

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 22, 1922 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879  
VOLUME VI, NO. 45 [WHOLE NO. 192]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1933

PRICE 5 CENTS

## For a New Party and a New International!

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

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

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

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

### American Perspectives

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

### Fundamental Principles

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

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

The International Left Opposition stands on the ground of the first four congresses of the Comintern. This does not mean that it bows before every letter of its decisions, of which many had a temporary character and in individual practical consequences have been refuted by subsequent practice. But all the essential principles (relation to imperialism and to the bourgeois state; the dictatorship of the proletariat; the

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

1. The independence of the proletariat party, always and under all conditions; condemnation of the Kuo Min Tang policy of 1924-1928; condemnation of the policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee; condemnation of Stalin's theory of two-class (worker and peasant) parties and of the whole practice based on this theory; condemnation of the policy of the Amsterdam Congress in which the Communist party was dissolved in the pacifist swamp.

2. Recognition of the international character of the proletarian revolution; rejection of the theory of socialism in one country as well as of the policy of national bolshevism which complements it in Germany (platform of "National Liberation").

3. Recognition of the Soviet state as a workers' state in spite of the growing degeneration of the bureaucratic regime. Unconditional command that every worker defend the soviet state against imperialism and

as well as against internal counter-revolution.

4. Condemnation of the economic policy of the Stalinist faction both in its stage of economic opportunism in 1923 to 1928 (struggle against "overindustrialization" and staking all on the kulaks), as well as its stage of economic adventurism in 1928 to 1932 (over-stretched tempo of industrialization, thoroughgoing collectivization, administrative liquidation of the kulaks as a class). Condemnation of the criminal bureaucratic legend that "the soviet state has already entered into Socialism". Recognition of the necessity of a return to the realistic economic policies of Leninism.

5. Recognition of the necessity of systematic Communist work in the proletarian mass organizations, particularly in the reformist trade unions, condemnation of the theory and practice of the Red Trade Union organization in Germany and sim-

ilar constructions in the other countries.

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

7. Recognition of the necessity of mobilizing the masses under transitional slogans corresponding to the concrete situation in each country, and particularly under democratic slogans insofar as it is a question of struggle against feudal relations, national oppression or different varieties of open imperialistic dictatorship (Fascism, bonapartism, etc.).

8. Recognition of the necessity of a developed united front policy with respect to the mass organiza-

tions of the working class, both of trade union and political character, including the social democracy as a party. Condemnation of the ultimatum slogan "only from below" which in practice means a refusal of the united front and consequently the refusal to create soviets. Condemnation of the opportunistic application of the united front policy as in the Anglo-Russian Committee (bloc with the leaders without the masses and against the masses); double condemnation of the policy of the present German Central Committee, which combines the ultimatum slogan "only from below" with opportunistic practice on the occasion of parliamentary pacts with the leaders of the Social Democracy.

9. Rejection of the theory of Social-Fascism and of the whole practice bound up with it, as serving Fascism on the one hand and the Social Democracy on the other.

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

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

The fundamental principles enumerated above, which are of basic importance for the strategy of the proletariat in the present period, place the Left Opposition in a position of irreconcilable hostility to the Stalinist faction which currently dominates the U. S. S. R. and the C. I. The recognition of these principles on the basis of the decisions of the first 4 congresses of the Comintern, is an indispensable condition for the acceptance of single organizations, groups and persons into the composition of the International Left Opposition.

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

of Marx and Engels, cleansed once again of the reformist and centrist distortions and falsifications, are the fundamental principle guide for the new party.

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

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

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

### Defense of the Soviet Union

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

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

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

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

### The United Front

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

### Trade Union Policy

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

### Against the Right Wing Apologists of Stalinism

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

inism presupposes and requires an equally unrelenting hostility to the Right wing camp followers of Stalinism.

### Party Democracy

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

### Forces for the New Party

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

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

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

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

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

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,  
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA  
(OPPOSITION)

mass  
meeting

For a NEW INTERNATIONAL!  
And a NEW COMMUNIST PARTY for AMERICA!

SPEAKERS

JAMES P. CANNON  
MAX SHACHTMAN

Irving Plaza Hall  
IRVING PLACE and 15th STREET  
SATURDAY, SEPT. 30, 8 P. M.  
ADMISSION: 15 CENTS



# The I. L. P. & the New International

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

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

## Working Class "Parliamentarism"

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

During a period of ten years (1923-1933) the Left Opposition acted as a fraction of the Comintern hoping to attain an improvement in its policy and regime by systematic criticism and an active participation in the life of the Comintern and its sections. The Left Opposition therefore has a colossal experience of an international character. There was not a single important historic event which did not force the L. O. to counterpose its slogans and methods to the slogans and methods of the bureaucracy of the Comintern. The struggle around the questions of Soviet economy and the regime in the Communist party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese revolution, Anglo-Russian committee, etc., etc. remained comparatively little known to the workers' parties of the West\*. But two chapters of this struggle passed before the eyes of the advanced workers of all the world: they dealt with the theory and practice of the "third period" and with the strategy of the Comintern in Germany.

## No Impatience in L. O.

If the Left Opposition can be blamed for anything, it is certainly not for an impatient break with the Comintern. Only after the German Communist party of voting, proved incapable of offering the least resistance to Hitler, and the Comintern refused not only to recognize the erroneous nature of its policy but even the very fact of the defeat of the proletariat (in reality the victory of Hitler in the greatest defeat of the world!) and replaced the analysis of its mistakes and crimes by a new campaign of persecution—slender against real Marxists—only after this did we say: more. The German catastrophe, and the role of the Comintern in it, is infinitely more important for the world proletariat than any organizational maneuvers, congresses evasive declarations, diplomatic agreements, etc. The historical judgment on the Comintern has been pronounced. There is no appeal from this verdict.

The history of the Comintern is almost unknown to the members of the I. L. P. which has just recently taken the revolutionary path. Besides no organization learns only by books and files. The I. L. P. wants independently to undergo an experience that was made by others on a much larger scale. Had this involved only the loss of a few months, one could have reconciled oneself to it despite the fact that each month of our time is much more than years of another. The danger, however, lies therein, that aspiring to "test" the Comintern by a closer drawing together to it, the I. L. P. may follow unnoticed by itself the ways of the Comintern—and ruin itself.

## A Criticism of Its Paris Declaration by Leon Trotsky

The trade union question remains the most important question of proletarian policy of Great Britain as well as of the majority of old capitalist countries. In this field the mistakes of the Comintern are innumerable. No wonder: the inability of a party to establish correct relations with the class reveals itself most glaringly in the trade union movement. That is why I consider it necessary to dwell on this problem.

The trade unions were formed during the period of the growth and rise of capitalism. They had as their task the raising of the material and cultural level of the proletariat and the extension of its political rights. This work, that lasted in England over a century, clothed the trade unions with a tremendous authority among the workers. The decay of British capitalism under the conditions of the decline of the world capitalist system, undermined the basis for the reformist work of the trade unions. Capitalism can maintain itself longer only by lowering the standard of living of the working class. Under these conditions the trade unions could either transform themselves into revolutionary organizations or become the helpers of capitalism in the intensified exploitation of the workers. The trade union bureaucracy which solved satisfactorily its own social problem took the second path. It turned the whole accumulated authority of the trade unions against the socialist revolution and even against any attempts of the workers to resist the attacks of capital and reaction.

## The Most Important Task

Henceforth the liberation of the workers from the reactionary influence of the trade union bureaucracy has become the most important task of a revolutionary party. In this decisive field the Comintern revealed a complete inadequacy. During the years 1923-27 and first of all during the miners' strike and the general strike, that is, at the time of the greatest crises and betrayals of the General Council of the trade unions, the Comintern obsequiously toadied before the honorable strike-breakers covering them up before the masses by its authority and helping them to remain in saddle; thus, a mortal blow was struck at the "minority movement". Frightened by the results of its work, the bureaucrats of the Comintern went to the extreme of ultra-rightism: the fatal excesses of the "third period" were due to the desire of the small Communist minority to act in a manner presupposing that they had a majority behind them. Isolating itself more and more from the working class, the Communist party counterposed to the trade unions embracing millions of workers its own trade union organizations, most obedient to the leadership of the Comintern but separated by an abyss from the working class. No better favor could be done to the trade union bureaucracy. Had it disposed of the Order of the Garter it should have decorated all the leaders of the Comintern and the Profintern with it.

As was said, the trade unions now play not a progressive but a reactionary role. Nevertheless they still embrace millions of workers. One must not think that the workers are blind and do not see the change in the historic role of the trade unions. But what is to be done? The revolutionary way out comprised itself badly in the eyes of the Left wing of the workers by the zigzags and adventures of official communism. The workers say to themselves: the trade unions are bad but without them it might even be worse. This is the psychology of an impasse. Meanwhile, the trade union bureaucracy persecutes the revolutionary workers ever more boldly, replacing ever more impudently inner democracy by the arbitrariness of cliques, transforming in essence the trade unions into some sort of concentration camps for the workers under declining capitalism.

## Can We Skip Over the Trade Unions

Under these conditions the thought easily arises: is it not possible to skip over the trade unions? Is it not possible to replace them by some sort of fresh, incorruptible organizations on the type of revolutionary trade unions, shop committees, soviets and the like? The fundamental mistake of such attempts lies therein that a great political problem of how to free the masses from the influence of the trade-union bureaucracy is replaced by organizational experiments. It is insufficient to show the masses a new address. It is necessary to find the masses where they are and to lead them.

Impatient "lefts" sometimes say that it is in any case impossible to conquer the trade unions because the bureaucracy subjects the inner regime of the organization to its interests of self-preservation, resorting to the basest machinations, repressions and plain crookedness in the spirit of the proletarian oligarchy of the time of the "rotten boroughs". This argument signifies in reality the giving up of the actual struggle for the masses under the excuse of the corrupt character of the trade union bureaucracy. This argument can be developed further: should we not abandon revolutionary work altogether because of repressions and provocations on the part of the government bureaucracy? There exists no principled difference here since the trade union bureaucracy has completely become a part of the

capitalist apparatus, economic and governmental. It is absurd to think that it would be possible to work against the trade union bureaucracy with its aids, or even with its consent. Insofar as it defends itself by persecutions, violence, expulsions, frequently resorting to the assistance of government authorities, we must learn to work in the trade unions discretely finding a common language with the masses but not revealing ourselves prematurely to the bureaucracy. It is precisely in the present epoch when the reformist bureaucracy of the proletariat has transformed itself into the economic police of capital, that revolutionary work in the trade unions, performed intelligently and systematically, may yield decisive results in a comparatively short time.

## The Capture of Trade Unions

We do not at all want to say by this that a revolutionary party is assured of the complete capture of the trade unions for the purposes of the socialist overturn. The problem is not so simple. The trade union apparatus has attained a great independence from the masses. The bureaucracy is capable of retaining its positions a long time after the masses have turned against it. But precisely this situation, when the masses are already hostile to the trade union bureaucracy and the bureaucracy is still capable of misrepresenting the opinion of the organization and of sabotaging the re-elections, is most favorable for the creation of shop committees, workers' councils and other organizations ad hoc, that fit for the immediate needs of the given moment. Even in Russia, where the trade unions have not possessed by far the powerful traditions of the British trade unions, the October overthrow occurred with the predominance of the Mensheviks in the administration of the trade unions. Having lost the masses these administrations were still capable of sabotaging the re-election of the apparatus, although already powerless to sabotage the proletarian revolution.

It is absolutely necessary right now to prepare the mind of the advanced workers to the idea of the creation of shop committees and workers' councils at the moment of a sharp change. But it would be the greatest mistake to "play" in practice with the slogan of shop committees comforting oneself with "this idea" because of the lack of real work and real influence in the trade unions. To counterpose to the existing trade unions the abstraction of workers' councils would mean not only to set the bureaucracy against oneself but also the masses, and to deprive oneself thereby of the possibility of preparing the ground for the creation of workers' councils.

In this the Comintern has gained not little experience: having created docile, that is, purely Communist trade unions it counterposed antagonistically its sections to the working masses and has thereby doomed itself to a complete impotence: this is one of the most important causes for the collapse of the German Communist party. Is it true, the British Communist Party, insofar as I am informed, opposes the slogan of workers' councils under the present conditions.

## — L. TROTSKY.

Superficially this may seem like a realistic appraisal of the situation. In reality, the British Communist Party rejects only one form of political adventurism for another, more hysterical form. The theory and practice of social-fascism and the rejection of the policy of the united front creates unsurmountable obstacles to the work in the trade unions, as each trade union is, by its very nature, an arena for a prolonged united front of revolutionary parties with reformist and non-party masses. Insofar as the British Communist Party proved incapable, even after the German tragedy of learning and re-arming itself anew, an alliance with it can only pull to the bottom the I. L. P. which has just recently entered into the period of revolutionary study.

Pseudo-Communists will, no doubt, refer to the last congress of trade unions which declared that there can be no united front with Communists against Fascism. It would be the greatest folly to accept this piece of wisdom as the final verdict of history. The trade union bureaucrats permit themselves such boastful formulae only because they are not immediately threatened either by Fascism, or by Communism. When the hammer of Fascism is raised over the head of the trade unions then, with a correct policy of the revolutionary party, the trade union masses will show an irresistible urge for an alliance with the revolutionary wing and will carry with them to this path even a certain portion of the apparatus. On the contrary, if Communism should become a decisive force, threatening the General Council with the loss of positions, honors and income, Messrs. Citrin and Co. would undoubtedly enter into a bloc with Mosley and Co. against the Communists. Thus, in August 1917, the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries together with the Bolsheviks repulsed general Kornilov. Two months later, in October, they were fighting hand in hand with the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks. And in the first months of 1917, when Messrs. reformists were still strong they declaimed just like Citrin & Co. of the impossibility for a dictator to make an alliance with a dictatorship either of the Right, or of the Left.

## Revolutionary Realism

A revolutionary proletarian party must be welded together by a clear understanding of its historic tasks: this presupposes a scientifically based program. At the same time a revolutionary party must know how to establish correct relations with the class: this presupposes an equality of revolutionary realism, equally removed from opportunist vagueness and sectarian aloofness. From the point of view of both these criteria intrinsically connected, the I. L. P. should review its relation to the Comintern as well as to all other organizations and tendencies within the working class. This concerns first of all the fate of the I. L. P. itself.

## — L. TROTSKY.

\* This article is in print, however, in a series of studies and documents published partly also in foreign languages. For the English comrades the publications of the American League (Pioneer Publishers) are of great importance. Whoever wishes to study seriously the ten year struggle of the Left Opposition for the reform and improvement of the Comintern must study all these documents.

# More on the Paris Conference

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

Comrades who participated in one of the meetings of Bolshevik-Leninists communicated to me somewhat the following criticism of one of the participants: "We made no gains at the Paris conference; the whole matter came down to negotiations and agreements at the top; such a policy cannot have any revolutionary significance; the joint declaration signed by the 'summits' of four organizations signifies in reality a deviation towards the social-democracy..." Since this criticism, reflects—the truths, in a very exaggerated form—it is the doubts and apprehensions of a certain number of comrades (according to all information, of a small minority), it is necessary to examine seriously the above enumerated arguments. "The negotiations were carried on by the tops". What does this argument mean? Conference and conventions always consist of the "tops", that is of representatives. It is an impossible task to assemble in one place all the members of the Left Opposition, the S. A. P., R. S. P. and O. S. P. How can agreements between organizations be made without negotiations of the representatives, that is "tops"? On this point the criticism evidently lacks any sense.

## Pressure from Rank

Or does the author of the criticism want to say that the representatives of the organizations which signed the joint declaration do not express the opinion of the rank and file? Let us examine this argument as well. With regard to the S. A. P. it is known to all that the rank and file of the party have been striving for a long time not only for a closer approach to us but for a complete fusion with us, while until very recently, the tops evaded the issue, put breaks upon it, fearing a separation from the possible allies of the right. In this case what does it mean that the tops found themselves compelled to sign jointly with us a most important document? The answer is clear: the pressure of the rank and file towards the left, that is towards us, became so strong that the leaders of the S. A. P. were forced to turn to us. Those who know how to interpret political facts and symptoms correctly, will say that this is a great victory. This conclusion retains its full force independently of the fact how ardently, or skillfully the negotiations between the tops were carried on. Not the negotiations decided the matter but the whole preceding work of the Left Opposition.

With regard to the O. S. P. (Holland) (the situation is approximately the same. This organization was not connected with us at all. Two years ago it found itself in a bloc with Seidewitz and Rosenfeld. Today it drew nearer to us. It is clear that the leaders of this organization would have never made this step if there had not been a strong pull to the left on the part of the rank and file.

With the R. S. P. (Sneevliet) the matter stands somewhat differently. Friendly relations existed here already for quite some time. Many comrades know what active support

## A Step Forward or A Step to the Right?

Sneevliet and his friends have rendered the Left Opposition during the Copenhagen conference and especially, during the Amsterdam anti-war congress. The Comintern question prevented this political proximity from taking on an organizational form. When we declared ourselves for a new International the wall dividing us was broken down. Is it not clear that in this case our new orientation brought immediately a concrete and valuable result?

## Our Conjectures

About three months ago we wrote hypothetically that with a broad and decisive policy we could probably find not a few allies among Left socialist groupings. A month, a month and a half ago, we voiced the conjecture that a break with the Comintern would greatly facilitate the influx to our side of revolutionary groupings of social-democratic origin. Is it not clear that the Paris conference confirmed both these conjectures and on a scale that we ourselves could not expect two, or three months ago? Under these conditions, to complain that everything came down to negotiations by the "tops" and to assert that the new alliance has no revolutionary significance is to reveal a complete ignorance of the basic processes which are now taking place within the proletariat.

But particularly strange (mildly speaking) sounds the argument that we are making a turn towards... reconciliation with the social democracy. The Stalinists slander us in this manner and not for the first time. What basis is there for carrying these "arguments" into our own organization? Let us, however, examine them somewhat closer. The Paris conference was called by us. We take not the slightest responsibility for its composition and agenda. We came to this conference to present there our point of view. Possibly our Declaration contained some concessions to the social-democracy? Let someone get up courage to say it! The Declaration signed by four organizations, it is understood, does not contain our program. But it defines clearly the road of the Fourth International on the basis of an irreconcilable struggle with the social-democracy, a complete break with bureaucratic centrism and a resolute condemnation of all attempts on the manner of the Two and a Half International. Where are in this concessions to the social-democracy?

## Principled Declaration

The Declaration of four does not give, and under the circumstances of the matter, could not give an answer to all the problems of the program and strategy. It is clear that it is impossible to build a new International on the basis of this Declaration. But neither did we intend anything of the sort. The Declaration itself states clearly that the organizations which signed the Declaration obligate themselves to elaborate, within a short time, a programmatic Manifesto which should become the fundamental document of the new International. All our sections, all the three allied organizations, as well as all sympathizing groups and elements should be drawn to this work. Do we intend to make any concessions to the social democracy in this Manifesto? The Declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninists, made public at the conference, states clearly on what basis we propose to write the Manifesto: the decisions of the first four Congresses of the Comintern, the "21 Conditions", the "11 points" of the L. O. Only the future will show whether any serious disagreements will arise on this basis between ourselves and our allies. If disagreements should arise, we will seriously fight for our point of view. Until now we have not shown any excessive pliancy in questions of principle.

The same critics also add the following argument: the new International can be built only on the wave of the ascent of the revolutionary movement; now, however, in the atmosphere of decline all attempts in this direction are doomed in advance to failure. This profound historic argument is borrowed as a whole from the sterile scholastic Souvarine (who, alas, as far as I know, has meanwhile had time to make a turn of 180 degrees). The necessity of a break with the Second International and the preparation for the Third International was proclaimed by the Bolsheviks in the Autumn of 1914, that is, in the atmosphere of a frightful disintegration of socialist parties. At that time also there was no lack of wise men who spoke of the "utopianism" (the word "bureaucratism" was not in such abundance then) of the slogan of the Third International. Kausky went further in his famous aphorism "The International is an instrument of peace and not of war". In reality the same idea is expressed by the critics quoted above: the International is an instrument of ascent and not of decline. The proletariat has need of an International at all times and under all conditions. If there is no Comintern today, we must say so openly, and immediately start the preparation for a new International. How soon we will be able to put it on its feet, depends, of course, on the whole march of the class struggle, on the decline, or ascent of the workers' movement, etc. But even in the period of the worst decline it is necessary to prepare for a future ascent, giving our own cadres a correct orientation.

## — T. STAMM.

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

## Zimmerwald and Kienthal

Let us take the conferences of Zimmerwald and Kienthal as a comparison. They consisted, necessarily, of the "tops" (every conference consists of tops). By the number of workers directly represented they were weaker than the Paris conference. The majority in Zimmerwald and Kienthal consisted of Right-Centrist elements (Ledebour who could not resolve to vote against the war budget, Hoffman, Bourderon, Merheim, Grimm, Axelrod, Martov and others). Lenin found it possible to sign the Manifesto of the whole conference despite the vagueness of this document.\*\*

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

We repeat: Lenin found it possible under the then existing conditions to sign together with Ledebour, Bourderon, Grimm and Martov a Manifesto against the war. The Bolshevik-Leninists did not sign now the resolution of the majority of the Paris conference and will, of course, take no responsibility upon themselves for this majority. Perhaps the policy of Lenin at Zimmerwald and Kienthal was... a turn towards the social-democracy? But the objection may be raised that now under the conditions of peace a stricter selection is necessary than in war time. Correct! Ledebour and Bourderon endangered themselves by signing the Manifesto of Zimmerwald, while Trammel and Co. carry on their maneuvers (the right hand to the Scandinavian social-democracy, the pinky to the Left—to the Paris conference) without running any risk. It is precisely for this reason that we refused to sign the meaningless resolution of the Paris majority. Where are here concessions to the social-democracy?

## Not Responsible for Allies

However, two of our allies—our opponents will say to us—have signed the resolution of the majority showing thereby that they have not as yet made the final choice. Absolutely correct! But neither do we take any responsibility for our allies just as they take no responsibility for us. The terms of our agreement are clearly formulated and are now accessible to all. The future will show which side our allies will finally choose. We want to help them make the right choice. One of the most important rules of revolutionary strategy reads as follows: watch your ally as well as your enemy. Mutual criticism on the basis of full equality. In this there is no trace of back-stage diplomacy of the tops; everything is done and will be done in full view of the masses, under their control, for the purpose of the education of the masses. Other ways and means of revolutionary policy do not exist at all.

## There are also other rules of revolutionary policy which it is advisable to remind of: do not get frightened in vain and do not frighten others without cause! do not invent false accusations; do not look for capitulation where there is none; do not replace Marxist discussion by unprincipled squabbles. Long experiences has shown that precisely at the time when an organization is getting ready to get out from the narrow alley onto a wider arena, elements can be always found who have grown fat in their alley, know all their neighbors, are used to carry all the alley news and rumors and are busy with the terribly important affairs of the "change of ministries" in their own alley. These conservative and sectarian elements are very much afraid that on a wider arena their art will find no application. They grab, therefore, the wagon by its wheels and try to turn it back, and they justify this, in essence, reactionary work by terribly "revolutionary" and "principled" arguments. We have tried above to weigh these arguments on the scale of Marxian dialectics. Let the comrades themselves decide what is their weight.

## — G. GOUROV.

\* The differences on the trade-union question lost their former sharpness, if not disappeared altogether.

\*\* By the way, some wise men, recall without any rhyme, or reason the "August bloc" of 1912 which had only national limits, but leave unobserved the international Zimmerwald conference, the analogy with which suggests itself.

# The Stalinist Program for the Cuban Revolution

The Stalinist theoretical program for Cuba places on the order of the day the "agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution." According to the Stalinist task of the Cuban Communist Party is to "agitate and organize the peasants" for this end. Among their slogans stands the demand for the division of the land which the apply to the sugar plantations.

Unquestionably the central problem of Cuban economy is the agrarian question. But the agrarian question in Cuba has an entirely different content than it had in Russia. Russian agriculture was organized on the basis of a number of large estates in the hands of feudal landowners and a myriad of small holdings worked by individual peasants. The land was cultivated with primitive methods and equipment. Those who worked the land stood in the relation to it of peasants. They constituted the majority of the population.

That is not the picture which greets the eye in Cuba. Most of the land under cultivation is devoted to sugar cane. In area this is equal to more than one third of this land. Ninety percent of this land is owned or controlled on long term leases by large American sugar companies. Some of these plantations are of enormous size. They extend beyond the county limits and include towns. Some plantations embrace tens of thousands of acres. As early as 1900 one plantation alone refined 2000,000 bags of sugar, ten percent of the entire crop. Since then centralization has gone on apace by consolidation of large plantations and the bankruptcy of the smaller ones under the prodding guidance of the Chase National and National City banks. The Chapparra plantation which began in 1900 with 66,000 acres had grown to 250,000 by 1928.

Millions of dollars in machinery have been poured into the sugar plantations. The process began in 1820 with the introduction of steam machinery. In 1840 the appearance of railroads gave this process a new development. Today the plantations boast the most up to date machinery in the world.

In short the sugar plantations

are operated on an INDUSTRIAL basis. For the most part the men who toil on them are wage workers. Wages are unbelievably low; in Camaguey under Machado they were as low as three cents a day, the working year in many cases does not exceed one month. A number of the sugar workers try to supplement their meager earnings between harvests by cultivating the small and patches of relatives.

Because of the high degree of concentration of the industry large numbers of workers are massed on the plantations. As early as 1893 two hundred workers were organized to harvest the crop on one plantation. Carleton Beals reports that one sugar company in 1933 fed "over 7,000 unemployed persons—not so much out of charity as to prevent sabotage and the burning of cane fields."

Moreover, the majority of the sugar workers have little or no affinity with the soil in the sense of a peasantry. It is estimated that from 1913 to 1927 forty thousand negroes a year were smuggled into Cuba. During the World war, in the period of the great expansion of sugar lands, thousands of negroes from Haiti and Jamaica and even Chinese coolies were brought into Cuba to work on the sugar plantations. Inasmuch as the number of sugar workers today is estimated at 500,000 the labor turnover on the plantations has been great. The sugar workers, for the most part, have no roots in the soil. There is, in Cuba, no land hunger comparable to the land hunger of the Russian peasants.

Thousands of the half million plantation workers—approximately half of the entire working population—have been organized into TRADE UNIONS.

One strike brought out twenty thousand. Sugar workers participated in the general strike of two hundred thousand workers in 1930 in protest against the terrorism of the trade unions by Machado. Today they are on strike on a scale surpassing all previous struggles. The press reports state that the workers have seized 15 sugar mills and are attempting to operate them as workers' committees. The New York Times

of September 20 reports that

the owners of the plantations "are willing to make concessions on wages, hours, and working conditions but say the workers demand the impossible". And what is the impossible demand of the workers? They want their committees to manage the mills. In a word the sugar workers are putting forward the demand for workers control and management of industry. In the next stage this will lead to the demand for nationalization of the industry and will indicate the corresponding state form under which alone it is possible—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A peasantry exists in Cuba but its weight in economy is small and consequently its weight in society is correspondingly small.

But it is hopeless to think that the peasantry can lead the Cuban revolution. The Stalinists who want to "agitate and organize the peasants" to lead the "agrarian revolution" do not know what they are talking about.

It is no better with the "anti-imperialist revolution." Ninety percent of the sugar industry is in the hands of American capital. Most of the tobacco industry is likewise. Nearly all the banks, railroads, street car lines, electric plants, the telephone system, public utilities, docks, etc., etc., are owned by United States capitalists. Three banks, principally, control all of Cuban economy: the National City Bank, the Chase National Bank, and the House of Morgan.

Thus the struggle of the Cuban workers in all industries for higher wages and better conditions must, of necessity, develop into a struggle against American imperialism. The universal impoverishment of the Cuban workers has profoundly imbued them with a hatred of their imperialist masters.

If we are to speak of an "agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution"—an impermissibly ambiguous formulation—we can do so only in the sense of the proletariat leading the struggle. The first steps are indicated—the slogan of the nationalization of industry under workers' control of production.

## — T. STAMM.

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

THE MILITANT  
126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition).  
EDITORIAL BOARD  
Martin ABERN James P. Cannon  
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector  
Arne Swaback  
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1933  
Vol. VI, No. 45 (Whole No. 192)  
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year  
Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

# The Cuban Challenge to U. S. Imperialism

Reports from Cuba, no matter from what political source, indicate that the revolution has passed beyond the stage of a simple political revolution and has entered the first stage of a social revolution. The ruling cliques and exploiting class are in confusion. The crisis and economic conditions had reached a breaking point. The American imperialists, facing the coming Pan American conference, pressed upon all sides by the new measures adopted to surmount the mounting world contradictions, was forced to delay open armed intervention. In place America uses a new form of intervention, a method of bottling up the island with the Atlantic fleet and secretly aiding counter-revolution within, and at the same time endeavoring to further worsen the economic and political situation in either force a surrender or hasten the downfall of the present petty-bourgeois revolutionary government, headed by Grau San Martin.

### Communist Activity in Cuba

The New York Times of September 20th, reports: "Communist seizure of mills approaching Havana with no government curb." "Workers hold 15 mills." "Communist leaders have been very active since Senor Machado's fall." "Cuba is now at the cross-road and must go right or left." "The Cuban labor trouble began with the spontaneous seizure of sugar mills by syndicalist unions and is now taking the form of an organized Communist movement that is sweeping the interior of the island from end to end and is daily approaching closer to Havana." Other papers report Soviets are being set up.

The revolution in Cuba is the most important political event of the day. It overshadows the NRA in importance in spite of the profound effect the Blue Eagle will have on the lives of the American people and the class relations. The NRA in all its magnitude is a stop-gap and capitalist attempt to stem the tide—while the revolution in Cuba is a wave of the social tide breaking through the world structure of American imperialism. This means that the Cuban revolution must be studied in detail, especially by the American revolutionists, because it foreshadows and confronts America with all that the capitalist defenders said was impossible. That is, the first steps toward a social revolution on American soil, in one of America's most important colonies.

### At Gates of U. S. Imperialism

Most significant is the fact that while American hegemony is spreading to a greater degree over the earth and desperate steps are being taken internally and internationally to hold the dominating position in the downward curve of decay capitalism—America finds that she is confronted with the menace of Soviets at the gates of her 48 states. Her world struggle since 1917 to prevent the spread of the October revolution, can be revealed by the events in Cuba and its implications for America as a futile struggle in spite of Stalinism and its aid to capitalism as a leader of proletarian defeats.

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

### Trotsky's Prediction

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

The Cuban revolution, under proper guidance and cooperation from the American Communists, could be the spark to start a more rapid shift of the American workers to the Left. Will that be its direction? This question will be answered within the next few months or sooner. However, at the very least, if we consider the worse variant—that reaction triumphs and American imperialism gains its objectives (as well as the fact that one must take into consideration the position of Stalinism)—nevertheless, the importance of Soviets on American soil, in Cuba, must not be underestimated.

### Marxian Communist Party Vital

A significant fact is revealed when one studies the economic and social forces of Cuba. The objective conditions in Cuba are in favor of the task of carrying the revolution beyond the present stage. The spontaneous action of the workers in strike struggle and united front

developed to its highest stage—Soviets. A major shortcoming is the fact that we have a Stalinist Communist Party in Cuba and not a Marxist Communist Party. Without a leadership, without a program there can be no successful revolution regardless of the revolutionary struggles of the masses. Worse yet, we do not have a Marxist Communist Party in the United States. It is our task to hurry and build one. The revolutionary struggle in Cuba shows the importance and the speed required.

### Must Abrogate Platt Amendment

The Cuban people must abrogate the Platt Amendment. The present petty-bourgeois government cannot carry out this task nor will it be able to stand the pressure of the class struggle between the national capitalists and the American imperialists against the workers and peasants. The workers must fight for a free and democratic constituent assembly. The workers must demand that the election be called while the revolution is still on the upgrade. This can only be accomplished if the organs of Soviets are functioning to protect workers' democracy, to beat down the head of counter-revolution, and to thereby confine the Constituent Assembly to its proper place.

In the United States united front mass meetings must be called throughout the country. The fact that the Stalinists with their huge apparatus have not started this movement is "serious," they take the Cuban situation. The A. F. of L. unions must be drawn into this protest. Financial aid must be forwarded to Cuba. Petty bourgeois and anti-imperialist forces must be organized behind Cuba's struggle against American imperialism. The workers and liberal forces in every Latin America country must bring pressure upon their governments to protest and demand that the United States withdraw the ships and Marines from Cuban waters. Cuba must have the right of self-determination. Such a move in all of the Latin American countries, connected with the struggle of the American workers against American imperialism, will have powerful pressure. It will also make a distinction between words and deeds of many so-called anti-imperialist forces in Latin America and expose the puppet governments to a greater degree before the eyes of the workers and peasants.

The argument that the Communists of Cuba cannot establish a Soviet Government at this stage and therefore must be satisfied with more modest demands has no place in the plans of the revolutionist and the Left Opposition. No doubt Soviets are very difficult to establish. But once the fires of the social revolution, are started in this decay stage of capitalism it can sweep beyond Cuba, providing there is a Communist party, and a leadership with a program. It is up to the American workers to come to the aid of the struggles of the Latin American workers just as it was the duty of the European workers to come to the aid of the Russian workers after the October days. The Cuban revolution must be used as a lever against American imperialism.

—HUGO OEHLEK.

# Before the Court of the Fascists

Four men are on trial for their lives, at the Leipzig supreme court in Germany, together with the Nazi dupe Van der Lubbe. The charge is high treason and whatever the monstrously farcical court procedure may reveal the accused are in advance condemned to the executioners' axe. That is, if the Nazis are permitted to pursue their prey unhindered.

It is the aftermath of a drama of two world forces at grips—Fascism and Communism. But the fascists, drunk with victory, are tightening their strangling hold upon the throat of their victims. They demand their blood to the very last drop. What an insolent challenge is this trial, not only to the Communist movement, not only to the working class, but to all that bears the name justice within this capitalist world.

### Communists Meet Challenge

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

movement, which has for its leadership the Stalin clique, what has it done in this situation? Vociferous protests have been heard against the Nazi attempt to railroad the accused. But these protests have come almost exclusively from the liberal bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Even sections of the reactionary capitalist press find the nauseating stench from this "travesty on justice" too revolting. In other words whatever comfort and help has reached these victims of a dastardly frame-up has come from these quarters and not from the official Communist movement.

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

### No Protest in Soviet Union

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

But the working class cannot remain satisfied with such explanations. They cannot remain satisfied with the Comintern abdication even of the right of protest. The Fascist executioners axe is hanging over their heads and they will rightfully demand that this menace be fought every inch of its way. In this there is not a minute to lose.

# St. Louis Strike Briefs

St. Louis.—Six thousand workers on strike in St. Louis and the bosses build an organization to kill the organization of the working class. The purpose of the St. Louis League for Industrial Peace, to quote one of the big open shop clothing manufacturers, S. H. Curie, is to "combat the epidemic of strikes which is disturbing and preventing industrial recovery in St. Louis."

With 1500 silk dress workers returning to work there is great danger that the remaining 1500 cotton dress workers will lose their strike. The silk dress workers had been the most militant (over 300 arrests in one week) and their going back to work will leave the arena more open for the expounding of the L. G. W. U. leadership's circus talk about the new Messiah, Roosevelt. The local leaders do not believe that honesty is the best policy. They are strict advocates of class collaboration policies. The Left wing of the silk dress workers must continue to fight against the leaders of the ILGWU lest one-half of their union membership is sold out.

The strike of the 2,000 hat and cap workers, settled by Max Zaritsky's arbitration powers under the banner of the NRA, may again be resumed tomorrow. The open shop manufacturers are refusing to reemploy the union strikers, as they agreed to when the strike was "settled." The hat and cap workers are still as disgusted with their "union" conditions as they were with their "open shop" conditions. "The only difference," as one striker expressed it, is, "that now the windows are slightly closed." Hell's winds will blow here in St. Louis this winter unless the bosses and their Judas' gold agents give the under-paid and over-worked hat and cap workers some concessions. There can be no cheering of pay day when "union" workers get \$10 checks. . . .

—MARTIN PAYER.

# Int'l. Workers School-Fall Term

Registration—Oct. 1-15 every eve.  
Announcement of Courses  
Organization Principles —M. ABERN.  
Applied Marxian Economics —B. J. FIELD.  
State and Revolution —J. WEBER.  
Fundamentals of Marxism —J. G. WRIGHT.  
Write or phone School Headquarters for information:  
126 East 16th Street  
Tel. GRAMery 5-9524

# Before the A.F. of L. Convention

## Reactionaries Plan to Harness Labor at Momentous Gathering Opening Oct. 2

President William Green is advancing claims for the coming A. F. of L. convention, to begin October 2, to become the most momentous gathering of this body in sixteen years. This comparison refers to the wartime convention held in Buffalo, in 1917, at which Samuel Gompers, together with his whole staff, made their "heroic" efforts to harness the American Federation of Labor as an auxiliary machinery to serve the interests of the imperialist war mongers. The comparison is ominously sinister in its implication.

No doubts need exist of this gathering becoming a momentous one. It will be so, not by virtue of what the skilled pie-card artists in attendance can be expected to do, but by the special period and exceptional conditions under which it takes place. In the first place this convention gathers under the sign of another "heroic" effort to harness the American working masses

in the chains of the brand new NRA machinery of regulating class relations and reinforcing the means of keeping them in subjection as a class. But on the other hand, the very developments growing out of this, already indicate that the A. F. of L. is arriving at its cross roads with a speed which is truly American. How it will attempt, or rather how it will fail to do with this new situation will be of decisive importance for the future.

### The Growth of the A. F. of L.

The A. F. of L. executive claim at least 500,000 new members. There is no reason to doubt this figure—the "head" of the TUUL, notwithstanding. In a Daily Worker article, of September 19, by the process of deducting from the A. F. of L. claims and padding the TUUL claims, all on paper, he succeeds in proving, apparently to his own satisfaction that the latter has made gains amounting to al-

most fifty percent of that of the former. Despite this juggling the truth remains that the overwhelming trend of labor organization flows at this moment, toward the A. F. of L. while the TUUL unions, in making certain gains in isolated cases, are being wiped out elsewhere; and precisely in those cases where the A. F. of L. has growth to record. Once more, and by the process of life itself, this proves the fact that the official party TUUL policy runs in violent contradiction to the curve development of the living movement.

The present record growth of the A. F. of L. almost amounts to a stampede with genuine mass strikes everywhere for recognition of its unions. In such cases where the party unions exist alongside of them the former are, by their radically false policy, forced to trail behind. In many cases they are even more conservative in their demands, and impotent to influence the workers where they are not entirely eliminated. These are salient facts of which the reactionaries do not fail to take notice. Revolutionists, above all, must take notice and act accordingly.

It would be idle to speculate on what the reactionary A. F. of L. capitalist agents will do at this convention. First of all they will endeavor to strengthen their own positions and strengthen their own relations with capitalism, by correspondingly reinforcing the means of holding the working masses in subjection. It is in this sense, and distinctly in this sense, that they have embraced the NRA. The A. F. of L. will demand adequate representation in the machinery created under the code, says Green. Will this be for the purpose of advancing the ideas of workers' control of production? Will these leaders demand that the books of the industrial enterprises be thrown open for the inspection of labor's representatives and by this method begin to give labor a say in the matter of control of production? Of course not. The A. F. of L. demand will be advanced with the purpose of strengthening the relations with capital for more effective class collaboration under the new conditions.

But there are also other trends indicated for the coming convention. The Metal Trades Department is now about to propose the industrial form of organization for the basic industries. This shows the pressure to which the A. F. of L. will likely feel itself compelled to yield, if not now, then later. This pressure will increase under the new conditions. Most significant, however, is the statement made by Green that the A. F. of L. "is going to be the recognized all-embracing spokesman for American labor. That means there is no room in the United States for any other labor movement."

That no efforts will be spared to make good on this threat is certain. To that the convention will unquestionably be keyed up. That is one of the duties which American capitalism imposes upon its agents within labor's ranks to be carried out with the assistance of the NRA. Its intention is to crush any and all militant or progressive unions outside of the A. F. of L. and, in this manner, help to head off and forestall the development of work-bred class militancy finding organized expression. For the moment this may be comparatively easy; but it will begin to really bring to the fore the contradictions of the A. F. of L. position because it implies a more open suppression of the militancy bound to develop within its own ranks. In this lies the prospects for revolts from within.

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

### NEW SPLIT IN CHILEAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Each day the disintegration of the official C. P. of Chile (Laffertist group) becomes more accentuated to the point where the few Bolsheviks still in its ranks find themselves obliged to openly unmask the adventurist bureaucracy in the leadership.

In the last national conference of the party, which took place recently, with the participation of only those closest to the leadership, and absolutely without the knowledge of three of the members of the Central Committee these latter were accused of being oppositionists and were summarily expelled.

Until recently all three of these comrades were considered loyal Bolsheviks and now for having protested against, and criticized the party policies, they have been expelled and branded as traitors. Their "treason" consisted in demanding a discussion of the past errors of the party.

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

### BRONX MASS MEETING

FOR A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY AND A NEW INTERNATIONAL

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

Friday, October 6, 1933

Auspices: Bronx branch of the Communists League of America (O.)

# A Letter from Shanghai

Shanghai.—About Huang Ping, whose capitulation the New York Stalinists deny as an Opposition "slander," I am in a position to give you direct information supplied by Madame Sun Yat-Sen. Notwithstanding her close connections with the League Against Imperialism and the Paris Anti-War Committee she is a genuine protagonist of the workers' cause. In China, she has played a prominent part in a hedge-pole organization of liberal intellectuals known as the China League for Civil Rights, which has been agitating for better treatment of the Kuo Min Tang's political prisoners. The organization is now practically defunct—it bumped up against too many matters involving class issues, which, because of its composition it was incapable of handling. It tried to be "non-political" and inevitably failed. When its secretary, Yang Chen, was assassinated recently by "Blue Shirt" (Fascist) agents employed by Chiang Kai-Shek, most of its more prominent adherents decided it would be healthier if they became even more respectable than they had been.

### Interview with Huang Ping

But to get on with the story, Madame Sun had occasion to visit Nanking shortly after Huang Ping's arrest, in connection with her work in the China League for Civil Rights. At the time Huang Ping's fate was unknown, beyond the fact that he had been tortured and that a recantation had appeared under his name in the People's Tribune, Wang Chin-Wei's organ. Madame Sun determined to find out what had happened to Huang Ping. Due to her personal influence, she managed to persuade the Kuo Min Tang authorities to allow her to interview Huang. She challenged them to produce him and prove that he had not been murdered, as had been rumored.

### Torture of Huang

Questioning was obviously useless, and Madame Sun's last question to Huang Ping was: "Did you write or give your name to the article in the People's Tribune containing a renunciation of your past?" Huang hung his head and gave no reply. His jailer answered, "Yes, of course. Mr. Huang wrote it—didn't you Mr. Huang?" That was all. Huang failed to repudiate the article when given the opportunity of doing so. All that could be done to a man but take away the spark of life had obviously been done to him. On the verge of the grave he refused the opportunity of vindicating himself before his comrades.

### "Blue Shirts" in North China

Chiang Kai-Shek's "Blue Shirts," who commenced their activities in Shanghai in a big way, working through the local police organizations, and succeeding in arresting many Communists and Communist "suspects", have now invaded North China. Scores of Communists have been arrested in Peiping (now virtually in Japanese control) in the past couple of months. Each Communist arrested, we learn, is offered his liberty if he will renounce his principles and sign a declaration to that effect. Torture is employed, of course, to "induce" prisoners to make these declarations, which are immediately used as propaganda against Communism. Many of these recantations have lately been published in the press of the north. In one instance, only last week, a group of Communist renegades were brought by the Kuo Min Tang officials to a public park in Peiping where they addressed large crowds, attacking the principles they had renounced.

The Communist party organ in North China, I learned this week, circulates about 100 copies. Completely disorientated, it fails to voice the urgent needs of the masses and is entirely unpopular. One party member expressed to a friend of mine who has just returned from the North his disappointment with party activity. Outright lying and exaggeration are the chief characteristics of the party newspaper. As this man remarked: "We read in the party organ things we know are not true." Voicing what was probably, an unwittingly devastating criticism of this organ, he said: "My idea of good propaganda is presentation of the facts, however unpalatable, and their correct interpretation. A good cause has no need to resort to lying and exaggeration. On the contrary, it harms the cause." —N.

### PITTSBURGH MASS MEETINGS

ARNE SWABECK will speak at WEINSTEIN'S RESTAURANT 1830 Center Ave., 2nd Floor on

Friday, October 13 at 8 P. M. THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

Saturday, October 14 at 8 P. M. THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM AND THE WORKERS

Workmen's Circle Center, 72 Legion Ave., (Opposite Dwight St.) Tuesday Evening, October 3rd, 1933 at 8 P. M.

Admission 10 cents

Auspices: New Haven Br. C. L. A.

NEW HAVEN MASS MEETING "The Future of International Communism" Speaker: Arne Swabek at the

Workmen's Circle Center, 72 Legion Ave., (Opposite Dwight St.) Tuesday Evening, October 3rd, 1933 at 8 P. M.

Admission 10 cents

Auspices: New Haven Br. C. L. A.

# Discussion on the NRA - The Slogan of Nationalization

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

Other articles are invited but should not exceed 700 words. (Continued from last week)

The slogan of nationalization of industries is at the present stage not one of immediate agitation but rather a propagandistic laying the basis and setting directives for the movement in the period of upheaval which lies ahead. Even with American economic development taking the most favorable course for the capitalist class—even, that is, with a coinciding of the NRA and a real expansion of production resulting in the temporary liquidation of the crisis,—the class struggle will necessarily take on new forms owing to the trend of development towards state capitalism. The "new" capitalism will be militantly imperialistic. The violent struggle for control of markets will base itself at home on the ever more oppressive exploitation of the working class. For the moment the stream of mass pressure follows the Roosevelt, but as events (the progress of inflation for example) clarify the situation the stream will over the confining walls.

We cannot wait expectantly for swell and become a flood breaking the period of open struggle to "educate" the workers. We must set forth our views and a corresponding plan of action now, correcting in the light of events those errors that will naturally adhere to our rough draft as we go along. Meanwhile we patiently answer the queries and objections raised by the serious workers looking for a solution to their problems.

### Compensation or No Compensation?

In the mind of the worker the question of compensation naturally arises when nationalization is under consideration. Losovsky, in approving of the slogan in 1927, C. P. S. U. Congress in 1927, thought that the fight for "no compensation" serves to distinguish the Communist from the socialist. But to Trotsky, viewing the slogan as opposed to the formation of a labor means of engaging the workers in a gigantic struggle with the bour-

geoisie, the question of compensation is entirely secondary, if not irrelevant. It is entirely a matter of objective conditions and not a matter of principle as is indicated in "Whither England?": "Besides the financial side of the question is of secondary importance. The principal task is to create the political conditions for nationalization, whether by purchase or without purchase, that is of no importance. In the last instance it is a matter of life and death for the bourgeoisie. Revolution is inevitable for the reason that the bourgeoisie will never permit itself to be strangled by Fabian banking operations. Even a partial nationalization can be undertaken by bourgeois society in its present form, only by surrounding it with such conditions as would render the success of these measures extremely doubtful, thus compromising the principle of nationalization and with it the Labor Party. The bourgeoisie would oppose as a class every straightforward attempt at even a partial nationalization. The other branches of industry would resort to lockouts, to sabotage, to a boycott of the national industry; i. e., bring about a life and death struggle. However guarded the first steps might be, the task will nevertheless lead to the necessity of breaking the opposition of the exploiters." Here we have clearly given the dialectic nature of the struggle for nationalization.

### Nationalization and the Labor Party

The U. M. W. of a Committee on Nationalization stated in their report in 1924 that the struggle for nationalization would build up a labor party. We Communists are party. Why then propose nationalization?

It might be conceded, for exam-

BOSTON MASS MEETING ARNE SWABECK on

THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM FRIDAY, OCT. 6, at 8 P. M. SOCIAL SCIENCE HALL

28 Hayward Place (Off Washington St. near R. H. Whites)

ple, that in the case of England, where the Labor Party existed as a stumbling block in the road of the proletariat, it was perfectly proper for the Communists not merely to pose the problem of nationalization but to set in motion mass pressure for an actual struggle for its realization, at the same time pointing out its inadequacy. But how does this apply to America where the masses are so backward, where the Left organizations, even including the reformists in this category, are so few in number? The answer depends on our judgment as to the mode of awakening of the political class consciousness of the masses and the speed with which this will occur. We are opposed to the formation of a labor party here because among other things the English experience warned us how such a party diverts the energy of the masses from a real struggle acts as a brake and helps to defeat our aims. But in that case it is our duty to take over those slogans which appeal to the masses and lead in a progressive direction, making them the basis not for programs to fool the masses, but for but filling them with our content, actual class struggles conducted with every weapon in our power.

### Our Tasks

The way in which even now the workers are showing initiative in taking full advantage of the "pacifying" collective bargaining clause in the NRA, gives every hope for expecting the speedy political development of class consciousness in the American working class. In that case the slogans of nationalization and of workers' control of industry will be pushed more and more to the fore and we must be ready to fill them with our class content at the proper time, and to make them the basis for a real and not a sham battle. Under proper conditions these slogans offer every possibility of rallying the miners, the railroad workers and the entire working class for a struggle against the capitalists, they offer a means of striking a blow at finance capital, and with a real struggle they permit development of our strategy on the widest scale for orienting the working class towards the