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Finished with Stalinism!

Another Leader of German C.P. Revolts

Editor's Note: After the open letter of comrade Maria Reese, we are in a position now to make public another document, no less important than the Reese letter. We offer to our readers the letter sent to Piatnitsky the organizational secretary of the Comintern by comrade Karl Friedberg. Karl Friedberg is one of the oldest members of the Communist Party of Germany and of the Com-

munist International. From the first he has held important, responsible posts in the Comintern and gained thereby, a thorough knowledge of the workings of the apparatus of the C. P. G. and the

Comrade Friedberg's break with the Stalinist apparatus is another heavy blow against Stalinism. We are sure that his letter will be received with the greatest attention by all party members and particularly among those who participated in the first years of the formation of the Communist International.

November 6, 1933. Dear comrade Piatnitsky:

Your invitation to come to Moscow has been transmitted to me, I will have to decline the invitation. Mindful of the memory of my friend Max Hoelz, I believe that I with an accident in a boating will be acting most correctly when I devote myself, for the time being as an emigrant, to the victory of Socialism—over Fasciem. I cannot socialism—over Fasciem is the life of a fighter was extinguish—over Fasciem. I cannot socialism—over Fasciem is the life of a fighter was extinguish. Socialism—over Fasciem is the life of a fighter was extinguish. Socialism—over Fasciem is the life of a fighter was extinguish. Socialism—over Fasciem is the life of a fighter was extinguish. Socialism—over Fasciem is the league of a gang peating be a strong weapon for him in the different communist party; to control was granted. One of the Stalinist ranks in New York. These charges, however, who made them because he understood in the meantime that he was unconsciously becoming the tool of the Stalinist ranks in New York. These charges, however, who made them because he understood in the meantime that he was unconsciously becoming the tool of the Broklyn have recently like on in the hearts of the Proposition of the Division of the Division of the Division of the Broklyn have recently the bosses. Upon realizing this he Mindful of the memory of my lounging around, pretending to be important, crawling despicably before Stalin, etc. Official Moscow today is nothing more than a swamp. The struggle for the victory of Socialism can be conducted only in the spirit of the October Revolution, in the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky.

The Results of Stalinist Policy

In my letter of March 1, 1933, written from Moscow, I informed road that the leaderless revolutionary German proletariat had to take. proletariat, because the German C. ed. The downfall of the revolutionary proletariat in all countries be- Marxism. gan with the expulsion of the outstanding fighters of the October Revolution, with Trotsky at their head, from the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. and the Comintern. The victory of Fascism in Germany and militant. It is not true, as the sothe difficult situation of large lay- cial democratic and Communist ers of workers and peasants in the papers write, that his political ca-Soviet Union are results of this en- reer came to an end with his release feeblement of the Communist In- from prison in 1918. Max Hoelz ternational.

The realization that the policy of the Comintern in the last several years strengthened Fascism of necessity, and even made it possible, is sinking ever deeper into the consciousness of the revolutionary fighters. "Without Stalin there would be no Hitler", that is a widespread thesis nowadays. Unfortunately, it is a correct one. Naturally, you did not want Fascism. But in the last analysis it is the result that counts in politics. Let us remind von how ill-informed you were Rivera Murals program of expansion. Its manual feature is expressed in our decision to assemble the forces for the creation of the control at the beginning of March about intern in the last few years and work to be done in Mexico City, class struggle. from the axiom of "socialism in Diego Rivera has remained to the conviction that a strong rev- the International Workers School. olutionary labor movement in the rest of the countries is the best greatest of the revolutionary paint-Red Army. Stalin probably never had any such conviction.

The Guilt of the E. C. C. I.

sent) you told me that you had many other cares, Russian worries. tion created around his name and many other cares, Russian worries. tion created around his name and sequences. The results to be at-I knew that all the time. The fact work when he broke off all relations tained depend entirely upon us and rollment in mass organizations of also be enumerated in the subequthat on account of these worries with the directors of Radio City for upon our supporters. Our proclaim- various kinds, above all the trade ent issue. Meanwhile we pass the the Executive Committee of the demanding that he remove a repro-Communist International could not duction of Lenin's head in the im- by deeds. be in touch with very much that posing murals he was painting for was going on abroad, particularly that edifice, was only a dramatic in Germany, does not serve as an manifestation of his unyielding loy-excuse for the E. C. C. I.—on the alty to the cause of proletarian revcontrary, it only makes its guilt olution to which he has dedicated all the greater. You would have his life and work. resigned your leadership, which has not really belonged to you for years, nounce that Rivera is already at if you had left in you a spark of work in the School Hall on the Militant into a popular agitation revolutionary responsibility and murals. One of them depicts the conscientiousess. But you haven't foundation of the revolutionary any, (I leave the Social Democratic | Third International, its life and Party out of all this polemic be the great spirits who brought it cause we created our Communist into existence. The other deals Party and the Communist Internative with the coming Fourth International with the full knowledge that tional as the heir and continuator the S. P. would not fight but rather of the revolutionary traditions of

betray the struggle). The Comintern appears to be disinclined to learn anything even now. attempt at this time, before the I spent several weeks in the Saar | conclusion of his work, to give our That is a coal and iron territory on readers a detailed idea of the magthe border between Germany and nificent conception that has in-France, east of Metz. The whole spired Rivera's work. We take this territory amounts to only 1800 occasion, however, to extend an square kilometers, but it contains invitation to all readers to visit the 782,000 inhabitants. It is the most School Hall, at 126 East 16th St., densely populated territory in Eur- and examine the murals while they ope. Here resides the well-known are being painted.

heavy industrialist Hermann Roech ling. The Saar is governed by the League of Nations, the coal mines belong to France. In 1935 there will be a referendum (similar to that of Upper-Silesia in 1921) as to whether the territory is to belong to France, or retain the present form of administration, or be returned to Germany.

The False Policy in the Saar the Saar was for the return to Germany. The "leader" of the C. P. declared publicly: "Even if we will have to face the gallows in Hitler-served at low cost. Germany, we want to return to the Fatherland". For this patriotism, hired. he received the praise of Hermann The admission is only 50 Roechling over the radio from Get your tickets in advance. Frankfurt-am-Main. Let's not bemany". This slogan is just as

(Continued on Page 4)

Ball for the Militant

This New Year's Eve the Militant s giving its first masquerade Ball at Germania Hall, 158 Third Avenue (16th Street). It promises to be the gayest affair we have ever arranged. Comrades, singly and in groups, are already planning their costumes drawing inspiration from such historic events as the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution, Food Workers Union

etc. The spirit of bolshevik competition will be present for prizes are to be given for the best costumesalso for the worst. **Take your** choice but at all events-compete! A program of revolutionary dances specially arranged will be Up to August last, the C. P. of given by talented comrades and sympathizers. There will also be

a fine singer of folk songs. Refreshments of all kinds will be A special jazz band has

The admission is only 50 cents

-PRESS COMMITTEE.

On the Death of Max Hoelz and intimidate the strikers and its leaders. They arrested Organizer

The lessons of the revolutionary struggles of 1920 and 1921, which were led by Max Hoelz, have not yet been eradicated from the consciousness of the revolutionary proletariat. If there was only one mem-

An Enemy of the Stalinist

Bureaucracy wanted to struggle on. He was an enemy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The German C. C., covered with guilt for Hitler's victory—he hated and despised it with a violent pas-

During the prison years and the years of his stay in the Soviet Union Max Hoelz, through intensive study acquired a comprehensive

ers in the world today, and is sure-

We are proud to be able to an-

the Third and its leaders.

It would be difficult for us to

On September 15th, Max Hoelz | Marxist education. These were to endure the Moscow atmosphere; live on in the hearts of the revolu- as last February, after Hitler had the bosses. Upon realizing this he ous revolutionist who fought with dressed a request to the Comintern determination and strength against to permit him to return to Germany.

The Stalinist by coming the leadersnip of the strik-leadersnip of the strik-leade capitalism and for the proletarian The Stalinist bureaucracy did not revolution.

The Stalinist bureaucracy did not divide the close its kitchen and policy on the German events and held. The demand was greeted by dining-room departments. The Litvinov-Roosevelt negotiations. forced to become a Soviet citizen.

Stood for a New Party

Max Hoelz shared the views of his friends Wolf and Wollenberg ber of the C. C. of the C. P. G. im- on the collapse of the German C. P. bued with the spirit of Max Hoelz and the Comintern. And also, as you of my views about the situa- the disgraceful, capitulatory defeat early as March he proclaimed the tion of the German party and the of the C. P. G. could not have been necessity for the creation of a new possible. The functionaries who are party of struggle. At the beginwhispering among themselves that ning of March there were many dis-I say the leaderless revolutionary Max Hoelz was not a Marxist, that cussions in his hotel room on the his deeds and those of his group itsuation created in Germany and P. ceased to be the leader of the had little in common with the in the Comintern by Hitler's vic-German proletariat years ago—just fundamentals of the class struggle tory. Max Hoelz repeatedly expressas did the Comintern insofar as the international proletariat is concern- he was not that kind of a "Marxist" the defeat of the German C. P. and to discuss the question of wages. who hides his cowardice behind the Comintern was caused in the Many other hotels have increased first place, by the false policy of the wages simply because they the Comintern in recent years and particularly by Stalin's false policy in the Soviet Union. which has The news of the death of Max brought with it the exclusion of Hoelz shocked all the friends of the best revolutionary elements in bear the tedious bureaucracy. He statement that vicinity and a signer of the best revolutionary elements in bear the tedious bureaucracy. the Soviet Union as in the Comin- was kept in inactivity for many the expulsion of Trotsky and his bureaucracy. They refused to give friends was one of the greatest him any productive work in order Union, Germany and the United crimes of the C. C. of the Communito paralyze his revolutionary States. ist Party of the Soviet Union.

The revolutionary strength of He was a fighter for the emansionate will to struggle could not

New Year Eve Masquerade N. Y. Hote Strikers Organize

Strengthens Ranks

New York .- The strike of the Montclair Hotel workers conducted by the Hotel and Restaurant branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers. which we reported in last week's Militant still continues and picketing is very effective. The National City Bank which owns the Montclair is very stubborn in settling the strike with the Union. It employs numerous thugs who attempt Comrades: Make no other appoint- to terrorize the strikers and also to Frankfurt-am-Main. Let's not begrudge him it. In August Die Rundschau (official Stalinist organ—Ed.)
of Basle made public the new position: "A Red Saar in a Soviet Gerthe Communist League of America.

The Communist League of America.

The Communist League of America.

The Communist League of America. additional sixty-five workers from the dining-room and kitchen department.

> They use every means to provoke Caldis under the false charge of being the leader of a gang beating

become part of them. This strike has already succeded in bringing home to the workers as well as to Hotel Men's Association that the Union, a branch of the "united front only from below" of the Left Opposition. After per Despite the dissatisfaction of the Amalgamated Food Workers, is out in the field to secure decent work ism. They score the Comintern for rade Carter was permitted to speak has a negligible section of the men ing conditions for the hotel and not recognizing that the victory of for five minutes. In his summary organized into the Amalgamated restaurant workers. Already, many Hitlerism meant a crushing defeat Nearing evaded all the points rais- Meat-cutters and Butchers Workhotels like the Park Central, that for the German world working ed, but spoke about the need for up to now have refused to pay any wages at all to their waiters, are tests against the propaganda pledge to discuss the question of wages. the Litvinov letter to Roosevelt.

tern. He repeatedly declared that years through the chicanery of the energy.

Why I Did It

James McGovern, M. P. for "And I could not remain si-the Independent Labor Party lent. I looked upon the scene of Parliament where he shouted

"Knowing that the present opened by the reading of the proposed Government by the King, or being evicted from I thought I would like to hear these proposals at first hand, realizing that the new Insurance Bill would mean to the unemployed of this country.

"I arrived at the Bar of the the vulgar display of wealthwonderful and expensive gowns, jewels and tiaras, worth hundreds of thousands of pounds, military and naval representatives of our own and foreign nations. Everywhere I looked I saw wealth, comfort and, selfsatisfaction. I thought of the poor, wretched people outside who are to be the victims of fu- did not voice the feeling of every ture legislation and who, by decent human being? I feel their energy and sacrifice, protatal I spoke for the working vided all this wealth.

from Scotland has the following and, knowing that their favorite explanation to make of his sen-sport was chasing and killing sational action at the opening foxes, I saw the workers being hounded down into the gutter, defiance at the King. We quote from the British New Leader workhouse by the legislation of for November 24th, 1933:

the grave, the asylum, and the workhouse by the legislation of this class. I remembered those who produced the wealth existsession of Parliament would be ing, in rags, bootless, hungry, opened by the reading of the pro-

"Maxton and Buchanan (Independent Labor Party M. P.s-Ed.) had for a number of years refused to attend the opening of parliament because of their dis-House of Lords and gazed at gust with this show. As I saw the yulgar display of wealth—the performance indignation overcame me when I recalled the human suffering outside, the Means Test, Unemployment cuts, and the destruction of the social services. Something within me rebelled and I lashed out at the enemies of the people.

"Did I do wrong? Is there any worker who believes that I class whom I represent."

and intimidate the strikers and its leaders. They arrested Organizer Stalinism Cracks in Brooklyn

page of the current issue of the Dasch. Militant.)

The comrades condemn the Stalinist theory of "social Fascism" and and openly proclaimed his support were reduced to a starvation level. which led to the victory of Fasc sistent demands for the floor, comclass. The statement further procontained in Paragraph Four of International against Fascism.

So as to insure that the voices of statement, appeared at a public meeting on Sat. evening, Dec. 20th,

Nearing's speech was a shallow Max Hoelz was shackled by the ciaption of the proletariat whose presentation of the situation in on the party ranks in Brownsville. Stalinist bureaucracy. His pasmilitancy will be a pattern for us. these countries. No attempt was signate will to struggle could not UNSER WORT. made to examine the policies of the heard byeond Brownsville and will

A new revolt has broken out in German Communist party; to con-

issued a letter to the District Ex- Joe Carter, organizer of the Brook- strike under the leadership of the prevent him from leaving, he was bosses are forced to keep the scales The statement demands a joint hall. (About 750 were still pre- lies in South St. Paul.. They emday and night because if they go membership discussion meeting of sent. Al Dasch supported the deploy aproximately 3500 workers out from the hotel they immediate—the C. P. and Y. C. L. (The state—mand of comrade Carter and the who have long been coralled into ly fraternize with the strikers and ment is reprinted in full on another discussion was opened by comrade company unions. As a result of

slanders against comrade Trotsky "spread the work' plan their wages a united front of all workers' or-

ganizations, including the Fourth Statement Distributed to Workers Meanwhile a squad of members

rade Al Dasch, a member of the section committee of the party in section c was an announcement of a meeting on Russian Recognition to be held big plants to organize a union cap-Mansion, 142 Watkins St., at which when such a union was formed, to comrades Shachtman and Dasch are strike the three plants and simul-

The statement of the party and We are confident that it will be throughout New York and the Uni-

Strike Adventurist Methods Cause Bad Defeat St. Paul.—The workers in the

St. Paul

Packing

packing industry throughout the U. S. have for some time been dissatisfied with their conditions. The failure of the NRA to raise wages created a situation favorable for organizational work. (The press reports that local NRA officials attribute the "unrest among the packing-house workers to the failure of the minimum wages schedules to affect any but a small number of employees").

Strikes have been called in various plants in different parts of the country. In Austin, Minnesota at the plant of the Geo. Hormel Co. a strike took place. The workers, who were organized into independent union which embraced the entire working population of the city. seized the factory and ejected the company officials. With the aid of the local farmers they held out for several days. State and Company officials then prevailed upon the men to return to work pending arbitration. Recognition of the union was granted. One of the main reasons why the bosses were able to accomplish this so easily was When Nearing concluded his re- the absence of conscious Left wing

But here in South St. Paul the

Armour's Swift's and Cudahy's applause from various parts of the are the three large packing companthe terrific speed-up and part-time The latter attacked Nearing's employment under the Roosevelt workers here the A. F. of L., which men's Union, conducted no activity whatsoever

Stalinist Strike Strategy In the Armour plant the T. U. U.

L. succeeded in organizing a small group of men into the Packinghouse Workers Industrial Union. At Swift & Co. a smaller group was tle or nothing of these activities. this Thursday, Dec. 14 at Hoffman's able of conducting a struggle, and, taneously, the union decided to call Y. C. L. members has had its effect mediately!

On November 15th a committee from the Stalinist union approachneard bycond Brownsville and will receive warm response among Communist and Left wing workers throughout New York and the Uni-(Continued on page 4)

THE LEAGUE FORGES AHEAD

This declaration can signalize the which resulted from the bankruptcy have some points in agreement. ly among the handful of truly of the official Communist movement 5. The formation wherever posgreat artists in general. His work end of February (Knorin was pre- been enthusiastically commented it can also remain an empty gesture basis.

It is from this standpoint that we tasks which can and must be carried out. This Action Program we izer. summarize herewith in brief form: 1. The transformation of The paper to be sold at a cheaper price

MEETING

DOES THE RECOGNITION OF RUSSIA MEAN THE END OF THE COMINTERN? Speakers: MAX SHACHTMAN AL DASCH

at HOFFMAN'S MANSION 142 Watkins Street (Between Pitkin and Belmont) on Thursday, Dec. 14, 1933, 8 P. M. your opinion.

ADMISSION: 15 CENTS

to assemble the forces for the crea- etical organ—The New Internation of a new revolutionary party tional—to which the heavier and are thereby prepared to make furthe actual doings of the C. P. That Even though his departure from and, in preparation for this, to long articles will be transferred. also was not an accident. It also the United States has had to be bring the League much more de 3. The acceptance of members flowed from the policy of the Com- hastened by a call for important finitely into mass activity in the into the League on a broader basis gram fully into life are being taken than heretofore.

8. A series of tours of N. C. members.

9. The collection of a special fund to finance the Action Program and the execution of each project in order as rapidly as the means

re provid**e**d.

Some of the points listed above have already been carried out in part. We shall make a report this in subsequent issues. At this noment, however, our aim is to bring the Action Program to the attention of all of our supporters so that they can express their views. make additional suggestions and Member of the Brownsville Section fully participate with us in the Friday, December 15, 1933, 8 p. m. and men \$8.00. Low enough, but the main are undaunted and more Committee of the Communist Party further execution of this program.

The League has attained a much

We are now launching another and appealing directly to the mass broader basis than before, as we program of expansion. Its main of the American workers. 2. The establishment of a theor- ports in connection with the ecution of the Action Program. We ther advance. But while the further 3. The acceptance of members preparatory steps to carry the prot is necessary to dwell upon the 4. The systematic establishment last points of the Action Program. one country". You all long ago lost paint two murals for the walls of beginning of a great upswing of of united front relations and joint That is the one upon which practic-American Communism. It can be class struggle activities with other ally the whole program depends Diego Rivera is undoubtedly the come the means of new inspiration workers organizations, in particular for its effective execution. Finances in place of old disappointments with those groups with which we are the sinews of war-and of ac-I tion.

We have set the sum of \$1500 as alongside the manifest corrupting sible of peripheral organizations a minimum requirement, provided In a conversation we had at the in this country and in Mexico has influence of social reformism. But (workers' clubs, etc.) on a broad it is collected by a concentrated mensing Prison. campaign within a short period of ed intentions can be proved only unions which have a mass charac- question on to all of our supporters: er.
Will you help us carry this program into life? With a response present our expansion program of tral appartus of the League by pro- from you, such as can be expected today. It is a practical program vision for the full-time employment from supporters of the Left Opposisetting up comparatively modest of qualified comrades and the main- tion, we shall be able to march fortenance of at least one field organ- ward to the building of a serious Communist movement in the United States. We shall be able to march forward to the New International.

> OPEN FORUM JAMES P. CANNON

> THE MEANING OF THE RECENT LYNCHINGS Maryland, California, Missouri, What Next?

Questions — — Discussion ADMISSION 15 CENTS

Jail Two Philadelphia Militants

shop, day and night shifts, of the hour. Latex Products Co., manufacturing specialty rubber goods, is out on the workers live in the vicinity of strike against sweat-shop conditions, our headquarters where we had long hours and wage as low as been running street meetings re-\$2.00 and \$3.00 a week. In the gularly during the summer. Some course of the strike struggle two workers have been coming to the Jack Richmond were arrested for Club. What was more naturally picketing. They are now serving a than that, when stirred to fight sentence of 30 days each in Moya- back a rapacious exploiter, they

Fifty workers nearly all youth and heartedly. and mostly girls were driven to strike by wretched conditions and "moving the shop", "going out of wages on which it was impossible business" were all showed up. When to exist. When the day shift came the picket-line was lessened by the the boss, a Mr. Waetzman, having comrades Jack Richmond of the learned of their intention of walking out at ten, locked them out. Roberts of the Communist League Picketing began immediately. The branch were singled out for arrest. night shift was stopped at three The following morning the vicious o'clock. There is not a single scab labor hating Vare henchman, among these young workers. For Magistrate Zweig, gave both comnearly all of them, this was their rades on disorderly conduct charges first strike experience.

cognition of shop committee. (7) ently, quickly and efficiently, writs Protective devices (exhaust fans, were obtained for a habeas corups etc.) be installed. Until now girls hearing in a higher court on Friday. had been promised a \$6.00 a week Despite the terror, the strikers in International Workers School Hall when their pay envelopes were resolute than ever. Thy reject the 126 East 16th Street, nr Irving Pl. given out last Saturday all found "advice" to leave the Reds alone. tion that every step outlined can be attained. We want to hear munist League of America (Opp.) that. Pay envelones were for \$4.00 orders for what they are the recognize such \$3.00 and as low as \$2.00. The av- tempt to break the unity of the erage wage for the day shift was strike,

Philadelphia, Pa.—The entire computed to be .09 (nine cents) an

The shop is located and most of comrades, Lew Roberts and meetings of the Spartacus Youth should come to us for advise and assistance. It was given speedily

The boss's gag of "selling out". to work Monday at seven o'clock, absence of strikers for a meeting, Spartacus Youth Club and Lew the limit-30 days. To show fur-The demands of the strike are: ther his contempt for the strikers. (1) A separate restroom for women he read in the court-room crowded with a couch. (2) One hour for with strikers and strike sympathlunch (at present there is no time izers, the telegram sent by the off-they have to eat on the "fly".) strike committee demanding the (3) A 40 hour week. (Now they boys release. Here Roberts dramawork 48 to 56 hours). (4) \$13.00 tically singled out the police who week minimum for girls and \$15.00 beat them in the van. Independentfor men. (5) No overtime. (6) Re- | ly we secured a lawyer. IndependThe Railroad Brotherhoods

The Rise and Fall of the Craft Unions

and expansion and needed more tion. and more workers, and the organgain with the small companies.

fairly well in the interest of its these conditions. members until about the beginning successful stand of the craft union press.

In our first article we touched and its federation policy and this briefly upon the origin-of the rail-|victory was aided very materially road unions and their failure to ad- by the artificial war prosperity just their structure and program in which was in full swing by 1916. conformity with industrial develop- In other words, during the era ments on the railroads. In this ar- of industrial expansion when the ticle we will say something on the railroads had a complete monopoly rise and fall of the Craft Union. of transportation, the craft union It is quite natural that when we was able to wheedle occasional confirst conceive of anything we do so cessions from the employers and on its narrowest base, and our un- even conduct successful strikes. question broadens with experience, hour day in 1916, and more especi-In harmony with this law of devel- ally since the end of the World opment it was, herefore, quite na- War, the craft unions have suffered tural that the locomotive engineer one defeat after another, and the who first conceived of organizing in policy of its leadership has been him to take the firemen, whom he unit of manpower has constantly inoften hired and fired, in with him. creased since 1920. The railroad The conductor felt the same about workers have taken three smashing wage cuts and two of them were

of the symptons of decay and dis-We think it can be truthfully said ease in the railroad brotherhoods that the craft union functioned and how to meet and overcome

Until we can build a progressive of the present century, when the Minority Movement and Press inside gradually growing problems of the of the Railroad Unions, we urge the railroad workers ushered in the progressive railroad worker to use idea of Craft Federation. The so-the columns of the Militant to excalled "Big Four" would join hands press his ideas on the many needed in concerted wage movements, the changes in the Brotherhoods, whose Federated Shop Crafts would do reactionary and overpaid leadership lillewise. The Eight Hour Day cannot afford to grant us free exvictory in 1916 was about the last pression in our own brotherhood

The bureau of historical falsifica-

tion under the leadership of Love-

tone (Gra. 5-8903) has manufac

quotations (patent applied for by

'Historical International Analogies' Notes (Trotsky and Dan—Workers Age-December 1, 1933.)

GERMANY.

The Socialist Workers Patry (S. tured another "striking document" A. P.) and the Internationalist Com- But we suspect that this time the manists (Left Opposition) are con- job has been entrusted to an amtinuing their close collaboration in ateur. the creation of the German section of the new International. They have just issued a joint draft of dirmany. Extracts of this document, will be published in future issues

YOUTH. a new Youth International, which "quoter" usually concocts a quotais to meet early next January, tion out of a volume—of at least, there will be represented the Swed-30 pages. In the second place, of ish Communist Youth Federation the sentences which had been torn (formerly allied with the Brandler- out of context and indirectly maniites) naving within its ranks 8,000 pulated—only one has been directly members, the Youth Federation of distorted. Trotsky is quoted as the Norwegian Labor Party (18,000 follows "The ruling apparatus enmembers) and the Mot Dag group joys a great relative independence." (the Norway group formerly affiliated with the Brandler tendency. "Without having that absolute in-The Marx-Lenin Group of Denmark dependence, the illusion of which is also expected to send a represen- lives in the skulls of many bureautative. The above groups are, of crats, the ruling apparatus nevercourse, only recent recruits. French, theless enjoys a great relative in-German, etc. Youth were reported dependence." Only one direct disas represented in previous issues of tortion—that is almost a record! the Militant.

SCANDINAVIA.

On the question of the new party the following have been expelled or have resigned from the Brandler distortion. International (I: V. K. O.-Inter-V. K. O. is likewise at odds with proletariat. Trotsky's analysis of tended to spoil the good relations the Brandlerites, though no expulte the political character of the Stalbetween England and the Third sions have as yet taken place. Cominist bureaucracy is passed off as Reich. tive on the International Committee of the state in the Soviet Union. of the I. V. K. O., expressed the

Lorraine, one of its greatest sectorship of the proletariat just as tion on "its road of peace tions, is having similar trouble Dan identifies the dictatorship honor" which the chancellor has with the center. In Czechoslovakia* "with its wide flung apparatus"? shown the German people. Krupp the Brandlerites have almost disappeared from the scene. Only the Loyestone Group in America (after the solit with Gitlow and the present differences with the Zam minority) and the Brandler Group in Germany remain firm with the I.

* A report from Ash, the Brandlerite "stronghold" in Czechoslovakia says: "Only some 10 people still attend their 'mass meetings' in this industrial center, as for instance on November 1."

PHILADELPHIA BANQUET To Celebrate our Fifth Anniversary Benefit The "MILITANT" 8 P. M. On Sun. Dec. 24th at Our Local Headquarters

524 W. Thompson Street Subcsription 25c Admit One Auspices: Communist League (Opposition) Philadelphia.

BROWNSVILLE SPARTACUS

SOCIAL As a celebration of the second anniversary of Young Spartacus, the Brownsville Spartacus Youth Club will held a dance and social

on Saturday, Dec. 16th at the Militant Hall, 154 Watkins Street.

A Statement to the Communist Party

To the D. E.C. of the C.P. To the D.E.C. of the Y. C. L.

For some time now, the undersigned comrades, nembers of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League, have been considering with growing alarm the development of the position of our movement in connection with recent events in this country and in Europe. We have in mind especially what derstanding and outlook on any But since the stand for the eight happened in Germany before and after the seizure of power by Hitler, and the significance of the agreement signed at Washington between the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States. You are undoubtedly aware that a great deal of con-1863, should do so on a very nar- one of continuous surrender and fusion and unclarity, doubts and dissatisfaction exists row base or on the basis of his own retreat. And despite the fact that in the ranks of our Party and League on these quescraft alone. It did not occur to each unit of traffic handler by each tions. The aim of this letter is to arrive as speeding as possible at a clarification.

The German events were a distinct shock to us

-this we cannot conceal. We were persuaded by the Often the firemen had to reward taken without the slightest resist-policy and the propaganda of the Communist Interthe engineer, the brakeman and the ance on the part of their leader- national and our party here, that our brother party conductor for the privilege of work-ship. The day of reaction and de-in Germany was making steady progress in driving ing with them. The problems which cay has definitely set in on the back the Fascist gangs and winning over increasing confronted those early pioneers in Railroad Brotherhoods. The only organization work were small and ones who benefit by the continued sections of the social democracy. But the outcome simple when compared with the maintenance of the craft unions on of the historic struggle in Germany proved to be workers' problems of today. The the railroads are the swarms of exactly contrary to all the forecasts that were made railroads, as well as industry in high salaried officials who infest by our leadership. It has now become clear to us general, were in a state of growth the entire craft system of organiza-that what happened in Germany requires-demandson our part a thorough examination into the situa-In the next and future articles tion and the policy that was followed by us, and a ized craft was usually able to bar- we will take up more in detail some drastic revision of our present course. Instead of successful advance of our party in Germany, it has been defeated, and now lies crushed by the Brownshirted monsters. Instead of the victory of the Red Front, we had the victory of the Swastika.

> ()n top of all this, we were astonished to see that our party, with its hundreds of thousands of members, and millions of supporters in the elections, failed to strike a single blow at the Fascists in order to prevent them from coming to power. Our party proved, to our great regret, to be incapable of mobilizing any substantial section of the working class. for the purpose of organizing their resistance to the advance of Hitlerism. To us this was evidence of a serious, fundamental weakness in our party and its policy, both of which are tested precisely in such moments as the crucial hour in Germany.

It is not that we are discouraged by a defeat, for we know that the proletarian movement will rise again regardless of temporary setbacks. Far from it. We remain today just as confident of our final victory on a world scale as we have always been. But the way to overcome a defeat is to analyze its causes and take the necessary steps to eliminate them or correct them. Far from doing this, our party and manner. The fact of the defeat has not even been acknowledged. No attempt has been made by the International or any of its sections to examine into the policy of the past to find out what was wrong. That this is amateur's handiwork No attempt has been made to correct what we see is evidenced first by the fact that now quite plainly to have been our radically false have just issued a joint draft of directives for the trade union work of the new Communist party in Germany Extracts of this document.

Only three pages (and consecutive policy on "Social Fascism", or the "United Front Only from Below", or our incorrect analysis of the Lovestone hopper for synthetic Fascism itself. Everything that was done in the Fascism itself. Everything that was done in the which is of exceptional interest, quotations (patent applied for by past, and the leadership which did it, has been applied by the leadership which did it. tation to match the "fundamental proved without reservations. Consequently, instead similarity" with two sentences writ- of laying the basis for overcoming the defeat and At the Amsterdam conference for ten by Dan. An expert Lovestone rising again to victory, the basis still remains for the addition of new setbacks for our movement not only in Germany but throughout the rest of the world.

One other event has confirmed us in our criticism of the course of the Comintern. That is the Litvinoffcoosevelt negotiations. We know of course that in dealing with capitalist governments, the Soviet Union is obliged to "give and take", to make concessions where necessary. But there are concessions and concessions. As Communists, we cannot and must not surrender anything in principle to the capitalist enemy. And that is what, in our opinion, was done at Washington by the representative of the Soviet Union. We refer here to Paragraph Four of the Litvinov letter to Roosevelt. In the minds of every worker, and in the minds of the bourgeoisie itself, the existence of the international Communist movement on its territory. It is pledged to prevent the refers--or can refer-is the Communist International and its American section (our Party) whose historic aim is the replacement of the present capitalist system in this country by the rule of the working class. the same bag of tricks into the Left

other Party and League members were deeply affected foul stench reaching their nostrils the meeting without discussion was by this pledge of Litvinov. Even the newest members of our movement are uneasy and uncomfortable opinions on this question. We consider it our duty to present them to the membership. We also consider it your duty to present to us and to the membership the official standpoint of our party leadership. It is only by discussing these questions openly in the party and the League, democratically and freely, that the greatest good can result for our move-

to propose to you to call a joint city-wide member- of the speaker and on his specula- in the teeth. Our comrade was purpose of hearing a report on the questions involved ence. A sample or two will suffice meeting hurriedly closed. The Staland of giving the membership an opportunity to ex- was abandoned after 1922 (the year to a virtual pogrom spirit by dempress itself on them. Such a meeting is a most of the Fourth Congress!) because ogogue Sarkin and it was only due urgent need of the hour. We expect to present our the Social-Democracy became open- to the intervention of some of the views there in full.

moment because, as you know, there are many burn-diately corrected and never again ing problems confront our movement. Both the Party repeated, in withdrawing from the comrade Krehm challenged Sarkin and the League are suffering from radical defects in their policy and their work. In the field of the un- years of systematic work within branding him as yellow in the employed, in the trade union field, and in many others—as has been pointed out by the Open Letter growth of the R. G. O. (!) to a lenge has been repeated publicly in of the Central Committee—our work is in extremely strength (?) of 310,000 in 1933." the columns of the local Jewish bad condition. The way to correct it is to make possible (1) a democratic discussion; (2) a fundamental examination into party policy; (3) a thorough re- ness which was worked up by the weeks ago, will respond remains to

We hope that this communication will meet with ing mood. The evening was prefac- Already within the Stalinist ranks speedy and favorable action on your part, and that ed by remarks from Sarkin promis-protest is making itself heard you will consider it motivated by a devoted interest in the welfare and progress of the revolutionary (this at the "non-factional" Cul-

With Communist greetings,

tion 11, Brighton, Communist P.

at the promptings of fear. as a result of these scandalous 1903 and onwards. methods will realize that the question of working-class democracy of mere etiquette. Political bankresidence on its soil of any organization whose aim ruptcy breeds inevitably the methis the overthrow of the existing social order in the ods of hooliganism. Gangsterism United States. The only organization to which this has long been the weapon of the

the face of what happened. We have our own

Brownsville Section Committee. despicable example of ignorance ing-class movement. Brownsville Communist Party. ISIDORE LIPSCHITZ, Unit 3, (Brownsville).

this paragraph pledges the Soviet Union to prohibit Not only we, the undersigned, but hundreds of wing. Comrades alarmed by this cared to use. The attempt to close

Piatnitsky, shrill with contradic-name for the floor, was struck twice

(Signed) AL DASCH, Unit 6; Section 8,

Young Communist League, DAVID LEESER, Unit 11, Sec-

Short Dispatches from Fascist Germany

the British journalist, Panter, ac- of gratitude to Hitler. cused of espionage (as is well known he had communicated to the British press about a Nazi demon-But while amateurish in execuion, this performance attains the lowest levels hitherto achieved by the past-masters of slander and well known that he got the details regarding the armed strength of the S. A., etc., from a journalist What comrade Trotsky says in national Federation of Communist reference to the present plebisci- employe by Hugenberg's TEL-UN-Oppositions): Communist Party of tary regime in the Soviet Union is ION, a certain Ackermann. The Sweden, the Mot Dag group in Nor- juxtaposed with Dan's statement in latter has likewise been arrested. way. The Swiss section of the I. reference to the dictatorship of the Possibly the Hugenberg circles in-

rade Bringolf, the Swiss representative analysis of the class character in a telegram immediately after Everybody Welcome.....Adm. Free Germany's departure from the But perhaps we imply too much League of 'Nations and disarma But perhaps we imply too much by inferring that the Lovestoneites thanks for the German munition of that committee: the C. I. has been relegated to the position of being an instrument for Russian foreign policy; the C. I. has become a "hopeless case" for the West Eura "hopeless case" for the West Eur- worker's state itself. Is it after assured the Chancellor in a telegram all, excluded that the Lovestoneites that German industry, without any The I. V. K. O. section in Alsace- identify Stalinism with the dicta- reservation, will support the na-

TEN YEARS

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES

OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

By MAX SHACHTMAN

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The Panter Affair. The affair of has every reason to send telegram and vegetables regularly declines workers were deflated by the A. F. and demanding statements and fin-

Index of Standard of Living March and April, 1933-79.4, May -80.5. June and July-80.9, August -80.7. The nourishment index alone stration in Kelhein reporting mill-rose from 70.7 in March to 73.7 in tary details) and incarcerated in June, declining in August to 73.4. Munich for ten days ended inglor- The small decline in the last month iously for Germany after he was as explained by seasonal fluctua-

> MINNEAPOLIS NEW YEAR'S EVE AFFAIR Bridge - Dancing Entertainment — Refreshments Sunday, December 31, 1933, 9 P. M

at 3601 Elliott Avenue Auspices: Minneapolis branch C. L of A. (Opp.)

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GEORGE KATSIOLIS Communist orator of note .--Workingclass Internationalism and Decisive Crises. (An analysis of the causes surance, as follows: leading to the downfall of the 3 workers Internation-

> JOSEPH GIGANTI of Chicago Left Opposition

BROOKLYN OPEN FORUM GEORGE CLARKE

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in this time and rises later on.

crease in sugar of 2.7 percent, vegetable 5 percent, beef products 4.3 not be questioned. percent, butter 6:5 percent, eggs 14 percent, oleomargearine 34.3 percent. In short the effects of "os fell under the blundering leadership ordered deported. It is not so tion since the price for potatoes well known that he got the details to since the price for potatoes the got the details to since the price for potatoes to the got the details to since the price for potatoes to the got the got the details to since the price for potatoes to the got the g barona) are quite apparent. Unemployment: The number of

unemployed on October 1st amounthe previous month. (As is well following facts however complete the picture:

1. The income from wage taxation remains below the level of last year according to the latest C H I C A G O statistics of the Ministry of Fin-NTERNATIONAL LABOR FORUM ance wage taxation brought an instatistics of the Ministry of Fin-

In August 1932, with 52,224,000 unemployed, 60.9 million Marks. In August 1933, with 4,124,000 unemployed,59.6 million Marks. 2. The figures of those at work

compare with those of the unemployed, according to state sick in-

August 1933: 4,124,000 unemploy ed, 13.716,000 employed.

ed, 882.000 employed.

August 1932: 5,224,000 unemployed. 12.834.000 employed.

all that. MASQUERADE BALL

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Montreal Stalinists Answer Marxist Ideas with Hooliganism

Montreal.—The last few weeks clothing itself in an unconscionable in Montreal have been rich in strik-demagogy. Argument Replaced by Epithet ing demonstrations of the lengths What Sarkin lacked in arguments to which the Stalinists are driven in frantic effort to suppress the he repaired with epithets. There ideas of the Left Opposition. The was a complete departure organized rowdy attempt to disrupt from the terminology of political

bureaucrat, against the Left wing.

solvency from which it emerges.

A Staliinst Lecture on Germany

On December 3, S. Sarkin, a

counter-revolutionary" (!!).

our meeting a few weeks ago, the discussion. The removing of posters advertising our | "counter-revolutionary" was replacmeetings, the picket-lines before ed by such delicate expressions as our doors, the ejection of our delegates from the Anti-Fascist Conferdates." The mighty resources of ence now shrivelled to the dimen- this department of the Jewish tonsions of a Stalinist caucus,—all gue were tapped with a remarkable these things points unmistakably thoroughness. The whole performto a hooliganism become rampant ance was climaxed by the speaker producing a collection of Inprecorrs The workers provoked to thought with the well-known quotations of

Sarkin had announced at the beginning of the lecture that a period cannot be relegated to the sphere of discussion would be allowed "if time permitted". This having been laid down he proceeded to make sure that time would not allow. Replies to questions took the form reformist faker, the trade union of irrelevant harangues drawn out to absurd lengths. This was in The Stalinists, unable to withstand marked contrast with the procedure a Marxist criticism, are introducing at our meetings when we gave the Stalinist speaker more time than he will ponder and search until they thwarted by protests from Left Opunearth the cesspool of political in position comrades present

Bedlam at the Meeting

Goretsky of the Left Opposition when finally allowed the floor belocal mandarin of the general line gan a quotation from Unser Kami lectured at the Jewish Cultural which Sarkin had challenged us to Centre on the tactics of the C. P. produce. Sarkin attempted to tear in Germany. With the contents of the paper from his hand, crying the lecture itself we will not con- that we wanted the original (nothecrn ourself here—a loud-mouthed ing less). This was the signal for rehashing of the latest wisdom of the breaking lose of bedlam. Comtion on the ignorance of the audi- jostled off the platform and the more hot-headed comrades present Such a meeting is all the more necessary at this The defeat of 1933 was to be traced that the violence was not greater than was actually the case.

> After the close of the meeting reformist trade unions, "The 13 to debate the topic of the lecture, the trade unions—climaxed—with event of a refusal. The same chal-The presence of three "Trotsky-paper. Whether the Stalinists, afites" at the lecture was conugh to ter the defeat administered to them impart to it an atmosphere of tense- at our last German lecture several speaker to nothing short of a lynch- be seen.

> tural Centre), and the exhortation join in bunishing these shameful to the faithful to have "their blood methods, the product of panic and boil". Never was there a more despair, from the ranks of the work

A.F. of L. and Mirror Workers

Workers Union has again been de- start negotiations with the Internafeated in its aims to constitute tional Pocketbook Workers Union. itself as a genuine trade union for The committee, at first, went to the safeguarding of the economic see Hugh Fraine, head of the local interests of all the workers in the office of the A. F. of L., who protrade. This time the aims of the ceeded to an endless questioning of L. bureaucrats of the Interna- ally came to the point-who is to Comparison with last year: Com- tional Pocketbook Workers Union, have jurisdiction over the union? paring the prices of August 1933 whose desire for fat per capita fees The A. F. of L. faker, very jealous with August 1932 we find an in and whose genuine fear of any sign of his jurisdictional rights, decided of militancy from the workers, can- that the International Pocketbook

> union, shortly after its formation, foes. the path of the strike and made a soon, causing them to go back to ther explanations. work before the strike was ended.

Apply for A. F. of L. Charter

New York.—The Novelty Mirror Communist League was one-to bureaucrats were to have the hege-It will be remembered that the mony over the workers and their

Then followed more meetings, tunate strike-unfortunate in the Pocketbooks, subjecting the commitsensé that it was led by the Stalin-tee to a most scrutinous investigaists-that dissipated the energies of tion-How many members? How ed to 3,850,000, 150,000 less than the workers, and almost robbed many paying dues? How much them of all confidence in trade un- money in the treasury? Any Comknown at the end of Janaury the ionism, it become comparatively munist influence?—all this was figures stood at 6,014,000). The workers that the loss of the strike sion by the next Executive Counsel was not due to a couple of "skunks" meeting promised. Then began an but chiefly due to the syndicalist, endless postponement from week to ultra-Left policies of the Nessin week, more questions and more inleadership which laid obstacles in vestigations, until finally, after five weeks of negotiations, the answer number of workers lose hope too was given. No! Without any fur-

The reaction to all this from the inexperienced unionists was utter Consequently, at a membership disappointment and dejection. The meeting-of 56 workers (out of an Stalinists and their influenced vicoriginal 300)-sometime later called tims naturally capitalized on the together, for the purpose of discuss- situation, again giving the same ing the question of affiliation, a majority of workers voted to apply L. does not want to organize workfor a charter from the A. F. of L. ers, the A. F. of L. is only con-The remainder, still poisoned by cerend about pocketing the money; Stalinist influence, walked out of as if this were their chief motive the hall, completely disrupting the for refusing to affiliate with it, as meeting, and causing a serious split. If all this and more was not clearly Resulting in: 1,100,000 unemploy-d, 882,000 employed. Immediately, a committee was elected—of which a member of the filiate with the A. F. of L. despite

A Trade Union or a Sect The Stalinists succeeded in null-

ifying the former decision and pushed through a vote—on a much smaller scale—to abandon negotia-tions with the A. F. of L. and affiliate with the T. U. U. L. It is worth mentioning that despite their activity, the vote was so slim that they had to resort to the method of denying a vote to the chairman the chairman being a Left Opposition worker.

The workers of the Mirror novelty trade must be made to realize that to continue with their present intentions means the end of their union. Affiliation to the paper trade union center of the T. U. U. L. can help in ino way to build a genuine trade union able to extend its influence throughout the trade and become a real weapon to better the conditions of the workers. What is needed is a union, not a propaganda-resolutions-writing club for the Stalin bureaucrats.

-MIRROR WORKER.

Discussion Article

THE PROLETARIAN PARTY

(The writer of this article was for over 10 years a member of he Proletarian Party of America, serving for several years on its National Executive Committee, and for a year and a half, as its National Secretary. He has recently resigned from the Party as a result of the decisions of the convention held in September.

This article is written with the intention to not only throw light on the recent controversy in the Proletarian Party but also to explain the part played by the organization in the American labor movement and to. as nearly as possible, appraise the Party's usefulness to the toilers of the U.S.)

Immediately after the entry of toward the war. This controversy Party, whose leaders, like the lead-Second International, had betrayed ganization did not appear. the oganization to the capitalist class. Opposition to the leadership tion groups by the Hillquit machthemselves into a Communist Party, tarian University, etc.

History of the Party

It can be safely said that the Proletarian University group (known also as the Michigan group and later as The Proletarian Party) 1917, in the attitude toward the Imperialist War, and in Marxian theory in general. They were at

Party and the Communist Labor might be small but good." C. P. of A. It remained terribly reach a membership of 500. "left sick". Its programs were grossly reformistic and opportunist in character; (the LaFollette cation and more Education". In The Proletarian Party constitution ways oppose them and work for him for all they can get out of gave the figures for electric rates:

| Conserved Is a typical Socialist Party document the typical Socia the U. S., into the World War a ian understanding the P. P. leaned ment, the terminology being in honest criticsm with trickery and tremendous amount of controversy over too far and became almost ex- many places vague and indefinite deceit and also with attack on the naturally arose in the American clusively an educational organiza and leaving room for quite different motives of the critic, all with the labor movement as to the attitude tion. Both parties occupied extreme interpretations. In some places object of removing the critic from fragmentary and unreliable, being watt hour. A second order struck count on the weakness of the Amwas most apparent in the Socialist organization that would combine in authority provided, and this too in necessary, from the Party itself. igin. But it seems the Cuban an Telephone Company, a subsidisent, necessary reluctance to assist ers of the European parties of the tion and action. But such an or-

Proletarian Party and C. P.

tion groups by the range in driving the other to the line. The expelled groups formed opposite pole. Doubtless they exera Communist Labor Party, a Prole-But the objective factors were vantage of to the full by the C. P. This attempt was not the result had the soundest position in regard to the two Russian revolutions of the two Russian revolutions of demonstrations, demands for Soviet with regard to finances. From the the attitude toward the soundest position in regard of A. and resulted in a good deal so much of deep thought as of ary principles that were involved in the controversy. But in the sum-of the s recognition, etc.

that time good students of Marxism. and determined stand was taken was made National Secretary, it Many of the numerous blunders of against any sort of immediate or that the other Left wing groups could partial demands. Anything that demands of the control of the contro have been avoided had they accepted the ideas put forth by the Prolesiderable number of workers to its men in the Party which explains tarian University group. But the support was frowned upon as opthe outstanding position of Kerachobjective conditions of that time portunism or left sickness. It was er. A good deal of the work of the were not conducive to careful study a question only of education, first, Party that should have fallen on on the part of the majority of the last and all the time, according to Left wing members. The Bolshevik the leaders. The Party's programs ecutive Committee was neglected Revolution had just established the were cold, dogmatic affairs and the by that body either on account of rule of the workers over one-sixth tactics followed were stiff and in- laziness or inability. This work of the earth's surface. This great elastic. Party leaders prided themevent had kindled tremendous en-selves on this stiffness and explain-least, after a fashion. thusiasm and a keen desire for ac-ed their "temporary isolation from tion in the breasts of the American the masses" as a sure sign of the workers but there was no corre-correctness of their position. "The sponding desire for careful and masses are not yet ready to accept days to restrict Keracher or to painstaking study of the event. such an advanced position. It will criticize his methods of carrying on ers at half price-\$1.50 postpaid. Most of the Left wing leaders de take time to win any considerable the work because such criticism chared that the time for study was number to this view. The Bolshe-would have acquired a willingness past and the time for action had vik Party was very small up to the and ability on the part of the critic

As time passed the Communist himself said the revolutionary party Party became the Workers' Party were the arguments used by the while the Proletarian University became the Proletarian Party. Later they do not be the petty, inefficient methods that he was a small store teviue of the Cuban workers and their for the Cuban workers and their had ampleted in the petty, inefficient methods that he was a small store teviue of the Cuban workers and their the masses of the country. The later they forgot, that at the time Lenin petty, inefficient methods that he be seen in the latest developments. on the Workers' Party received the wrote this, the Bolshevik party had be made because and office process. In the world's former sugar bowl. Department of Interior delegates Cuban Workers Need International recognition of the Communist Inter- several thousand members in Petro- His book-keeping and office proced- At Montevideo the Latin American to the meeting of the electric worknational and thus became the Com- grad alone and that the Bolshevik ure are something atrocious and as capitalists, supported and inspired ers which decided on the strike munist Party of America. But the Party was relatively small but not an executive he is on a level with by the English and Japanese im that it would not interfere with the recognition of the C. I. did very insignificantly so. At no time in the average small storekeeper. To periodists, are maneuvering for strike. This is a bid for support little to correct the errors of the its history did the Proletarian Party for advantages for themselves and by the masses.

> Organizational Weaknesses But in addition to the program-

A One-Man Party

was taken care of by Keracher, at

There was little attempt in those eve of the revolution and Lenin to undertake more work himself

as Keracher was always obviously overloaded with work. This willingness and ability did not exist anywhere in the N. E. C. except in a very limited degree. Naturally the Party became a direct reflection of Keracher; a reflection of his weak points as well as of his strong points.

Previous to his revolutionary the organization to sure death.

matic and tactical weaknesses there of any important constructive work Eagle general, chisel. incident of 1924 is an example). were weaknesses of a structural and himself but on those rare occasions But the Proletarian Party develop- organizational nature that prevented when others of some ability tried erican moneybags in a delicate sit- reduce salaries or discharge worked in the opposite direction and optime the Party from becoming a true to cooperate with him he proved uation. If he makes a miscue any ers in carrying through this necespositions. The great need was an there is a definite duplication of his position in the Party and, if either capitalist or Stalinist in orat another Morgan outfit, the Cub-

cass. Opposition to the leadership became very strong and resulted in wholesale expulsion of the opposi-played by each of the two parties of the Peterson-Dixon group, as members, head of the Anti-but to estimate the part world's leading imperialist power became the part world's leading imperialist power by Lenin, were still unknown to us should be exploited in another way played by each of the two parties as I family, were still district Keracher, as National Sector to be believed the workers of 30 a sop thrown to the petty bourge to assist the Cuban revolution. An opposite pole. Doubtiess they exercised some influence on each other. But the objective factors were look at the objectin But the objective factors were mount to such a constitution. The action had no great unification in Latin America, and on Montey-much more favorable to the growth of the frothier, noisier organization was based almost entirely on an the Party chiefly because the group gle can be seen from the fact that, use them. The threat to take over debugged to ideo would cause Washington great embarassment and would weaken of the frothier, noisier organization was based dimost entirely on an late latery the group sie can be seen from the later that, the Cuban Review of the American monopolies if they its position still further. It is in ing class sentiment in favor of the changed so as to conform to the it weakened its case before the mem-Russian Revolution was taken ad- principles of democratic centralism. bership tremendously by attacking mills in this province in 1926, near- the rate reductions is a gesture that we feel most acutely the col-Keracher's personal character in-ly thirty percent of all the sugar made by the government to the lapse of the C. I. and the nationalof A. and resulted in a good deal so much of deep thought as of stead of sticking to the revolution- mills on the island, producing anti-imperialist sentiments of the ist orientation of the Communist time the National Office of the mer of 1932 another controversy Party was moved from Detroit to arose in the Party, and as a result In the Proletarian Party a firm Chicago in 1922, and John Keracher of the same conditions that caused sands; all the Woolworth Co. stores Now the Martin government can ternational working class problems. the first.

--JOSEPH KNIGHT. (Continued in next issue)

LABOR AND INTER-NATIONALISM"

titled "Labor and International-

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Problems of the Cuban Revolution

CUBA AND MONTEVIDEO

Such career Keracher was a small store- tevideo Pan-American Conference consolidate its position and delude or maybe before if all goes well, tion of chief executive, with almost Uncle Sam's rivals at his expense.

Strike Wave Rising Again

the highest bodies of the Party.

This condition might have been excused years ago when the principles of Bolshevik organization and ples or

Other strikes are taking place; wages is part of the bid for suptobacco workers are out in thou-port by labor.

the strike against the Cuban Elec-knows that only the most direct problem and build the movement. Electric Bond and Share Company. Lewis L. Lorwin's history of the these outfits. How big the Electric international labor movement enBond and Share is can be seen forces into Cuba. from the fact that its subsidiaries in 1930 supplied light, power, gas, water and ice to 1,520,000 Cubans,

Importance of the Strike

The importance of the strike lies ernment, government of the petty the Pioneer Publishers. This pambourgeoisie, is using the strike and phlet will present documentary ma- Publishers, 84 East 10th Street,

At the same time it is part of Not only was Keracher incapable is, to borrow a word from the Blue to the Electric Company to reduce its electric and gas rates by forty-Just the same they have the Am- five percent and had forbidden it to

At the same time the government Cuban revolution is strengthening itself internally,

The great importance of the Mon-American imperialists' position to so that when the conference is over,

Support.

That is how the government figures the lay of the land. But what about the workers? They are still putting forward only economic decomplete control, was to condemn The U. S. is sitting so tightly on a more comprehensive scheme: The the absence of an influential revolumands. We take that as a sign of the lid that about all they can do government has issued an order tionary Communist party. A Marxist vanguard could take great advantage of the situation in the interests of the workers by consciously raising the struggle to the poliposed to the antics of the C. P. of Communist party. These last were quite incapable of working with place in Latin America while this sary and insufficient reduction in tionalization of industry under the rates. In a previous article we conference is on they will squeeze the rates. In a previous article we workers' control of production. The weakness of the American capitalists' position now is also, in the an 20 cents in the interior; com- last analysis, the weakness of the pared to New York which has a Martin government. The advanc-The news coming out of Cuba is high rate of 6 and 5 cents a kilo- ing workers' movement could also erican imperialists' position, its pre-

world's leading imperialist power

It is not too late to build the defense movement. That task stands high on the agenda of inare closed, and have been bombed. afford this show of strength. It The Stalinists have demonstrated Most important among the strikes is doesn't cost it anything now. It their failure to understand the tric Co. of which Machado is a and serious threat to the stakes of The Left Opposition together with vice-president, an affiliate of the vice-president, an affiliate of the Roosevelt to risk arousing the whole must take the initiative and issue The Pioneer Publishers has sec. The Emperor of America, J. P. of Latin America and playing into the call to the masses of the United ured a limited number of copies of Morgan, is the big shot in both of the hands of England, France, States and Latin America, and the ment of support and defense of the

-T. STAMM.

PIONEER PUBLISHER NOTES [tion of Soviet foreign policy under

the temporary weakness of the terial showing the revisionist dilu- New Pork City.

A pamphlet on the history of Litvinov-Stalin, the glaring change Soviet diplomacy under Lenin and from the first Commisar of Foreign not only in the size and importance under the Stalin regime is in pre- Affairs to the present incumbent, of the company. The Martin gov- paration and will be published by from Brest-Litovsk to Washington.

Send all funds to Pioneer

Discussion Articles

Draft Resolution on the Tasks of the Spartacus Youth Clubs Proposed by and making the National Youth Committee the provisional national committee the provisional national configuration of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of a party of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of a party of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of a party of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of a party of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of a party of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of a party of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of a party of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of a party of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of a party of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of a party of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of a party of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of a party of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of a party of the young workers, educate them the American section of this youth of the young workers. National Youth Comm. of the C.L.A. Clubs was a further in our youth work.

We print below the draft resolution on the tasks of the Spartacus Youth Clubs adopted by the National Youth Committee of the Communist League of America. With the publication of this draft the columns of the Militant are opened for contributions on this question.

Comrades are invited to send in their contributions. Articles are to not exceed 750 words. The analyses of the causes of the rise and function of the Communist youth movement contained in the theses on the Youth Question of the 2nd National Conference of the Communist League of America (see Militant, August 15th, 1931) holds good in all its essentials today Particularly is this true of the first three sections

of the proletarian families into the side the League, which directs and should be considered as temporary productive process. The cheapness leads it, exchange of representations. of their labor power, their physical tive on committees, and a sound and intellectual immaturity, their Marxian policy in the class strugluck of trade union organization gle which the Leaguers will readily makes them particularly profitable follow. A thorough discussion of objects for exploitation. These the party question affecting the same chareferistics and the needs League should take place during growing out of them-need for the latter's pre-convention discusphysical and intellectual development, for play, "social life"—were left almost wholely unsatisfied. From a position of helpers and aptries and process of capitalism.

November 1919 out of a need for the present leaders of the Comin-pating with it in united fronts. an organization which would attract the working youth towards "3. Limited experience with Comtract the working youth towards ity and impulsiveness, its impulsiveness, its special activities-sports, methods, activities and organiza-

'The Y. C. L.s are broad educational organizers of youth. Com- icies were completely subordinated munist training and education re- to the factional requirements of the quires the intimate linking up of moment."

ism; develops itself in the struggle against the bourgeois and petty which would function as the Combourgeois (especially reformist) or munist youth League in the United ganizations and influence, as the States. This League will undercultural center and political leader take the tasks and assume the form of the youth.

League Subordinate to Party

the leader of a section of the work- 5. This does not exclude the ing class, the youth, is politically possibility of forming or cooperattariat as a whole. The strategy steps in this direction, in certain This political subordination is ac- exceptional circumstances Political subordination is main-tempt to convert them into sections "1. Capitalism draws the youth tained by a capable party cadre in- of our national organization. They sion.

of testing them in practise, examininto factional pawns. Youth pol-

organization.

3. The action of the National Youth Committee in suggesting to the Spartacus Youth Clubs a uniform constitution which provided for the political subordination of the Clubs to the Left Opposition while organizationally autonomous

A Uniform Constitution

4. Our efforts have been progressively in the direction of a national Spartacus Youth League outlined in the first three section of our 2nd National Conference Youth "The League which aspires to be theses (quoted above).

Position Towards Existing Youth Organizations

"The restatement of these ele- work within the Y. C. L. in order adult organization.

fronts with the Y. P. S. L.

struggles inside an outside the arm-vouth clubs. A large percentage movement, biographical sketches of ities should be an important part ed forces against capitalist militar- of the members of these culbs are outstanding revolutionary leaders, of the work of the Spartacus Youth

CONSTRUCTION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE FIRST TIME IN A WORKING Class, and so on, should be stressed as an Clubs which will make them the Spartacus Youth League along the must merely recognize the limitaessential part of the education of cultural centers of the youth. the class conscious youth. For this | 12. Our aim should be to conpurpose, popular pamphlets should vert "Young Spartacus" into a live be issued by Pioneer Publishers un- and aggressive Communist propader the imprint of the Provisional ganda and agitation paper which National Committee of the Spar- will attract the youth to Commun-Committee of the Spartacus Youth groups. We should strive to make League of America).

9. A pamphlet under similar tabloid size paper which can actuphlets on the biographies of ary leaders should also be begun under youth auspices.

10. The Spartacus Youth Clubs (and League) should be extremely careful to avoid the mistake of the party, the vanguard of the prole-tariat as a whole. The strategy steps in this direction and tactics of the party are the localities where a S. Y. C. cannot ities and methods of work as the strategy and tactics of the League immediately be forced. Under these adult Communist organization. This the is inevitable in the first stage of companied by the organizational groups should bear other names the organization when the initial autonomy of the League, i. e., its than "Spartacus Youth" and have cadres are being assembled. The right to elect its own committees the character of discussion groups Spartacus Youth Clubs should atand officers, and regulate the or study classes. Our comrades tract into their ranks youth com-League's inner policies and life, form fractions within them and atfledged Communists whose place is ed and has passed the stage of even if we should succeed in con-unions, amongst the unorganized or organization should contain youth whose average age is 17. Older comrades should be drawn into the visability and necessity became so adult organization and gradually drop their membership in the youth 6. Our attitude toward the groups. When the Spartacus Youth Young Communist League is that League is organized the age limits it is a Stalinist organization in should be 15 to 23. Comrades over capable of effectively educating the the age of 21 who have been in the youth to Communism or leading Spartacus Youth groups for more them in struggle. We continue our than six months should join the

mentary and fundamental principles to win its members to our ranks. 11. To avoid becoming a "youth prentices the youth were absorbed of the Communist youth, laid down In all fields of activity our organi- party" two dangers must be avoidever more into the general indus- by the first three congresses of the zation will appear as a rival of the ed: First, the danger of separating Y. C. L. is made imperative by their Stalinist Y. C. L. while at the same the economic work of the youth 22. The Y. C. L. was founded in revision in theory and practise, by time proposing to it and partici- from the adult organization. Whereever possible the industrial frac-7. The ferment in the American tions of the youth should work Y. P. S. L. requires that we pay together with those of the adult Communism, win, organize and train it for the Communist parties. The south work requires that the communist parties. The south tactics, demands, slogans and cialists to Communism and the ally, the youth groups are politically south tactics. need for a special organization is special organizational forms should Spartacus Youth groups. We should ally subordinate to, and should called forth by the psychological be put forward not as dogmas or endeavor to build a Communist work closely with the adult organipecularities of youth—its immatur- finished products which have univ- fraction within the Yipsels through zations. Secondly, the danger of ersal valiity, but rather with a view which we can carry on our pro- narrowing down the Spartacus paganda work in that organization. Youth Clubs to advanced or consci-"social" affairs—and its physical ing the results, and thereby laying Around this fraction we should ous Communists by the formation and intellectual requirements. These the ground for more effective tac- build a broader Left wing on the of permament periphery organizacan be satisfied only by particular ties, slogans, etc. The Comintern basis of concrete class struggle is- tions. The youth theses of the 2nd under Zinoviev and later Bucharin sues confronting the young Social- National Conference correctly statand Stalin converted the Y. C. L.s ists. On definite class struggle is ed that one of the reasons for the sues we will attempt to form united conversion of the American Y. C. L. into a "youth party" was precisely 8. It is essential that in the its policy of forming youth sections educational and propage nda of the of every auxiliary of the Communthe theoretical with the practical. 2. The election of a national Spartacus Youth Clubs and Young ist party, youth clubs and groups the study-group with the field of youth committee and the establish- Spartacus, American revolutionary of a permament nature which dupthe class struggle. The Y. C. L. ment of "Young Spartacus" were traditions, bourgeois and working licated the essential educational, is in the forefront of the struggles two decisive steps which facilitated class, play a predominant role. The cultural, and sometimes porpaganda of the working youth; leads and first, the organization of the youth revolutionary lessons of the Amer- work of the Y. C. L. The formation organizes it for immediate economic in the Left Opposition, and second, ican Revolution of 1776, the Civil of sports teams, dramatic groups and cultural needs and demands; the establishment of a number of War, the early American labor and the conducting of social activ-

it an eight page semi-monthly

our youth platform, to organize a upon our shoulders.

national Left Opposition raises the run yield far greaten results. tacus Youth Clubs (or National ism and the Spartacus Youth necessity of constructing a new Committee the provisional national imprint should be issued as soon of the young workers, educate them committee of the Spartacus Youth as feasible on "Who Are the Spartacus Youth of a new party. Needless to say Clubs was a further step forward in our youth work.

In the spatiated states and the spatial states of this youth in Marxism, and play an active role in the class struggle.

In Marxism, and play an active role in the class struggle.

In the spatiated states of this youth in the class struggle. 13. We propose that the coming world union of youth which can of a new party cannot be successworkers—covering youth and indusnational conference of the Community active support to the Fourth rully accomplished merely by extry, youth and the school, unemployment and the youth and so on, the national youth committee to, subordinate to it. The American the theory of permament revolution Another series of uniform page, at an early date following the con- Communist League is the only in contradistinction to socialism in ference, call a national convention section of the I. L. O. which has one country. Winning over workstanding international revolution- of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and behind it such a powerful nucleus ers to our side means participation all other youth groups which are for a revolutionary youth organiza- in the workers' struggles. It means sympathetic to Communism (as tion. Therefore a heavy part of not only struggle but struggle on a embodied in the program of the L. the work in the building of a new correct basis with correct slogans. O.) and agree with the essence of world communist international falls It means the gaining of the confid-

With Whom and How Shall We Build of our theories can be convincing to the workers through our successthe New Communist Party

Communist party has been acceptthat practically not a single voice

was raised in opposition. the party. This question of course was partly involved in the discusbut only incidentally. At present some more or less clear and definite answer must be given. Otherwise there is danger of our wasting valuable effort and energy without all that. achieving any noticeable results.

If we answer the first part of the question—namely, with whom—the answer to the second part-howwill readily follow.

The temptation is to take the easiest road. We want to organize not enter into a discussion with and form the new party? Such a by it presents no serious difficulties.

with and winning over of those who claim to be Communists or ments.

In the first place, the member- viewpoint? Decidedly not! We

As far as the Left Opposition is ship of the various Communist or theory of socialism in one country, concerned the necessity for a new near-Communist groups in this if not accompanied with practical country is insignificant. So that, revolutionary work in the trade visability and necessity became so our ideas, we would not be much employed and unemployed workers clear as the discussion developed better off then we are at present. will make them very sympathetic Communist and near-Communist But, having accepted the idea of groups have definite viewpoints of the necessity of a new party, we are have clung to for quite a long time. there are two levers which we immediately faced with the duestion: with whom and how to build to expect that because must use in preparing the ground-we change our position from that work for the new party. One is sion on the necessity of a new party that of a Communist group anxious most of the fundamental principles

groups is to permit all groups joining in the formation of a new party easiest road. We want to organize a new party. There are several life in the new party. This of members. It will mean that they wards Communist principles. Why ever it might be it would not be a to the study and discussion of what not enter into a discussion with such groups, win over as many of some kind of a federation of Com- and international questions. Our them as possible to our viewpoint munist groups would be advisable members confronted with the task and form the new party? Such a solution has a certain plausibility and, moreover, the path suggested and, moreover, the path suggested exceedingly doubtful but not by any means ruled out altogether. At of Communist theory, with ques-But to depend upon discussion any rate, it would not be a party, tions affecting the everyday life of those who are traveling in that ciples and tactics with other groups tween international and highly direction for the formation of a new for the purpose of ironing out dif- theoretical questions on the one party is to invite sad disappoint- ferences and winning these groups hand and the more immediate proor some of their members to our blems of the working class.

tions involved in such a method International Affiliation and Tasks and recognizing these limitations The task of building a Fourth emphasize another method which is International assumed by the Inter- more difficult but will in the long

The turn to a new party means Communist Youth International. a turn to mass work for the im-The Spartacus Youth League of mediate purpose of gathering revrecruiting workers for the building ence of the workers in our ability

The superiority and correctness ful activities in mass work. By this time this proportion should require no argument. A logical presentation of the incorrectness of the In the second place, the existing to the idea of building a new party.

To use comrade Trotsky's phrase their own, viewpoints which they of the two levers, one can say that we change our position from that work for the new party. One is of considering ourselves a fraction the short lever of discussion with of the official Communist party to those who have already accepted to build a new party, we should of Communism and with those who thereby almost immediately succeed are travelling away from the socialin winning these groups over to democracy towards Communism. The our point of view. Not so easy as other is the long and more important lever of organizing employed The only possible method of organizing and unemployed workers, participanizing a new party in the near future on the basis of the existing communist and near-Communist groups is to permit all groups join-

A turn to real mass work will be Does it follow then that we should the worker. Our members will cease discussing questions of prin- learn the intimate connection be-

-ALBERT GOLDMAN.

EDITORIAL

The Leipsig Prisoners and the Boycott of Germany

S the monstrous travesty of a trial at Leipzig A approaches its denouement the workers of the world are called to solidarize with the Communist prisoners in the Fascist dock on an international day of protest December 19. We are for this action with all our hearts and bespeak for it the firm and unanimous support of the workers. Regardless of all differences of opinion or affiliation which may divide them, the workers of the entire world ought to stand united in a common bond of solidarity with the Leipzig prisoners and strive by all means in their power to save them from the executioner's knife that is poised over their heads.

The heroic prisoners at Leipzig, facing their Fascist accusers undaunted and proclaiming their Communist faith before the whole world, are the brightest symbols and most inspiring representatives of the liberation struggle of the proletariat. The international demonstration in their behalf on December 19 is a fitting occasion for the workers to roar a might protest against their assassination. We sincerely trust that no considerations of any kind whatever will prevent a united action of the international proletariat on that day.

But warmly as we support the protest demonstration we have to recognize that protest alone, no matter how loudly it may resound throughout the world, is not sufficient in this case. The wild beasts of Fascist barbarism care nothing for public opinion and will not be restrained by it. What is needed is a demonstration of power by the international working class. What is needed is an action that will strike directly at the Fascist regime and compel the brown shirt murderers to pause in their bloody course. Such an action, entirely feasible and possible and flowing with irrefutable logic out of the entire situation, is the boycott of transport and communication to and from Germany for a definite,

In the proposal for this boycott, which has been made by the International Left Opposition, there is nothing adventurous or unrealistic. Neither is it put forward with an exaggerated estimation of the results it can yield. The boycott is possible: all that is needed is an agreement of the various workers' organizations which will liberate the workers' will to act unitedly in the anti-Fascist struggle. The boycott will not overthrow Fascism-for that a revivication of the labor movement in Germany is necessary. But the boycott can deal a heavy blow to the Fascist regime. It can terrify the inhuman monsters with its menacing implications, and wrest concessions from them. It can save the lives of the intended victims of the Reichstag fire frame-up. And it can be an electric message to the tortured proletariat of Germany that it has friends in the world ready to help them to their feet again. The boycott can be a mighty force for the revival of the German labor movement in a struggle for the overthrow of Fascism on the road to Soviet Germany.

For the defense of the Leipzig prisoners and the beginning of a real international struggle against Fascism the transport boycott of Hitler's Germany stands on the order of the day. Let us press forward along this line. Let us make December 19th a day of united protest leading directly to a united front has sentenced both boys to burn in the chair. The

Cuba and the Comintern

HAT is the opinion of the Communist International on the tasks of the Cuban revolution? What advice does it offer the Cuban workers for the solution of their complex and difficult problems? And, still more important, what is it doing in a concrete and practical way to help throw off the yoke of American imperialism? These are questions of the greatest important at the present moment, and the revolutionary workers of the United States, as of Cuba and the whole of Latin America, are entitled to a straightforward answer

It is no small matter. Cuba may very well turn out to be the Achilles heel of the Wall Street monster. The contradictions between its domination by U. S. imperialism and the life interests of the masses are at the explosive point there. For many weeks now the struggle has been blazing into a conflagration which the whole world could see. The workers on their own initiative have been taking possession of American properties and have even, in some instances, proceeded to the formation of local Soviets. The Island is small, but the uprising of its people has an enormous strategical importance and moral power. The Wall Street bandits justly regard it with apprehension as the peoples of Latin America and the conscious workers in the U.S. look to it with sympathy and hope. The U.S. bandits stand ready to crush the revolt with the brutal force of armed intervention. The workers and the peoples ought to be shown the way to unify all their efforts with those of the Cuban workers for the frustration

This is a problem on which the "General Staff" of the World Revolution" ought to speak out clearly. The Comintern was organized for just such purposes, and that is the way it acted in Lenin's time. In such a case-under Lenin-it would have put the conclusions of international experience at the disposal of the oppressed and exploited in order to steer the struggle onto the right path. It would have brought the weight of its international authority to bear to unify the struggle and impel it forward. Remember the bold manifestoes of Lenin's Comintern on Ireland and India, the appeals to the Hungarian Soviet, to the German workers, etc. Or, closer home, recall Lenin's famous "Letter to the American Workingmen" and a dozen other letters and resolutions, openly and publicly advising how to organize the fight against American Imperialism. In the present instance, filled with such great potentialities, the Comintern of Stalin remains as silent as the grave. And as for Stalin himself, the "best disciple of Lenin", his mouth, as the saying goes, might be filled with water -he cannot utter a word of advice, encouragement or hope on the grandiose events in Cuba.

Is this "non-intervention" in the Cuban revolution a deliberate policy? Was an express promise to keep "Hands off Cuba" a part of the Washington agreement for Recognition? If not, please explain the precise

meaning of the following clauses in Litvinoff's letter: "4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group, which has as an aim the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change

in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or posses

This treacherous pledge, which brings the blush of shame to every revolutionist, does not refer to some "territory" on the moon. It refers, directly and concretely, and at the present moment, to Cuba.

30 reported that a delegation of fitted to represent the Soviet power. Turkish workers in the United Staconcretely, and at the present moment, to Cuba.

In our opinion, and we say it with blunt and brutal frankness, it was explicitly so discussed and understood in the negotiations. If our opinion is wrong, we stand ready to be corrected. The Stalin Kemalist government. The delegation has arrival at Angora he said: party has a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tion will demand," it was announced "This city reflects the calm and party has a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. The way a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand, it was a way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand to the way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand to the way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand to the way to do it. However, for this, bluster tuon win demand to the way to do it. However, for the way to

Let the Daily Worker print a manifesto of the Comintern on Cuba!

Signs of the Coming Storm

MONG other characteristics the lynchings wave demonstrated a feature which can be compared class terror of the Kemalist government governmen only with tropical storms. Like its meteorological cunterpart, the lynching wave appeared suddenly counterpart, the lynching wave appeared suddenly counterpart counterpar and raged with great violence. Like many a hurricane it may reverse its course and sweep back again. That remains to be seen.

Not alone the lynching wave comes up suddenly, and runs its course with unrestrained violence. These features are characteristic now of almost every large scale social event. The strike wave of last summer was marked, among other things, by the speed with the Turkey that was "liberated" which it developed and the violence which accom- from imperialist domination in the has the "same ideas" as the Soviet panied it. In nearly every large strike there was early post-war period with the aid government? not only the usual capitalist routine of police brutal- of Soviet arms. But we have a ity, but bloodshed: Paterson, Ambridge, the Pennsylvania captive mine strike, etc.

The farm riots of the middle West last spring paper, certain historical facts which against foreclosures also shot across the social-poli-indicate that the Turkish governtical sky like a meteor. They too were marked by ment enjoys not merely Wall Street violence. At Lemars, Iowa, the farmers dragged a support but also the support of the had enthused so fervently. His imviolence. At Lemars, Iowa, the tarmers dragged a present Stalinist faction which dicjudge from his court by a rope around his neck. The tates the policies of the Soviet govbitterness of the Iowa farmers and the violent energy ernment. engendered by it is explicable when one understands that 60 percent of the mortgaged farms in the United States are to be found in Iowa

As the capitalist system disintegrates further the presentative of the Soviet govern Turkey", stating that "the obvious As the capitalist system disintegrates further the social weather is going to get stormier and stormier. The great reservoir of violence which these events indicate is going to burst. Social upheavals, the like of which the world has never seen, are in store and will very likely develop with frightful speed. The will very likely develop with frightful speed. The took occasion to inform inquiring Arab cafterias had become quite sequently he condemns his whole events we have described are lightning flashes and journalists that the Turkish mini-clear to me.' From the words of past activity, which was, accordthunderclaps that herald the coming storm.

The reservoir can burst in one of two directions: in the workers' interests or against them. Which deepest respect" towards the presidend in other countries might be direction the flood takes will depend on the preparedness of the classes-on whether the vanguard workers have constructed a revolutionary Communist acy? This attempted excuse is too letarian revolution in Turkey. Cerparty and established its influence. Without it the feeble. For must not Soviet dip tainly, the American workers, deflood can engulf them. We have no time to lose. All lomacy be consistently distinguish- ceived and confused by the Stalinrevolutionary elements should devote themselves to states, its proletarian character may be excused if they exhibit surthe first task at hand: the building of a new and made always clear? And should it prise at the "discovery" that the genuine Communist party in the United States.

0-0-0-0-0

The Scottsboro Struggle

THE efficient judge who presided over the third trial of Patterson and the second trial of Norris The appeal of the defense to the Supreme Court of guaranteed minimum, 40 hour week; the overwhelming majority of the roix declared in each case that skate McMahon has appeared as Alabama acts as an automatic stay of execution.

For nigh on three years the fight has been waged to save the Scottsboro boys from death and set them ing day and pickets were placed at This was not without effect. The free. It has been a historic fight, involving hundreds the Armour Co. gates. The pickets workers began to return despite Lacroix to this struggle still more of thousands of workers all over the world. At Succeeded in turning back the the efforts of the pickets to pre- monstrous. For if there were General Strike—that is a sign that the the textile slaves under him are the strike of the pickets to pre- monstrous. For if there were General Strike—that is a sign that the textile slaves under him are Chemnitz, Germany, in 1932 workers in a Scottsboro work as usual. These workers, ber 23rd, the men were streaming protest demonstration were shot down by police unnot desiring to scab, registered back by the hundreds. der a social democratic regime.

Repudiated by the

The execution of the boys was prevented so far union which claimed to speak in only by this fight. That is true. But we are no home and not participating in the nearer getting them off altogether. One has been strike. tried three times and one twice; the others once, Pickets to whom we spoke readalmost three years ago. Has there ever been a ily admitted that men were not greater travesty on justice? It should be plain to joining the union, and that many of every one that it is not at all a question of determining guilt or innocence. The boys are innocent the workers were hostile to it. A large number of these pickets were from the workers were hostile to it. A large number of these pickets were from the workers were hostile to it. A of the crime charged against them; that is clear be- Paul and Minneapolis. Lacking

The capitalists long ago demonstrated their in- to picket effectively the huge Artention of burning them in the electric chair. If mour plant. Scabs were brought in they are still in jail it is our fault. We have not by the company with comparative been able to build a mass movement strong enough to force their release. The movement has to be broadened. The trouble with it now is that it is composed almost entirely of Stalinist organizations. And that, today, is far from enough.

The problem is how to get the workers in the A. F. of L., independent unions, under the influence of the Socialist Party and the I. W. W., and all the defense organizations and liberals to get together behind the fight.

The first step is the convocation of genuine united front conferences with guarantees of democratic away with our duty to tell the work- Armour & Co. gates the few re- Vincent Tortora, baritone; and Vinrepresentation and conduct.

Either way there is no time to lose. The legal lull in the case is not a time to relax. It is an op- only this: As long as the Nazis are has once more revealed that it can portunity to work, to build a powerful protest move- in power in Germany, a reintegra- no longer play a progressive role in

OREIGN Commissar Maxim Litvinov was sneaked Nazi foreign policy. Consequently, method of bureaucratic ultimatism unobtrusively into the Soviet Union on December 9 when he arrived home after having scored the most signal "diplomatic victory" of his career in the agreement he entered into with Roosevelt at Washington last month.

Reported the New York Times: "There was no ski's sabotage of peace: they are formal reception or demonstration....The public was not informed in the newspapers that he would return | few months. (Let the leadership | every serious worker. The work-

Did the Stalinists perhaps shrewdly calculate that prior anouncement of Litvinov's arrival might have lead, not to a demonstration of welcome by the Soviet workers, but to a popular display of anger and proletariat. It has done nothing. disgust at the Stalin-Litvinov sale of the Third International to American imperialism?

Litvinov had to slink home, but' William G. Bullitt, the American ambassador, who arrived a day the world war. From the revoluafter him, was officially greeted at the frontier and tionary fighters and members of the will rise again in militant struggle given a reception in Moscow. "It was the first time party I do not need to depart. I against the bosses is certain. And in the history of the Soviet government", the New will go right along with them, but what is equally certain is that as York Times reported, "that any foreign ambassador without Stalin, without the E. C. far as the Stalinist "Independent gime of the Nazis is in the sphere A few years suffice to stagger anew had been met at the frontier or shown any attention C. I. and without the Central Comwhatsoever before arriving in Moscow."

Soviet Policy and Turkish Terror

Stalinist Diplomats Praise Oppressor of Turkish Workers as Best Friend'

"the murderous persecution of revolutionary Turkish workers by the But Karakhan had more to ers deported in 1926."

the delegation called upon the workthe delegation called upon the workers of the United States "to actively strange to me. THEY ARE THE Litvinov's recent visit to the United support the struggle for the re- SAME IDEAS AND THE SAME States. At the Waldorf-Astoria speaks for all these dird needs of these prisoners, for the STATE OF MIND THAT PREsmashing of the brutal anti-working VAILS IN OUR COUNTRY." We permitted himself to inform his today, under the 'New Deal', are of the peoples of our Union." ruthlessly increasing their robbery and murder of the white and Negro masses of this country."

It goes without saying that every last member of the Left Opposition both here and in other countries, endorses this protest against the vicious Kemalist terror in Turkey, mind to recall to the memories of the Stalinist editors of the Daily Worker, and the readers of that

Karakhan and Pasha

not be the duty of Soviet diplomats Kemalist government—which to avoid sowing illusions? Or did cludes in its ranks Karakhan's "best Karakhan really regard Bey as his friend", which rules over a country

tes would be visiting the local deceive the masses as to the true are identical with the ruling ideas

But Karakhan had more to say.

The government, and the economic and social systems of Turkey have not changed since these words were spoken by Karakhan. It is therefore pertinent to inquire how the American Stalinists today can associate themselves with a protest action against a government which

The "New Turkey"

But let us pass on. The wellknown Soviet writer, L. V. Nikulin, returned to Moscow in July of this year from an extended trip to Turkev—the same Kemalist Turkey about which Karakhan before him pressions of the country were published in the Soviet press without omment, therefore with approval. Nikulin was as enthusiastic as It is recorded that at the end of Karakhan had been. He compared 1929 Lev. Karakhan, diplomatic re- the "old Turkey" with the "new ster of foreign affairs, Tewfik Rus- both Nikulin and Karakhan, if they ing to his own expression "an adthat he "harbors feelings of the the workers in the Soviet Union dent of the council, Ismet Pasha. pardoned for drawing the conclued from the diplomacy of other ist scribblers on the Daily Worker,

Adventurism in St. Paul Strike

(Continued from page 1) the speedup, etc.

from the unemployed councils of St. mass support, the union was unable

Another German Leader Revolts

(Continued from page 1) (L. Trotsky)."

Today we can tell the workers liver several heavy blows against workers for a mass strike, and peasants did in 1917 to Keren- follow, us desertng it. More than 800 members have left the C. P. in the last should be carefully considered by the necessary details).

The E. C C.. I. had an opportunity to hold the C. P. of the Saar ions. Instead of engaging in milidown to a policy which could have tant struggles they are falling vic lead to a fighting united front of the tims to the poison of class-colla-With this letter I take my de- of the party has served only to parture from the official C. P. and retard the movement of the work the Comintern, one of whose first ers and to discredit Communism members I became in the course of before them.

With Communist greetings, KARL FRIEDBERG.

recognition of the union; against men were taking no active part in there were no "political" differthe chief spokesman for the U. T. The strike was called the follow- to induce them to return to work. Opposition. This statement made ficant.

Repudiated by the

workers. About 250 were present. these men go on strike. They were time Lacroix was a foreign eleanswered with boos and jeers. The ment to the Bolshevik-Leninists, its the past. men present then decided to con- ideas and its methods. His shame-

The press reports that on the the past. same day a group of men who claimed to be members of the Ar-"Communist leaders" Hurvitz, Karsen, and Schneiderman be run out of town. The lawyer swore out warrants for their arrest on the be learned by our organizations. ng public highways".

Whether or not this is true is hard to say but the fact remains that the police went to the union hall and arrested the three men. the cops in short order.

In this strike the official tion of the Saar territory is out of the struggle of the workers. In the question for them. (The S. P. place of a realistic appraisal of the ing Plaza Hall, 15th Street and ima (Wash.) jail; Mooney and Billhas not taken a clear position situation which demanded careful Irving Place. Proceeds will enable nigs; and various others. either). The workers in the Saar preparation and persistent work to bave the opportunity today to de-create a sentiment amongst the we must do that. (That has noth- was employed. Pulling their handing to do with separatism). The ful of followers out on strike they members of the Communist Party naturaly expected the 3500 men in react to the slogan of their "lead- the indstry to follow. "We are the ership" like the Russian workers leaders-therefore the workers will

Fruit of False Policy The results of such a

of the C. P. of the Saar give you ers in the South St. Paul packinghouses are now more than ever in the grip of the bosses company un boration. The criminal adventurism That the South St. Paul workers

houses are through for once and upon the field of foreign policy. Hitler in time. for all.

The Daily Worker of November | "best friend"? If so he was un-1 of "People's Palaces, schools, univ-Turkish consul to protest against character of the Turkish foreign of the Soviet Union—is a reaction. ary government which suppresses the workers by means of a ruthless

white terror.

Stalinist Diplomacy in America To bring this brief study up to dungeons and the restoration of the self upon its own forces and PUTS which Soviet diplomacy has degencitizneship of 35 Communist lead- ITS HOPES IN THE CREATIVE erated under Stalinism, which has FORCE OF ITS PEOPLE AND rendered it indistinguishable from The C. P. organ concluded that THEM ALONE. What I have seen, the diplomacy of bourgeois states, informed the assembled representatives of American big business.

What do the American workers, particularly the Communist workers, think of this gratuitous flattery workers of this country into ever growing separation of the bureau cracy of the Soviet Union under across their needs. Stalin from the international work ing-class movement?

Henri Lacroix--Deserter

El Socialista of September 29 publishes a letter from Fransisco Garcia Lavid (Henri Lacroix) in which the latter requests his rein-

hdi Bey, was his "best friend" and were accepted at their face value, venture and a crime against the genuine broad collective effort—so proletariat" (sic!) Lacroix has thus passed into the on the bosses' side. It is interestranks of the socialist lackeys of ing that the first organized expres-Conventional language of diplom- sion that there is no need for pro- the Spanish bourgeoisie ("return sion for this need comes from the Marxism"!). Less informed employees in an industry that was comrades might be astonished by among the first to be blessed with this fact. How is it possible that a NIRA code—the textile industry. Lacroix, who has played an important role in the Spanish Opposition has thus betrayed? Is it an accident? It is necessary to say that for some time we expected the worst, because for some months Lacroix conducted a furious struggle against the International Opposition and his responsible comrades. This struggle of Lacroix had an extremely violent and "collective bargaining" there is.

the poisoned character given by ful betrayal only serves to clarify

It is opportune to recall here that each time a Mill or a Well mour strike committee went to a deserts our ranks, he states, while South St. Paul lawyer, repudiated carrying on a furious struggle the union, and demanded that the against the International Opposition (24 hours before the treachery!) that there are no "political

GENERAL DEFENSE AFFAIR

musical talent has been enlisted for unorganized. Men on the job will the General Defense Committee's be discussing these problems in inidiotic as the other. "Naturally we The workers present made no pro- annual Christmas Fund entertain creasing numbers and with growing must fight for a proletarian govern- test. Later, on their promise to ment, concert, and dance. Three interest in the coming days. We ment in the Saar and for a Soviet leave town immediately, these well-known concert soloists will will contribute our opinions in the Germany. But that does not do "leaders" were released. At the sing-Aida Campomenosi, soprano; general discussion. ers how they should vote in 1935. maining pickets were dispersed by cent J. Nola, tenor. Accompaniments will be played by Paul Cres-the sending of checks to political party ton, pianist of note.

on the program, which is to be tucky miner serving life terms; staged Friday, December 15, in Irv-the I. W. W. strikers in the Yak-

Notes of the Week

THE DOLLAR isn't all that's 'baloney" under the NRA. Mr. Al Smith may have a broad wit but ne has limited interests. Under ms brown derby rests the cares of a member of the possessing class. They have the dollars. And they don't want them transformed into risky sausages.

What do we have? We have unemployment, cold weather, low wages, speed-up—and so far only a lot of patoney promises; about re-employment, jobless relief, a living wage and a 30 hour week. NRA it do about them?

Section 7a of the Recovery Act grants the legal right of both m. urvidual and collective bargaining. "Individual bargaining" -- that means, as so many of us have discovered—the right of the boss to of Roosevelt, this flagrant and dis- nire and nre at will, to command gusting fawning on the representa-, you to work for a bowl of miserable tive par excellence of American fin- stop or be thrown out into the ance-capital who is driving the street altogether. Collective bargaining—any worker who has suclower depths of privation and mis cessiumy participated in the use of ery? How much more evidence is this weapon, will tell you-means required to demonstrate the ever organized union struggle; workers joining up in big bodies to put

> In his effort to wrest improvements from the boss, the laboring man has no strength other than the neiping hand, the common mind and will of his fellow men. The boss has the banker, the police, the gunman and the dollar on his side. And the employing class has made ample use of the provision for individual bargaining in NRA, not to speak of the many ways they have ound for getting around any of the still too few and weak attempts that have been made by workers at "collective bargaining".

What the worker is beginning to feel more and more is the need for more and bigger "collectives", for that the "bargaining" won't be all

THE UNITED TEXTILE WORK-ERS union, by decision of its executive council-the country's press informed us on Tuesday last-has decided to call upon the American Federation of Labor to prepare for a General Strike to bring about the 30-hour week and other union demands. The General Strike-that is the most effective weapon for The Armour officials, seeing that poisoned character; however, Lac The fact that the reactionary labor the strike, began to utilize the press ences between himself and the Left W. in this move, is doubly signi-

When a McMahon speaks for ipso facto the sharpness of the pushing hammer and tongs for it. struggle should have been dimin- When a McMahon begins to give ished. On the contrary. Why? lip service to labor action—then On the following day the union Because political differences ex- that means that the McMahonocracy called a mass meeting of the Swift isted and were deeply imbedded, is holding in store for the toiling however hidden they appeared over masses bearing down upon the ad-The union leaders demanded that a certain period of time. For some vocates of class peace, a betrayal far greater than any of those in

> Watching his fingers closely, the workers who have determined to stand up in struggle against capitalistic misery will use every measure to make McMahon and his ilk live up to their words. A sweeping country-wide collective strike is the best and surest way for labor to advance its interests at this stage. In preparation for it, pracdifferences". These lessons should tical and strategic problems loom up big: how to get together emploved and unemployed. workers and the unskilled. those New York.-Important additional already organized and those still

prisoners and their dependents. The Class-war and classical songs are prisoners include the seven Ken-

Postscript to the 'Portrait of National Socialism'

stage of economic decadence.

The first anniversary of the Nazi internal dynamics of the so thordictatorship is approaching. All oughly aggressive German capital-the tendencies of the regime have ism. The startling sudden turn of been taking on a distinct and pre- the Nazi leadership towards peacecise character. The "socialist" revolution which appeared to the petty only those who are completely limbourgeois masses as the necessary ited in their outlook. What other complement to the national revolu- method than this has Hitler.at his tion, has been officially liquidated disposal to throw off the responsiand denounced. The fraternization bility for domestic misery on the of the classes reached its peak shoulders of the external enemy when the possessors waived their and to pile up the explosives of neright to hors d'oeuvre and desserts tionalism under the pressure of the on a day especialy proclaimed by dictatorship? This part of the the government in favor of the dis-program which was outlined even possessed. The struggle against un before the Nazis assumption to employment has culminated in power is being ful-filled today with dividing the existing half-starva- iron determination before the eyes tion rations in two. There remains of the whole world. The date of only the equalization of the statis- the new European catastrophe is tics. Planned autarchy proves to determined by the time necessary be nothing more than just another for the rearmament of Germany. It is not a matter of months, but The more impotent the police re- neither is it a matter of decades. Revolutionary Unions" are concern- of economy, the more it is forced into a war, if the internal forces ed the workers in these packing- to place the weight of its effort of Germany do not themselves stop -WILLIAM KITT. | That corresponds completely to the November 2. 1933.