



Finished with Stalinism!

Another Leader of German C.P. Revolts

Editor's Note: After the open letter of comrade Maria Reese, we are in a position now to make public another document, no less important than the Reese letter. We offer to our readers the letter sent to Platnitsky the organizational secretary of the Comintern by comrade Karl Friedberg. Karl Friedberg is one of the oldest members of the Communist Party of Germany and of the Communist International. From the first he has held important, responsible posts in the Comintern and gained thereby, a thorough knowledge of the workings of the apparatus of the C. P. G. and the Comintern.

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

New Year Eve Masquerade Ball for the Militant

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

N.Y. Hotel Strikers Organize

Food Workers Union Strengthens Ranks

New York.—The strike of the Montclair Hotel workers conducted by the Hotel and Restaurant branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, which we reported in last week's Militant still continues and picketing is very effective. The National City Bank which owns the Montclair is very stubborn in settling the strike with the Union. It employs numerous thugs who attempt to terrorize the strikers and also to keep the scabs on the job. In spite of this terrorism, the strikers were strengthened last Friday with an additional sixty-five workers from the dining-room and kitchen department.

Why I Did It

James McGovern, M. P. for the Independent Labor Party from Scotland has the following explanation to make of his sensational action at the opening of Parliament where he shouted defiance at the King. We quote from the British New Leader for November 24th, 1933: "Knowing that the present session of Parliament would be opened by the reading of the proposed Government by the King, I thought I would like to hear these proposals at first hand, realizing that the new Insurance Bill would mean to the unemployed of this country. "I arrived at the Bar of the House of Lords and gazed at the vulgar display of wealth—wonderful and expensive gowns, jewels and tiaras, worth hundreds of thousands of pounds, military and naval representatives of our own and foreign nations. Everywhere I looked I saw wealth, comfort and, self-satisfaction. I thought of the poor, wretched people outside who are to be the victims of future legislation and who, by their energy and sacrifice, provided all this wealth.

"And I could not remain silent. I looked upon the scene and, knowing that their favorite sport was chasing and killing foxes, I saw the workers being hounded down into the gutter, the grave, the asylum, and the workhouse by the legislation of this class. I remembered those who produced the wealth existing in rags, bootless, hungry, and sitting before empty grates or being evicted from their homes. "Maxton and Buchanan (Independent Labor Party M. P.—Ed.) had for a number of years refused to attend the opening of parliament because of their disgust with this show. As I saw the performance indignation overcame me when I recalled the human suffering outside, the Means Test, Unemployment cuts, and the destruction of the social services. Something within me rebelled and I lashed out at the enemies of the people. "Did I do wrong? Is there any worker who believes that I did not voice the feeling of every decent human being? I feel that I spoke for the working class whom I represent."

St. Paul Packing Strike

Adventurist Methods Cause Bad Defeat

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

November 6, 1933.

Dear comrade Platnitsky: Your invitation to come to Moscow has been transmitted to me, I will have to decline the invitation. Mindful of the memory of my friend Max Hoelz, I believe that I will be acting most correctly when I devote myself, for the time being as an emigrant, to the victory of Socialism—over Fascism. I cannot endure the Moscow atmosphere; lounging around, pretending to be important, crawling despicably before Stalin, etc. Official Moscow today is nothing more than a swamp. The struggle for the victory of Socialism can be conducted only in the spirit of the October Revolution, in the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky.

On the Death of Max Hoelz

On September 15th, Max Hoelz met with an accident in a boating trip on the Oka River (Soviet Union) and drowned. And with that the life of a fighter was extinguished, a militant who will continue to live on in the hearts of the revolutionary proletariat as the courageous revolutionist who fought with determination and strength against capitalism and for the proletarian revolution.

Marxist education. These were to be a strong weapon for him in the coming struggles of the German proletariat. Max Hoelz's mind was set on returning to Germany to engage in new struggles. As late as last February, after Hitler had become Chancellor, Max Hoelz addressed a request to the Comintern to permit him to return to Germany. The Stalinist bureaucracy did not allow him to do so. In order to prevent him from leaving he was forced to become a Soviet citizen.

Stalinism Cracks in Brooklyn

A new revolt has broken out in the Stalinist ranks in New York. Three members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League of Brooklyn have recently issued a letter to the District Executive Committees of their organizations condemning the official policy on the German events and the Litvinov-Roosevelt negotiations. The statement demands a joint membership discussion meeting of the C. P. and Y. C. L. (The statement is reprinted in full on another page of the current issue of the Militant.)

Stalinism Cracks in Brooklyn

The comrades condemn the Stalinist theory of "social Fascism" and "united front only from below" which led to the victory of Fascism. They score the Comintern for not recognizing that the victory of Hitlerism meant a crushing defeat for the German world working class. The statement further protests against the propaganda pledge contained in Paragraph Four of the Litvinov letter to Roosevelt.

Stalinism Cracks in Brooklyn

German Communist party; to connect the situation in the different countries with one another. When Nearing concluded his replies to the questions, an attempt was made to close the meeting. Joe Carter, organizer of the Brooklyn branch of the Communist League, took the floor and demanded that the scheduled discussion be held. The demand was greeted by applause from various parts of the hall. (About 750 were still present. Al Dasch supported the demand of comrade Carter and the discussion was opened by comrade Dasch.)

The Results of Stalinist Policy

In my letter of March 1, 1933, written from Moscow, I informed you of my views about the situation of the German party and the road that the leaderless revolutionary German proletariat had to take. I say the leaderless revolutionary proletariat, because the German C. P. ceased to be the leader of the German proletariat years ago—just as did the Comintern insofar as the international proletariat is concerned. The downfall of the revolutionary proletariat in all countries began with the expulsion of the outstanding fighters of the October Revolution, with Trotsky at their head, from the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. and the Comintern. The victory of Fascism in Germany and the difficult situation of large layers of workers and peasants in the Soviet Union are results of this enfeeblement of the Communist International.

An Enemy of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

The news of the death of Max Hoelz shocked all the friends of the militant. It is not true, as the social democratic and Communist papers write, that his political career came to an end with his release from prison in 1918. Max Hoelz wanted to struggle on. He was an enemy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The German C. P. covered with gaudy Hitler's victory—he hated and despised it with a violent passion.

Stood for a New Party

Max Hoelz shared the views of his friends Wolf and Wollenberg on the collapse of the German C. P. and the Comintern. And also, as early as March he proclaimed the necessity for the creation of a new party of struggle. At the beginning of March there were many discussions in his hotel room on the situation created in Germany and in the Comintern by Hitler's victory. Max Hoelz repeatedly expressed himself in this connection that the defeat of the German C. P. and the Comintern was caused in the first place, by the false policy of the Comintern in recent years and particularly by Stalin's false policy in the Soviet Union, which has brought with it the exclusion of the best revolutionary elements in the Soviet Union as in the Comintern. He repeatedly declared that the expulsion of Trotsky and his friends was one of the greatest crimes of the C. C. of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Stood for a New Party

The revolutionary strength of Max Hoelz was shackled by the Stalinist bureaucracy. His passionate will to struggle could not bear the tedious bureaucracy. He was kept in inactivity for many years through the chicanery of the bureaucracy. They refused to give him any productive work in order to paralyze his revolutionary energy.

Stood for a New Party

He was a fighter for the emancipation of the proletariat whose militancy will be a pattern for us. UNSER WORT.

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

In a conversation we had at the end of February (Knorin was present) you told me that you had many other cares, Russian worries. I knew that all the time. The fact that on account of these worries the Executive Committee of the Communist International could not be in touch with very much that was going on abroad, particularly in Germany, does not serve as an excuse for the E. C. C. I.—on the contrary, it only makes its guilt all the greater. You would have resigned your leadership, which has not really belonged to you for years, if you had left in you a spark of revolutionary responsibility and conscientiousness. But you haven't any. (I leave the Social Democratic Party out of all this polemic because we created our Communist Party and the Communist International with the full knowledge that the S. P. would not fight but rather betray the struggle.)

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

It would be difficult for us to attempt at this time, before the conclusion of his work, to give our readers a detailed idea of the magnificent conception that has inspired Rivera's work. We take this occasion, however, to extend an invitation to all readers to visit the School Hall, at 126 East 16th St., and examine the murals while they are being painted.

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

It is from this standpoint that we present our expansion program of today. It is a practical program setting up comparatively modest tasks which can and must be carried out. This Action Program we summarize herewith in brief form:

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

1. The transformation of The Militant into a popular agitation paper to be sold at a cheaper price

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

2. The establishment of a theoretical organ—The New Internationalist—to which the heavier and longer articles will be transferred.

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

3. The acceptance of members into the League on a broader basis than heretofore.

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

4. The systematic establishment of united front relations and joint class struggle activities with other workers organizations, in particular with those groups with which we have some points in agreement.

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

5. The formation wherever possible of peripheral organizations (workers' clubs, etc.) on a broad basis.

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

6. The systematic registration of the League membership for enrollment in mass organizations of various kinds, above all the trade unions which have a mass character.

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

7. The strengthening of the central apparatus of the League by provision for the full-time employment of qualified comrades and the maintenance of at least one field organizer.

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

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

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

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

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

Some of the points listed above have already been carried out in part. We shall make a report of this in subsequent issues. At this moment, however, our aim is to bring the Action Program to the attention of all of our supporters so that they can express their views, make additional suggestions and fully participate with us in the further execution of this program. We proceed from the firm conviction that every step outlined can be attained. We want to hear your opinion. The League has attained a much

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

broader basis than before, as we shall prove by our subsequent reports in connection with the execution of the Action Program. We are thereby prepared to make further advance. But while the further preparatory steps to carry the program fully into life are being taken it is necessary to dwell upon the last points of the Action Program. That is the one upon which practically the whole program depends for its effective execution. Finances are the sinews of war—and of action.

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

We have set the sum of \$1500 as a minimum requirement, provided it is collected by a concentrated campaign within a short period of time. On this score we can report some results already which will also be enumerated in the subsequent issue. Meanwhile we pass the question on to all of our supporters: Will you help us carry this program into life? With a response from you, such as can be expected from supporters of the Left Opposition, we shall be able to march forward to the building of a serious Communist movement in the United States. We shall be able to march forward to the New Internationalist.

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Rivera Murals

Even though his departure from the United States has had to be hastened by a call for important work to be done in Mexico City, Diego Rivera has remained to paint two murals for the walls of the International Workers School. Diego Rivera is undoubtedly the greatest of the revolutionary painters in the world today, and is surely among the handful of truly great artists in general. His work in this country and in Mexico has been enthusiastically commented upon on both continents. The sensation created around his name and work when he broke off all relations with the directors of Radio City for demanding that he remove a reproduction of Lenin's head in the imposing murals he was painting for that edifice, was only a dramatic manifestation of his unyielding loyalty to the cause of proletarian revolution to which he has dedicated his life and work.

Rivera Murals

We are proud to be able to announce that Rivera is already at work in the School Hall on the murals. One of them depicts the foundation of the revolutionary Third International, its life and the great spirits who brought it into existence. The other deals with the coming Fourth International as the heir and continuator of the revolutionary traditions of the Third and its leaders.

Rivera Murals

It would be difficult for us to attempt at this time, before the conclusion of his work, to give our readers a detailed idea of the magnificent conception that has inspired Rivera's work. We take this occasion, however, to extend an invitation to all readers to visit the School Hall, at 126 East 16th St., and examine the murals while they are being painted.

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The Railroad Brotherhoods
The Rise and Fall of the Craft Unions

In our first article we touched briefly upon the origin of the railroad unions and their failure to adjust their structure and program in conformity with industrial developments on the railroads. In this article we will say something on the rise and fall of the Craft Union. It is quite natural that when we first conceive of anything we do so on its narrowest base, and our understanding and outlook on any question broadens with experience. In harmony with this law of development it was, therefore, quite natural that the locomotive engineer who first conceived of organizing in 1863, should do so on a very narrow base or on the basis of his own craft alone. It did not occur to him to take the firemen, whom he often hired and fired, in with him. The conductor felt the same about his brakeman. Often the fireman had to reward the engineer, the brakeman and the conductor for the privilege of working with them. The problems which confronted those early pioneers in organization work were small and simple when compared with the workers' problems of today. The railroads, as well as industry in general, were in a state of growth and expansion and needed more and more workers, and the organized craft was usually able to bargain with the small companies. We think it can be truthfully said that the craft union functioned fairly well in the interest of its members until about the beginning of the present century, when the gradually growing problems of the railroad workers ushered in the idea of Craft Federation. The so-called "Big Four" would join hands in concerted wage movements, the Federated Shop Crafts would do likewise. The Eight Hour Day victory in 1916 was about the last successful stand of the craft union

A Statement to the Communist Party

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

COMRADES: For some time now, the undersigned comrades, members of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League, have been considering with growing alarm the development of the position of our movement in connection with recent events in this country and in Europe. We have in mind especially what happened in Germany before and after the seizure of power by Hitler, and the significance of the agreement signed at Washington between the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States. You are undoubtedly aware that a great deal of confusion and uncertainty, doubts and dissatisfaction exists in the ranks of our Party and League on these questions. The aim of this letter is to arrive as speedily as possible at a clarification. The German events were a distinct shock to us—this we cannot conceal. We were persuaded by the policy and the propaganda of the Communist International and our party here, that our brother party in Germany was making steady progress in driving back the Fascist gangs and winning over increasing sections of the social democracy. But the outcome of the historic struggle in Germany proved to be exactly contrary to all the forecasts that were made by our leadership. It has now become clear to us that what happened in Germany requires—demands—on our part a thorough examination into the situation and the policy that was followed by us, and a drastic revision of our present course. Instead of a successful advance of our party in Germany, it has been defeated, and now lies crushed by the Brown-shirted monsters. Instead of the victory of the Red Front, we had the victory of the Swastika.

One other event has confirmed us in our criticism of the course of the Comintern. That is the Litvinoff-Roosevelt negotiations. We know of course that in dealing with capitalist governments, the Soviet Union is obliged to "give and take", to make concessions where necessary. But there are concessions and concessions. As Communists, we cannot and must not surrender anything in principle to the capitalist enemy. And that is what, in our opinion, was done at Washington by the representative of the Soviet Union. We refer here to Paragraph Four of the Litvinoff letter to Roosevelt. In the minds of every worker, and in the minds of the bourgeoisie itself, this paragraph pledges the Soviet Union to prohibit the existence of the International Communist movement on its territory. It is pledged to prevent the residence on its soil of any organization whose aim is the overthrow of the existing social order in the United States. The only organization to which this refers—or can refer—is the Communist International and its American section (our Party) whose historic aim is the replacement of the present capitalist system in this country by the rule of the working class. Not only we, the undersigned, but hundreds of other Party and League members were deeply affected by this pledge of Litvinoff. Even the newest members of our movement are uneasy and uncomfortable in the face of what happened. We have our own opinions on this question. We consider it our duty to present them to the membership. We also consider it your duty to present to us and to the membership the official standpoint of our party leadership. It is only by discussing these questions openly in the party and the League, democratically and freely, that the greatest good can result for our movement.

It is for this reason that we take this occasion to propose to you to call a joint city-wide membership meeting of the Party and the League for the purpose of hearing a report on the questions involved and of giving the membership an opportunity to express itself on them. Such a meeting is a most urgent need of the hour. We expect to present our views there in full. Such a meeting is all the more necessary at this moment because, as you know, there are many burning problems confronting our movement. Both the Party and the League are suffering from radical defects in their policy and their work. In the field of the unemployed, in the trade union field, and in many others—as has been pointed out by the Open Letter of the Central Committee—our work is in extremely bad condition. The way to correct it is to make possible (1) a democratic discussion; (2) a fundamental examination into party policy; (3) a thorough revision of it. We hope that this communication will meet with speedy and favorable action on your part, and that you will consider it motivated by a devoted interest in the welfare and progress of the revolutionary movement.

With Communist greetings,
(Signed) AL DASCII, Unit 6, Section 8, Brownsville Section Committee, Brownsville Communist Party, SIDORE LIPSCITZ, Unit 3, Young Communist League, (Brownsville), DAVID LEBESER, Unit 11, Section 11, Brighton, Communist P.

On top of all this, we were astonished to see that our party, with its hundreds of thousands of members, and millions of supporters in the elections, failed to strike a single blow at the Fascists in order to prevent them from coming to power. Our party proved, to our great regret, to be incapable of mobilizing any substantial section of the working class for the purpose of organizing their resistance to the advance of Hitlerism. To us this was evidence of a serious, fundamental weakness in our party and its policy, both of which are tested precisely in such moments as the crucial hour in Germany. It is not that we are discouraged by a defeat, for we know that the proletarian movement will rise again regardless of temporary setbacks. Far from it. We remain today just as confident of our final victory on a world scale as we have always been. But the way to overcome a defeat is to analyze its causes and take the necessary steps to eliminate them or correct them. Far from doing this, our party and our movement, the fact of the defeat has not even been acknowledged. No attempt has been made by the International or any of its sections to examine into the policy of the past to find out what was wrong. No attempt has been made to correct what we see now quite plainly to have been our radically false policy on "Social Fascism", or the "United Front Only from Below", or our incorrect analysis of Fascism itself. Everything that was done in the past, and the leadership which did it, has been approved without reservations. Consequently, instead of laying the basis for overcoming the defeat and rising again to victory, the basis still remains for the addition of new setbacks for our movement not only in Germany but throughout the rest of the world.

Short Dispatches from Fascist Germany

The Panter Affair. The affair of the British journalist, Panter, accused of espionage (as is well known he had communicated to the British press about a Nazi demonstration in Kelheim reporting military details) and incarcerated in Munich for ten days ended ingloriously for Germany after he was ordered deported. It is not so well known that he got the details regarding the armed strength of the S. A., etc., from a journalist employe by Hugenberg's TELEVISION, a certain Ackermann. The latter has likewise been arrested. Possibly the Hugenberg circles intended to spoil the good relations between England and the Third Reich. In a telegram immediately after Germany's departure from the League of Nations and disarmament conference, the German munition and heavy industry magnates hastened to express their deepest thanks for the legalization of German rearmament. Krupp von Bohlen assured the Chancellor in a telegram that German industry, without any reservation, will support the nation on "its road of peace and honor" which the chancellor has shown the German people. Krupp

has every reason to send telegram of gratitude to Hitler. **Index of Standard of Living** March and April, 1933—73.4, May—80.5, June and July—80.9, August—80.7. The nourishment index alone rose from 70.7 in March to 73.7 in June, declining in August to 73.4. The small decline in the last month as explained by seasonal fluctuation since the price for potatoes and vegetables regularly declines in this time and rises later on. Comparison with last year: Comparing the prices of August 1933 with August 1932 we find an increase in sugar of 2.7 percent, vegetable 5 percent, beef products 4.3 percent, butter 6.5 percent, eggs 14 percent, oleomargarine 34.3 percent. In short the effects of "oshibite" (aid to the eastern farm barons) are quite apparent. **Unemployment:** The number of unemployed on October 31st amounted to 3,850,000, 150,000 less than the previous month. (As is well known at the end of January the figures stood at 6,014,000). The following facts however complete the picture: 1. The income from wage taxation remains below the level of last year according to the latest statistics of the Ministry of Finance wage taxation brought an income of: In August 1932, with 52,224,000 unemployed, 60.9 million Marks. In August 1933, with 4,124,000 unemployed, 59.6 million Marks. 2. The figures of those at work compare with those of the unemployed, according to state sick insurance, as follows: August 1932: 5,224,000 unemployed, 12,834,000 employed. August 1933: 4,124,000 unemployed, 13,716,000 employed. Resulting in: 1,100,000 unemployed, 882,000 employed.

MINNEAPOLIS NEW YEAR'S EVE AFFAIR Bridge—Dancing—Entertainment—Refreshments—Sunday, December 31, 1933, 9 P. M. at 3001 Elliott Avenue. Auspices: Minneapolis branch C. L. of A. (Opp.) Everybody Welcome. Adm. Free

CHICAGO INTERNATIONAL LABOR FORUM 2557 W. North Avenue Every Sunday 3 P. M. Dec. 24.—Religion and Social Progress. GEORGE KATSIOLIS Communist orator of note. Dec. 31.—Workingclass Internationalism and Decisive Crises. (An analysis of the causes leading to the downfall of the 3 workers Internationalists.) JOSEPH GIGANTI of Chicago Left Opposition

BROOKLYN OPEN FORUM GEORGE CLARKE or THE MEANING OF THE RECENT LYNCHINGS Friday, December 15, 1933, 8 P. M. MILITANT HALL 154 Watkins St. (cor. Belmont St.) ADMISSION 10 CENTS

CHRISTMAS EVE AFFAIR On Christmas Eve, December 24th, the Brooklyn branch will hold a social affair at its headquarters, 154 Watkins St.

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'Historical Analogies'

(Trotsky and Dan—Workers Age—December 1, 1933.)

The bureau of historical falsification under the leadership of Lovestone (Gra. 5-8903) has manufactured another "striking document". But we suspect that this time the job has been entrusted to an amateur. That this is amateur's handiwork is evidenced first by the fact that only three pages (and consequently pages at that) have been put through the Lovestone hopper for synthetic quotations (patent applied for by Stalin) in order to produce a quotation to match the "fundamental similarity" with two sentences written by Dan. An expert Lovestone "quoter" usually concocts a quotation out of a volume—of at least, 30 pages. In the second place, of the sentences which had been torn out of context and indirectly manipulated—only one has been directly distorted. Trotsky is quoted as follows: "The ruling apparatus enjoys a great relative independence." Here is what Trotsky really wrote, "Without having that absolute independence, the illusion of which lives in the skulls of many bureaucrats, the ruling apparatus nevertheless enjoys a great relative independence." Only one direct distortion—that is almost a record! But while amateurish in execution, this performance attains the lowest levels hitherto achieved by the past masters of slander and distortion. What comrade Trotsky says in reference to the present plebiscitary regime in the Soviet Union is juxtaposed with Dan's statement in reference to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Trotsky's analysis of the political character of the Stalinist bureaucracy is passed off as the analysis of the class character of the state in the Soviet Union. But perhaps we imply too much by inferring that the Lovestonites themselves know the differences between the bureaucratic apparatus that has usurped the authority of the October Revolution and the worker's state itself. Is it after all, excluded that the Lovestonites identify Stalinism with the dictatorship of the proletariat just as Dan identifies the dictatorship as "with its wide flung apparatus"?

Just Off the Press

TEN YEARS

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

By MAX SHACHTMAN

10c

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Montreal Stalinists Answer Marxist Ideas with Hooliganism

Montreal.—The last few weeks in Montreal have been rich in striking demonstrations of the lengths to which the Stalinists are driven in frantic effort to suppress the ideas of the Left Opposition. The organized rowdy attempt to disrupt our meeting a few weeks ago, the removing of posters advertising our meetings, the picket-lines before our doors, the ejection of our delegates from the Anti-Fascist Conference now shriveled to the dimensions of a Stalinist caucus—all these things points unmistakably to a hooliganism become rampant at the promptings of fear. The workers provoked to thought as a result of these scandalous methods will realize that the question of working-class democracy cannot be relegated to the sphere of mere etiquette. Political bankruptcy breeds inevitably the methods of hooliganism. Gangsterism has long been the weapon of the reformist trade union bureaucrat, against the Left wing. The Stalinists, unable to withstand a Marxist criticism, are introducing the same bag of tricks into the Left wing. Comrades alarmed by this foul stench reaching their nostrils will ponder and search until they unearth the cesspool of political incoherence from which it emerges.

A Stalinist Lecture on Germany On December 3, S. Sarkin, a local mandarin of the general line lectured at the Jewish Cultural Centre on the tactics of the C. P. in Germany. With the contents of the lecture itself we will not concern ourselves here—a loud-mouthed brushing of the latest wisdom of Platinitsky, shrill with contradictions, based on the stupendous check of the speaker and on his speculation on the ignorance of the audience. A sample or two will suffice.—"The tactic of the United Front was abandoned after 1922 (the year of the Fourth Congress) because the Social-Democracy became openly counter-revolutionary" (1). "The defeat of 1933 was to be traced to the error made in 1920, immediately corrected and never again repeated, in withdrawing from the reformist trade unions. The 13 years of systematic work within the trade unions climaxed with the growth of the R. G. O. (1) to a strength (?) of 310,000 in 1933." "The presence of three 'Trotskyites' at the lecture was enough to impart to it an atmosphere of tenseness which was worked up by the speaker to nothing short of a lynching mood. The evening was prefaced by remarks from Sarkin promising a "lively evening", "acknowledging the presence of 'guests' (this at the "non-factional" Cultural Centre), and the exhortation to the faithful to have "their blood boil". Never was there a more despicable example of ignorance

Communist League was one—to start negotiations with the International Pocketbook Workers Union. The committee, at first, went to see Hugh Fraire, head of the local office of the A. F. of L., who proceeded to an endless questioning and demanding statements and finally came to the point—who is to have jurisdiction over the union? The A. F. of L. faked, very jealous of his jurisdictional rights, decided that the International Pocketbook workers were to have the hegemony over the workers and their foes. Then followed more meetings, this time with Goldman of the Pocketbooks, subjecting the committee to a most scrutinous investigation—How many members? How many paying dues? How much money in the treasury? Any Communist influence?—all this was carefully taken down, and a decision by the next Executive Council meeting promised. Then began an endless postponement from week to week, more questions and more investigations, until finally, after five weeks of negotiations, the answer was given. No! Without any further explanations. The reaction to all this from the inexperienced unionists was utter disappointment and dejection. The Stalinists and their influenced victims naturally capitalized on the situation, again giving the same senseless arguments—the A. F. of L. does not want to organize workers, the A. F. of L. is only concerned about pocketing the money; as if this were their chief motive for refusing to affiliate with it, as if all this and more was not clearly pointed out by the Left Opposition and the decision was made to affiliate with the A. F. of L. despite all that.

Bedlam at the Meeting Goretzky of the Left Opposition when finally allowed the floor began a quotation from *Unser Kampf* which Sarkin had challenged us to produce. Sarkin attempted to tear the paper from his hand, crying that we wanted the original (nothing less). This was the signal for the breaking loss of bedlam. Comrade Krehm, while asking the chairman for the floor, was struck twice in the teeth. Our comrade was jostled off the platform and the meeting hurriedly closed. The Stalinist faithful had been worked up to a virtual pogrom spirit by demagogic Sarkin and it was only due to the intervention of some of the more hot-headed comrades present that the violence was not greater than was actually the case. After the close of the meeting comrade Krehm challenged Sarkin to debate the topic of the lecture, branding him as yellow in the event of a refusal. The same challenge has been repeated publicly in the columns of the local Jewish paper. Whether the Stalinists, after the defeat administered to them at our last German lecture several weeks ago, will respond remains to be seen. Already within the Stalinist ranks protest is making itself heard against the hooliganism of the Stalinites toward the Left Opposition. Every honest element must join in banishing these shameful methods, the product of panic and despair, from the ranks of the working-class movement.

A.F. of L. and Mirror Workers

New York.—The Novelty Mirror Workers Union has again been defeated in its aims to constitute itself as a genuine trade union for the safeguarding of the economic interests of all the workers in the trade. This time the aims of the workers were deflated by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats of the International Pocketbook Workers Union, whose desire for fat per capita fees and whose genuine fear of any sign of militancy from the workers, cannot be questioned. It will be remembered that the union, shortly after its formation, fell under the blundering leadership of the T. U. U. L. After an unfortunate strike—unfortunate in the sense that it was led by the Stalinists—that dissipated the energies of the workers, and almost robbed them of all confidence in trade unionism, it became comparatively easy to convince a majority of the workers that the loss of the strike was not due to a couple of "skunks" but chiefly due to the syndicalist, ultra-Left policies of the Nessin leadership which laid obstacles in the path of the strike and made a number of workers lose hope too soon, causing them to go back to work before the strike was ended. **Apply for A. F. of L. Charter** Consequently, at a membership meeting—of 56 workers (out of an original 300)—sometime later called together, for the purpose of discussing the question of affiliation, a majority of workers voted to apply for a charter from the A. F. of L. The remainder, still poisoned by Stalinist influence, walked out of the hall, completely disrupting the meeting, and causing a serious split. Immediately, a committee was elected—of which a member of the

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MASQUERADE BALL

ON, New Years Eve HOT JAZZ BAND Germania Hall, 16th St., & 3rd Ave. December 31st 1933 PRIZES FOR BEST COSTUMES Admission: 50 Cent. Auspices: New York Local, Communist League of America (Opposition)

International Notes

GERMANY.

The Socialist Workers Party (S. A. P.) and the International Communists (Left Opposition) are continuing their close collaboration in the creation of the German section of the new International. They have just issued a joint draft of directives for the trade union work of the new Communist party in Germany. Extracts of this document, which is of exceptional interest, will be published in future issues.

YOUTH.

At the Amsterdam conference for a new Youth International, which is to meet early next January, there will be represented the Swedish Communist Youth Federation (formerly allied with the Brandlerites) having within its ranks 8,000 members, the Youth Federation of the Norwegian Labor Party (18,000 members) and the Mot Dag group (the Norway group formerly affiliated with the Brandler tendency. The Marx-Lenin Group of Denmark is also expected to send a representative. The above groups are, of course, only recent recruits. French, German, etc. Youth were reported as represented in previous issues of the Militant.

SCANDINAVIA.

On the question of the new party the following have been expelled or have resigned from the Brandler International (I. V. K. O.—International Federation of Communist Oppositionists): Communist Party of Sweden, the Mot Dag group in Norway. The Swiss section of the I. V. K. O. is likewise at odds with the Brandlerites, though no expulsions have as yet taken place. Comrade Bringolf, the Swiss representative on the International Committee of the I. V. K. O., expressed the following opinion at a recent meeting of that committee: The C. I. has been relegated to the position of being an instrument for Russian foreign policy; the C. I. has become a "hopeless case" for the West European proletariat.

The I. V. K. O. section in Alsace-Lorraine, one of its greatest sections, is having similar trouble with the center. In Czechoslovakia the Brandlerites have almost disappeared from the scene. Only the Lovestone Group in America (after the split with Gitlow and the present differences with the Zan minority) and the Brandler Group in Germany remain firm with the I. V. K. O.

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

PHILADELPHIA BANQUET

To Celebrate our Fifth Anniversary Benefit The "MILITANT" On Sun. Dec. 24th, 8 P. M. at Our Local Headquarters 524 W. Thompson Street Admit One Subscription 25c Auspices: Communist League (Opposition) Philadelphia.

BROWNVILLE SPARTACUS SOCIAL

As a celebration of the second anniversary of Young Spartacus, the Brownville Spartacus Youth Club will hold a dance and social on Saturday, Dec. 16th at the Militant Hall, 154 Watkins Street.

Discussion Article

THE PROLETARIAN PARTY

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

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

Immediately after the entry of the U. S. into the World War a tremendous amount of controversy naturally arose in the American labor movement as to the attitude toward the war. This controversy was most apparent in the Socialist Party, whose leaders, like the leaders of the European parties of the Second International, had betrayed the organization to the capitalist class. Opposition to the leadership became very strong and resulted in wholesale expulsion of the opposition groups by the Hillquit machine. The expelled groups formed themselves into a Communist Party, a Communist Labor Party, a Proletarian University, etc.

History of the Party

It can be safely said that the Proletarian University group (known also as the Michigan group and later as the Proletarian Party) had the soundest position in regard to the two Russian revolutions of 1917, in the attitude toward the Imperialist War, and in Marxian theory in general. They were at that time good students of Marxism. Many of the numerous blunders of the other Left wing groups could have been avoided had they accepted the ideas put forth by the Proletarian University group. But the objective conditions of that time were not conducive to careful study on the part of the majority of the Left wing members. The Bolshevik Revolution had just established the rule of the workers over one-sixth of the earth's surface. This great event had kindled tremendous enthusiasm and a keen desire for action in the breasts of the American workers, but there was no corresponding desire for careful and painstaking study of the great event. Most of the Left wing leaders declared that the time for study was past and the time for action had come.

As time passed the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party became the Workers' Party while the Proletarian University became the Proletarian Party. Later on the Workers' Party received the recognition of the Communist International and thus became the Communist Party of America. But the recognition of the C. P. did very little to correct the errors of the C. P. of A. It remained terribly "left sick". Its programs were grossly reformist and opportunist in character; (the LaFollette incident of 1924 is an example). But the Proletarian Party developed in the opposite direction and opposed to the antics of the C. P. of A. a program of "Education, Education and more Education". In its intense desire for correct Marxian understanding the P. P. leaned over too far and became almost exclusively an educational organization. Both parties occupied extreme positions. The great need was an organization that would combine in Marxian proportions both education and action. But such an organization did not appear.

Proletarian Party and C. P.

It is difficult to estimate the part played by each of the two parties named in driving the other to the opposite pole. Doubtless they exercised some influence on each other. But the objective factors were much more favorable to the growth of the frothier, noisier organization—the C. P. of A. The great working class sentiment in favor of the Russian Revolution was taken advantage of to the full by the C. P. of A. and resulted in a good deal of popular activity such as strikes, demonstrations, demands for Soviet recognition, etc.

In the Proletarian Party a firm and determined stand was taken against any sort of immediate or partial demands. Anything that showed signs of rallying any considerable number of workers to its support was frowned upon as opportunism or left sickness. It was a question only of education, first, last and all the time, according to the leaders. The Party's programs were cold, dogmatic affairs and the tactics followed were stiff and inflexible. Party leaders prided themselves on this stiffness and explained their "temporary isolation from the masses" as a sure sign of the correctness of their position. "The masses are not yet ready to accept such an advanced position. It will take time to win a considerable number to this view." The Bolshevik Party was very small up to the eve of the revolution and Lenin

A One-Man Party

There was little attempt in those days to restrict Keracher or to criticize his methods of carrying on the work because such criticism would have acquired a willingness and ability on the part of the critics to undertake more work himself,

himself said the revolutionary party might be small but good. Such were the arguments used by the leaders. They did not know, or they forgot, that at the time Lenin wrote this, the Bolshevik party had several thousand members in Petrograd alone and that the Bolshevik Party was relatively small but not insignificant so. At no time in its history did the Proletarian Party reach a membership of 500.

Organizational Weaknesses

But in addition to the programmatic and tactical weaknesses there were weaknesses of a structural and organizational nature that prevented the Party from becoming a true Communist party. These last were inherited from the Socialist Party. The Proletarian Party constitution is a typical Socialist Party document, the terminology being in many places vague and indefinite and leaving room for quite different interpretations. In some places there is a definite duplication of authority provided, and this too in the highest bodies of the Party.

This condition might have been excused years ago when the principles of Bolshevik organization and democratic centralism, as outlined by Lenin, were still unknown to us here in America. But after that time there was no excuse for a party calling itself revolutionary holding to such a constitution. The recent controversy in the Party was based almost entirely on an attempt to have the constitution changed so as to conform to the principles of democratic centralism.

This attempt was not the result so much of deep thought as of changing conditions, particularly with regard to finances. From the time the National Office of the Party was moved from Detroit to Chicago in 1922, and John Keracher was made National Secretary, it was almost entirely a one man organization with Keracher as the one man. There were very few able men in the Party which explains the outstanding position of Keracher. A good deal of the work of the Party that should have fallen on the shoulders of the National Executive Committee was neglected by that body either on account of laziness or inability. This work was taken care of by Keracher, at least, after a fashion.

LABOR AND INTERNATIONALISM

The Pioneer Publishers has secured a limited number of copies of Lewis L. Lorwin's history of the international labor movement entitled "Labor and Internationalism". Pioneer Publishers secured these books at a bargain which will be passed on to the readers of the Militant who desire the book. The publishers price is \$3.00—it can be secured from the Pioneer Publishers at half price—\$1.50 postpaid. Send orders to: PIONEER PUBLISHERS 84 East 10th Street New York City

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

Previous to his revolutionary career Keracher was a small storekeeper in Detroit. He carried into the Party work the same narrow, petty, inefficient methods that he had employed in his own business. His book-keeping and office procedure are something atrocious and as an executive he is on a level with the average small storekeeper. To place a man of this type in the position of chief executive, with almost complete control, was to condemn the organization to sure death.

Not only was Keracher incapable of any important constructive work himself but on those rare occasions when others of some ability tried to cooperate with him he proved quite incapable of working with them harmoniously. He would always oppose them and work for their downfall in the Party. He met honest criticism with trickery and deceit and also with attack on the motives of the critic, all with the object of removing the critic from his position in the Party and, if necessary, from the Party itself. This sort of thing has happened on more than one occasion.

The Peterson-Dixon Group

In 1931 an attempt was made by the Peterson-Dixon group, as members of the Executive Council, to instruct Keracher, as National Secretary, on matters pertaining to the expenditure of press funds. Keracher had no great difficulty in getting this group expelled from the Party chiefly because the group was poorly organized and because it weakened its case before the membership tremendously by attacking Keracher's personal character instead of sticking to the revolutionary principles that were involved in the controversy. But in the summer of 1932 another controversy arose in the Party, and as a result of the same conditions that caused the first.

—JOSEPH KNIGHT.

(Continued in next issue.)

Problems of the Cuban Revolution

CUBA AND MONTEVIDEO

The great importance of the Montevideo Pan-American Conference for the Cuban workers and their American imperialist masters can be seen in the latest developments in the world's former sugar bowl. At Montevideo the Latin American capitalists, supported and inspired by the English and Japanese imperialists, are maneuvering for advantages for themselves and Uncle Sam's rivals at his expense. The U. S. is sitting so tightly on the lid that about all they can do is, to borrow a word from the Blue Eagle general, chisel.

Just the same they have the American moneybags in a delicate situation. If he makes a miscue anywhere in Latin America while this conference is on they will squeeze him for all they can get out of him.

Strike Wave Rising Again

The news coming out of Cuba is fragmentary and unreliable, being either capitalist or Stalinist in origin. But it seems the Cuban workers understand that Uncle Sam's necessity for stepping warily gives them more latitude. The strike wave is rising high again. If Harry Gannes, head of the Anti-Imperialist Delegation to Cuba, is to be believed the workers of 30 sugar mills in Santa Clara province have been involved in strikes recently (Daily Worker, December 9, 1933). The scope of this struggle can be seen from the fact that, according to the Cuban Review of February 1927, there were 53 sugar mills in this province in 1926, nearly thirty percent of all the sugar mills on the island, producing seventeen percent of all the bags of sugar of that year.

Other strikes are taking place; tobacco workers are out in thousands; all the Woolworth Co. stores are closed, and have been bombed. Most important among the strikes is the strike against the Cuban Electric Co. of which Machado is a vice-president, an affiliate of the Electric Bond and Share Company. The Emperor of America, J. P. Morgan, is the big shot in both of these outfits. How big the Electric Bond and Share is can be seen from the fact that its subsidiaries in 1930 supplied light, power, gas, water and ice to 1,520,000 Cubans, thirty-eight percent of the population.

Importance of the Strike

The importance of the strike lies not only in the size and importance of the company. The Martin government, government of the petty bourgeoisie, is using the strike and the temporary weakness of the

American imperialists' position to consolidate its position and delude the masses of the country. The army high command told the Cuban Department of Interior delegates to the meeting of the electric workers which decided on the strike that it would not interfere with the strike. This is a bid for support by the masses.

At the same time it is part of a more comprehensive scheme: The government has issued an order to the Electric Company to reduce its electric and gas rates by forty-five percent and had forbidden it to reduce salaries or discharge workers in carrying through this necessary and insufficient reduction in the rates. In a previous article we gave the figures for electric rates: 17 cents a kilowatt hour in Havana an 20 cents in the interior; compared to New York which has a high rate of 6 and 5 cents a kilowatt hour. A second order struck at another Morgan outfit, the Cuban Telephone Company, a subsidiary of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company, also controlled by J. P. Morgan.

Strategy of the Martin Government

The attack on the utility rates is a sop thrown to the petty bourgeoisie who have had to bear the traffic; workers' towns in the interior have long without gas and electricity although equipped to use them. The threat to take over the American monopolies if they ceased operations in protest against the rate reductions is a gesture made by the government to the anti-imperialist sentiments of the workers and petty bourgeoisie. The order not to lay off workers or cut wages is part of the bid for support by labor.

Now the Martin government can afford this show of strength. It doesn't cost it anything now. It knows that only the most direct and serious threat to the stakes of Wall Street in Cuba will cause Roosevelt to risk arousing the whole of Latin America and playing into the hands of England, France, Spain and Japan by sending armed forces into Cuba.

At the same time the government is strengthening itself internally.

PIONEER PUBLISHER NOTES

A pamphlet on the history of Soviet diplomacy under Lenin and under the Stalin regime is in preparation and will be published by the Pioneer Publishers. This pamphlet will present documentary material showing the revisionist dilu-

tion of Soviet foreign policy under Litvinov-Stalin, the glaring change from the Communist of Foreign Affairs to the present incumbent, from Brest-Litovsk to Washington.

Cuban Workers Need International Support

That is how the government figures the lay of the land. But what about the workers? They are still putting forward only economic demands. We take that as a sign of the absence of an influential revolutionary Communist Party. A Marxist vanguard could take great advantage of the situation in the interests of the workers by consciously raising the struggle to the political plane under the slogan of nationalization of industry under workers' control of production. The weakness of the American capitalists' position now is also, in the last analysis, the weakness of the Martin government. The advancing workers' movement could also count on the weakness of the American imperialists' position, its present, necessary reluctance to assist the beleaguered petty bourgeois government.

The momentary weakness of the world's leading imperialist power should be exploited in another way to assist the Cuban revolution. An international protest movement demanding hands off Cuba, centering in Latin America, and on Montevideo would cause Washington great embarrassment and would weaken its position still further. It is in this connection and at this moment that we feel most acutely the collapse of the C. I. and the nationalistic orientation of the Communist Parties.

It is not too late to build the defense movement. That task stands high on the agenda of international working class problems. The Stalinists have demonstrated their failure to understand the problem and build the movement. The Left Opposition together with all other revolutionary elements must take the initiative and issue the call to the masses of the United States and Latin America, and the entire world to organize the movement of support and defense of the Cuban revolution.

—T. STAMM.

Discussion Articles

Draft Resolution on the Tasks of the Spartacus Youth Clubs Proposed by National Youth Comm. of the C.L.A.

We print below the draft resolution on the tasks of the Spartacus Youth Clubs adopted by the National Youth Committee of the Communist League of America. With the publication of this draft the columns of the Militant are opened for contributions on this question. Comrades are invited to send in their contributions. Articles are to not exceed 750 words. The analyses of the causes of the rise and function of the Communist youth movement contained in the theses on the Youth Question of the 2nd National Conference of the Communist League of America (see Militant, August 15th, 1931) holds good in all its essentials today. Particularly is this true of the first three sections.

1. Capitalism draws the youth of the proletarian families into the productive process. The cheapness of their labor power, their physical and intellectual immaturity, their lack of trade union organization makes them particularly profitable objects for exploitation. These same characteristics and the needs growing out of them—need for physical and intellectual development, for play, "social life"—were left almost wholly unsatisfied. From a position of helpers and apprentices the youth were absorbed ever more into the general industries and process of capitalism.

2. The Y. C. L. was founded in November 1919 out of a need for an organization which would attract the working youth towards Communism, win organize and train it for the Communist parties. The need for a special organization is called forth by the psychological peculiarities of youth—its immaturity and impulsiveness, its impulsiveness, its special activities—sports, "social" affairs—and its physical and intellectual requirements. These can be satisfied only by particular methods, activities and organization.

ism; develops itself in the struggle against the bourgeois and petty bourgeois (especially reformist) organizations and influence, as the cultural center and political leader of the youth.

League Subordinate to Party

"The League which aspires to be the leader of a section of the working class, the youth, is politically subordinate to the Communist Party, the vanguard of the proletariat as a whole. The strategy and tactics of the party are the strategy and tactics of the League. This political subordination is accompanied by the organizational autonomy of the League, i. e., its right to elect its own committees and officers, and regulate the League's inner policies and life. Political subordination is maintained by a capable party cadre inside the League, which directs and leads it, exchange of representatives on committees, and a sound Marxian policy in the class struggle which the Leaguers will readily follow. A thorough discussion of the party question affecting the League should take place during the latter's pre-convention discussion.

"The restatement of these elementary and fundamental principles of the Communist youth, laid down by the first three congresses of the Y. C. L. is made imperative by their revision in theory and practice, by the present leaders of the Communist Y. C. L.

3. Limited experience with Communist youth work requires that youth tactics, demands, slogans and special organizational forms should be put forward not as dogmas or finished products which have universal validity, but rather with a view of testing them in practice, examining the results, and thereby laying the ground for more effective tactics, slogans, etc. The Comintern under Zinoviev and later Bucharin and Stalin converted the Y. C. L. into factional pawns. Youth policies were completely subordinated to the factional requirements of the moment."

4. The election of a national youth committee and the establishment of "Young Spartacus" were two decisive steps which facilitated first, the organization of the youth in the Left Opposition, and second, the establishment of a number of youth clubs. A large percentage of the members of these clubs are

for the first time in a working class organization.

A Uniform Constitution

3. The action of the National Youth Committee in suggesting to the Spartacus Youth Clubs a uniform constitution which provided for the political subordination of the Clubs to the Left Opposition while organizationally autonomous and making the National Youth Committee the provisional national committee of the Spartacus Youth Clubs was a further step forward in our youth work.

4. Our efforts have been progressively in the direction of a national Spartacus Youth League which would function as the Communist youth League in the United States. This League will undertake the tasks and assume the form outlined in the first three sections of our 2nd National Conference Youth theses (quoted above).

5. This does not exclude the possibility of forming or cooperating with youth groups which are not Spartacus Youth Clubs, but steps in this direction, in certain localities where a S. Y. C. cannot immediately be formed. Under these exceptional circumstances the groups should bear other names than "Spartacus Youth" and have the character of discussion groups or study classes. Our comrades form fractions within them and attempt to convert them into sections of our national organization. They should be considered as temporary organizations.

Position Towards Existing Youth Organizations

6. Our attitude toward the Young Communist League is that it is a Stalinist organization incapable of effectively educating the youth to Communism or leading them in struggle. We continue our work within the Y. C. L. in order to win its members to our ranks. In all fields of activity our organization will appear as a rival of the Stalinist Y. C. L. while at the same time proposing to it and participating with it in united fronts.

7. The ferment in the American Y. P. S. L. requires that we pay attention to winning the young Socialists to Communism and the Spartacus Youth groups. We should endeavor to build a Communist fraction within the Yipsels through which we can carry on our propaganda work in that organization. Around this fraction we should build a broader Left wing on the basis of concrete class struggle issues confronting the young Socialists. On definite class struggle issues we will attempt to form united fronts with the Y. P. S. L.

8. It is essential that in the educational and propaganda of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and Young Spartacus, American revolutionary traditions, bourgeois and working class, play a predominant role. The revolutionary lessons of the American Revolution of 1776, the Civil War, the early American labor movement, biographical sketches of outstanding revolutionary leaders,

and so on, should be stressed as an essential part of the education of the class conscious youth. For this purpose, popular pamphlets should be issued by Pioneer Publishers under the imprint of the Provisional National Committee of the Spartacus Youth Clubs (or National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League of America).

9. A pamphlet under similar imprint should be issued as soon as feasible on "Who Are the Spartacus Youth?"; this to be the first of a series of uniform pamphlets on the problems of the American young workers—covering youth and industry, youth and the school, unemployment and the youth and so on. Another series of uniform pamphlets on the biographies of outstanding international revolutionary leaders should also be begun under youth auspices.

10. The Spartacus Youth Clubs (and League) should be extremely careful to avoid the mistake of the Y. C. L. in becoming a "youth party", that is, assume the same organizational forms, tasks, activities and methods of work as adult Communist organizations. This is inevitable in the first stage of the organization when the initial cadres are being assembled. The Spartacus Youth Clubs should attract into their ranks youth coming to Communism rather than full fledged Communists whose place is in the adult organization. The youth organization should contain youth whose average age is 17. Older comrades should be drawn into the adult organization and gradually drop their membership in the youth groups. When the Spartacus Youth League is organized the age limits should be 15 to 23. Comrades over the age of 21 who have been in the Spartacus Youth groups for more than six months should join the adult organization.

11. To avoid becoming a "youth party" two dangers must be avoided: First, the danger of separating the economic work of the youth from the adult organization. Wherever possible the industrial fractions of the youth should work together with those of the adult organization. In this field especially, the youth groups are politically subordinate to, and should work closely with the adult organizations. Secondly, the danger of narrowing down the Spartacus Youth Clubs to advanced or conscious Communists by the formation of permanent periphery organizations. The youth, theses of the 2nd National Conference correctly stated that one of the reasons for the conversion of the American Y. C. L. into a "youth party" was precisely its policy of forming youth sections of every auxiliary of the Communist party, youth clubs and groups of a permanent nature which duplicated the essential educational, cultural, and sometimes propaganda work of the Y. C. L. The formation of sports teams, dramatic groups and the conducting of social activities should be an important part of the work of the Spartacus Youth

Clubs which will make them the cultural centers of the youth.

12. Our aim should be to convert "Young Spartacus" into a live and aggressive Communist propaganda and agitation paper which will attract the youth to Communism and the Spartacus Youth groups. We should strive to make it an eight page semi-monthly tabloid size paper which can actually reflect the problems and needs of the young workers, educate them in Marxism, and play an active role in the class struggle.

13. We propose that the coming national conference of the Communist League (Opposition) empower the national youth committee to call an early date following the conference, call a national convention of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and all other youth groups which are sympathetic to Communism (as embodied in the program of the L. O.) and agree with the essence of our youth platform, to organize a

With Whom and How Shall We Build the New Communist Party

As far as the Left Opposition is concerned the necessity for a new Communist party has been accepted and has passed the stage of discussion. Though the idea of a new party came as a surprise to many members of the L. O., its advisability and necessity became so clear as the discussion developed that practically not a single voice was raised in opposition.

But, having accepted the idea of the necessity of a new party, we are immediately faced with the question: with whom and how to build the party. This question of course was partly involved in the discussion on the necessity of a new party but only incidentally. At present some more or less clear and definite answer must be given. Otherwise there is danger of our wasting valuable effort and energy without achieving any noticeable results.

If we answer the first part of the question—namely, with whom—the answer to the second part—how—will readily follow. The temptation is to take the easiest road. There are several groups with strong leanings towards Communist principles. Why not enter into discussion with such groups, win over as many of them as possible to our viewpoint and form the new party? Such a solution has a certain plausibility and, moreover, the path suggested by it presents no serious difficulties.

Spartacus Youth League along the lines proposed above.

International Affiliation and Tasks

The task of building a Fourth International assumed by the International Left Opposition raises the necessity of constructing a new Communist Youth International. The Spartacus Youth League of America—when organized—will be the American section of this youth international. It is our task to hasten the formation of such a world union of youth which can give active support to the Fourth International, and be politically subordinate to it. The American Communist League is the only section of the I. L. O. which has behind it such a powerful nucleus for a revolutionary youth organization. Therefore a heavy part of the work in the building of a new world communist international falls upon our shoulders.

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tion of Soviet foreign policy under Litvinov-Stalin, the glaring change from the Communist of Foreign Affairs to the present incumbent, from Brest-Litovsk to Washington.

Send all funds to Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, New York City.

must merely recognize the limitations involved in such a method and recognizing these limitations emphasize another method which is more difficult but will in the long run yield far greater results. The turn to a new party means a turn to mass work for the immediate purpose of gathering revolutionary workers for the building of a new party. Needless to say recruiting workers for the building of a new party cannot be successfully accomplished merely by explaining to them the correctness of the theory of permanent revolution in contradistinction to socialism in one country. Winning over workers to our side means participation in the workers' struggles. It means not only struggle but struggle on a correct basis with correct slogans. It means the gaining of the confidence of the workers in our ability to lead.

The superiority and correctness of our theories can be convincing to the workers through our successful activities in mass work. By this time this proposition should require no argument. A logical presentation of the correctness of the theory of socialism in one country, if not accompanied with practical revolutionary work in the trade unions, amongst the unemployed or amongst the unorganized will be met by a mere shrug of the shoulder. Effective work amongst the employed and unemployed workers will make them very sympathetic to the idea of building a new party.

To use comrade Trotsky's phrase of the two levers, one can say that there are two levers which we must use in preparing the groundwork for the new party. One is the short lever of discussion with those who have already accepted most of the fundamental principles of Communism and with those who are travelling away from the social-democracy towards Communism. The other is the long and more important lever of organizing employed and unemployed workers, participating and leading in their struggles and by such activities winning over new forces with which to build the new party. A turn to real mass work will be a very valuable training for our members. It will mean that they will no longer confine themselves to the study and discussion of what might be termed purely Communist and international questions. Our members confronted with the task of talking to workers will learn a new language and will concern themselves, in addition to questions of Communist theory, with questions affecting the everyday life of the worker. Our members will learn the intimate connection between the international and highly theoretical questions on the one hand and the more immediate problems of the working class. —ALBERT GOLDMAN.

EDITORIAL

The Leipzig Prisoners and the Boycott of Germany

AS the monstrous travesty of a trial at Leipzig approaches its denouement the workers of the world are called to solidarity with the Communist prisoners in the Fascist dock on an international day of protest December 19.

The heroic prisoners at Leipzig, facing their Fascist accusers undaunted and proclaiming their Communist faith before the whole world, are the brightest symbols and most inspiring representatives of the liberation struggle of the proletariat.

But warmly as we support the protest demonstration we have to recognize that protest alone, no matter how loudly it may resound throughout the world, is not sufficient in this case.

In the proposal for this boycott, which has been made by the International Left Opposition, there is nothing adventurous or unrealistic. Neither is it put forward with an exaggerated estimation of the results it can yield.

For the defense of the Leipzig prisoners and the beginning of a real international struggle against Fascism the transport boycott of Hitler's Germany stands on the order of the day.

Cuba and the Comintern

WHAT is the opinion of the Communist International on the tasks of the Cuban revolution? What advice does it offer the Cuban workers for the solution of their complex and difficult problems?

It is no small matter. Cuba may very well turn out to be the Achilles heel of the Wall Street monster.

The capitalists long ago demonstrated their intention of burning them in the electric chair. If they are still in jail it is our fault. We have not been able to build a mass movement strong enough to force their release.

This is a problem on which the "General Staff of the World Revolution" ought to speak out clearly. The Comintern was organized for just such purposes, and that is the way it acted in Lenin's time.

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

Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group, which has as an aim the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change

in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions."

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

In our opinion, and we say it with blunt and brutal frankness, it was explicitly so discussed and understood in the negotiations. If our opinion is wrong, we stand ready to be corrected.

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

Signs of the Coming Storm

AMONG other characteristics the lynchings wave demonstrated a feature which can be compared only with tropical storms. Like its meteorological counterpart, the lynching wave appeared suddenly and raged with great violence.

Not alone the lynching wave comes up suddenly, and runs its course with unrestrained violence. These features are characteristic now of almost every large scale social event.

The farm riots of the middle West last spring against foreclosures also shot across the social-political sky like a meteor. They too were marked by violence.

As the capitalist system disintegrates further the social weather is going to get stormier and stormier. The great reservoir of violence which these events indicate is going to burst.

The reservoir can burst in one of two directions: in the workers' interests or against them. Which direction the flood takes will depend on the preparedness of the classes—on whether the vanguard workers have constructed a revolutionary Communist party and established its influence.

The Scottsboro Struggle

THE efficient judge who presided over the third trial of Patterson and the second trial of Norris has sentenced both boys to burn in the chair.

For nigh on three years the fight has been waged to save the Scottsboro boys from death and set them free. It has been a historic fight, involving hundreds of thousands of workers all over the world.

The execution of the boys was prevented so far only by this fight. That is true. But we are no nearer getting them off altogether. One has been tried three times and one twice; the others once, almost three years ago.

The capitalists long ago demonstrated their intention of burning them in the electric chair. If they are still in jail it is our fault. We have not been able to build a mass movement strong enough to force their release.

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

The first step is the convocation of genuine united front conferences with guarantees of democratic representation and conduct.

Either way there is no time to lose. The legal lull in the case is not a time to relax. It is an opportunity to work, to build a powerful protest movement.

Why?

FOREIGN Commissar Maxim Litvinov was deeked unobtrusively into the Soviet Union on November 9 when he arrived home after having scored the most signal "diplomatic victory" of his career in the agreement he entered into with Roosevelt at Washington last month.

Reported the New York Times: "There was no formal reception or demonstration... The public was not informed in the newspapers that he would return today."

Why? Did the Stalinists perhaps shrewdly calculate that prior announcement of Litvinov's arrival might have led, not to a demonstration of welcome by the Soviet workers, but to a popular display of anger and disgust at the Stalin-Litvinov sale of the Third International to American imperialism?

Litvinov had to sink home, but William G. Bullitt, the American ambassador, who arrived a day after him, was officially greeted at the frontier and given a reception in Moscow. "It was the first time in the history of the Soviet government", the New York Times reported, "that any foreign ambassador had been met at the frontier or shown any attention whatsoever before arriving in Moscow."

Why?

Soviet Policy and Turkish Terror

Stalinist Diplomats Praise Oppressor of Turkish Workers as 'Best Friend'

The Daily Worker of November 30 reported that a delegation of Turkish workers in the United States would be visiting the local Turkish consul to protest against "the murderous persecution of revolutionary Turkish workers by the Kemalist government."

The C. P. organ concluded that the delegation called upon the workers of the United States "to actively support the struggle for the release of these prisoners, for the smashing of the brutal anti-working class terror of the Kemalist government, which is supported by the same Wall Street imperialists who today, under the New Deal, are ruthlessly increasing their robbery and murder of the white and Negro masses of this country."

It goes without saying that every last member of the Left Opposition both here and in other countries, endorses this protest against the vicious Kemalist terror in Turkey, the Turkey that was "liberated" from imperialist domination in the early post-war period with the aid of Soviet arms.

Karakhan and Pasha

It is recorded that at the end of 1929 Lev Karakhan, diplomatic representative of the Soviet government, made an official trip to Kemalist Turkey, where, even at that time, there was proceeding a "murderous persecution of revolutionary Turkish workers."

Adventurism in St. Paul Strike

(Continued from page 1) The Armour officials, seeing that the overwhelming majority of the men were taking no active part in the strike, began to utilize the press to induce them to return to work.

On the following day the union called a mass meeting of the Swift workers. About 250 were present. The union leaders demanded that these men go on strike.

Another German Leader Revolts

(Continued from page 1) idiotic as the other. "Naturally we must fight for a proletarian government in the Saar and for a Soviet Germany. But that does not do away with our duty to tell the workers how they should vote in 1935."

Today we can tell the workers only this: As long as the Nazis are in power in Germany, a reintegration of the Saar territory is out of the question for them.

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"best friend"? If so he was un-fitted to represent the Soviet power. If not, why create an illusion and deceive the masses as to the true character of the Turkish foreign minister and his government?

But Karakhan had more to say. On his arrival at Ankara he said: "This city reflects the calm and firm security with which the new Turkey is built, which supports itself upon its own forces and PUTS ITS HOPES IN THE CREATIVE FORCE OF ITS PEOPLE AND THEM ALONE."

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

The "New Turkey" But let us pass on. The well-known Soviet writer, L. V. Nikulin, returned to Moscow in July of this year from an extended trip to Turkey—the same Kemalist Turkey about which Karakhan before him had enthused so fervently.

El Socialista of September 29 publishes a letter from Francisco Garcia Lavid (Henri Lacroix) in which the latter requests his reinstatement from the E. C. of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party.

Lacroix has thus passed into the ranks of the socialist lackeys of the Spanish bourgeoisie ("return to Marxism"). Less informed comrades might be astonished by this fact.

When a McMahon begins to give lip service to labor action—then that means that the McMahonocracy is holding in store for the toiling masses bearing down upon the advocates of class peace, a betrayal far greater than any of those in the past.

Watching his fingers closely, the workers who have determined to stand up in struggle against capitalist misery will use every measure to make McMahon and his ilk live up to their words.

It is opportune to recall here that each time a Mill or a Wall deserts our ranks, he states, while carrying on a furious struggle against the International Opposition (24 hours before the treachery!) that there are no "political differences". These lessons should be learned by our organizations.

GENERAL DEFENSE AFFAIR

New York.—Important additional musical talent has been enlisted for the General Defense Committee's annual Christmas Fund entertainment concert, and dance. Three well-known concert soloists will sing—Aida Camponones, soprano; Vincent Tortora, baritone; and Vincent J. Nola, tenor.

Class-war and classical songs are on the program, which is to be staged Friday, December 15, in Irving Plaza Hall, 15th Street and Irving Place. Proceeds will enable

The first anniversary of the Nazi dictatorship is approaching. All the tendencies of the regime have been taking on a distinct and precise character.

The results of such a policy should be carefully considered by every serious worker. The workers in the South St. Paul packing houses are now more than ever in the grip of the bosses' company unions.

Whether or not this is true is hard to say but the fact remains that the police went to the union hall and arrested the three men. The workers present made no protest.

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Postscript to the 'Portrait of National Socialism'

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Notes of the Week

THE DOLLAR isn't all that's "batoney" under the NRA. Mr. Al Smith may have a broad wit but he has limited interests.

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

Section 7a of the Recovery Act grants the legal right of both individual and collective bargaining. "Individual bargaining"—that means, as so many of us have discovered—the right of the boss to hire and fire at will, to command you to work for a bowl of miserable soup or be thrown out into the street altogether.

In his effort to wrest improvements from the boss, the laboring man has no strength other than the helping hand, the common mind and will of his fellow men. The boss has the banker, the police, the gunman and the dollar on his side.

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