

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



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## Toward the New Party

### Internationalism and The A.W.P.

As has already been reported, the National Committee of the Communist League is conducting negotiations with the Provisional Organization Committee of the American Workers' Party. We hope for fruitful results of these negotiations and for the eventual fusion of the two organizations in the great task of launching the new party. Such an outcome of the negotiations would undoubtedly give a tremendous impetus to the reorganization of the proletarian vanguard in America and could not be without effect internationally.

And since, in our conviction, this can only be realized if there is a firm agreement on the fundamental questions of principle—an agreement, moreover, which extends down into the ranks of both organizations—we are bringing out in a series of articles in the *Militant* the point of view which we are advancing in the discussions within the joint committee of the two organizations. The more openly and clearly the points of disagreement are discussed the firmer will be the foundation for eventual fusion if agreement is arrived at.

**The Paramount Question**  
For us, the question of Internationalism is a paramount question as it has always been for revolutionary Marxists. Marx and Engels

began with an international program—the Communist Manifesto. After all that has happened since, after the collapse of the Second International along the line of social patriotism and the downfall of the Comintern along the line of "socialism in one country" (national reformism), there is less ground than ever to think the problems of the proletarian revolution can be approached from a national standpoint. It is from this point of view that we raise the question of the Fourth International as a fundamental consideration in the discussion of a new party in America. We take part in the discussion of a new party in this country not merely as American revolutionists but as internationalists, as adherents of the Fourth International.

**The A. W. P. Program**  
The programmatic statement of the American Workers Party ("Toward an American Revolutionary movement") appears to us to be inadequate and decidedly incorrect in its treatment of the international question and to chart a course which would doom the new party from its inception. The collapse of the Stalinist and Socialist parties in this country, from which the imperative necessity for a new party arises, is not due simply to

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## SPRING FESTIVAL

The last indoor affair of the season to be held by the New York Local of the League will be held on Saturday, March 31st, at Victoria Hall, Irving Place.

This affair will be primarily a dance, with a good band. In addition, we are planning a short program of entertainment. Among the numbers of the program we expect Chief Littlemoose, an American Indian, in a recital of his native dances, and Madame X who will appear in typical gypsy costume prepared to tell you all the pleasant things you want to hear about your fortune.

Keep the date open. Come and bring your friends. Get together. Talk, dance and have a good time generally.

## Big Crowd At Debate

### Cannon and Lovestone Discuss Internationals

Before an audience of 1500 the debate which the Lovestone group had so long evaded occurred. In a packed hall, on Monday evening, March 5th at the Irving Plaza the representative of the Communist Party (Opposition), Jay Lovestone, defended the position of the reform of the Communist International, while James P. Cannon, representing the Communist League, spoke for the formation of the Fourth International. Sidney Hook acted as chairman. At the conclusion of the debate the question which stood outstanding was why the Lovestone group was outside the ranks of the Stalinist party, since such warm defenders of the Stalinist Comintern really deserved to hold a place within it.

Lovestone maintained that with some tactical reforms in the line of the Comintern it could be made to serve the interests of the proletarian revolution.

Cannon in an annihilating reply showed how Lovestone completely ignored the significance of the great events which had occurred internationally in the last year, that Lovestone could just as well have made the same speech two or three years ago with no change. From the rise of Hitler to power in Germany, from the tragic defeat of the Austrian workers in their desperate attempt to defend themselves against Fascism, Lovestone was incapable of drawing any Marxist conclusions. In these events not only social democracy, but also Stalinism had demonstrated its bankruptcy and impotence. Does the working class need the victory of Fascism in a few more countries before the revolutionists will be convinced of the necessity of a new International?

"Yes, it is true, the Communist International has made many mistakes of an ultra-Left character," said Lovestone, "but it is getting better." Cannon had merely to point to the decisions of the 13th plenum of the Comintern which endorsed the whole disastrous course in Germany and to the native Stalinists with their hooligan actions at the recent Madison Square meeting to finish this ridiculous assertion. Stalinism, said Cannon, does not follow only an ultra-Left course but also a Right opportunist one as was manifested in the referendum with the Fascists in Germany and the agreement to refrain from criticism of the social democrats in the united front manifesto of March 1933.

As to the program of the Fourth International, Cannon stated, it won't have any innovations, but will stand on the foundation of the first four congresses of the Communist International and the revolutionary experiences of the last ten years, in other words, on the ideas of Marx and Lenin. Lovestone's attempt to make of the International Communists opponents of the Soviet Union because they fight the Stalinist bureaucracy collapsed dismally. Marxist revolutionists could not be silenced and prevented from speaking the truth by such methods.

Is it to be expected, asked Cannon, that the Stalinist parties which so miserably capitulated before Fascism would be capable of defending the Soviet Union against the attacks of the imperialist bourgeoisie? The answer is obvious. They would prove just as bankrupt. For the defense of the Soviet Union is necessary the creation of new Communist Parties and a new Communist International. —G. R.

## A Statement on the Rakovsky Case - by L.D. Trotsky

*L'Humanité* (organ of the French C. P.—ed) for February 21st published a telegram from Moscow which announces that Rakovsky is giving up his fight and submitting to discipline. Without a doubt this news cannot fail to produce a deep impression among all the workers who knew and followed the old fighter.

It has always been our motto to speak out what is. Even at this time we do not wish either to mitigate or conceal.

The telegram concerning the declaration of Rakovsky tells us, however, that Rakovsky has not "capitulated" after the fashion of Zinoviev, Kameney and Co. He has not recanted a single word of the ideas in whose name he fought together with us. He has not recognized the so-called "mistakes" committed by the Left Opposition. He has not proclaimed the correctness of the official policy. Thus, in the conditions of the U. S. S. R., of which we are well aware, this essential feature of Rakovsky's declaration is exceptionally outstanding. It can only emphasize the fact that Rakovsky, theoretically and politically, has abandoned nothing, nor has he renounced his past.

In an interview with comrade Trotsky on this subject he had the following to say:

"Rakovsky states that he will give up his struggle and submit to discipline. That is the only content of his declaration. In order to understand this declaration in its proper light—and naturally we condemn it—it is necessary to understand the situation in which Rakovsky was placed. In fact he had been placed in a condition of giving up his active struggle three or four years ago. He could neither communicate with his friends, nor write articles, nor receive the literature of the Left Opposition and generally information on the international labor movement. In his complete isolation he remained without any perspective whatsoever.

"Rakovsky's declaration, far from being an ideological or political capitulation, is at the same time not only a highly regrettable but a condemnable fact. Undoubtedly this example will be extensively utilized by the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to draw many of the youth, imprisoned and isolated like Rakovsky, on the path of capitulation not in the manner of Rakovsky but of Zinoviev.

"We have reiterated many times that the restoration of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. can only be accomplished on the international arena. The case of Rakovsky confirms this in a negative but striking manner. The Bolshevik-Leninists in the U. S. S. R. are not aware from the *Pravda* of the burning facts of international life: Hitler's victory, the danger of war, now the crushing of the Austrian proletariat. They have no opportunity of orienting themselves in the true light of these events, nor of discerning the different formations in the workers movement.

"In order to recreate a powerful Internationalist-Communist movement in the U. S. S. R. the struggle of the IV International must take form, become so powerful a factor that the Stalinist bureaucracy will no longer be able to hide it from the Soviet workers, the Bolshevik-Leninists included.

"We register the purely formal declaration of the old warrior, who by his whole life has demonstrated his unshakable devotion to the revolutionary cause; we register it with sadness and pass on to the order of the day, that is to the doubly vigorous struggle for the new parties of the new International."

—INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT  
LEAGUE OF INTERNATIONALIST COMMUNISTS  
(BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS)

## FRENCH INTERNATIONALISTS APPEAL TO THE MASSES

Appeal of the Communist League of France (Bolshevik-Leninists) published in *La Verité* of February 16.

**TO THE WORKERS OF FRANCE!**  
Two forces face each other.

On February 6th the reactionary vermin (Action Française, Jeunes Patriotes, Croix de Feu, Solidarité Française) mutilated. Assured of the support of Chlappe (ex-police commissioner of Paris—Ed.) they exploited the discontent and the chauvinism of a section of the petty bourgeoisie which overthrow the last Left government of Daladier. Its objective: the establishment of a dictatorial regime for the benefit of the big bourgeoisie, the suppression of the workers' rights, the enslavement of the toilers, to sweep away the last remnants of bourgeois democracy; opening the road to complete Fascism, to unleashed chauvinist barbarism, to war.

February 12 saw a magnificent proletarian reply. You have accepted the challenge of the Fascist provocation in a complete general strike, a mass gathering of the proletariat in all the workers' centers of France. Everywhere, the workers of city and country mustered their forces to block the road to reaction and Fascism.

Two forces are measuring their strength. War has begun between them. No peace is possible, but struggle to the death. One must annihilate the other and take power. The period of democracy and parliamentary games is over. The future will be decided in the street by force.

The present government, the Doumergue ministry, is proceeding to the first alignment of bourgeois forces for the establishment of a dictatorship. The inauguration of a period of Bonapartism, the equilibrium between the two hostile camps, will not prove any more stable in France than it was in Germany. Hindenburg made the bed for Hitler, Doumergue can only pave the way for bloody Fascism

on the model of Hitler. WORKERS!...EITHER YOU OR THEY!

Upon your action depends the future of the proletariat and of all society. It depends on you to mobilize all the toiling masses against Fascism as well as a large part of the armed forces of the nation who have been completely disoriented by the present situation.

**HOW SHALL THE STRUGGLE BE CARRIED ON?**

By organizing your forces rapidly. There is not a minute to lose. The heroic example of our Austrian brothers should inspire us to act very quickly; not to wait for the moment chosen by the reactionary provocation and then to put up a desperate struggle.

The magnificent general strike of the 12 of February which enlisted all the workers of France, was not, it must be said, the result of concerted action of all the central organizations of the working class. They acted separately. Workers, it was under your pressure that all of the organizations were finally forced to join the demonstrations. We greet you in this first step, but you must continue your pressure for more far-reaching results.

Joint action was spontaneous on February 12; henceforth it must be organized. That is why our party continues to propose to you:

1. The united front of all organizations of the proletariat in a broad workers' alliance which will coordinate the actions of each of the organizations and unify the struggle against Fascism.
2. The immediate and universal organizations of Committees of the Workers' Alliance grouping the representatives of all the workers' organizations by localities and factories. These committees, basing themselves on all the toiling masses, organized or not, civil and military, will struggle for the dissolution of the Fascist bands. They will also participate in the defense of the

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## N.R.A. and Company Unions

### Corporations Win the Fake "Elections"

Last week the Fifth Avenue Coach Company of New York successfully prevented its 1,450 employees from recording themselves whether they wanted to belong to the A. F. of L. Street Carriers' Union or any other union of their own choice. For this purpose an election had been arranged by the Regional Labor Board. This right of choice is supposed to be accorded all workers under Section 7-a of the NRA. Yet this is not the first case on record of the employers enforcing their interpretation and compelling the acceptance of their company union. The company union vote successfully staged by the Weirton Steel Co. last December, is one of the crassest among several examples which could be cited. There are sure to be more in the future.

#### "Protecting Workers' Rights"

On behalf of a goodly number of the New York Coach Co. employees, the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees had filed a petition with the Labor Board for the right of these workers to decide in a regular election for a union of their own choice. The Labor Board ordered that such elections be held, set the date and designated several polling places. It stated that the board would "protect every worker, who exercised his right to vote, against any and all

efforts at reprisals." What this pretended protection meant to the workers was quite clearly illustrated by the fact that only one dozen of them ventured inside the polling places to cast their vote.

The company had of course taken its measures of reprisals in advance. In the first place it declined altogether to comply with the order of the Labor Board. Secondly, it sent its spotters to all polling places with pads and pencils ready to take down the names of those workers who would exercise their right to vote. Thirdly, the company had given every worker to understand that the employment would terminate for any worker who would avail himself of this right. In this manner it was very easy for the company to make a farce of the election.

#### Weirton Steel Case

The case of the Weirton Steel Co. is another instance of "protection" of the right to union organization under the NRA. Only, in this instance the bosses proceeded much more crudely and flagrantly to enforce the company union provisions. The workers had gone on strike for the right of union organization and had walked out almost to a man. The strike was a splendid display of militancy. It lasted a good many

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## Hard Times Missed Bosses

### "Presidents" Increased Salaries and Bonuses

It is one of the well-known characteristics of modern imperialism that the finance capitalists, by their interlocking directorates, by spreading the shares of a company into many hands, and by means of complicated systems of holding companies, are able to control many industries which they themselves own only partly. This enables them to milk these industries to their heart's content, either through financial jugglery of these companies, or by paying themselves fancy salaries and bonuses.

A corner of the curtain screening the latter method was lifted by the publication, by the Federal Trade Commission (New York Times of Feb. 27, 1934), of the "salaries" and "bonuses" which were paid to the officers of various large corporations.

#### Hill Draws A Mere Million

It will interest the workers in the tobacco industry to know that G. W. Hill, President and Director of the American Tobacco Co. was paid \$805,613 in 1929, and \$1,051,630 in 1931, despite the fact that out of 106,000 workers in the industry in 1929, only 88,000 were employed in 1931 (16.2 per cent unemployed); and that average wages for the employed were cut from \$818 per year in 1929 to \$690 per year in 1931 (15.3% reduction).

It will probably gladden the hearts of the workers in the foundries and machine shops to know that despite the fact that the number of workers in this industry was reduced from 454,000 in 1929 to 285,000 in 1931 (37.2% unemployment) and that average wages for the employed were cut from \$1,535 per year in 1929 to \$1,150 per year in 1931 (a 25% reduction)—in spite of that, B. L. Patterson, President and Director of the American Machine and Foundry Co. received as salary and bonus \$270,980 in 1929 and \$294,211 in 1931.

#### Schwab Gets A Raise

In the Steel industry, of the 419,000 workers in 1929, 278,000 were employed in 1931 (33.7% unemployed); wages, which averaged \$1,745 in 1929 were cut to \$1,290 in 1931 (a 26.1% reduction). The same steel workers will no doubt rub their hands in glee when they hear that Charles Schwab, director and chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Co. was paid a \$150,000 salary in 1929 and \$250,000 in 1931. Bitter tears will be shed when it is known that E. G. Grace director and President of that company, who received \$1,635,653 in 1929 was forced to accept a paltry \$297,796 in 1931. The cup of joy, however, will once more flow over when it is announced that Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the Finance Commission of the U. S. Steel Corporation who was paid \$209,361 in 1929, was rewarded with \$241,357 in 1931. The Youngstown workers who can speak first hand about the unemployment and wage-cutting in that city from 1929 to 1931, will probably be interested

to know that J. A. Campbell, President, Director, and Chairman of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., who was paid \$100,000 in 1929, received \$191,006 in 1931.

#### Hardship For Some "Captains"

Not all "captains" of industry were able to raise their "salaries and bonuses" during this period. Sad as it may seem, some had to be cut. There is the case of poor Alexander Legge, President and Director of the International Harvester Co., who received \$612,860 in 1929 and a paltry \$63,673 in 1931. (Of the 42,000 workers in that industry in 1929 only 18,000 were working in 1931, 57.1% unemployed, and the average pay of \$1,400 per year in 1929 was cut to \$1,090 per year in 1931, 24.3%). Then there is poor Jesse J. Straus, President and Director of R. H. Macy and Co. who was paid \$139,240 in 1929 and had his pay cut in 1931 to—\$137,110.

The list could be continued, but the picture would not vary much. For the workers, in all cases, unemployment and wage cuts. For the magnates of industry, big fat "salaries" and "bonuses", even though in a number of cases they may be getting less than they received in 1929. Out of some 300 names published in the *N. Y. Times*, one has to search with great care in order to find, "salaries and bonuses" as low as \$20,000. The majority are over \$100,000, and what is of importance is that this is only part of the income which these gentlemen "earn" through dividends and other sources.

Millions suffer so that a handful of individuals can live in the lap of luxury.

Such a system can be changed. It must be changed. (Note: Figures on employment and wages are from the U. S. Census Bureau, which certainly cannot be accused of exaggerating unemployment or wage cutting.)

—W.—R.

## NEXT WEEK!

### CENTRISM AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

This is the subject of an article by comrade Leon Trotsky just received at the office of the *Militant*. It is now in process of translation and will be featured in the next issue of our paper.

## OPEN FORUM

BARNEY HERMAN  
on

THE TRADE UNION POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY—OPPOSITION (Lovestone Group).

at

International Workers School  
126 East 16th Street,  
New York City  
SUNDAY, MARCH 11, at 8 P. M.



# C.W.A. NEWS

## C.W.A. Lay-Offs

85,000 workers have been laid off in New York State from the CWA rolls in the last two weeks. 24,000 more are due for the pink slips this Friday. The role of the capitalist press has been one of misinformation from the very beginning of the CWA, tending with their blarney to give "a happy feeling", by statements of millions and hundreds of millions being spent on the unemployed. Every day different figures are issued. Each day swells the sums of money granted to the CWA. Have the CWA workers actually received these "generous" grants, or has it been a hoax, a stinking piece of capitalism's haggling as to how a worker should starve, either with the aid of their "relief agencies" or minus their pittance.

In the Press, as Feb. 15 was approaching, the scribes of the local papers, howled their sorrowful hearts out, shedding a tremendous amount of glycerine tears over their fears as to what would happen should the CWA fold up and silently steal away. It was a question with them, as to who should pay for the "civil and public works"; since it was the Government at Washington that was doling out the miserable jobs and paying the \$13.44 a week they felt that the CWA should continue, until the weather was balmy, and when the weather was balmy, jobs would somehow be available.

Everybody learned to use the phrase "seasonal work". In the winter—it is snow, in the summer—it must be sunshine. If the statements of the "liberal" Miss Perkins means anything, it means that jobs in the last month fell off 1%. Where and how is the "slack" to be taken up.

The capitalist press does not say and it cannot say: its role is not that of advising the workers, but of keeping up a sham, to chide Washington for the bad job it is doing for the unemployed. We know its role, and knowing it—we should not be taken in by their jocular and hilarious news from day to day.

From the very beginning, the authorities of the CWA promised us jobs at our trades. First we began to dig ditches 9 days a month, at 40 dollars then when the Government took it over, we were given 12 days a month at 60 dollars, which was cut down two months ago to \$53.76. More workers are losing their jobs, greater unemployment is in sight, but the capitalist press, in line with the CWA authorities and the Washington administration, show themselves in the first line trenches against any of these "ameliorations".

The CWA will not last to May 1, the end is already in sight: through the winter we did all sorts of non-sensical work, having absolutely no social value; today we have pink slips and the home relief again.

We must again raise the slogan of Unemployment Insurance and wage a real fight for it! —C. W. A.

## Hillside Park

At Hillside Park, Long Island, a very large crew is at work bringing it to completion. It is a windswept place and on these days bitterly cold, frozen ears, fingers and feet being very common. If it is raining or snowing we are laid off.

Immediately and told we can make up the hours on the other shift. The straw bosses here drive the workers unusually hard. Lack of clothing adds greatly to the misery of many. Rackets run rampant all over the park. Workers are given to understand that it wouldn't hurt to buy some tickets of one kind or another. Foreign workers are discriminated against. It is a very long walk to work. Busses should be supplied to connect with other means of transportation. Wages are cut and more are to come. Organization is absolutely necessary in order to stay on jobs and win better working conditions, as other CWA crews have already done.

—C.

## Inwood Park

The Process of "tapering off" is now in full swing. One half million workers on the CWA all over the country, have already felt the heavy blows of the Roosevelt "tapering" machine. The bludgeons of our "charitable bourgeoisie" are falling. The "fruits" of five years of struggle of the unemployed, struggle for bread, for the mere means of life, is now on the way back to the treasuries and the banks. No more money is destined "to flow" for CWA or any one of their damned alphabetical organizations, unless we tear it from them.

Before the mass of workers are laid off on any project, the usual procedure is first, to find out who is active among the workers, to find the militants: they are the first to go! Without the leaders, without a steering committee, without those who have the experience and the knowledge for fighting back, for leading the CWA workers into the trenches, they feel, then, the job will be easy, the workers will take their pink slips grumble a little and quietly go home. At Inwood Park last Monday a dozen workers, active in organizing the project were handed the pink slips. One of them insisted on being told the reason for his dismissal, and he was told, told that he was a "troublemaker". They are very much concerned: troublemakers mean FIGHT! Organization! They do not want that.

On Friday, March 2, at P. S. 52, Broadway and Academy, near the Inwood Park project, a mass meeting will take place under the auspices of the Association of Civil Works Employees, protesting the firing of these 12 workers, and to take up the further organization against the "tapering off" of the CWA. All CWA must realize that there is little time left to daily around! Now is the time to unify our ranks against the plans of the Roosevelt machine, to counter these layoffs with demonstrations that will make our genial politicians quake: now is the TIME TO ORGANIZE!

—ROSS.

## C.W.A. "Separations"

How are the CWA workers being laid off? They are given discharge slips and told to stay home, until they send them a post card to appear before some committee. But this is just a farce. The workers never receive a card nor does he meet with any committee. He finds himself out on the street and without a job.

The worker then, without the

## Another Preparedness Parade in Frisco

Dear Comrade:

I wish to record, as best I may, a little of the mingled feelings of various moods surging through mind and body yesterday when I witnessed, after a lapse of almost 18 years, a repetition and duplication of the former attempt to whip the country into line via staging a "Preparedness" parade through the heart of San Francisco.

I stood, watching the march, just about a block distant from the point where I watched the preparedness day parade in 1916, and was, therefore, fully able to contrast the two events, calculated to make our patriotic and respectable citizens war minded.

### The Parade of 1916

The parade, its formation and line of march, its general character and purpose, and possibly some of the marchers in its ranks, were about the same as in 1916, but there was a noticeable something different apart from the parade itself—something lacking, something parallel to a tin-type of the former event, a striking absence of enthusiasm, a sort of purely mechanical effort on the part of both marchers and public notwithstanding the effort of a few to throw out their chests here and there.

In 1916 the event found 90% of the public doffing their hats as "Old Glory" passed—anyone failing to do so was liable to be engaged in an argument, and possible scrap, or at least, have one's hat knocked off. The percentage seemed to me yesterday to be just reversed, and those within my observation at least, appeared as if ashamed to be seen doing so, acting somewhat similar to the little animal usually found with the organ grinder who, in a somewhat furtive manner, quickly doffs his headpiece and as quickly recovers.

The local dignitaries leading the march in a large comfortable automobile were the Mayor (Ross), Catholic City Administrator (Cleary, Catholic) and Archbishop Hanna (also Catholic). Followed various Army and Navy sections, then a raft of fraternal organizations, winding up with about 150-200 CWA (on foot) carrying pointed shovels, and said to be receiving 50c per, for marching!

### No Bomb This Time

Two circumstances were noticeable. The first: The march was pulled off at 2 P. M. Saturday afternoon; the street (Market St.) appeared not much more populated than on any ordinary Saturday afternoon. The second noticeable comparative event was the absence of any "preparedness day bomb"—for which former event an innocent

post card, calls on the CWA office, requesting that he be put back on the job. They tell him that he is not fired, but that he no longer works for the CWA. That he has "only been separated". The "separation" is from the miserable wages that he has been existing on, and from this "he has been separated."

At 79th St. and Riverside Drive many have been "separated", all over New York as in the rest of the country, "separation" is the word. We must not allow them to do this: we must fight back.

—A. W. C.

man has already served 18 years. As I watched, various thoughts percolated through my mind,—history, Marx, the State, Capitalism, Church, Proletariat, Nazism, Christianity, Barnum—all were unfolding in miniature before me—in this parade, and then: The CWA carrying pointed shovels! I wondered if the significance of this effect reacted on others who were watching the same thing—the proletariat becoming the gravediggers of capitalism!

—GEO. ELLIS.

## Aftermath of the Garden Affair

To the Editors of the Militant: Dear Comrades:

I suppose that you are interested in the attitude of the workers to the Communist Party after the Madison Square Garden meeting held in sympathy with the Austrian workers which the Communist party broke up.

The day after the meeting I had a discussion with a group of workers in my shop. Three of the workers were Socialists, and about five were Left wingers who sympathized with the Stalinists. During the discussion the Socialists tried to find reasons why the Communists acted as they did. They claimed that the S. P. called the meeting on such short notice that the C. P. was unable to participate in the United Front. The Left wingers rallied against the S. P., calling them Fascists and betrayers of the Austrian workers and the working class in general. I took the point of view that if the Party came to the meeting they were to sit at the meeting and listen and be orderly.

### A Stalinist Argument

One hot-headed Stalinist got excited and asked who I was. Another worker gave her the information that I was a Trotskyite. So she shouted "counterrevolutionary renegade", and with a mouth full of saliva spit me in the face. I was so stunned for a moment that I did not know what to do. By the time I had recovered, the workers had taken her away.

The next day a committee of two of the workers came over to me and asked me to please go down to lunch a few minutes earlier, and to come up not later than 12:30. I went, and when I came back they told me that some of the workers in the shop had held a meeting and that they came to the following decision: that she either apologize to me in the presence of the whole shop, or that she leave the shop. The worker apologized.

Of course this worker lost out by her method of discussion, and so did the influence of the Left wing. I hope that the workers will learn that by calling the Trotskyite names and spitting them in the face they will not bring about the revolution that they are fighting for.

Comradely,  
A WORKER IN AN  
I. L. G. W. U. SHOP.

## The Daily Worker and The Hotel Strike

Dear Friends:

The "Daily Worker" of March 5 contains an article attacking the recent New York hotel workers' strike. In this article I am mentioned as "a member of the Trotsky group." I am glad to save you the embarrassment, should you find it such, of disowning me.

At the same time, I should like to point out that, while undoubtedly the "Daily Worker" would have yelled "sell-out" no matter what the outcome of the strike, many criticisms they make of the Right wing leadership of the strike and of B. J. Field might well have been lifted from my article in a recent issue

## The Cuban Bolshevik-Leninists

We have just received the first issue of *Rayo* (flash, ray), official organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba, section of the International Communist League. It is an eight page tabloid and contains important material.

The leading article entitled "Beware of Adventures", makes a careful study of the present political situation in the island, warning against the present putschistic attempts of the Stalinists who, in spite of a formidable decline in their influence and prestige since last September, are now calling for the seizure of power. Another analytical article draws the balance sheet of the Grau San Martin regime and of the Communist Party policy which led to the massacre of Sept. 29 when Mella's funeral was supposed to be the signal for an insurrection.

There is an important report on Bolshevik-Leninist Party in Oriente, the organizational activity of the Easternmost province of Cuba. Our comrades have been able to build up an extensive organization with units in most of the important

of the Nation which they condemn so hotly. Of course, I did not charge a sell-out and the whole spirit and purpose of my criticisms was different; I wanted the strike to be won, the "Daily" wanted it to be lost so it could denounce somebody. Indeed, they might have been lifted from the Militant, and it was because The Militant criticized those leaders in a forthright manner (quite different from the slanderous, lying, disruptive attacks peculiar to the "Daily Worker" and the 18th St. "union") that I called it "the clearest voice" of the progressive elements in the strike committee. The lumping together by the "Daily Worker" of J. P. Cannon, The Militant and an independent writer, with Field, Caldwell, the Right wingers, Ham Fish, Woll, La Guardia, Herrick, Weasel Duffy, is the good old C. P. habit of seeing everything outside its ranks as one reactionary mass.

I should like to make one point here for which I had no space in the Nation. The "Daily Worker" kicks up quite a fuss about the failure of the strike leadership to provide relief. I leave it to The Militant to report what the progressive group said on this matter. On my own behalf, however, I wish to state that I carried on a constant agitation vis-a-vis Messrs. Field and Giltow against their negligence on the relief question. I offered to help set up a committee of strike sympathizers to raise relief, but for days I was given the run-around. When a committee was finally set up, I induced friends to give considerable time to help put over the job. They found that the whole approach of the union leaders to this question was such that no effective work could be done. When I complained to Field about this state of affairs he had no time to discuss the matter with me or to listen to my proposals for reorganizing this work.

I am not aware that the "Daily Worker" or the 18th St. union did anything constructive on the question of relief or on any other question. Their howl at this time is entirely one of spurious indignation.

Sincerely,  
—HERBERT SOLOW.

P. S. The "Daily" refers to me as a former editor of The Menorah Journal. I do not know whether or not that is supposed to make me blush, but it does not. I recall that my attack on Zionism, which several years ago led the Editor of the Menorah Journal to force me out, was reprinted in the Freiheit, Yiddish organ of the C. P. as the praiseworthy expression of "an honest intellectual." I also recall that the John Reed Club, quite reluctantly it is true, once adopted a unanimous resolution sustaining me and a dozen other writers who had complained that John Reed Club members had broken our strike against the Menorah Journal.

## PLEDGE FUND

A number of our members and sympathizers, impatient at the occasional skipping of an issue and interested in helping to overcome the difficulties have expressed a desire to pledge a definite weekly or monthly sum to assure the regular appearance of the MILITANT.

Toward this end we are starting a PLEDGE FUND. The Fund will be administered by the business manager of the MILITANT separately from the general funds of the organization. In this manner we hope to establish a guarantee of the regular appearance of the MILITANT.

Each week the MILITANT will carry a list of the pledgers numbered consecutively in the order in which they are received.

The first to pledge is comrade Paul King of the Brooklyn Br., New York Local. Next week we hope to be able to print a few more names.

# GoldinClique in BlindAlley

## UnscrupulousPolicyEndangers Unity in Blockers Union

New York.—The rump elections in the Blockers' Local of the Millinery Union were finally held on Mon., Feb. 26, according to the wishes of the corrupt Goldin clique in combination with the Stalinist United Front Committee. By this move, this partnership played its last card and revealed its complete bankruptcy.

### Genuine Revolt Against Zaritsky

The total number of votes cast is reported to be close to one thousand. This proves that the revolt against Zaritsky's machine was genuine and deeply rooted among the blockers. But this revolt was misdirected and led into a blind alley. Goldin and his henchmen elected to office find themselves without any power. The workers who participated in the elections to register their protest against Zaritsky's abuse of their democratic rights, will not follow Goldin in the next logical step; the setting up of a rival union. The blockers have gone through this experience once before, and they have learned the meaning of it. They know, that as

long as their revolt is localized within the confines of one craft in the industry, the attempt to set up a rival union would be a criminal adventure certain to end in catastrophe for the workers.

In the elections the blockers voted for the Goldin clique as an expression of indignation against the Zaritsky machine. But the blockers also remember the kind of democracy they enjoyed under a Goldin administration. They remember well his gangster methods of intimidating militant workers, his use of police to keep them out of meetings, the favoritism he practiced in the distribution of jobs. The workers used the election as a vehicle to express their protest. But they will not follow Goldin any further.

### Stalinist Bloc with Goldin

Prior to the elections and in the election campaign the "United front committee" was merged with the Goldin clique so completely, that in all its literature it did not have a single word of criticism against this corrupt outfit. The election leaflet of the U. F. C. calls for the election of its leader I. Waldman for organizer, but left the posts of the other two organizers for the Goldin clique to fill. Two days after the elections the first signs of disagreement in the partnership became evident. The report of the elections, printed in the Stalinist organ the Freiheit, concludes with the following phrase: "...between Zaritsky and Goldin there is no disagreement in principle, they are conducting a struggle for power."

Why this sudden discovery? When we pointed thus out long before, we were condemned as "renegades" by these same people. If there is no difference in principle between Goldin and Zaritsky, then on what basis did the Stalinists arrive at their decision to support Goldin? The answer to this sudden discovery will be found in the election results. While the Stalinist "United front" played fair with Goldin, leaving for him two out of three paid jobs on the ballot, Goldin double-crossed them, nominated and elected his own complete slate of officers, giving the Stalinists only two out of 15 places on the executive board. Now, after this rough deal they got from Goldin, it suddenly dawned upon the Stalinists that Goldin has no principles, that he is only fighting for power.

### Sudden Concern for Principles

This sudden concern with principles on the part of Goldin's Stalinist partners of the "United Front Committee" will not be taken seriously by the blockers. The workers have seen how these Stalinist demagogues gave their unqualified support to Goldin at the mass meetings and in the press. At no time in the entire struggle was there a distinction in policy or phraseology between them and Goldin.

Zaritsky in the meantime, issued a decree ordering all blockers to register in the reorganized blockers local and to exchange their membership books for new ones. This means, that all those who fail to comply with the order will be deprived of their jobs, and will no longer be considered members of the International Union.

The Stalinists have been thrown into complete confusion. On the one hand they had a falling out with their partner in misleadership, Goldin. To register in Zaritsky's reorganized local, on the other hand, would mean a complete capitulation; it would mean no admission that their policy proved to be bankrupt. What is more if they come back to the International Union with a demand for democratic election, Zaritsky can always throw it up to them that they had already held their "elections".

The course of the "U. F. C." and Goldin, as we pointed out in the last issue of the Militant, weakens the genuine struggle against Zaritsky's machine rule.

### The United Blockers' League

The United Blockers League, the only group among the blockers which foresaw this very clearly from the outset and warned the blockers against this splitting course, is the only group remaining in the field, capable of an effective struggle against Zaritsky and for a democratically run class-struggle union. The United Blockers League embraces in its ranks Left wing and progressive workers, who proved in the critical moment to be able to advance a correct program, who did not discredit themselves through shady alliances with any of the cliques, who steered their own clear consistent course of relentless struggle against both, the clique of Goldin and Company and that of Zaritsky and his henchmen.

We urge the blockers to take the only possible way out: To heal the wounds of the branch in their ranks, to reunite the local, to group themselves in the united local around the United Blockers League, demand democratically run elections and spread the fight to the other locals of the International, Zaritsky and his machine will be swept out of power only by the united efforts of all the Left wing Militants.

—A BLOCKER.

# Militant Builders

## 789 Subs!

The Club Plan sub drive took another leap upward since our last report. The list below tells the story. The complete record up to date is as follows:

New York Local	384
Minneapolis Br.	88
Kansas City Br.	48
Pittsburgh Br.	32
L. Brown	20
Boston Br.	16
J. Hamilton	12
A Teacher	12
Chicago Br.	12
Youngstown Br.	12
Chicago Friends of Militant Club	8
Davenport Br.	8
D. Marcus	8
D. L.	8
J. Ruby	8
G. Papcun	8
S. Hardy	8
L. Goodman	6
Q. Parker	6
G. Kotz	6
M. Hurwitz	5
Buffalo Br.	4
G. Ellis	4
D. Fogel	4
M. Gendelman	4
C. Hoffman	4
T. Mill	4
Philadelphia Br.	4
Salt Lake City Br.	4
W. Toupin	4
H. Sukut	4
D. O'Dwyer	4
M. Steinbach	4
M. McLeod	4
St. Louis Br.	4
L. Murphy	4
M. Koehler	4
C. Genfan	4
R. Carlson	4

TOTAL 789

Only 211 subs to go and we will reach our goal of one thousand new subs through the Club Plan. Can we do it in two weeks? We think so. We are counting on all those Militant Builders in the list above and those who have not yet swung into action to put the drive over the top.

# Shachtman Tour

Sun., March 11th—Buffalo N. Y.  
Mon., March 12th—Pittsburgh, Pa.  
Tues., March 13th—Pittsburgh, Pa.  
Wed., March 14th—Newcastle Pa.  
Thurs., March 15th—Youngstown O.  
Fri., March 16th—Youngstown, O.  
Sat., March 17th—Cleveland Ohio  
Sun., March 18th—Chicago, Ill.  
Mon., March 19th—Chicago, Ill.  
Tues., March 20th—Chicago, Ill.  
Wed., March 21st—Chicago Ill.  
Thurs., March 22nd—Chicago, Ill.

## THE MILITANT

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Arne Swabeck

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# THE I.L.D. IN THE CAPITALIST COURTS

Boston.—On Feb. 22, David Udell of the Boston branch of the Left Opposition and a member of the Young Communist League (Stalinists) named Cohen, were arrested for distributing leaflets outside a Socialist party meeting held to protest against Austrian Fascism. The course and outcome of the case are a clear revelation of the degenerate character of the International Labor Defense under Stalinist rule. Comrade Udell had been distributing leaflets advertising the meeting which comrade Max Shachtman of New York was to address; Cohen was distributing bulletins for the Workers' (Stalinist) School. Immediately after the arrest comrade Konikov of the Left Opposition called a bail commissioner by phone from the police station. Before the commissioner arrived, another commissioner, called the I. L. D., came in. Comrade Konikov offered him a check to cover the bail bond for both Udell and Cohen, the Stalinist. The I. L. D. commissioner refused the check, but accepted a bank book provided by another comrade. Konikov then paid the bail for both defendants with cash.

Next morning before court opened, Burke, Boston leader of the I. L. D. offered to defend Udell along with Cohen. Udell accepted, placing his defense in the hands of the I. L. D. Burke also offered to defend four Socialists arrested earlier in the week for distributing leaflets. The Socialists refused. Burke managed to get a postponement until Feb. 26.

The Socialists offered a technical defense, saying they had not distributed

leaflets but had merely held them, allowing people to help themselves. One of them added that he is "a good Christian", was born in this country, and that Socialists are peace-lovers. Burke and other Stalinists in the court mocked the Socialists after their trial, accusing them of "belly-crawling and sniveling." Burke invited them to be at the Udell-Cohen trial and witness a "real workers' defense."

Burke took Udell to the I. L. D. office to go over the defense with a lawyer; on the way he told Udell stories of previous trials and the I. L. D.'s record of making "real Communist defenses." Udell waited at the office several hours but no lawyer appeared. He was told to go away and call up the next morning to arrange a meeting with the lawyer, Cohen and another Stalinist arrested on a similar charge. When he called up he was told the I. L. D. would not handle his case. No explanation was offered.

When his case came up Udell took a militant, class-conscious line. Although given little opportunity to talk, he brought out that he was arrested not for distributing leaflets but for distributing leaflets for a workers' organization. He pointed out that capitalist politicians are never molested for distributing leaflets during their political campaigns.

The Cohen case, defended by the I. L. D., came up next. Those who had mocked the Socialists now proceeded to ape them. Cohen argued that he had been on a step, not on the sidewalk, and that therefore the police had no right to ar-

rest him. The I. L. D. lawyer argued that Cohen was not distributing a leaflet but a school catalogue, and wound up by pleading for leniency on the grounds that Cohen is a youth (the youth are so easily misled!). Both defendants were found guilty and fined \$5 each.

Another Stalinist tried the same morning denied that he had distributed leaflets or that he knew anything about the C. P. He said that somebody had rushed by and thrust the leaflets in his hands; he then pocketed them and did not learn their nature until his arrest. He was found guilty, fined \$5 and agreed to pay.

Udell and Cohen decided to appeal. Apparently expecting an acquittal, the I. L. D. was at this point caught by surprise. It had made no agreements for bail. Again comrade Konikov put up bail for comrade Udell and also for Cohen, the Stalinist.

After the trial Cohen, the Stalinist defendant, said that the I. L. D. had fought on technicalities in order to take advantage of the "opportunities" offered by the bourgeois courts. He promised that at the next trial the I. L. D. will make a "Communist defense." Interestingly enough, Burke who had boldly invited the Socialists to be present, was himself absent from the trial.

Thus the I. L. D. has again proven itself to be a thoroughly partisan organization, a creature of the C. P. not interested in the fate of workers who dare to criticize the Stalinist regime, and quite willing to compromise principle in order to try to get a man off from a \$5 fine.



# ARE THERE LIMITS TO THE FALL?

The plenum of the Executive of the C. I. which met toward the end of December passed a resolution ("Fascism, the War Danger, and the Tasks of the Communist Parties"). This resolution resembles nothing so much as an epitaph—"Here lie buried the last remains of what was once the party of the international proletariat." The absence of any general guiding conception whatsoever is attested to in this resolution. But where could such a conception possibly have come from? Scraps of old zigzags have been carelessly pieced together to serve as directives for the working class of the world. The only thing that remains for criticism is to expose the insufficiency of each of the elements separately and their mutual incompatibility as a whole.

## "The Policy of the German C. P. Was Correct!"

1. The resolution once again takes a solemn oath—evidently there are a few who do not believe it!—that the policy of the German Communist Party was unconditionally correct before, during, and after the Hitler overturn. We are told, however, in a parenthesis, that Krenn and Neumann belong to the "right opportunists and defeatists in their appraisal of the perspectives of the German Revolution." If this is not a miracle, what is? During the last few years, the leadership of the German Communist Party had been officially entrusted by the Comintern to three persons: Thaelmann, Krenn and Neumann (one can glean this even from the last edition of the German "encyclopaedia"). Now we are informed, in a fleeting remark, that two members of this triumvirate that led the German party "correctly" before and during the overturn accidentally turn out to be "opportunists and defeatists." Only the thick walls of a Fascist jail shield the third member against such an accident. But actually, whom are the leaders of the Comintern making fools of? Are they, perhaps, ridiculing themselves?

## The Growth of Fascism

2. According to the resolution, "The growth of Fascism and its assumption of power in Germany, and in a number of other capitalist countries, imply a growth of the revolutionary crisis and increasing indignation of wide masses against the hegemony of capital." Commonly this is called covering up one's tracks. It is an old story by now that the growth of Fascism would be impossible without the growth of the social crisis of capitalism. But Hitler's victory ("the assumption of power by Fascism") did not at all arise from the "indignation of wide masses against the hegemony of capital" but from the impotence of these masses, who have been paralyzed by reformism, and adventurism; by the lack of revolutionary leadership, and by the despicable and criminal policy of the Comintern. "No Stalin—no victory for Hitler." No bureaucratic subterfuges can cover up either the depth of the German defeat or the responsibility of the Comintern.

## The Social Democracy

3. "The social democracy—reads the resolution—aims only to fool and disarm the workers by denying the Fascization of bourgeois democracy and by counterposing in principle (!) the democratic countries to the countries with the Fascist dictatorship." By intentionally jumbling together questions of different orders, this muddled formulation serves the same purpose: to justify the "correct" policy of the German Communist Party which, during the epoch of Braun-Severing-Breuning, asserted that Fascism was already victorious, because there is no "principled" difference between the regime of social democracy and the regime of National Socialism. Apparently these gentlemen do not know themselves what they understand by a "principled difference." Let us assist them. Czarism was the state rule of the feudal landowners and of large capital. The Provisional Government of the February Republic remained also the rule of the landowners and large capital. Was there a "principled" difference between the two? Obviously, no. If so, was it worth while to make the February Revolution? Or to put it differently: Is it permissible to attach any sort of "principled" significance to the February revolution? Yet, without the February revolution, the October revolution would have been impossible. Large capital ruled in Germany under the vile democracy of Mueller-Severing-Breuning; large capital rules under Hitler. Clearly, there is no "principled" difference between these two regimes. Yet, after the Fascist overturn, the proletariat found itself deprived of all means of defense and offense.

## The Reasoning of Anarchism

The 13th Plenum offers us the classic reasoning of its primitive dumbness; Messrs. Kuusinen, Manulsky and so forth are no anarchists; they place much too great a value upon the aid of the G. P. U. in the struggle against revolutionary Marxists. But by the logic of their mistakes, subterfuges, and denials they have arrived at anarch-

ist philosophy: changes of political regimes are, if you please, without any "principled" meaning! No doubt, those Communists who are sitting not in Hotel de Luxe but in the concentration camp see these matters differently.

4. The resolution teaches us that the difference between social democracy and Fascism involves only the "forms and methods of Fascization". That's all! In contradistinction to Fascists, social Fascists "defend the preservation of parliamentary forms while putting through the Fascization of the bourgeois dictatorship." But on account of these "forms and methods", Fascism wages a struggle against the social democracy not for life but to death, murdering its leaders, seizing houses and funds, and committing workers to concentration camps. We know that the social democracy is a party which adapts itself to every political power, and which crawls on its knees even before the crowned representatives of the ruling classes; why is it, may we ask, that this utterly opportunist party which strives for Fascization becomes the victim of Fascism, instead of adapting itself to it? Is it only because of non-principled "forms and methods"? The perspicacious leaders of the Comintern took note of "parliamentary forms" but they forgot about the political and economic organizations of the proletariat. Not by a single word do they recall that the social democracy can neither live nor breathe—that is, it cannot exploit democracy nor betray the workers—without leaning upon the political and trade union organizations of the working class. Concurrently, it is precisely along this line that the irreconcilable contradiction between social democracy and Fascism takes place; precisely along this line does there open up the necessary and unbridgeable stage of the policies of the united front with the social democracy. Its attempt to leap over this stage cost the Comintern its head.

## A Provoking Idiocy

g. "The social democracy—in the words of the resolution—continues to play the role of being the chief social (!) support of the bourgeoisie also in those countries where an open Fascist dictatorship exists." It is difficult to imagine an idiocy more provoking. The social democracy was driven from all its positions, entirely overwhelmed and trampled underfoot precisely because it had ceased to be of service as a support for the bourgeoisie. The place of the workers' bureaucracy that leaned upon the reformist organizations of the proletariat and received fat bribes from the hands of finance capital has been taken by Fascist thugs who lean upon the unbribed petty bourgeoisie. The essence of the overturn consisted in supplanting one "social support" by another "social support"—if one were to use the terminology of the leaders of the Comintern: in reality what they have in mind is not social but political support.

Evidently, the wise-acs wish to express the idea that what Fascism leans upon is the lack of confidence of the workers in themselves; and that reformism bears the guilt for this abject condition of the proletariat. Historically, this is true. But it is also true that the Comintern was founded in 1919 in order to liquidate the fatal influence of the social democracy. Up to 1923 the Comintern fulfilled this task successfully. Since then, for the last 10 years, it has been systematically sliding downward.\* By compromising the revolutionary methods in the consciousness of the toiling masses, the Comintern provided one of the most important conditions for the victory of Fascism. This does not, of course, imply that the Comintern, today, plays the role of being "the chief social support" of Hitler; but this does imply that to overthrow Hitler, it is necessary to finish with the Comintern.

## A Phantom Universe

6. "But—the resolution comforts us—it (the social democracy) is already in process of decomposition in the majority of countries." In a brief communication of the 13th Plenum, the British Communist Party is advised to "redouble the struggle for the united front, attracting into it workers who still (!) follow the Labor party and the trade union bureaucracy." The little word "still" completely exposes

\* Some of our critics have the following to say on this score: under Lenin, it appears, everything was fine, but after his death, everything went to the dogs; so where does Marxism come in here? The causes for the bureaucratic degeneration of the U. S. S. R. and the Comintern have been long since disclosed by us; no one has offered any other explanations; but the objective historical processes are realized through people; and specific personal influences can hasten or retard these processes. It remains an incontestable historical fact that Lenin's illness was widely utilized by the bureaucratic reaction and that it prepared a road for itself by means of the rabid struggle against "Trotskyism"

## Summary of the 13th Plenum of the Executive of the C.I. by L. D. Trotsky

the phantom universe that the bureaucrats of the Comintern inhabit. The British Communist party is a sorry myth. And on the other hand, the party of the Laborites, covered with betrayals, is preparing once again to assume power, for new betrayals. In 1926-1927, the Proletariat numbered a "million" workers in the ranks of the Left wing in the trade unions. Nothing has remained today of this movement. We shall not speak of the collapse of the German party which—alas!—will not be saved by the efforts of a few hundred or thousands self-sacrificing workers.

In France the split of the Socialist party did not help the decomposing Communist party a hair's breadth. The Unitary trade unions dropped from half a million to less than 200,000, while the reformist grew from 300,000 to 800,000. In Belgium the Communist party does not exist politically; the party of his Majesty's Minister, Vandervelde, still continues to rule over the workers' movement. In Austria the social democracy is consistently leading the proletariat to complete debacle, while the Communist party never emerged from its state of nonentity. Despite the fact that in Sweden and Denmark the social democracy has been in power for years, the official Communist parties in these countries remain ciphers.

In Norway the perfidious reformist Traaen, who in 1923 had slightly less than did the orthodox section of the Comintern, received 45% of the votes of the population during the last elections while the Communist party has degenerated into a pitiful sect. In Switzerland the social democracy has been winning one canton after another while the party draws further and further back into obscurity. In Spain where the social democracy has borne the direct responsibility for strangling the revolutionary masses during the last few years, and where it has indubitably become weaker; and where anarcho-syndicalism had exposed its insufficiency on an unheard of scale, the Communist party failed to emerge from its state of nonentity. Everything seems to indicate that by passing over to the opposition side, the Spanish socialist party will regain its lost position once more.

The Polish Communist party, which as late as 1931 represented a major political force, has completely frittered away its influence over the masses. The leadership of the working class has returned back again into the hands of the P. S. P. (Polish Socialist party). The reporter Kuusinen could have described eloquently how the Comintern party of Finland passed into the limbo under his leadership. The resolution of the 13th plenum mentions only one country by name where it appears "the majority of the working class solidly follows the Communist party in serial ranks": this country is Bulgaria! But even in Bulgaria the workers did not react at all against the terrorist measures which were legislated against the Communist party. These are the facts.

## Figures from the "Yearbooks"

7. The "yearbooks" of the Comintern, a few years ago, gave the following data relating to the numerical strength of the Communist parties:

	Year	Members
Germany	1921	360,000
	1923	400,000
	1926	160,000
England	1921	10,000
	1923	4,000
	1926	5,000
France	1921	90,000
	1923	52,000
	1926	83,000 (?)
Czechoslovakia	1921	300,000 (?)
	1923	154,000
	1926	93,000
Norway	1921	97,000
	1923	20,000 (after the split)
	1926	7,000

With 1926, the statistics of the Comintern, as well as the publication of the yearbooks come to a dead stop: before an abyss, one had best shut one's eyes. But the real decline, which assumed an irresistible character in the course of the "Third Period", began only in 1925-1926. Outside of the U. S. S. R., where the party has been liquidated

by bureaucratic strangulation, it would be no exaggeration to say that the total number of members of the Comintern is now 1-10 of the number in the period of its apex. As regards the Proletariat, it would be necessary to cite a proportion even more depressing. The "Krestintern" (Peasant International) gave up its ghost long ago, and its very name has dropped out of circulation. The cited figures, however, far from provide a complete picture of the theoretical collapse of the Comintern, and of the decline of its revolutionary prestige.

## Explaining the Facts

8. How does the Comintern itself explain these facts? It does not explain them but keeps mum on the subject. It makes a fleeting comment; only in speaking of the tasks of "mass work" of the Communist parties does the 13th Plenum remark that "their weakest side as yet (!)...is their work in enterprises and trade unions, that is, in the proletariat. Where is its strongest side? Evidently in the circles of Muenzenberg, and in the Moscow Hotel de Luxe. What do the words "as yet" signify? The period when the Communist parties were winning over trade unions and shop committees and when the Proletariat was a imposing power lies in the past and not the future. There is no retrieving the past. The policies of Zinoviev-Bucharin-Stalin-Manulsky-Kuusinen ruined the Comintern.

9. Only a fraudulent, made-to-order optimism has remained of the strength that was frittered away. "It would be a right opportunist error—pronounces oracularly the 13th Plenum—not to see now the objective tendencies of the intensified ripening of the revolutionary crisis in the capitalist world." And what does "intensified" signify? Is it in comparison with that situation when Hitler had not as yet conquered? And did this catastrophe result from a lack of "the objective tendencies of a revolutionary crisis?"

## Stalinism Assisted Hitler

Had the Comintern placed, from 1929, or even from 1930 or 1931, at the foundation of its policies the objective irreconcilability between social democracy and Fascism, or more exactly between Fascism and social democracy; if upon this, it had built a systematic and persistent policy of the united front, Germany, within a few months, would have been covered with a network of mighty committees of proletarian defense, potential workers' Soviets, that is. Had the government of the U. S. S. R. announced in time that it would view Hitler's coming to power as a preparation to strike Eastward; if by utilizing the favorable situation in Europe, it had at the same time taken the necessary preparatory military measures on the Western boundaries of the U. S. S. R., it would have imbued a double assurance into the ranks of German workers, and Germany would have had all the chances of becoming a Soviet republic. Europe and the entire world would have had a different aspect by now. Instead of this, the Stalinist Comintern, as well as the Stalinist policy, assisted Hitler into the saddle from either side. After which Platitsky put his forefinger to his head and explained: The German workers surrendered to the executioner without a battle because... there was no revolutionary situation. Messrs. Strategists, how many "revolutionary situations" are you prepared to ruin? Fortunately your hands have become considerably shorter.

10. "The revolutionary development—teaches us the 13th Plenum—is at the same time both made difficult and is hastened by the Fascist madness of the bourgeoisie". To this equivocal phrase there is appended the following melancholy postscript "At the given moment the revolutionary hatred of the proletariat is growing in less open (!) forms in Germany". That's it! On the day after the Fascist overturn we had been promised a proletarian insurrection in the next few months. If not weeks, in fact it was postponed that it would coincide with October. Whoever refused to believe it was branded a counter-revolutionary. Subsequently in the plebiscite, Hitler received 43 million votes as against 3 million for

the opposition. "We are not to blame—replied all the Kuusinen-Hitler, you see, is applying terror." How unexpected! Hitler seized power precisely in order to be able to operate by means of terror. But if—as Messrs. Bankrupts originally asserted—the assumption of power by the Fascists acts to "hasten the revolution", then this should have manifested itself first of all in the impossibility to cow the workers by measures of terror—the more so, since not barricades were involved as yet but only the casting of opposition ballots. But it turns out that Fascism after collecting 17 million votes under democracy was able to terrorize 25 million more. If this is an expression of "speeding up" the revolution then there is absolutely no difference between that and the deepening of the counter-revolution. "Pessimism!" "Defeatism!" "Capitulation!" will howl those upstarts, once again, who are paid for their invariable readiness to call counter-revolution, revolution, the moment it is demanded of them by their bosses. Workers, learn to despise this bureaucratic rabble!

## Directives Contradict Analysis

11. The directives of the Comintern—which do not rise above the level of its theoretical analysis—contradict the latter, however, at every point. The 13th Plenum prescribes to the Communist parties that they "painstakingly explain what economic and political enslavement the Fascist dictatorship has in store for the toilers." Just now we were "painstakingly" instructed that there is no "principled" difference between democracy and the Fascist dictatorship, and that the social democracy frightens the workers with the Fascist destruction of democracy, only for the sake of fooling the workers. Suddenly without any logical transition, the leaders of the Comintern in chorus with the social democrats proceed "painstakingly" to frighten the workers with that enslavement which the victory of Fascism bears. One reads with revulsion and feeling of shame this political gibberish, which, however, is the lawful progeny of the famous theory of the two twins: social democracy and Fascism.

12. The plenum charges the Communist parties with the task of "arousing the masses for the timely defense of trade unions, of the workers' press, workers' homes, the right to strike, the right to hold workers' meetings...creating militant self-defense squads to repel terrorist bands". Obviously the matter concerns the defense of not only Communist unions, papers and homes but of workers' organizations in general. And since the social democracy is interested no less intimately than the Communist party in defending its own unions, papers, and workers' homes, then there imperiously flows from this the policy of the united front. Is it not, then, obligatory, right now, to turn to the socialist parties and trade unions of those countries where Fascism is just getting ready for the offensive with the proposal of joint defense, of the joint functioning of the workers' squads? But the resolution keeps mum on this point. It dares not mention it, for a fear of unwinding the entire chain of the crimes committed by the Comintern.

## A Self-Indicting Recommendation

13. The E. C. recommends fighting for the right to strike, and the right to hold workers' meetings, in other words: for the democratic rights of the proletariat. To this must be added the defense of free elections and the inviolability of Communist deputies—and consequently the defense of parliamentarism itself against Fascist and Bonapartist assaults. In what a cowardly, confused, circumspect and hem-and-hawing manner do the ill-fated leaders of the Comintern approach the question of defending the democratic positions of the proletariat! These masked demi-concessions are entirely insufficient for a correct policy; but they more than suffice for an indictment against the Comintern.

14. The resolution demands that the Communist parties "put an end to the opportunist and capitulatory disdain (!) of trade union work and, in particular, of work inside the reformist...trade unions." On the fifteenth anniversary of the Comintern, the plenum is obliged to explain to the Communist parties that it is impermissible to cherish "disdain" toward mass working class organizations. The most rabid foes have never uttered anything more annihilating about the Comintern than these few words. "Disdain" toward the proletariat and its mass organizations—that is the result—that is what has entered into the brain and marrow of the entire policies of bureaucratic adventurism.

## Perspectives

15. And what of the perspectives? On this score, the resolution refers

us back again to the question whether the victory of Fascism speeds up the proletarian revolution. One could maintain with equal success that a shipwreck "speeds up" the voyage from Europe to America. The great importance of this question is patent: if Fascism—"speeds up", then it is permissible to repeat, in France, Spain, Belgium, Holland, etc., those policies which were applied so successfully in Germany. One can have no doubts as to the happy results. All the more mercilessly must the Bolshevik-Leninists drive the theory and practice of bureaucratic adventurism out of the ranks of the workers' movement!

It is incontestable that the proletariat crushed by Fascism will pass ultimately out of the defeat; but only at the cost of terrific sacrifices, equivalent to the political ruin of an entire generation. The experience of Italy clearly attests this.

As against the Italian example the Plenum advances the following conception: "In contradistinction to the first wave of the Fascization of capitalist states, which occurred during the transition from a revolutionary crisis to a partial stabilization, the capitalist world today is passing from the end of capitalist stabilization to the revolutionary crisis...." The modicum of truth included in these words is lavishly diluted with lies. The victory of Hitler does not coincide at all with the transition from stabilization to crisis, because the unheard of world crisis began in 1929 and Hitler conquered some four years later, at the moment when the general social crisis of capitalism may again be mitigated for a time by a conjunctural revival. In any case, one thing is indubitable, the contradictions of capitalism, internal and international, have sharpened monstrously, and all bourgeois regimes, including the Fascist, are heading toward terrible experiences and tests.

## New Revolutionary Situations

On this point the resolution turns: "At any moment the turn may occur which would signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis." The idea itself is old enough; the Bolshevik-Leninists explained long ago how and why our epoch is the epoch of political turns. But this idea is least of all applicable today precisely in relation to Germany. In every other country in Europe a revolutionary situation may arise sooner than in Germany where the proletariat requires a considerable period to recover from the havoc and the demoralization, to recuperate and to regain confidence in its own forces. Needless to say, the victory of the proletariat in any other country would immeasurably speed up the process of the revolutionary resurrection of Germany.

The center of gravity is not lodged, however, in the revolutionary order of countries. In whatever country it may occur, "the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary one" does not, quite decide the question. In order that the revolutionary crisis be transformed into the proletarian revolution and not into a new Fascist overturn, a correct policy is required and consequently a genuine revolutionary party. A new International is necessary.

16. There is no ground for taking pride in the fact that 15 years after the foundation of the 3rd International it is necessary, in a certain sense, to begin from the beginning. But the guilt for so great a slide backward lies upon the leadership of the Comintern. The past cannot be remedied. One must take his point of departure from things as they actually are in order to consolidate the international revolutionary vanguard on a new historic stage.

This is equally necessary both in the interests of the world revolution and for the salvation of the U. S. S. R. Today nothing threatens the world position of the first workers' state to such a degree as placing faith on the parasitic Comintern. In the moment of danger to the U. S. S. R. one can expect the same aid from Cachin and Jacquemotte as from Leon Blum and Vandervelde.

## The New International

17. The plenum did not leave unnoticed the question of the New International either. After posing "the leftward trend of the social democratic workers" and the "dog-fights among the social-Fascist tops" that flow from this, the resolution takes note of the attempt to "concoct a new 2<sup>nd</sup> International" out of the left splinters. The political thought of the leaders of the Comintern does not rise higher than the level of these cheap words. Yet, before us is the question of a new stage in the world working class movement.

The influx of workers to the social democracy, coupled with the mortal danger of Fascism, knocks the camp of reformism out of its old equilibrium and engenders in the new currents and differentiations. The present growth of the social democracy only prepares a new and much more acute crisis for it. One must go to meet this crisis with a clear strategic plan and not dismiss

it with shallow witticisms upon the theme of "dog fights among the tops."

One must understand that the social democracy was never before caught in such a fearful vise as now. It is no accident that in the last minute before the crash, Staeupfer plumed the Soviet consulate seeking assistance against Hitler. The traditional division of labor between Blum and Renaudel has turned into a split. Blum, who led the venomous struggle against Soviet "imperialism", nuds himself compelled to announce the French social democracy now leads its "struggle for peace" in a united front with the U. S. S. R. The Belgian social democracy advances the recognition of the U. S. S. R. as one of its chief slogans. Among Russian Mensheviks tendencies are becoming stronger in favor of recognizing the Soviet state—as a workers' state. At the same time, an interest, partly simulated, partly sincere, is growing in the ranks of the left reformist bureaucracy in the ideas of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Even among the Russian Mensheviks, "innovators" appear who discover the progressive sides of... "Trotskyism".

## Estimating the Socialist Kisms

One would have to be an infant to accept all this in a lump for sound currency; one would have to be a Kism to not see in it anything more than "dog fights among the social-Fascist tops." It is necessary to catch the squirming reformists at their own words, and to compel the reformist masses to the road of action—beat the enemy with his own weapons.

Least of all does there flow from this perspective the courting of social democratic bureaucrats, the hushing up of their crimes, the exaggerating of their "services" and so forth. Such a policy is worthy of Left-Centrism which feels itself to be only the shadow of reformism and which fears to counterpose itself actually to reformism. He who seeks a road to the masses by conforming to reformist leaders will assuredly be cast away by the masses together with the compromised leaders. A consistent struggle against reformism! Not the slightest concession to Centrism!—These are the inscriptions on the banner of the 4th International.

18. Under the present conditions, the left flank of the social democracy would evolve quickly to the side of Communism, if the road were not barred by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Failing to understand the historical dialectic of the degeneration of the Comintern, many "left" groupings halt midway and entertain notions of merging the two Internationals, of creating an intermediate International, and similar reactionary phantasmagorias.

## "Counter-Revolutionary"

The 13th plenum graciously takes note of this tendency also, "The hiring of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, Trotsky, by his pathetic attempts to create a 4th International...seeks without success to halt the transition of the social democratic workers over to the side of Communism." It is quite in character for people who pass off the victory of counter-revolution as the "speeding up" of revolution, to pass off Marxists for counter-revolutionists. It is not worthwhile to dwell on it. There is another side to the matter which is more interesting. It appears that "the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie" (evidently there exists a revolutionary one also!) which has the social democracy for its chief "social support" and which, at the same time, entrusts to Fascism the blasting of its "chief support" although there is no "principled" difference between the two—this "counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie", it appears, requires over and above this—the 4th International. At any rate, there is consolation in the fact that despite the efforts of counter-revolutionists "the transition of social-democratic workers over to the side of Communism" not only is not being hindered but on the contrary is growing not by the day but by the hour....Only people who spit upon the public opinion of the working class can lie so crudely and idiotically.

The decisions of the 13th plenum are permeated with the spirit of bureaucratic cynicism. The Comintern is dead for the revolutionary cause. Nor will it be revived by the VIII Congress which has been called at last for the "latter part" of the current year. The revolutionary movement will follow another course. The Bolshevik-Leninists have the right to be proud of the fact that history has placed upon them the mission of being the new trail blazers.

—L. TROTSKY.  
January 18, 1934.

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## Toward the New Party

## Internationalism and The A. W. P.

(Continued from page 1)

"national peculiarities" of these parties; it is the expression, rather, of the downfall of the internationalism which they represent. Stalinism and Social Democracy are bankrupt on a world scale. A new party which emerges to challenge them must begin with this principle: condemnation and then translate it into criticism of the concrete activities of these parties here at home. An "American" party, hazy about its own international position, would be obviously incapable of such a struggle.

Without exhausting the question in a single article, the mistakes of the international section of the statement of the A. W. P. may be enumerated as follows:

## New Parties and New Internationalism—A Single Task

1. The building of new parties and the new internationalism, which are inseparable bound together in a single task are counterposed as separate tasks, and the building of national parties is put in the first order. The statement speaks of "putting the cart before the horse", and adds: "The primary contribution revolutionary workers in any country can make toward building an effective internationalism is by building an effective revolutionary movement in their country". Also: "Our absorbing concern is with the colossal job on our own doorstep, building a revolutionary party in the U. S., rooted in the American soil".

All this has a certain "realistic" sound, but it does not fit the realities which every new party must confront—the realities of world economy and world politics and the world crisis of the labor movement. (American imperialism lives in the world, not in the 48 states.) It is impossible to build a revolutionary party or to draw up a revolutionary program in any single country today without taking the world realities as the point of departure. That means, the new parties must be internationalist from the moment of their inception, and even in the process of their formation, and have a definite international orientation. The international position of any party is today the primary test of its revolutionary character.

## Marxism Is Not A Foreign Product

To be sure, the new party must live in America, speak the language of the country, "feel" the moods, psychology and traditions of the masses, etc. In this sense the new party must be "American". It must be a power in the country in order to be a real support of the new internationalism. But that does not mean it should adapt itself to the backwardness, prejudices and national narrow-mindedness of the masses of American workers. Marxism is not a foreign product; it is the theory of the class struggle in every country; it is "native" to every land of capitalist exploitation. The new party will have the task of making the theory of Marxism understandable to the awakening workers of America and of applying this theory in their struggle. Only on this foundation can a genuinely revolutionary party be constructed. Such a party can only be a thorough-going party of internationalism.

## Concepts of Internationalism

2. The statement of the A. W. P. tends to limit the concept of internationalism to joint actions of strong national parties. Action, of course, is the highest expression of the international organization of the vanguard and everything leads to that end. But the role of internationalism is no less weighty in the preparation of the actions and in the development and training of the national parties. At the present moment, with the whole international organization of the vanguard in a state of crisis and demoralization, this side of the question acquires an exceptional importance.

International cooperation in the work of charting the new parties and the new internationalism, mutual exchange of experiences and ideas, putting the collective experience and theoretical knowledge of the Marxists of all countries at the disposal of each and every national party or group—it is precisely in these fields that the real spirit of internationalism manifests itself most prominently today in preparation for the actions of tomorrow. Herein lies the great historic significance of the work already in progress for the building of the Fourth International.

## Can the National Parties Develop Independently?

Can the new parties each develop independently, work out their own programs, acquire mass proportions and influence and then come together to form the new internationalism? This is the concept that appears to govern the A. W. P. approach to the question. "The A. W. P. stands for one compact revolu-

tionary labor international built up by actually functioning revolutionary parties of various countries..."

This idea, which is very similar to that expressed by Gitlow, takes active internationalism off the agenda for the present, and gives no assurance for the formation of the new international in the future. Just the contrary. The new parties, left to themselves, and replacing international cooperation and assistance would develop on different lines, adopt contradictory programs on many questions, full victims of national isolation, and experience repeated internal convulsions and splits. The program of building the parties first, then the international, is utopian, not to say non-Marxist. The genuine revolutionary internationalists in the whole world today, as in the period of the world war, are not too numerous. It is a life and death matter for them to get together now on an international scale to prepare the program of the new international and to work for the formation of its national sections. The task of building the Fourth International goes hand in hand with the task of forming new national parties in the separate countries. Genuine internationalism today cannot allow any separation of these two aspects of the same problem.

## Organization Methods

Is the Fourth International to imitate the methods of the Stalin Comintern, with everything decided in advance for the national parties, with uniform tactics imposed everywhere, with leaders imposed from above, etc.? This question is asked in some alarm from two different points of view. Some who have learned to despise the methods of degenerate Stalinism in struggle against it want to establish safeguards; others, it must be said, are inclined to raise the bugaboo of Stalinism as an excuse to avoid any kind of centralized organization, discipline, uniformity of principle and control. We have definite opinions on the subject and will stand up for them in the Fourth International and in the conferences leading to its formation.

The International Left Opposition stands for a world program and for uniformity in fundamental principles. Its concept of the Fourth International is the concept of a World Party. But, along with that, we stand for internal democracy in the parties and in the international. The parties affiliated to the Fourth International must be real parties, standing on their own feet, living their own life and selecting their own leaders. If we consider it impossible to build revolutionary parties without international cooperation, then we assert no less emphatically that the international can become a power only if its component parts—the national parties—are really functioning organizations in the full sense of the word.

## Which International?

3. The programmatic statement of the A. W. P. leaves its own international orientation undecided. Or, at any rate, its position is not clearly stated. Four currents are to be recognized in the international field: The Second, the Third, the Two-and-a-half, (Centrist) and the Fourth (Revolutionary Communist). The A. W. P. is against the Second and the Third, but does not mention the other currents. It declares its readiness to "remain in sympathetic contact and engage in discussions with all who are interested in that problem, and especially with those parties which like ourselves cannot accept either the Second or the Third International today."

In the course of discussion, both in the joint committee and in the press, we hope to convince the A. W. P. that it is absolutely necessary to take a precise attitude on this question, to declare what kind of a new international is needed and to agree with us that the new party should place itself on the day of its birth under the banner of the Fourth International.

Such an agreement, which would imply a solidarity on other principle questions, could make the launching of the new party in America, by the joint efforts of the A. W. P. and the Left Opposition, a realistic prospect for the not too distant future. There can be no doubt that such a party would be from the start a powerful magnet of attraction for the revolutionary workers in America.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

## NOTICE

A pocketbook was lost at the Cannon-Lovestone debate at Irving Plaza by the undersigned. It contained receipts from the Dressmakers Union No. 48, Union City, New Jersey, and about \$30 in cash. Finder please return to undersigned or to office of the Militant.

—HARRY ZAROFF,  
829 Adeo Avenue,  
Bronx, N. Y.

## Corporations Win the Fake N.R.A. "Elections"

(Continued from page 1)

Finally the workers returned to the jobs as a result of intervention by the National Labor Board with a "guarantee" that they would be accorded the right to their choice of union organization. The company lost no time, but set a date for election of representatives on the company union plan. The Labor Board ordered a postponement of elections. It was refused by the company. The Labor Board next announced that it would supervise the elections. That sort of assistance was similarly rejected by the company, which went ahead with the elections under its own auspices.

As a result the company could announce a "great victory" for the company union plan. It claimed that over nine thousand workers had participated in the voting. There was, of course, no way of ascertaining the correctness of these figures, but the intimidation methods pursued by the company were quickly established. Hundreds of workers made affidavits that heads of departments had forced them to vote. For several weeks prior to the elections, workers had been entertained royally in the country club quarters almost every night under sponsorship of company union officials. But the most effective intimidation was naturally constituted by the fear of the men of losing their jobs if they failed to vote. This fear had been very much heightened by the shut-down of those mills in the Weirton plant where the union sentiment was strongest. Simultaneously three mills belonging to the same company at its Clarksburg plant were opened, taking in new workers a few days before the elections. All workers had been given clearly to understand that they must vote or lose their jobs.

## Enforcing Company Union Plan

It has been reported since that the Labor Board made plans for a contest in the courts. However, the fake election took place in December and nothing has been heard of it since. The Weirton Steel Co. enforced its company union plan, and the orders of the Labor Board remained so many empty boasts. In the first place they constituted only a public pretence of protecting the workers' rights.

The National Labor Board had no better luck in the case of the Budd Manufacturing Co. in Philadelphia. Following its intervention in a strike, it directed the company to reinstate all strikers "promptly, and without discrimina-

tion". The company pledged its "full support", but added tersely that "the men will be re-engaged as soon as our operation improves". It of course had its way.

It is not necessary to adduce additional examples to show what the role of the Labor Board is and in what direction its power is to be applied. In every labor dispute on record since its creation it has intervened to forestall action by the workers, until the most opportune moment for strike has passed, or else it has injected itself into such situations with a view to demoralizing and dividing the workers ranks in advance. In every instance it has connived directly with the capitalist agents in labor's ranks holding official union positions. When the workers take matters into their own hands and go on strike the role of the labor board is usually the one of making certain promises or guarantees to the workers which it has neither the power nor the intention to enforce after the workers have returned to the jobs.

## Compulsory Arbitration Scheme

There is now before congress a bill providing for the creation of a permanent National Labor Board which, if adopted, will become tantamount to compulsory arbitration. This bill is introduced by Senator Wagner, and it has the backing and support of the officials of the American Federation of Labor. William Green, John L. Lewis of the miners union, and William L. Berry of the Pressmen's Union are members of the present Labor Board and are a party to all its pretences and fraudulent promises.

As far as the A. F. of L. officials are concerned, in practically every labor dispute they have learned almost entirely on the support of such governmental institutions rather than upon the fighting workers' ranks. This is the weakest of needs to lean upon. The employers have shown themselves able in every case to use these governmental agencies to serve their specific purposes. In the first place it is their government and nothing else could be expected. The extent to which that can be counteracted depends entirely upon the power that the labor movement can develop in action. The questions of collective bargaining, of union organization, and of compelling the employers to accede to the demands of the workers—these are not matters of polite discussions or ordinary business. They are matters of class struggle. The sooner the workers and the trade unions recognize this fact and prepare themselves accordingly, the sooner they will be able to enforce their own rights without relying on the pretended impartiality or support of the Labor Boards.

## Appeal of French Internationalists

(Continued from page 1)

economic demands of all the workers without distinction of race or nationality, in defense of all the foreign workers, especially threatened by the chauvinism and the anti-semitism of the Fascist groupings.

3. The immediate organization of the workers' militia for the defense of your headquarters, your meetings, your demonstrations, your fighters. The least Fascist attack should call forth a thundering reply from your militia.

The workers' defense bodies, the Workers' Alliance Committees, basing themselves on the exploited masses, utilizing the force of the militias, will extend their aims and their rights. Their mobilizing by localities, by districts, in the entire nation, will lay the bases of your power.

Against the Chiappist municipal council, the workers of Paris will oppose the Workers' Commune!

Against the rotten parliament, you will oppose the Workers' Parliament!

## WORKERS!

On February 12, you have forced your organizations to come to an agreement in many localities. There are local committees for the Workers' Alliance, for vigilance, initiative, joint action, etc., in the 4th, 18th, 19th districts, in Saint Denis, Puteaux, Suresnes, Corbeil, Pontoise, etc. Thus has begun a method of struggle of the illustrious leaders of the revolutionary proletariat, Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Our Communist League, struggling in the vanguard under the banner of the Fourth International, appeals to you to immediately organize for joint action, from top to bottom, of all organizations.

You are strong! Victory is assured on one condition: Organization, more organization and always organization!

Forward to the Workers' Alliance! Forward to the Workers' Militia! Down with reaction and Fascism! Long live the Workers' Power!

—Executive Committee of the Communist League  
Paris, Feb. 14, 1934.

## Aftermath of the Madison Square Garden Affair

## The Intellectuals Revolt Against Stalinist Hooliganism

While Hathaway continues to shout that "the C. P. has nothing to apologize for" with respect to the disruption of the Socialist meeting at Madison Square Garden, some of his Party's supporters are not so sure.

A group of 25 intellectuals last week addressed to the C. P. and the New Masses an open letter on the subject. After condemning the policies of Socialist leadership in Austria and the United States, these intellectuals describe the actions of the C. P. at the Garden meeting and attribute to it "the disruption of working-class action in support of the Austrian workers. They conclude with this paragraph:

"The Daily Worker of February 16th says: 'Anyone who splits the ranks of the workers at this time helps the Fascists, injures the valiant struggle of our heroic brothers in Austria, and is a contemptible enemy of the working class. We who write this letter watch with sympathy the struggles of militant labor and aid such struggles. We agree with the statement of the Daily Worker. And it is with horror that we see the Communist Party play the part against which it itself has warned.'"

This Open Letter, whose contents must be endorsed by every enemy of Fascism, is evidence of a new attitude among the intellectuals who in recent years have gathered on the periphery of the revolutionary movement. While not one of the signers of this letter has, as far as we know, drawn from his criticisms of the C. P. and the S. P. the revolutionary's inevitable conclusion that a new revolutionary party must be founded, their statement has its own importance.

Among the signers are a former secretary (E. E. Cohen) and several of the most active members of the executive of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners; the secretary of the Prisoners' Book Committee (George Novack); the former secretary of the Prisoners' Relief Committee (Diana Rubin). All these organizations are auxiliaries of the C. P.-controlled I. L. D. Here, too, is to be found James Rorty, the secretary of the League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, the C. P.'s proudest boast in the 1932 Presidential campaign. And here are intellectuals who, under Party influence and to serve the Party, journeyed to the class battle-front in Kentucky, Alabama, Michigan, Washington, D. C.; members of a National Student League delegation to the U. S. S. R.; agitators and fund raisers for the I. L. D. in the Scottsboro and other cases; authors of articles in the Daily Worker, Fight, the New Masses, etc., and of pamphlets bearing imprints of party organizations.

## "Discussion" a la C. P.

Yesterday all these were among "the honest intellectuals who accept the leadership of the C. P. under comrade Stalin." Today? Hell hath no fury like a Stalinist spurred. Today—we take this from the New Masses "reply" to the Open Letter—they are Zionist academics, butterflies, Lovestonites, Trotskyites, Muscietes, generals yearning for armies, lacking in integrity and humility, Hamlets, egotists, Narcissists, etc., etc!

Of them all, the New Masses hopes to save from the ruin only one—John Dos Passos. Him alone—apparently on the hunch that of the 25 he has been least concerned with careful, critical study of C. P. theory and tactics—will it address as a Comrade. One may well differ with the New Masses' view that Dos Passos' novels are "proletarian literature." It is perhaps enough to say that they are incisive exposures of the futility and rottenness of bourgeois civilization, and that there shines through them not a little of the vitality of the class of the future, the proletariat. By these books, by his work as treasurer of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners since its establishment, and in other ways, Dos Passos has served the revolutionary cause.

And what does the New Masses have to say to him? Only this: the Socialist leaders slander us (yes, yes; the Socialist leaders are opposed to revolution); what we did at Madison Square Garden was "an attempt to throw the masses together" (have such attempts ever succeeded?); Socialist leaders on the platform struck St. Clarence Hathaway the Pacifier (whom was he "trying" to pacify and who is responsible for their provocation?); you cannot understand our tactics unless you understand our psychology (and how about the psychology of the Socialist rank-and-file and non-Communist trade unionists?); we are in favor not of the united front but of the united front "from below" (so nothing has been learn-

ed or forgotten since Hitler came to power!).

In other words, although you had heard all this a thousand times before you signed the Open Letter, we tell it to you again—and one word more...a threat. If you Dos Passos, do not remove your name, crawl before us, we will denounce you too! You too will have been suddenly transformed from a comrade into a butterfly, a Trotskyite and, no doubt, even a Zionist!

Obviously this is a cheap political trick. The New Masses hopes, by a mixture of flattery and threats, to bring Dos Passos back and thus to give a shadow of justification to its denunciation of the remaining 24 co-signers. In truth, from a revolutionary standpoint the similarities of origin, record and present attitude among all these intellectuals, including Dos Passos (as he himself would probably be the first to affirm) are more significant than the differences, and the history of their relations with the movement is very much all of a piece.

## Intellectuals and the Party

Awakened to the horrors of capitalist civilization, in most cases by the collapse of 1929, they and hundreds like them were drawn close to the class struggle by the sweep of mass movements. Anxious to have some contact with militant labor and the revolutionary movement, anxious to join immediately in some action without too much study of what they were long inclined to call "factional squabbles," they approached the C. P. and its auxiliaries.

All served, some more, some less, but all as sympathizers, fellow-travelers, outsiders. The Stalinists accepted their services, cynically "used" them, flattering them to their faces and sneering at them behind their backs. It made no effort to criticize frankly their errors and weaknesses. It had no thought of drawing them closer to the movement by comradely polemics. In fact, it preferred to keep them at arm's length. Why should intellectuals like Joe Freeman, Moissaye Olgin, Sam Don, V. Jerome, William Patterson, press into the Party new intellectuals with five times their equipment? As long as the new men stay outside, furthermore, they may continue to believe that within the Party all is as it should be; once inside would they remain silent? The Stalinists feared not.

Consequently, they encouraged them to stay out, playing up to all their doubts, fears, prejudices and weaknesses, perpetuating in them the characteristics which their past had stamped upon them. The result has been disastrous for the revolutionary movement and for the intellectuals. The C. P. has developed a whole system of opportunism vis-a-vis its captive intellectuals: it complacently fails to rally masses (election campaign, Scottsboro struggle, anti-war struggle) and instead shoves forward a dozen poets and artists whose names, printed on the front pages of the capitalist press, make good reading in the many intellectuals began to adapt themselves to or even to adopt Stalinist methods; assuming attitudes of condescending superiority to workers (they must be tricked into militancy, "encouraged" by cock-and-bull stories about the growth of the German C. P. since Hitler); writing, clearly non-revolutionary pieces for the liberal press ("oh, the workers don't read that stuff anyway"); permitting themselves other forms of juvenile Machiavellianism suitable to the inner politics of a petty-bourgeois newspaper or art circle or university, but having nothing in common with the tactics of the Marxists.

Many a lesson in such attitudes was administered them by Earl Browder, a past master of questionable maneuvers, lies and hypocrisies. Little wonder that in nine cases out of ten the C. P. intellectual sympathizer was one who disbelieved much that Stalin, Browder and the C. P. said, buying himself freedom from casting in his lot with the revolution by pretending to believe in the Stalinist line and the Stalinist lies and by refraining from criticism.

The intellectuals are themselves not without guilt in this matter, nor do we hold any special brief for the 25 who signed the Open Letter. They have no doubt at times and in varying degrees shared the attitudes we condemn. They still carry with them many of the uncertainties which characterize the class of their origin. As we said before, not one seems to have drawn from his critique of the Second and Third Internationals' policies, a really revolutionary conclusion. For all one can tell from their Open Letter, they may still regard the Garden disruption as an exception rather than as a regular feature of

Stalinist policy in "the third period."

## United Front from Below

But this much is clear: they have understood that what the C. P. did at Madison Square Garden was a disgrace to the name of Communism, a crime against working-class unity, an objective aid to Fascism. They have done more: they have dared the foul slanders that will be spread by the Freemans, the Passes, the Hutchins, the Colemans, and the whole tribe of Party bell-wethers and boot-lickers on "the intellectual front." They have dared dispend with the Daily Workers' assurance that they are "the honest intellectuals"—and in doing so they have begun to be the most honest intellectuals of all those who have, during the last few years, turned their faces away from contemplating the rottenness of Stalinism because they would not take the responsibility of carrying criticism into action. This much, at least, is a significant development and a welcome one.

These 25 cannot remain where they are. They must go forward or back. They have left reformism and the Socialist Party behind. They have now dealt their first blow against the theory and practice of the united front "from below" which had such tragic effects in Germany and elsewhere. This, the New Masses admits, is the issue at stake. They must now apologize for that blow and capitulate to the propagators of the united front "from below," the organizers of defeat—or they must move forward.

## The Rebels' Destiny

The first need is a discussion of the question of the united front and the united front "from below". The Left Opposition is interested in such a discussion for its own sake; unless this question is clarified, no militant unity against Fascism is possible. Quite frankly, we also believe that an investigation of the issue will reveal that the errors of the C. P. in this matter are neither a temporary, local nor accidental phenomenon; they have roots which reach deep into the C. I. itself, which arise from the most basic theory of the Stalinist chiefs of the C. I. and of the Soviet State—the theory of socialism in one country.

The Communist League of America invites these and all other intellectuals who stand on the ground of the October Revolution and for the defense of the Soviet Union, the only workers' State, to a comradely discussion of the question of the united front, in its historical, theoretical and immediate practical aspects. Such a discussion may take place either by meeting or in the pages of The Militant. Here these intellectuals will find neither the flattery nor the cynicism, neither the nauseating blandishments nor the nauseating slanders which are the stock-in-trade of the C. P. in dealing with fellow-travelers and sympathizers. They will be asked to take nothing on faith, nor will they have to prove, as the New Masses now demands, that they were born with a silver hammer and sickle in their mouths. Where differences of opinion exist, they will be expressed by us in candid and comradely fashion.

Whether these intellectuals remain sympathizers, fellow-travelers, or become an integral part of the revolutionary movement, depends largely upon themselves. But the Left Opposition will do all it can to prevent their disgust with Stalinist tactics from turning into a disgust with Communism, to rearm in the service of the international proletariat these intellectuals who, having experienced their first skirmishes under a bankrupt leadership, might otherwise lose contact with the militant working class and the revolutionary movement.

## BANQUET

for the benefit of the

PROTOMAGIA CLUB

on SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1934

8 P. M.

633 Eighth Avenue

Between 41st and 42nd St.

## CLASS IN TRADE UNIONISM

Registration is still open for the

class, "Survey of American Trade

Union Strategy and Tactics", with

Arne Swabeck, Secretary of the

Communist League, as instructor.

This class, one of a series conducted

this semester by the International

Workers School, is held every

Wednesday evening, 8 P. M., at 126

East 16th Street.

In addition to an historical survey

of the trade union movement,

comrade Swabeck will analyze all

the present currents in the trade

union movement from the most reactionary

to the most revolutionary.

The students of the course

upon its completion will be armed

with a theoretical understanding of

trade union problems and a better

ability to participate fruitfully as

revolutionists in the trade unions.