

As has already been reported, the began with an international pro National Committee of the Com-gram-the Communist Manifesto. munist League is conducting nego- After all that has happened since, tiations with the Provisional Or-after the collapse of the Second Inganization Committee of the Amer- ternational along the line of social ican Workers' Party. We hope for patriotism and the downfall of the fruitful results of these negotiations Comintern along the line of "socialand for the eventual fusion of the ism in one country" (national retwo organizations in the great task formism), there is less ground than of launching the new party. Such ever to think the problems of the ous impetus to the reorganization point. It is from this point of view generally. of the proletarian vanguard in Am- that we raise the question of the erica and could not be without ef. Fourth International as a funda-

The A.W.P.

fect internationally. And since, in our convinction, this sion of a new party in America. can only be realized if there is a We take part in the discussion of firm agreement on the fundamental a new party in this country not questions of principle—an agree merely as American revolutionists ment, moreover, which extends but as internationalists, as adherdown into the ranks of both organi-ents of the Fourth International. zations—we are bringing out in a

series of articles in the Militant the point of view which we are advanc- the American Workers Party ("Toing in the discussons within the ward an American Revolutionary joint committee of the two organiza- movement") appears to us to be tions. The more openly and clear- inadequate and decidedly incorrect agreement is arrived at.

The Paramount Question

For us, the question of Internaas it has always been for revolu- party arises, is not due simply to of the Communist International tionary Marxists. Marx and Engels

day, March 31st. at Victoria Hall, Irving Place. This affair will be primarily a dance, with a good band. In addition, we are planning a short progiam of entertainment. Among the numbers of the program we expect

Chief Littlemoose, an American Indian, in a recital of his native dances, and Madame X who will appear in typical gypsie costume prepared to tell you all the pleasant things you want to hear about your fortune.

Keep the date open. Come and an outcome of the negotiations proletarian revolution can be ap bring your friends. Get together. would undoubtedly give a tremend-proached from a national stand- Talk, dance and have a good time

> mental consideration in the discus-The A. W. P. Program

The programmatic statement of Cannon and Lovestone Discuss Internationals

Before an audience of 1500 the ly the points of disagreement are in its treatment of the interna- debate which the Lovestone group discussed the firmer will be the tional question and to chart a had so long evaded occurred. In a foundation for eventual fusion if course which would doom the new packed hall, on Monday evening, party from its inception. The col-March 5th at the Irving Plaza the lapse of the Stalinist and Socialist representative of the Communist parties in this country, from which Party (Opposition), Jay Lovestone, tionalism is a paramount question the imperative necessity for a new defended the position of the reform

> (Continued on page 4) while James P. Cannon, representing the Communist League, spoke for the formation of the Fourth In-

End of the N.Y. Hotel Strike ternational. Sidney Hook acted as chairman. At the conclusion of the debate the question which stood outstanding was why the Lovestone Left Wing Fights to Rebuild Amalgamated Union group was outside the ranks of the

Lrowd

Jebate

Stalinist party, since such warm de fenders of the Stalinist Comintern really deserved to hold a place York hotel workers was formally trigued and conspired against the within it.

bankruptcy and impotence. Does

called off by action of a member-strike militants, disorganzed and Lovestone maintained that with ship meeting last week on the re- disrupted the strike machinery, some tactical reforms in the line commendation of the general strike sabotaged the functioning of the of the Comintern it could be made committee. According to the terms most important committees and deto serve the interests of the prolelaid down by the Regional Labor moralized the ranks of the strikers tarian revolution. Board all strike breakers are to be by their general incompetence, bu-

Cannon in an annihilating reply discharged and all strikers rein- reaucratic methods and conserva stated within two weeks. Strikers tism. showed how Lovestone completely not reinstated within that time are The "Food Workers Industrial ignored the significance of the great to be given preference in future Union" (Stalinists), which was al- events which had occurred interhiring. Since no provision was most completely isolated at the be- nationally in the last year, that made for the recognition of shop ginning of the strike, could only Lovestone could just as well have committees or shop delegates in the thrive on this policy and practice made the same speech two or three supervision of the return to work, of the leadership and add to the years ago with no change. From the workers were left without any general demoralization. Working the rise of Hitler to power in Ger-

The general strike of the New in the union, these careerists in-

A Statement on the Rakovsky Case - by L.D. Trotsky Fake "Elections" L'Humanite (organ of the French C. P.--ed) for February 21st

published a telegram from Moscow which announces that Rakovsky is giving up his fight and submitting to discipline. Without a doubt this news cannot fail to produce a deep impression among all the workers who knew and followed the old fighter.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Last week the Fifth Avenue Coach (efforts at reprisals." What this Company of New York successfully pretended protection meant to the prevented its 1,450 employees from workers was quite clearly illustratrecording themselves whether they ed by the fact that only one dozen wanted to belong to the A. F. of L. of them ventured inside the polling Street Carmen's Union or any other places to cast their vote.

union of their own choice. For The company had of course taken this purpose an election had been its measures of reprisals in advance. arranged by the Regional Labor In the first place it declined al-Board. This right of choice is sup- together to comply with the order posed to be accorded all workers of the Labor Board. Secondly, it under Section 7-a of the NRA. Yet sent its spotters to all polling places this is not the first case on record with pads and pencils ready to take of the employers enforcing their down the names of those workers interpretation and compelling the who would exercise their right to acceptance of their company union, vote. Thirdly, the company had The company union vote successful given every worker to understand ly staged by the Weirton Steel Co. that the employment would terminlast December, is one of the crass-late for any worker who would avail est among several examples which himself of this right. In this mancould be cited. There are sure to ner it was very easy for the company to make a farce of the elecbe more in the future.

"Protecting Workers' Rights"

Weirton Steel Case On behalf of a goodly number of The case of the Weirton Steel Co. the New York Coach Co. employees, the Amalgamated Association of is another instance of "protection" Street and Electric Railway Em- of the right to union organization ployees had filed a petition with the under the NRA. Only, in this instance the bosses proceeded much Labor Board for the right of these more crudely and flagrantly to enworkers to decide in a regular elecforce the company union provisions. tion for a union of their own choice. The workers had gone on strike for The Labor Board ordered that such the right of union organization and elections be held, set the date and had walked out almost to a man. designated several polling places. It stated that the board would "pro-tect every worker, who exercised his (Continued on page 4) right to vote, against any and all



It is one of the well-known char- to know that J. A. Campbell, Presiacteristics of modern imperialism dent, Director, and Chairman of the that the finance capitalists, by their Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., interlocking directorates, by spread- who was paid \$100,000 in 1929, reing the shares of a company into ceived \$191,006 in 1931. Hardship For Some "Captains"

many hands, and by means of companies, are able to control many industries which they themselves own only partly. This enables them Sad as it may seem, some had to to milk these industries to their aries and bonuses.

heart's content, either through fin- Alexander Legge, President and be cut. There is the case of poor ancial jugglery of these companies, Director of the International Harvester Co., who received \$612.860 A corner of the curtain screening (Of the 42,000 workers in that in-

Not all "captains" of industry

were able to raise their "salaries

and "bonuses" during this period.

the latter method was lifted by the publication, by the Federal Trade working in 1931, 57.1% unemployed,

venting discrimination. As could Amalgamated and gain some advan-Austrian workers in their desperonly he expected under the circum- tage for their own "18th Street ate attempt to defend themselves stances the bosses are discriminat- union"-the disruption of a strike against Fascism, Lovestone was in ing right and left and are making in the process is a small matter to capable of drawing any Marxist a concentrated drive to break up them-the Stalinists were able to conclusions. In these events not exploit the gross mistakes of the only social democracy, but also the union. leadership in order to add to the Stalinism had demonstrated its

real check on the employers in pre-from the start to break up the many, from the tragic defeat of the

Discrimination Against Strike Militants

A so-called "citizens committee"

of five, on which the union has only

general demoralization. The Left Wing Organizes

the working class need the victory It was not until the Left wing, of Fascism in a few more countries one representative, is obviously following the line of the Militant, before the revolutionists will be TO THE WORKERS OF FRANCE without power to protect the work- made a sharp break with the offi- convinced of the necessity of a new

ers against discrimination even if cials and began to organize the International? it should be so disposed. And when fight against them, that the ad-"Yes, it is true, the Communist it is considered that this committee vances of the Stalinist wrecking International has made many mis- Patriotes, Croix de Feu, Solidarite was appointed by the notorious crew were checked and a genuinely takes of an ultra-Left character", Francaise) mutinied. Assured of Judge Panken, fresh from his ex- constructive movement for the pre- said Lovestone, "but it is getting the support of Chiappe (ex-police ploits in breaking the taxi strike, servation of the Amalgamated be-better". Cannon had merely to commissioner of Paris-Ed.) they the idea of it functioning in any gan to take shape. The election of point to the decisions of the 13th exploited the discontent and the BE CARRIED ON? way as an aid to the strikers has Hugo Ochler as chairman of the plenum of the Comintern which enstrike committee in a session called dorsed the whole disastrous course to be dismissed altogether.

There is no doubt that the hotel over the heads of Field & Co., and in Germany and to the native Stalbosses aim to interpret the settle- the rallying of the best fighters in inists with their hooligan actions Its objective: the establishment of brothers should inspire us to act ber of workers in this industry was ment as a basis for the establish the union around the picket com- at the recent Madison Square meetment of the infamous "merit sys- mittee-the center of class struggle ing to finish this ridiculous assertem" in hiring and firing workers policy in the strike under the chair- tion. Stalinism, said Cannon, does sion of the workers' rights, the en- provocation and then to put up a ed) and that average wages for the and that a blacklist of the leading manship of James Gordon - were not follow only an ultra-Left course slavement of the toilers, to sweep desperate struggle. militants among the strikers will two outstanding signs of the rapid but also a Right opportunist one away the last remnants of bourbe attempted.

the workers, and the stirring exam- ated union and its future.

ples of solidarity, courage and sacri-Rebuild the Amalgamated! The Left wing brought forward the united front manifesto of March fice it called forth from the ranks. the result has to be recorded as a a program for saving the strike by 1933. defeat. A reorganization of the un-concentrating on relief, picketing ion and preparation for new strug and a class struggle policy to the gles confront the hotel workers as end. Frustrated in this aim by the a necessity in their aim to estab- whole course of the official leaderlish union conditions and recogni- ship, the Left wing is now fighting tion in the industry. to re-form the ranks of the union,

NRA and the Strike Leadership to rebuild the organization. fight

The Regional Labor Board play-the blacklist and keep up the relief ed a highly effective part in defeat-ito support its victims, and to cleanse ing the aims of the strike; and its the union of its careerist leaderdesigns in this respect, clear to ship. The motion of James Gordon, every class conscious militant, were at the first meeting of the Executive supplemented perfectly by the con-Board of the Union after the endservative, belly-crawling policy of ing of the strike, to reject the rethe officials of the union-Field, port of Field and declare no confid-Costas and Kaldis. These unworthy ence in the leadership, was carried leaders, posing originally as pro- by a vote of 14 to 2. In this the gressives and even as Left wing strength of the revolt against the militants, showed themselves up in Field administration is indicated. action as no better than ordinary The task of the Left wing is now routine trade union bureaucrats, to lead this revolt to the very end Fascism would be capable of de forces for the establishment of a fearful of the "public opinion" of without any compromise and to fending the Soviet Union against dictatorship. The inauguration of the bourgeois world and utterly in-steer it into constructive channels the attacks of the imperialist bour- a period of Bonapartism, the equildifferent to the public opinion of for the rebuilding of the Amalgam- geoisie? The answer is obvious ibrium between the two hostile their own rank and file, especially ated Food Workers, the defeat of They would prove just as bankrupt. camps, will not prove any more will straggle for the dissolution of with \$241,357 in 1931. The Youngof its militant and class conscious the Stalinist disrupters and the pre- For the defense of the Soviet Union stable in France than it was in section.

Basing themselves on the most unionize the hotel industry under Communist Parties and a new Com- for Hitler, Doumergue can only backward and reactionary elements the banner of the Amalgamated. munist International. -G. R. pave the way for bloody Fascism

FRENCH INTERNATIONALISTS APPEAL TO THE MASSES

Appeal of the Communist on the model of Hitler. League of France (Bolshevik-Leninists) published in La Ver-THEY! ite of February 16. Upon your action depends the

Two forces face each other.

vermin (Action Francaise, Jennesses by the present situation.

chauvinism of a section of the petty of the big bourgeoisie, the suppres- moment chosen by the reactionary 285,000 in 1931 (37.2% unemploy and other sources.

and the agreement to refrain from chauvinist barbarism, to war. criticism of the social democrats in

As to the program of the Fourth provocation in a complete general was under your pressure that all International, Cannon stated, it strike, a mass gathering of the proof the organizations were finally won't have any innovations, but will letariat in all the workers' centers forced to join the demonstrations. 000 workers in 1929, 278,000 were stand on the foundation of the first of France. Everywhere, the workfour congresses if the Communist ers of city and country mustered you must continue your pressure for ed); wages, which averaged \$1.745 International and the revolutionary their forces to block the road to experiences of the last ten years, reaction and Fascism.

in other words, on the ideas of Two forces are measuring their Marx and Lenin. Lovestone's at- strength. War has begun between tempt to make of the International them. No peace is possible, but Communists opponents of the Soviet struggle to the death. One must Union because they fight the Stalin- annihilate the other and take power. ist bureaucracy collapsed dismally. The period of democracy and paring the truth by such methods. by force.

Is it to be expected, asked Can- The present government, the Douso miserably capitulated before the first alignment of bourgeois

"bonuses" which were paid to the officers of various large corporations Hill Draws A Mere Million It will interest the workers in the

WORKERS!....EITHER YOU OR tobacco industry to know that G. \$137,110. W. Hill, President and Director of

future of the proletariat and of all society. It depends on you to mob-lize all the toiling masses against ilize all the toiling masses against On February 6th the reactionary Fascism as well as a large part of 1929, only 88,000 were employed in the armed forces of the nation who have been completely disoriented and that average wages for the employed were cut from \$818 per year

HOW SHALL THE STRUGGLE (15.3% reduction).It will probably gladden the By organizing your forces rapidly. hearts of the workers in the foundbourgeoisie which overthrow the There is not a minute to lose. The ries and machine shops to know last Left government of Daladier, heroic example of our Austrian that despite the fact that the num a dictatorial regime for the benefit very quickly; not to wait for the reduced from 454,000 in 1929 to the income which these gen-

employed were cut from \$1,535 per of individuals can live in the lap of The magnificent general strike of year in 1929 to \$1,150 per year in gains of the bona-fide Left wing as was manifested in the referen- geois democracy; opening the road the 12 of February which enlisted 1931 (a 25% reduction)—in spite luxury. Despite the militant struggle of that is fighting for the Amalgam- dum with the Fascists in Germany to complete Fascism, to unleashed all the workers of France, was not, of that, B. L. Patterson, President it must be said, the result of con- and Director of the American Mach-February 12 saw a magnificant certed action of all the central or- ine and Foundry Co. received as proletarian reply. You have ac ganizations of the working class. salary and bonus \$270,980 in 1929 cepted the challenge of the Fascist They acted separately. Workers, it and \$294,211 in 1931. Schwab Gets A Raise

In the Steel industry, of the 419, We greet you in this first step, but employed in 1931 (33.7% unemploymore far-reaching results. in 1929 were cut to \$1,290 in 1931

Joint action was spontaneous on (a 26.1% reduction). The same CENTRISM AND THE FOURTH February 12; henceforth it must be steel workers will no doubt rub organized. That is why our party their hands in glee when they hear continues to propose to you: that Charles Schwab, director and 1. The united front of all organi- chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Co zations of the proletariat in a broad was paid a \$150,000 salary in 1929 workers' alliance which will co-and \$250,000 in 1931. Bitter tears Marxist revolutionists could not be liamentary games is over. The fu- ordinate the actions of each of the will be shed when it is known that silenced and prevented from speak- ture will be decided in the street organizations and unify the strug- E. G. Grace director and Presiden of that company, who received gle against Fascism.

2. The immediate and universal \$1,635,653 in 1929 was forced to ac non, that the Stalinist parties which mergue ministry, is proceeding to organizations of Committees of the cept a paltry \$297,796 in 1931. The Workers' Alliance grouping the re- cup of joy, however, will once more presentatives of all the workers' or- flow over when it is announced that ies. These committees, basing them. Finance Commission of the U. S ganized or not, civil and military, \$209,361 in 1929, was rewarded paration of the coming struggles to is necessary the creation of new Germany. Hindenburg made the bed the Fascist bands. They will also stown workers who can speak first participate in the defense of the hand about the unemployment and wage-cutting in that city from 1929 (Continued on page 4)

Commission (New York Times of and the average pay of \$1,400 per Feb. 27, 1934), of the "salaries" and year in 1929 was cut to \$1,060 per year in 1931, 24.3%). Then there is poor Jesse J. Straus, President and Director of R. H. Macy and Co. who was paid \$139,240 in 1929 and had his pay cut in 1931 to-

the American Tobacco Co. was paid the picture would not vary much. \$605,613 in 1929, and \$1,051,630 in For the workers, in all cases, unemployment and wage cuts. For the magnates of industry, big fat "salaries" and "bonuses", even though in a number of cases they may be getting less than they rein 1929 to \$690 per year in 1931 ceived in 1929. Out of some 300 names published in the N.Y. Times, one has to search with great care in order to find, "salaries and bonuses" as low as \$20,000 The majority are over \$100,000, and what is of importance is that this is only tlemen "earn" through dividends

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

NEXT WEEKI

INTERNATIONAL

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

OPEN FORUM BARNEY HERMAN on

THE COMMUNIST PARTY-**OPPOSITION** (Lovestone Group). at

International Workers School 126 East 16th Street, New York City to 1981, will probably be interested SUNDAY, MARCH 11, at 8 P. M.

AGE ?

C.W.A. NEWS Letters to the Editor

C.W.A. Lay-Offs

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

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

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

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

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

The CWA will not last to May 1 the winter we did all sorts of non-

immediately and told we can make Another Preparedness up the hours on the other shift. The straw bosses here drive the workers Parade in Frisco

unusually hard. Lack of clothing Dear Comrade: I wish to record, as best I may, park. Workers are given to un- a little of the mingled feelings of ing in miniture before me-in this Rackets run rampant all over the derstand that it wouldnt', hurt to various moods surging through parade, and then: The CWA carryanother. Foreign workers are dis- witnessed, after a lapse of almost 18 the significance of this effect reactcriminated against. It is a very years, a repetition and duplication the name thing the undetained it "the clearest voice" of the prolong walk to work. Busses should of the former attempt to whip the the same thing-the proletariat bebe supplied to connect with other country into line via staging a "Pre- coming the gravediggers of capital-

means of transportation. Wages paredness" parade through the are cut and more are to come. Or-heart of San Francisco. ganization is absolutely necessary | 1 stood, watching the march, just in order to stay on jobs and win about a block distant from the Aftermath of the better working conditions, as other point where I watched the prepar-

CWA crews have already done. therefore fully able to contrast the --C.

The Process of "tapering off" is

patriotic and respectable citizens Dear Comrades: war minded.

The Parade of 1916 the country, have already felt the ter and purpose, and possibly some

cring" machine. The bludgeons of about the same as in 1916, but there broke up. our "charitable bourgeoisie" are was a noticeable something differtalling. The "fruits" of five years ent apart from the parade itselfof struggle of the unemployed, allel to a tin-type of the former struggle for bread, for the mere event, a striking absence of enmeans of life, is now on the way back to the treasuries and the banks. No more money is destined ical effort on the part of both their damned alphabetical organizatheir chests here and there. ions, unless we tear it from them. Before the mass of workers are

leading the CWA workers into the least, appeared as if ashamed to be meeting and listen and be orderly.

trenches, they feel, then, the job seen doing so, acting somewhat simwill be easy, the workers will take ilar t the little animal usually their pink slips grumble a little found with the organ grinder who, Park last Monday a dozen workers, quickly doffs his headpiece and as active in organizing the project quickly recovers. were handed the pink slips. One of The local dignitaries leading the renegade", and with a mouth full of them insisted on being told the march in a large comfortable auto- saliva spit me in the face. I was much concerned: troublemakers Hanna (also Catholic). Followed taken her away.

mean FIGHT! Organization! They various Army and Navy sections, ing will take place under the aus- 50c per, for marching! No Bomb This Time pices of the Association of Civil Works Employees, 🖱 protesting the

there is litle time left to dally than or any ordinary Saturday af- The worker apologized.

our ranks against the plans of the comparative event was the absence by her method of discussion, and so against the Menorah Journal. Roosevelt machine, to counter these of any "preparedness day bomb"- did the influence of the Left wing. the end is already in sight: through layoffs with demonstrations that for which former event an innocent I hope that the workers will learn will make our genial politicians quake: now is the TIME TO ORsensical work, having absolutely no quake: now is the TIME TO OR requesting that he be put back on will not bring about the revolution the job. They tell him that he is that they are fighting for.

-A. W. C.

Comradely,

so hotly Of course, I did not charge a sell-out and the whole spirit and purpose of my criticisms was different; I wanted the strike

The Militant and an independent

writer, with Field, Caldis, the Right

wingers, Ham Fish, Woll, La Guar-

dia, Herrick, Weasel Duffy, is the

good old C. P. habit of seeing every-

thing outside its ranks as one re-

man has already served 18 years. to be won, the **Daily** wanted it to As I watched, various thoughts be lost so it could denounce some percolated through my mind,-his-body. Indeed, they might have been

tory, Marx, the State, Capitalism, lifted from the Militant, and it was Church, Proletariat, Nazism, Christianity, Barnum-all were unfoldthose leaders in a forthright manderstand that it wouldnt', hurt to various moods surging through parage, and then: The CWA carry-buy some tickets of one kind or mind and body yesterday when I ing pointed shovels! I wondered if the transformation with the Stalinist Un-trophe for the workers.

> mittee. The lumping together by the Daily Worker of J. P. Cannon

-GEO. ELLIS.

edness day parade in 1916, and was, Garden Affair

two events, calculated to make our To the Editors of the Militant:

I should like to make one point I suppose that you are interested here for which I had no space in in the attitude of the workers to the Nation. The Daily Worker kicks The parade, its formation and the Communist Party after the Up quite a fuss about the failure of their protest against Zaritsky's line of march, its general charac- Madison Square Garden meeting the strike leadership to provide held in sympathy with the Austrian relief. I leave it to The Militant of the marchers in its ranks, were workers which the Communist party to report what the progressive group said on this matter. On my own

actionary mass.

The day after the meeting I had behalf, however, I wish to state a discussion with a group of work-that I carried on a constant agitasomething lacking, something par- ers in my shop. Three of the work- tion vis-a-vis Messrs. Field and ers were Socialists, and about five Gitlow against their negligence on were Left wingers who sympathized the relief question. I offered to thusiasm, a sort of purely mechan with the Stalinists. During the dishelp set up a committee of strike cussion the Socialists tried to find sympathizers to raise relief, but for "to flow" for CWA or any one of marchers and public notwithstand- reasons why the Communists acted days I was given the run-around. ing the effort of a few to throw out as they did. They claimed that the When a committee was finally set S. P. called the meeting on such up, I induced friends to give con-In 1916 the event found 90% of short notice that the C. P. was un siderable time to help put over the laid off on any project, the usual the public doffing their hats as able to participate in the United job. They found that the whole procedure is first, to find out who "Old Glory" passed—anyone failing Front. The Left wingers railed approach of the union leaders to is active among the workers, to to do so was liable to be engaged against the S. P., calling them this question was such that no effind the militants: they are the first in an argument, and possible scrap, Fascists and betrayers of the Aus- fective work could be done. When to go! Without the leaders, with- or at least, have one's hat knocked trian workers and the working I complained to Field about this out a steering committee, without off. The percentage seemed to me class in general. I took the point state of affairs he had no time to those who have the experience and vesterday to be just reversed, and of view that if the Party came to discuss the matter with me or to the knowledge for fighting back, for those within my observation at the meeting they were to sit at the listen to my proposals for reorganizing this work.

A Stalinist Argument One hot-headed Stalinite got ex- Worker .or the 18th St. union did as follows: cited and asked who I was. Ananything constructive on the ques and quictly go home. At inwood in a somewhat furtive manner, other worker gave her the informa- tion of relief or on any other question that I was a Trotskyite. So tion. Their howl at this time is she shouted "counterrevoultionary entirely one of spurious indignation. Sincerely

-HERBERT SOLOW. reason for his dismissal, and he mobile were the Mayor (Rossi, so stunned for a moment that I did P. S. The Daily refers to me as was told, told that he was a Catholic) City Administrator not know what to do. By the time a former editor of The Menorah "troublemaker". They are very (Cleary, Catholic) and Archbishop I had recovered, the workers had Journal. I do not know whether or The next day a committee of two blush, but it does not. I recall that

then a raft of fraternal organiza- of the workers came over to me and my attack on Zionism, which sev On Friday, March 2, at P. S. 52, tions, winding up with about 150-Broadway and Academy, near the 200 CWA (on foot) carrying pointed a few minutes earlier, and to come Menorah Journal to force me out, inwood Pask project, a mass meet- shovels, and said to be receiving up not later than 12:30. I went, was reprinted in the Freiheit, Yidand when I came back they told me dish organ of the C. P. as the

that some of the workers in the praiseworthy expression of "an Two circumstances were notice- shop had held a meeting and that honest intellectual." I also recall firing of these 12 workers, and to able. The first: The march was they came to the following deci- that the John Reed Club, quite retake up the further organization pulled off at 2 P. M. Saturday after- sion: that she either apologize to luctantly it is true, once adopted a against the "tapering off" of the noon; the street (Market St.) ap- me in the presence of the whole unanimous resolution sustaining me CWA. All CWA must realize that peared not much more populated shop, or that she leave the shop. and a dozen other writers who had complained that John Reed Club

around! Now is the time to unify ternoon. The second noticeable Of course this worker lost out members had broken our strike



A number of our members and

of the Nation which they condemn GoldinClique in BlindAlley

UnscrupulousPolicyEndangers Unity in Blockers Union

New York .-- The rump elections in | long as their revolt is localized the Blockers' Local of the Millinery within the confines of one craft in because The Militant criticized Union were finally held on Mon., the industry, the attempt to set up Feb. 26, according to the wishes a rival union would be a criminal ner (quite different from the slan- of the corrupt Goldin clique in adventure certain to end in catas-

peculiar to the Daily Worker and ited Front Committee". By this In the elections the blockers votthe 18th St. "union") that I called move, this partnersnip played its ed for the Goldin clique as an exlast card and revealed its complete pression of indignation against the gressive elements in the strike com- bankruptcy. Zaritsky machine. But the blockers also remember the kind of dem-

Genuine Revolt Against Zaritsky The total number of votes cast is reported to be close to one thousand. This proves that the revolt against Zaritsky's machine was genuine and deeply rooted among the blockers. But this revolt was misdirected and led into a blind alley. Goldin and his henchmen elected to office find themselves without any

ocracy they enjoyed under a Goldin administration. They remember well his gangster methods of intimidating militant workers, his use of police to keep, them out of meetings, the favoritism he practiced in the distribution of jobs. The workers used the election as a vehicle to express their protest. But they will not follow Goldin any further. power. The workers who partici-

Stalinist Bloc with Goldin

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

Why this sudden discovery? When we pointed thus out long before,

other leap upward since our last re- we were condemned as "renegades" port. The list below tells the story, by these same people. If there is I am not aware that the Daily The complete record up to date is no difference in principle between

Goldin and Zaritsky, then on what basis did the Stalinists arrive at their decision to support Goldin? The answer to this sudden discovery will be found in the election results. While the Stalinist "united front" played fair with Goldin, leaving for him two out of three paid jobs on the ballot, Goldin double-crossed them, nominated and elected his own complete slate of officers, giving the Stalinists only two out of 15 places on the executive board. Now, after this rough deal they got from Goldin, it suddenly dawned upon the Stalinists that Goldin has no principles, that he is only fighting for power.

Sudden Concern for Principles

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

Zaritsky in the meantime, issued



New York Local

Minneapolis Br.

Kansas City Br.

Pittsburgh Br.

L. Brown

Boston Br.

J. Hamilton

A Teacher

Chicago Br.

Militant Club

D. Marcus

G. Papcun

S. Hardy

L. Goodman

Q. Parker

M. Hurwitz

Buffalo Br.

C. Hoffman

W. Toupin

M. Gendelman

Philadelphia Br.

Salt Lake City Br.

TOTAL

our

Sun., March 11th-Buffalo N. Y.

789

G. Kotz

G. Ellis

D. Fogel

T. Mill

D. L.

J. Ruby

Davenport Br.

Youngstown Br.

Chicago Friends of

384

88

48

32

20

16

12

12

12

12

8

8

slips and the home relief again. C.W.A."Separations" We must again raise the slogan of Unemployment Insurance and wage a real fight for it! -- C. W. A.

Hillside Park

slips and told to stay home, until and from this "he has been separ- The Daily Worker and they send them a post card to ap- ated." At Hillside Park, Long Island, a pear before some committee. But At 79th St. and Riverside Drive very large crew is at work bring- this is just a farce. The workers many have been "separated", all ing it to completion. It is a wind- never receive a card nor does he over New York as in the rest of swept place and on these days bit- meet with any committee. He the country, "separation" is the terly cold, frozen ears, fingers and finds himself out on the street and word. We must not allow them to

//

do this: we must fight back. feet being very common. If it is without a job. raining or snowing we are laid off The worker then, without the

not fired, but that he no longer works for the CWA. That he has "only been separated". The "sep-How are the CWA workers being aration" is from the miserable

A WORKER IN AN I. L. G. W. U. SHOP. laid off? They are given discharge wages that he has been existing on,

The Hotel Strike

Dear Friends:

The Daily Worker of March contains an article attacking the recent New York hotel workers' strike. In this article I am menioned as "a member of the Trotsky group." I am glad to save you the embarrassment, should you find t such, of disowning me.

At the same time, I should like

to point out that, while undoubtedly the Daily Worker would have leadership of the strike and of B. J. Field might well have been lifted from my article in a recent issue

THE I.L.D. IN THE CAPITALIST COURTS

Boston,-On Feb. 22, David Udell buted leaflets but had merely held rest him. The I. L. D. lawyer arof the Boston branch of the Left them, allowing people to help them- gued that Cohen was not distribut-Opposition and a member of the selves. One of them added that he ing a leaflet but a school catalogue, yelled "sell-out" no matter what the Young Communist League (Stalin is "a good Christian", was born in and wound up by pleading for leni outcome of the strike, many criticists) named Cohen, were arrested this country, and that Socialists are ency on the grounds that Cohen is isms they make of the Right wing for distributing leaflets outside a peace-lovers. Burke and other a youth (the youth are so easily Socialist party meeting held to pro- Stalinists in the court mocked the misled!). Both defendants were

test against Austrian Fascism. The Socialists after their trial, accusing found guilty and fined \$5 each. course and outcome of the case are them of "belly-crawing and snivel- Another Stalinist tried the same a clear revelation of the degener-ling." Burke invited them to be at morning denied that he had distriate character of the International the Udell-Cohen trial and witness buted leaflets or that he knew any-Labor Defense under Stalinist rule. a "real workers' defense. thing about the C. P. He said that Comrade Udell had been distribut-| Burke took Udell to the I. L. D. somebody had rushed by and thrust

ing leaflets advertising the meeting office to go over the defense with the leaflets in his hands; he then which comrade Max Shachtman of a lawyer; on the way he told Udell pocketed them and did not learn New York was to address; Cohen stories of previous trials and the their nature until his arrest. He organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist have arisen in the Guantanamo sec- Wed., March 14th-Newcastle Pa. was distributing bulletins for the I. L. D.'s record of making "real was found guilty, fined \$5 and Workers' (Stalinist) School. Imme- Communist defenses." Udell wait- agreed to pay.

diately after the arrest comrade ed at the office several hours but Udell and Cohen decided to ap-Konikov of the Left Opposition no lawyer appeared. He was told peal. Apparently expecting an actains important material. called a bail commissioner by phone to go away and call up the next quittal, the I. L. D. was at this from the police station. Before the morning to arrange a meeting with point caught by surprise. It had missioner arrived, another come in a another state made no agreements for ball. Again missioner, called the I. L. D., came inist arrested on a similar charge, comrade Konikov put up bail for interaction in the initial political the name of the organization to the commissioner arrived, another com- the lawyer, Cohen and another Stal- made no agreements for bail. Again in. Comrade Konikov offered him When he called up he was told the comrade Udell and also for Cohen, a check to cover the bail bond for I. L. D. would not handle his case. the Stalinist.

After the trial Cohen, the Stalin-The I. L. D commissioner refused When his case came up Udell took ist defendant, said that the I. L. D spite of a formidable decline in ers', peasants' and students' assoboth Udell and Cohen, the Stalinist. No explanation was offered. the check, but accepted a bank book a militant, class-conscious line. Al-had fought on technicalities in order provided by another comrade. Kon- though given little opportunity to to take advantage of the "opportunikov then paid the bail for both talk, he brought out that he was ities" offered by the bourgeois arrested not for distributing leaflets courts. He promised that at the labort of the Craws the balance ently and ignores the directives of defendants with cash.

erendants with cash. Next morning before court open-but for distributing leaflets for a next trial the I. L. D. will make a sheet of the Grau San Martin re-the Central Committee. ed, Burke, Boston leader of the I. workers' organization. He pointed "Communist defense." Interesting. eu, Burke, Boston leauer of the L. Workers organization. He pointed "Communist derense." Interesting policy which led to the massacre of first issue of Rayo deal with the with Cohen. Udell accepted, plac- never molested for distributing leaf- invited the Socialists to be present, ing his defense in the hands of the lets during their political cam- was himself absent from the trial. Thus the I. L. D. has again prov I. L. D. Burke also offered to defend paigns.

The Cohen case, defended by the en itself to be a thoroughly partisan four Socialists arrested earlier in the week for distributing leaflets. I. L. D., came up next. Those who organization, a creature of the C. P. Bolshevik-Leninist Party in Oriente, of Labor, a resolution of the Braz-The Socialists refused. Burke man-had mocked the Socialists now not interested in the fate of workaged to get a postponement until proceeded to ape them. Cohen ar-lers who dare to criticize the Stalin- Eastermost province of Cuba. Our International. comrade Trotsky's gued that he had been on a step, ist regime, and quite willing to com- comrades have been able to build article on "Hitler the Pacifist" and Feb. 26.

The Socialists offered a technical not on the sidewalk, and that there- promise principle in order to try up an extensive organization with a call or a Latin American Conferdefense, saying they had not distri- fore the police had no right to ar- to get a man off from a \$5 fine.

sympathizers, impatient at th occasional skipping of an issu and interested in helping to over come the difficulties have expres sed a desire to pledge a definit weekly or monthly sum to assure the regular appearance of the MILITANT.

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

Each week the MILITANT will

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

The Cuban Bolshevik-Leninists

Mon., March 12th-Pittsburgh, Pa. We have just received the first towns and sugar plantations. How issue of Rayo (flash, ray), official ever, serious internal difficulties Tues., March 13th-Pittsburgh, Pa. outset and warned the blockers Party of Cuba, section of the In- tion of the party, the members of Thurs., March 15th-Youngstown O. ternational Communist League. It which maintain sharp theoretical Fri., March 16th-Youngstown, O.

is an eight page tabloid and con- differences as to the character that Sat., March 17th-Cleveland Ohio the party should assume. At the The leading article entitled "Be- National Conference of the Cuban Sun., March 18th--Chicago, Ill. Left Opposition on Sept. 14th, 1933, Mon., March 19th-Chicago, Ill. ware of Adventures", makes a care- at which it was decide to change Tues., March 20th-Chicago, Ill. situation in the island, warning Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba, Wed., March 21st-Chicago Ill. Thurs., March 22nd- Chicago, Ill.

against the present putschistic at-the Guantanamo comrades held out tempts of the Stalinists who, in for the creation of a "broad" worktheir influence and prestige since ciation as against a "narrow" Bollast September, are now calling for shevik party. The Guantanamo secthe seizure of power. Another an- tion has since functioned independ-

gime and of the Communist Party Other articles contained in the Sept. 29 when Mella's funeral was recent anarcho-syndicalist putsch supposed to be the signal for an in Spain, the recent Stalinist trade insurrection. union masqeurade, the Fourth Con-

SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1934 There is an important report on gress of the National Confederation Martin Abern the organizational activity of the ilian Left Opposition for the Fourth

units in most of the important ence of Left Opposition groups.

1e	H. Sukut
юļ	D. O'Dwyer
r-	M. Steinbach
s -	M. McLeod
te	St. Louis Br.
re	L. Murphy
1e	M. Koehler
	C. Genfan
41	

R. Carlson

carry a list of the pledgers numbered consecutively in the order in which they are received.

Shachtman more names.



The Stalinists have been thrown into complete confusion. On the

Only 211 subs to go and we will one hand they had a falling out with reach our goal of one thousand new their partner in misleadership, Golsubs through the Club Plan. Can din. To register in Zaritsky's rewe do it in two weeks? We think organized local, on the other hand, so. We are counting on all those would mean a complete capitula-Militant Builders in the list above tion; it would mean no admission and those who have not yet swung that their policy proved to be bankinto action to put the drive over the rupt. What is more if they come back to the International Union top.

with a demand for democratic election, Zaritsky can always throw it up to them that they had already held their "elections"

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

The United Blockers' League

The United Blockers League, the only group among the blockers which foresaw this very clearly from the against this splitting course, is the only group remaining in the field, capable of an effective struggle against Zaritsky and for a democratically run class-struggle union. The United Blockers League embraces in its ranks Left wing and progressive workers, who proved in the critical moment to be able to advance a correct program, who did not discredit themselves through shady alliances with any of the cliques, who steered their own clear consistent course of relentless strug-Entered as a second class mail gle against both, the clique of natter November 28, 1928, at the Goldin and Company and that of Post Office at New York, N. Y. Un-Zaritsky and his henchmen.

We urge the blockers to take the only possible way out: To heal the wounds of the breach in their ranks, to reunite the local, to group 126 East 16th Street, New York, N.Y themselves in the united local around Vol. VII, No. 10 (Whole No. 214) the United Blockers League, demand democratically run elections and spread the fight to the other locals James P. Cannon Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck his machine will be swept out of

Arne Swabeck Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year power only by the united efforts of \$0.50 per half year-0.25 for 26 issues in blocks of four or more.

THE MILITANT

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munist League of America

(Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD

der the act of March 3, 1879.

all the Left wing Milliners. -A BLOCKER.

SATURDAY MARCH 10, 1984

THE MILITANT

HER LIMITS TO THE

The plenum of the Executive of ist philosophy: changes of political ("Fascism, the War Danger, and doubt, those Communsts who are sitthe Tasks of the Communist Part- ting not in Hotel de Luxe but in ies"). This resolution resembles the concentration camp see these nothing so much as an epitaph- matters differently.

of the elements separately and their mutual incompatibility as a whole. "The Policy of the German C. P. "The Policy of the Ge "The Policy of the German C. P.

tration camps. We know that the sacrificing workers.

there are a few who do not believe even before the crowned represen-it!—that the policy of the German tatives of the ruling classes; why dropped from half a million to less ment; only in speaking of the tasks Communist Party was uncondition-is it, may we ask, that this utterly than 200,000, while the reformist of "mass work" of the Communist that and the deepening of the counally correct before, during, and after opportunist party which strives for grew from 300,000 to 800,000. In parties does the 13th Plenum re- ter-revolution. "Pessimism !" "Dethe Hitler overturn. We are told, Fascization becomes the victim of Belgium the Communist party does mark that "their weakest side as featism!" "Capitulation!" will how any the states, which occurred the Russian Mensheviks, "inhovathowever, in a parenthesis, that Fascism, instead of adapting itself not exist politically; the party of yet (!)... is their work in enterkemmele and Neumann belong to to it? Is it only because of non- his Majesty's Minister, Vandervelde, prises and trade unions, that is, in paid for their invariable readiness the "right opportunists and defeat- principled "forms and methods"? still continues to rule over the the proletariat. Where is its to call counter-revolution, revoluists in their appraisal of the per- The perspicacious leaders of the workers' movement. In Austria the strongest side? Evidently in the tion, the moment it is demanded of spectives of the German Revolu- Comintern took note of "parlia- social democracy is consistently circus tent of Muenzenberg, and in them by their bosses. Workers, tion." If this is not a miracle, mentary forms" but they forgot leading the proletariat to complete the Moscow Hotel de Luxe. What learn to despise this bureaucratic what is? During the last few years, about the political and economic or debacle, while the Communist party do the words "as yet" signify? The rabble! the leadership of the German Com-ganizations of the proletariat. Not never emerged from its state of non-period when the Communist parties munist Party had been officially en- oy a single word do they recall that entity. Despite the fact that in were winning over trade unions and trusted by the Comintern to three the social democracy can neither Sweden and Denmark the social shop committees and when the Pro- tern--which do not rise above the persons: Thaelmann, Remmele and live nor breathe-that is, it cannot democracy has been in power for fintern was a imposig power lies in level of its theoretical analysis-Neumann (one can glean this even exploit democracy nor betray the years, the official Communist part- the past and not the future. There contradict the latter, however, at from the last edition of the German workers-without leaning upon the ies in these countries remain ciph- is no retrieving the past. The pol- every point. The 13th Plenum pre-"encyclopaedia"). Now we are 'in- political and trade union organiza- ers. formed, in a fleeting remark, that tions of the working class. Con- In Norway the perfidious reform- Manuilsky-Kuusinen ruined the that they "painstakingly explain riting to the communist parties of capitalism may again be two members of this triumvirate currently, it is precisely along this ist Tranmel, who in 1923 had slight. Comintern. that led the German party "cor-line that the irreconcilable contra- ly less than did the orthodox secrectly" before and during the over-diction between social democracy tion of the Comintern, received 45% order optimism has remained of the has in store for the toilers." Just turn accidentally turn out to be and Fascism takes place; precisely of the votes of the population dur-strength that was frittered away. now we were "painstakingly" in-"opportunists and defeatists". Only along this line does there open up ing the last elections while the "It would be a right opportunist er-structed that there is no "princithe thick walls of a Fascist jail the necessary and unbridgeable Communist party has degenerated ror-pronounces oracularly the 13th pled" difference between democracy shield the third member against stage of the policies of the united into a pitiful sect. In Switzerland Plenum-not to see now the objec and the Fascist dictatorship, and such an accident. But actually, front with the social democracy the social democracy has been win- tive tendencies of the intensified that the social democracy frightens

tern making fools of? Are they, cost the Comintern its head. perhaps, ridiculing themselves? A Provoking Idiocy The Growth of Fascism

"The growth of Fascism and its tinues to play the role of being the strangling the revolutionary masses ed? And did this catastrophe re- in chorus with the social democrats assumption of power in Germany, chief social (? !) support of the during the last few years, and sult from a lack of "the objective proceed "painstakingly" to frighten and in a number of other capitalist bourgeoisie also in those countries where it has indubitably become tendencies of a revolutionary the workers with that enslavement countries, imply a growth of the where an open Fascist dictatorship weaker; and where anarcho-syndi- crisis?" revolutionary crisis and increasing exists." It is difficult to imagine calism had exposed its insufficiency indignation of wide masses against an idiocy more provoking. The so- on an unheard of scale, the Com-

the hegemony of capital." Common- cial democracy was driven from all munist party failed to emerge from 1929, or even from 1930 or 1931, at ish, which, however, is the lawful idea is least of all applicable today the left flank of the social demthe negemony of capital. Common-out demotracy was driven from an munist party laned to emerge from 1929, or even from 1930 or 1931, at 1851, which, however, is the famous theory of precisely in relation to Germany. ocracy would evolve quickly to the lawful the foundation of its policies' the progeny of the famous theory of the famous theory of the source the progenes in the progenes in the source the progenes in the source the progenes in the source the progenes in the pro is called covering up one state positions, entirely overwheimed as state of honentity. Everything the foundation of its policies the progeny of the famous theory of an every other country in Europe side of Communism, if the road tracks. It is an old story by now and trampled underfoot precisely seems to indicate that by passing objective irreconcilability between the two twins: social democracy a revolutionary situation may arise were not barred by the Stalinist that the growth of Fascism would because it had ceased to be of ser- over to the opposition side, the social democracy and Fascism, or and Fascism. sooner than in Germany where the bureaucracy. Failing to understand be impossible without the growth vice as a support for the bourgeoisie. Spanish socialist party will regain more exactly between Fascism and 12. The plenum charges the social democracy; if upon this, it Communist parties with the task of proletariat requires a considerable the historical dialectic of the deof the social crisis of capitalism. The place of the workers bureau- its lost position once more. But Hitler's victory ("the assump- cracy that leaned upon the reform- The Polish Communist party, had built a systematic and persist- "arousing the masses for the timely and the democracy if upon this, it communist parties with the task of period to recover from the havor generation of the Communist party, had built a systematic and persist- "arousing the masses for the timely and the democracy is a social democracy if upon this, it communist parties with the task of period to recover from the havor generation of the Communist party is a social democracy if upon this, it communists parties with the task of period to recover from the havor generation of the Communist party is a social democracy if upon this, it communists parties with the task of period to recover from the havor generation of the Communist party is a social democracy if upon this, it communists parties with the task of the democracy is a social democracy if upon this, it communists parties with the task of the democracy is a social democracy if upon this, it communists parties with the task of the democracy is a social democracy if upon this, it communists parties with the task of the democracy is a social democracy if upon this, it communists parties with the task of the democracy is a social democracy is a social democracy if upon this, it communists parties with the task of the democracy is a social democra of the social crisis of capitalism. The place of the workers' bureau- its lost positon once more. but filters victory (the assumption of the proletariat upon the renorm-tion of power by Fascism") did not ist organizations of the proletariat which as late as 1931 represented ent policy of the united front, Ger-at all arise from the "indignation and received fat bribes from the a major political force, has com-many, within a few months, would workers' press, workers' homes, the of wide masses against the hege-hands of finance capital has been pletely frittered away its influence have been covered with a network right to strike, the right to hold or while masses against the nege mana of mance capital has been pietery internationals, of creating an mony of capital" but from the im- taken by Fascist thugs who lean over the masses. The leadership of of mighty committees of proletarian workers' meetings....creating milipotence of these masses, who have upon the unbridled petty bourge- the working class has returned back defense, potential workers' Soviets, tant self-defense squads to repell other country would immeasurably ilar reactionary phantasmagorias. been paralyzed by reformism, and oisie. The essence of the overturn again into the hands of te P. S. P. that is. Had the government of terroristic bands". Obviously the speed up the process of the revoluadventurism; by the lack of revolu- consisted in supplanting one "social (Polish Socialist party). The re- the U. S. S. R. announced in time matter concerns the defense of not auventurism; by the lack of revolu- consisted in supplanting one social (1 one) social support (1 one) social support (1 one) social support (1 one) social support (1 one) social (1 one) spicable and criminal policy of the port",---if one were to use the term- scribed eloquently how the Com- to power as a preparation to strike homes but of workers' organizations ed, however, in the revolutionary evitable internal splits, there are order of countries. In whateve Comintern. "No Stalin-no victory inology of the leaders of the Com- munist party of Finland passed into Eastward; if by utilizing the favor- in general. And since the social being extruded even at this moment for Hitler." No bureaucratic sub- intern: in reality what they have the limbo under his leadership. The able situation in Europe, it had at democracy is interested no less in- country it may occur, "the transmore progressive groupings which tor interview and the in mind is not social but political resolution of the 13th plenum men- the same time taken the necessary timately than the Communist party formation of the economic crisis set as their task the creation of tions only one country by name preparatory military measures on in defending its own unions, papers, into a revolutionary one" does not the Fourth International, that is. depth of the German defeat or the support. Evidently, the wise-acres wish to where it appears "the majority of the Western boundaries of the U. and workers' homes, then there im- quite decide the question. In order the re-establishment of the policies responsibility of the Comintern. express the idea that what Fascism the working class solidly follows S. S. R., it would have imbued a periously flows from this the policy that the revolutionary crisis be of Marx and Lenin on a new and The Social Democracy 3. "The social democracy—reads leans upon is the lack of confidence the Communist party in seried double assurance into the ranks of of the united front. Is it not, then, transformed into the proletarian higher historical level. the resolution-aims only to fool of the workers in themselves; and ranks": this country is Bulgaria! German workers, and Germany obligatory, right now, to turn to revolution and not into a new Fasc-"Counter-Revolutionary" and disarm the workers by denying that reformism bears the guilt for But even in Bulgaria the workers would have had all the chances of the socialist parties and trade ist overturn, a correct policy is re-The 13th plenum graciously takes the Fascization of bourgeois dem- this abject condition of the prole- did not react at all against the becoming a Soviet republic. Europe unions of those countries where quired and consequently a genuine note of this tendency also, "The the Fascization of bourgeois dem-tins abject condition of the profe-ting and not react at an against the becoming a soviet republic. Europe and us of the counterparty of the counterparty of the counterparty of the counter-revolution-ocracy and by counterposing in tariat. Historically, this is true terroristic measures which were and the entire world would have Facsism is just getting ready for principle (!) the democratic coun- But it is also true that the Comin- legislated against the Communist had a different aspect by now. In- the offensive with the proposal of tional is necessary. ary bourgeoisie, Trotsky, by his joint defense, of the joint function- 16. There is no ground for tak-pathetic attempts to create a 4th tries to the countries with the tern was founded in 1919 in order party. These are the facts. stead of this, the Stalinist Comintern, as well as the Stalinist dip ing of the workers' squads? But ing pride in the fact that 15 years international....seeks without suc-Fascist dictatorship". By intention to liquidate the fatal influence of Figures from the "Vearbooks" 7. The "yearbooks" of the Com- lomacy, assisted Hitler into the sad- the resolution keeps mum on this after the foundation of the 3rd In- cess to halt the transition of the ally jumbling together questions of the social democracy. Up to 1923 different orders, this muddled for the Comintern fulfilled this task intern, a few years ago, gave the dle from either side. After which point. It dares not mention it, for ternational it is necessary, in a social democratic workers over to mulation serves the same purpose: successfully. Since then, for the following data relating to the num- Piatnitsky put his foreinger to his fear of unwinding the entire chain certain sense, to begin from the be- the side of Communism." It is to justify the "correct" policy of last 10 years, it has been system- erical strength of the Communist head and explained: The German of the crimes committed by the ginning. But the guilt for so great quite in character for people who a slide backward lies upon the lead-pass off the victory of counter-revworkers surrendered to the execu- Comintern. the German Comunist Party which, atically sliding downward.* By comparties: A Self-Indicting Recommendation ership of the Comintern. The past olution as the "speeding up" of Year Members tioner without a battle because during the epoch of Braun-Severing- promising the revolutionary meth-13. The E. C. recommends fighting cannot be remedied. One must take revolution, to pass off Marxists for there was no revolutionary situa-Bruening, asserted that Fascism ods in the consciousness of the toil-Germany 1921 360.000 tion. Messrs. Strategists, how many for the right to strike, and the his point of departure from things counter-revolutionists. It is not was already victorious, because ing masses, the Comintern provid-1923 400.000 "revolutionary situations" are you right to hold workers' meetings, in as they actually are in order to worthwhile to dwell on it. There there is no "principled" difference ed one of the most important con-1926 150,000 prepared to ruin? Fortunately other words: for the democratic consolidate the international rev is another side to the matter which between the regime of social dem- ditions for the victory of Fascism. England 1921 10,000 your hands have become consider rights of the proletariat. To this olutionary vanguard on a new his is more interesting. It appears ocracy and the regime of National- This does not, of course, imply that 1923 4.000 must be added the defense of free toric stage. that "the counter-revolutionary 1926 5.000ably shorter. Socialism. Apparently these gen- the Comintern, today, plays the role 10. "The revolutionary develop- elections and the inviolability of This is equally necessary both in bourgeoisie" (evidently there exists tlemen do not know themselves what of being "the chief social support" France 192190,000 ment-teaches us the 13th Plenum Communist deputies-and conseque the interests of the world revolution a revolutionary one also!) which 1923 52,000 they understand by a "principled of Hitler; but this does imply that -is at the same time both made ently the defense of parliamentar and for the salvation of the U.S. has the social democracy for its difference". Let us assist them. to overthrow Hitler, it is necessary 1926 83,000 (?) difficult and is hastened by the Fasc- ism itself against Fascist and Bona- S. R. Today nothing threatens the chief "social support" and which. Czarism was the state rule of the to finish with the Comintern. Czechoist madness of the bourgeoisie". To partist assaults. In what a cow- world position of the first workers' at the same time, entrusts to Fasc-1921 360,000 (?) A Phantom Universe Slovakia feudal landowners and of large capthis equivocal phrase there is ap-ardly, confused, circumspect and state to such a degree as placing ism the blasting of its "chief sup-6. "But-the resolution comforts 1923 154,000 ital. The Provisional Government pended the following melancholy hem-and-hawing manner do the ill-faith on the parasitic Comintern. In port" although there is no "prinof the February Republic remained us-it (the social democracy) is al 1926 93.000 postscript "At the given moment the fated leaders of the Comintern ap the moment of danger to the U.S. cipled" difference between the two Norway 1921 97.000 also the rule of the landowners and ready in process of decomposition revolutionary hatred of the prole- proach the question of defending S. R. one can expect the same aid -this "counter-revolutionary bourlarge capital. Was there a "prin- in the majority of countries." In 20,000 (after 1923 the split) tariat is growing in less open (!) the democratic positions of the pro- from Cachin and Jacquemotte as geoisie", it appears, requires over cipled" difference between the two? a brief communication of the 13th forms in Germany". That's it! On letariat! These masked demi-con- from Leon Blum and Vandervelde. and above this-the 4th Interna-Obviously, no. If so, was it worth Plenum, the Britisn Communist 1926 7.000 With 1926, the statistics of the the day after the Fascist overturn cessions are entirely insufficient for The New International tional. At any rate, there is conwhile to make the February Rev- Party is advised to "redouble the 17. The plenum did not leave solation in the fact that despite the Comintern, as well the publication we had been promised a proletarian a correct policy; but they more than olution? Or to put it differently: is struggle for the united front, atit permissible to attach any sort of tracting into it workers who still of the yearbooks come to a dead insurrection in the next few months, suffice for an indictment against the unnoticed the question of the New efforts of counter-revolutionists "principled" significance to the Feb- (!) follow the Labor party and the stop: before an abyss, one had best if not weeks, in fact it was prog- Comintern. International either. After posing "the transition of social-democratic ruary revolution? Yet, without the trade union bureaucracy". The lit- shut one's eyes. But the real de nosed that it would coincide with 14. The resolution demands that "the leftward trend of the social workers over to the side of Com-

the C. 1. which met toward the end regimes are, if you please, without of December passed a resolution any "principled" meaning! No Summary of the 13th Plenum of the Executive of the C.I. by L.D. Trotsky

"Here lie buried the last remains 4. The resolution teaches us the phantem universe that the bu- by bureaucratic strangulation, it the opposition. "We are not to ance of this question is patent: if last minute before the crash, Staeof what was once the party of the that the difference between social reaucrats of the Comintern inhabit. would be no exaggeration to say blame-replied all the Kuusinens- Fascism-"speeds up", then it is mpfer phoned the Soviet consulate international proletariat." The ab-democracy and Fascism involves that the other hand, of the Communist party is a that the total number of members Hitler, you see, is applying terror." permissible to repeat in France, seeking assistance against Hitler. sence of any general guiding con-only the "forms and methods of the Communist party is a that the total number of the communist party is a that the total number of members Hitler, you see, is applying terror." permissible to repeat in France, seeking assistance against Hitler. Sorry myth. And on the other hand, of the Communist party is a that the total number of the permissible to repeat in France, seeking assistance against Hitler. ception whatsoever is attested to in Fascization". That's all!. In conthis resolution. But where could tradistinction to Fascists, social with betrayals, is preparing once As regards the Profintern, it would to operate by means of terror. But cessfully in Germany. One can have ed into a split. Blum, who led the such a conception possibly have Fascists "defend the preservation come from? Scraps of old zigzags of parliamentary, forms while puthave been carelessly pieced together ting through the Fascization of the fintern numbered a "million" work- tern". (Peasant International) gave by the Fascists acts to "hasten the Bolshevik-Leninists drive the theory pelled to announce the French soto serve as directives for the work- bourgeois dictatorship" But on ers in the ranks of the Left wing up its ghost long ago, and its very revolution", then this should have and practice of bureaucratic ading class of the world. The only account of these "forms and meth- in the trade unions. Nothing has name has dropped out of circula- manifested itself first of all in the venturism out of the ranks of the gle for peace" in a united front with thing that remains for criticism is ods", Fascism wages a struggle remained ioday of this movement. tion. The cited figures, however, impossibility to cow the workers workers' movement! to expose the insufficiency of each against the social democracy not we shall not speak of the collapse far from provide a complete picture by measures of terror—the more so,

Stalinism Assisted Hitler

1. The resolution once again adapts itself to every political po-takes a solemn oath — evidently wer, and which crawls on its knees posing Communist party a hair's plain them but keeps mum on the this is an expression of "speeding" As against the Italian areas a few who do not believed to the believe

Directives Contradict Analysis 11. The directives of the Cominicies of Zinoviev-Bucharin-Stalin-scribes to the Communist parties what economic and political en-

9. Only a fraudulent, made to-slavement the Fascist dictatorship tests. whom are the leaders of the Comin- its attempt to leap over this stage ning one canton after another while ripening of the revolutionary crisis the workers with the Facsist de-New Revolutionary Situations

the party draws further and further in the capitalist world". And what struction of democracy, only for On this point the resolution reback into obscurity. In Spain does "intensified" signify? Is it in the sake of fooling the workers. g. "The social democracy-in where the social democracy has comparison with that situation Suddenly without any logical transi-2. According to the resolution, the words of the resolution-con-borne the direct responsibility for when Hitler had not as yet conquer- tion, the leaders of the Comintern which the victory of Fascism bears. One reads with revulsion and feel-

epoch of political turns. But this Had the Comintern placed, from ing of shame this political gibber-

Just Off the Press!

Accuse Stalinism!

MARIA REESE

5c

3c in bundle orders of 5 and more

PIONFER PUBLISHERS, 54 East 10th Street, New York City, N. Y.

us back again to the question it with shallow witticisms upon the whether the victory of Fascism theme of dog nghts among the speeds up the protetarian revolu- tops."

tion. One could maintain with One must understand that the equal success that a shipwreck social democracy was never before "speeds up" the voyage from Eur- caught in such a fearful vise as ope to America. The great import- now. It is no accident that in the permissible to repeat in France, seeking assistance against Hitler. venomous struggle against Soviet cial democracy now leads its "strugthe U.S.S.R. The Belgian social

It is incontestable that the prole; democracy advances the recogni-8. How does the Comintern itself million votes under democracy was

> One would have to be an infant stabilization to the nevolutionary to accept all this in a lump for crisis...." The modicum of truth sound currency; one would have to included in these words is lavishly be a Kuusinen not to see in it anydiluted with lies. The victory of thing more than "dog fights among Hitler does not coincide at all with the social-Fascist tops." It is necthe transition from stabilization to essary to catch the squirming recrisis, because the unheard of world formists at their own words, and to crisis began in 1929 and Hitler con-impel the reformist masses to the quered some four years later, at road of action-beat the enemy the moment when the general social with his own weapons.

> Least of all does there flow from mitigated for a time by a conjunc this perspective the courting of sotural revival. In any case, one cial democratic bureaucrats, the thing is indubitable, the contradic hushing up of their crimes, the extions of capitalism, internal and aggerating of their "services" and international, have sharpened mon- so forth. Such a policy is worthy strously, and all bourgeois regimes, of Left-Centrism which feels itself including the Fascist, are heading to be only the shadow of reformtoward terrible experiences and ism and which fears to counterpose itself actually to reformism. He who seeks a road to the masses by comforming to reformist leaders will marks: "At any moment the turn assuredly be cast away by the massmay occur which would signify the es together with the compromised transformation of the economic leaders. A consistent struggle crisis into a revolutionary crisis." against reormism! Not the slight-The idea itself is old enough; the est concession to Centrism !-- These Bolshevik-Leninists explained long are the inscriptions on the banner ago how and why our epoch is the of the 4th International.

18. Under the present conditions,

But alongside of these fence-sitting currents for whom there is in

ЭЕ 3

revolution would have been impos-* Some of our critics have the folsible. Large capital ruled in Ger-Mueller-Severing-Bruening; large Lenin, it appears, everything was where the party has been liquidated lion votes as against 3 million for the reformist....trade unions." On cost a new 24 International" out of public opinion of the working class capital rules under Hitler. Clearly, fine, but after his death, everything there is no "principled" difference went to the dogs; so where does between these two regimes. Yet, Marxism come in here? The causes after the Fascist overturn, the pro- for the bureaucratic degeneration letariat found itself deprived of all of the U.S.S.R. and the Cominmeans of defense and offense. tern have been long since disclosed by us; no one has offered any other

The Reasoning of Anarchism The 13th Plenum offers us the explanations; but the objective his-

classic reasoning of anarchism dur- torical processes are realized ing the period of its primitive through people; and specific perdumbness; Messrs. Kuusinen, Man-sonal influences can hasten or reullsky and so forth are no anarch- tard these processes. It remains ists; they place much too great a an incontestable historical fact that value upon the aid of the G. P. U. Lenin's illness was widely utilized in the struggle against revolution- by the bureaucratic reaction and ary Marxists. But by the logic of that it prepared a road for itself their mistakes, subterfuges, and by means of the rabid struggle denials they have arrived at anarch-lagainst "Trotskyism"

February revoultion, the October the word "still" completely exposes cline, which assumed an irresistible October. Whoever refused to be the Communist parties "put an end democratic workers" and the "dog- munism" not only is not being hincharacter in the course of the lieve it was branded a counter to the opportunist and capitulatory fights among the social-Fascist tops" dered but on the contrary is grow-"Third Period", began only in 1925- revolutionary. Subsequently in the disdain (!) of trade union work that flow from this, the resolution ing not by the day but by the hour many under the vile democracy of lowing to say on this score: under 1926. Outside of the U. S. S. R., plebiscite, Hitler received 43 mil- and, in particular, of work inside takes note of the attempt to 'con- Only people who spit upon the

the fifteenth anniversary of the the left splinters. The political can lie so crudely and idiotically.

ism.

Comintern, the plenum is obliged to thought of the leaders of the Comexplain to the Communist parties intern does not rise higher than the The decsions of the 13th plenum that it is impermissible to cherish level of these cheap words. Yet, are permeated with the spirit of bu-"disdain" toward mass working before us is the question of a new reaucratic cynicism. The Comintern class organizations. The most rabid stage in the world working class is dead for the revolutionary cause. foes have never uttered anything movement. Nor will it be revived by the VIIth more annihilating about the Comin- The influx of workers to the Congress which has been called at tern than these few words. "Dis- social democracy, coupled with the last for the "latter part" of the dain" toward the proletariat and its mortal danger of Fascism, knocks current year. The revolutionary mass organizations-that is the re- the camp of reformism out of its movement will follow another sult-that is what has entered into old equilibrium and engenders in it course. The Bolshevik-Leninists the brain and marrow of the entire new currents and differentiations. have the right to be proud of the policies of bureaucratic adventur. The preset growth of the social fact that history has placed upon

Perspectives

democracy only prepares a new and them the mission of being the new much more acute crisis for it. One trail blazers. 15. And what of the perspectives? must go to meet this crisis with a

On this score, the resolution refers clear strategic plan and not dismiss January 18, 1934.

-L. TROTSKY,

THE MILITANT

United Front from Below

Aftermath of the Madison Square Garden Affair



(Continued from page 1) ies; it is the expression, rather, of ary parties of various countries..." Social Democracy are bankrupt on a world scale. A new party which emerges to challenge them must begin with this principle condemnation and then translate it into criticism of the concrete activities of these parties here at home. An "American" party, hazy about its

own international position, would be obviously incapable of such a struggle. Without exhausting the question

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in a single article, the mistakes of the international section of the statement of the A. W. P. may be enumerated as follows: New Parties and New International -A Single Task

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

soil", etc. All this has a certain "realistic" sound, but it does not fit the realworld, not in the 48 states.) It is against it want to establish safe impossible to build a revolutionary guards; others, it must be said, are of their formation, and have a deinception, and even in the process finite international orientation. The international position of any party is today the primary test of its revolutionary character.

Marxism Is Not A Foreign Product To be sure, the new party must live in America, speak the language party must be "American". It standing on their own feet, living must be a power in the country in their own life and selecting their order to be a real support of the own leaders. If we consider it im-new International. But that does over without international of French the pretended impartiality port of the Labor Boards.

tionary labor international built up ed to the jobs as a result of interby actually functioning revolution vention by the National Labor It of course had its way. Board with a "guarantee" that they This idea, which is very similar would be accorded the right to their the downfall of the internationals which is very similar choice of union organization. The choice of the Labor Board is and in meeting at Madison Square Gar-before you signed the Open Letter, understood that what the C. P. did what direction its nower is to be an-der some of his Bestule some of his Best active internationalism off the company lost no time, but set a date agenda for the present, and gives no for election of representatives on assurance for the formation of the the company union plan. The Lanew international in the future. bor Board ordered a postponement new international in the future. of elections. It was refused by the workers, until the most opportune the New Masses an open letter on you too! You too will have been They have done more: they have

> ance would develop on different the elections. That sort of assist-tions with a view to demoralizing Austria and the United States, these and, no doubt, even a Zionist! lines, adopt contradictory programs ance was similarly rejected by the on many questions, full victim of company, which went ahead with national isolation, and . experience the elections under its own ausrepeated internal convulsions and pices.

splits. The program of building the parties first, then the international, announce a "great victory" for the is utopian, not to say non-Marxist. company union plan. It claimed The genuine revolutionary interna-

together now on an international methods pursued by the company scale to prepare the program of the were quickly established. Hundreds new international and to work for of workers made affidavits that the formation of its national sec- heads of departments had forced tions. The task of building the them to vote. For several weeks Fourth International goes hand in prior to the elections, workers had hand with the task of forming new been entertained royally in the national parties in the separate country club quarters almost every countries. Genuine international- night under sponsorship of company ism today cannot allow any separation of these two aspects of the same problem.

Organization Methods imitate the methods of the Stalin much heightened by the shut-down in advance for the national parties, where the union sentiment was

where, with leaders imposed from mills belonging to the same comabove, etc.? This question is asked pany at its Clarksburg plant were in some alarm from two different opened, taking in new workers a confront—the realities of world in some atarm from two unerent protect, taking in new volkers at almost entirely on the support of revolutionary's inevitable conclu-economy and world politics and the learning the methods of workers had been given cloude to domine the methods of workers had been given cloude to domine the methods of workers had been given cloude to domine the methods of workers had been given cloude to domine the methods of workers had been given cloude to domine the methods of workers had been given cloude to domine the methods of the domine the methods of workers had been given cloude to domine the methods of workers had been given cloude to domine the methods of the domine the domine the domine the methods of the domine the domine the domine learned to despise the methods of workers had been given clearly to such (American imperialism lives in the degenerate Stalinism in struggle understand that they must vote or ary, that is, a Marxist, program Stalinism as an excuse to avoid any the Labor Board made plans for a inclined to raise the bugaboo of in any single country today without kind of centralized organization, contest in the courts. However, the agencies to serve their specific purtaking the world realities as the discipline, uniformity of principle fake election took place in Decempoint of departure. That means, and control. We have definite opin- ber and nothing has been heard of government and nothing else could the new parties must be interna- ions on the subject and will stand it since. The Weirton Steel Co. en- be expected. The extent to which tionalist from the moment of their up for them in the Fourth Interna- lorced its company union plan, and that can be counteracted depends

for uniformity in fundamental principles. Its concept of the Fourth

International is the concept of \mathbf{a} no better luck in the case of the World Party. But, along with that, Budd Manufacturing Co. in Philawe stand for internal democracy in delphia. Following its intervention the parties and in the international. in a sfrike, it directed the comof the country, "feel" the moods, the parties and in the international. In a strike, it directed the com-pany to reinstate all strikers pany to reinstate all strikers. International must be real parties,



tion". The company pledged its (Continued from page 1) "full support", but added tersely weeks. Finally the workers returnthat "the men will be re-engaged as soon as our operation improves"

left to themselves, and replacing in- company. The Labor Board next ternational cooperation and assist-announced that it would supervise

As a result the company could

hands and go on strike the role of that over nine thousand workers the labor board is usually the one tionalists in the whole world today, had participated in the voting. of making certain promises or guaras in the period of the world war, There was, of course, no way of antees to the workers which it has are not too numerous. It is a life ascertaining the correctness of neither the power nor the intention and death matter for them to get these figures, but the intimidation to enforce after the workers have returned to the jobs.

Compulsory Arbitration Scheme There is now before congress a bill providing for the creation of a permanent National Labor Board which, if adopted, will become tantamount to compulsory arbitration. This bill is introduced by Senator Wagner, and it has the union officials. But the most efbacking and support of the officials fective intimidation was naturally of the American Federation of Laconstituted by the fear of the men bor. William Green, John L .Lewis

of losing their jobs if they failed of the miners union, and William L. Is the Fourth International to to vote. This fear had been very Berry of the Pressmen's Union are members of the present Labor with uniform tactics imposed every-strongest. Simultaneously three are concerned, in practically every as we know, drawn from his criticlabor dispute they have learned isms of the C. P. and the S. P. the

> rather than upon the fighting work-must be founded, their statement ers ranks. This is the weakest of has its own importance. reeds to lean upon. The employers

Enforcing Company Union Plan have shown themselves able in every It has been reported since that case to use these governmental mained so many empty boasts. In labor movement can develop in ac-The International Left Opposition the first place they constituted only tion. The questions of collective The International Left Opposition a public pretence of protecting the bargaining, of union organization, led I. L. D. Here, too, is to be

workers' rights. accede to the demands of the work-The National Labor Board had ers-these are not matters of polite discussions or ordinary business They are matters of class struggle. The sooner the workers and the



The Intellectuals Revolt Against Stalinist Hooliganism

While Hathaway confinues toled or forgotten since Hitler came Stalinist policy in "the third pershout that "the C. P. has nothing to power!). iod."

It is not necessary to adduce ad- to apologize for" with respect to In other words, although you had plied. In every labor dispute on are not so sure. record since its creation it has intervened to forestall acton by the week addressed to the C. P. and crawl before us, we will denounce unity, an objective aid to Fascism. moment for strike has passed, or else the subject. After condemning the suddenly transformed from a com- dared the foul slanders that will it has injected itself into such situa- policies of Socialist leadership in rade into a butterfly, a Trotskyite be spread by the Freemans, the and dividing the workers ranks in intellectuals describe the actions of advance. In every instance it has

connived directly with the capital-attribute to it "the disruption of a mixture of flattery and threats, ist agents in labor's ranks holding working-class action in support of to bring Dos Passos back and thus ed dispense with the Daily Workers' official union positions. When the the Austrian workers. They conworkers take matters into their own clude with this paragraph:

warned."

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

the collapse of 1929, they and hundreds like them were drawn close This Open Letter, whose contents to the class struggle by the sweep must be endorsed by every enemy of mass movements. Anxious to of Fascism, is evidence of a new have some contact with militant the Normany and elsewhere. This, attitude among the intellectuals labor and the revolutionary movewho in recent years have gathered ment, anxious to join immediately at stake. They must now apologize Board and are a party to all its on the periphery of the revolution-in some action without too much for that blow and capitulate to the pretences and fraudulent promises. ary movement. While not one of study of what they were long in- propagators of the united front As far as the A. F. of L. officials the signers of this letter has, as far clined to call "factional squabbles," they approached the C. P. and its

biece.

Intellectuals and the Party

auxiliaries. less, but all as sympathizers, fellowtravelers, outsiders. The Stalinists

Among the signers are a former faces and sneering at them behind a discussion for its own sake; unsecretary (E. E. Cohen) and several their backs. It made no effort to less this question is clarified, no of the most active members of the executive of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Priers' Book Committee (George Novare auxiliaries of the C. P.-controlof the League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, the C. P.'s proudest boast in the 1932 Presitellectuals who, under Party influence and to serve the Party, jour-lent? The Stalinists feared not. neved to the class battle-front in

defeat—or they must move forward The Rebels' Destiny All served, some more, some to firmer ground. accepted their services, cynically the united front "from below". The "used" them, flattering them to their Left Opposition is interested in such

criticize frankly their errors and militant unity against Fascism is weaknesses. It had no thought of possible. Quite frankly, we also soners; the secretary of the Prison- drawing them closer to the move- believe that an investigation of the ment by comradely polemics. In fact, issue will reveal that the errors of ack); the former secretary of the it preferred to keep them at arm's the C. P. in this matter are neither up for them in the Fourth Interna- lorced its company union plan, and tional and in the conferences lead- the orders of the Labor Board re-labor movement can develop in ac-Rubin). All these organizations like Joe Freeman, Moissaye Olgin, phenomenon; they have roots which Sam Don, V. Jerome, William Pat- reach deep into the C. I. itself, terson, press into the Party new which arise from the most basic found James Rorty, the secretary intellectuals with five times their theory of the Stalinist chiefs of the equipment? As long as the new C. I. and of the Soviet State-the men stay outside, furthermore, they theory of socialism in one country. may continue to believe that within The Communist League of Amerdential campaign. And here are in the Party all is as it should be; ica invites these and all other inonce inside would they remain sil- tellectuals who stand on the ground of the October Revolution and for Consequently, they encouraged the defense of the Soviet Union. Kentucky, Alabama, Michigan, them to stay out, playing up to all the only workers' State, to a com-Washington, D. C.; members of a their doubts, fears, prejudices and radely discussion of the question of National Student League delegation weaknesses, perpetuating in them the united front, in its historical,

to the U. S. S. R.; agitators and the characteristics which their past theoretical and immediate practical fund raisers for the I. L. D. in the had stamped upon them. The re-aspects. Such a discussion may MORE BOOKS FOR YOU take place either by meeting or in Scottshoro and other cases: authors sult has been disastrous for the The Pioneer Publishers has a limited of articles in the Daily Worker, revolutionary movement and for the the pages of The Militant. Here stock of the following important Fight, the New Masses, etc., and of intellectuals. The C. P. has devel these intellectuals will find neither oped a whole system of opportunism the flattery nor the cynicism, neither pamphlets bearing imprints of party books: vis-a-vis its captive intellectuals: the nauseating blandishments nor NEGRO LABOR IN THE organizations. it complacently fails to rally masses the nauseating slanders which are "Discussion" a la C. P. UNITED STATES Yesterday all these were among (election campaign, Scottsboro the stock-in-trade of the C. P. in By Charles H. Wesley "the honest intellectuals who ac-struggle, anti-war struggle) and in-dealing with fellow-travelers and cept the leadership of the C. P. un- stead shoves forward a dozen poets sympathizers. They will be asked **PROUDHON'S SOLUTION TO** THE SOCIAL PROBLEM der comrade Stalin." Today? Hell and artists whose names, printed to take nothing on faith, nor will hath no fury like a Stalinist spurn on the front pages of the capital they have to prove, as the New By P. J. Proudhon ed. Today-we take this from the ist press, make good reading in the Masses now demands, that they New Masses "reply" to the Open many intellectuals began to adapt were born with a silver hammer-Letter-they are Zionistsfi academ- superior offices in Moscow. In turn, and sickle in their mouths. Where **COMPANY UNIONS** icians, butterflies, Lovestoneites, themselves to or even to adopt Stal- differences of opinion exist, they By Robert W. Dunne Trotskyites, Musteites, generals inist methods; assuming attitudes will be expressed by us in candid **OUT OF THE PAST** yearning for armies, lacking in in- of condescending superiority to and comradely fashion. By R. W. Postgate tegrity and humility, Hamlets, egot- workers (they must be tricked into Whether these intellectuals re-They are all cloth bound and of militancy, "encouraged" by cock- main sympathizers, fellow-travelers, uniform size. The price is reduced Of them all, the New Masses and-bull stories about the growth of or become an integral part of the ists. Narcissists. etc., etc.! hopes to save from the ruin only the German C. P. since Hitler); revolutionary movement, depends one-John Dos Passos. Him alone writing clearly non-revolutionary largely upon themselves. But the All Five Volumes \$2 Postpaid. -apparently on the hunch that of pieces for the liberal press ("oh, Left Opposition will do all it can the 25 he has been least concerned the workers don't read that stuff to prevent their disgust with Stalinwith careful, critical study of C. P. anyway"); permitting themselves ist tactics from turning into a dis-PARIS COMMUNE theory and tactics-will it address other forms of juvenile Machiavel- gust with Communism, to rearm in COMMEMORATION as a Comrade. One may well differ lianism suitable to, the inner poli- the service of the international pro-Social and Dance with the New Masses' view that Dos tics of a petty-bourgeois newspaper letariat these intellectuals who, havat 126 East 16th Street Passos' novels are "proletarian or art circle or university, but hav- ing experienced their first skirmish-SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1934 literature." It is perhaps enough ing nothing in common with the es under a bankrupt leadership, Speaker: AL GLOTZER to say that they are incisive ex- tactics of the Marxist. might otherwise lose contact with Dance Contests ---- Prizes Music By Prominent Band the militant working class and the posures of the futility and rotten. Many a lesson in such attitudes revolutionary movement.

word more a threat. If you Dos disgrace to the name of Commun-A group of 25 intellectuals last Passos, do not remove your name, ism, a crime against working-class Passes, the Hutchins, the Colemans, Obviously this is a cheap political and the whole tribe of Party bellthe C. P. at the Garden meeting and trick. The New Masses hopes, by wethers and boot-lickers on "the intellectual front." They have dar-

to give a shadow of justification assurance that they are "the honest to its denunciation of the remain- intellectuals"-and in daring to do ing 24 co-signers. In truth, from so they have begun to be the most a revolutionary standpoint the sim- honest intellectuals of all those who ilarities of origin, record and pre- have, during the last few years, sent attitude among all these in-turned their faces away from conellectuals, including Dos Passos templating the rottenness of Stalin-(as he himself would probably be ism because they would not take the first to affirm) are more signi- the responsibility of carrying criticficant than the differences, and the ism into action. This much, at history of their relations with the least, is a significant development movement is very much all of a and a welcome one.

These 25 cannot remain where they are. They must go forward or back. They have left reformism talist civilization, in most cases by Awakened to the horrors of capi-They have now dealt their first blow against the theory and practice of the united front "from below" which had such tragic effects the New Masses admits, is the issue "from below", the organizers of

> The first need is a discussion of the question of the united front and

not mean it should adapt itself to national narrow-mindedness of the tically that the international can masses of American workers. Marx-become a power only if its componism is not a foreign product; it is ent parts-the national parties-are the theory of the class struggle in really functioning organizations in every country; it is "native" to the full sense of the word. every land of capitalist exploitation. The new party will have the task understandable to the awakening ternational orientation undecided. ings.

alism. **Concepts of Internationalism**

2. The statement of the A. W. P.

to that end. But the role of internationalism is no less weighty in today." In the course of discussion, both the preparation of the actions and

in the development and training of in the joint committee and in the the national parties. At the present press, we hope to convince the A. moment, with the whole internation W. P. that it is absolutely necessary will oppose the Workers' Parliaal organization of the vanguard in to take a precise attitude on this ment! a state of crisis and demoralization, question, to declare what kind of a this side of the question acquires new international is needed and to

an exceptional importance.

and the new international, mutual Fourth International. exchange of experiences and ideas, putting the collective experience and theoretical knowledge of the Marxists of all countries at the disposal of each and every national these fields that the real spirit of for the not too distant future. There internationalism manifests itself can be no doubt that such a party and Trotsky. most prominently today in preparation for the actions of tomorrow. tionary workers in America. Herein lies the great historic significance of the work already in pro-

gress for the building of the Fourth International. Can the National Parties

Develop Independently?

Can the new parties each develop independently, work out their own tained receipts from the Dressmakprograms, acquire mass proportions ers Union No. 48, Union City, New and influence and then come to-Jersey, and about \$30 in cash gether to form the new Interna- Finder please return to undersigned tional? This is the concept that or to office of the Militant. -HARRY ZAROFF.

appears to govern the A. W. P. approach to the question. "The A. W. P. stands for one compact revolu-

Internationalists tion, then we assert no less empha-(Continued from page 1) economic demands of all the workers without distinction of race of

nationality, in defense of all the Which International? foreign workers, especially threat-3. The programmatic statement ened by the chauvinism and the of making the theory of Marxism of the A. W. P. leaves its own in- anti-semitism of the Fascist group-

workers of America and of applying Or, at any rate, its position is not this theory in their struggle. Only clearly stated. Four currents are the workers' militia for the defense By Jack London on this foundation can a genuinely to be recognized in the internation- of your headquarters, your meetrevolutionary party be constructed. al field: The Second, the Third, the ings, your demonstrations, your Such a party can only be a Two-and-a-half, (Centrist) and the fighters. The least Fascist attack thorough-going party of internation- Fourth (Revolutionary Commun-should call forth a thundering reply ist). The A. W. P. is against the from your militia.

The workers' defense bodies, the Second and the Third, but does not mention the other currents. It de- Workers' Alliance Commttees, basclares its readiness to "remain in ing themselves on the exploited to 50c a volume plus 5c extra for nationalism to joint actions of sympathetic contact and engage in masses, utilizing the force of the postage. strong national parties. Action, of discussions with all who are in- militias, will extend their aims and course, is the highest expression of terested in that problem, and especi- their rights. Their mobilizing by the international organization of ally with those parties which like localities, by districts, in the entire the vanguard and everything leads ourselves cannot accept either the nation, will lay the bases of your Second or the Third International power.

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

WORKERS!

On February 12, you have forced agree with us that the new party your organizations to come to an should place itself on the day of its agreement in many localities. There work of charting the new parties birth under the banner of the are local committees for the Workers' Alliance, for vigilance, initia-Such an agreement, which would tive, joint action, etc., in the 4th, imply a solidarity on other principle 18th, 19th districts, in Saint Denis. questions, could make the launching Puteaux, Suresnes, Corbeil, Poitiers, of the new party in America, by the Strasburg, etc. Thus has begun a joint efforts of the A. W. P. and the method of struggle of the illustri-Left Opposition, a realistic prospect ous leaders of the revolutionary proletariat, Marx and Engels, Lenin

> would be from the start a powerful Our Communist League, strugglmagnet of attraction for the revolu- ing in the vanguard under the banner of the Fourth International, appeals to you to immediately organize for joint action, from top to bottom, of all organizations. You are strong !.... Victory is as-

> Cannon-Lovestone debate at Irving sured on one condition: Organiza-Plaza by the undersigned. It con- tion, more organization and always organization! Forward to the Workers' Alliance

Forward to the Workers' Militia! Down with reaction and Fascism! Long live the Workers' Power! ---Executive Committee of the Communist League

Paris, Feb. 14, 1984.

trade unions recogniez this fact and

prepare themselves accordingly, the

sooner they will be able to enforce

heir own rights without relving on

the pretended impartiality or sup-

Entertainments and Refreshments ness of bourgeois civilization, and was administered them by Earl ADMISSION 20c 8 P. M that there shines through them not Browder, a past master of question-Auspices : a little of the vitality of the class able maneuvers, lies and hypocris-Communist League of America of the future, the proletariat. By ies. Little wonder that in nine these books, by his work as treas- cases out of ten the C. P. intellec-(Manhattan) Spartacus Youth Club urer of the National Committee for tual sympathizer was one who disthe Defense of Political Prisoners believed much that Stalin, Browder

TWO BIG MEETINGS for YOUNGSTOWN WORKERS MAX SHACHTMAN Will deliver the following Lectures at **CENTRAL AUDITORIUM** 225 W. Boardman St. CAPITALIST WAR OR WORK-ERS' REVOLUTION? Why the unrest in Europe? What is the meaning of the Austrian civil war? Why all the talk about "peace" and prepara-

the revolutionary cause.

tion for WAR?

AND WHY WE NEED A NEW REV-

BANQUET for the benefit of the PROTOMAGIA CLUB on SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1934 8 P. M.

633 Eighth Avenue Between 41st and 42nd St.

since its establishment, and in and the C. P. said, buying himself CLASS IN TRADE UNIONISM other ways, Dos Passos has served freedom from casting in his lot with the revolution by pretending Registration is still open for the And what does the New Masses to believe in the Stalinist line and class, "Survey of American Trade have to say to him? Only this: the the Stalinist lies and by refraining Union Strategy and Tactics", with Arne Swabeck, Secretary of the

Socialist leaders slander us (yes, from crticism. yes; the Socialist leaders are op- The intellectuals are themselves Communist League, as instructor. posed to revolution); what we did not without guilt in this matter, This class, one of a series conductat Madison Square Garden was "an nor do we hold any special brief ed this semester by the Internaattempt to throw the masses to for the 25 who signed the Open Let- tional Workers School, is held every gether" (have such attempts ever ter. They have no doubt at times Wednesday evening, 8 P. M., at 126 succeeded?); Socialist leaders on and in varying degrees shared the East 16th Street.

the platorm struck St. Clarence attitudes we condemn. They still In addition to an historical sur-Hathaway the Pacifier (whom was carry with them many of the un- very of the trade union movement, he "trying" to pacify and who is certainties which characterize the comrade Swabeck will analyze all responsible for their provocation?); class of their origin. As we said the present currents in the trade THURSDAY, MARCH 15th at 8 p.m. you cannot understand our tactic before, not one seems to have drawn union movement from the most re-

unless you understand our psychol- from his critique of the Second and actionary to the most revolutionogy (and how about the psychology Third Internationals' policies, a ary. The students of the course OLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY of the Socialist rank-and-file and really revolutionary conclusion. For upon its completion will be armed FRIDAY, MARCH 16th at 8 p. m. non-Communist trade unionists?); all one can tell from their Open with a theoretical understanding of Auspices: Youngstown branch, we are in favor not of the united Letter, they may still regard the trade union problems and a better Communist League of America (O.) front but of the united front "from Garden disruption as an exception ability to participate fruitfully as Tickets Ten Cents, Unemployed Free below" (so nothing has been learn- rather than as a regular feature of revolutionists in the trade unions,

-JAMES P. CANNON.

NOTICE A pocketbook was lost at the

829 Adee Avenue

Bronx, N. Y.