



10,000 Pennsylvania Silk Workers to Swell Ranks of Striking Dyers

Union Solidarity with Unemployed League

Paterson, Nov. 2.—Rounding the first strike week the Paterson dyers are maintaining the traditions of militancy for which the silk industry is nationally famed.

The Dyers Federation has been demanding the thirty-hour week, one dollar an hour, and the union shop. The bosses, up to the present refuse to grant any more than the 36 hour week with no reduction in pay. With this the parleys discontinued, the union constantly gaining in strength, the battle-front extending into Pennsylvania and a ring of fighting dyers massed around every open shop and every scab house still open.

Strike Ranks Swelling

The Federation of Silk and Rayon Dyers went into the battle a week ago strong and confident. Its feeling of power was more than justified. More than 80 percent of the dyeing industry had previously been organized by them. 25,000 workers answered the strike call immediately on its issuance. As we go to press anywhere between ten to fifteen thousand will follow their example in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. During this last week two of the largest bleaching houses, the Standard Bleachery and the Fairview Bleachery, previously open shop fortresses, have joined the strike front. 1,500 workers are employed in these establishments.

The stay-at-home idea is furthest from the minds of the dyers during the strike. Picket lines of thousands are on the march every morning. Injunctions, cops and thugs are brushed aside by the fighting determination by the workers. In Hudson County a judge's ruling restricting picket lines to four strikers became a worthless scrap of paper when 400 strikers marched before one of the local mills. The police conveniently forgot the law and thought it best not to interfere.

Unemployed League Aiding

Another extremely hopeful sign for the victory of the strike is the cooperation of unemployed workers on picket lines and in striking large shops still working.

A letter sent by George Baldanzi, president of the dyers federation, to the Unemployed League calls upon them to pitch in with the strikers and make the battle a success. This offer has been accepted, and as in Minneapolis and Toledo, the Unemployed League of Pennsylvania is mobilizing its members in Allentown to strike one of the key shops in that state, the National Piece Dye Works.

So effective has been the tie-up in the dye industry that several large jobbers and commission houses are stopping work on orders in weaving mills for the duration of the strike. The effect of this and similar moves will be to throw thousands of weavers out of work because of the inability to get the silk and rayons dyed. The dyers strike must end in the complete paralysis of the entire silk industry.

Meantime it is entirely to the interests of the weavers and other crafts connected with the fabrication of the product to cast their lot in with the dyers. More than 1,000 weavers are already on strike. The bosses are flagrantly violating the contract. Abuses are widespread. To add fuel to the fire the weaving employers are taking every advantage of the passivity of the workers to wipe out all vestiges of union conditions. One of these methods is the organization of company unions. In Newton, N.J., members of the U.T.W. are being discharged and then rehired only on the condition that they join the company union.

Everything favors a victorious outcome of the dyers strike, barring timidity or capitulation on the leadership. The weavers can share in this victory provided they give the dyers their complete solidarity and if necessary are prepared to take a bold aggressive stand before the height of the season is over.

Instructions for New Party Voters

The greatest task before all revolutionary workers is the building of the New Party.

The Communist League calls upon you to support them in this titanic job.

In this election, we ask for your support by writing in the name of J. P. Cannon as a demonstration of solidarity in the creation of the new party.

Last minute instructions: When you enter the polling booth pay no attention to any levers. There is space for writing in names. Use that space to write in the name of James P. Cannon for Governor. Do not write any more or less than specified here. Do not write in names for any other candidates. Be sure to use only an ordinary black lead pencil. Bring it with you as they are not supplied at polls.

For the New Party!

Police Attacks "Deplored" by Tory Diehard

With an overwhelming rush of liberality as election time draws near, the political opponents of Governor Lehman have pounced upon the brutal beating of the "hunger marchers" in Albany, and are trying to make of this monstrous crime a political football.

The tender heart of Robert Moses, Republican candidate for Governor, bled with compassion as he witnessed the scene: the highway to Albany strewn with the prostrate bodies of bruised and bleeding men and women, victims of the police thugs.

And as polling time approaches, can Governor Lehman afford to be outdone in mercy and compassion? No! A thousand times no! Have Republicans then the monopoly as defenders of democratic rights? If Lehman is pricked, doth he not bleed. His reply should set at rest, once and for all, his Republican maligners.

"I am without authority," said in effect the Governor of the State of New York, "but I affirm my belief in the right of peaceful assembly."

And the crowning touch! The wonder of wonders! The miracle of miracles! Mayor Thatcher of Albany, whose cops beat up the hunger marchers, yet Mayor Thatcher himself issued this statement: "I believe thoroughly in the rights of any group to public assembly."

Then it is unanimous! And the "hunger marchers", wards pro-tem of the Government flophouse, their wounds tenderly cared for, may console themselves with these magnanimous statements, balm for their wounds. From now until November 6, Election Day, they are safe from police clubs, from merciless beatings. From now until November 6 they have the full right of Democratic assemblage. They may meet, they may protest within moderation.

But after November 6, we can offer them no guarantee. They must guard their heads as best they can. Governor Moses cannot save them. Governor Solomon cannot save them. Nor can Governor Amter. After November 6, affairs are restored to normal order, and the police reign supreme again.

But is it not pleasant to realize that there is one short season when the jobless have a voice, when the cops must swallow their bills in election ribbons, when the most reactionary political leader and the most brutal ward heeler speaks the language of justice and democracy?

New Dealers Bolt Sinclair In Epic Flight

Joining Ranks of Forgotten Men He Calls to God For Succor

Abandoned by his Democratic colleagues in California; spurned by Farley, high-hatted by Roosevelt, double-crossed by Creel, gipped in general to a fare-you-well, the saintly Upton Sinclair turns to God for aid.

Far be it from us to doubt the efficacy of prayer, which has served the holy church and generations of sanctimonious exploiters right well. Nevertheless, it is our sober judgment that Sinclair will be very little benefited. We question that God has lost his well-known political acumen. He still sides, we take it, with the bigger battalions. And, as we view the present political line-up of forces, even taking into account the possibility of a last minute switch on the part of Jehovah to the side of EPIC, and reckoning upon the votes of all the resident angels (cherubim not eligible because of age limitations), the situation, we would say, is still unfavorable to Upton. Gabriel may turn up unexpectedly at the EPIC headquarters, but Creel and Farley can still deliver more votes.

"Liberal" Versus "Liberal"

Leaving God out of the picture for the present, as an unknown quantity, the California political battlefield affords an amazing clarification of the class struggle. Class lines have completely obliterated the traditional party lines. Reaction in all camps has organized to beat Sinclair. The "liberal" Mr. Creel, the "liberal" Mr. Howard of the Scripps-Howard press, the entire Democratic machine are joined in a desperate struggle to defeat the Democratic candidate, the "liberal" Mr. Upton Sinclair, and to put in office the suddenly-turned liberal Republican candidate, the choice of the arch-Tory G.O.P. machine, now miraculously a supporter of Roosevelt's New Deal.

Sinclair may be a charlatan, or nit-wit, or both. That is not his crime against the Democratic Party of California and the U.S.A. His crime lies in the fact that he sought to revive the hopes of the cheated working class, to restore faith best forgotten in the supposed pro-labor principles of the New Deal. In vain he repeats that is only urging what Roosevelt has urged, that his basic program is a New Deal program. That is precisely what the Administration wishes to forget, and wishes the voters everywhere to forget.

It is exceedingly unpleasant for Roosevelt to be reminded, and for the voters to be reminded, that the New Deal promised (even if it was all in the spirit of fun and good sound politics) to restore purchasing power by raising wages, to clip the wings of the bankers, to moderate the greed of industry, to take care of the unemployed. All this the modified EPIC now proposes to do all over again, and the response (Continued on Page 4)

Union Fight Forces A & P To Back Down

Spreading of Strike and Boycott Threat Calls Bosses Bluff

As we go to press, the directors of the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company show signs of "backing down" from their announced policy of closing all of their stores in sections where they were faced with "labor troubles".

Outwardly proceeding with their bluff in Cleveland, Ohio, by the removal of merchandise from the 300 closed stores in that city, the A. & P. officials nevertheless and at the same time issued mollifying statements having to do with the possibility of reopening these same stores.

The earlier report that the board of directors were agreed on accepting the settlement proposals of the National Labor Relations Board proved premature. However, the statements emanating from the chain store officials were far removed from their earlier bold stand.

"It is impossible for the Board of Directors to make final decision upon the question of their ability to open the company's stores in Cleveland until a further study has been made of the problems involved," the non-committal statement of the board of directors read. At the same time, it was observed that the work of removing the merchandise was to all practical purposes halted, with only a skeleton crew going through the motions.

Faced with the extension of the strike to other cities in Ohio, the threat of strike in Milwaukee, the imminent boycott in Chicago, New York and other large cities, to say nothing of those smaller towns where the chains are none too popular, the A. & P. were forced, at least in their public utterances, to backwater. If the movement of protest is not permitted to die, if the strike wave strikes swift and hard wherever the A. & P. has its stores, they will surrender entirely.

It is more than a little disquieting, however, to read that the Meat Cutters' Union "leaders" in Cincinnati have ordered the postponement of the strike in that city indefinitely.

It has been said again and again. It must be repeated. Arbitration boards, whatever their character and make-up, will grant to the workers only what they have reason to believe the workers will be able to win for themselves. Their so-called impartiality, at best consists of weighing the two opposing forces, and deciding on the minimum which they must give the workers in order to realize an industrial "truce".

The lockout threat must be answered by strike action and boycott. Workingclass consumers, workers' wives must at once carry on the picketing of A. & P. stores in all cities. The lockout is the direct attack of bosses upon all organized labor. The answer of the workers must be equally swift and direct.

Arrangements Completed For National Convention to Launch New Party in U.S.

Demonstrate November 24 For Job Relief

National Unemployed Day, initiated by the National Unemployed League promises to be this year the mightiest demonstration of unemployed and unemployed workers this country has yet witnessed. In 25 states of the union the jobless will gather, together with their employed fellow workers, and demand:

1. An extensive system of public works to provide work for the unemployed on a basis of \$30 a week minimum for a 30 hour week. On skilled work, trade union rates where such rates are higher.
2. Passage of the Lundeen Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill.
3. Pending the passage of the Unemployment Insurance Bill direct cash relief to be paid at the rate of \$10 a week for a single person, \$15 for a family of two, and \$4 for each additional person in the family.
4. Right of all workers on public works to organize and engage in collective bargaining.
5. Recognition of the representatives of the organized unemployed before relief agencies.
6. Federal adequate disability compensation on all public projects.
7. All war funds to be turned over to unemployed relief.

These demonstrations will take place before the respective state, county and city relief boards of the some 25 states in question. Simultaneously with the local and state demonstrations, a committee will be sent to Washington to place their demands before Federal Relief Director Hopkins and President Roosevelt.

Unity of action of all unemployed organizations will be the key-note of this November 24 demonstration.

This is not to be only a day for the unemployed. Every class-conscious worker, every enemy of hunger must make this day a day never to be erased from the memories of the countless ill-fed and underfed. Nor must those that are parcelling out their miserable doles to the unemployed today be permitted to forget it either.

Among those unemployed organizations who have responded to the call of the National Unemployed League are: Minneapolis Central Council of Workers, Texas Unemployed Union, Florida Unemployed Federation, Illinois Workers Alliance and similar organizations in about 25 states in the union.

Russian Revolution And Militant Issue

Seventeen years of the Russian Revolution!

Six years of the Militant! The coincidence of these two anniversaries within a few weeks is far from accidental. The service of the Militant in the cause of the fundamental ideas of the Russian Revolution is well known to our readers.

The Militant proposes to celebrate both these occasions in a special anniversary edition to appear November 17. We are considering the addition of two extra pages to facilitate the appearance of several excellent features by outstanding writers.

But that depends on you as much as on us. Our lack of funds forces us to leave that part of it up to you. If sufficient contributions and greetings are received then you can count on us doing our end of the job.

What do you say, Militant Readers?

Labor Editors Threatened by Fascist Thugs

The charge that editors of New York Italian-language newspapers have been warned that their lives are in danger, is contained in a statement published in the latest issue of *Il Martello*, New York anarchist weekly published by Carlo Tresca.

The newspaper, out today, charges that an editor of *Stampa Libera*, local anti-Fascist daily, was recently threatened with violence because of his opposition to Generoso Pope, building supply merchant and publisher of several local Fascist dailies. *Il Martello* contains an appeal to all journalists to stand by, and warns that if harm befalls the editor of *Stampa Libera*, those guilty will pay the price of their crimes. *Stampa Libera* supports the Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee, to which the C.I.A. is affiliated.

The statement of *Il Martello* describes "the state of affairs in the newspaper world of the Italian colony in the United States" as one of terrorism by reactionary publishers against all opponents.

It charges that a Mr. Noto, an editor of Pope's *Corriere d'America*, who was active on behalf of the Newspaper Guild, a union, was physically attacked by Pope in the latter's office on July 17. Pope also threatened him with a revolver. *Il Martello* goes on to describe the recent controversy between the editors of *Stampa Libera* and Pope.

"An editor of *Stampa Libera* received a series of visits from . . . underworld characters who . . . requested that *Stampa Libera* cease to publish criticism of Pope. The editor of *Stampa Libera* refused repeatedly to make any such commitments. On the occasion of their last visit, the underworld characters informed the editor that they would not call again and that the editor should know what that means."

"An attempt is being made by Generoso Pope in this city to exercise censorship over the Italian-language press by means of gangsters! An attempt is being made to inaugurate in the Italian colony in the United States the same political regime in the press as prevails today in Mussolini's Italy!"

"Call it Fascism, or call it gangsterism, the threat to the editor of *Stampa Libera* is intolerable. . . ."

"Fascism shall not be transplanted to this city!"

"Perhaps this notice will suffice. 'If not, if more must be said, if more must be done, we are prepared to say it and do it.'"

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

AWP-CLA Set Nov. 30th For Meeting

In the heart of the mighty "Dollar Empire" a new revolutionary workers' party will be launched in New York City, November 30 to December 2. The call for the organization convention will soon be issued by the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party.

This great step of revolutionary unity is the reply to the oppressive conditions of capitalism, the crying need for workers' leadership and the general chaos and confusion which strangles the labor movement.

For over two decades the advanced workers' movement has been wracked by internal dissensions and splits. During this period capitalism has repeatedly given proof of its bankrupt character. No longer can it supply the need of the producers.

The capitalist class, faced with its doom, has unleashed the forces of barbaric reaction. In Italy, Germany, and Austria triumphant Fascism has destroyed all workers' organizations and all democratic liberties. Fascist reaction is growing everywhere.

Hand in hand with the growth of Fascism are the feverish preparations for a new world war. Fascism not only hastens new wars but the coming armed conflicts hasten the development of Fascism in the so-called "democratic" countries: the master class has to destroy the militant labor movement to successfully carry out its war program.

How are the workers to resist these reactionary moves? Why has reaction triumphed up to now when the conditions are over-ripe for a new society and real freedom? It is precisely because of the absence of the collective conscience, intelligence, will and determination of the working class which only a revolutionary Marxist party can concentrate. Only the Russian workers succeeded in forging such an effective instrument, the Bolshevik Party. They alone have successfully defeated their exploiting class and established the workers' soviet republic.

But the parties which speak in the name of the emancipation of the working class, Socialist and Stalinist, have brought about but defeats. They bear the responsibility for the present headless condition of the workers' movement.

The recent display of workers' spontaneous militancy in the United States, the defeat of the strikers and the disorganized state of the jobless bear eloquent testimony to the dire need for a new revolutionary party. The workers are ready to struggle against unemployment, hunger and misery. But who is to lead them to victory? What force exists capable of guiding them from the everyday battles to their fundamental class need, the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of socialism?

Only that organization which, having absorbed the experiences of the past, is based on the granite foundation of revolutionary internationalism, and merges Marxism with the masses in motion can serve such a function. In our times such a party must strive to build the Fourth International, the world party of revolution.

To forge such an instrument the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party have gone through months of negotiations and arrived at a joint declaration of principles. The declaration contains the basic essentials of revolutionary Marxism. Serious discussion of the draft is taking place in both organizations and will be held at the fusion convention.

Revolutionary unity will be achieved. In the fire of the ensuing class battles it will gain its spurs and come forward as the militant leader of the workers and all oppressed.

YOUR DUTY TO NEW PARTY

In the past year the membership of the Communist League in all sections of the country has grown. And, unlike the Stalinist Party, the members it wins it holds, and holds to a revolutionary line.

In the same period, the circulation of the *Militant* has gone up considerably: today the net paid circulation is approximately double what it was one year ago.

And in this period the New International, the C.I.A.'s monthly theoretical organ, has been founded and won an immediate place as the only Marxist theoretical journal published in the United States.

More than this: The past year has seen the C.I.A. enter mass activities on a scale never before realized in its history. Severing its factional tie to the hopeless Stalinist Party, it has turned its face to the masses of American workers and entered side by side with them into the struggles of our class.

The League has participated prominently and honorably in a number of united front movements from Coast to Coast. It has begun to play a leading role in the organization of unemployed workers in several states, notably Minnesota and Illinois. In a number of strikes, above all in the great strikes of the drivers in Minneapolis, C.I.A. members have been to the fore in every aspect of the struggle.

Finally, the year 1934 has been signaled in C.I.A. history by the launching of concrete steps toward the building of the new revolutionary party. The negotiations with the A.W.P., now proceeding apace, promise an early harvest that will gladden the heart

of every revolutionary worker.

All these new developments have widened the circle of the League's influence and the base on which it leans for support. But they have also created new problems.

New members, for example in New York, have required the setting up of new branches, and new branches have meant new headquarters.

Every time a new subscriber is found by the *Militant*, he brings along a circle of friends who want a few copies free or who are unemployed and want a cheap subscription.

Every step forward in trade union work means new obligations—leaflets to print, halls to rent, etc.

The original cost of launching the New International—the purchase of type etc.—meant a large investment of our meagre funds.

Result: we need money.

Relatively speaking, the larger we grow, the poorer we are. We have more money, and we spend more money . . . and always we need more money. It is the problem of growing pains.

At this moment one great aid can be given the League, and in this way the new party soon to be born. It is by helping the new party fund.

"New Party Certificates" in one and five dollar denominations are for sale. Buy them and sell them to your fellow-workers. Send in your contribution—enough for a certificate, or whatever you can spare. Do not delay.

Become an active factor in the campaign to build the Workers Party of the United States.

Let us hear from you at once, Comrades!

SPEAKERS:

M. SHACHTMAN
A. J. MUSTE

Russian Revolution Anniversary

Wed. November 7--9 P.M.

Auspices: American Workers Party & Communist League

IRVING PLAZA
Irving Pl. & 15th St.

The Chauvinist "Anti-Japanese Campaign" of American Stalinists

It is the task of the American Party to come out in the most decisive manner against Japanese imperialism, against the latter's attack on China and seizure of Manchuria, and against its preparation for attack on the Soviet Union. This means that the party must make widespread use of all the facts of military preparation, provocation, terror, etc., on the part of Japanese imperialism, in order to arouse the masses against the threat of war and to utilize their sentiments of natural indignation against Japanese imperialism as the direct and open instigator of war, bringing out and developing these sentiments of the masses and transforming into a revolutionary struggle against war. At the same time the CPUSA must not forget that the aim of American imperialism together with other imperialist countries to smash the Soviet Union has not been in the slightest degree decreased.

Having this aim, American imperialism encourages tendencies of Japanese imperialism to make war against the Soviet Union, aiming at the same time at the weakening of the military strength of Japan.

The resolution of the ECCI on the immediate tasks of the CPUSA gave an entirely correct characterization of the international situation and the tasks of the American Party, which it described as follows:

"A new world war becomes an immediate danger. The greatest and most urgent task of the whole world proletariat and the toiling masses, above all the American proletariat, is to wage a most intensive, widespread, devoted and courageous struggle against a new imperialist war—THE STRUGGLE AGAINST AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, ITS WAR PREPARATIONS AND INTERVENTION PLANS MUST BE THE CENTER OF THE EVERY DAY WORK OF THE PARTY AMONG THE MASSES: IN THE FACTORIES, TRADE UNIONS, IN STRIKES, AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED, NEGROES, YOUTH, AND WOMEN."

The first mistake made by the party leadership in the campaign against the menace of war and especially against the provocative acts of Japanese imperialism, was the confusion on the question of party slogans. The Communist party failed to understand that the slogan: "Oust the Japanese diplomatic and commercial representatives from the United States" and "Boycott Japanese goods" should have come from the masses and the non-party working class organizations. Instead of that, these slogans were and still are advanced as slogans of the Communist party, advocated in the Daily Worker, in speeches of responsible Party representatives, and in resolutions of the Chicago Party Convention.

The party must support these slogans inasmuch as they are put forward by non-party workers and

their mass organizations who express in these one-sided and half-way slogans their sincere indignation at the robber exploits of Japanese imperialism. The Communist Party, while carrying on propaganda for its main slogans for a bolshevist method of struggle against war, cannot neglect and least of all come out against, the radical sentiments of the masses; on the contrary, it must support them and transfer them in a revolutionary manner. In cases where a mass revolutionary non-party organization which is ready to come out against the war danger, does not yet accept our Communist slogans, we must help it to formulate its protest against the threat of war even in the form of such slogans as ousting Japanese diplomatic representatives, but even in these cases the initiative must come from the non-party workers themselves.

The difference between the slogans of the Party and the slogans of the non-party mass organizations will be clearer if we take the demand of credits for the Soviet Union or the proposals of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

The Party must support such demands when put forward by workers' mass organizations. The Communist Party must come out against and systematically expose those groups of bourgeois who fight against commercial credits to the Soviet Union, sabotage them but its stand must be POLITICAL, linking up this policy of the bourgeoisie with its preparations of war against the Soviet Union and against its attacks the working class at home, unmasking the bourgeoisie with regard to these questions and mobilizing the masses to struggle against the bourgeoisie in the same way. The Communist Party cannot adopt as its slogan the concrete proposals of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva Disarmament Conference. However, the Communist Party cannot oppose them and is bound to support any mass organization coming out in their favor.

The CPUSA has not noticed this difference in slogans, and in spite of direct instructions from the ECCI, has continued up until recently to issue them as slogans of the Communist Party.

In this the leadership of the Communist Party has given evidence of its lack of understanding of the necessity for transferring the center of gravity of its work to the mobilization of the masses; instead of AROUSING THE MASSES to the struggle against the war and spurring them on to put forward by themselves even the most elementary anti-imperialist slogans, the leadership of the Party followed the path of REPLACING THE MASSES BY THE PARTY. And, notwithstanding the instructions of the ECCI, the Communist Party has continued its incorrect position resulting in inadequate mobilization of the masses against Japanese

The Significance of the Comintern Document

The document which is printed below is a glaring revelation of the policies and state of affairs in the Third International and its national sections. It is a letter sent to the leaders of the Communist party in this country by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, dated September 27, 1934. A note at the top reads: "Received N. Y. Nov. 14, 1932.—E.B. (Earl Browder)". Mimeographed for the members of the American Central Committee, it was of course never seen by the party membership.

Early in 1932, in connection with the Japanese imperialist assault upon Manchuria and Shanghai, the U. S. Stalinists launched a feverish campaign under the slogan, "Oust the Japanese Ambassador from the United States!" Those who have forgotten the articles printed at that time by the Daily Worker, will have their memories refreshed by the document below. Instead of concentrating its attack upon its "own" bourgeoisie, the American Stalinist party took upon itself the role of Councillor of State to the American ruling class. In the crudest imaginable manner, the Stalinists substituted chauvinism for a revolutionary policy. The Stalinists simply forgot the classic axiom of Karl Liebknecht: "The enemy is at home."

In condemning the whole chauvinistic campaign of the Stalinists at that time, the Militant wrote on April 16, 1932: "The American party demands of the bourgeoisie that it take steps against the Japanese which the Soviet Union has refrained from taking. But the expulsion of all diplomatic representatives is only the first of many connected steps. To break off diplomatic relations is usually the prelude to a declaration of war. The cruel logic of the party's downright chauvinistic position is that, in the event of the consistent sharpening of the conflict, it would only be stopping 'unreasonably' half-way along its chosen road if it failed to support the American bourgeoisie in declaring war against the Japanese. That is how the mercenaries of Stalinism are slowly converting the great Leninist slogan to make it read: Transform the civil war into an imperialist war."

imperialism.

The corresponding instructions from the ECCI on the question of slogans for the anti-war campaign of the party were given very soon after the CC correctly put forward the slogans "Oust the Japanese Diplomatic Representatives" and "Boycott Japanese goods". Immediately after receiving the instructions of the ECCI, the Secretariat of the CC CPUSA, on the 12 of March addressed the party organizations with a circular letter in which the instructions of the ECCI were on the whole clearly put forward.

In the circular it was stated that the slogans, "Oust the Agents of Japanese Imperialism" and "Boycott of Japan" should be raised by workers' organizations so as to create the sentiments of utmost hatred against Japanese imperialism, the spearhead of world imperialism, but should not be put forward by the party directly (AS HAD BEEN DONE). THEY SHOULD COME FROM BELOW; resolutions should be published in the press, so as to make these demands real demands.

This instruction was given to the party organizations, in the form of a short circular, but without any political explanation. There was

We pointed out further that this course was the inevitable fruit of the nationalistic theories and practices of Stalinism. As shown so sensationally in this case, Stalinism relentlessly transforms the communist parties from organizations fighting to overthrow their own bourgeoisie into departments of the foreign office of the Soviet Union whose increasingly exclusive task is a pacifist "defense" of the Soviet Union.

In other words, the policy of Browder, Weinstein and Co. was not an accidental deviation, but the logical outcome of the whole Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country".

This is proved to the hilt by the "criticism" of the E.C.C.I. itself. It is not a revolutionary condemnation of the C.P.'s "Japanese campaign". Far from it. Fundamentally, it is an endorsement of it! If anything, the Moscow secretariat only proposes to add hypocrisy and chicanery to chauvinism.

The American Stalinists evoked a storm of criticism against their campaign and the slogans under which it was carried out. The Militant, on the one side, and the Lovestonites to a lesser extent, on the other, submitted the C. P. campaign to a sharp criticism. Browder was compelled to admit that many party members had been deeply affected by this criticism. What the E.C.C.I. was concerned with was merely to put over the same chauvinist slogans, only in a less blatant and less crude form. That is why the essence of the whole Comintern "criticism" is confined to a complaint against the American C.P. putting forward the disgraceful slogans directly, under its own name. It should be done more "cleverly". The C.P. must first get one of its "mass organizations" to put forward the reactionary slogans "spontaneously". Then the C. P. must come out in support of it because . . . the masses have advanced it.

With the exception of the first introductory, which are of a general agitational nature, the letter of the E.C.C.I. is reprinted here in full. All emphasis, except the words in caps, are ours.

no serious political discussion in the Politburo or in the CC of the previous erroneous position of the CC in this question. According to the statement made by three members of the Politburo who came to the XII plenum of the ECCI, they were never informed of the ECCI instructions concerning these slogans. This information they for the first time received in Moscow. One of the comrades, incidentally heard in the beginning of April some indelicate remarks concerning such information, but in a form that did not correspond with the content of the instructions.

Also at the XIV plenum of the CC this question was not correctly presented, or explained to the Party. In the report of the reporter of the Politburo to the plenum, comrade Weinstein, this question was blurred and confused. Comrade Weinstein kept saying that "We have put forward as slogans in the campaign against war in China the slogan of 'Economic boycott' and 'Oust the Imperialists'. Why have we raised these slogans? In order to arouse a mass movement of the workers." In this no difference was brought up between these slogans as Party slogans and slogans of non-party mass organizations.

Only in one place comrade Weinstein made the remark about "putting forward these slogans from on top and not from below". But it is impossible to see what he had in mind—lower Party organizations, or non-party masses? Comrade Weinstein in his report referred to the speculations of the Social Democrats and Lovestonites on these slogans issued by the Party and presenting the slogans all the time as if they were slogans of the Party, he continued to defend them with arguments such as "Boycott and driving out of the imperialists does not actually mean war".

Comrade Browder, who devoted his speech at the Plenum almost exclusively to the question of struggle against the war danger, likewise did not make any distinction between these slogans of the Communist Party or slogans of non-party organizations. In bringing up the questions of concrete slogans of the Party for the struggle against war Comrade Browder declared: "When we brought forward the slogans very sharply and concretely, directed against Japanese imperialism which is the spearhead of the development of a world imperialist war, concretized in the form of the demand for the expul-

sion of the Japanese imperialist representatives in the United States for economic boycott, many of our members did not understand this. In fact these members had a reaction against these slogans. Generally within the party was felt the influence of the Lovestonites and Trotskyist attacks against these slogans. The party was not prepared to answer the attacks made upon our slogans by the renegades and by the socialists."

And again, not stating exactly by whom these slogans should be issued, Comrade Browder spoke of them as if they should be the slogans of the Party, declared them to be correct, and called for "complete liquidation of all hesitation and all fears" and for a "bold application of the line that these slogans represent."

This presentation of the question at the Plenum of the CC shows that the Party leadership approached the directives of the ECCI in a mechanical way and, without understanding the essence of the question and without explaining it to the Party, continued to repeat its former errors. Thus in the Daily Worker of May 17 the leading articles contained in the form of a direct appeal to the workers the slogans: "Force all Japanese diplomats and commercial representatives from the United States". According to the Daily Worker May 31, Comrade Browder at the Chicago Nominating Convention of the Communist Party, in the report delivered in the name of the Central Committee of the Party "called upon the workers . . . to demonstrate against the representatives of Japanese imperialism and drive them out of the United States". According to the D.W., the Chicago Convention adopted among other resolutions, a resolution against the war danger, calling for "the driving out of the Japanese imperialists, representatives and boycott of Japanese goods". (Daily Worker, May 31). It would be well for the Daily Worker to avoid emphasizing the national instead of class aspect of the war by speaking of Japanese imperialism when describing the acts of Japanese imperialism.

The mistakes of the CPUSA in putting forward anti-Japanese slogans are closely bound up with the obvious under-estimation of the task of the Party of struggle against American imperialism.

In the present concrete situation the American bourgeoisie is trying to find a way out of the crisis along the path of further attacks on the American working class; by a more intensive exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial countries; by a war against its imperialist rivals, by war against the USSR. The American bourgeoisie is now carrying out this inseparably interwoven line transforming one of these links into another. From this essence of the class policy of the American bourgeoisie at home from its preparation for war against Japan and Great Britain and its preparations

for an intervention against the U.S.S.R. It would be wrong to counterpose the rivalry of American and Japanese imperialism to the irreconcilable class hatred of the American bourgeoisie toward the U.S.S.R. It would be wrong to divorce the struggle of the American working class against American imperialism from the struggle against the menace of intervention against the Soviet Union.

In what main lines must proceed the struggle of the American Party against war? First of all, the Communist Party cannot separate the struggle against war from the class struggle against its "own" bourgeoisie. The CPUSA should regard its struggle against war as part of the general struggle against American imperialism. Agitation and propaganda of the Communist Party against pacifist and reformist prescription in the struggle against war, and exposure of the preparations of the bourgeoisie for war, should be closely linked up with the daily work of the party among the masses; should form one basic line of Communist struggle against war, the line of revolutionary mass action, the line of "STRENGTHENING, DEVELOPING, BROADENING AND SHARPENING THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION OF THE MASSES" (Lenin). Constant linking up of the daily struggles of the working class for immediate demands with the struggle against American imperialism and its preparations for war; constant raising of the political activity of the working class in these struggles; this is the principle method of POSTPONING the outbreak of war, of making it difficult for the bourgeoisie TO PREPARE FOR WAR, and should the working class not be able to frustrate the outbreak of war, of OBSTRUCTING THE CONDUCT OF WAR and creating conditions for its transformation into civil war, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat.

The revolutionary proletariat should FIRST OF ALL organize its anti-war and anti-interventionist mass struggle adapting it to the concrete internal and external situation as a struggle against ITS OWN BOURGEOISIE. The proletariat should most energetically come out in defense of the USSR not only because the Soviet Union is the fatherland of the workers, the stronghold of Socialism, but also because the USSR is a powerful factor in the struggle against war, and such a struggle is helpful in delaying the moment when the workers of the world, including the American workers are plunged into the horrors of blood and privation of a new imperialist war.

In other words, the struggle against war and intervention should be organized by the Communist Party primarily on the ground of protecting the interests of the working masses of its own country because wars are fought by the masses and at their expense.

(To Be Continued)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Egregious

"Gorman has been striking new notes in strike statements and strategy, especially for a labor leader who starts out by being non-radical. President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, making up for his egregious San Francisco error, calls upon all the forces of organized labor to back up the general textile strike. . . S. Friedman in the latest literary darling of American socialism, Arise, "New notes," "Egregious errors. What the movement needs is an Ambrose Bierce to write a revolutionary Devil's Dictionary. There, for the convenience of socialists like Friedman, strike breaking and open and deliberate betrayals of workers will be referred to euphemistically as "egregious errors" and "new strategy"

Social-Democratic Ministers and Worms

In the effort of leading Social-Democrats to the Darwinian thesis they sometimes go to strange lengths. In his attempt to prove the horizontal and four-footed antecedence of Homo Sapiens, "comrade" Per Albin Hansson, his Swedish Majesty's Social-Democratic minister, has thrown himself prostrate before the Royal offspring—proving that it is just as easy—far easier, in fact—for a Social-Democratic minister to crawl on all fours than to stand upright like a man.

Jehova for Sinclair

Sinclair sums up his campaign to end poverty in California better than ever we could in his latest poem to the New Republic. Therein he sums up his faith in Jehova and proves that he has the Almighty's official seal:

"O God my Father, and God my Friend
And God my Guide to Poverty's End. Amen."
Which reminds us of a story Sin-

clair surely must have heard from his southern grandpappy. A German soldier in the Union army was caught in the act of flogging some vegetables from the bin of a secessionist house-hold and the mistress of the house shouted: "Have you no fear of the Lord?" "Nein," exclaimed the soldier, "Gott is all played out."

Angels for Amter

If Sinclair has the Almighty, himself, on his side, at least the rank and file of God's heavenly abode are all for Israel Amter. For there's a strong rumor percolating about that Father Divine's angels are solid for the local Stalinist candidate for governor.

Tears, Tears, More Glycerine

The Republican Moses, not to be confused with his biblical forebear, has broken down and wept before the rock that is Tammany. This exhibition of elephantine humanitarianism is brought forth by the bestial attack on the two hundred or so hunger strikers who attempted to enter Albany to lay their demands before Governor Lehman. That other hunger marchers, workers and unemployed have been brutally beaten at the behest of Republican governors; that the bonus army was tear-gassed, bayoneted and burned out of Washington by a Republican president is known to all—even to Moses. But . . . the hypocrisy of a boss-class politician before election knows no bounds.

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IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Another Paper Union Folds Up

Boston, Oct. 25.—At last the Stalinists decided to give up the N.T. W.I.U.—And please note, that they do this not because they realize that they have been wrong, that their false policies left no other road open, nor anything to give up. Oh, no! The infallibility of Stalinism would not permit that! They take this step because they have become suddenly merciful and come to the rescue of the poor dressmakers in the I.L.G.W. How good of the Stalinist-controlled G. E.B.I.

A few questions to the kind general secretary Gold: And we will go back only a brief two years.

Looking at the Record

Gold will probably recall that two years ago the dressmakers worked for starvation wages, even under worse conditions than today and needed united strength. Why was it that under your leadership, —or shall we say under the iron heel of the Profintern, the G.E.B. refused to call a united front for a single strike to gain conditions for the workers?

In Boston at a general membership meeting of cloak and dressmakers, at which Gold spoke, the present writer pointed out that the only way to gain conditions was to have one union in the industry and that the Stalinists were carrying out a wrong policy by splitting and keeping the ranks split. Was Gold lying to himself and to the workers when he exclaimed, "Workers, do not listen to Eva Winer. She is a 'Trotskyite' whose policies are wrong and counter-revolutionary. We will never give up the Industrial Union! The workers will come back to us!" (?)

And keep up they did—till they lost the bulk of the membership. The few who remained did so out of necessity. Either because they worked in the few shops then still controlled by the Stalinists or be-

cause they stubbornly believed in the slogans of their leadership.

Again, if the dressmakers need your help—and it is help you want to give them and always did—why was it that when the New York dressmakers last year under the I.L.G.W. went out in that gigantic strike which involved almost the entire trade you even then refused to face the truth break with your isolation policy and enter as a body into the I.L.G.W.? Did you still expect that the workers would come back? No, we know better.

Will the Workers "Come Back"?

In spite of the slanders against "Trotskyism" with which our proposals were always met by the Stalinist bureaucrats, the correctness of the policy laid down by the C.L.A. came to the fore again. When Koretz was sent here to discuss with us the situation in the trade in Boston I again spoke for entry into the I.L.G.W., demanding full rights as old members and help the needle workers' fight. The old reply came this time from Koretz, that they will keep up the Industrial union even with seven members, so sure were they that the workers would not gain conditions through the I.L.G.W. and would come back.

Today Gold states that the workers are very badly off. Would it not be consistent to wait till they "come back"? But no, there is now an order from afar and above to give up, and the old slogans go overboard for no other reason. Gold now becomes soft-hearted and presents the right wing with the "dress department". But the leadership? They still have a sacred mission. On the outside they will keep up the office as a bogeyman to scare the right wing leaders. The fact, however, is that the chiefs of the G.E.B. dare not face the workers. They know that they pursued this hide-and-seek policy too long to expect the workers to have any further trust in them and seek their leadership.

Discretion Better Part of Valor
The following is proof of this bravery and conviction of these

leaders: Only a week ago Koretz and Gold came to Boston to "convince" a few staunch followers to carry out the final act for them; and they found it not so easy. For these few who repeated religiously after the pope, "Do not give up, the workers will come back" so often till they began to believe it, it became difficult to face reality. What was to follow was still worse. To come face to face with the "rank and file" and lay before them the new "turn", to attempt to undo in one evening what they had done in several years was too much for Gold and Koretz. They were not equal to the task and left Boston just a day before the meeting! Gold who had shouted phrases, and Koretz who had stayed in Boston for a period of time and educated the followers to the Stalinist slogans now took the easiest way out. In their stead they sent Gross to bring the sad news to Boston.

How did the "rank and file" react? Half of the already tiny group left did not attend the meeting in protest against this cowardly act of Gold and Koretz. Those who did attend "learned" from Gross that the New York workers have become so passive that they do not vote any longer and are disinterested in the left wing. "Truly a sad situation for the Stalinists to admit while they still consider themselves the left wing! But the workers know otherwise. The years of treacherous misleadership of the Stalinists did throw apathy into the ranks of the workers, but that will not be for long.

Led and inspired by a conscious vanguard working side by side with them, the workers will again raise their heads; organize into a strong left wing and fight for conditions. It is true, never again under the leadership of Stalinism, but with the assistance which can come only from the tested, clearheaded workers whose views history itself has vindicated.

—EVA WINER.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

Second International Begins to Crack

Faced with insoluble contradictions between the stark realities of decadent capitalism and the "theories" of gradualism and reformism based on a bourgeois democracy that is rapidly disappearing, the Second International, long dead politically, begins now to show all the signs of crumbling as a system of ideas. German fascism wiped out the largest Social Democratic party. Any remnants of this party cannot conceivably base themselves on the old forms of revisionism but must inevitably become part of a new revolutionary party still to be built. In Austria the socialist workers took up arms not only to combat fascism but to disprove conclusively all the tenets of Austro-Marxism. The vanguard of the Spanish proletariat, including the socialist workers, rallied to arms, the latter under the banner of a party that had consistently denied the validity of force and hence failed to prepare the working class for the revolutionary action that capitalism compels us to use to bring about its overthrow. The French socialists, threatened with the same fascist fate as their brothers, took to heart the fearful and inescapable lessons of Germany and Austria and broke with the outright reformists, now clearly revealed as masked reactionaries, in order to move to the left. The French party in its present state consists of a number of fractions, each with its own press, each striving for political leadership and for the final adoption of its program.

The American Socialist Party

The American Socialist party, no more than the French or the Swiss, can escape the devastating effects of the same contradictions. How can this party reconcile its support of the revolting Spanish workers, its hailing of their unsuccessful at-

tempt to bring about a workers' state by force of arms,—with a continued advocacy of nothing but peaceful and legal means in the United States? Which page of the New Leader shall one read most closely, that describing the shootings in Oviedo or that appealing for votes for Norman Thomas in the campaign to help solve all problems? And if the United States is in some strange sense different from Europe, then perhaps Thomas had better omit his constant references to the approaching danger of fascism here too. But in America also socialist workers have come to a realization that their party rests on unreal foundations. They have begun to move to the left, but this natural trend is hampered and stifled by an extremely reactionary Old Guard of petty bourgeois business men and professionals, including the old Forward clique and the socialist trade union bureaucracy. The Declaration of Principles adopted by the last convention represented not any clear-cut break with the past but a weak compromise, a distinct concession made by the "lefts" to the standpoint reformists of the Waldman-Oneal calibre under the threat of split made by the latter. The right centrists like Thomas intended this compromise to have the effect of stopping any further tendency to go left, and at the same time to preserve the "unity" of the organization. Thomas clearly revealed that he leans upon the right wing at the same time that he wishes to control the lefts in his statement on the referendum: ". . . the one thing we socialists cannot afford to do is to allow it (results of the referendum on the Declaration of Principles) to break up our unity, destroy our discipline, or continue to distract our energy." Again, "There is room within the S. P. for considerable divergence of view on certain points, if only we will work for socialism."

—JACK WEBER.

CLEVELAND BRANCH

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Sunday, Nov. 4, 2:30 P.M.:

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QUESTION BOX

BROWNSVILLE WORKER—

Question: What are the contradictions in Soviet and international economy which prevent the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.?

Answer: It is unfortunate that Trotsky's "The Draft Program of the C.I." is out of print since a complete answer to this question is contained in this work. The following cannot pretend at any such completeness.

Under capitalism the productive forces were increased by extending the social division of labor until it became world wide in scope. A further increase of productive forces requires a further extension of this world-wide division of labor. To attempt to construct a socialist society within the boundaries of a single state, i.e., to attempt to set up a self-sufficient economy independent of the rest of world economy, would mean to divorce that country from the international division of labor to which it has historically developed and thus thrust its economic development backward even further than it had taken place under capitalism. This can be the ideal of the petty bourgeoisie but not of revolutionists. (An evidence of its class roots note that "Socialism in one country" means national socialism, the name of the German Fascist party.)

Soviet economy is inseparably linked with world economy. From this fact flowed the Russian revolution which, according to Lenin's famous formula, occurred because WORLD capitalism broke at its weakest LINK. The seizure of power by the proletariat, however, has not destroyed this interdependence between Soviet and world economy; it has simply changed the ownership and control of the Russian productive forces. Being forced therefore to export and import, the Soviet Union can only find a solution for her economic problems in the international arena. This is the main contradiction which prevents her from building a Socialist, i.e., a self-sufficient, economy within the limits of her State boundaries, and since politics is merely economics raised to a higher plane, the matter will be finally solved politically on the world arena, by the international proletarian revolution.

Question: Do you insist that the proletariat must come into power in several of the advanced countries in order to save the Soviet Union from destruction?

Answer: We merely echo Lenin: "We do not live merely in a State but in a system of states and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states FOR ANY LENGTH OF TIME IS INCONCEIVABLE. In the end one or the other must triumph." As to the statement which mentions "several" countries we have but to quote one statement by Stalin with which we agree but which he has since revised: "For the final victory of Socialism, FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION, THE EFFORTS OF ONE COUNTRY, PARTICULARLY SUCH A PEASANT COUNTRY AS RUSSIA, ARE INSUFFICIENT. For this the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are necessary..." (Stalin, "Lenin and Leninism", Russian 1924 edition, pp. 40-41.)

Question: What is the difference between Socialism and Communism?

Answer: Socialism is the first stage of a CLASSLESS society in which certain "inequalities" remain, differences in wages, etc. The productive forces will not yet have matured to give "to each according to his needs". Under Communism, the latter condition, made possible by an additional advance in technique, culture etc., will exist.

In order to harmonize the contradictions of their "theories", the Stalinists confuse Socialism with the Proletarian Dictatorship and with Communism. (See "Question Box" of October 13.)

Question: Does not Stalin concede, at least in theory, that all Socialist construction is not a guarantee to capitalist intervention nor even to a restoration nor even to a restoration of capitalism?

Answer: Stalin concedes the first condition but cannot recognize the second without abandoning his theory, since he would then be admitting that sufficient MATERIAL forces for the building of a Socialist society in the U.S.S.R. do not exist. The whole Stalinist theory, however, is based on exactly the opposite claim. (To be continued.)

GEORGE STANTON, BROOKLYN— (Supplementary answer to September 29th)

Question: From Lenin's "The Third International and its Place in History", Trotsky quotes as follows: ("The Permanent Revolution", page 108) "... the contradictions between the backwardness of Russia and its 'leap' OVER BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY to the highest form of democracy—to proletarian or Soviet democracy." In the edition published by the Stalinist International Publishers this is stated as "... this contradiction between the backwardness of Russia and its 'leap' to the highest form of democracy, THROUGH DEMOCRACY to Soviet or proletarian democracy..." Since these two have different meanings, can you tell me which is correct?

Answer: To supplement our previous analytical proof that the Stalinist quotation is incorrect, we now present evidence of a factual nature.

We are indebted to comrade Max Shachtman for the following: "... Wir werden uns kaum irren, wenn wir sagen, dass gerade der Widerspruch zwischen der Zurückgebliebenheit Russlands und seinen 'Sprung' zur höchsten Form des Demokratismus, ÜBER DIE BÜRGERLICHE DEMOKRATIE HINWEG zur Sowjet- oder proletarischen Republik..." (N. Lenin—"Die Dritte Internationale, ihr Platz in der Geschichte"—DIE KOMMUNISTISCHE INTERNATIONALE, Moskau-Petrograd, No. 1, 1919, p. v. edition of the Rote Fahne, Berlin, Aug. 1919).

Comrade J. MacDonald is to be thanked for this one: "It would not be misconstruing the facts to say that this striking contrast between Russia's backwardness and its leap OVER THE HEAD OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY to the highest form of democracy, the Soviet or proletarian democracy..." (The Communist Review, March 1929, Vol. 1, No. 3, published in London, England by the British Communist Party).

The emphasis is ours in both cases.

COMRADE E., CAPE TOWN, BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA—We are replying to your questions by separate letter, a copy of which we are sending to the Lenin Club.

A. P., BRONX—See the "Question Box" for August 18, and 26 for the quotations concerning the trade union policy of the C. P. before the inception of the T.U.U.L., and the basis upon which the R.I.L.U. was formed.

COMRADE B., BROOKLYN—See "Question Box" of October 6th.

Editor's Note: We regret that we cannot accede to the requests of comrades for immediate answers by mail since this only increases our work and our facilities are limited. Comrades who enclose air mail stamps only force us to go to the additional trouble and expense of returning them.

HAS THE COMINTERN LEARNED?

By ERICH WOLLENBERG

Many Communist workers, who are critical of the Comintern, are today of the opinion that the Comintern has made "a turn of 180 degrees". They therefore believe that all the demands of the Opposition have been fulfilled and that every one who today still remains a critic of the political line of the Comintern or its sections is a "critic on principle", a hopeless babbler.

We revolutionary Communists should never forget that in the struggle against the mistakes of the Comintern every exaggeration is so much grist to the mill of the bureaucrats and impedes the process of the revolutionary clarification of the Communist workers. We must always bear in mind the lessons which we have drawn from the exaggerated character of the struggle against the social democrats. The social democratic workers began to understand long before Hitler that their leadership "failed", that it was "worthless" but they knew that the S.P.G. was no fascist party and that it was not pursuing fascist policies and that it—neither the leaders nor the workers—were social fascists as the Communists always insisted. Therefore the social democratic workers received all the attacks of the C. P. on the S. P.—even those that were justified—as "ordinary slanders". Therefore it is self-evident that the theory of "social-fascism" and the resulting policies (the red referendum, etc.) in reality helped to constantly strengthen the shaky positions of the social-democratic leadership with its own membership.

A Critique of Criticism

A similar process of clarification, but not in such a developed form, which existed among the social democracy for a number of years began to manifest itself among the Communist workers after July 20, 1932 and especially after January 30, 1933. The Communist workers also understood that their leadership "failed", that it was "worthless". Today we must guard against making the same mistakes as regards the Communists that the Communist party made as regards the social democratic workers. We will be guilty of these mistakes if we represent today everything the Comintern does as false or completely counter-revolutionary. e.g., when we do not submit the policies of the Comintern and its sections to criticism but instead content ourselves with pointing to the "dishonest motives" of the Comintern bureaucrats. Only when we declare openly whenever the Comintern says or does something correct that it is correct will the Communist workers believe us whenever we brand other actions as false and fatal, or when we brand its political line as objectively counter-revolutionary.

The report of the July 9-10 session of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. is now at hand. It is a kind of touchstone for the policies of the Comintern, an indicator for the "turn". This report shows with terrifying clarity how little the Comintern has learned. Of course, both Knorin and Platnitsky have asserted that the German working class had suffered a defeat in January 1933 and that "the inability of the Communists to begin the struggle on July 22, 1932, at least to draw in a section of the proletariat and thus to show that the Communists were really in a condition to carry on a struggle, that they are capable of mobilizing the masses for this struggle—all this has made a shocking impression upon the workers". This "discovery" of Platnitsky is undoubtedly a step forward. One need only recall that as late as April of 1933 the writer of this article was expelled from the Communist party by this same Platnitsky for making this self-same assertion.

Spreading Illusions

Comrade "Richter", member of the Polit-Bureau of the C.P.G. correctly asserts in his report on the situation in Germany that on the one hand, fascism makes difficult the struggle to win over the workers, but on the other hand facilitates the struggle by "shattering the illusions". Rosa Luxemburg taught us long ago that there is "nothing more harmful than illusions". But unfortunately, Richter tries with might and main to arouse all the illusions on the situation in Germany. He asserts that "everybody is dissatisfied with the Hitler regime in Germany", no more, no less. It is indeed "everybody"! The working masses are dissatisfied, the urban middle classes, the masses of petty and middle peasants are "disillusioned and discontented". Even the capitalists, "are not at all satisfied". Why the hell then, hasn't the fascist dictatorship been overthrown? Knorin and Platnitsky say approximately the same thing as Richter and arrive at a conclusion that Hitler in reality leans more and more upon the Reichswehr and the police. They seem to have forgotten that these two instruments of power of the bourgeoisie also do not inhabit a vacuum but are bound up by a thousand living threads with all the layers of the population. Dissatisfaction among all classes and layers of the population would also become manifest in the Reichswehr and the police and turn them

The Author of this Article:

The writer of this article, comrade Erich Wollenberg, is prominent among leading German Communists. His service to the revolutionary movement and his distinguished career in it entitles him to speak with authority. Wollenberg joined the Communist party as an active army officer in Munich in early 1919. During the existence of the Soviet Republic he was local commander of the Red Army in Bavaria, in charge of the main front at Dachau. He distinguished himself at that time as well as on later occasions by his extraordinary personal bravery. Captured by the army of Ebert-Hindenburg, he was sentenced to several years imprisonment. On his release he became party editor in the Ruhr district and in East Prussia. In 1923 he was put in charge of the military direction of one of the biggest German districts and was one of the few comrades who, against the will of the Central Committee, wanted to strike out in the Fall of the year.

After the defeat of the party he was obliged to flee to the Soviet Union because Secret Servicemen had been shot down in a raid on the military direction. In the Soviet Union Wollenberg entered the Red Army and soon received the rank of captain. In 1932 after repeated requests and no less repeated refusals Wollenberg was permitted to return to Germany, where he became editor of Rote Fahne and a leader of the League of Struggle Against Fascism.

During the pre-Hitler days Wollenberg came into constant conflict with the Central Committee of the party over its nationalist orientation and its aping of the Nazis. Thaelmann attempted to buy his silence with a Reichstag mandate, but with no success. When Wollenberg was slugged at a Nazi demonstration by Storm Troopers, causing him to convalesce in a hospital for several weeks, Thaelmann utilized the opportunity to remove him from all party posts. The resentment in C.P. ranks against this bureaucratic usurpation was so strong that Thaelmann prevailed upon the E.C.C.I. to recall Wollenberg to Moscow where he was denied any active work for the German Communist party. Comrade Wollenberg was expelled from the C.P. in the summer of 1933 when he requested to be permitted to return to Germany and work for the creation of a new Communist party. He is at present in exile.

into un dependable props of the fascist dictatorship. But unfortunately these "assertions" of Richter, Platnitsky and Knorin are false, awaken frightful illusions, and must serve as a point of departure for false policies.

In addition, it serves the leaders of the German Communist party and the Comintern also in order to justify their continually reiterated idiotic theory thesis since 1932-1933 that everything which occurred in Germany for the last three years was no defeat for the working class but a "revolutionary upsurge". And Richter does, as a matter of fact, speak up and say "we can today declare that this revolutionary upsurge—which was formulated in the October resolution of the Polit-Bureau of the C.P.G. as well as in the resolutions of the 13th plenum of the E.C.C.I.—is being recognized and felt by broad masses of the working class". At what a remote distance are the present emigre leaders of the C.P.G. in Paris and Copenhagen from the real situation and the real opinions of the workers in Germany!

The "Revolutionary Upsurge"

In his report Richter attempts to give a few examples of this "revolutionary upsurge". He points to the "more intense propaganda activity for the first time where over the whole Reich local papers are again appearing for the first time". In order to point out the activity of the C. P. G. he is compelled to give the lie to the earlier reports of the bureaucracy of the C.P.G. because for a year and a half the leadership of the C.P.G. was emphasizing in all their reports and articles that their local papers were appearing regularly, some once every week and others once a month. Richter goes on to list a number of strikes in which he restricts himself to the bald enumeration of some movements and he doesn't describe a single one of

these strikes completely although naturally the methods of strike struggle under a fascist dictatorship must be extraordinarily interesting and rich in lessons.

Platnitsky and Knorin themselves appear to have little faith in the report made by the member of the C.C. of the C.P.G. because they remark in their own reports that the C.P.G. has been unable to lead a "single important strike". It may or may not be true when Richter asserts as a proof of the revolutionary work of the C.P.G. that—already prior to June 30, 1934—"in one big place in Germany alone, five leaders of the S.A. are connected with the C.P.G. and circulate Communist literature among their acquaintances (among the storm troopers)". Should this be true, it would show the inability of the C. P. G. to utilize for revolutionary action so severe a crisis in Fascism as the slaughter of June 30.

Muenzenbergism!

The most important thing in the session of the E.C.C.I. is what the Comintern and the C.C. of the C.P.G. have to say about the social-democratic workers. "There are dozens of places where half of the C.P.G. units consist of former social democratic workers. In a city in Thuringia, we have among 200 party members 100 former members of the social democratic party. In a Bavarian city, we have connections with the social democratic key men who in their turn are connected with 500 workers. In a sub-district 200 social democratic workers have entered the party; thanks to this seven units exist in a place where we didn't have a single unit during the times of legality." Etc., etc! These reports so openly bear the stamp of Muenzenbergism, that is, of political bragadoccio that one need not treat them seriously. They are uttered in the same breath with Knorin's report that the C.P.G. is of the op-

inion "of creating in illegality a colossal mass organization numbering at least 100,000 members". The value of the turn of the Comintern is to be appraised not by the uncontrolled figures of the entry of the social democratic workers into the C.P.G. but by the policies of the C.P.G. The united front is the axis of the entire proletarian policies in the present period. One of the most important conditions for a revolutionary united front policy is a correct position towards social democracy.

But Knorin speaks about "our correct formula that the social democracy and fascism are twins, our correct international formula which states that the social democracy is the chief social prop of the bourgeoisie" concludes literally the following: "the situation in Germany has altered but it is correct today also to call Wels a social fascist; it is correct that the fascists and the social democracy led by Wels were twins." Thus the Comintern remains holding the old fatal formula of Stalin and shamefully keeps silent over the fact that Stalin had furthermore declared "fascism is a formless bloc of these two organizations (S.P.G. and N.S.D.A.P.) and the bourgeoisie cannot maintain itself at the helm without this bloc." Naturally the Comintern cannot openly compromise Stalin who does not consider it his duty to appear personally at the Presidium of the E.C.C.I.

"Without a Stalin There Could Be No Hitler"

The session of the presidium of the E.C.C.I. of July of this year shows that the Comintern in some questions tried to draw some lessons from the defeats of the German and International proletariat. But where it does so it does not point out the source of these mistakes for then it must openly admit a share of guilt in the victory of Fascism over the German working class. "Without the social democracy, Fascism could not have triumphed," says Knorin. "Without Ebert there could be no Hitler", the author of these lines wrote in the Summer of 1932 in the Rote Fahne, the central organ of the C. P. G. July 20, 1932, January 30, 1933 and the seventeen months of the Hitler dictatorship have shown this statement to be only a half truth which through the pedagogy of history found a fatal supplement, "Without a Stalin there could be no Hitler!" Without the policy of the C.C. of the C.P.G. fascism could not have triumphed without a battle. Knorin correctly differentiates between the "social democratic groups now functioning illegally in Germany" and the C.C. of the S.P.G. in emigration with Wels at the head but, just the same way must one differentiate between the Communist groups now functioning illegally in Germany with the C.C. of the C.P.G. now in emigration with Heckert, Pieck and Ulbricht at the head. Let the Piecks and Wels tear at each other's throats or make united front proposals to each other! This touches the problem of the proletarian revolution in Germany only on its periphery. The precondition for the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship in Germany will obtain if the illegally struggling communist and social democratic workers will build a new communist party on the basis of revolutionary theory and practice.

WORLD OF LABOR

RELIGIOUS CONFLICT FLARES IN MEXICO

In New York, the Communist Party forms a United Front with Father Divine—against war and Fascism. In Mexico, the Communist Party forms a united front with the Pope of Rome, vicar of Christ on Earth—Against "Socialist Education" in the schools!

For the past several months, since the new program for "Socialist Education" was adopted by the Mexican Government, the political situation in that country has become extremely tense. Huge mass demonstrations of students, housewives and school children who, under the influence of the clergy, object to a slight dose of sexual instruction in the schools, have been staged throughout the country. These "popular" demonstrations have on almost every occasion been broken up by the hose of the fire department, the clubs of the police, and the rifles of the military. The students of many schools and colleges, led by the Catholic Youth and the Young Communist League who now march shoulder to shoulder "against the common enemy" have staged a number of student strikes. In spite however, of this mass protest on the part of the backward strata of the populace, the proletariat and the radicalized peasantry, unable to analyze the fine points of "socialist education", find in the government program some features which they consider to their interests.

Once again, this time under the guise of "Socialist Education", the national bourgeois regime of Mexico, as a cover-up for its anti-labor activity in other fields, and as a means of liquidating the opposition of the rightist elements in opposition to it, continues to flout its pseudo-revolutionary demagoguery before the whole world. The plan to apply a new program for "socialist education" in all schools of that country, has brought to the fore once again the years old conflict between the Culles political group, now concentrated around the National Revolutionary Party (P.N.R.) and the Catholic clergy, as representative of the blackest reactionary forces of the country.

The clergy, realizing that this might well be its life and death struggle, made a desperate attempt to rally the most backward masses of the populace against the "socialist education" program and especially against the "sexual education" aspect of the new program of instruction. During this whole conflict, the Stalinists have played directly into the hands of the clerical reaction. The Stalinists, considering the anti "Socialist Education" strikes of the Mexican students, and the "mass movement" of the fanatical housewives and mothers of families, to be progressive simply because they were mass movements, and because they were against the government, have thrown all of their forces on the side of the Roman Catholic clergy and against the government. In their customary fashion they find themselves unable to take a truly independent position in such a question. From open and unrestrained collaboration with the national bourgeoisie against the clergy from 1926 to 1929, they have now turned to open and unreserved support of the Catholic reaction in its struggle against the national bourgeois regime of the P.N.R.

The Communist Internationalists of Mexico, while pointing out that the P.N.R. or any other bourgeois regime is incapable of establishing real socialist education, and that this can only be done under workers' rule as in the U.S.S.R., indicate to the workers that the policies of Roman Catholicism have just as reactionary content as they have always had. In one more case, the need of a new revolutionary workers' party is being demonstrated.

NEW WAR THREAT IN SOUTH AMERICA

War with Venezuela is being discussed openly throughout Colombia, as a result of the growing outness of imperialist antagonisms. These conflicts center around petroleum and other concessions in the regions of Colombia that border on the Venezuelan oil fields near Lake Maracaibo. The interests of British and U. S. imperialism are playing a desperate game within the politics of Colombia itself. Although the British interests dominate in the recently inaugurated Lopez government, the American concessionaires and industrialists are still able to exert pressure both with the governing group and also through the opposition bourgeois party.

The working class of the country is divided into several camps, mostly under reformist-liberal leadership. This contributed largely to the lack of any serious opposition to last year's Leticia "war", and is of course a source of great weakness today also. However, the workers are becoming more militant in the recent period as evidenced by the many important strikes that have taken place. The failure of every single large strike to gain its objectives, has weakened the little faith that the masses still retained in their leadership. There is a wide sympathy towards communism among broad masses of workers, but this is not translated into communist influence in the unions because of the inability of the party to lead any struggles to a really successful finish. There is no Opposition Communist movement in Colombia with the exception of a small group in the provincial city of Cali, which controls a few minor local trade unions and adheres to the International Communist League.

SPANISH REACTION PREPARES NEW BLOWS

As the government troops of the Lerroux-Gil Robles regime mop up the remaining bodies of armed workers, the reactionary forces within the government itself, are preparing for new advances. The number of workers imprisoned as a result of the revolutionary general strike and uprising is estimated at about 15,000. Many of these have already received long sentences and twenty death penalties, a number of them against Catalanian nationalists and army officers who had joined the uprising are pending. The Popular Actionists (Fascists) are demanding wholesale executions and a virtual reign of terror against the workers and their organizations, most of the leaders of which are now either in jail or in hiding. The Radicals of Mr. Lerroux's party however, fearful of the forces of the working class, weakened but not smashed, are vacillating on the policy to be followed. Seeking a further pretext for the repressions, and especially in an attempt to justify these repressions internationally, the reactionaries are inventing extravagant atrocity stories. It is claimed, for instance, that in Asturias the revolutionary workers seized the little children of the Civil Guards and gouged out their eyes. But in spite of this and numerous other charges, even the more moderate bourgeois elements tend to ignore the "horror" stories.

Political measures are being taken against the Catalan Generalidad and many of its autonomous features, such as police, courts and taxation powers, have been rescinded. Preparations are being made to declare the Socialist Party illegal at the parliamentary session, scheduled to open in a few days.

Six Years of the Militant

November 15th marks the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Militant. At the same time we are preparing for a leap forward on the road to the building of a new revolutionary party based on a Marxist foundation.

Those who have been with us during these trying six years remember the difficult times we have had and feel proud of the share they had in helping to overcome them at all personal costs and sacrifices.

The Militant has served a great

historic mission during this period and will continue to serve the movement after the new party is formed.

In order that the Militant shall be in a position to expand and improve after the new party is launched, we must make heroic efforts NOW to liquidate all past obligations. If we do this, we will give the official organ of the new party a running start and thus enable the editors and business office to concentrate on expanding the paper instead of on collecting

funds to stay off creditors.

We feel confident that all our readers and those who are interested in the launching of a new party will agree with us on this matter. Toward this end we make the following proposals:

1. TO OUR PLEDGERS: If at all possible, send in your pledge in advance to January 1. After that date we will begin a drive for a new list of pledgers in the new party.
2. TO OUR BRANCHES: Arrange at once for a Sixth Anniversary Militant affair to help clear up your bundle account.
3. TO ALL READERS: Send in a 25c greeting for the Sixth Anniversary issue. State explicitly whether we may print your name in full.

ADDRESSOGRAPH CONTRIBUTED

The Youngstown Branch of our organization has contributed an addressograph to the Militant. There remain the necessary accessories to be bought—a stamping machine, name plates and some cabinets. The Youngstown comrades found a local place where these can be bought at half the price we would have to pay here. The complete outfit, including crating and shipping to New York comes to a total of \$35.

We take this opportunity to thank our Youngstown comrades for their generous contribution (which saves us about \$150) and secondly to appeal to our readers and friends to send in their donations toward the \$35 so we can get the machine here just as fast as possible.

MAKE YOUR DONATION AS GENEROUS AS POSSIBLE AND MAKE IT SOON! Be sure to state the specific fund you are contributing to so they may be used for this special purpose.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

ANNIVERSARY OFFER

Here is a special anniversary offer of interest to all our subscribers and friends. With this special combination offer you can obtain just the book or pamphlet you want and a subscription to the MILITANT.

We have set as our birthday aim—to double subscriptions. Can we count on our friends to celebrate with us? Send in your subscriptions at once. This campaign ends Dec. 31st.

COMBINATION OFFERS

Six Months Subscription to the MILITANT and one of the following pamphlets: Both for \$.50

TEN YEARS—by Max Shachtman
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EDITORIAL

Radek for a New Party?....

KARL Radek, editor of *Izvestia*, is the chief ballyhoo artist for Stalin's foreign policy. In an interview with Fred C. Kelly, reported in the New York Post on Oct. 29, Radek is quoted as expressing a certainty that there will be no revolution in the United States for a long time, and that "the United States will be the last country to give up capitalism." Radek, ignoring the misery of the American workers which has become so intense during the last five years, states that "life is still too comfortable in the U. S. for a real revolt to occur." Overriding all Stalin's older "theories" of the "third period" and the "deep-going radicalization of the workers," Radek opines that the American workers "are more conservative than the farmers." Lending support to A. F. of L. officials who claim that a policy of rotten compromise has the freely-expressed support of the rank-and-file (the textile strike committee, for example), Radek charges that American workers are always willing to settle strikes "whenever employers make even slight concessions."

Thus much of Radek's comment, all transparently false, deals with what Marxists call the "objective situation", even the state of mind of the working class, its class consciousness, which he rates so low, being "objective" to the revolutionary vanguard. Aware that he has made a poor case for his prophecy and that the capitalist class may not be able to comfort itself very much from these analyses, Radek turns to a consideration of the subjective factor. "No country," he is quoted as saying, "ever has a revolution until there is a class-conscious group capable of carrying on the revolution. It must be led by zealots who believe in it so thoroughly they are willing to make great sacrifices for it." It is the absence of such a "group," or party as we call it, which Radek sees as the decisive factor making for the permanence of capitalism in the U. S.

It is not surprising to see Karl Radek throw brickbats at the American Stalinists. Years ago he expressed over the tea-cups the opinion that the American C. P. was the a----- of the international movement. Looking at its record after the five years of world-shaking crisis which have ensued, he naturally holds an even lower opinion of the Browderian horde than ever before. Quite frankly, in his view, these specimens are not "capable of carrying on the revolution."

Now, comrades, don't go off the deep end. True, Karl Radek was once a member of the Russian Left Opposition. True, too, Louis Waldman, in rejecting the application of Ben Gitlow for admission to the S. P., informs us that "once a Bolshevik always a Bolshevik." True, again, he recognizes the permanent unfitness of himself and his organization to carry forward the banner of the proletarian revolution. But is it true that Radek, after capitulating to Stalin, has begun to smuggle Trotskyism into the Comintern? Is he, in his dotage, bitten by conscience, slyly setting that banner in a corner and walking off in the hope that someone else will pick it up? Is he painfully and in this round-about way sending us greetings? Is he making an analysis and begging us to draw the conclusions?

Are we to read between the lines of Radek's statement the Macedonian cry: "For God's sake, somebody start a new revolutionary party?" In a pig's eye we are. We know that in Radek we have the official representative of the Political Bureau of the Russian C. P. and of Joseph Stalin himself.

All the logic of Radek's analysis, viewed by a Marxist, points inevitably to the need for a new party. But Stalin's mouthpiece means something different. What this is becomes clear from some of his other recent remarks.

"Angur", a well-informed reactionary London journalist, cables to the New York Times (Oct. 30), an interview with "the greatest living British diplomatic expert", concerning an "event of historical importance", the presence at the funeral of the King of Yugoslavia of 150 members of the Turkish President Kemal's bodyguard. "Thus", comments Angur's friend, the diplomat, "we discover the Soviet Government in the quite unexpected part of a friend of the existing order. We who follow political developments in the Balkans know that the influence of the Soviets in that part of the world is a conservative one."

A slanderous remark, you ask? Just before the Hitler revolution, a small company had met in a private house to meet the well-known Communist journalist, Karl Radek, whose real name is Sobelson. The conversation came to the interesting topic of the gradual change in Soviet foreign policy, which from being Marxist and international is gradually acquiring bourgeois and nationalist traits.

"Radek replied to the critics that it is all very well to find fault with Soviet policies, but he defied anybody to live five or six years in the Kremlin without beginning to think that, after all, there was a great deal to be said for the principles of Peter the Great and other Russian autocrats."

More slanderous remarks you ask? Then turn back to the Moscow cables on the assassination of Barthou, and read how Radek, in *Izvestia*, called him "the man of peace." Or turn to the cable on the tenth anniversary of French recognition of the U.S.S.R. and read Radek's raptures over the rapprochement between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist bourgeois (but perhaps, unlike the Trotskyists, "revolutionary bourgeois") French government. There Radek expresses "full confidence" that Laval, the new French foreign minister in the Bonapartist Doumergue Cabinet, will carry out the pledges of the beloved martyr Barthou, "the man of peace!"

No, Radek's conclusion from the failure of the C.P.T.S.A. is not that we should found a new party. He is not giving us contraband wishes of sympathy. His conclusion—not to go into the question of whether the hen or the egg came first—is for the U.S.S.R. to rely upon alliances with capitalist governments and to abandon the international revolutionary movement. And his "prophecies" are mere promises to the American bourgeoisie that the Stalinist C. P. will "behave."

We shall have to go forward, as we have these many years, without Karl Radek and all the little Radeks who capitulated with him. We will build a new revolutionary party and teach Radek and his anxious allies, the bourgeois foreign ministers who demand and get constant reassurance from him, that the tide of the class struggle cannot be halted by any Canute, not even if he cries his commands from the Kremlin itself.

There is no revolutionary party—in this we are at one with Radek. We add only the rallying cry:
Forward to the founding of the revolutionary party!

The Times and Fascism....

SUNDAY'S New York Times really contained an eyeful. We recall how, a year and a half ago when Hitler came to power and heads rolled in the sand, the Times talked about Fascist brutality. It was, of course, particularly agitated because of Hitler's anti-Semitic measures taken to keep his pledge made to get the German petty-bourgeoisie some gravy by squeezing the largely middle-class Jewish element of Germany. So excited was the Times by the so-called anti-Semitic drive, which for a moment or two threatened to go so far as the expropriation of some Jewish capitalists—a crime even in the eyes of those aristocratic capitalists who will not let a Jew into their home—that it even mentioned some of Hitler's crimes against workers, their property, leaders and organizations.

Similarly, years ago, the Times carried some news about Mussolini's brutalities. On Sunday, however, the Times, which cannot find space for a brief communication from the Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee seeking to correct misrepresentations in a Times report of the Committee's activities, gave two columns to a Brooklyn capitalist, B. H. Namm, to extol Mussolini truthfully for saving capitalism, and to extol him falsely as a benefactor of the people of Italy.

And in the same issue appeared an article by a Hitler propagandist on the beauties of the Fascist labor camps. These are portrayed as a sort of combination rest-cure, physical culture resort and summer camp; there are the usual pictures of men reading books, listening to radios and whatnot. "The healthy work, the sunshine, and above all the cheerfulness... seemed to me to be powerful arguments for the system."

We cannot here give space to refute every lie and misrepresentation in the Times article on the Hitler slave-camps. Suffice it to say that in them are herded workers for whom employment cannot be found in the decaying economy of German capitalism, and here they are given slop, blows, hard labor and military training. They all smile—and if they ever stop smiling they are beaten over the heels with steel rods.

The Times has definitely abandoned printing the truth about the brutalities of the Hitler regime. It printed some truths for a while because it could not avoid doing so, and because its owners resented Hitler's anti-Semitism which, if carried out without restraint against the rich Jewish bankers of Germany as well as against the poor Jews, might both weaken the structure of German capitalism and set a precedent that the rich Jewish owners of the Times would not like.

"ORGANIZER" RAPS VIGILANTES

(By Mid-West Correspondent)

Minneapolis.—The supporters of Law and Order here have recently made a test thrust at the working class.

On Tuesday, Oct. 16, sometime between midnight and dawn, several carloads of night riders drove up before the Workers Book Store (Stallist) on Third Street, between Hennepin and Nicollet. This little shop is located in the heart of town.

The vigilantes smashed the glass in the door, entered the shop and went to work.

Hundreds of pamphlets were torn up and scattered on the floor. Book shelves were overthrown and smashed. Over a hundred books were carried out to the cars, together with many pamphlets. In their patriotic ardor, the 100 per centers were not above stealing the small supply of cash in the store: about five bucks. Before they gleefully drove off, the raiders stuck a large sign in the window:

"Modern Boston Tea Party NO REDS Wanted in Minneapolis"

The vigilantes then drove out Wayzata Boulevard a few miles from town and made a bonfire of their plunder. In the morning you could stir among the ashes and pick out part of a title page of an Upton Sinclair novel, the charred cover of Jack London's "The Iron Heel". Blackly floating over the countryside were what was left of some damned good books by Jack Conroy, Dos Passos, etc., not to speak of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

At this site also, the vigilantes left signs:

"First Warning to Communists,"

"This is what we do to Communist Literature."

That day the boss press headlined the raid, hoping to build up mass sentiment for a continuation of such admirable activity.

"Rate citizens," said the Minneapolis Journal, "angered by activity of revolutionary forces in Minneapolis, smashed their way into the Workers Book Store... early today."

Cops—Dumb, and Blind

"Rate citizens!" Not a word of condemnation for the unlawful and cowardly actions of the vigilantes. Not a hint as to who the raiders were. Not a question raised as to just what the police were doing while their aid was on. (Anybody who has been on the streets of downtown Minneapolis after midnight, when the sidewalks have been rolled up, knows that it would be a physical impossibility for the police to be unaware of the vigilantes. The noises of breaking glass and splintering furniture must have shrieked through the usually silent streets.)

The Tribune and the Star followed the lead of the Journal in attempting to obscure the meaning of the raid to the working class.

But another paper was published the day after the raid—it happens that the Organizer, weekly organ of Union 574, makes its appearance on Tuesday afternoon.

"Organizer" Denounces Raids

Headlined on the front page of this paper was: "STOP THE VIGILANTE RAIDS". The Organizer warned the Minneapolis workers not to permit such actions to go unchallenged, because "today they will strike at the Communists—tomorrow it will be the Socialists—the next day the trade union bulls. If they think they can get away with it, these vigilantes would like to terrorize every worker, every liberal minded person in the city." After calling on every worker to come to the support of the victims of the vigilantes, and exposing the part played by conniving police, the Organizer wound up with a call for action: "If the police will not stop the plundering of the workers by these lawless cultures, the workers will. STOP THE VIGILANTES!"

It is unnecessary to say that Union 574's paper took exactly the correct line on the vigilantes. Against such a tactic of the bosses as this, the workers must present a united front, standing shoulder to shoulder to repel the raiders. An injury to one is the concern of all! Fortunately, there exists in the Minneapolis labor movement a force sufficiently formidable and sufficiently alert to raise the alarm, to come out with the right slogan. Such a force is Local 574.

Remember "Deputies Run!"

If the bosses in Minneapolis want to fight it out with their lawless

gangs against the united workers, we will give them a fight. We gave them a fight once before, on a certain Tuesday morning in the Market.

We must show the workers that it is foolish to look to the police for protection against these plunderers, these vigilantes. We must show that it is necessary for the workers to present a united front against the bosses, to stop the vigilantes!

This raid is but a fore-taste of what may become increasingly frequent as the struggle becomes tenser, and it is in such a light that the raid must be seen by every worker, by every workers' organization. We must begin now to organize to beat back the thrusts of vigilante fascism.

A few days after the raid, the Stallists issued a leaflet calling for three meetings at which the raid will be discussed. The Communist League, Minneapolis branch, is holding an open discussion meeting on Sunday afternoon, October 28, at which the raid will be discussed, and concrete proposals raised as to the best methods of combating these plunderers directed by the bosses.

Who Are the Vigilantes?

Present-day vigilantes are invariably the instruments of the boss class for extra-legal use against the workers. They are used for purposes for which the police themselves cannot be utilized without giving away the entire shell-game of capitalist "democracy."

The bosses wish to stamp out mercilessly the growing spirit of rebellion in the Minneapolis working class. Very well, they strike first of all at that segment which has the least mass support among the workers—in short, at the Communist Party. They gather together a band of thugs, of the "sports" among themselves, and of those elements among the workers and the middle-class foolish enough to fall for their propaganda, call themselves "irate citizens"—and proceed with their dirty work.

Stalinists Bewilder Workers

The hardest task we face in Minneapolis is to make the workers understand why they are to come to the support of the victims of the recent night-raid: the Communist party in Minneapolis. The bewilderment of the local workers over this point is understandable.

For so many workers say that the Communist party committed an unpardonable crime against the working class during the recent 574 strikes. They attempted to split a union, a powerful union, a

Mpls. «Organizers» On Sale

Through diligence and concerted efforts, we have been successful in gathering together a limited number of incomplete files of the Minneapolis Organizer which we are now offering for sale, at \$1 and \$1.50 per file, depending upon the number of issues missing.

The Organizer, as our readers know, was issued daily during the great Minneapolis truck drivers strike, and was the official daily organ of Local 574. Its contribution to American strike strategy is invaluable.

If you want to know how the Minneapolis Truck drivers won their right to unionization in a period when this elemental right is a fighting issue in all strikes; if you want to know how these workers fought off Governor Olson's militia; if you want to know how these men out-manuevered the Citizens Alliance plot of a tank and file opposition; if you want to learn how the women helped in this historic fight—GET A FILE OF THE ORGANIZER.

Nos. 1 and 2 of this paper are not to be had anywhere. We have only 5 files which contain these two numbers. The remaining files all miss these numbers as well as a few other numbers. But the most important material is included. We also have a number of single copies on hand. Those wishing samples of the Organizer can get them singly at 5c a copy.

BORO PARK OPEN FORUM

"Does the American Working Class Need a New Revolutionary Party?"

Speaker: A L D A S C H
Sunday, Nov. 4 at 8 P.M.
1281 49th Street, Brooklyn

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

But now the Times has definitely gone over to propagandizing for Hitler, as well as for Mussolini. Its Jewish owners and the Jewish editor of its Sunday Magazine, which published the pro-Hitler article, are delighted with the effects of Hitlerism "on the whole". At least it staved off the danger of revolutionary unity in the working class and thereby saved capitalism for another period of exploitation.

Clearly, the workers of America, all the exploited, all the minorities—the Jewish workers and poor of America included—can expect no honest aid from the Times or similar "democratic" institutions, should American capitalism ever take the road of Fascism to defend its class interests against a rising workers movement. The Times is pro-Fascist at heart, and the center of gravity of the anti-Fascist movement is and can be only in the working class. To this class must all honest anti-Fascists ally themselves by joining its immediate struggles. One of the tasks of the new party will be to launch a serious, militant, broad anti-Fascist movement.

militant union. Worse, they attempted to split the union right while it was in a life-and-death struggle with its mortal enemy, the bosses. Not once, but three or four times, did the local Communist party attempt this. It does not take a professional revolutionist to see that Lenin would turn in his tomb at such an outrageous perversion of all he taught.

The workers are quite right in neither understanding nor forgiving this peculiar brand of communism. For such valuable services to the Citizens Alliance, the bosses were certainly ungrateful in turning on their allies and raiding their bookshop. The truth of the matter seems to be that the raiders did not injure those whom they thought they were hurting.

Insurance for Defeat

If the bosses were really smart, of course, they would not have raided this book store. On the contrary, they would have purchased several tons of pamphlets by Stalin and seen to it that these were distributed gratis among the Minneapolis workers, thus bringing about hopeless confusion in the ranks of those whom they wish to crush. Damned sound insurance that would be.

But make no mistake. As woefully misguided as they are, the rank-and-file Stalinists are nevertheless sincere and militant fighters for our class.

If the bosses—and their vigilantes—believe for one moment that they can ruthlessly attack and terrorize one section of our class, they will not pause. Their attacks will increase and spread. If their first onslaught goes unchallenged, they will but redouble their efforts against us. And, section by section, we will be smashed back and broken: Socialists, Social-Laborers, Fourth Internationalists, trade unionists, unorganized workers—even the left-wing Farmer-Laborites will not go unscathed.

If they think they can get away with it, and if they thought it necessary, the bosses would like to establish in this country the same rule that their class has succeeded in jamming onto the workers in Italy and Germany. The name for this rule is fascism; and fascism is the complete crushing of an independent working class and all working class organizations by gangsters and vigilantes, fattened to immense proportions. It is gangster-rule, carried out with the whole-hearted approval, and to the undoubted benefit, of the boss class.

Organize Against Vigilantes

To permit such a movement to gain a foothold in the United States would be an unspeakable tragedy for all mankind for generations to come. This movement, of which last week's raid was a forerunner, must be crushed at its inception. It is not enough to expose it.

It is the duty of every worker in Minneapolis to band together with his fellow workers and present a united front to the bosses and their vigilantes. Every man and woman who works for wage or salary, who is a victim of boss exploitation, belongs in this united front.

An injury to one is the concern of all! Form workers vigilance committees! If necessary, raid the raiders!

Epic Plan Is Losing

(Continued from Page 1)

of the Forgotten Men, the response of the unemployed, particularly the ruined petty shopkeepers, has frightened their erstwhile champions.

Unquestionably, the Shclair following, which may muster close to a million votes, represents revolt against the do-nothing policy of the Democratic regime, just as the Democratic victory represented the revolt against the do-nothing policy of the Republicans. Revolt, moreover, coming just at the time when Roosevelt had settled matters so peacefully with the bankers. It is for his exposures that Shclair is best known. If, by any chance, he should be elected, he may be trusted to achieve the crowning exposure of all—the exposure of himself.

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League Expels Goldman For Capitulation to S.P.

The National Committee of the Communist League of America has decided to expel Albert Goldman of Chicago because of his openly declared intention to disregard the course pursued by the League and to join the Socialist party as an individual. This action was taken after Goldman had availed himself of the opportunity to explain his position before the Chicago membership and before the National Committee.

Goldman was ready to desert the League, not only severing organizational relations, but desert it also politically. Despite his assertion that he stands on the same political platform as before and is merely changing the form of his allegiance, the objective logic of his step, taken as an individual and dying in the face of the course we have adopted for the creation of a new party and a new international, is tantamount to capitulation. By this action, Goldman ends his brief sojourn with the International Communists where his abilities had been useful but where his political weakness was most clearly demonstrated by his readiness to discard our principled platform and banner in return for a place in the S. P., to which he comes as a humble capitulator. Toward capitulators we have only one attitude, clearly established a long time ago. It means a definite parting of the ways.

In taking the position stated Goldman also violated elementary discipline of the League by submitting his views to non-League members, including members of the Socialist party, before thrashing them out in his own organization. Important though this aspect of his case is, we consider it a subsidiary matter under the circumstances. The real issue is the political question involved—the question of which course to pursue toward the creation of the new party and the new international. That is not a new incident: it affects the very life and development of the revolutionary movement itself.

In its essence, the issue is drawn between revolutionary Marxism on the one hand and social reformism and centrism on the other. Centrism appears today both in its bureaucratic Stalinist form and in the diluted form of militant pacifism now characterizing the S. P. since the adoption of the new declaration of principles which seeks vainly to establish an independent course between revolutionary Marxism and the reactionary brand of social reformism represented by the Old Guard. This issue still stands in the center of the present historical processes. The League has played and will continue to play an active role in this process; but our point of departure is the creation of the historic instrument, the creation of a revolutionary force, emerging now in its initial stage as the Workers Party of the United States. In pursuing this aim we have adhered to the principle of building a cadre of conscious revolutionists, welded together by an historical objective and not tolerating a situation where members may follow opposite courses.

In the position we have taken during the period of existence we have represented the connection between the October revolution and the international revolution. It imposed upon us for a time the isolated existence of a propagandist group; but we never accepted the purely trade unionist criterion which measures in terms of bare numbers. The catastrophic defeats suffered by the international working class movement in recent times only too closely reveal the falsity of such criteria. Numerically powerful working class parties went down to disaster because of the absence of a revolutionary policy. And it is by absorbing the lessons of these defeats that the inescapable conclusion arises: to create the new instrument which can prepare for the triumph of Marxism on a new historical scale.

Where will the forces come from to constitute the new party? An important factor in its development will undoubtedly be constituted out of the regroupments and new leftward currents within the existing parties and particularly through the radicalization of the proletarian kernel in the Socialist parties. But it is inconceivable that the Socialist parties will play the role of revolutionary leadership of the working class or serve as instruments for the reform of the Second International on which they stand. The roots of the Second International are deeply imbedded in reformism. Its leading bureaucracy is still one of the props of the bourgeoisie and it is waging a relentless struggle against the leftward currents arising within the affiliated parties. Those who capitulate from a former revolutionary position and go over to the Socialist party without a banner inevitably start out from the false concept that this party as such can become the revolutionary force. That is clearly revealed even in the United States.

The American Socialist party is feeling some of the repercussions from the European events and from the sharpened class struggle in the United States. Although, in con-

tradition to some of the European parties, it is not at all representative of the main stream of the working class, new currents have arisen within it. By a very small majority and by only a small part of its membership participating in the referendum it has carried the declaration of principles—the declaration of militant pacifism—of the Detroit convention. The "militants", representing the main body of the diluted centrism which has so far carried the day and carried it with the assistance of the reactionary municipal socialists led by Hoan, made their first political retreats already at the Detroit convention. Facing the pressure of the Old Guard, which is in control of the strongest party institutions and the strongest state apparatus, the "militants" have yielded since and will yield further to social reformism. It is true that out of this combination of the pressure from the Old Guard and the yielding of ground by the "militants", a definite leftward current will arise; but its true revolutionary expression it will be able to find only in the struggle for the new party and the Fourth International.

The statement of Gitlow and those who have rallied around him to enter the Socialist Party lies in the face of these actual conditions. Not only do these people say that they have no intention whatever of functioning as a separate faction inside the Socialist party, they foster the illusion that it is possible "to revolutionize it and to build it as an instrument for working class emancipation." In reference to the adoption of the so-called declaration of principles they say, "It now makes it possible to unite the revolutionary forces of the country in the socialist party and to build it up as a powerful revolutionary force, rooted in the soil of the country and responsive to the needs of the workers." This position includes the planting of the germ of organic unity—unity between the Socialist party of militant pacifism and the Stalinist centrist party together with all who verbally adhere to revolutionary socialism. Such an organic unity by the false illusions it creates of the possibility unity between Communism and Socialism could mean only a further barrier in the working class road toward emancipation and a combination of two bureaucratic regimes so much more effectively to hinder the progress of regroupments, at least, for a time, and so much more effectively to wield the power of the apparatus against the developing truly leftward currents. These proposals cater to the worst feature of the centrist concepts of a party of unity in general, loosely connected and without a principled position.

Goldman, in his entry into the Socialist party cannot but accept the Gitlow position; and the objective logic of all who enter in this manner as capitulators from a former revolutionary position and without a banner can lead only to the acceptance of the S. P. as the future revolutionary force and thus to false illusions and new defeats. Our road lies in the opposite direction. We are setting out now to build a revolutionary force, to build the new party. It is, as our readers know, to be launched very soon. It begins on the basis of unification of two groups, the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party. It is the first real signal of actual unification of revolutionary forces to stand henceforth unitedly on a principled revolutionary platform and by that very fact alone become a powerful factor in stimulating the leftward developments in the S.P. and preparing the ground and the framework within which they can find their future revolutionary expression.

—National Committee, Communist League of America

Revolutionary Trends in Europe

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON

(Just returned from Europe)

SUNDAY, NOV. 11, at 8 P.M.

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