WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

EMILITANT

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For a New Party and a New International!

After the ignominious collapse of both the Social Democracy and the Communist International in Germany, and the subsequent inability of both these organizations to draw any lessons from this historical catastrophe, it is impossible any longer to conceal the fact that a revolutionary organization of the proletariat capable of leading it to victory does not exist. of Marx and Engels, cleansed once again of the re-It must be created anew.

The National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is in complete agreement with the declaration issued to the Paris conference by the delegation of the International Left Opposition and approves its actions there. The N. C. likewise endorses the steps taken by the four organizations at the Paris conference toward the formation of a new Communist International and will devote its efforts henceforth, in cooperation with all other revolutionary groups and organizations willing to participate, to the task of directly assembling the forces for the creation of a new party, as the American section of the new (Fourth) International.

The entire membership of the League has unanimously endorsed this course after a thorough internal discussion of the question and has empowered the National Committee to proclaim its complete break with the Stalinist Comintern and its American section and to renounce the struggle to reform them. From this time onward the Communist League ceases to regard itself as a faction of the official Stalinist Party, which has become a direct brake on the development of the workers' movement, and invites the cooperation of all revolutionary workers, regardless of their present affiliation or non-affiliation, in common efforts leading to the construction of a genuine Communist Party in America.

Taking the necessity to create a new party as the point of departure, the Communist League proposes a frank and comradely discussion with other individuals, groups and organizations aiming toward the same goal and submits, for their consideration, the following points:

American Perspectives

Under the terrific pressure of the crisis years the conditions have been rapidly maturing for the class awakening of the American workers and for an enormous acceleration of the class struggle. In the next period the social contradictions will explode in a series of gigantic class battles in the course of which the abridged form and rapidly leap forward on the path toward revolutionary action. To assist and guide state, this process a new party, wresting the banner of Communism from the sabotaging bureaucratic clique of Stalinism, must be created. And, under the given conditions, this new party will have before it the possibility and prospect of expansion into a powerful mass organization within a comparatively short time.

Fundamental Principles

The new Communist Party, the necessity for which arises from the complete bankruptcy of reformism on the one side and of bureaucratio centrism (Stalinism) on the other, cannot consist of an indiscriminate combination of reformist and centrist elements. On the contrary, the new party can come into existence, take shape and grow up to the requirements of its colossal historic task only if it stands on a firm programmatic foundation and tolerates no conciliation toward reformist and centrist currents. For this program no

Declaration of the National Committee of the Communist League of America - Opposition

formist and centrist distortions and falsifications, are the fundamental principle guide for the new party.

The first four Congresses of the Comintern, conducted under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, have concretized these teachings and applied them, in a series of unsurpassed theses and resolutions, to the basic problems of our epoch. The ten-years' struggle of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists), during which the guiding ideas of the first four Congresses of the Comintern were carrried forward and counterposed on each and every important question of the living movement to the degenerating course of Stalinism, have been summarized in the "11 Points" adopted by the International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition. All these documents referred to above retain their fundamental validity and constitute, in our opinion, the programmatic basis for the new party.

For Revolutionary Internationalism --Against the Theory of Socialism in One Country

The theoretical source of the degeneration and final downfall of the Communist International and its national sections, including the American, was the rejection of the Marxist principle of revolutionary internationalism and its substitution by the theory of "socialism in one country". The Communist movement which has been destroyed by this reactionary-nationalist theory cannot arise again without a clear and categoric rejection of it.

Defense of the Soviet Union

The ten-year regime of Stalinism has strangled the party and the workers organizations in the Soviet Union and has facilitated enormously the danger of a counter-revolutionary capitalist overthrow. The Stalinist regime has undermined the foundations of the Soviet state and is leading it toward destruction. The social content of the October revolution, however, is still alive and, by its property character, which is the workers can assimilate the revolutionary lessons in an decisive criterion, the Soviet Union remains, even with the monstrous bureaucratic distortions a workers

The defense of the Soviet Union, encircled by a world of class enemies and systematically weakened from within by the Stalinist regime, is the unconditionat outy or the international profetariat. The formation of new parties and a new international does not contradict this task but is necessitated by it. The reform of the Soviet workers' state in the U. S. S. R., and its defense against capitalist intervention and counter-revolution, now depend upon the formation of strong revolutionary organizations in the capitalist countries which will be capable of putting up a revolutionary resistance at home to capitalistic military ventures and of exerting a pressure on the internal regime in the U.S.S.R. and influencing the Soviet proletariat. Under the theory of "socialism in one country" the role of the Communist parties has been debased to the task of the pacifist "defense of the Soviet Union", and for this all kinds of dubious "Friends new revelation is needed. The revolutionary teachings of the Soviet Union" have been recruited and hired

while the tested revolutionary militants have been persecuted, slandered and expelled.

But it is precisely in the task of defending the Soviet Union at the moment of danger that the present Stalinist parties are most completely impotent. The strongest party of the Comintern, the German C. P., capitulated without a sign of resistance to the Fascist bands before the latter were armed with state power. The possibility that the weakest of such parties can offer any resistance whatever to the military designs of the capitalist states must be dismissed altogether as the most dangerous phantasy. The internal reform and regeneration of the Soviet state and its defense against world imperialism is the joint task of the new parties in the capitalist countries and in the Soviet Union.

The United Front

From its inception, and also in the process of its formation which may be more or less prolonged, the new party will naturally take part in the living movement of the working class and employ therein the tactic of the united front. This tactic, which presupposes temporary agreements with reformist organizations for specific separate actions, requires the categoric rejection of the theory of "social Fascism" and the united front from below only". On the one hand, the new party should conduct negotiations and make temporary agreements with the official representatives of reformist organizations when they take a step forward under the pressure of the masses—a tactic which the Stalinists have rejected "in principle"—and on the other hand, it will reject any proposals for a "nonaggression pact" excluding criticism-which the Stalinists have accepted.

Trade Union Policy

The new party will find its road to the masses and gain influence over their movement only on the condition that it follows a Marxist policy on the trade union question, that is, the most important question of the American movement. Such a policy requires a penetration of the workers' mass organizations as they exist in reality, regardless of their form, and at the same time an irreconcilable struggle against the capitalist agents within them. The Stalinist dogma of "red" paper unions and the opportunist policy of "adaptation" to the reactionary leadership in the trade union movement are equally pernicious.

Against the Right Wing Apologists of Stalinism

The new party cannot represent a mechanical combination of "opposition" groups, but will be obliged to take a precise attitude toward each of them with respect to its platform and, especially, with respect to the general direction of its development. The Brandlerist clique (Lovestone, Wolfe & Co.) which effected a formal separation from the Stalinists with the dissolution of the Right-Center bloc in 1929, devotes itself to servile attempts to reestablish this bloc. It remains in fundamental unity with Stalinism on all the principle questions and shamefully justifies and apologizes for its systematic errors and crimes. The irreconcilable struggle of the new party against Stalinism presupposes and requires an equally unrelenting hostility to the Right wing camp followers of Stalin-

Party Democracy

The new party must establish within its ranks a regime of democratic centralism which permits freedom of discussion and criticism on the one hand and unity of action on the other. The free election of officials from top to bottom, the control of the officials by the rank and file and the right of every member to express his opinions in an atmosphere free from baiting and threats of expulsion, must be combined with a clearly defined principle foundation for party membership and a disciplined unity of the entire organization in action before the outside world.

Forces for the New Party

The Communist League, as it is at present constituted, does not consider itself a party and has no intention of anticipating the real establishment of the new party by proclaiming itself as such. The task now is to recognize firmly that our role as a faction striving to reform the party of official Stalinism is exhausted, to strike out on a completely independent path, and to prepare, in cooperation with all other groups and organizations moving in the same direction, for the formation of a new party.

In the course of its struggle to reform the official party, as a faction of it, the Left Opposition worked out a program, consolidated a cadre of principled militants and formed the skeleton of a national organization. These accomplishments can be regarded now as part of the capital of the new movement; not all that is necessary for the formation of the party, but contributions to it.

What is needed now is the coming-together of the various groups or revolutionary workers who have broken, or wno are in the process of breaking, with reformism and centrism as well as those dispersed individual revolutionists who have been repelled by the Stalinist bureaucracy and remain without affiliation. It is self-evident that the working out of a common program and the eventual concentration of these forces into a single party must be preceded by an exchange of opinion and discussion and, very probably, will involve a transition period of cooperation before the final fusion.

Whatever form the next development may take, the Left Opposition is ready now, to enter into open and comradely negotiations and discussions with other groups which seriously set for themselves the same goal. After its long and unrelenting struggle against the arrogant bureaucratism and ultimatistic methods of Stalinism, the Left Opposition least of all can seek to impose anything on others or to demand the acceptance in advance of its proposals, its program or its "leadership". Submitting the foregoing points for discussion, we on our part are ready to give attentive and comradely consideration to any different proposals and to bring them to the attention of our members and supporters by publication in the Militant, together with our comments on them.

With this object in view the columns of the Militant will be open for a discussion of the question of a new Party and a new International.

> NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

the Eleven Points of the International Left Opposition Pre-Conference Thesis, as amended at the last international plenum. The amendment is contained in Point 10. Formerly this point corresponded to our position as a faction working for the reform of the Comintern, for the victory within the Comintern of Marxism over the Right and Centrist currents. The present text contained in this point corresponds with our orientation for regroupings into a new In-

ternational. This text is pro-

posed for the ratification of the

various International Left Op-

We are republishing herewith

position sections.-Ed. The International Left Opposifirst four congresses of the Comin- the Centristic alloy. tern. This does not mean that it bows before every letter of its de-the sense of the decisions of the cisions, of which many had a pure- first 4 world congresses, and in conly temporary character and in in-tinuation of these decisions, the dividual practical consequences have Left Opposition sets up the followples (relation to imperialism and practically: to the bourgeois state; the dicta-

The Eleven Points - The Fundamental Principles of the International Left Opposition

oppressed nations; soviets; work in Kuo Min Tang policy of 1924-1928; the trade unions; parliamentarism; condemnation of the policy of the the policy of the united front) re- Anglo-Russian Committee; condemmain even today the highest expres- naton of Stalin's theory of twosion of proletarian strategy in the class (worker and peasant) parties epoch of the general crisis of capi-

The Left Opposition rejects the revisionist decisions of the 5th and in which the Communist party was ism in 1928 to 1932 (over-stretched 6th World Congresses and considers the program of the Comintern, in tional and thereby of the permanwhich the gold of Marxism has been ent character of the proletarian revtion stands on the ground of the rendered completely worthless by olution; rejection of the theory of

In accordance with the spirit and

1. The Independence of the pro-

this theory; condemnation of the policy of the Amsterdam Congress

dissolved in the pacifist swamp. 2. Recognition of the internaof the policy of national bolshevmany (platform of "National Lib-

3. Recognition of the Soviet state been refuted by subsequent pracing principles, develops them theo as a workers' state in spite of the the proletarian mass organizations, tice. But all the essential princi- retically and carries them through growing degeneration of the bu- particularly in the reformist trade partism, etc.). reaucratic regime. Unconditional unions, condemnation of the theory command that every worker defend and practise of the Red Trade Union of a developed united front policy ing Fascism on the one hand and persons into the composition of the

4. Condemnation of the econ omic policy of the Stalinist faction both in its stage of economic opportunism in 1923 to 1928 (struggle and of the whole practise based on against "overindustrialization" and staking all on the kulaks), as well

as its stage of economic adventurtempo of industrialization, thorough going collectivization, administrative liquidation of the kulaks as a class). Condemnation of the criminal bureaucratic legend that "the socialism in one country as well as soviet state has already entered into Socialism". Recognition of the ism which complements it in Ger-necessity of a return to the realistic economic policies of Leninism.

5. Recognition of the necessity of systematic Communist work in different varieties of open imperialtorship of the proletariat; the re- letarian party, always and under the soviet state against imperialismorganization in Germany and sim- with respect to the mass organiza-the Social Democracy on the other. International Left Opposition.

ation to the peasantry and to the all conditions; condemnation of the as well as against internal counter-lilar constructions in the other coun-6. Rejection of the formula

the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" as a separate regime distinguished from the dictatorship of the proletariat which carries along the peasant and the oppressed masses in general behind it, rejection of the anti-Marxist theory of the peaceful "growing over" of the democratic dictatorship into the socialist one.

7. Recognition of the necessity of mobilizing the masses under transitional slogans corresponding to the concrete situation in each country, and particularly under a question of struggle against feudal relations, national oppression or istic dictatorship (Fascism,

8. Recognition of the necessity

trade union and political character, including the social democracy as a party. Condemnation of the ultimatist slogan "only from below" which in practice means a refusal of the united front and consequ ently the refusal to create soviets. Condemnation of the opportunistic application of the united front policy as in the Anglo-Russian Committee (bloc with the leaders without the masses and against the masses); double condemnation the policy of the present German Central Committee, which combines

tions of the working class, both of

democratic slogans insofar as it is below" with opportunistic practice on the occasion of parliamentary the C. I. The recognition of these pacts with the leaders of the Social Democracy

social-Fascism and of the whole condition for the acceptance of practice bound up with it, as serv-

10. The struggle for the regrouping of the revolutionary forces of the world's working class under the banner of International Communism. Recognition of the necessity of the creation of a genuine Communist International capable of applying the principles enumerated

11. Recognition of Party democacy not only in words but also in fact; ruthless condemnation of the Stalinist plebiscitary regime (gagging the will and the thought of the party, the rule of the usurpers, deliberate suppression of information from the party, etc.).

The fundamental principles enumerated above, which are of basic importance for the strategy of the proletariat in the present period, place the Left Opposition in a position of irreconcilable hostility the ultimatist slogan "only from to the Stalinist fraction which currently dominates the U.S.S.R. and principles o,n the basis of the decisions of the first 4 congresses of 9. Rejection of the theory of the Comintern, is an indispensable single organizations, groups and

mass meeting ForaNEW INTERNATIONAL! And a NEW COMMUNIST PARTY for AMERICA!

SPEAKERS **JAMES P. CANNON** MAX SHACHTMAN Irving Plaza Hall IRVING PLACE and 15th STREET SATURDAY, SEPT. 30, 8 P. M.

ADMISSION: 15 CENTS

His Activities During War

The sixtieth birthday of Chris- policy in the Balkans) as the man tian Georgevitch Rakovsky (born "elected by Suedekum to assist in September 1, 1873) brings to mind the Boche's maneuver in Rumania". again some of the episodes in his (Perhaps it now becomes clear from life during that crucial period of what spiritual springs some zealthe world war when the proletarian ous Stalinists have quaffed the in international was breaking through spiration for the attacks upon Trotthe sea of depression, treachery and sky and Rakovsky as agents of the slander like new life surging out of the primeval slime.

Christian Rakovsky was the in spiring leader of the modern somass deportations of Jewish, Hungarian and Transylvanian workers called to the front. All the mem-"International". took on a political coloring. In the spring of 1909, the arrest of Rakovsky on the border of Rumania, coinciding with the protest meeting on the occasion of Ferrer's execution, produced the first significant collision between the working masses and the police."

The representative of the Rumanian social democracy in the Bureau of the Second International up to internationalist. The others flocks either to the standard of the Allies or of the Entente.

Delegate to Zimmerwald

The Rumanian party instantly took a position against the war and until the country was drawn into the European shambles, the party developed a systematic agitation against it. In February 1915 it was represented at the all-Balkan protest meeting against war organized in Sofia by the Bulgarian Left wing socialists (the "Narrows" inspired by Blagoiev, Kolarov and others). At a conference which took place there at the same time, the Rumanians joined with the Left wing Bulgarians and the Serbians under Lapchevitch to break conclusively with the Right wing Bulgarians (the "Broad-minded"). Serbs were prevented from sending a delegate because of the war conditions), the social patriots of Europe were decisively condemned and with them, the policy of the Second International. At the same period, the Rumanian socialists associated and the proletarian revolution. A themselves openly with the Zimmerwald Commission and deleg comrade Rakovsky to attend the first conference at Zimmerwald.

At Zimmerwald, Rakovsky found himself side by side with his life long friend and comrade, Trotsky. At that time, as is known, both Rakovsky and Trotsky were still engaged in that sharp dispute with Lenin which marked many of the pre-October years of the evolution of Bolshevism. Internationalists to the core though they were they did not eye to eye with Lenin on all the burning problems of the day. Trotsky, in particular, exerted his efforts towards arriving at a solution which would not only produce a unanimous manifesto out of the Zimmerwald Conference but would leave the true Left wing the opportunity of maintaining close contact with the millions of confused antiwar socialist workers who had not yet found the revolutionary path. Rakovsky, like Lenin, Kolarov, Var- tion which is showing signs of capi- fight! sky, Lazzari and a score of others tulation. appended their names to the compromise manifesto of Zimmerwald drafetd by Trotsky.

In France, the internationalists, who had to be sought with lanterns, enlisted the aid not only of Trotsky, but also of Rakovsky. His Dumas, was published as a broch- in and asked for a mass picket line the A. F. W. and organizing a sepure both in Bucharest and Paris, and circulated clandestinely Farulla told them to do without been a step backward. throughout France by the first in mass picketing because the union throughout France by the first in mass picketing because the union ternationalist group of Rosmer and had no money to get arrested picture. We drew from the speeches of the meet this situation. But the polynometry The French changing kets out of jail.

Stalinist leaders at this mass meeticies of Stalinism in the F. W. I. Monatte. The French chauvinist kets out of jail. press denounced him as the grand chief of Austrian espionage in the asked for mass picketing because of Balkans", just as Trotsky was descaped as "the principal agent of the in-

bookstore which rapidly became their habitual meeting place. They were not alone to come there: they encountered Serbians, Bulgarians, scabs and we can win the strike. Macedonians...A revolutionary circle. a laboratory of espionage, Trotsky's bookshop was still another they have to eat. We must demand even a united front, not to speak thing: a mouse-trap, coming out of and fight for strike relief.

subsidized by the Czar's Foreign can collectively work to win the office to support the Pan-Slavic strike. —A DOLL WORKER.

A. F. W. on Tuesday, Sept. 19, at Office to support the Pan-Slavic strike.

Rumanian Siguranza, the Polish Schlyachta, etc., etc.!)

Rakovsky Imprisoned

On August 15, 1916 Rumania finrested. Rakovsky himself met with of Czechoslovakia led their trade Stalin bureaucracy. driven into virtual illegality.

rade Rakovsky. His Bulgarian origin (the rabid bourgeois press algin (the rabid bourgeois press alNicolan remains a consist of the C. 1. and the defeat of the discopportunist practicality it neither depends to the defeat of the defeat ways referred to him contemptu- Nicolau, remained imprisoned at embraced masses nor brought cored national interests of the Soviet ously as: the "Rumanian" Rak- Jassy for months. In March 1917, rect ideas into the movement. From Union. The assertion that the ovsky), far from militating against the proletariat of Rumania, despite the German experiences it has theory of the construction of socialhis activity in Rumania, contribut- the occupation of most of the couned to making him known as the try by the German troops, was pull the movement backward be Russian Communists sacrifice the most prominent internationalist in brought to its feet again by the comes so much more distinctly fal-interests of the workers of other the Balkans, one of the leading pro- intoxicating news of the overthrow ponents of the Balkan Federative of the Czarist regime in Russia and differentiations in which groups and gerous anti-bolshevism." Republic, the socialist who was the triumph of the insurrectionary equally at home in Bucharest, Sofia, masses. For the first time since are groping their way toward Com-Belgrade, Athens or Constantinople, war was declared, thousands of men munism. Of all the members of the doomed and women appeared in half-spon-Bureau, Rakovsky was perhaps the taneous demonstrations on the only one who remained a genuine streets, demanding bread and freedom. The Russian revolution was discussed on every hand and the theoretically verifies what has been outlawed socialists began to re-said above. This document is charsume their activities. It seemed acteristic for its lamentations over as if the release of Rakovsky would the ultra-Leftism pervading the soon be effected.

Russian Troops Release Rakovsky against "Trotskyism" and for its became alarmed at the ferment in the basis of live and let live. the masses. Meetings were forbidden. The May Day demonstrations, of the former Right-Centrist bloc for which permission had first been who prepared the ground for the obtained, were ordered called off "ultra-Leftism"-it should be callby the German officials. But in ed by its correct name, bureaucratic one part of Rumania, the May Day adventurism—which they lament of international proletarian solid-so much. It is their opporrunism arity was celebrated nevertheless. which prepared the zig-zags to the The Russian revolutionary soldiers, "Left", to adventurism by the fact stationed on the border which divid- of Centrism, having no consistent ed Rumania from the Ukraine, Marxian position. In pursuing its moved in upon Jassy, red flags at empiricist outlook and methods it their head, and tore upon the prison recoils from opportunism to adven doors which confined Rakovsky and turism when pressed by events and Six Months 50 Cents. In July of the same year, finally, his comardes. The internationalwith representatives attending from lists were liberated and put at the Bulgaria, Greece and Rumania (the head of a triumphal procession that through the streets of the went

Immediately thereafter, Rakovsky passed the frontier into turbulant Russia to put his magnificent tal-

Doll Workers Strike Strong

led by the Stalinists to liquidate working conditions in the industry. L. union and come down on strike. united action of all workers restep forward with a corresponding mightiest weapon against the emstep backward; they entered the ployers. A. F. of L. individually, not as a

Cannon and Farulla, the Right us the right to organize. ving leaders of our union, are following a policy that will lead to defeat. They refused to let certain shops where scabs were working have a mass picket line. At a united front was a step forward, meeting of shop chairmen, workers the Stalinists must have realized because scabs were working there. arate Industrial Union must have

Balkans", fust as Trotsky was de nounced as "the principal agent of Rakovsky" before the war!

"Rakovsky" before the Paris "Rakovsky," wrote the Paris Matin at the end of 1917, "in order to establish ac enter of surveillance and propaganda, granted funds to Trotsky and the latter opened a little bookstore in Vienna where papers and pamphlets in the Slavic them showed up for work Wedness.

Scabs. Again the leadership tried to talk the workers out of it, but they kept demanding until three days later, Tuesday, September 26, the leadership was forced to give in 400 strikers picketed the shop, and their militancy and solidarity struck fear into the hearts of the scabs. Only about 10 percent of the mass meeting. The chairman, comtrade Reich, in answer to the speech said nothing about the necessity of one union for the industry, devoting his whole speech to the question of the code which had been already worked out and was present to be approved by the mass meeting. The chairman, comtrade Reich, in answer to the speech seal nothing about the necessity of one union for the industry, devoting his whole speech to the question of the code which had been already worked out and was present to be approved by the mass meeting. The chairman, comtrade Reich, in answer to the speech stall nothing about the necessity of one union for the industry, devoting his whole speech to the question of the code which had been already worked out and was present to be approved by the mass meeting. The chairman, comtrade Reich, in answer to the speech stall necessity of one union for the industry, devoting his whole speech to the question of the code which had been already worked out and was present to be approved by the mass meeting. The chairman comtrade Reich, in answer to the speech to the question of the code which had been already worked out and was present to be approved by the mass meeting. pers and pamphlets in the Slavic them showed up for work Wednes-language were put on sale. All day morning and even these didn't those of Russian birth living in go up to work. Some of the scabs Vienna would come together in this even picketed. No one was arrested, in spite of what the leaders told us.

Workers we must fight for mass picket lines at those shops reporting Some of the scabs said that the reason they went back was because Not a single step was taken toward

which certain revolutionists could be picked up by the Russian police and fight for the above demands. held separate mass meetings in support of their separate organization Elsewhere, Rakovsky was Regular and frequent meetings of drives. More than that—the leadattacked by the gutter press of the French bourgeoisie (itself heavily ment, etc.) must be had so that we a conscious attempt to sabotage the

60th Birthday of Rakovsky Brandler International Makes Overtures to Stalin British Labor Skates Have

demonstrated its incapacity to disits deliberations it crystallized into new efforts to pull the revolution- ilar combinations. new efforts to pull the revolutionary movement backward to the Stalinist Right-Centrist bloc. A resolution adopted imposes this oriink on the signatures dry before spiring leader of the modeln so of August 19, 1910 Rumania nn- ink on the signatures dry before find themselves at one with Stalin tion, which is bringing the Stalinlabor movement as such took shape archy. The last public anti-war (Kilbom) Communist party, which there only in 1905, under the direct meeting of the Rumanian socialists, was not represented at the meetinfluence of the Russian revolu-scheduled for the same day, was ing, broke the binding decisions and been demonstrated more clearly Union as well as the interests of the Soviet and organized with the interests of the Soviet and the interests of the same day, was ing, broke the binding decisions and been demonstrated more clearly Union as well as the interests of along in their thousands to roar tion, and it bore an almost exclusive surrounded by troops; the masses attended the Paris conference of than ever that the Left Opposition, the world revolution, how then extended the Paris conference of the property of th sively economic character. "Later were dispersed by cavalry charges. Left Socialist and Communist with its orientation for new naon," writes one of the founders of Two weeks later, the daily paper parties. Meanwhile the split-off tional parties and for a new Interthe Rumanian Communist Party, of the party, which Rakovsky help-Gitlow group in the United States national, represents the main kernel Arbori-Ralli, "after the year 1907, ed so generously to maintain, was has come out openly against the of the progressive forces within the ment were not concerned and hence when the government proceeded to suppressed by the government. Al- Brandler policy and proclaims the proletarian movement. Moreover, most all the party members were collapse of the Brandler-Lovestone these people also know that it is fights to liquidate the false tactics

the same fate and was interned as union following back to the social a dangerous enemy of the state. democracy in the Amsterdam Inter-The two members of the Committee national, the French P. U. P. startthen also arrested after having path. The Neurath group of Czechoparties, formerly social democratic,

Right Wing Prepared the Ground For Bureaucratic Adventurism

The Brandler-Lovestone meeting brought forward a document which Comintern, for its fulminations The German forces of occupation overtures to the Stalin regime on

But it is precisely these partners

Stalinists Split Food Workers

and the proletarian revolution. A new epoch was commencing in his life.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

About four weeks ago a leaflet signed by the Amalgamated Food Workers Industrial Union was circulated among forces of the working class.

Restaurant workers, labor and frat- toward unity. ernal organizations, representing The Doll and toy workers, 6,000 workers in the industry, have

"The only way we can force the body. The workers are not in a employers to live up to the code and position to offer organized resistance even force better conditions out of as a Left wing to the administra- them, is when we will organize and

"Now is the time, the NRA gives

"Let us test this right." **Against One Union**

In admitting that the proposed

What was the conclusion which The Freundlich Doll Shop pickets ing? The organizer of the cafe. U. are an obstacle in the road. union in the industry, said that the united front against the bosses'

code presented under the NRA. Cut-Throat Competition

What has happened since then of unity. The two organizations

right upon the heels of the gigantic make over the disastrously false to the roof to transfer this law over German experiences, and once more and opportunist bloc with Chiang to the Stalinist bureaucracy." This tinguish the face of the revolution or the bloc with the strike-breaking this opportunist document have form its rear. The sum total of bureaucrats in the Anglo-Russian done. By this they brand them-

Their fulminations against "Trotskyism", that is, against the Left Defenders of the Theory of Social-Opposition, are all borrowed from entation as binding upon its affili- Stalin, and they have made no imated groups. But hardly was the provements upon them. It is quite natural that these people should sulting reactionary national posiin this respect for today after the ist bureaucracy into contradiction terrible German catastrophe, it has with the interests of the Soviet that the requirements can be met

The Anti-Trotsky Crusade

inism from any complicity in the Left Opposition. Stagnant ideol- pose all attempts to attribute the ists to their August 4. Rakovsky, "the valiant leader of ogically, this "international" is dimlearned nothing. Its orientation to ism in one country has made the lacious in this epoch of deep going countries, must be branded as dan-

This is their type of crusade against so-called Trotskyism. But first of all this itself contains a politically dishonest distortion of the iews of the Left Opposition in substituting the "national interests of the Soviet Union" for the bureaucratic interests of the Stalin regime. Between these a definite distinction must be made. Comrade Trotsky, more than anyone has repeatedly pointed out that between the interests of the Soviet

BOSTON ANNOUNCEMENTS

VETCHERINKA—Saturday, Oct. 7 at 8 P. M.

FORUM—every Friday evening. SOCIAL SCIENCE CLUB meets every Monday evening at 8 P. M., satrting Octoebr 9th. MARXIAN YOUTH CLUB meets

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT course toward the strengthening of -On Club Plan (Clubs of Four)) reactionary nationalism as against One year \$2.00; six Months-\$1.00

every Thursday 8 P. M.

Palm Garden, by posting pickets and distributing leaflets in the neighborhood of the hall, to announce that the Tuesday meeting had been postponed until Wednesday at the same place-where their wn meeting was scheduled!

hotel, restaurant and cafeteria workers, calling for a united front mass phasized the necessity of united accounts and th meeting on August 22 against the tion against the bosses, so as to intolerable conditions in the indusfront, and as Communists urged their membership to support this This leaflet said, "For the first mass meeting. Such united action time in the history of the Hotel and would have served as a first step

The reformists and the reactionstrong, are now in the fifth week of united, set aside all differences, and aries within the trade unions, as their strike. We now have one are pulling together with one comstrong union, thanks to those work- mon purpose: to eliminate the in- function to split the ranks of the ers who forced the shops control- human, nerve-wracking, miserable, workers. It is the task of the Com munists to unite them. In this case their paper union, join our A. F. of This is a great step forward. Only the Stalinist leadership of the F W. I. U. has assumed the splitting The Stalinists, matched their gardless of affiliation will be our task of the reformists, and this under the title of "a step forward"

Perspectives Under NRA

Under the NRA new perspectives are opened for the reformist organ izations for rapid growth of forces as has already been seen in the coal mines, needle trades, etc. Unless there is a powerful Left wing in these unions, the movement, though a progressive step compared with the conditions of the unorganized workers for the time being, will inevitably be led by the A. F .L. fakers toward degeneration in the polemic with the chauvinist Charles from the Rosenberg Toy shop came that their past action in splitting direction of class-collaboration and

The food industry is by no means excluded from these perspectives The Left wing must be ready to

We appeal to the rank and file of the party and the FWIU mem bership, to bring pressure to bear on their leadership and the TUUL leadership for an immediate and sharp change in the course which they have been pursuing up to this very day.

Concretely, the FWIU must take immediate steps toward reuniting with the AFW. With the AFW in which a different situation prevails, urgent necessity now is not for one on the other hand, it should prounion in the industry, but for a pose a concrete program for united front action as a first step toward one union in the industry —S. PAPPAS.

> DANCE AND BANQUET The Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition is holding a celebration for the ovening of its beautiful new headquarters at

2559 W. NORTH AVE. ON SATURDAY, OCT. 7th—8 P. M. Real Spaghetti Dinner — Peppy Orchestra —

Own Way at Congress The Brandler-Lovestone "International", or whatever is left of it, held a plenary meeting, following lamentators have no complaints to held a plenary meeting, following lamentators have no complaints to held a plenary meeting, following lamentators have no complaints to held a plenary meeting, following lamentators have no complaints to held a plenary meeting, following lamentators have no complaints to held a plenary meeting, following lamentators have no complaints to held a plenary meeting, following lamentators have no complaints to held a plenary meeting, following lamentators have no complaints to held a plenary meeting, following lamentators have no complaints to held a plenary meeting, following lamentators have no complaints to held a plenary meeting. EDINBURGH .--

selves as flunkies of the Stalinist

bureaucracy anxious to crawl back

ism In One Country

If it is not the theory of Social-

ism in one country, with its re-

Bloc

Brandler-Lovestone "International"

to the Comintern for the "setting

up of a working bloc, which....can

establish joint action for carrying

out united front tactics, for a com-

mon struggle against reformism

Here we come to the very crux

of the issue: the reestablishment of

the Right-Centrist bloc for a com-

mon struggle against the Left Op-

position, against the progressive

force within the revolutionary

movement. The struggle against

There need be no denial of the

fact that much of the Brandler-

Lovestone criticism of the Stalin-

been stated correctly; but it is ani-

mated by entirely different motives

and is heading for an entirely dif-

ferent course from ours. From the

German experiences they draw the

conclusion for the practical absolv

ing of responsibility and for the

further strengthening of the Stalin-

ist bureaucratic regime. We draw

the concluions leading to the crea-

tion of new national parties and a

Swabeck Tour

Itinerary

The following is the schedule of

Sun., Oct. 1st....Bethlehem, Pa.

Tues., Oct. 3rd....New Haven

Workmen's Circle Center

Wed., Oct. 4th....Boston, Mass.

Social Science Hall, 28 Hayward Pl.

R. H. Whites)

Thurs., Oct. 5th....Boston, Mass

Fri., Oct. 6th....Boston, Mass.

Sun., Oct. 8th....Rochester, N. Y.

Mon., Oct. 9th....Buffalo, N. Y.

Tues., Oct. 10th....Toronto, Can.

Wed., Oct. 11th....Toronto, Can.

Fri., Oct. 13th....Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat., Oct. 14th ... Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sun., Oct. 15th...Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mon., Oct. 16th.... New Castle, Pa

Tues., Oct. 17th....Youngstown

Wed., Oct. 18th....Youngstown

Thurs., Oct. 19th....Cleveland, O

Fri., Oct. 20th....Cleveland, O.

Sat., Oct. 21st....Chicago, Ill.

Sun., Oct., 22nd.,... Chicago, Ill.

Mon., Oct. 23rd....Chicago, Ill.

Tues., Oct. 24th....Chicago, Ill.

Wed., Oct. 25th....Springfield, Ill

Thurs. Oct. 26th....Staunton, Ill.

Sat., Oct. 28th....St. Louis, Mo

Sun., Oct. 29th. Kansas City, Mo.

Mon., Oct. 30....Kansas City, Mo. Thurs., Nov. 2nd. Minneapolis

Fri., Nov. 3rd....Minneapolis

Sat., Nov. 4th....Minneapolis

Sun., Nov. 5th....Minneapolis

Thurs., Nov. 9th.. Davenport, Ia

Subs are coming in a very en-

"I vaule this paper very highly,

both for its news and for its theor-

etical articles. The articles on the

From Montreal comes the follow-

couraging way. Here is what

comrade from Guelph says:

NRA are very enlightening...

never beofre."

short time.

Weinstein's Retaurant

1830 Center Ave., 2nd Fl.

(Off Washington St., near

72 Legion Ave.,

revolutionary internationalism.

ist bureaucratic adventurism

reformism and centrism is thrown

centrism and Trotskyism".

in only for embellishment.

into its good graces.

ist Britain is coming through the annual Trade Union Congress. The prolonged crisis with no signs of full-time officials usually manage to depression. The large towns are gain election as delegates to these managing to conceal their troubles congresses and as a consequence the inder a veneer of seeming wellbeing. New buildings are being con-General Council is well guarded structed everywhere and the gaudy new designs for shops, houses, and cinemas raise the enthusiasm of the local journalists who have developed the theme of a "brighter Britain". The theatres and cinemas are crowded and the masses roll themselves hoarse at football matches and greyhound meetings.

plain the Comintern responsibility The speed-up in industry and the in the German catastrophe? But with this the authors of the docuspectre of unemplyoment has created a lust for entertainments and pared outline of policy. His adthey stated further: "The I. C. O. sports; anything to detract the mind from the reality of impending disonly through such fulminations of the C. I., not, however, to oppose aster. The financial journals have and banished the labor leader Rakovsky from the land, the movement two exceptions, were instantly aris collapsing. After Jilek and Hais

This is true; this "international" that the requirements can be met for application for re-entry into the soviet Union." By this they out notice and they advice their only further reveal themselves, not get-rich-quick readers to invest in as revolutionary theoreticians but cinema and greyhound enterprises. In essence this Right wing docu- as "practical" opportunists of give The small investor has already been ment, except for its lamentation and take. You let us have our pol- crushed out here and it is computed who had remained at liberty, were ed to tread the same ideological over "ultra-Leftism", absolves Stal- icies for our respective countries; that several thousand American dolwe will let you have yours. For lars have found their way into the sent a written protest to Bratianu, slovakia took the opposite course to the president of the ministerial the Left Opposition, and the Swiss from the document published in the ternational situation is a sum of where fortunes are being made upon council, against the imprisonment of Brandler section is permeated with Workers Age, of September 15: the national situations. But this the exploitation of sweated labor. Rakovsky. The party itself was and learning from the ideas of the Especially is it necessary to ex- is also what led the social reform- In this connection the attitude toward the invasion of American capital is a new one of hostility and To Reestablish the Right-Centrist in line with the present diplomatic policy of the ruling class, a definite This "remarkable" document conanti-American tone pervades the cludes with a proposal from the press.

> Despite this, however, there is a Especially is this so among the small business people of the middle-class who greedily devour the Roosevelt. sensational stories of the vellow press and the motion pictures, where young men arrive on Wall Street and become millionaires as if by magic. To emulate America is the secret dream of every British "Babthousands of well-paid trade union officials who have been raised by their former workmates into a new world of ease and comfort. Travelling the country on union business or sitting in conference with the bosses in some palatial hotel, these gentlemen soon develop a new outlook on life. They begin to see certain good points in the capitalists whom they formerly vigorously denounced in their trade union

Strikes are now frowned upon as tending to drain the union funds and the unemployed are also looked upon as being a source of trouble to the union. Is it not much easier new International. Theirs is the to negotiate wage-cuts with a pleasant employer than to reason with angry strikers or discontented unemployed? Thus reasons the

CHICAGO LECTURE The Friends of the Militant Club announces

the opening of the season with a lecture on

"THE SPLIT IN THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL"

by Comrade Albert Glotzer On Sunday, Oct. 8th at 8:30 P. M. at the Scholem Aleichem School 1214 North Washtenaw

New York Strikes Alarm N.R.A.

New York .- With strikes in New York City spreading and sharpening the NRA here is rapidly stripping itself of all working class coloration and nakedly manifesting trol is possible under capitalism or tself as the bosses strike-breaking.

This is brought to our attention by an article in the New York Times, Sept. 22, 1933, written by the NRA's chairman of the Labor Mediation Committee, Henry W. Wolff, who points an accusing finger of the most wide awake workers as he publishes the following list of policy of the General Council. The strikers:

"Underwear workers - 25.000: painters-15,000; toy makers-5,000, tailors - 2,500; metal workers -Fri. Oct. 27th...St. Louis, Mo. 3,000; shoe and slipper workers 8,000; waist and blouse makers-5,000; bakers — 2,500; neckwear workers-2,000; belt and leather workers-800; mirror makers-200; knitted goods-3.000."

With deep concern he looks upon the mood and organization of the city's 35,000 transportation work-Fri., Nov. 10th....Davenport, Ia. ers and its longshoreman who will Tues., Nov. 7th....Chicago, Ill. strike or get a raise in pay and reached rock bottom. The reason exclaims with anger, "the time has is not hard to find. The majority strife"

Wolff refers to the President's no-strike truce concluded with Wm. Green of the A. F. of L. some weeks ago and observes that "their program has not worked....Industrial warfare is sweeping over the city to such an extent that the machinery set up to handle these emergencies has proved insufficient".

He proposes measures through which the NRA, and more especially its committee which he heads, "We wish to receive twenty-five can hope to break the worker's copies every week instead of ten strikes—getting the public to conas heretofore. Sympathy for the demn the strikers-forcing the L. O. in Montreal is growing as workers to go to the NRA slaughterers of their efforts to raise their end of the country to the other. If wages or better their conditions. Brighton Congress brings home to That is how it goes from one The speech of Mr. Wolff reveals the militants the need for a fresh

all our sub getters will take the the purpose for which the NRA is start in the building up of a strong full advantage of the opportunity designed—deceiving the workers trade union opposition based upon that presents itselw we know that with "concessions" our mailing list can be increased breaking them when try to gain tarianism then it may have been a many times over in a comparatively real concessions.

- -GEORGE J. SAUL.

trade union bureaucrat and in this To outward appearances, capital- frame of mind he arrived at the official policy as formulated by the from the thrusts of any militant elements who might upset the bureaucracy if elected in sufficient

numbers by the branches. No Opposition to Bureaucrats

This year, at Brighton, the bureaucrats had it all their own way and when the President of the Congress, Mr. Walkden, made the openng speech there were no interruptions or no ill-mannered attempts to find fault with his carefully predress was a model of bankruptcy but it acted like soothing syrup on the bureaucrats. Before the Great War, former presidents of the congress extolled the great industrial system and social legislation of Germany. The fatherland was the pattern to be copied.

Since the war the T. U. C. has found a new model in America. A few years ago it was Henry Ford who was their hero. Not only did his system of mass production stagger the minds of these gullible ones but they actually thought that at last they had found the weapons with which to destroy Marx. Today, Ford is replaced by Roosevelt and "the policy of the American President," declares Walkden, "is one which organized Labor has long advocated as a solution to the present crisis." In America thousands neaking admiration for America. of workers strike against the Roosevelt policy but here in Britain the T. U. C. finds time to praise

> Bow to American Plutocrats Not a message of fraternity and

encouragement to the scarred fighters in the ranks of the American working class but a meek bow to bitt". In this category belong the the plutocrats of Wall Street and Tammany Hall. Not one voice was raised at the Congress against this monstrosity. Likewise upon the question of war. The old formula of the general strike was brought forth and then quietly laid upon the shelf and when a lone delegate rose to protest against this travesty he was promptly steam-rollered by the chairman. On Fascism, Mr. Citrine deliver-

ed a well-documented speech exposing the horrors of Hitlerism. According to his admirers, Mr. Citrine's speech "will become historic", but upon the question of how to fight Fascism the speech is strangely vague if not completely silent. According to Citrine, the real reason for the advent of Hitler was the huge army of unemployed which made the calling of a general strike impossible and if here in Britain the unemployed continue to increase then M. Citrine will not be responsible for what will happen, which all sounds very much like saying that Fascism is inevitable and that so long as there is an unemployed army then the trade unions cannot

Unmployed Refused Hearing A "left" M. P. protested against

this speech without obtaining much ployed who had marched all the way from London in order to place their demands before the Congress. they were refused a hearing, which does not look as though the bureaucracy is really greatly concerned about the unemployed. Everything in connection with unemployment was shelved and the Government has now a clear field when launching its next attack upon the inemployed.

A much-advertized debate upon workers' control proved a complete muddle as the delegates were not clear upon whether workers con' weapon for only after the latter system has

been overthrown. The Congress ended on a note of pessimism which even the well-oiled bureaucratic machine could not conceal. From the point of view of the militant trade unionist, the main feature of the Congress was the lack any opposition to the feeble main issues of war, the general strike, Fascism, workers' control, simply cried aloud for a Communist interpretation but, alas, there was

not one Leninist there. C. P. Conspicuous by Absence Where was the Communist party? A vear ago, the Party announced a

drive back to the unions. From time to time, great successes have been claimed for the new trade union line but here we arrive at the Brighton Trade Union Congress and the Party representation has come to call a halt to industrial of the 4,000 Party members are unemployed and are not members of trade unions while the trade union members of the Party are not consistent in their trade union work. The leaders of the Party have neglected to train the trade unionists for work in the unions and as a consequence the reformist officials can easily out maneuver the new Communist recruits whose passion for propaganda speeches bores the rank and file and plays into the hands of the bureaucrats.

> The I. L. P. is in much the same plight although they at least admit their weakness and are now calling for an attempt to hammer out a trade union policy. If the strike- sound principles and free from secblessing in disguise.

-T. C., September 17, 1933.

The I.L.P. & the New International

After a brief interval I am returning again to the policy of the Independent Labor Party. This is occasioned by the declaration of the delegation of the I. L. P. at the Paris conference which permits a clear idea of the general tendency of the I. L. P., as well as of the stage at which now it finds itself.

The delegation considers it necessary to call a World Congress of "all" revolutionary parties beginning with those adhering to the Third International. "If the Third ability of a party to establish cor-International proves unprepared to change its tactics and organization, the time will have come to consider the formation of a new International". This phrase contains the very essence of the present policy of the I. L.P. Having shifted decisively to the left, to Communism the members of this party refuse to believe that the Communist International which disposes of numerous cadres, of material and technical means, is lost for the revolutionary movement, It is necessary, they say, to make one more test of the ability or inability of the Comintern to change its policy.

Working Class "Parliamentarism"

It is incorrect, even naive, to pose the question in this manner. The ability or inability of a party is not determined at a Congress

but in daily stuggle, and particularly, in time of great dangers, momentous decisions and mass action. After the victory of Hitler for which the Comintern bears a direct responsibility, the leadership of the Comintern had not only left its policy unchanged but on the contrary has intensified its disastrous methods. This historic test weighs a thousand times more than all the declarations which the representatives of the Comintern might make at any one congress. It must not be forgotten that congresses represent elements of "parliamentarism" in the workers' movement itself, While parliamentarism is inevitable and necessary it cannot add anything fundamentally new above what has been actually attained in mass struggle. This refers not only to parliamentarism of the bourgeois state but also to the "parliamentary" institutions of the proletariat itself. We must orientate ourselves by the real activity of working class organizations and not expect any miracles from the proposed World Congress.

During a period of ten years (1923-1933) the Left Opposition the masses by its authority and acted as a fraction of the Comintern hoping to attain an improvement in its policy and regime by systematic criticism and an active participation in the life of the Comintern and bureaucrats of the Comintern went its sections. The Left Opposition therefore has a colossal experience the fatal excesses of the "third perof an international character. There iod" were due to the desire of the was not a single important historic small Communist minority to act event which did not force the L. in a manner presupposing that they O. to counterpose its slogans and had a majority behind them. Isomethods to the slogans and methods lating itself more and more from of the bureaucracy of the Comin- the working class, the Communist tern. The struggle around the questions of Soviet economy and unions embracing millions of workthe regime in the Communist party ers its own trade union organiza of the Soviet Union, the Chinese tions, most obedient to the leader revolution, Anglo-Russian commit-ship of the Comintern but separated tee, etc., etc. remained comparatively little known to the workers' No better favor could be done to In the known to the workers by the trade union bureaucracy. Had the struggle passed before the eyes of the advanced workers of all the world: they deal with leaders of the Comintern and the committees the trade union bureaucracy. Had the organizations which signed the party, insofar as I am informed, opposition of the Comintern must study all these of the Comintern and the communist party. Is wisnes to study seriously the ten matter struggle of the Left Opposition of the trade union bureaucracy. Had it true, the British Communist year struggle of the Left Opposition obligate themselves to the organizations which signed the organization obligate themselves to the organizations which signed the organization obligate themselves to the comintern and improvement of the Comintern and the organizations which signed the organization obligate themselves to the organizations which signed the organization obligate themselves to the organizations which signed the organizations which signed the organizations which signed the organization obligate themselves to the organizations which signed the organization organization organizations which signed the organization organizat the theory and practice of the Profintern with it. "third period" and with the strategy of the Comintern in Germany.

No Impatience in L. O. blamed for anything, it is certainly | One must not think that the work not for an impatient break with the ers are blind and do not see the Comintern. Only after the German change in the historic role of the Communist party which has been trade unions. But what is to be gathering millions of votes, proved done? The revolutionary way out incapable of offering even the least compromised itself badly in the eyes resistance to Hitler, and the Com- of the Left wing of the workers by intern refused not only to recog- the zigzags and adventures of ofnize the erroneousness of its policy ficial communism. The workers but even the very fact of the defeat say to themselves: the trade-uninos of the proletariat (in reality the are bad but without them it might victory of Hitler is the greatest de be even worse. This is the psych feat of the proletariat in the his- ology of an impasse. Meanwhile tory of the world!) and replaced the trade union bureaucracy per the analysis of its mistakes and secutes the revolutionary workers crimes by a new campaign of per- ever more boldly, replacing ever secution and slander against real more impudently inner democracy Marxists,-only after this did we by the arbitrariness of cliques say: nothing can save these people transforming in essence the trade any more. The German catastro- unions into some sort of concentraphe, and the role of the Comintern tion camps for the workers under in it, is infinitely more important declining capitalism. for the world proletariat than any Can We Skip Over the Trade Unions organizational maneuvers, congress-es evasive declarations, diplomatic thought easily arises; is it not posagreements, etc. The historical sible to skip over the trade-unions? peal from this verdict.

almost unknown to the members of committees, soviets and the like? greets the eye in Cuba. Most of negroes a year were smuggled into It is no better with the "antithe I. L. P. which has just recently The fundamental mistake of such the land under cultivation is de- Cuba. During the World war, in imperialist revolution." Ninety per The necessity of a break with the taken the revolutionary path. Be attempts lies therein that a great voted to sugar cane. In area this the period of the great expansion of cent of the sugar industry is in the Second International and the presides no organization learns only political problem of how to free the is equal to more than one third of sugar lands, thousands of negroes hands of American capital. Most paration for the Third Internationby books and files. The I. L. P. masses from the influence of the theis land. Ninety percent of this from Haiti and Jamaica and even in the hands of American capital, at was proclaimed by the Bolshewants independently to undergo trade-union bureaucracy is replaced land is owned or controlled on long Chinese coolies were brought into of the tobacco industry is likewise an experience that was made by by organizational experiments. It term leases by large American sugar Cuba to work on the sugar planta- Nearly all the banks, railroads, others on a much larger scale. Had is insufficient to show the masses a companies. Some of these planta- tions. Inasmuch as the number of street car lines, electric plants, the this involved only the loss of a few new address. It is necessary to tions are of enourmous size. They sugar workers today is estimated telephone systems, public utilities, months, one could have reconciled find the masses where they are and extend beyond the county limits and at 500,000 the labor turnover on oneself to it despite the fact that to lead them. each month of our time is much more than years of another. The that it is in any case impossible to As early as 1900 one plantation alone have no roots in the soil. There is, danger, however, lies therein, that conquer the trade unions because refined 2000,00 bags of sugar, ten in Cuba, no land hunger comparaspiring to "test" the Comintern by the bureaucracy subjects the inner per cent of the entire corp. Since able to the land hunger of the Rusa closer drawing together to it, the regime of the organization to its then centralization has gone on sian peasants.

I. L. P. may follow unnoticeably for interests of self-preservation, resort- apace by consolidation of large Thousands itself the ways of the Cominternand ruin itself.

If the number on 192 your wrapper is . your subscription has expired. If you want to get the Militant promptly every week renew your subscription at once: \$2 per year for fifty two weekly issues; \$1 a half year for twenty six weekly

THE MILITANT 126 East 16th St. N. Y. C. A Criticism of Its Paris Declaration by Leon Trotsky

The trade union question remains the most important question of proletarian policy of Great Britain as well as of the majority of old capitalist countries. In this field the mistakes of the Comintern are inthis problem.

The trade unions were formed rise of capitalism. They had as their task the raising of the material and cultural level of the proletariat and the extension of its political rights. This work that lasted in England over a century cloathed the trade unions with a tremendous authority among the workers. The decay of British hemselves into revolutionary orga nizations or become the helpers of apitalism in the intensified exploitation of the workers. The trade union bureaucracy which solved satisfactorily its own social problem took the second path. It turned the whole accumulated authority of the trade unions against the socialist revolution and even against any attempts of the workers to resist the attacks of capital and re

The Most Important Task workers from the reactionary influence of the trade union bureaucracy paratus, although already powerless has become the most important task to sabotage the proletarian revoluof a revolutionary party. In this decisive field the Comintern revealed a complete inadequacy. During the years 1926-27 and first of all during the miners' strike and the advanced workers to the idea of the general strike, that is, at the time of the greatest crimes and betrayals of the General Council of the trade anions, the Comintern obsequiously toadied before the honorable strikebreakers covering them up before helping them to remain in saddle: thus, a mortal blow was struck at the "minority movement". Frightened by the results of its work, the to the extreme of ultra-radicalism: by an abyss from the working class

As was said, the trade unions now play not a progressive but a reactionary role. Nevertheless they If the Left Opposition can be still embrace millions of workers

ble organizations on the type of majority of the population. The history of the Comintern is revolutionary trade unions, shop

Impatient "lefts" sometimes say embrace tens of thousands of acres. sugar workers, for the most part, ing to the basest machniations, re- plantations and the bankruptcy of plantation workers—approximately pressions and plain crookedness in the smaller ones under the prodding half of the entire working populathe spirit of the parliamentary guidance of the Chase National and tion—have been oligarchy of the time of the "rot- National City banks. The Chap- TRADE UNIONS. ten boroughs". This argument sig- arra plantation which began in 1900 nifies in reality the giving up of with 66,000 acres had grown to thousand. Sugar workers participthe actual struggle for the masses 250,000 by 1926. under the excuse of the corrupt character of the trade union bureau-have been poured into the sugar the trade unions by Machado. Tocharacter of the trade union bureaucracy. This argument can be developed further: should we not
abandon revolutionary work altogether because of repressions and
provocations on the part of the government bureaucracy? There exists
no principled difference here since
the trade union bureaucracy has

the trade unions by Machado. Today they are on strike on a scale
surpassing all previous struggles.
The press reports state that the
work er s have seized
the trade unions by Machado. Today they are on strike on a scale
surpassing all previous struggles.
The press reports state that the
sense of the proletariat leading the
surpassing all previous struggles.
The press reports state that the
surpassing all previous struggles.
The press reports state that the
sense of the proletariat leading the
surpassing all previous struggles.
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operate them by workers' committees. The New York Times

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capitalist apparatus, economic and governmental. It is absurd to think that it would be possible to work against the trade union bureaucracy with its aids, or even with its consent. Insofar as it defends itself by persecutions, violence, expulsions, frequently resort-ing to the assistance of government authorities, we must learn to work in the trade unions discretely findprematurely to the bureaucracy. It trade unions, performed intelligently and systematically, may yield during the period of the growth and decisive results in a comparatively

short time. The Capture of Trade Unions We do not at all want to say by this that a revolutionary party is assured of the complete capture of union bureaucrats permit themselvthe trade unions for the purposes of the socialist overturn. The pro-blem is not so simple. The trade threatened either by Fascism, or by capitalism under the conditions of the decline of the world capitalist system, undermined the basis for the reformist work of the trade unions. Capitalism can maintain itthe reformist work of the trade unions. Capitalism can maintain itself longer only by lowering the standard of living of the working class. Under these conditions the to the trade union bureaucracy and the bureaucracy is still capable of the apparatus. On the contrary, of the apparatus. misrepresenting the opinion of the if Communism should become a deorganization and of sabotaging the re-elections, is most favorable for the creation of shop committees, workers' councils and other organizations ad hoc, that is for the immediate needs of the given moment. Even in Russia, where the trade unions have not possessed by far the powerful traditions of the British trade unions, the October overthrow occurred with the predominance of the Mensheviks in the adminstration of the trade unions. Having lost the masses these ad-Henceforth the liberation of the ministrations were still capable of sabotaging the re-election of the ap-

It is absolutely necessary right now to prepare the mind of the creation of shop committees and workers' councils at the moment of understanding of its historic tasks: a sharp change. But it would be this presupposes a scientifically the greatest mistake to "play" in practice with the slogan of shop councils comforting oneself with how to establish correct relations with idea" because of the lack of real work and real influence in the policy of revolutionary realism, trade unions. To counterpose to the existing trade unions the abstraction of workers' councils would mean not only to set the bureaucracy against oneself but also the masses, and to deprive oneself relation to the Comintern as well thereby of the possibility of pre- as to all other organization and paring the ground for the creation tendencies within the working class.

of workers' councils. In this the Comintern has gained of the I. L. P. itself. not little experience: having created docile, that is, purely Communportant causes for the collapse of are of great importance. Whoever of the rank and file. the German Communist party. Is wishes to study seriously the ten

Superficially this may seem like a realistic appraisal of the situation In reality, the British Communis Party rejects only one form of poli tical adventurism for another, more hysterical form. The theory and practice of social-Fascism and the rejection of the policy of the united front creates unsurmountable obstacles to the work in the trade unions, as each trade union is, by its very nature, an arena for a prolonged united front of revolutionary parties with reformist and nonparty masses. Insofar as the British Communist Party proved in-

doubt, refer to the last congress of trade unions which declared that there can be no united front with Communists against Fascism. It would be the greatest folly to accept this piece of wisdom as the final verdict of history. The tradees such boastful formulae only because they are not immediately Communism. When the hammer of cisive force, threatening the General Council with the loss of positions, honors and income, Messrs. f the Right, or of the Left.

Revolutionary Realism

A revolutionary proletarian party must be welded together by a clear a revolutionary party must know equally removed from opportunist vagueness and sectarian aloofness, From the point of view of both these criteria intrinsically connected, the I. L. P. should review its This concerns first of all the fate

- L. TROTSKY. * This article is in print, however,

More on the Paris Conference When a movement enters a new, higher stage, there are always elements who defend the yesterday. A wider perspective frightens them. They see nothing but difficulties and

dangers. Comrades who participated in one of the meetings of Bolshevik-Leninists communicated to me somewhat the following criticism of one capable, even after the German of the participants: "we made no anti-war congress. The Comintern were weaker than the Paris confering a common language with the tragedy of learning and re-arming gains at the Paris conference; the question prevented this political promasses but not revealing ourselves itself anew, an alliance with it can whole matter came down to nego- ximity from taking on an organiand Kienthal consisted of Rightonly pull to the bottom the I. L. P. tiations and agreements at the top; zational form. When we declared Centrist elements (Ledebour who ability of a party to establish correct relations with the class reveals itself most glaringly in the tradeunion movement. That is why union movement. That is why consider it encessary to dwell on this problem.

| Application on the present epoch is precisely in the present epoch which has just recently entered such a policy cannot have any revolutionary significance; the joint devaluation to the proletariat has transformed itself most glaringly in the tradeunion movement. That is why consider it encessary to dwell on this problem.

| Application only pull to the bottom the I. L. P. tiations and agreements at the top; zational form*. When we declared Centrist elements (Ledebour who ourselves for a new International outlet only pull to the bottom the I. L. P. tiations and agreements at the top; zational form*. When we declared Centrist elements (Ledebour who ourselves for a new International outlet outlet outlet to the such a policy cannot have any revolutionary significance; the joint declared to the torist elements (Ledebour who ourselves for a new International outlet outlet to the bottom the I. L. P. tiations and agreements at the top; zational form*. When we declared Centrist elements (Ledebour who ourselves for a new International outlet outlet outlet to the bottom the I. L. P. tiations and agreements at the top; zational form*. When we declared Centrist elements (Ledebour who ourselves for a new International outlet outle Since this result? dial-democracy...." criticism, reflects-it is true, in a very exaggerated form-the doubts and apprehensions of a certain number of comrades (according to all hypothetically that with a broad information, of a small minority), and decisive policy we could probit is necessary to examine serious- ably find not a few allies among ly the above enumerated arguments. Left socialist groupings. A month,

on by the tops". What does this the conjecture that a break with the argument mean? Conference and Comintern would greatly facilitate expitalism under the conditions of great independence from the mass attained a Fascism is raised over the head of conventions always consist of the line influx to our side of revolution-"tops", that is of representatives. ary groupings of social-democratic It is an impossible task to assem- origin. Is it not clear that the ble in one place all the members of Paris conference confirmed both the Left Opposition, the S. A. P., these conjectures and on a scale R. S. P. and O. S. P. . How can that we ourselves could not expect agreements between organizations two, or three months ago? Under be made without negotiations of the these conditions, to complain that representatives, that is "tops"? On everything came down to negotiathis point the criticism evidently tions by the "tops" and to assert

lacks any sense. Pressure from Ranks Or does the author of the critic-Citrin and Co. would undoubtedly ism want to say that the represenenter into a bloc with Mosley and tatives of the organizations which Co. against the Communists. Thus, signed the joint declaration do not in August 1917, the Mensheviks and express the opinion of the rank and speaking) sounds the argument that the resolution of the majority of Social-Revolutionaries together with file? Let us examine this argument the Bolsheviks repulsed general as well. With regard to the S. A. Kornilov. Two months later, in P. it is known to all that the rank ocracy. The Stalinists slander us October, they were fighting hand in and file of the party have been in this manner and not for the haps the policy of Lenin at Zimmerhand with the Kornilovists against striving for a long time not only for first time. What basis is there for wald and Kienthal was...a turn the Bolsheviks. And in the first a closer approach to us but for a carrying these "arguments" into towards the social-democracy? But months of 1917, when Mesrs. reform- complete fusion with us, while un- our own organization? Let us, how- the objection may be raised that ists were still strong they declaim- til very recently, the tops evaded ever, examine them somewhat clos- now under the conditions of peace ed just like Citrin & Co. of the the issue, put breaks upon it, fear- er. The Paris conference was callimpossibility for them to make an ing a separation from possible aled not by us. We take not the in war time. Correct! Ledebour alliance with a dictatorship either lies of the right. In this case what slightest responsibility for its com- and Bourderon endangered themment? The answer is clear: the claration contained some concespressure of the rank and file towards the Left, that is toward us, became someone get up courage to say it! Left—to the Paris conference) withbased program. At the same time S. A. P. were forced to turn to us. ganizations, it is understood, does victory. This conclusion retains of an irreconcilable struggle with social-democracy? its full force independently of the the social-democracy, a complete fact how adroitly, or skillfully the break with bureaucratic centrism negotiations between the tops were and a resolute condemnation of all carried on. Not the negotiations de attempts on the manner of the Two

ceding work of the Left Opposition. With regard to the O. S. P. (Hol-cial-democracy? land (the situation is approximate ly the same. This organization was not connected with us at all. Two years ago it found itself in a bloc with Seidewitz and Rosenfeld. Toist rtade unions it counterposed in a series of studies and documents day it drew nearer to us. It is antagonistically its sections to the published partly also in foreign clear that the leaders of this orence: this is one of the most im- erican League (Pioneer Publishers) strong pull to the left on the part

With the R. S. P. (Sneevliet) the

A Step Forward or A Step to the

Sneevliet and his friends have ren- parison. They consisted, necessardered the Left Opposition during ily, of the "tops" (every conference the Copenhagen conference and es- consists of tops). By the number pecially, during the Amsterdam of workers directly represented they reality a deviation towards the so- immediately a concrete and valuable

Our Conjectures

About three months ago we wrote "The negotiations were carried a month and a half ago, we voiced that the new alliance has no revolutionary significance is to reveal a complete ignorance of the basic processes which are now taking place within the proletariat.

we are making a turn towards... are in this concessions to the so-

Principled Declaration

The Declaration of four does not give, and, under the circumstances of the matter, could not give an answer to all the problems of program and strategy. It is clear that working masses and has thereby languages. For the English com- ganization would have never made townstional on the bagic of this De doomed itself to a complete impotrades the publications of the Am- this step if there had not been a ternational on the basis of this Declaration. But neither did we intend anything of the sort. The Declaration itself states clearly that All our sections, all the three allied should be drawn to this work. Do we intend to make any concessions arise, we will seriously fight for have not shown any excessive pliancy in questions of principle. The same critics also add the

A peasantry exists in Cuba but following argument: the new Inter- are busy with the terribly importnational can be built only on the ant affairs of the "change of minisfeudal landowners and a myriad fed "over 7,000 unemployed persons consequently its weight in society is wave of the ascent of the revolutionary movement; now, however, But it is hopeless to think in the atmosphere of decline all atthat the peasantry can lead the tempts in this direction are doomed agreements, etc. The historical sible to skip over the trade-unions? In advance to failure. This projection, the stailure in advance to failure. This projection, the majority of the surplement. The stailures in advance to failure. This projection, the majority of the surplement in advance to failure. This projection, the majority of the surplement in advance to failure. This projection, the majority of the surplement in advance to failure. This projection, the majority of the surplement is borrowed by some sort of fresh, incorrupting with the soil in the sense of its projection. They constituted the majority of the population. a peasantry. It is estimated that rian revolution" do not know what astic Souvarine (who, alas, as far in essence, reactionary work by as I know, has meanwhile had time terribly "revolutionary" and "prinviks in the Autumn of 1914, that is, in the atmosphere of a frightful disintegration of socialist parties. At that time also there was no lack of wise men who spoke of the "utopianism" (the word "bureau-sharpness, if not disappeared aicratism" was not in such abuse then) of the slogan of the Third International. Kausky went further in his famous aphorism "The International is an instrument of peace had only national limits, but leave and not of war". In reality the unobserved the international Zimsame idea is expressed by the merwald conference, the analogy critics quoted abovo: the Interna- with which suggests itself. tional is an instrument of ascent and not of decline". The proletariat has need of an Internatioanl at ly imbued them with a hatred of If there is no Comintern today, we Post Office at New York, N. Y. all times and under all conditions. must say so openly, and immediate- Under the act of March 8 1879. If we are to speak of an "agrar- ly start the preparation for a new

Fatalistic complaints about the objective decline most often reflect a subjective decline.

Zimmerwald and Kienthal

Let us take the conferences of Zimmerwald and Kienthal as a comwhole conference despite the vagueness of this document.**

As far as the Zimmerwald "left" was concerned, it was extremely weak. After the rout of the Bolshevik Duma fraction and of the local organizations, the Bolshevik party was no stronger during the war than the present Russian Left Opposition. Other left groups were incomparably weaker than our three present allies. The general position of the workers' movement in the conditions of war seemed absolutely hopeless. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviks, as well as the group of Nashe Slove took a course towards the Third International from the very beginning of the war. Without this course the October revolution would have been impossible.

We repeat: Lenin found it possible under the then existing conditions to sign together with Ledebour, Bourderon, Grimm and Martov a Manifesto against the war. The But particularly strange (mildly Bolshevik-Leninists did not sign now the Paris conference and will, of reconciliation with the social dem- course, take no responsibility upon themselves for this majority. Pera stricter selection is necessary than does it mean that the tops found position and agenda. We came to selves by signing the Manifesto of themselves compelled to sign jointly this conference to present there our Zimmerwald, while Tranmel and Co. with us a most important docu- point of view. Possibly our De- carry on their maneuvers (the right hand to the Scandinavian sosions to the social-democracy? Let cial-democracy, the pinky of the so strong that the leaders of the The Declaration signed by four or- out running any risk. It is precisely for this reason that we re-Those who know how to interpret not contain our program. But it fused to sign the meaningless repolitical facts and symptoms cor- defines clearly the road of the solution of the Paris majority. rectly, will say that this is a great Fourth International on the basis Where are here concessions to the

Not Responsible for Allies

However, two of our allies-our opponents will say to us—have signed the resolution of the maj rided the matter but the whole pre- and a Half International. Where ority showing thereby that they have not as yet made the final choice. Absolutely correct! But neither do we take any responsibility for our allies just as they take no responsibility for us. The erms of our agreement are clearly formulated and are now accessible to all. The future will show which side our allies will finally choose. We want to help them make the right choice. One of the most important rules of revolutionary straegy reads as follows: watch your ally as well as your enemy. Mutual should become the fundamental everything is done and will be done document of the new International. In full view of the masses, under everything is done and will be done their control, for the purpose of policy do not exist at all.

> There are also other rules of revtern, the "21 Conditions", the "11 there is none; do not replace Marxture will show whether any serious squabbles. Long experiences has disagreements will arise on this shown that precisely at the time basis between ourselves and our when an organization is getting allies. If disagreements should ready to get out from the narrow alley onto a wider arena, elements our point of view. Until now we can be always found who have grown fast to their alley, know all their neighbors, are used to carry all the alley news and rumors and tries" in their own alley. These conservative and sectarian elements are very much afraid that on a wider arena their art will find no cipled" arguments. We have tried above to weigh these arguments on the scale of Marxian dialectics. Let the comrades themselves decide

> > September 10, 1933. -G. GOUROV.

* The differences on the trade-union question lost their former together.

what is their weight.

** By the way, some wise men, recall without any rhyme, or reason the "August bloc" of 1912 which

THE MILITANT Entered as a second class mail Published weekly by the Communist

The Stalinist Program for the Cuban Revolution organizations, as well as all sympathizing groups and elements and elements policy do not exist at all.

Unquestionably the central probtivated with primitive methods and ing of cane fields." equipment. Those who worked the

day the "agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution." According to the Stalinists the task of the Cuban Com
who toll on them are wage work wages, hours, and working conditions but say the workers demand the conference, states clearly on the conference of for Cuba places on the order of the basis. For the most part the men willing to make concessions on Manifesto? The Declaration of the musts the task of the Cuban Communist Party is to "agitate and organize the peasants" for this end.

Among their sleams of the Cuban Community Party is to "agitate and organize the peasants" for this end.

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The cuban Community Party is to "agitate and organize the peasants" for this end. Among their slogans stands the does not exceed one month. A num- They want their committees to mandemand for the division of the land ber of the sugar workers try to age the mills. In a word the sugar which the apply to the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the ture will show whather the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the ture will show whather the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement their meager earnings workers are putting forward the sugar plansupplement the sugar plansupp between harvests by cultivating the demand for workers control and small and patches of relatives. management of industry. In the Because of the high degree of next stage this will lead to the delem of Cuban economy is the agra-concentration of the industry large mand for nationalization of the inrian question. But the agrarian numbers of workers are massed on dustry and will indicate the correquestion in Cuba has an entirely the plantations. As early as 1893 sponding state form under which different content than it had in Rus- twelve hundred workers were re- alone it is possible—the dictatorsia. Russian agriculture was or quired to harvest the crop on one ship of the proletariat.

ganized on the basis of a number plantation. Carleton Beales reports A peasantry exists in Cuba but of large estates in the hands of that one sugar company in 1933 its weight in economy is small and of small holdings worked by indi- -not so much out of charity as correspondingly small. vidual peasants. The land was cul- to prevent sabotage and the burn-

That is not the picture which from 1913 to 1927 forty thousand they are talking about.

Thousands of the half million organized into

One strike brought out twenty ated in the general strike of two Millions of dollars in machinery in protest against the terrorism of

The Stalinist theoretical program, are operated on an INDUSTRIAL, the owners of the plantations "are to the social democracy in this

docks, etc., etc., are owned by Uniinclude towns. Some plantations the plantations has been great. The ted States capitalists. Three banks, principally, control all of Cuban eco nomy: the National City Bank, the Chase National Bank, and the House of Morgan.

> Thus the struggle of the Cuban workers in all industries for higher wages and better conditions must, of necessity, develop into a struggle against American imperialism. The universal impoverishment of the Cuban workers has profound-

The Cuban Challenge to U. S. Imperialism

from what political source, indic-ate that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ate that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ate that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ate that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that we have a Stalinist Com-ater that the revolution has passed fact that the revolution fact that the revolution fact that the revolution has passed fact that the revolution fact that t ate that the revolution has passed beyond the stage of a simple political revolution and has entered the first stage of a social revolution. The ruling cliques and exploiting there can be no successful revoluclass are in confusion. The crisis and economic conditions had reach- struggles of the masses. Worse yet ed a breaking point. The American imperialists, facing the coming Pan munist Party in the United States. American conference, pressed upon all sides by the new measures adopted to surmount the mounting Cuba shows the importance and the world contradictions, was forced to delay open armed intervention. In place America uses a new form of intervention, a method of bottling up the island with the Atlantic fleet and secretly aiding counter-revolution within, and at the same time endeavoring to further worsen the economic and political situation to either force a surrender or hasten the downfall of the present pettybourgeois revolutionary government, headed by Grau San Martin.

Communist Activity in Cuba

The New York Times of September the 20th, reports: "Communist seizure of mills approaching Havana with no government curb." "Workers hold 15 mills." "Communist leaders have been very active since Senor Machado's fall." "Cuba is now at the cross road and must go right or left." "The Cuban labor trouble began with the spontaneous seizure of sugar mills by syndicalist unions and is now taking the form of an organized Communist movement that is sweeping the inand is daily approaching closer to L. unions must be drawn into this of the big open shop clothing manu-Havana. Other papers report So-

viets are being set up. The revolution in Cuba is the most important political event of organized behind Cuba's struggle trial recovery in St. Louis." the day. It overshadows the NRA in importance in spite of the pro- workers and liberal forces in every found effect the Blue Eagle will Latin America country must bring ger that the remaining 1500 cotton have on the lives of the American pressure upon their governments to dress workers will lose their strike. people and the class relations. The NRA in all its magnitude is a stopthe tide—while the revolution in must have the right of self-determ- to work will leave the arena more tions. They cannot remain satisfied Cuba is a wave of the social tide ination. Such a move in all of the breaking through the world structure of American imperialism. This with the struggle of the American means that the Cuban revolution must be studied in detail, especially by the American revolutionists, because it foreshadows and concapitalist defenders said was im- Latin America and expose the pup- tinue to fight against the leaders of possible. That is, the first steps toward a social revolution on American soil, in one of America's most important colonies.

At Gates of U.S. Imperialism Most significant is the fact that while American hegemony is spreading to a greater degree over the earth and desperate steps are being and the Left Opposition. No doubt taken internally and internationally to hold the dominating position in the downward curve of decay capitalism-America finds that she is confronted with the meance of sweep beyond Cuba, providing there Soviets at the gates of her 48 states. is a Communist party, and a lead-Her world struggle since 1917 to ership with a program. It is up to prevent the spread of the October revolution, can be revealed by the events in Cuba and its implications events in Cuba and its implications are slightly closed." Hell's the aid of the struggles of the Latin American workers just as it their Indas' gold agents give the for America as a futile struggle in was the duty of the European workspite of Stalinism and its aid to ers to come to the aid of the Ruscapitalism as a leader of proletarian defeats.

a most difficult period in world polities. The Cuban revolution as the first stage of a social revolution takes place on American soil, on the heels of the victory of Fascism in Germany and when the world proletariat has just passed through the most disastrous defeat, and in a period when reaction flows from it. It is logical to face world wide repercussions from the victorious October Revolution. And it is not a surprise, yet seemingly a contradiction, to be confronted with the Cuban situation after the German event.

Trotsky's Prediction It was almost ten years ago that comrade Trotsky startled many when he pointed out that the economic center of the world was shifting from Europe to America. Since then the forces making up the International Left Opposition and its American section have pointed out that with the shifts in World relations goes increased class conflicts and revolutions. In this case Cuba, at this stage, is a curtain raiser, informing the world that America will have its share of the red menace that haunts the capitalist world-the proletarian revolution. The NRA stop-gap, and the special struggles America is conducting a gigantic scale with Europe, Latin America and Japan, (on three different fronts), all indicate that conditions and class relations within the United States are going to shift rapidly forward to struggles that will take on a revolution-

ary scope. The Cuban revolution, under proper guidance and cooperation from the American Communists, could be the spark to start a more rapid cate" the workers. We must set shift of the American workers to forth our views and a correspondthe Left. Will that be its direction? This question will be ans- in the light of events those errors wered within the next few months that will naturally adhere to our or sooner. However, at the very rough draft as we go along. Meanleast, if we consider the worse variant—that reaction triumphs and American imperialism gains its objectives (as well as the fact that to their problems. one must take into consideration Compensation or No Compensation the position of Stalinism)-nevertheless, the importance of Soviets on American soil, in Cuba, must not arises when antionalization is under be underestimated.

Marxian Communist Party Vital

tion regardless of the revolutionary speed required.

Must Abrogate Platt Amendment the Platt Amendment. The present carry out this task nor will it talist world. be able to stand the pressure of the class struggle between the national capitalists and the American imperialists against the workers and peasants. The workers must fight for a free and democratic constituent assembly. The workers must demand that the election be called while the revolution is still on the upgrade. This can only be accomplished if the organs of Soviets are functioning to protect workers' democracy, to beat down the head of counter-revolution, to further devel-

op the revolution, and to thereby

confine the Constituent Assembly

to its proper place. In the United States united front mass meetings must be called throughout the country. The fact that the Stalinists with their huge apparatus have not started this the Cuban situation. The A. F. of for Industrial Peace, to quote one protest. Financial aid must be for- facturers, S. H. Curle, is to "combat and anti-imperialist forces must be disturbing and preventing indusagainst American imperialism. The ism, will have powerful pressure. It will also make a distinction bebefore the eyes of the workers and union membership is sold out.

peasants. The argument that the Communsts of Cuba cannot establish a Soriet Government at this stage and therefore must be satisfied with more modest demands has no place in the plans of the revolutionist Soviets are very difficult to establish. But once the fires of the social revolutior, are started in this decay stage of capitalism it can their "open shop" conditions. "The sian workers after the October days. The Cuban revolution must be used can be no cheering of pay day when as a lever against American imporlever against American impor-—HUGO OFHLER.

hindered.

It is the aftermath of a drama we do not have a Marxian Com- ism and Communism. But the and help has reached these victims It is our task to hurry and build tightening their strangling hold up from these quarters and not from one. The revolutionary struggle in on the throat of their victims. They demand their blood to the very last drop. What an insolent challenge is this trial, not only to the Com-The Cuban people must abrogate munist movement, not only to the working class, but to all that bears petty-bourgeois government cannot the name justice within this capi-

Communists Meet Challenge The Communists, who are before the bar at Leipzig, have met this challenge and stood up manly as only soliders of the proletarian army can do. They did not disavow their creed or hide their convictions, but aims. And the official Communist

St. Louis Strike Briefs

St. Louis.—Six thousand workers on strike in St. Louis and the bosses build an organization to kill the organization of the working class. The purpose of the St. Louis League warded to Cuba. Petty bourgeois the epidemic of strikes which is

With 1500 silk dress workers re turning to work there is great danprotest and demand that the United The silk dress workers had been States withdraw the ships and the most militant (over 300 arrests Marines from Cuban waters. Cuba in one week) and their going back open for the expounding of the I. L. G. W. U. leadership's circus talk of the right of protest. The Faschonesty is the best policy. They are strict advocates of class collatween words and deeds of many so- boration policies. The Left wing called anti-imperialist forces in of the silk dress workers must con pet governments to a greater degree the ILGWU lest one-half of their

> The strike of the 2,000 hat and cap workers, settled by Max Zaritsky's arbitration powers under the banner of the NRA, may again be resumed tomorrow. The open shop manufacturers's are refusing to reemploy the union strikers, as they agreed to when the strike was "settled". The hat and cap workers are Applied Marxian Economics still as disgusted with their "union" conditions as they were with only difference", as one striker expressed it, is, "that now the wintheir Judas' gold agents give the under-paid and over-worked hat and cap workers some concessions. There

in Germany, together with the Nazi it done in this situation? Vociferous dupe Van der Lubbe. The charge protests have been heard against Reports from Cuba, no matter developed to its highest stage—So- is high treason and whatever the the Nazi attempt to railroad the munist Party in Cuba and not a vance condemned to the execution- liberal bourgeoisie and petty bour-Marxian Communist Party. Without ers axe. That is, if the Nazis are geoisie. Even sections of the resea leadership, without a program permitted to pursue their prey untionary capitalist world press finds the nauseating stench from this "travesty on justice" too revolting. of two world forces at grips-Fasc- In other words whatever comfort Fascists, drunk with victory, are of a dastardly frame-up has come

> The party and the Comintern capitulated to Fascism without attempting to strike a blow. That fact has burned itself deeply inte abdicated the right of protest against the Nazi hangman's work which is now cloaked in a court procedure? Almost the entire western world is aroused by this hangman's work. Even the A. F. of L officials give vent to their condemnation. What is the so-called anti-Fascist united front movement do proudly aserted their Communist ing about it? The truth is that it remains as dead and meaning less as intended by its Stalinists initiators. But what is the Comintern doing about it? What are the official parties doing about it? Around this issue was another opportunity to actually set a power ful protest movement on foot. And the official party in the United Statse when it proclaimed its demonstration in New York mobilized about a thousand workers; less than the party membership itself.

No Protest in Soviet Union From the Soviet Union, from the proletarian stronghold, has come no protest. The Prayda has confined itself to the demand for an apology because its reporter was molested by the Nazis, in the city of the trial and it remained satisfied with the explanation that this was a mistake. Such are the depths to which Lenin's Pravda has sunk...

But the working class cannot remain satisfied with such explanaevery inch of its way. In this prominent adherents decided it That was all. Huang failed to tive class collaboration under the there is not a minute to lose.

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Before the Court of the Fascists Before the A.F. of L. Convention

lives, at the Leipzig supreme court ership the Stalin clique, what has Reactionaries Plan to Harness Labor at Momentous Gathering Opening Oct. 2

ist war mongers. The comparison is ominously sinister in its implica-

No doubts need exist of this ga-

President William Green is ad-| in the chains of the brand new | most fifty percent of that of the vancing claims for the coming A. NRA machinery of regulating class former. Despite this juggling the F. of L. convention, to begin Oct- relations and reinforcing the means ober 2, to become the most moment- of keeping them in subjection as a ing trend of labor organization flows ous gathering of this body in six- class. But on the other hand, the at this moment, toward the A. F. teen years. This comparison re-very developments growing out of of L. while the TUUL unions, in fers to the wartime convention held this, already indicate that the A. making certain gains in isolated in Buffalo, in 1917, at which Samuel F. of L. is arriving at its cross cases, are being wiped out else-Gompers, together with his whole roads with a speed which is truly where; and precisely in those cases staff, made their "heroic" efforts to American. How it will attempt to, where the A. F. of L. has growth harness the American Federation of or rather how it will fail to co-Labor as an auxiliary machinery to with this new situation will be of process of life itself, this proves the serve the interests of the imperial- decisive importance for the future. fact that the official party TUUL The Growth of the A. F. of L.

The A. F. of L. executive claim at least 500,000 new members. There is no reason to doubt this thering becoming a momentous one. figure, the acrobatic arithmetics of A. F. of L. almost amounts to a our conscience. But have they also It will be so, not by virtue of what Statchel—the "head" of the TUUL stampede with genuine mass strikes the skilled pie-card artists in at- -notwithstanding. In a Daily everywhere for recognition of its tendance can be expected to do, but Werker article, of September 19, by by the special period and exceptional conditions under which it A. F. of L. claims and padding the party unions exist alongside of them the former are, by their radically takes place. In the first place this TUUL claims, all on paper, he succonvention gathers under the sign ceeds in proving, apparently to his in many cases they are even more of another "heroic" effort to har- own satisfaction that the latter conservative in their demands, and ness the American working masses has made gains amounting to al-

Torture of Huang

Questioning was obviously use-

"Blue Shirts" in North China

Chiang Kai-Shek's "Blue Shirts",

The Communist party organ in

"My idea of good propaganda is

need to resort to lying and exag-

PITTSBURGH MASS MEETINGS

ARNE SWABECK

will speak at

WEINSTEIN'S RESTAURANT

1830 Center Ave., 2nd Floor

Friday, October 13 at 8 P. M.

THE FUTURE OF INTERNA-

TIONAL COMMUNISM

Saturday, October 14 at 8 P. M.

THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

AND THE WORKERS

The September issue of YOUNG

SPARTACUS is out. It contains

news of the youth movement and

articles on the current working

geration. On the contrary, harms the cause."

harms the cause.'

A Letter from Shanghai

Shanghai.-About Huang Ping, been reduced to a skeleton of his

vhose capitulation the New York former self. A wracked and tor-

Stalinists deny as an Opposition tured body, the physical fiber all

by Madame Sun Yat-Sen. Notwith- what once had been a human being,

standing her close connections with but which was scarcely one now

the League Against Imperialism and Madame Sun's questions brought

s a genuine protagonist of the (the question seemed so superflu-

for Civil Rights, which has been tortured, have you, Mr. Huang?"

even more respectable than they had the opportunity of doing so. All

fate was unknown, beyond the fact jailers finding him an unnecessary

ence, she managed to persuade the by the Kuo Min Tang was drag-

Kuo Min Tang authorities to allow ged from him in the anguish of

her to interview Huang. She chal- physical torture, when his wracked

leged them to produce him and body could endure no more and

the Kuo Min Tang's political pris- own question.

oners. The organization is now

practically defunct-it bumped up

Interview with Huang Ping

prove that he had not been mur-live.

Wang Chin-Wei's organ.

dered, as had been rumored.

to record. Once more, and by the policy runs in violent contradiction to the curve development of

the living movement. The present record growth of the unions. In such cases where the false policy, forced to trail behind. impotent to influence the workers where they are not entirely eliminated. These are salient facts of which the reactionaries do not fail to take notice. Revolutionists, above all, must take notice and act accordingly.

It would be idle to speculate on what the reactionary A. F. of L. capiatlist agents will do at this "slander", I am in a position to gone, stood limply before her. List-convention. First of all they will give you direct information supplied less, lifeless eyes stared out from endeavor to strengthen their own positions and strengthen their own relations with capitalism, by correspondingly reinforcing the means the Paris Anti-War Committee she no answers. Had he been tortured of holding the working masses in subjection. It is in this sense, and workers' cause. In China, she has ous)? Head bowed, Huang made distinctly in this sense, that they played a prominent part in a hodge | no reply, but the guard returned an have embraced the NRA. The A. podge organization of liberal intelleager negative to the question put F. of L. will demand adequate relectuals known as the China League to his charge. "You have not been presentation in the machinery created under the codes, says Green. agitating for better treatment of "Of course not!" answering his Will this be for the purpose of advancing the ideas of workers' control of production? Will these leaders demand that the books of the against too many matters involving less, and Madame Sun's last ques- industrial enterprises be thrown class issues, which, because of its tion to Huang Ping was: "Did you open for the inspection of labor's composition it was incapable of write or give your name to the ar- representatives and by this method handling. It tried to be "non-pol-ticle in the People's Tribune con-begin to give labor a say in the itical" and inevitably failed. When taining a renunciation of your matter of control of production? Of its secretary, Yang Chen, was as past?" Huang hung his head and course not. The A. F. of L. de-L. G. W. U. leadership's circus talk of the light of photost. The A. F. of L. de-about the new Messiah Roosevelt. ist executioners axe is hanging over about the new Messiah Roosevelt. ist executioners axe is hanging over (Fascist) agants applied by "Blue Shirt" gave no reply. His jailer answer-mand will be advanced with the with the struggle of the American about the new Messian Rooseveit. Ist executioners axe is nauging over the struggle of the American about the new Messian Rooseveit. Ist executioners axe is nauging over the struggle of the shift part of the new Messian Rooseveit. Ist executioners axe is nauging over the shift part of the new Messian Rooseveit. Ist executioners axe is nauging over the shift part of the new Messian Rooseveit. The local leaders do not believe that their heads and they will rightfully (Fascist) agents employed by ed, "Yes, of course Mr. Huang purpose of strengthening the relationship will be advanced with the new Messian Rooseveit. The local leaders do not believe that demand that this manage he fought Chiang Kai-Shek most of its many which it displays the new Messian Rooseveit. would be healthier if they became repudiate the article when given new conditions.

But there are also other trends that could be done to a man but indicated for the coming convention. take away the spark of life had The Metal Trades Department is But to get on with the story.

But and occasion to visit the verge of the grave he refused the verge of the grave he refused trial form of organization for the Nanking shortly after Huang Ping's the opportunity of vindicating him- basic indstries. This shows the arrest, in connection with her work in the China League for Civil Rumor has it that Huang Ping will likely feel itself compelled to Rights. At the time Huang Ping's has since been done to death his Rights. At the time Huang Ping's has since been done to death, his yied, if not now, then ater. This fate was unknown, beyond the fact jailers finding him an unnecessary pressuer will increase under the that he had been tortured and that burden on their hands, but it is not new conditions. Most significant, a recantation had appeared under possible to obtain confirmation. however, is the statement made by his name in the **People's Tribune**, From the time of his arrest the Green that the A. F. of L. "is going Wang Chin-Wei's organ.

Madame Sun determined to find managed to see him was Madame Sun determined to find managed to see him was Madame spokesman for American labor out what had happened to Huang Sun, and she seems satisfied that That means there is no room in Ping. Due to her personal influ-the recantation attributed to Huang the United States for any other labor movement."

That no efforts will be spared to make good on this threat is certain. To that the convention will unquestionably be keyed up. That is one of the duties which American capitalism imposes upon its agents within labors' ranks to be carried guard who remained throughout Shanghai in a big way, working the interview—such as it was. In through the local police organization is to crush any and Madame Sun's words, Huang had tions, and succeeding in arresting all militant or progressive unions many Communists and Communist outside of the A. F. of L. and, in "suspects", have now invaded North this manner, help to head off and plies a more open suppression of the prospects for revolts from within.

The A. F. of L. officialdom is entering upon its thorny road. The reconstitution of a Left wing is now more essential than ever. -A. S.

NEW SPLIT IN CHILEAN **COMMUNIST PARTY**

Each day the disintegration of North China, I learned this week, the official C. P. of Chile (Laffertist head of the bourgeois attack on the circulates about 100 copies. Com- group (becomes more accentuated

In the last national conference

Until recently all three of these comrades were considered loyal unpalatable, and their correct inter- Rolsheviks and now for having pretation. A good cause has no protested against, and criticized the party policies, they have been expelled and branded as traitors. Their "treason" consisted in demanding a discussion of the past errors of the party.

The Political Bulletin of the Chilean Communist Left reports that the units to which the three expelled Central Committee members pelonged are also to be expelled en

BRONX MASS MEETING

FOR A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY AND A NEW INTERNATIONAL

New Hollywood Gardens 896 Prospect Ave., (Nr 162nd St.) Speakers: Max Shachtman and James P. Cannon

Friday, October 6, 1933 Auspices: Bronx branch of the Communits League of America (O.)

Huang was brought to her at the Yangtse Hotel, accompanied by a who commenced their activities in 126 East 16th Street Tel...GRAmercy 5-9524

Discussion on the NRA - The Slogan of Nationalization with conditions as to the conditions as

The following article is a contribution to the discussion on the NRA. It represents the views of the author.

Other articles are invited but should not exceed 700 words.

the movement in the period of up- stance it is a matter of life and the Left organizations, even includtaking the most favorable course the bourgeoisie will never permit wer depends on our judgment as for the capitalist class—even, that itself to be strangled by Fabian to the mode of awakening of the of the struggle. is, with a coinciding of the NRA banking operations. Even a partial political class consciousness of the and a real expansion of production nationalization can be undertaken masses and the speed with which The "new" capitalism will be mil-tantly imperialistic. The violent base itself at home on the ever working class. For the moment the stream of mass pressure follows the Roosevelt, but as events (the progress of inflation for example) clarify the situation the stream will over the confining walls.

We cannot wait expectantly for swell and become a flood breaking the period of open struggle to "eduing plan of action now, correcting time we patiently answer the queries and objections raised by the serious workers looking for a solution

In the mind of the worker the question of compensation naturally consideration. Losovsky, in ap proving of the slogan at the 15th A significant fact is revealed C. P. S. U. Congress in 1927 when one studies the economic and thought that the fight for "no comsocial forces of Cuba. The objective pensation" serves to distinguish the conditions in Cuba are in favor of Communist from the socialist. But the task of carrying the revolution to Trotsky, viewing the slogan as a beyond the present stage. The spon-opposed to the formation of a labor taneous action of the workers in means of engaging the workers in 28 Hayward Place (Off Washington strike struggle and united front a gigantic struggle with the bour-

geoisie, the question of compensa- ple, that in the case of England, nevertheless lead to the necessity of breaking the opposition of the exgiven the dialectic nature of the strnggle for nationalization.

Nationalization stated in their relabor party. We Communists are

It might be conceded, for exam-

BOSTON MASS MEETING

ARNE SWABECK THE FUTURE OF INTERNA-

TIONAL COMMUNISM FRIDAY, OCT. 6, at 8 P. M. SOCIAL SCIENCE HALL

St. near R. H. Whites)

American economic development tion is inevitable for the reason that are so few in number? The ansopment towards state capitalism. ly doubtful, thus compromising the how such a party diverts the energy principle of nationalization and of the masses from a real struggle with it the Labor Party. The bour-acts as a brake and helps to destruggle for control of markets will geoisie would oppose as a class feat our aims. But in that case every straightforward attempt at it is our duty to take over those more oppressive exploitation of the even a partial nationalization. The slogans which appeal to the masses other branches of industry would and lead in a progressive direction, resort to lockouts, to sabotage, to making them the basis not for proa boycott of the national industry; grams to fool the masses, but for i. e., bring about a life and death but filling them with our content, struggle. However guarded the actual class struggles conducted first steps might be, the task will with every weapon in our power. Our Tasks

The U. M. W. of a Committee on expecting the speedy political development of class consciousness in port in 1924 that the struggle for the American working class. In nationalization would build up a that case the slogans of nationalization and of workers' control of party. Why then propose nationali- industry will be pushed more and more to the fore and we must be ready to fill them with our class content at the proper time, and to make them the basis for a real and not a sham battle. Under proper conditions these slogans offer every possibility of rallying the miners, the railroad workers and the entire working class for a struggle against

The way in which even now the tion. Through the shop committees ploiters." Here we have clearly workers are showing initiative in we must propagandize the workers' taking full advantage of the "paci- codes of action. Unless we prepare fying" collective bargaining clause now we cannot hope to win the Nationalization and the Labor Party in the NRA, gives every hope for masses in time when, through its der of the day. the capitalists, they offer a means of striking a blow at finance capital, and with a real struggle they

Communism"

Workmen's Circle Center, 72 Legion Ave., (Opposite Dwight St.) Tuesday Evening, October 3rd, 1933

seizure of power. elsewhere. We work with condi-past couple of months. Each Comgeoisie, the question of compensation is entirely secondary, if not
irrelevant. It is entirely a matter
a stumbling block in the road of
of objective conditions and not a

the case of England, essewhere. we work with conditions as we find them and not as munist arrested, we learn, is offered to his liberty if he will renounce his not at all necessary that a labor principles and sign a declaration to A. F. of L. position because it im-

Roosevelt is acting as the speartion of the crisis,—the class struggle will necessarily take on new
forms owing to the trend of develsuccess of these measures extracted
times will occur. We are opposed to the formation of a labor party
here because among other things
the present this will occur. We are opposed working class, on its former standto the formation of a labor party
here because among other things
the present this will occur. We are opposed working class, on its former standworking class, on its former standhere because among other things
the proposed to the point where the few Bolsheards of livelihood. The workers
ards of livelihood to the point where the few Bolsheworking class, on its former standhere because among other things
the proposed to the point where the few Bolsheards of livelihood. The workers
ards of livelihood to the point where the few Bolshehere because among other things
think at the moment that he is a solution to the point where the few Bolsheworking class, on its former standhere because among other things
think at the moment that he is a solution to the point where the few Bolsheworking class, on its former standhere because among other things
here because among other things success of these measures extremethe English experience warned us by doubtful thus compromising the box such a series and is entirely unpopular. One selves obliged to openly unmask the moment that he is es and is entirely unpopular. One selves obliged to openly unmask the large doubtful thus compromising the box such a series of these measures extremed to a friend adventure to the box such a series of these measures extremed to a friend adventure to the box such a series of the series of these measures extremed to a friend adventure to the box such a series of the series of these measures extremed to a friend adventure to the box such a series of the s and many are flocking into the A. of mine who has just returned from ership. F. of L. It is our plain duty to go the North his disappointment with with them and to form a Left wing party activity. Outright lying and of the party, which took place rein the unions. We must help set exaggeration are the chief charac- cently, with the participation of up workers' codes of action leading teristics of the party newspaper. only those closest to the leadership, towards workers' control and na- As this man remarked: "We read and absolutely without the knowltionalization. We must help set up in the party organ things we know edge of three of the members of the permanent shop (grievance) com- are not true." Voicing what was, mittees at first ostensibly for the probably, an unwittingly devastat- accused of being oppositionists and purpose of disclosing violations of ing criticism of this organ, he said, the NRA, later gradually reaching out for the closed shop and for ever presentation of the facts, however greater workers' control of producinner contradictions, the capitalist program falls through and the

JACK WEBER.

NEW HAVEN MASS MEETING The Future of International

Speaker: Arne Swabeck at the

permit development of our stratat 8 P. M. egy on the widest scale for orient-

Admission 10 cents ing the working class towarde the Auspices: New Haven Br. C. L. A. class issues.

or objective conditions and not a the proletariat, it was perfectly proparty or a reformist movement that effect. Torture is employed, matter of principle, as is indicated per for the Communists not merely exist to advance such slogans, nor of course, to "induce" prisoners to the militancy bound to develop that a labor party arise as the discontinuous which are "Besides the financial side of the to pose the problem of nationaliza-(Continued from last week)

Question is of 'secondary import tion but to set in motion mass presting advanced countries the period against Communism. Many of these sure for an actual struggle for its of preparation for the seizure of recentations have lately been publications. industries is at the present stage create the political conditions for realization, at the same time pointnot one of immediate agitation but nationalization, whether by puring out its inadequacy. But how proletariat will be more prolonged one instance only less more prolonged one instance only less more prolonged. not one of immediate agitation but nationalization, whether by puriather a propagandaslogan laying the basis and setting directives for of no importance. In the last into the masses are so backward, where the movement in the period of unistance, only last week, a group but the actual seizure of power will of Communist renegades were the movement in the period of unistance, only last week, a group but the actual seizure of power will of Communist renegades were the movement in the period of unistance, only last week, a group but the actual seizure of power will of Communist renegades were the movement in the period of unistance, only last week, a group but the actual seizure of power will of Communist renegades were the movement in the period of unistance, only last week, a group but the actual seizure of power will be much foreshortened, then there is no the north intermediate slogans will live their ficials to a public park in Peiping heaval which lies ahead. Even with death for the bourgeoisie. Revolu- ing the reformists in this category, brief existence for the purpose of where they adressed large crowds, crystallizing the struggle, only to attacking the principles they had be quickly transformed in the course renounced.

question of power becomes the or-