of developing the movement have not been lost but rather delayed. The difference between the petty bourgeois elements and ourselves, the Bolshevik-Leninists, rests, in substance, on the form of government capable of guaranteeing the independence of the island, and the means of obtaining it and its aims. The most recent efforts of the "Anti-Imperialist" intellectuals of Latin America, led by the "Apristas", are oriented towards finding the "Latin American liberation formula." This formula has a common denominator in all countries: the necessity of the capitalist development of the economy in these countries. The fact that the industrial proletariat is not entirely developed in the colonies and that the national bourgeoisie is an emaciated and spineless class incapable of struggle against imperialism in defense of its own class interests, leads them to the conclusion that the proletarian revolution cannot be realized in America and that the struggle must be limited to driving imperialism out of these lands in order afterwards to develop their "own independent economy." This concept looks for support in quotations from Marx and Lenin, arbitrarily snatched from the text and rearranged to support their contentions. These so-called "Marxists", state that it is impossible to jump over the stage of the bourgeois revolution in America, and consequently that only a gradual, slow development of the historical process, and "orderliness" of the "unsumountable" historical stages, is possible without falling into utopian Socialism. This is false; absolutely false. Marxism as an economic doctrine does not believe in gradual, slow changes, in unsumountable barriers, but rather a highly revolutionary theory which recognizes the possibility of jumping two stages at a time; two steps at a time.

In the present world situation, the interlocking character of the whole of world economy prevents the consideration of events from a one sided point of view of any single country in particular. From this springs the fact that, isolating Latin America from the rest of the world, and from the ripening of world economy for its revolutionary transformation, these petty bourgeois arrive at the conclusion that in Latin America the necessary capitalist conditions for realizing the Socialist revolution are not mature. This new petty bourgeois formula must be discarded in its entirety. We cannot consider the struggle in an isolated sense but only as a part of the world proletarian struggle. Our internationalism is not based on bold theoretical statements but on the economic structure of world capitalism. If we separate the colonies from the other capitalist countries, they have no independent economic unity and are in reality incapable of developing by themselves. But the task with which we are faced today is not exactly that of initiating capitalist development in America but rather of realizing the agrarian revolution; carrying out the Socialist revolution and setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat. "It is a question of knowing if we can admit that the development of capitalist economy is inevitable in the backward countries that now enslave themselves and in which certain progress has taken place since the war. We have reached the conclusion that the development of capitalism in these countries is not inevitable, especially in case where the victorious proletariat has conducted systematic propaganda in them. With the assistance of the proletariat in the advanced countries, the backward countries can reach the Soviet organizational form, and passing through a series of phases reach Communism, escaping a capitalist period."

This opinion of Lenin's is our conception. History cannot be turned backwards just because ten or fifteen countries are retarded in their development, neither can the revolutionary movement stop to wait for them.

For this reason, the Bolshevik Party declares on the agrarian and national question and on the content and aims of the agrarian revolution, the following:

1. The national liberation of Cuba, as a semi-colonial country can be obtained only through the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat which applying the Bolshevik formula, draws the peasantry behind it.
2. The peasant question cannot be underestimated by the proletarian vanguard and still less in these semi-colonial and agrarian countries. The victory of the agrarian revolution depends upon which class the peasantry follows, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie.
3. The formula issued by the leaders of the Communist party concerning the development of the agrarian revolution, its slogans of "Agrarian revolution under the leadership of the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry."
4. The ultimate victory of the agrarian revolution can only be obtained by the development and triumph of the world proletarian revolution. Therefore the Bolshevik party recognizes the necessity of effectively joining our movement with the worker and peasant masses of the entire world and specifically of the United States and Latin America.
5. It is necessary to take advantage of all the conjunctures in order to unite the proletariat with the peasantry and develop the agrarian revolution to its conclusion. If the proletariat does not secure this support of the peasant masses in advance, if it does not manage to "draw them behind" itself, it is then utopian to even think of the victory of the revolution in Cuba.
6. The native bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, rural as well as urban, organically and ideologically, are incapable of leading the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people to its goal. All conciliation with these elements in regard to the specific purposes of the revolution, is but treason to the workers and peasants. To hand over these forces to a petty bourgeois leadership, is to repeat consciously the betrayals in China and Mexico.
7. The agrarian anti-imperialist revolution, will not only fulfill the tasks of the bourgeois revolution (liquidation of the feudal forms of production, national liberation, agrarian revolution, etc.), but must, by the very fact that the bourgeoisie is not the motive force in it and that it is carried out without the support of the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie, lay the foundations, from which the step can be taken to the socialist revolution and the proletarian dictatorship.
8. Given the character and future development of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution only the proletarian vanguard organized in a Bolshevik party, can achieve the revolutionary alliance of the proletariat and peasantry, accomplishing by this, the final triumph of the revolution. The so-called Anti-Imperialist Leagues, are organically and politically incapable of fulfilling these tasks, and are nothing but coarse caricatures of the revolutionary "united front". In their place, only the leadership of the proletariat organized in its class party, will be capable of filling this role.
9. Finally, it is very clear to us that the victory of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution can only

(Continued on page 4)

EDITORIALS

Five Years of the Militant

FIVE years ago this week the **Militant** made its first appearance of the spokesman of the ideas and doctrines of the "Russian Opposition"—the heirs and defenders of the Bolshevik October. The five years of the continuous publication of our paper have been a period of rich in great events which put all currents in the labor movement to a historical test. Our current alone stood up under it. We have every right to a feeling of deep satisfaction that we have held true to our course. Ours is a profound and unshakable conviction that what we did five years ago, and all that has been built upon it, was right. On the fifth anniversary of our paper militant we repent nothing and retract nothing.

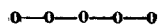
The warning signals of the International Left Opposition were no false alarms. The tens years of reaction against which the Bolshevik-Leninists struggled without success have come to their tragic culmination in the downfall of the Comintern. What is most important in the whole world today is the fact that forces making for the reconstitution of the international movement are already at work, that the skeleton of its future organization exists and that its fundamental program has been elaborated.

In this preparatory work, carried out under a hailstorm of slander and persecution, the **Militant** played a part. The new party of Communism in America, which will constitute a section of the Fourth International, will mark its launching in November 1938, as an important and significant date if it does not tract its genealogy directly to that date.

Our struggle to set the counter current into motion and to prepare the way for the new movement was conducted from the first—and is still conducted—with inadequate material means and forces. Our chief weapon—almost our only weapon—was the **Militant**. The capacity of our movement to endure, to survive and to gain an influence under these circumstances is testimony to the power of Marxist ideas. They make their way in spite of everything. The celebration of the **Militant**, alive and strong on its fifth anniversary, is a celebration of the vitality of the doctrines of Marxism which nothing and nobody can kill.

By all that that has gone before the militants grouped around the **Militant** are called upon to play the main part in assembling the elements of the new party in America. They are the bearers of its ideas. The **Militant**, as the spokesman of these ideas, only grows in significance as the new turn of events multiplies the opportunities and responsibilities.

All that has been done up till now is only a work of preparation for the future. Without minimizing our weakness or hiding our faults we can face that future, and all the responsibilities it imposes, with confidence. The foundations that have been laid are impregnable. If we build on them we will build for victory.



Litvinoff's Visit and Russian Recognition

WITH public attention focused on the visit of Litvinoff and his discussions with Roosevelt, the question of Russian recognition is an outstanding issue which is stirring all interested political circles and economic groups into an increased activity; that is all circles except the one to whom the issue belongs first of all,—the Communist and Left wing labor movement. While these various elements in American bourgeois society discuss terms, make conditions and bring forward one program or another, agitate heatedly and exert pressure for or against the recognition of the U. S. S. R. according to their special interest, the one section of the population which has the greatest stake in the issue—the radical labor movement—stands paralyzed and refrains from any intervention. What is the explanation of this anomaly? This neutralization of the working class in a matter of the most vital concern to them is more of the rotten fruit of Stalinist diplomacy.

From the point of view of the Marxists, the relationship between the workers state and the capitalist governments is an expression of the class struggle, that is, a fundamentally irreconcilable conflict. ("One or the other must finally triumph," said Lenin). While the final outcome of this conflict remains undecided, the Soviet Union is obliged to enter

into temporary agreements with the bourgeois state powers which the workers aim eventually to overthrow, in pretty much the same way as trade unions bargain with private employers whom the workers aim to expropriate.

The condition for the making of an advantageous bargain is not under any circumstances the good will of the capitalists. The talent of a Soviet diplomat is a minor item; in the final analysis it cuts about as much ice as the shrewdness of a business agent in a trade dispute—the masters are acutely conscious of their material interests and cannot be talked out of them. What decides is the relative strength of the workers and its full mobilization at the moment of negotiations.

By disorienting the workers vanguard and paralyzing its activity, Stalinist diplomacy deprives the Soviet Union of the pressure and influence of its most reliable ally. That is why the question of recognition by the U. S. government is being considered as an internal affair of the bourgeoisie, influenced by any serious working class demonstration. Under such conditions it can be taken for granted that American capitalism will concede only what its own requirements dictate and will take full advantage of every weakness of the Soviet Union in presenting its own demands.

The humiliating spectacle presented by the one-sided discussion of Russian recognition in bourgeois circles can be ended, and the interests of the workers' state and of the American labor movement, in this as in every case, can be really defended only by the independent intervention of the workers' vanguard. The revolutionary workers must fight for the interests of the Soviet Union without the aid of Stalinism and against its perfidious policy.

In the first place the visit of Litvinoff should not be allowed to dampen down the working class agitation for recognition. On the contrary, it should be the signal for its stormy development on the broadest possible basis. Recognition should be made the central issue of a mighty united front movement which would shake the country with its clamorous demands for unconditional recognition in the midst of the negotiations at Washington. Every reactionary group is busy with demands and conditions and restrictions on the Soviet Union. Let the workers thunder their own demands on the Roosevelt Government to recognize the Soviet Union at once and without any conditions!

In the second place, while every reactionary clique is demanding "concessions" from the U. S. S. R., the workers should present their own demand for a "concession" from the Wall Street Government. That demand, which unites the interests of the American with the Russian workers concretely, is—**Long Term Credits to the Soviet Union!**

Over three years ago the Left Opposition raised this slogan as an issue of the labor movement. It was denounced by the Stalinists as counter-revolutionary. Now it forms the central topic of the negotiations between Litvinoff and Roosevelt, but the latter is under no compulsion from the workers at home. He is free to accept or reject the proposal, or to hedge it about with restrictions, conditions and penalties, as the interests of Wall Street dictate. The composition of the Stalinists to agitation for Long Term credits deprived the Left wing labor movement of a living issue and has worked mightily to weaken the position of the Soviet Union in the present negotiations.

The slogan of long term credits is just the link needed to tie the American workers directly to the socialist construction in Russia by their own material interests. Opposition to it is a crime. Long term credits for Russia, to finance the purchase of American machinery, would serve to alleviate the unemployment situation to that extent. At the same time they would aid the development of Russian industry and improve the situation of the workers there. An immediate mutual interest would unite the American and the Soviet workers in the fight for this demand. The fusion of this demand with the demand for unconditional recognition would create the motive power to build a great movement among the American workers, hard pressed by unemployment, within a very short time. From this a great development of international solidarity would naturally follow.

It is high time to make an end of silent acquiescence in the back-stairs diplomacy of Stalin and Litvinoff. It is high time to organize a fight of the working class on the question of relations with Russia.

Manifesto of the Bolshevik Party of Cuba

(Continued from Page 3)

be guaranteed by the proletarian dictatorship, and that this proletarian dictatorship will not appear after the revolution, but on the foundation of the revolution itself, as the only force capable of achieving the agrarian and anti-imperialist objectives.

It is necessary to leave no room for doubt in this respect. An enormous theoretical poverty exists in this question, which, however, the Bolshevik party does not hesitate to tackle. The sectarian group has never been able to answer these essential questions, simply because it has not realized its responsibility in regard to them. In a petty bourgeois manner, they mask their ideological confusion by tacking together a half dozen anti-imperialist slogans from the international store-room of catch-words and slogans. In practice they have not advanced one inch further, in the agrarian and national questions, than the petty bourgeois of the A. B. C. However, they furiously attack these latter, perhaps because of a special desire to contradict themselves.

Possibilities of a Resurgence of the Official Communist Party

Before deciding to make the turn towards the formation of a new party, we have given due consideration to the possibilities of a general political resurgence not only of the Communist International but of its Cuban section as well. The development of recent political events, has returned the most valuable and honest elements, who had

been in exile abroad to the ranks of the Communist Party of Cuba. These new forces, which the bureaucracy is very careful to keep on the periphery of the party, clash objectively with the old routine, sectarian tactics of the leadership. But the intensity of the clash is toned down, because the sectarian leadership maneuvers capably, extending to these new elements the strings which will definitely tie it to the worn-out and worm-eaten party apparatus.

These comrades still believe that it is possible to restore the Communist party to its "political normalcy", and that this restoration must take place from the inside. In spite however of their heroic efforts and sincere purpose, it will be proven useless. The degeneration of the party is complete.

We have fought hard ever since 1931 to create the renovating current capable of saving the party from its own corruption. These efforts have been in vain.

Those comrades who still struggle for the regeneration of the party, do not yet feel the pressure of the ruling bureaucracy, because the latter finds the menace of our group enough for the present. As soon as the Stalinist wing of the party is definitely entrenched in its position, it will turn disloyally against these new elements in an attempt to suppress them. Then, the friction between the two forces, will push towards the Bolshevik-Leninists, the most capable and revolutionary sections of the party. To those militants who still conserve their ideological honesty,

the Bolshevik-Leninist Party will never close its doors.

The future of the world belongs to Bolshevism.

Long live the Bolshevik-Leninist Party.

—CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BOLSHEVIK-LENINIST PARTY
Havana, September 25, 1933.

LOVESTONE'S APOLOGISTICS IN TORONTO

Toronto. — Lovestone's whole speech here was an apology for all the false Stalinist policies. So much so, that workers began to ask why aren't you inside the official party? What is the difference between you and the Stalinists.

Not one hostile question or, as a matter of fact, not one word of criticism was uttered against Lovestone by any of the big crowd of Stalinists present. The loudest and sincere applause to Lovestone's remarks came from the Stalinists. This is very significant, especially when we recall a few months ago when Lovestone spoke in Toronto, they could not sit straight in their seats. It was only when Lovestone began to explain, in reply to a pointed question, the "few tactical differences" with the official party, did the Stalinists refrain from applauding.

The History of the Left Opposition, by Max Shachtman, promised some time ago by Pioneer Publishers, is soon to appear. The pamphlet was long delayed due to financial and technical difficulties. It will sell for five cents.

SOCIETY NEWS

(Press Reports)

New York, Nov. 13.—The princess Alexis Mdivani (Barbara Hutton) reached the age of 21 yesterday and received a one-third share of the \$500,000,000 estate left in 1919 by her grandfather, F. W. Woolworth, the five-and-ten-cent store operator.

In her honor, her father, Franklyn Hutton, stock broker, gave a dinner party last night at the Hutton home, 1,020 Fifth Avenue, surrounded by fifty guests at small tables, a Hungarian orchestra and opera singers as entertainers, his daughter made it evident she still felt as she did before the spectacular wedding in Paris, when she told the world: "It's going to be fun to be a Princess".

(Adolph Gerstenzang, forty-eight years old, unemployed chemist, who was to have been dismissed from his apartment at 885 West End Avenue, committed suicide Sunday night by shooting himself.)

Barbara Hutton Mdivani is a happy-go-lucky good natured girl. She is generous, easy-going and fun-loving. She likes to dance—tangoing is her favorite pastime. She usually drives her own car and is fond of horses.

She made her debut in December, 1930, at the Ritz-Carlton. That party, the largest ever given in her honor, cost \$50,000. Silver birch trees were brought from California to transform the great ballroom into a woodland grove, an artificial moon was hung in blue gauze and little stars made to twinkle in the make believe blue heavens.

(Mrs. Maria Bognasco, forty-two year old of 2731 Hughes Avenue, Bronx, was found dead in a gas-filled kitchen of her apartment at 5 p. m. yesterday by Lillian Rock-sagha, a welfare worker. Mrs. Bognasco had turned on all the jets of the kitchen range, leaned against a wash tub and covered her head and the stove with a blanket. She was separated from her husband and was destitute.)

None of the Woolworth heirs—that is, the young ones—know the business end of the huge chain of stores. When the princess Mdivani arrives in any city one of the first things she does is to visit a five-and-ten and buy something in it. It has become a matter of superstition with the family.

(Owen Gallagher, thirty-four year old, an unemployed salesman committed suicide yesterday at his home, 439 Bronxville Road, Yonkers. He left three notes for his wife. He said he had been a "dreamer", unable to provide his wife and their two-year old son with the things they should have had. He urged Mrs. Gallagher not to let their son "hitch his wagon to a star.")

The exact amount of the one-third share in her grandfather's estate to which the Princess became entitled yesterday could not be learned officially, but, allowing for multiplication by time and depletion by depression, it was estimated she would have at least \$20,000,000.

All that could be learned was that she was not taking possession of the entire amount now—only about \$10,000,000 or so. At the time of the wedding the Prince received a dowry, which was never officially revealed but was understood to be an outright gift of \$1,000,000 to the prince together with assurance of an annual allowance of \$50,000.

(On the dump heaps, jagged with scraps of old tin pieces of scrap iron and bits of broken glass, two children played. One was a Negro, the other a white child. It was raining hard, but the Negro child had on nothing but a cotton blouse.

He played with strips of old tin that matched the walls of the shacks around. Inside one of the most nondescript his mother tended his baby sister who lay in a bed of rags, sick "for three days with something bad with his stomach."

This mother is one of the fifteen or twenty women who fled to Hoover City with husbands and children when their morale was beaten down by frequently recurring evictions, when a shack fashioned from scraps of tin boxes, great iron drums, even from the backs of abandoned gas meter boxes, looked like a safe haven against the snow and cold of this coming winter.

"It was either come here or put the kids in a welfare home and try to live without them," said one mother who moved her family of five to the "Tin Mountains" in Brooklyn's Red Hook Section. "We couldn't pay the rent in a flat, although it was only \$9 a month, and feed the kids too.")

"We are very happy," the Princess told the friends who wished her well last night. Prince Alexis also was pleased.

"He is amusing, smart and interesting and he has leisure to devote to his wife," she said.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT! READ SPREAD AND SUPPORT THE MILITANT IT IS YOUR PAPER

A New Light on the United Front

The testimony for the defense of a former Communist deputy at the Leipzig trial incidentally threw a revealing light on the contradictions and vacillations in the policy of the German C. P. regarding the question of the united front with the Social Democracy. Despite the theory of "social Fascism" and the dogma of the "united front only from below" it now appears that private negotiations with Stampfer editor of the **Vorwaerts**, were being undertaken on the eve of the March elections.

Testimony of Neubauer

The **Frankfurter Zeitung** of October 28, 1933 contains an interesting report of the testimony given the previous day in the Reichstag fire frame-up trial by Dr. Theodor Neubauer, former Communist member of the German Reichstag. After informing the court that he had conferred in the Reichstag building with Torgler on February 27 (the day before the fire), and that he had been in a concentration camp since September 7, Neubauer denied that he had ever seen van der Lubbe, the Nazi tool, until entering the court room. Questioned by Dr. Sack, Nazi attorney entrusted with the "defense" of Torgler, Neubauer then went on to explain the subject of his conversation with Torgler the day before the Reichstag fire.

Neubauer stated that he discussed the political situation with Torgler, and especially the question of making contacts to build a united front with the Social Democratic Party. He continued (verbatim translation):

"On the Sunday before the Reichstag fire a foreign newspaper man informed me that the Social Democratic Editor (of the **Vorwaerts**), Stampfer, had tried to make contact with us in a perfectly absurd way. To learn how the C. P. felt about cooperating with the S. P., Stampfer went to an official of the Russian Embassy in Berlin. This official, of course, answered that he had absolutely nothing to say on the question, that for this purpose Stampfer must go not to the Russian Embassy, but to the headquarters of the C. P. Stampfer concluded from this that Moscow was not interested in this question, and so expressed himself to the newspaper man.

Negotiations with Stampfer

When I learned this on Sunday from the foreign newspaper man, I said to my friends that it was inconceivable to me that an old politician like Stampfer couldn't manage to differentiate between the C. P. and an official agency of the Soviet Union which naturally cannot and may not bother with internal German political affairs. I looked up a newspaper man who was in touch with Stampfer and asked him to tell Stampfer that night, between Sunday and Monday, that he had committed a major stupidity and assiduity, and that he should address himself to the right place, that is, to our Party. I offered at the same time to put myself at his service to establish the contact. Then on Monday morning the Social Democratic newspaper man, Prager, informed me that Stampfer was ready to have a talk with us about this in the Reichstag building on Tuesday morning at 10 o'clock. At the time Torgler and I put the greatest value on this conference. Therefore I personally asked Torgler that he come along. After the stupidity that had been committed, I didn't want to deal with Stampfer alone, but thought it important that Torgler be there so no more blunders would be committed....

Dr. Sack then asked Neubauer some other questions and, returning to the question of the united front, Neubauer stated that the creation of such a united front "was the substance of the entire work of the C. P. at that time."

Dr. Sack: Did you mean that in addition to the ballot you would attack by calling out the masses?

Neubauer: —the working class was to oppose the government by strikes in factories and in outdoor actions.

A Journalist As Intermediary

Dr. Neubauer asked the name of the Journalist who informed Neubauer about Stampfer's maneuvers; Neubauer stated that it was Frederic Kuh. (Kuh, at that time representative of the United Press in Berlin, has since been withdrawn by his organization; it has been generally supposed that this was because he is a Jew.—The Editor.)

Asked to explain what sort of actions were contemplated, Neubauer went on as follows:

"The shutting down of all factories as well as of transportation, with the necessary effects on all public life.... These actions could never have had any objective with respect to individual persons, because we were fighting most sharply against any measures of individual terrorism, because we held this to be false in theory and practically every individual action against individual persons we regarded as extraordinary condemnable for labor."

Dr. Seuffert (prosecuting attorney): It is not yet clear how strikes have any effect on crushing Fascism.

Dr. Neubauer: We have the often cited example that in the so-called Cuno Strike a mobilization of the men was enough to turn the government out. We also pointed out that in the Kapp Putsch of 1920, labor went on strike and that this

was the decisive factor in overturning the government. These are instances which were referred to repeatedly by Communist papers in those days and which we placed before the eyes of the workers.

General Strike and Civil War

Chief Prosecuting Attorney: Does the witness know that the C. P. regards a general strike as the last stage before a civil war?

Neubauer: I wouldn't formulate it that way. But I do know that the general strike, in the opinion of the C. I., can under certain conditions lead to civil war. That is not decided by the will of the C. P., but by the measure of its enemies, either the government or those parties who take opposing measures. There have been general strikes without armed insurrection and general strikes with armed insurrection. Its development one way or another does not depend on the will of the C. P.... It is obvious that if the C. P. attains its objective with a simple general strike, it would very gladly abandon the calling of an armed insurrection.

Chief Prosecuting Attorney: Perhaps, but if that doesn't achieve your goal?

Neubauer: The C. P. simply states that in certain situations it is not up to the Party but up to its opponents whether the general strike leads to an armed insurrection.

Chief Prosecuting Attorney: That means, if the opponents defend themselves, then there will be an armed insurrection. After some minor questions by other attorneys, Dimitroff took the floor and asked Dr. Neubauer whether, early in 1933, before the Reichstag fire the German C. P. had posed the task of leading an immediate armed struggle for power. This the witness denied. Asked by Dimitroff what directives he and the Reichstag fraction had with respect to extra-parliamentary action, Neubauer continued:

Aimed at United Front

"The directives for the Reichstag fraction and for all organs of the German C. P. were based on the idea that the whole political development depended on whether or not a united front, a broad mass front of workers, including Social Democratic and Christian workers, could be created against the National Socialists. The whole work was concentrated on this cardinal problem. Nothing whatsoever was said about an impending armed insurrection. I and everybody else at that time would have regarded that as misleading, because the situation was absolutely not such as to enable the Party to do such a thing. Our directives were the building of the united front of labor for strikes, for the solidarity of employed and unemployed.

The prosecuting attorneys next addressed questions to Neubauer with the aim of establishing that the C. P. of Germany never acted except under Moscow's orders, and that it did permit individual terror.

Questions by Dimitroff

Dimitroff thereupon countered with other questions which brought out that the C. I. as well as the German C. P. had always been opposed to individual terror. Neubauer also stated that the decisions of the C. I. "were obligatory and directive. If the German Party had another view, it had to justify that other view before the C. I.... The German Party conducted a very wide campaign some months before the Reichstag fire, to fight against any inclinations in the Party to ward individual terrorism, because we held such inclinations, due either to provocations or the unusual tension of the political situation, to be extraordinarily dangerous. Therefore we ordered that anyone representing such an inclination must be expelled from the party as harmful."

The last question addressed to Neubauer came from Dimitroff.

"When Adolf Hitler came to power on January 30, were the National Socialists in Berlin and Germany engaged in a drive against the Communist movement? Were there not a series of attacks made on workers' organizations?"

Before Neubauer could answer, the Presiding Judge cut in and, despite Dimitroff's objection, suspended further questioning. Asked to take the oath on the testimony he had given, Neubauer refused a religious oath but affirmed the truth of his statements.

Probation for Food Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

minutes in which to present his point of view. The pre-arranged claque of the machine interrupted him constantly with boos and cat-calls, making it difficult for him to be heard in the hall. No extension of time was granted him. The shameful cry of "stool pigeon" was hurled at Gordon by one degenerate after another, and the shouting came loudest from two individuals in particular, the outstanding "Trotsky-baiters" in the union, who scream all the more loudly because of the fact that even in the District Executive Committee of the Communist Party here they have more than once been discussed as suspicious, shady elements who had to be watched.

Then They Sing—the "Internationals"

In a disgraceful mockery, the Stalinists brought the meeting to

Notes of the Week

"Worker, Farmer 'Join Up'"

Worker, Farmer "Join Up!"—is not, as you might suspect, just another Communist slogan. It happens to be the news-head of a story in the daily press. The story deals with the strike of the workers at the George A. Harmed Packing Co. plant in Austin, Minnesota.

The strikers, say the newspapers, "seized the plant, seventh largest in the world.... after a clash with guards. The strikers were aided by members of the Farmer's National Holiday Association." The headline—"Worker, Farmer 'Join Up!'"—merely sums up a cold fact.

And still such a matter-of-fact headline sends a thrill of appreciation down a militant worker's spine. It has within it the portent of a magnificent perspective. It forbodes, by recounting a live incident, such a union of the mass of toilers in this country as will finally spell the doom of the ruling capitalist class.

The productive forces of society on either pole—the farm and in the factory—instinctively join hands! They have many different viewpoints, they may have varying conceptions of property, of law. But they are drawn closer and closer to each other in mutual self-defense against the destructive force of society—in defense against the ravages of capitalism.

The events at Austin, Minnesota bear a striking proof of this inevitable getting-together of workers and farmers. It is spontaneous, as the passion of the fighters themselves. The unity which is to deal the decisive blow for the preservation and defense of humanity in this country is still in the groping stage. More "Austin's" will dot the map as time goes by.

"Joining up" of farmers and workers will become more than a spontaneous outburst. Thinking farmers will give more thought to the idea of linking up their fight for life with that of the city producer.

It will be up to the industrial workers, with all their strike-experience, with all their natural discipline of action and aptness for collective struggle—to give the lead.

Powerful unions, a unified working class policy, and above all—the assimilation of international experience—will do more than anything else to enable American workers to build up and buttress the fighting front of the workers and farmers for a decisive, revolutionary solution of their common problems.

Austin lights the way. It unfolds the possibilities of successful struggle. But it is also an admonition, a challenge to workers to prepare for the opportunities that are bound to arise.

If They Won't Raise 'Em—They'll Stretch 'Em

Not a step that the New Dealers take but has the interests of the working class at heart. Recently they put over Repeal. But, you might ask: What has Repeal to do with the interests of the workers in particular?

The answer is pretty easy. That is, if you've heard of the New York State regulations for the sale of liquor. Bottled drinks are to be sold cash down only. This provision, New York State's dictator of booze—Mr. Mulrooney, who not so long ago had the occasion to show his love for the workers in his capacity as police commissioner of the city—explains, is motivated by a desire to prevent pay envelopes from being emptied out by heaped-up charge accounts. It is, in other words, designed to stretch wages.

NRA and the codes haven't done much to bring about higher pay and guarantee decent living conditions. But the New Dealers are determined to do right by the working man. If NRA and the codes won't do the trick—no doubt the liquor regulations will be of help. No doubt!

If they can't raise wages, then they'll stretch them. —G....n.