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# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## The New Rift in the Lovestone Group--and the New Party

After having been slain so often, the very much alive flesh and blood specter of "Trotskyism" has risen again to disturb the equanimity of the Lovestone group. A call has been issued for a national conference next month, and the current issue of the *Workers Age* prints a discussion supplement in which are published the statement of the majority "On the New Party and Trotskyism", and the minority statement by Zam "For a New Perspective for Our Group". The dispute is the second one in a year to wrack the frail body of the American Right wing, and the latest one promises to have even more far-reaching consequences than the one which preceded it.

That the discussion should revolve around the recent German events and the problem of a new Communist party and international arising out of them, is already highly significant. In the first place, it is a warning revelation of how the overwhelming pressure of international (the so-called "foreign") questions inexorably crushes every futile attempt to establish a revolutionary organization and policy on purely "American" issues (whatever they may be). In the second place, it again attests the fact that the regenerated Communist movement will and can come into existence primarily on the basis of the position taken towards the August 4th of Stalinism; its capitulation to Fascism in Germany. And not as an isolated instance, or an episodic incident, but as the crowning point of ten years of policies which have converted the Communist International from the general staff of the world revolution, into a brake on the world revolution operated by the omnipotent Stalin secretariat.

The attitude to be taken to the problem referred to has already aroused stormy discussions in most sections of the radical labor movement of Europe. However contented conservative officials may be with the way matters have gone up to now, however reluctant they may be to engage in a discussion of the problem of the new International which is now posed as imperiously as it was after August 4, 1914, the discussion is nevertheless forcing its way into the pores of one organization after another. Not even the Lovestone group is exempt from this penetration. And if the official Stalinist parties will be among the last to reveal an open concern with the problem and to bring forward a sector which will contribute serious forces to the new movement, it is not because they enjoy any organic immunity from it, but only because the molecular processes of differentiation already at work have not yet gained sufficient strength to break the momentarily effective stranglehold with which the bureaucracy is throttling all criticism and progress.

The Lovestone group suffered a blow several months ago when the group supporting the views of Gitlow—which has now taken a favorable position towards the slogan of a new Communist party and international—broke away from it. The new internal struggle is an echo and a continuation of that rupture. The statement of H. Zam, the official and solitary representative of the minority on the National Committee, declares for a new Communist party in the United States and in every other capitalist country, that is, for a new Communist International outside of the Soviet Union and exclusive of any Russian section. Zam's membership on the National Committee facilitates for the time being his role as official representative of the new current, although the genuinely progressive tendency in the Lovestone group does not and cannot find in him anything more than a fortuitous and unauthentic spokesman. But although truer voices will speak out tomorrow, it is the two "official" currents which concern us at present, the official statements in the discussion supplement of the *Age*.

Let us first examine the declaration of the Committee majority. The Lovestone document—interspersed with the customary falsehoods, inventions, distortions about the "Trotskyites"—proceeds from the idea that no new course is needed for the simple reason that no change has taken place in the situation. The sole criticism that Lovestone musters up boldness enough to make of the disastrous course of Stalinism in the German situation, is contained in the weasel words about "its failure to apply effective tactics to realize its correct Communist principles and aims". Nothing more!

The fact that the Communist party was deliberately prohibited by its own and the Moscow bureaucracy from effecting that elementary, obviously imperative and obviously correct united front which would have crushed Fascism before it came to power; the fact that the

Fascists were allowed to come into power and to consolidate it without the Communist party lifting a finger to organize the slightest resistance to them; the fact that the last of the parties in the Comintern that retained a mass basis up to then now lies crushed, bleeding from a thousand fatal wounds, completely incapacitated—that is, has collapsed; the fact that the catastrophic course which rendered this outcome inevitable has been officially canonized by the Comintern and all its sections without the slightest attempt at self-criticism or re-valuation; these facts and dozens of others which proclaim from the housetops the collapse of the Communist International—are blithely dismissed with the observation that, although they had correct Communist principles (the nationalistic dogma of socialism in one country!) and aims (the "people's revolution" and the "national emancipation of Germany!"), the Stalinists were not so effective with their tactics. Here you have revived the theory that if the monarch lost both battle and kingdom, it was only for want of a horse-shoe nail. The story was a plausible and amusing in kindergarten books. In the present case, it is nothing less than a despicable attempt at whitewashing the Stalinist criminals who are responsible for the tragedy of the German proletariat and, implicitly, their discharged Right wing flunkies who seek re-hiring.

"Genuine Opposition to Fascism" The Stalinists in Germany have not had their August 4th, argues the thesis. "No one can doubt the sincerity and genuineness of the official C. P. G's opposition to Fascism at any stage of development," it declares. There is no way, however, of measuring sincerity in politics. There is no such thing as a "sincerometer", as Lenin once told Serrati, nor is there a need for one in politics. Sincerity does not weigh decisively on the scales of the class struggle, and what is important is not an instrument to measure it (and there is none), but an instrument with which to take the measure of political tendencies, of programs, of actions. That instrument is Marxism.

No sincerer opponent to the im-

(Continued on page 4)

## Progressive Enginemen Organize For Reform of Railroad Unions

On July 19th, 1933, at the recent B. of L. E. Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, the "Progressive Club of Enginemen" was started by 74 members of the progressive block in that Convention. The progressive movement has already taken on an organized form inside of the B. of L. E. This minority movement grew up and developed on and around a 25 point program of much needed changes in the organization. Among other things, the progressive minority program called for the "Initiative Referendum and Recall"; abolition of all gag laws and secret work and the reinstatement of all gag law victims; for a new set of officials with lower salaries; for the removal of the B. of L. E. headquarters from Cleveland to Chicago, etc.

However, the Johnston machine had a sufficient majority to control the convention, and were able, with one or two exceptions, to prevent the proposals of the progressives from being enacted into law. When these progressive delegates saw that their program was being defeated they decided to launch an organized progressive movement inside of both of the two Enginemen's Brotherhoods to perpetuate and keep alive the progressive program defeated at the B. of L. E. convention, and the result was the Progressive Club of Enginemen. Every locomotive engineer, fireman and hostler who is a member or eligible to membership in the two enginemen's brotherhoods and who subscribes to the progressive program, may join the Progressive Club of Enginemen.

There is certainly a big and fertile field for an organized progressive minority movement in the Enginemen's Brotherhoods as well as in the 21 Railroad Unions. The Minneapolis Railroad Council Movement aims to do the same thing inside of the 21 railroad unions that the Progressive Club of Enginemen aims to do inside of the Enginemen's and Firemen's unions. Instead of leadership and program the Railroad Brotherhoods have a well-organized bureaucratic autocracy which has entrenched itself behind gag laws, obligations, secret work and a very tightly censored Brotherhood press. No member of the 21 Railroad Brotherhoods can even mildly criticize his administration's

## Boycott of Germany

(Resolution of the International Plenum of the Bolshevik-Leninists.)

The boycott is an important weapon in the international struggle against Hitler Germany. It is an elementary truth that the boycott cannot overthrow Hitler. But it can force him to make certain concessions and it can help the defeated German working class, as well as the world's working class, in regaining confidence in the power of proletarian internationalism.

The boycott of goods, supported by bourgeois and liberal Jewish organizations, transforms this method of struggle against Hitler into a means of bourgeois competition and ideological preparation for war, and into the creation of a "collaboration" between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, in view of coming war.

The boycott of German goods is also propagated in the same sense by the reformist lackeys of capitalism. The revolutionary proletariat can take part only in an active boycott, which also develops the class struggle against its own bourgeoisie; boycott of shipping, strikes of seamen, longshoremen and railroad workers.

The 3rd International, refusing any boycott in the interest of the commercial policy of the Soviet Union, shows again its inability to defend the class interests of the proletariat; an inability which is due to the non-Marxist policy of socialism in one country. Experience has proved that the boycott has no meaning unless it is conducted by the mass organizations of the proletariat, and if it is designed to attain an aim in a definite period of time. This is why the boycott should be preceded by systematic propaganda and by the creation of a united front which will permit the projection of the boycott with a determined aim and at the same time with all the necessary force.

It is in this sense that the Plenum of the International Op-

position has addressed itself to all workers' organizations on August 28, and again in its appeal on the subject of the trial on the burning of the Reichstag for joint action of all workers' organizations.

International Secretariat, September 28, 1933

## Stalinists Expel 3 Food Workers from Union

New York.—Three militants of years standing in the revolutionary and labor movements have just been expelled from the Food Workers Industrial Union in New York for the crime of disagreeing with the political views of the Stalinists in control of the organization and for supporting the standpoint of the Left Opposition. At the same time that this reactionary deed was committed, the Stalinists borrowed another leaf from the book of labor fakery and used the economic club against one of the expelled by firing her from the job which the union bureaucracy controls.

The militants involved are Sebastian Pappas and Sylvia Weiner, two founders of the union, and one of its most qualified organizers, James Gordon. There is not an organized worker in the food industry who is not acquainted with all three militants for their activities in the union, its strikes and on picket lines, for their combativity which has more than once brought about their arrest and imprisonment. Despite the fact that all three of them enjoy a blameless record in the movement, the Stalinists sat in judgment upon them in typical star chamber proceedings and promptly expelled them.

### Culmination of Long Fight

The expulsion comes at the conclusion of a long fight within the union which began even prior to inexcusable splitting of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union by the Stalinists for the purpose of creating the "red" Food Workers Industrial Union. For some time now the expelled members, whose loyalty nobody has ever been able to challenge, have been attempting to correct the pernicious course being pursued in the F. W. I. U. by its Stalinist officialdom. The aim of the Left Oppositionists in the organization has consistently been to establish one united union in the industry and to re-establish a genuine Left wing movement not isolated from the masses of the food workers.

Never able to meet the arguments made by our comrades, the Stalinists have instead sought for some time now to whip up the membership to a lynching spirit for the purpose of facilitating the expulsion of the workers who were a thorn in the side of the bureaucracy. Then, having reduced the union to a caricature, not much greater in strength and influence than the Stalinist party fraction which completely dominates it, the officialdom trumped-up charges against the three militants and pronounced sentence of expulsion upon them.

The most despicable act of the Stalinists consists in the firing of Sylvia Weiner from her job in the "Coops", a Stalinist institution where she had been at work up to the time of her expulsion. The capitalist uses precisely the same method of firing and blacklisting in order to starve out militants in the shop until "they come to their senses". The A. F. of L. agents of capitalism use the same method in order to rid themselves of critics and opponents in the unions; they take them off the job, keep them unemployed without the possibility of getting work elsewhere, and thus starve the class conscious fighters into submission to the machine. Sylvia Weiner's discharge does not leave a single spot on her sterling record in the union; it does, however, brand the cynical bureaucracy which committed the act with an ineradicable stigma.

### Rank and File Indignant

Scores of workers are seething with indignation at the expulsion which every rank and file understands to be based exclusively on the political opinions of the three comrades. Militants in the food and needle trades industries who have worked and fought side by side with our comrades in a dozen battles, refuse to swallow the crude and disgraceful action of the Stalinists. The latter have not heard the last of this expulsion. There are many workers who are determined to make a vigorous protest in every organization against the action. The hope of the Stalinists to finish off their business in the dark of the moon and in the confines of their trial chambers will, we are confident, be successfully spiked by the resolute militants. The Stalinists, in this case at least, will be compelled to answer for their action before an infinitely more authoritative court than that which tried the three: the court of the workers and their organizations. The Stalinists will be confronted by militants in the food industry, in the needle trades unions and elsewhere—and made to explain.

This crime will not be allowed to pass with impunity—bear that in mind, Messrs. Stalinists!

## A Letter from Prison

Nov. 6, 1933  
Gloucester, N. J.

The Militant,  
Comrades:—

I believe you should know that the I. L. D. have not given me any consideration whatsoever at any time during the 5 months that I have been incarcerated owing to my active work for our cause. I expect no action from this source and I feel that the Attorney is not being encouraged to exert the energy in my behalf that I know he can and is quite efficient to do. I am confident that he is perfectly O. K. but is not receiving the attention and care to enable him to forge ahead in the cause for which I confidently stand.

I am personally without funds and deprived of even smoking, also other incidentals which a person really needs. I am sure my comrades do not know these circumstances for I am positive that they realize I face my duty unflinchingly and so do warrant consideration in our unity of cause.

It would please me so much if you would kindly forward the "Modern Monthly" and keep me in mind as I am sure you realize I rightly warrant by my comrades.

The Militant is coming to me regularly and I want you to know that I appreciate all you do to inspire and further what is Right-For-All.

I have not heard any definite news for quite some time, the latest given to me here is that I be deported to Italy.

With kindest Personal Regards,

Believe me Sincerely,

COMRADE BELLUSSI.

Note: Letters to comrade Bell-

lussi should be addressed as follows: Anthony Bellussi, Detention House, Philadelphia Immigration Station, Gloucester City, New Jersey.

## N.Y. Food Workers Turn To Trade Union Action

Sentiment for Aggressive Organization Struggle Follows N.R.A. Fiasco; Hotel Strike in Prospect

New York.—While the organization campaign drive of the Hotel and Restaurant Union Branch of the A. F. W. is going on as reported previously the Union is confronted now with a new serious situation. The bosses realize that our Union is becoming a powerful force and they are preparing to strike the Union a blow.

They failed to line up the Vatel Club members for the Company Union and they are concentrating at present on the Geneva Association. The big Hotel owners are working methodically in creating the scabbing machinery. They have already begun to force the workers of Taft and New Yorker Hotels to join the company Union, and for obvious reasons. These Hotels so far have very few union members. This fact alone should convince every food worker that in order to protect his interests he must not only join the Union but convince his fellow workers to do the same. The NRA illusions even among the unionized workers were very strong. But now they begin to realize that the only road to follow is a more direct action against the bosses. The NRA officials did not lift a finger to help any worker but surely they did work very hard in protecting the interests of the bosses.

Besides the above mentioned behavior of the local NRA officials news reached us from Washington that the President is ready to sign the Hotel Code without any consultation with the Labor Unions. Of course this is an open violation of the law known as the NRA but the class conscious workers did not entertain any doubts that the cap-

italists would violate every law which might harm even slightly their sacred interests.

No results whatever were accomplished, whether the matter brought up to the NRA was an arbitrary firing of an individual or of a whole crew of cooks, whether a concerned wages or hours. The new ruling that tips are wages, and the forthcoming signing of a hotel men's code without the participation of the workers, are putting the finishing touches to the hopes and confidence of the hotel and restaurant workers in assistance from the NRA.

Now one ruling after another weakens the position of the workers: the hours of the waitresses at Loft's are being lengthened, the waiters are not getting their fixed minimum wages, cooks and waiters are being fired arbitrarily, the impossible burden of proving that the discharge is for union activity is being put on the organized workers.

They are beginning to realize that their fate is now in their own hands, and that they must look for help only to their own organization of organized workers, whether working in the biggest hotels or in the smaller restaurants, are preparing for decisive action, completely independent of the NRA.

The workers for their part are prepared to draw the inevitable conclusions from the situation which has been forced upon them. They are prepared to fight back from now on against every aggression of the bosses, whether by the picket line or the strike, and if necessary they will surely not shrink from a general strike-up of the whole hotel and restaurant industry in the city of New York.

The food workers are realizing that only a Union based on class struggle principles is able to defend their interests. That is why they got rid mighty fast of their illusions about the NRA and they are determined to fight for their demands. Their fight will not be an isolated one. Tens of thousands of unorganized will join the ranks of the Union when it leads the fight for the abolition of the miserable conditions that the Hotel Men's Association inserted in their code which the NIA Administration and the President is preparing to sign.

### COTTON PICKERS ARRESTED IN STRIKE

Cotton pickers arrested following the attacks on the strikers by the growers' armed "committees of protection" in the San Joaquin Valley, Calif., will be defended by A. L. Wirin of the Southern California branch of the A. C. L. U. Seven workers are charged with murder, a strike leader with criminal syndicalism, seventeen pickers with resisting an officer and rioting, four with vagrancy and disturbing the peace.

The murder charges grew out of the shooting of a Mexican striker, at Arvin. Though the strikers, according to all witnesses, were without weapons and the cotton grower carried guns, not a single grower is held. The indictment against Pat Chambers, the leader of the strike, for criminal syndicalism is called a frame-up by Mr. Wirin. Chambers, it is reported, at all times urged the strikers not to resort to violence. His bail was first set at 2,000 and then raised overnight without hearing to \$20,000. A writ of habeas corpus filed in the Superior Court to reduce the bail proved unavailing. At a hearing on the bail for the four strikers charged with vagrancy, the District Attorney of Kings County declared the defendants were arrested because they were strike leaders and urged that the bail be high to keep them in jail. The bail was set at \$200 and raised at once and the fact finding committee investigating the violence reported "Without question the civil rights of the strikers have been violated. We appeal to the constituted authorities to see that the strikers are protected in rights conferred upon them by the laws of the state and by the federal and state constitutions."

The Socialist party and its mayoralty candidate, Robert Minor received 26,564 votes or an increase of 2,500 votes over the vote recorded for Patterson last year. Considering the huge increase of voters this year the Communist vote has remained stationary. The campaign conducted by Minor and the Stalinists many times sunk into the most vulgar opportunism. The crimes of Stalinism in the unions and in the class struggle in this city, the repercussions of their bankruptcy throughout the world, is sadly registered in this election.

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### OPEN FORUM

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AFTER HILLQUIT  
Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN  
Friday, November 17, 1933 8 P. M.  
at International Workers School 126 East 16th Street  
Auspices: Manhattan Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)  
ADMISSION 25 CENTS

## 'Good Government' Cleans Up in the New York Municipal Election

The Tiger's tail has been twisted. The "rascals" have been driven out of office. The "millionium" of the end of "bossism" has come to New York. Honest-to-goodness government is installed in power and the days of corruption, skull-duggery and political racketeering are over. The shining champion of cheapness and honesty in municipal administration, the master demagogue, Fiorelli H. La Guardia is enshrined in City Hall to the great rejoicing of the "economy" experts, the pious Christians, the yellow press, the innumerable office-seekers—not to mention the Big Boys who backed and financed his campaign.

It was a tense campaign filled with recrimination abuse and character assassination in which the right was no doubt shared by all the contestants for the mayoralty alike. There can be no doubt that this election must have been a real tickler to anyone with a sense of humor.

The great issue trumpeted up and down our fair city was boss or no boss. Tammany's candidate, the others admitted, was a square shooter but "Honest" John O'Brien had an evil genius behind him whispering "Mephistofelian" advice into his ear. "Honest" Joe McKee the crusader against Tammany dictatorship was of the same kind of boss domineering which he inveighed so strongly against. And La Guardia, ever ready with radical phrases to please the demos, was charged with being a Communist. No less!

### A Rude Awakening

The rude awakening will come for the masses in New York when they discover that the election promises to clean up the city, to make an end to corruption, whether carried out or bursting like soap bubbles, will not make a particle of difference in their economic conditions. The dead weight of the four years of abysmal privation, and body-wracking unemployment, will not be lightened when and if the grafters are cleaned out by La Guardia.

Quite another matter are the promises Mr. La Guardia has made to introduce "economy" into the city administration, where he contends extravagant waste has prevailed under Tammany. When La Guardia talks of "economy" he is not addressing himself to the workers but to the gentlemen of Wall Street who will supervise his actions in office. The New York City government is saddled with a huge debt to Morgan, Rockefeller et al. who want it honored, the principal and the interest. The panaceas heralded by La Guardia and others, that dispensing with useless office holders will balance the budget and provide funds to meet the city's obligations, if this is to be met in mind, Messrs. Stalinists!

BROOKLYN BRANCH AFFAIRS: Headquarters: Militant Hall, 154 Watkins St. (Near Belmont Av.), Brooklyn.  
Sat., Nov. 25th, 8 P. M.—Diego Rivera on Revolutionary Art and Oppressed Minorities.



LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Hundreds Hear Mac-Donald at Toronto

Toronto.—With over 700 workers in attendance at the Labor Temple last Sunday, Jack Macdonald spoke on "The Need for a Fourth International". The meeting was composed of a large section of Left wing socialist workers, about 250 Party adherents and sympathizers and a number of I. W. W. members.

successful in getting into the various A. F. of L. unions and in several instances are already playing leading roles. In fact it can be said that almost the entire activity of the branch is devoted to mass work at the present time.

self time and again as conducive to police interference in workers meetings. Hooliganism is an aid to the activities of the police against the class-conscious workers. Only their bankruptcy forces the miserable Stalinist bureaucrats to resort not merely to misrepresentation of the theoretical position of the L. O. but to the combined method of attempting to break up its meetings and hurling the vilest and most despicable slander.

Militant Builders

Thirty-three subs last week! That brings the total up to a hundred and thirty-five. That is something, but very far from the possibilities that are presented by the reduced prices of the Militant.

Philadelphia League Members Repel Stalinist Hooligan Assault

Philadelphia.—The scourge of hooliganism received another setback as the Party and Y. C. L. leaders: Mills and Hathaway called for the Philadelphia Police force to bar the Left Opposition from the 16th Anniversary celebration of the Russian Revolution at the Broadway Arena on Tuesday night.

said some time ago that they want the subs sent in from them credited to the branch and not to individuals—except in special campaigns like the present one; in which case they want the individuals credited. Our mistake lay in overlooking the proviso.

FROM THE MILITANTS

A New Method of Expulsion

New York.—Every C. P. member knows that there is bureaucracy "in the party", and it must be admitted that if this bureaucracy does not grow beyond certain limits it can be a basis only for criticism but not opposition. But every few party members are conscious of the fact that there exists a bureaucracy "over the party" which considers itself beyond criticism.

Minneapolis Branch in Action

Minneapolis.—The renewed activity of the American labor movement is also quite well reflected in Minneapolis. Hundreds of workers have joined the various A. F. of L. local unions and a vigorous campaign of organization is still in progress.

300 at Montreal Rally

Montreal.—The Left Opposition is becoming a factor to be reckoned with in the class conscious labor movement of Montreal in the I. L. G. W. U., at the anti-Fascist conference, on the issue of Joe Derry and the possible illegalization of the Young Communist League, the L. O. is making its influence felt.

Swaback Meetings in K. C. Successful

Kansas City.—Arne Swaback's three day visit to Kansas City—October 29, 30, 31—showed the rapid strides the branch has made under the banner of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

Mass Turnout to Hear Cannon at Toronto

Toronto.—On Nov. 3rd a gathering of more than 600 Toronto workers heard comrade J. P. Cannon deliver a stirring address on "The Sixteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution and the Fourth International".

Brooklyn Meeting

Diego Rivera will speak on "REVOLUTIONARY ART AND NATIONAL MINORITIES" at MILITANT HALL, November 25th, 8 P. M., 154 Watkins St.

Canned Comedy at the Painters' Banquet

"In honor of Philip Zausner, and further—to celebrate the Rebirth of the Brotherhood of Painters!" The affair took place Saturday, Oct. 28 at Beethoven Hall, as advertised, with the exception of the room 8 to 11 P. M., due to the arrival of the celebrities.

If the number on your wrapper is 198 your subscription has expired. If you want to get the Militant promptly every week renew your subscription at once; \$1 per year for fifty two weekly issues; \$5.00 a half year for twenty-six weekly issues.



Discussion Articles

Two Internationals

(Continued from last issue)

The German social democracy, not to be distinguished from its international, did not pursue a revolutionary class policy...

Now that Hitler has taken power, how do these people look upon events in Germany? What have they learned over a period of years...

The opening speech by Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the International, reads as follows: "The German Social Democracy was too busy with its immediate problems and failed to formulate a general policy..."

And from Otto Wels, the leader of the German Party, under whose direction the traitorous policies of that organization were initiated: "We made various mistakes but our critics mostly forget the circumstances and facts of the situation in which we worked..."

The French Socialist Party The leader of the French Socialist Party, Leon Blum, eloquently declared: "Real political democracy is impossible without economic democracy..."

These men who sank in the swamp of chauvinism, who, whenever it was in their power, throttled movements of revolt and rose to save this social order, have summarized the colossal German defeat. You have the results: (1) The Allies were unfriendly to the "tender republic"...

Here you witness no criticism of the "general line", no questioning of the theoretical outlook of social democracy, no criticism of the tactics of the leadership. It was circumstances and the Communists that were responsible for the defeat...

It is quite true that little else could be expected from this gathering. Every revolutionary worker knew that there could be no other evaluation of the German events by these people...

Matters stand in no different light with regards to the Comintern. The policy pursued by the Stalinist bureaucracy in Germany, was essentially in an active political sense no different than the policy of social democracy...

If Social democracy held to the theory of the "lesser evil", the Stalinists advanced the position of "national and social emancipation of the German people"...

Now, the working class is taught to believe that it has to go through the brutal stage of Fascism before it can experience the victory of the proletarian revolution...

Accepting Fascist functionaries into its ranks, canonizing fascist army officers who excelled in the anti-semitic campaign taking place in Germany, publishing their pamphlets and printing their articles because they announced their adherence to the Party when it issued its nationalist slogans...

Revolutionists never expected the prosecution of a revolutionary course by social democracy. But they did expect that the tactics of the Communists would have severed the millions of social democratic workers from the tail of reformism and win them to the side of the revolution...

How does the Comintern evaluate the German events? From a disgraceful silence of almost three years, it finally recorded itself in a declaration that appeared in the world Stalinist press...

Further Prince Sapega writes that "Poland would be tied by the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union only if this pact would obligate Poland in some more serious matters. But... there are no immediate prospects of an offensive on the part of Poland against the Soviet Union..."

At this point the indignation of Karl Radek becomes high and carries him away completely into the realm of noble feelings. He dons the robes of one of the highest priests of the infallible idol Stalin and indignantly pointing his finger to the sky solemnly proclaims: "We establish the fact that the former minister of foreign affairs of Poland is attempting to convince the world, that the Polish diplomacy in signing the principle political documents on non-aggression and accepting the greatest political obligations before the face of the whole world is only acting a play for a short period of time..."

What essentially is different here from the "explanations" made by the social democracy? Nothing of genuine importance. Social democracy blames the Stalinists, the

Stalinists blame social democracy. The social democrats feared the united front because it would inexorably have led to the proletarian revolution. The Stalinists played into their hands by preventing the execution of this tactic...

With the defeat of the German party, the backbone of the Comintern was broken. Aside from the German party, the largest and strongest party in the International in the capitalist world, the C. I. is composed of small ineffectual organizations that play either small or no roles at all in the countries where they exist...

Before the Nazis gained their victory, the party and the International always boasted about what would happen AFTER Fascism took power. Thus, Remmele in the Reichstag: "If they (the Nazis) once come into power, the united front of the proletariat will be established and sweep everything away..."

There are words which have acquired a sort of currency in the official Communist Party. Such for example is the word "mistake". "We made a mistake here"—is a sort of a formula in the Stalinist ritual, which is in essence to the Grand Master of defeats.

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Argentine Reactionaries Use Torture on Militant Bolshevik-Leninist

There were those old reprobates from justice inured by the storms of life who could not hide their emotions.

Propaganda in Prison The grey days drag by interminably. We have neither books, pencil, nor a piece of paper. No news of any kind from the outside. A veritable tomb for the living. We decide to break the oppressive atmosphere of this routine life. With another comrade we begin a course on "trade union organization". Then another on the "role of the worker in the revolutionary struggles"...

We are again on board the "Pampa" A sad ending for this proud boat which bears more resemblance to a slave ship than a war transport. Many things had become worse. They put us in the last hold. They close the hatchways. We suffocate. We must satisfy all our needs here... A furious storm hits us as we leave the Maire Strait. The old "Pampa" rolls and grinds. Everyone is thrown pell-mell; the pans full of urine and excretions roll with the men who vomit over one another.

A Fight on the Prison Ship It is no longer bearable. We try to speak with the officer of the guards. He answers with insults. We cry out. We decide once for

International Notes

THE L. O. IN LITHUANIA The Left Oppositionists in Lithuania have been definitely constituted in an organized group, working in conditions of illegality. The comrades have begun the propagation of our ideas by translating the documents of the League of International Communist, into the Lithuanian language. A secretary of the organization has been elected—The Lithuanian comrades write that the number of our sympathizers is increasing, particularly in the ranks of the official party. The intellectuals of the group are conducting political courses among the workers—The activity of the Oppositionists has provoked an odious campaign by the Stalinists against them. Every member of the official party has received a warning: fraternization with a "Trotskyite" means immediate and irrevocable expulsion from the party. The names of the leaders of Opposition are published in the illegal organ of the party, Partijos darbai (Party Activity). This is equivalent to denunciation to the police.

THE ILP AND THE MOVEMENT FOR THE NEW INTERNATIONAL The London New Leader, central organ of the British Independent Labour Party announces, in the last issue of the paper received here, the publication of a discussion paper entitled Controversy. Controversy the London paper says "will, we hope, fill the need for an organ where party policy and other points of difference can be thrashed out. The paper is for inner party circulation and members of the I. L. P. will be expected to participate in the discussion ranging over its pages. The first issue will appear on November 11 and will contain, besides articles on party policy, an article by Trotsky on 'Whither the I. L. P. The Need for a New International' "

NATL CONFERENCE OF SWISS Our Swiss section held its national conference on September 2-3. This conference has an enormous importance for the future development of the Bolshevik-Leninists in

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EDITORIALS

Bellussi

THE attitude toward foreign-born workers menaced by deportation has been a touchstone of labor solidarity in this country for many years...

This has been especially so in the case of those brought up for deportation to countries ruled by white terror and fascism. The soulless brutality of sending a worker to prison or death in another land...

Anthony Bellussi, held in prison today with an order of deportation to Fascist Italy already pronounced against him, presents a case of exceptional importance and appeal. Here is the now long-familiar story of the rebel against tyranny in his own country...

Why is this case not raised to prominence in the radical labor movement and made an issue of the anti-fascist struggle? Why is his name not made a symbol of the fight as it deserves to be?

Is it because comrade Bellussi, although not a member of the Left Opposition, was arrested on a charge of distributing copies of the Militant? Is it because the persecution of Bellussi for this offense contradicts the theory that "Trotskyists" are counter-revolutionists and fascists combined?

The C. P. L. A. Convention

WHEN the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (C. P. L. A.) meets at Pittsburgh on November 18th it will confront as its major problem the outstanding issue presented by international developments—the question of a new International and, consequently, of a new party.

The Lovestone group dedicated itself with a touching "realism" to the idea of a special American brand of Communism. Within the year it suffered one convulsion over the "Russian" question and is now in the throes of another over the "German" question.

Internationalism is the motto of our epoch, and the determining influence in all tendencies in the labor movement. For all its ardent "Americanism", the C. P. L. A. is itself a by-product of the crisis and disintegration of official Communism in America...

The existence of a healthy party of revolutionary Communism on the one side, and an organization breaking away from reformism and proclaiming revolutionary aims on the other, would raise insistently in the minds of the revolutionary workers, and especially those in the C. P. L. A., the question of fusion into a single party.

This situation is, by its very nature, temporary. Further developments of the crisis in the international movement of the workers' vanguard are up-

setting the old conditions. Positive forces of new revolutionary life are making their way against the stream, combating the disintegration, preparing the foundations of a new movement. This is the meaning of the steps already taken in Europe toward the formation of a new Communist International.

The influence of this issue in the ranks of the C. P. L. A. is already demonstrated in the fact that the question of a new political party has taken the central place on the agenda of the Pittsburgh Conference. It would be too much to expect that a concussive answer will be given there.

The organization of a new party is a colossal undertaking. What is to be its principle basis, what consciousness does it draw from the Russian Revolution and the experience of the Comintern under Lenin and under Stalin, with whom is it to be formed, what shall be its international affiliation?

The Left Opposition has given its answer to these questions already. Our program is Marxism—the first four Congresses of the Comintern, and the 11 points of our International pre-Conference, the September 30th Declaration of the League. We are ready to unite with the revolutionary elements of other organizations for the formation of a new party and a new International—on the condition that it be a Communist Party and a Communist International.

Trade Union Tactics

WITH the entrance of new masses of workers into the A. F. of L. unions a new favorable basis for the rapid reconstruction of a strong Left wing in the labor movement has been provided. If the correct tactics are employed, the new Left wing should take on a broad scope.

The problem is especially acute in the needle trades, and notably in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The outcome of the strike, on top of previous developments, finally consolidated the position of the I. L. G. W. U., swelled its ranks with new thousands of members and eliminated the Industrial Union as a trade union factor.

The workers who once followed the Left wing, first inside the International and later outside, are back in the old union. If the militants now adjust themselves to reality and work on the basis of the union, to strengthen it as a fighting instrument of the workers, great successes for the new Left wing are inevitable.

This is the greatest menace to the prospect of a resurgent militant movement in the needle trades. The wrecking crew which ruined everything before by its stupidity is trying now to prevent any serious repairs being made. The question of what to do about it is being raised by those workers who want to struggle for a militant policy in the International and, at the same time, count on the cooperation of the Stalinists.

Does this imply a break with those who follow or try to follow the Stalinist policy in the union. Absolutely. And the sooner the better. Cooperation in the task of rebuilding the Left wing is possible only on the basis of a correct policy.

Hesitation on this crucial point out of reluctance to make a division in the opposition can only paralyze the work of the revolutionary militants and play the game of the reactionaries in the International, as in every other trade union. A clean break with the bankrupt and discredited tactics of Stalinism is today the first prerequisite for the emergence of an effective Left wing.

The New Rift in the Right Wing

(Continued from Page 1)

perialist war ever lived than Eugene Debs. He was however debased to the function of window-dressing for the party which represented in this country the International of capitulation and betrayal. In his day, there were not a few rogues who sought to conceal their own shame and criminal record under his untarnished mantle...

The "Existence" of the German C. P. "The C. P. G. certainly exists, although greatly reduced in numbers, and still includes in its ranks some of the most advanced and most courageous class conscious workers of Germany, an essential element for the reconstruction of the C. P. G." Upon this fact, says Lovestone, "any realistic policy in Germany must be based".

A fact it certainly is, but it is not upon that that the policy must be based. In 1917, and 1918, the same and more could have been said about the American Socialist Party. Hundreds of its militants were imprisoned by the American Socialist Party. Hundreds of its militants were imprisoned by the Wilson regime, its papers suppressed, its meetings prohibited. Yet the proletarian revolutionists declared that the old party no longer sufficed—a new one had to be built.

When Lenin in 1914, and the Comintern in 1919, declared that the Second International was dead, the Lovestones of that day made the clever retort that there were hundreds of thousands and even millions of workers still in the ranks of the social democracy, which as a matter of fact even experienced a period of growth after the world war, without bringing the Second International to life again.

But this was nowhere done on the basis of continuing with the attempt of "reforming" what was beyond reform, but of building up new and independent Communist parties. The nationalist philistinism of the Lovestone position sticks out like a swollen thumb in his rejection of the new party for the United States.

But if the policy of the workers or the American imperialists and their Cuban bourgeois servants. The sugar crop in Cuba matures in the autumn or early winter. The harvesting begins in December. It is the aim of the government to drive the workers off the seized plantations, before the harvest season comes round to insure the American and Cuban owners their vested rights and whatever potential profit there is in the crop.

The workers on the plantations who are armed and organized to some extent will resist the attempt to evict them. In the one or two attempts to evict them that have already taken place the workers have demonstrated that. The coming conflict may develop into a widespread civil war. If the government is successful the United States warships will not land their complement of devil dogs.

But if the fighting should go the other way through the going over of the soldiers to the workers as is not impossible, the American imperialists may resort to armed intervention. The capitalist press reports that the Washington administration is looking for a formula by which it can land marines. The difficulty here is the result this action and its consequences in Cuba would have in Latin America. Today the Latin American aspect of the question is at an acute stage.

The attempt to drive the workers off the plantations coincides in time with the Pan-American Congress which is to convene shortly in Montevideo. For the United States capitalists this congress is an extremely important one. They will make a determined effort there to "adjust" the South and Latin American markets in the interests of "our" own trade. Any misstep in Cuba may tip the scales at Montevideo in favor of English,

the actualities of the labor movement and class relations in the United States." How genuine and touching a tribute to the spirit of the late Morris Hillquit! It will be remembered how the recently deceased fulminated against the Left wingers in his party in 1919 because they wanted to build a new party and discard the old "on the basis primarily of alleged changes" produced by the equally alleged Russian revolution, and not on the basis of "the actualities of the labor movement and class relations in the United States". Hillquit wrote more gracefully and persuasively; otherwise the arguments are identical, equally reactionary and intentionally misleading.

Culmination of Ten Years The Left wing demanded a Communist party in 1919 not simply because "something" had happened in Germany in 1914 or in Russia in 1917, but because August 4th had sealed the fate of the Second International, its program, its philosophy, its tactics and because November 7th had verified the need of a new international, introduced a new program and new tactics of world wide applicability. We propose today a new International and new Communist party not because a little slip was "sincerely and genuinely" made in Germany, but because the German events marks the culmination of ten years of Stalinist revisionism, because the old Comintern has collapsed, because it was shipwrecked after the bureaucracy threw overboard its revolutionary internationalist ballast, sails, rudder, helmsmen: because the German events were the outcome of ten years of the dismemberment of the body of Leninist ideas put into the foundation stones of the International, ten years of socialism in one country, of repudiation of socialist intervention, of capitulation to the petty bourgeoisie, of objective aid in the preservation of the discredited social democracy, of "social Fascism" and the united front from below, of strangling the Chinese revolution and the British revolutionary movement, of poisoning the ideological wellsprings of the Communist parties, of corruption, degeneracy and usurpation, of enormously enhanced the dangers to the Soviet republic, of systematically crushing the vanguard movement and reducing the International to a foreign agency of the Soviet bureaucracy.

It is not we who are hopelessly divorced from actualities, but the Lovestones who are hopelessly fascinated and in love with the prospect of being graciously permitted to crawl back to the antechamber of the Stalinist chancelleries. In a deeper sense than is generally recognized—there lies the difference between us. That is why Lovestone continues to prop up the collapsing structure of Stalinism by means of specious argument and falsification.

A Brandlerist Contradiction This is quite correct, even if it does not constitute the only reason why a new Communist party must be formed in the Soviet Union. But how is such a line of reasoning to jibe with the previous Brandlerist philosophy according to which Stalinism in Russia was an entity by itself, separate and apart from Stalinism in the capitalist world? That Stalinism had to be defended in Russia regardless of what criticisms or attacks were made upon it elsewhere? That in a capitalist country independent "Communist parties" (Alsace, Sweden) were permissible provided they condoned the Stalinist robbery of the Russian party's independence? The philosophy is simply ignored—not dogmatically but because it has been paradoxically enough because in this particular instance a pseudo-internationalist universality is needed by Lovestone & Co. for his unaltered defense of Stalin's security in the national apparatus.

The nationalist philistinism of the Lovestone position sticks out like a swollen thumb in his rejection of the new party for the United States. "Neither political nor organizational relations in the revolutionary movement of this country have changed materially in the last period of time... To urge the formation of a new party in the U. S. A. on the basis primarily of alleged changes in the Communist movement in Germany, as do both the Trotskyites and others (that tells Zam where he belongs!—S.), discloses a hopeless divorce from

the actualities of the labor movement and class relations in the United States." How genuine and touching a tribute to the spirit of the late Morris Hillquit! It will be remembered how the recently deceased fulminated against the Left wingers in his party in 1919 because they wanted to build a new party and discard the old "on the basis primarily of alleged changes" produced by the equally alleged Russian revolution, and not on the basis of "the actualities of the labor movement and class relations in the United States". Hillquit wrote more gracefully and persuasively; otherwise the arguments are identical, equally reactionary and intentionally misleading.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Notes of the Week

"Pigs Is Pigs" It might have been another chapter of the Mad Hatter and the March Hare. But it was actually a news account in the New York Times.

We refer to a story of triumphant justice as it is practised in these United States, in this day and age.—After NRA, after the New Deal and after the Rooseveltian exultation and mobilization of the "Human Agencies".

In Brooklyn, the other day, a magistrate held court over a villain who maltreated three poor little pigs, cooped up in a cage in a cage too tightly built. A representative of the S. P. C. A. after pondering over this sight (which was used as a display advertisement for a popular porcine comedy at the Flatbush Theatre) had the perpetrator of the...crime...arrested.

The judge, whose commiseration with such animals thereby becomes understandable, ordered the hogs freed, scolded the defendant and snipped the cryptic sentence: "Pigs is pigs and not subway sardines."

All this may be found to be an exact rendition of the Times story on Wednesday, October 26, 1933. The magisterial announcement, reported here in all its cynicism, gives a good measure of capitalist justice and the system on which it is based. "Fit for pigs"—that's capitalism alright.

A Subway Sardinia Commits Suicide —With Apologies to the Police

John Subway Sardinia, on election day known as Mr. Taxpayer or the Voice of the People and otherwise regaled with eulogies on the dignity of labor, leads a less dignified existence than the three little pokers. The courts are not for him. He is not provided with any warm covering to protect him from the cold (that was another point of litigation in the case of the Flatbush Theatre). There is no S. P. C. A. to prevent cruelty against him.

Yet, he holds the proud title of human being. He is, by the law—"a free man". Free to sell his labor power to the boss. Free to starve when the "supply of labor" exceeds the "demand".

How fictitious this freedom is, how much human dignity is lowered beyond the range of swine by the "commodity market" which produces unemployment, may be gathered from another item in the week's news (World-Telegram, Tuesday, November 7, 1933):

JOBLESS, GOING BLIND, HE SLASHES WRISTS

Note on Park Bench Apologizes to Police For Trouble.

Robert Guinevahl sat on a park bench in Central Park before dawn today and took stock of himself. He was 45. He was hungry, jobless. He was going blind, and he could not pay for medical care. It would become worse when winter came.

I scribbled a note to police:— I am sorry, for causing all this trouble," then he cut his wrists with a razor blade. He collapsed finally from loss of blood. A tourist took Guinevahl to Bellevue. Doctors said he might live.

Boss class justice deals kindness to pigs. Working class victims apologize for committing suicide! This is the U. S. A., 1933.

How long will workers stand for pig justice? How long will they apologize for going under? How long will they allow a system of society which degrades them to a fate lower than the beasts, to do its work of human distraction? —G...n.

CORRECTION

The first paragraph of comrade Abern's article in last week's MILITANT contains a misprint. The first fourteen lines of the article should have read as follows:

Eduard Bernstein led the attack of reformism against the revolutionary doctrines of Marx and Engels. Laying emphasis on immediate gains and objectives, Bernstein completely subordinated or submerged the need of revolutionary strategy to guide the proletariat in its struggles. He lost sight of the ultimate goal of socialism—the goal which, on the one hand, conditions the character of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary workers and, on the other hand is determined by them. For the means employed will also determine the end.

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The Crisis in the Cuban Revolution

Events in Cuba are moving toward a crisis. The strike wave is coming up again. The struggle against American imperialism is taking a violent form in the cities. In the interior the situation is still deadlocked: the workers hold some mills and plantations as guarantees of their demands for higher wages and better conditions while the soldiers and student bands of the Caribbean Army sent against them have not come to grips with the workers except in one or two cases.

But this state of affairs cannot long continue. One way or another they must be resolved definitely in the interests of the workers or the American imperialists and their Cuban bourgeois servants. The sugar crop in Cuba matures in the autumn or early winter. The harvesting begins in December. It is the aim of the government to drive the workers off the seized plantations, before the harvest season comes round to insure the American and Cuban owners their vested rights and whatever potential profit there is in the crop.

The workers on the plantations who are armed and organized to some extent will resist the attempt to evict them. In the one or two attempts to evict them that have already taken place the workers have demonstrated that. The coming conflict may develop into a widespread civil war. If the government is successful the United States warships will not land their complement of devil dogs.

But if the fighting should go the other way through the going over of the soldiers to the workers as is not impossible, the American imperialists may resort to armed intervention. The capitalist press reports that the Washington administration is looking for a formula by which it can land marines.

The difficulty here is the result this action and its consequences in Cuba would have in Latin America. Today the Latin American aspect of the question is at an acute stage. The attempt to drive the workers off the plantations coincides in time with the Pan-American Congress which is to convene shortly in Montevideo. For the United States capitalists this congress is an extremely important one. They will make a determined effort there to "adjust" the South and Latin American markets in the interests of "our" own trade. Any misstep in Cuba may tip the scales at Montevideo in favor of English,

Brooklyn BR. Activities

Wed., Nov. 15th, 8 P. M.—Meeting of Sympathizers on Branch Activities. Wed., Nov. 22nd, 8 P. M.—International Workers School Student Assembly. Fri., Dec. 1st, 8 P. M.—First Open Forum—Max Shachtman —The Soviet Union and the Fourth International. Sun., Dec. 3rd, 8 P. M.—Private Showing of the Movies—The Russian Revolution. Fri., Dec. 8th, 8 P. M.—Open Forum —Jack Weber—The New Deal and the Working Class. Classes of the International Workers School, Brooklyn Branch, open the week of Nov. 27th. Classes are held from 8 to 10 P. M. Monday Evenings: Principles of Communism. Fundamentals of Marxism Wednesday Evenings: History and Program of the Left Opposition. History of the Russian Revolution.

which have been making inroads into these markets at the expense of the American brigands. But if the policy of Yankee piracy is beset with difficulties from its trade rivalries it is unhampered by the international working class outside of Cuba. Nowhere is there a broad movement of the workers in defense of the struggling Cuban workers. The responsibility rests, in the first instance, on the Stalinist Comintern.

The policy of the Comintern in the Cuban revolution is also the policy of the Communist Party of the United States, which of all the Communist parties outside of the Cuban party is the most directly involved in the struggle against American armed intervention. There is no movement in the United States. The Communist Party of the United States has demonstrated again its conception of internationalism. Its agitation is confined to articles in the Daily Worker and forum lectures. Demonstrations? There was one puny affair of the "vanguard" in Philadelphia. There may have been one or two others. But there has been no serious attempt to build a movement of support to the Cuban workers! Are the American Stalinists under orders not to "interfere" with the success of Litvinoff's diplomatic mission? It is now the immediate, burning task of the advanced section of the American working class to come to the aid of the Cuban workers. —T. STAMM.

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