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THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Wall Street Rules at Montevideo Confab

Tariff Plan of U.S. Imperialism Designed as Weapon Against European Competitor Nations

Although the Pan-American Conference is not expected to adjourn before December the 24th, it can be clearly seen already that American Imperialism dominates the conference; and nothing will be approved that does not serve the interests of Wall Street. Criticism of American imperialism did break through the barriers, but the representatives and puppets of Washington prevented this criticism from jeopardizing the position of the Yankees in Latin America. Giraudy, head of the Cuban delegation launched an attack against American intervention in Cuba. He correctly pointed out that intervention has taken place even though its form has become more subtle under the Roosevelt administration. Argentina's foreign minister, as chairman, defended the United States and prevented the criticism from developing. He prevented a Peruvian delegate from launching an attack on American imperialism, and guided further criticism from other delegates, who had taken courage, into safe channels.

Secrecy at Conference

Secrecy prevails at Montevideo as it does at all capitalist conferences. Some of the lesser puppets, who were not obtaining as much attention from the U. S. delegation as the delegation of more favored countries, because they had less that the exploiters of the north wanted, put up a protest against the secrecy, but to no avail.

Mexico led in the attack on the conference. This is not surprising. American relations and domination there stand at a more favorable position than in the past, and the Washington delegation desired to devote their time to more troublesome spot in Latin-America. The conference itself is little more than a rubber stamp. The real work is conducted by means of audiences with the Secretary of State of the Colossus of the North. The Steering committee, which is composed of those who enjoy this privilege, is the real conference.

In considering any action of the Pan-American Conference one must always keep in mind its structure. It was constructed by American imperialism for its own use against the other imperialist powers and against the weak capitalist countries and colonies of Latin America. One of the many jokers in the statutes of the Union, which assures American domination, provides that the United States Secretary of State shall always be the president of the Union.

U. S. Hits at Rivals

Many of the concessions and agreements for America's interest obtained at Montevideo will not be known. But the main proposal presented by Hull, horse traded by the Argentina delegates for the "Anti-War Pact", and since rubber stamped by the conference, is the Tariff Plan. The plan proposes reciprocity pacts and tariff reduction in order to lower the present trade barriers. The proposal called for no treaties, conventions or legal commitments by the conference. It left this open for a free scramble. Such "Custom Unions" obtained by the United States will be another blow by America against Europe. The United States-Colombian pact has already been signed as a straight reciprocal agreement. Negotiations with Argentina and Brazil, for similar bilateral pacts, are already under way.

The Hull Plan also provides for safeguarding the internal struggle of the American imperialists through the NRA and similar projects. The plan provides that the tariff reductions must not interfere with "the operation of temporary emergency and other extraordinary measures compromising domestic recovery programs." This plan for tariff reduction has stirred up discussion in the States. Some say it is a complete change in policy on tariffs while Moley, who just recently resigned as Assistant Secretary of State, says the Hull proposal contradicts the NRA. If the NRA is for the construction of a self-sufficient economy, of organized capitalism, or of "Intra-nationalism" minus its internal or foreign part, it is doomed to failure. But the real purpose of the NRA is something else; and so long as the capitalists supplement it with new measures at each critical turn it will more than justify itself as a breathing spell. The Hull proposal does not contradict the needs of the NRA at a certain stage. Neither does it run counter to the interest of American imperialism in general. It is admirably adapted for these capitalist needs.

Behind the Tariff Plan

The attempt to reorganize production on a higher level under the NRA at reduced cost and, at the same time to reorganize labor

(Continued on Page 4)

Celebrate New Years at Gala Masquerade Ball

Keep New Year's Eve open for the gala affair of the season. The New York branch of the Communist League is undertaking to make this New Year's a day to be remembered for every proletarian within its reach. To be on hand at this event will be more than the chiming in of the new year and bidding the old one adieu. We are taking a lot of time and more trouble to give all our friends and sympathizers the times of their lives—and in a revolutionary way.

Firstly, there will be a red hot jazz band present to keep you moving to syncopated rythm till the early hours of the morning. We are making arrangements so that you may dance to your hearts content and more if your feet will carry you.

And our new years affair will be a resplendent one. Costumes of all kinds and varieties will be displayed and you are urged to come in other than your usual garb. A popularity prize — democratically selected—will be awarded to the best costume.

Don't forget New Year's, December 31, at Germania Hall, 16th St. and 3rd Ave. The admission is 50 cents. Be on hand with your friends.

Gangsterism Again!

The Stalinists are endeavoring to defeat the political work of the Communist League in Brownsville by methods of terror. Following the Hoffman Mansion meeting of Dec. 14th, they have systematically attacked our comrades. On Friday evening, Dec. 15th a group of six assaulted four members and sympathizers of the Communist League in front of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum after a Socialist meeting. A much larger group of Stalinists attacked our comrades who were distributing leaflets on Sutter Avenue for this Wednesday's Brownsville Labor Lyceum meeting.

Authentic reports inform us that a number of our comrades have been marked for physical assault. Individuals have been assigned to "lay" for Al Dasch, recently expelled member of the Brownsville section commitee of the Communist party.

The responsibility for such actions rests on the shoulders of the leaders of the Communist party. They will be held responsible before the Communist workers and the working class as a whole for the consequences of this reactionary hooligan campaign. We will take all the necessary steps for the defense of our comrades, organization and meetings. We call upon all workers and workers' organizations to join us in our struggle against these reactionary Fascist methods.

Infuriated by the fact that Al Dasch, former member of the Brownsville Section Committee of the Communist party, was to speak on the Comintern and the Soviet recognition from the platform of the Communist League, the Stalinists mobilized over fifty members to disrupt the meeting held at Hoffman Mansion, Thursday evening, December 14th. The meeting ended in a riot leading to the intervention of the police, called by the hall owner, who cleared the hall by swinging their clubs at everybody.

As the hall was filling with workers, there was a sudden mob rush of about 50 Communist party and Y. C. L. members to crash through the door. They demanded free admittance... After some commotion and exchange of blows, the staircase was cleared of Stalinists and the door leading to the street closed. The Stalinist hoodlums proceeded to break the glass of the door and used battering rams to force the door open.

When they could not make much progress, a representative of the mob was sent up to arrive at an agreement with us. It was proposed to them that twenty of their comrades would be permitted to enter free of charge on the condition that they maintain order. They agreed. Twenty were permitted to enter.

No sooner had the chairman, Joe Carter, opened the meeting than the Stalinists began a systematic disruption. A continual heckling ensued. One after another the clique of local Communist party leaders rose and recited his piece. Finally a motion was made and carried overwhelmingly that anyone interrupting the chairman or speaker given the floor would be ejected. Provocative heckling and disruption resulted in a free for all fight, with chairs and fists flying. For a while the cops looked on; then they wielded their clubs against all those present.

A number of serious casualties resulted on both sides. A Stalinist, Kirschner, called a cop to arrest one of the members of the Communist League. Although he went to the police station to press charges of assault, the case of so flimsy that the charges were dismissed.

Insisting on its right to hold a public meeting in Brownsville on the Comintern and Russian recognition, the Communist League has arranged for a meeting on that subject with the same speakers as scheduled for last Thursday's meeting, Max Shachtman and Al Dasch, to be held at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Wednesday evening, December 20th.

Various workers' organizations have been invited to send repreesntatives to this meeting so that in case of a recurrence of the scandalous action of last Thursday's meeting, they will be able to place the responsibility on those to whom it belongs.

Nazis Demand Death Verdict for Torgler

International Solidarity of the Workers Alone Can Save Prisoners from Fascist Vengeance

The historic trial of the Communist leaders at Leipzig has come to an end and the Fascist judges are now in session deliberating on the verdict which is to be rendered any day now. The trial designated to justify the Nazi regime and give a legal cover for bestial terror campaign against the Communists was transformed into collossal exposure of the Fascist monsters before the entire world.

The heroic conduct of the defendants in court, the complete collapse of the case against them and the universal revulsion against the procedure of the Fascists in the case all combined to deal a powerful blow to the prestige of the Fascist beasts who rule Germany. They failed completely to establish any convincing proofs of the guilt of the accused and were compelled to acknowledge their failure in the case of three of the defendants—Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneff.

Despite that, the Fascist prosecutor demanded the death penalty for Ernst Torgler, leader of the Communist fraction in the Reichstag. The life of Torgler hangs in the balance, and the others also, for the Fascist press is already demanding "new proceedings" against them. The strong hand of international working class solidarity is all that stands between them and the executioner's axe.

All the defendants stood by their convictions and, in closing speeches to the court, affirmed their innocence of the framed-up charge against them. Dimitroff protested again against the refusal to allow him an attorney of his own choosing and stated that he had no confidence in the Fascist lawyer, Teichert, who had been assigned to conduct his "defense". Continuing, he declared: "I am defending my political convictions as a revolutionist. That is why my language is sharp. My aim has been to prove that neither myself, my Bulgarian comrades here, nor Torgler, nor the Communist movement has had auy thing to do with the Reichstag fire."

Torgler said: My whole life I have fought for the vital interests of the German working class. Neither the German Communist Party, nor any member, thought at that time of any armed uprising, because the necessary prerequisites were lacking. I did not have the slightest thing to do with the fire."

There is no doubt that the international exposure of the trial and the protest against the frame-up has partly upset the Fascist plan to proceed smoothly with the execution of the defendants. But the danger remains that they will go through with it in spite of all. The protest of the international working class must ring out louder than ever in the remaining days. The most effective blow that can be dealt to the Fascist murderers at this time, a blow that would free the prisoners, is a transport boycott.

Criminal Syndicalism Trial Ends in Hung Jury

Trial of Pat Chambers, leader of the cotton pickers' strike in the San Joaquin Valley, on the charge of criminal syndicalism ended with a hung jury. He was defended by the Civil Liberties Union attorney, A. L. Wirin, who in this case was also representing the International Labor Defense.

The case is of vital importance because of the effort of the prosecution to make the criminal syndicalism law cover all threats of violence made during a strike. In the past the California courts have sought to prove that the I. W. W. and Communist defendants were revolutionists, trying to overthrow the government and transfer industry to the workers. Chambers was not accused of revolutionary radicalism but of leading a strike during which he was alleged to have recommended to the cotton pickers that they resist all arrests, even if they put some people in the hospital by so doing. Chambers claimed he had urged resistance only to illegal arrests.

New Upheaval Shakes China

The Fukien Rebellion and Its Perspectives

Shanghai.—Fukien has rebelled. Prepared for several months, it came about all of a sudden as a bomb thrown into the Chinese politics. The public was startled by the radical character it assumed, in casting off the Kuo Min Tang mantle, denouncing its rule, turning such a round-about face towards the people, promising to fight for the abolition of unequal treaties and for tariff autonomy, undertaking to give land to the peasants and granting the right to strike to the worker, and freedom of convention, speech, etc., to the people in general. It claims to establish the producers' power, guaranteeing to such people absolute freedom and equality, "excluding those who are treacherous to the nation and who exploit the peasant and the worker" from enjoying such rights. To overthrow the feudal system and to develop natioanl economy are also points mentioned in the declaration of the new government. What has actuated this independent movement, especially at the time of the low ebb of mass movement? What is its general perspective and relation to the Chinese revolution.

In spite of the fact that this government is called by its enemies as a product of the social democrats and "the third party", the former 19th route army regarded as the social-democratic fundamental military force, in fact we have no such a social democracy in China in existence, connected even with the people, not to say with the workers. The military and their politicians and literati may have conceived such an idea but it never existed in any tangible form. What is going on in Fukien is only a revolt of combination of ex-military men, the military rulers of that province, the politicians, the radical intellectuals and the right nationalists. There is a contradiction between the radical program and the composition of the government (military in majority). This shows clearly that the government gives chief attention to the military overthrow of Chiang Kai-Shek by means of combination and intrigues rather than to mobilize the masses for the anti-imperalist and anti-Kuo Min Tang struggle. The radical program and the confused ideology are undoubtedly due to the influence of the existence of the "red army"

It seems unlikely that military operations will begin in the near future because both Nanking and Fukien must have time to seek allies, and to get out of the complicated situation of being attacked in the read. But the alliance between the peasant army and Fukien is an accomplished fact. This has a great significance. The blockade which Chiang Kai-Shek has enforced against the Soviet districts has broken down as the peasant army now can receive supplies from Fukien. Thus, the only success which Nanking has claimed for its anti-red expedition of the last two years has come to nothing. Further, if the "red army" alone could embarrass Chiang Kai-Shek so much that he is compelled to change the period for the liquidation of the "red army" from three months to three years, what if the combined strength of both the red army and Fukien would be presented to him? He must have given up the hope of eliminating the red army altogether. Besides, the Fukien movement, if not quickly suppressed, will set an example to the discontented militarists of other provinces who can also come out to denounce Chiang Kai-Shek's kowtowing before Japanese imperialism or to stigmatize the corruption of Kuo Min Tang rule. So in a certain sense we may say that the Fukien revolt spells the beginning of the end of the Chiang Kai-Shek regime.

There may be several perspectives open before the Fukien government. If it can attain its main objective of overthrow of Chiang Kai-Shek in a quick manner by military combination, then it will degenerate and become conservative, throwing aside the present revolutionary phrases, otherwise it can be made dependent upon the mass movement and draw advantages from it. For example, the finance of the province will become ever more inadequate to feed the growing needs of the army and the way out must be sought in the seizure of the customs revenue and the realization of the tariff autonomy, in putting a stop to the officials' embezzlement and corruption, in relieving the burden of the petty bourgeoisie by diminishing the taxation on them and by a corresponding increase on the big bourgeoisie. All such needs open

(Continued on page 4)

Terzani Frame-Up Smashed

Athos Terzani was acquitted Dec. 13 of killing his anti-Fascist comrade Anthony Fierro, by a jury in Queens County Court which deliberated only thirty-two minutes. It was a victory against heavy odds, since the judge had been openly hostile to the defense.

Prosecutor Harry Huber centered his attack on Samuel Wein, former Khaki Shirts member, who testified that Frank Moffer of Philadelphia, a former associate, killed Fierro in the fight at the Fascist Khaki Shirts meeting in Astoria in July. Wein had told the grand jury that the killer was a man in a brown suit, such as Terzani had worn, but said he did this because Commander Art Smith of the Khaki Shirts had threatened his life.

"General" Art Smith testified, charging again that Terzani shot Fierro. He swore he accused Fierro that night before Terzani identified Moffer as the slayer. But Patrolman John Nolan, state's witness, testified that Terzani accused Moffer five or ten minutes before Smith accused Terzani.

After the verdict had been announced, hand-clapping aroused the judge's anger. Summoning before him the culprit, Fort Vellona, cartoonist for the anti-Fascist daily, **Stampa Libera**, the Judge cut short his apologies with "Don't lie to me. This case has been saturated with lies". The labor jury representing nine labor organizations delayed comment on the trial until a carefully considered statement could be prepared.

United Front at Minneapolis

Labor Organizations in Unemployment Fight

Minneapolis.—On December 10th two thousand workers met in the City Auditorium on call of the Minneapolis Central Council for Unemployed to hear about the need of an all-inclusive unemployed organization in this city. Speaker after speaker piled up arguments for greater unity, more organization, around a common program of demands covering the most elementary needs of the workers today.

A simple formula for a democratic central organization that would tie the unemployed together with the workers organized in the trade unions, labor political, and fraternal organizations was elaborated by V. R. Dunne, speaking for the Central Council. To a central council every trade union, labor political or fraternal organization, and cooperative shall send delegates on a proportional basis. This body in turn shall organize locals for unemployed workers in various districts of this city, which will be represented in the central body on the same basis, thus every organized worker in the city shall be directly represented in the Central Council, which co-ordinates all separate phrases of struggle and all forces at hand for the most effective struggle against unemployment.

Growth of the Movement

Since the October 29th conference that launched the M. C. C. U. there has been steady progress in growth of this movement; new adherents, new forces, wider scope to its activities. Naturally, there has been much confusion, much talk, and also disruptive activities from the enemies of such a unifying movement, to put up with, but the fundamental correctness of this form of organization for labor's struggle against unemployment is proving itself every day.

The greatest confusion rises from the almost total lack of understanding of what is a United Front, due to the fact that there has never been a correct united front functioning in this city before. Added to this are the innumerable distortions of the united front indulged in by the Stalinists of the official C. P. which had prejudiced, miseducated, and finally liquidated section after section, group after group, of honest working class elements who had sincerely joined with the Party to effect unification of efforts. The ultra-Left policy of the "united front from below" which keeps the C. P. outside this movement, fighting it, is doing yeomen-service to the reactionary labor bureaucracy which is quietly working against the movement, behind the scenes, spreading pessimism, lies, and slander among the workers in the unions and on the relief lines.

The narrow-minded upstarts in the leadership of the Party locally disgraced themselves by their antics in the October 29th Conference which formed the movement. They represented an insignificant minority of the workers represented there, monopolized the floor while they bragged and lied for two hours or more, bolted the conference, returned and bolted again when their ultimata were not accepted. Having issued a statement against the conference at the door, calling every one connected with it a "social Fascist", the C. P. then broke with the conference when it decided for the formation of unemployed organizations throughout the city, which of necessity would compete with the defunct, sectarian Unemployed Councils.

Thus the Stalinists with no united-front policy place themselves in a position that exposes them as disrupters and splitters of working class unity before masses of workers. With a correct united front policy the Left Opposition is placing itself in a position to unify the working masses behind simple necessary demands which they need, together with the accepted reformist leaders of the workers, who, if they falter, disrupt this unity, or betray the interests of the workers in the movement, will be exposed.

Incidently the first group of leaders to disrupt this unity, and to betray the fundamental class interest of the workers for the sake of their immediate organizational interests (the miserable Unemployed Councils) are the Stalinists. The class-conscious workers in the Unemployed Councils should take stock of their leaders and their policies and draw the necessary conclusions. They should join the District organizations of the M. C. C. U. and in these bodies build up a constructive class consciousness and a policy of struggle that will be an aid in advancing our class to the next higher stage of struggle.

—C. F.

PUSH THE ACTION PROGRAM

In our last issue we outlined a Program of Action designed to extend the political activities of the League. Some of the points have already been partly carried out. The national tour of comrade Swabeck has been completed. It was very successful. We have reduced the price of **The Militant** and made a beginning towards its popularization. At the same time **The Militant** circulation has greatly increased. Its influence is thereby undoubtedly extended, but the increase in circulation does not yet compensate for the drop in income by the reduced price.

Live workers' clubs have been established in a number of cities. In addition, language workers' clubs sympathetic to and supporting the work of the League are functioning among Italian, Greek and Jewish workers in Chicago and New York City.

But the real test today by which the influence of a revolutionary organization can be judged lies unquestionably in the trade union field. Progress there will have a decisive bearing on future developments. In regard to this we can record only initial steps. In carrying the Action Program to its completion this particular form of activity must be strengthened.

Point four of the Action Program provides for the acceptance of members into the League on a broader basis than heretofore. This proposal flows directly from our change of orientation toward the creation of a new revolutionary party. Freed from a number of its former factional limitations, we assumes now a completely independent role. For that we have been well prepared by our struggle of the past. The League membership is growing rapidly. Since our second national conference we have more than doubled our membership. Together with that twelve youth clubs are functioning in various cities, adding new recruits to our ranks. All in all this gives us a basis upon which we feel justified in saying that the Action Program can be carried out.

The Action Program marks out a number of various tasks to be accomplished by the League. Each of them, when considered alone, is of a comparatively modest character. But when the program is taken as a whole it is an ambitious one. Nevertheless we are convinced that it corresponds to what is possible and to the present growing strength of the League. Above all it records the steps necessary to bring us forward to more direct activity in the class struggle, to the position of an independent force in the labor movement.

In order to carry out this program we make the most urgent appeal to all readers of the **Militant** for their full and unstinted support. This is now a test, not only for the League itself and its membership, but for all revolutionists who take their endorsement of the new party seriously. To carry the program into life the contribution of your share is required, even if it has to be done at the cost of a serious sacrifice. Without that the Program will remain on paper, devoid of life.

OPEN FORUM

SAM GORDON

on

HOW CLOSE IS WAR?

at

Friday, December 22nd, 1933

8:15 P. M.

International Workers School Hall

126 East 16th Street, nr Irving Pl.

Auspices: Manhattan Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)

Questions — — Discussion

ADMISSION 15 CENTS

RAILROAD ACCIDENTS INCREASE

While in 1932 one worker was killed in road service for every 1,907 employed, in 1931 one worker was killed for every 1,929 employed, according to figures released by the Interstate Commerce Commission. In train service, while in 1929 one worker was killed for every 810 employed, in 1932 the rate had gone up to one killed for every 736 employed.

In yard service the number of fatal accidents per 1,000 employed rose as follows:

Deaths to yard trainmen rose from 1.15 to 1.37 per 1,000; engineers rose from .06 to .23 per 1,000; brakemen rose from 1.95 to 2.37 per 1,000.

The following letter from a worker written after the Binghamton wreck last month, gives the depleted maintenance forces as one reason for wrecks and accidents.

Library, Pa: "There has been in the last couple of weeks an increasingly larger number of train wrecks due to negligence on the part of the railroad companies. The safety devices have all been neglected because of the furloughing of 750,000 maintenance men. This is part of the companies' plans of economies'. They lay off the men who maintain safety devices and safety signals. Those who are left at work have to do so much that they cannot take care of all the mileage or the trainmen and engineers cannot live up to the safety rules. It is easy then for the company to shift the buck to the worker involved and escape adverse publicity....

"Any railroader will tell that it's hell if you obey the safety rules and get your train late and it is hell if you don't and get in a wreck. The brotherhoods, to one of which I belong, seem powerless to do anything."

Hooliganism Spreads to Brooklyn

An Open Letter to the District Committee of the Communist Party

December 16, 1933.
District Executive Committee,
Communist Party, U. S. A.
New York, N. Y.
Comrades:

Last Thursday evening, a meeting was scheduled in the Brownsville section under our auspices at the Hoffman Mansion on the Subject "Does Russian Recognition Mean the End of the Third International?" The speakers announced to address the audience included our city organizer, Max Shachtman, and a member of the Brownsville Section Committee of your party, comrade Al Dasch.

Before the meeting actually began, a crowd of some forty to fifty members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League sought to break into the meeting without paying the admission fee and with the obvious purpose of disrupting the orderly conduct of the meeting. In spite of this, and because the subject of the meeting was of such deep concern to the revolutionary movement that we felt it only proper to have present as many comrades supporting your standpoint as possible, we finally proposed to a representative of the party section committee; we will allow twenty League and Party members to enter the hall free of charge if they will pledge themselves to observe the customary procedure and order of a worker's gathering. To this proposal, the party representatives finally agreed. Twenty were admitted into the hall in the manner described above and they took their places quietly.

But immediately upon the opening of the meeting by the chairman, the party representatives—one after another—began a series of violent interruptions calculated to keep the hall in a turmoil and to prevent the meeting from proceeding. Neither the chairman nor anyone else of our comrades was able to utter a full sentence without being heckled and interrupted by the constant interjections of your members. Despite the fact that—as at all such meetings (whether called by you by us, or by any other labor organization)—arrangements had already been made by us, your members presented the outrageous demand that the "workers present elect the chairman"; then that "one of our speakers should speak first and the other last"; etc., etc. These absurd proposals were of course rejected by us A proposal was however overwhelmingly adopted by those present to the effect that anyone deliberately interrupting from he floor when the chairman had already granted it to someone else. would be removed from the hall. The audience, composed entirely of workers, was indignant at the manifest attempt on the part of your comrades (who were obviously acting under orders from superior committees) to disrupt the meeting and prevent it from getting under way.

Tumult Brings Police

Worst of all is the fact that this tumult—especially unnecessary and condemnable in view of our announcement that the party representatives would be given adequate opportunity to speak in the discussion—frightened the hall proprietor to call the police. We sought to have them leave, but they refused. The effect, in a word, was that your comrades brought the police who, under the pretext of "maintaining order" were intervening in workers' disputes with the club.

The upshot of this disgraceful proceedure was that the police finally assaulted the entire crowd with drawn clubs and brought the meeting to an end. In view of the growing movement towards Fascist conduct upon the part of the bourgeoisie, the conduct of your comrades is all the more reprehensible. Instead of making it possible to discuss workers' disputes unitedly, that is, on the basis of workers' democracy, you introduce hooligan methods into the labor movement which alienate workers and facilitate the black work of Fascism.

We therefore call upon you to take proper and deserved action against the ringleaders of the group which caused the riot and brought about the disruption of the movement. Their names are Gilbert, Ross, Rubei and Morris. More particularly, we call upon you to take action against those committees which are responsible for the mobilization of the Party and Y. C. L. comrades who were sent down to disrupt our meeting, for it is the superior instances which are more at fault than the comrades who are really the victims of their instructions.

We wish, further, to notify you that this Wednesday evening, December 20th, we intend to hold a mass meetink in Brownsville on the same subject, and with the same speakers. We intend to take all the steps necessary to prevent a recurrence of the scandal of last week, which was not, as you are well aware, the first time such attempts have been made by you to disperse our gatherings. At our coming meeting, there will be representatives of various labor organizations whom we are calling upon to attend in order to render their judgment upon the responsibility borne by you or anyone else on any occurrences that may take place.

In conclusion, we feel obliged to declare that a failure on your part to reply to this communication cannot be considered by us as anything but a tacit affirmation of your intention to condone, which means to approve and repeat, the conduct of your members. In that case, we desire to inform you that we will be duty-bound to take up this question in another manner until it is satisfactorily settled, that is, we shall energetically bring this issue before every working class organization within the reach of our members and friends, before every united front movement against Fascism and terror and persecution. There we shall have to demand of your representatives a public accounting for your conduct and your tactics given in the presence of workers, of whose attitude towards such methods we feel entirely confident. You must surely be aware that you, as well as every other organization, which is called upon to express its opinion on this question, will be held responsible by the working class for any position it may take.

Fraternally yours,
City Committee, Communist League of America (Opp.)
MAX SHACHTMAN, Organizer.

A Protest Against Stalinist Gangster Attacks

Editor of **Militant:**

I was present at a meeting of the Left Opposition, on Dec. 14th, Thursday evening, at Hoffman Mansion, in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. The meeting had been called by the above group to discuss the Comintern and Soviet Recognition. In addition to this a former member of the Brownsville Section Committee of the Communist party, Al Dasch, was to explain his views on the problems before the Communist movement.

The least the party and Y. C. L. members could have done was to come up to the meeting and discuss the matter intelligently. But—no, they chose the method of unthinking mass hooliganism to force their way in, and then justified this action on the ground that they were invited by Dasch's statement, a perusal of which shows nothing of the kind, urging only a city-wide meeting of the party and the Y. C. L. for the purpose of discussing the German question and Soviet Recognition.

But once in, the party reps, Dolb, Morris, Gilbert, and Ross of the Y. C. L. showed that senseless bureaucratic suppression of thought heckling, cheap demagogic tactics, attempt at controlling a meeting not their own. I defy, any Y. C. Ler or party member to cite an instance in which any opposition was allowed to raise objections from the floor to the established procedure of a meeting.

It was clear to all present that the majority were against the disgusting party tactics, tactics which I have knowledge are carried through with the support of the party leadership. This terrible heckling, which brought remarks from workers, such as "in my reactionary union I have never seen such tactics", or "shut up, you rat", can have no other effect than isolating the party, annihilating the good work it did, or could possibly do, and rendering it an odious sect. The panic created directly by the party leadership resulted in injury to outside workers.

All this, I am obliged to admit, yet being a very close friend of the C. P., despite the bureaucratic handling of my case against the corrupt leadership (Walsh, Horwatt and Co.), is a result of a whip being welded over the heads of the rank and filers, the crying death of political education which leads, in general, to a policy of cheap, street-corner gangsterism and the use of the fist instead of the brain.

Every reasoning Communist, every member of the C. P. or Y. C. L., can have no other response to make to the display of repulsive party methods than to urge in his unit a condemnation of the actions of the party at Hoffman Mansion, to press for a thorough-going discussion on the German situation and on Soviet recognition—for, to allow such tactics to continue is to sanction the growth of black reaction in the party ranks, is to stifle that rich energy which streams from true Communist thought, is to sign away the working class, hand and foot, to the police department, is to crush what the bureaucrats have left of the revolutionary vanguard.

Comradely yours,
—W. C.
Former Member of the Communist Party (Brownsville)

An Open Letter to the International Labor Defense

Dec. 16th, 1933.
International Labor Defense,
District Office
799 Broadway
New York City
Comrades:

We are enclosing to you a copy of the letter we have just sent to the District Committee of the Communist Party, New York, which is self-explanatory. You will observe from the letter that we are inviting a number of labor organizations to sit on the platform with our speakers at the coming Wednesday evening, December 20th, mass meeting of our organization, for the purpose of giving an objective judgment on any untoward occurrences that may take place at this meeting, such as a recurrence of the events of last week's affair.

We cannot impress upon you too strongly the depths of our feelings on this question. At such a time as this, when the labor movement should be girding its loins to drive out of existence any tendency to introduce the methods of reaction into the working class, it is tantamount to giving aid and comfort to the enemy when any section of the labor movement permits itself the practise of such methods as were pursued at last week's mass meeting. The International Labor Defense has as one of its declared aims the defense of workers' meetings from attacks and intervention from the police, and such an aim we and every other class conscious group heartily endorse. Such events as the Hoffman Mansion meeting disruptiveness, are directly responsible for the intervention of police in labor gatherings.

On this occasion, the police struck at us, as a small group. Tomorrow, they will use such situations in order to proclaim that no radical group may hold public meetings unless they are under police supervision; or else, they may declare that the radicals may no longer hold any public meetings at all.

It is your obvious duty to help avoid such a situation. We therefore invite you, as one of the organizations involved, to send a representative to our meeting for the purpose indicated in the enclosed letter. We look forward to an immediate reply to our office so that the necessary detailed arrangements may be made.

Fraternally yours,
City Committee, Communist League of Ameirca (Opp.)
MAX SHACHTMAN, Org.

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To Celebrate our Fifth Anniversary
Benefit The "MILITANT"
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Admit One Subscription 25c
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Bridge — Dancing Entertainment — Refreshments —
Sunday, December 31, 1933, 9 P. M.
at 3601 Elliott Avenue
Auspices: Minneapolis branch C. L. of A. (Opp.)
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An Apologist for Litvinov

The November 25th issue of the **Militant** was one of the best numbers to appear in the last few months. The **Militant** was the only revolutionary organ which gave a true analysis from the international proletarian point of view on the issue of Soviet recognition by the great imperialist power, the United States. The editorial in this number, the article by comrade Shachtman, not to speak of the letter of comrade Reese on the German party and the C. I., will remain historical documents for the vanguard of the revolutionary movement the world over.

Without fear the Left Opposition contrasted the diplomacy on Lenin's days and the diplomacy of the Stalin faction for the last ten years. The Litvinoff-Stalin bargain and the price paid for recognition by American imperialism is a deadly blow to the international revolutionary movement. The **Militant** has pointed out clearly what points 3 and 4 of the pact mean from a Marxian point of view.

The Panic-Stricken Scribblers

As a result of this the Stalinist messenger boys, the **Freiheit** staff, became panic-stricken. An article appeared every day last week by the great theoreticians against the 'Trotskyites', the Left Opposition the **Militant.** I am not a theoretician, I am only a worker. Therefore I will not go into a polemic with every one of them but will simply show what Moissaye Olgin writes in the **Freiheit** of Nov. 29th.

"The counter-revolutionary Trotsky," he says, "wrote an article in 1931, and he predicted that the U. S. will become the strongest power in the world hegemony, and the U. S. dollar will be the dictator the world over. After a year and nine months the world hegemony of American capitalism is now smaller, and the dollar at present is a weak dictator in the world market." According to Olgin all Trotsky's predictions fell through and were not correct.

I am not interested here to defend comrade Trotsky; this I will leave to Trotsky himself or to the editors of the **Militant.** But I would like to know, and thousands of workers would like to know from the Olgins: if the U. S. is so weak in the world hegemony why did Litvinoff grant Roosevelt articles 3 and 4 which mean the elimination of the Third International from the Soviet territory? More: why did not Olgin explain to the workers point 3 and 4 in the pact? Why shouldn't the workers know about this? And again: if Olgin says that for the last ten years similar pacts were signed with other powers let him show to which country was given such concessions as in articles 3 and 4.

Olgin's "Explanations"

"In 1921", Olgin continues, "the Soviet Government under Lenin's leadership sent protest notes to England, France, U. S., Japan, and China, for not inviting the U. S. S. R. to the disarmament conference. In 1922 the Soviet Government was represented at Genoa at an international conference for the first time. From this we can see that the Soviets under Lenin's leadership did speak about working together with other powers, and were not afraid to participate in international economic and political conferences. This shows that the U. S. S. R. in 1922 did not make larger concessions than she is making now."

I want to say that Olgin is confusing the issue. Who ever said that the Soviets should not participate in economic and political conferences? Only idiots will say so. It is true the Soviets in 1922 participated in the international conference in Genoa under the guidance of Christian Rakovsky who is exiled by Stalin somewhere in Siberia. At the Genoa conference the bourgeoisie of Europe demanded that Russia should suppress upon her territory all attempts to aid revolutionary movements in other countries.

What was the answer of the Russian delegation to the capitalist powers? "Gentlemen, we are ready to give you certain concessions, but hands off the Communist International." Of course this was the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky in 1922. What the imperialist powers could not get from Russia in 1922 during the famine period Roosevelt got from Litvinoff in 1933. Is this because the Soviet government is today stronger than in 1922? Why did not Moissaye Olgin explain to the workers the stand of the Soviet delegation at the Genoa conference? Why falsify? Why not meet the issue in truthful manner? Why confuse the workers more and more?

What the Workers Said

After I read the **Freiheit** articles I went down to the market where the Jewish workers assemble. I wanted to hear their reactions on these articles, so I asked some cloak and dressmakers about them. They laughed, and when I asked them what was the joke one of them said, "Trotsky is a counter-revolutionist just as the **Freiheit** writes **correct** labor news every day." The next day I was with Millinery and Pocketbook workers and when I asked them what they thought about the "counter-revolutionary Trotsky", one of them pulled a **Militant** out of his pocket and said, "This is the first time I buy this paper; if these comrades are counter-revolutionaries I will soon be in their company."

Is it a wonder the last number of the **Militant** was sold out and is still in demand? The **Freiheit** articles were good propaganda for the **Militant** and the Left Opposition.

—S F.

Impressions on a National Tour

A Panorama of Present Conditions of the American Worker

On my recent tour through the country I gathered impressions of a multicolored variety. In the first place one cannot fail to notice that after deceptive glamor of the early appearance of the New Deal the same old desolate appearance of the crisis has returned. One does not encounter so much the traditional nuisance, the traveling salesman, but the endlessly long freight trains still carry their loads of unemployed workers and homeless tramping youth roving from place to place in quest of some new way of getting by. The aristocratic appearing New England towns radiate the screaming colors of the blue eagle signs, proceeding westward, however, these become rather scarce. Here and there emerge little "Buy Now" parades. But the atempts to stage them gaily fall flat. The throbbing hubub of a busy industry is absent. Within the forest of smoke stacks in the Pittsburgh and Gary steel regions only a few belch forth their pallid clouds. In Buffalo and Niagara Falls, however, the war industries and allied chemical industries are running full blast.

Decline of "New Deal" Illusions

Here one of our comrades told me of his work in one of the plants producing the means of chemical warfare for Uncle Sam. "Three days of work in one stretch is all a man can stand", he said. "After that must follow at least two days in a completely darkened room to avoid instant blindness.' But jobs are scarce today. Yet the lifetime of a worker in such an industry is exceedingly brief. The eyesight gives out. Such are some of the blessings of modern capitalism.

But all is supposed to be well with the New Deal policy, although the defenders of its redeeming features, as a means of recovery, say it is at its cross roads. This is true in more than one sense. "Oh, yes", they agree—both supporters and opponents among the agents of privilege—"its social relation features are of positive significance".

They mean by that the code and arbitration board regulations which represent the attempts to tie the workers within definite bonds of collaboration with capital, entirely to the latter's advantage. That aspect has not yet become clear to the workers in general. But it is noticeable throughout, and more apparent as one reaches westward, that of the former implicit confidence in the NRA, which made it synonymous with recovery, with jobs, there is at least only a thin veneer left. What stands out the more clearly is the readiness to organize and the direct response from the workers to organization efforts.

Surge Toward Unionization

The first big "recovery" strike wave had just about reached its ebb when my tour began. Organization activities were no longer at their former height but neither had they entirely petered out with the blasting of the recovery illusions. The truth is that the overwhelming numbers surging towards the existing unions, and decidedly towards the conservative unions, represented the instinctive mass reaction to the opportunities afforded by the NRA. collective bargaining clause, supplemented by the heavily increasing economic pressure upon them. It came about with such a rush that the A. F. of L. leaders were taken by surprise. In fact it was not at all due to any aggressive action on their part. They served as an impediment, gladly collecting the initiation fees which came rolling in but resisting and sabotaging organization at every step.

In Kansas City, for example, one of our comrades began to undertake organization in a plant of industrial mass production. He collected an imposing list of applicants but found it impossible to pry the trades and labor council loose. He could get no attention from that outfit so entirely oblivious to interests of expansion and growth. What could one expect then from the higher circles of the heirarchy? It is true that the gluttonous mandarins heading the New York garment workers union had a special interest in organizing the whole industry as a means of wiping out the T. U. U. L. union in the field. But elsewhere no such competition existed as a serious factor, and their worthy associates did their level best to drive the workers back from struggle for union organization and for union recognition.

Fayette County Miners

That was the case with the Fayette County coke miners in their strike against the steel subsidiary of H. C. Frick and Company. Several times the glib-tongued, expert horse-traders in the class collaboration field, from John L. Lewis downward, pleaded with these miners to return to work and to trust to them and to Mr. Roosevelt to preserve the interests of union organization. But the miners stuck to their own rights and made their own fight for a union, and at that for the very union headed by Lewis and the others. Not that the miners were fooled by this gentry. On the contrary. When William Feeney came on October 3, to address a meeting near Uniontown of 15,000 strikers he was greeted with the shouts "You sold us out in 1922", "Throw him out." He was unable to speak and left the meeting.

Even this very early stage of the "new deal" for the workers heralded the coming deep conflicts between the rank and file and the reactionary union leaderhhip. The distribution of the roles in this case showed the miners defending the principles of unionism against the officials of the very union involved. It may be argued that this is not a new phenomena in American labor history. That is true. But by occuring at this time it has a special significance for the future. Today the NRA class collaboration machinery is based upon arbitration boards which tomorrow will be turned into means of suppression of strikes and, thereby, suppression of the very life of the trade unions. With this machinery the union officials remain sewed up, for today and tomorow, because they are agents of capitalism. And with this the rank and file interests will come into ever more decisive conflict. It is from conditions such as these that the coming great labor struggles will find their reflex within the unions in serious revolts against the reactionary policies and against the officialdom. Thereby the path will be prepared for a new unionism.

Failure of Stalinist Unions

That this path will not be found through the T. U. U. L. unions under control of Stalinism is only further verified by the most recent experiences. Today one can find no trace whatever of the National Miners' Union in the important fields oing as far west as Illinois. The thousands of miners of Pennsylvania and Ohio, who two years ago struck under the banner of the T. U. U. L. union, were this time striking, and just as militantly, under the banner of the A. F. of L. striking for the rights of union recognition which the NRA was supposed to grant.

With the NRA came the rising curve of commodity prices the effects of which are felt very directly. "The NRA is just so much bunk", has now become a quite common expression, not only amongst those who still tramp the streets in vain search for jobs, but amongst the employed as well. For them the low wage standard resulting from the crisis is a serious reality. It is difficult to make ends meet. A grim determination is beginning to make its appearance within their ranks. One feels perceptibly that the present lull after the first strike wave is the calm before the next storm sure to break soon with the force of a hurricane.

Conditions of the Unemployed

And the unemployed? Amongst them are many signs of a sluggish adaptation to the low subsistence level afforded by the miserable relief rations. But these do not predominate. Most of the various mutual self-help enterprises, based upon begging and upon barter of labor for goods, which flourished for a time in several smaller cities, could not survive the realities of class society. Instead relief work, or "working for the city", as it is called by some who hope to invest it with a non-existing dignity, is becoming a regular institution in many cities. It means to do regular work for a relief pittance either, in cash or in groceries bearing no semblance to a wage. And often it is on such projects that regular wage labor is directly eliminated. Yet it becomes compulsory for those who need the grocery basket.

In spite of all this there is no sign anywhere today of an all-embracing unemployment movement. What exists is only the isolated local groupings; and of them there are few. In Minneapolis the Left Opposition has infused new life into the unemployed movement. In Chicago one finds still the Workers' League and locals affiliated to the Borders Committee. On a whole the issues of the unemployed receded into the background for a time with the advent of the NRA ballyhoo. The movement, such as it was, experienced a decline. But that does not tell the whole story.

Catastrophic Position of Official Party

Alongside of the decline is recorded the failure of the movement or the tendencies within, mainly those of the official Communist party and of the social reformists, to at any time seriously aim for the indispensable united front. From this the movement is now suffering the consequences. The Unemployed Councils, directed by the official party, which first emerged with the powerful spontaneous demonstrations, with the auspicious opportunity, during the early part of the crisis, have either entirely vanished or, wnat amounts to the same thing, lead a purely paper existence.

In general the decline and the sinking into disrepute of the official party is so outstanding as to be catastrophic. In city after city, not in the least in the mining and steel regions, I made the same observation. The official party is discredited to the extent of reflecting unfavorably upon th ideas of Communism in general. Again and again I would hear reports of workers saying, "I am through with Communist Party", or, "I quit the **Daily Worker** some time ago." How clearly did this illustrate the reactions thousands of workers who have been repelled by the emasculated party of Stalinism. For the Left Opposition this means more emphasis on the duty to build anew a revolutionary party in the United States. Our part in this task will be reported in another article.

—ARNE SWABECK.

League Member in L.A. Demands Proof for Slanders

(Sent to the Los Angeles Section Organizer of the Communist Party)

Los Angeles
Dec. 12, 1933

Fellow Worker:

There has come to my attention within the last few months a constantly repeated accusation against me made by a number of well known party members, namely that I am a police spy.

You are no doubt aware of the incalculable harm that can be done to the working class movement as a whole by the spreading of irresponsible rumors about active participants in the labour movement. You must also be aware that the branding of honest revolutionaries as police spies results in demoralization of the workers ranks and makes it exceedingly difficult to expose real provocateurs when it is necessary to do so.

Because this is generally recognized by all responsible working class organizations there are certain rights allowed to all workers who are so accused.

Also it is well known that no revolutionary organization worthy of the name should encourage the spreading of such rumors simply because they had political or factional differences with the person so victimized, that such action must eventually result in the complete exposure of those who spread such rumors.

When accusations must be made they should be made openly with supporting proof and the accused worker be afforded the right to a trial before his fellow workers. This it goes without saying is a generally recognized custom among honest revolutionaries.

In the interest of the movement as a whole and in consideration of the above, I demand the following: that Austin Sullivan, Harry Rice, Cope, Lawrence Ross, Stapleton and others who have made a practice of accusing me behind my back be called by the proper party authorities and be asked to submit proof of their accusations and to make them openly in my presence. That, if they are not willing to make such accusations openly that they be disciplined for their disloyal behavior. That a thorough investigation as to the source of these rumors be made because it is a quite frequent tactic of provocateurs in the ranks of the workers to originate rumours of this character in order to spread confusion among workers organization.

I have a right to expect a reply in a reasonable time stating what you intend to do in regard to this matter. That is not a matter to which the party can remain indifferent. No revolutionary organization worthy of the name permits important members of their organization to spread such rumors on their individual responsibility without calling them to task. Hoping to hear from you very soon, I am:

Very sincerely yours,
FRANK HALSTEAD.

Just Off the Press

TEN YEARS

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

By MAX SHACHTMAN

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THE NEW DANGER OF WAR IN THE FAR EAST

Attack on the Workers' Fatherland by the Japanese Militarists Imminent

Press dispatches from the Far East point to the imminence of a fresh military campaign by Japanese imperialism, intended to carry a stage further the grandiose plan of colonial conquest designed by the late Baron Tanaka. With the military accomplishment of each successive phase of this plan, which is the guiding plan of the Tokyo warlords, the danger of war against the Soviet Union approaches appreciably nearer.

With the signing of the Tangku truce last May 31, resulting in the "demilitarization" of approximately 5,000 miles of Chinese territory south of the Great Wall, there ensued a period of comparative quiet. The Japanese army withdrew to the Great Wall but continued to hold all the strategic passes into Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, including the important gateway at Shanhaikwan. The past six months have witnessed intensive preparations for a fresh military drive. Heavy Japanese troop concentrations took place at Mukden and Changchun late in September on the time-worn pretext of "bandit-suppression." Now it is reported that Japanese forces have undertaken the conquest of Inner Mongolia, the next step from which is armed intervention against the People's Government of Outer Mongolia, meaning war against the Soviet Union.

Japan Aims at War

All the facts of the present situation in the Far East point indubitably to the clear-cut intention of the Japanese imperialists to pit their military might against the Soviet Union without unnecessary delay. The Tanaka plan calls not only for the conquest of Manchuria, sections of China proper and Inner and Outer Mongolia, but also for the forcible seizure of all Soviet territory east of Lake Baikal territory richer than Manchuria in such basic raw materials as coal and iron and possessing mineral and other riches which Manchuria does not possess.

The principal danger spot for the Soviet Union has shifted recently from Russia's western frontiers to the Far East, Germany, as the Left Opposition organ in that country, **Unser Wort,** recently asserted, is in no position to make war on the land of the Soviets. Years of preparation are required. To those who contend that Japan is not adequately prepared either it must be stated that, given the present balance or relationship of forces, Japanese imperialism is as prepared for war on the Soviet Union as it can ever hope to be. The different imperialist powers are never, in any absolute sense, prepared for war, but they embark upon war nevertheless. In the case of Japan awareness of weakness in certain respects is lost in the general psychosis of invincibility, stimulated by the military campaigns of the last two years and the still-unforgotten victory over Czarist Russia in 1905.

Japan is being driven along the road of war by her growingly critical internal situation, reflected in mounting budget deficits, falling revenues, the flight of capital from the country, currency depreciation, advancing unemployment and impoverishment of the peasantry, and an adventuristic trade policy. Her ruling class, caught in the vise of an economic crisis they cannot mitigate, much less liquidate, see their salvation from threatening revolution in war--in the forcible conquest of fresh markets and simultaneously a crusade to free the Far East from the "menace of Bolshevism."

Effect of American Recognition

American recognition of the Soviet Union has lessened the danger of a Japanese attack on the workers' fatherland, we have been told. This facile contention, embodied in the diplomatic jargon of Stalin-Litvinov and slavishly echoed by Stalinist scribbers who seek to justify a Soviet "peace policy" that involves the desertion and virtual repudiation of revolutionary internationalism, will not bear the test of examination. **American recognition of the Soviet Union, insofar as it affects Soviet-Japanese relations, will more probably hasten the onslaught of Japanese imperialism on the Soviet Union.** There is no prospect of any improvement in Japan's internal situation, and the hopes of the Japanese imperialists of a successful war against the Soviet Union can only become dimmed by delay in delivering the attack (we are not discussing here the actual possibilities of Japan's winning out in a war on the Soviets in the Far East). Moreover, Japan cannot hope to forge a united imperialist front against the Soviets by the methods of diplomacy. Fifteen post-war years have proved that impracticable. But Japan does expect to find allies in the west once she has started the fight.

Japan will in all probability decide to strike the first blow before the Soviet Union has the opportunity to take advantage of American credits, expected to follow recognition. This view was expressed succinctly enough by George Bronson Rea, the $30,000 a year American adviser to the new state of Manchukuo—that is, Japan—in a letter to the **New York Herald-Tribune** on November 18. He declares that: "If recognition is followed by huge credits or loans which will enable Moscow to rush through its plans in central Asia and Siberia, then the outlook for peace is far from bright." As a result of such loans or credits, he goes on to contend, "the jaws of the Communist nutcracker will begin to close and Japan will have to fight for her life."

Sharpening Japano-American Relations

American recognition, while tending to hasten a Japanese attack on the Soviet Union, will sharpen Japano-American antagonisms—in fact has done so already. It was announced from Tokyo on December 8 that the Japanese fleet is to be reorganized on a war basis. The fleet is not needed for war on the Soviet Union. Only a few ships would be employed for an assault on Vladivostok. The move is clearly intended as a "hands-off" warning to the United States. Japanese officials are said to have revealed that "secret conversations" have taken place in Tokyo with Manuel Quezon, leader of the Filipino bourgeois independence movement. Quezon reportedly sought Japanese and and discussed linking the Philippines to the chariot of Japanese imperialism. It must be remembered that the Tanaka memorial envisages the seizure of the Philippines in order to round out the Empire of the Rising Sun and establish Japanese hegemony in the Pacific.

That Japan's first target is the Soviet Union and not America is indicated in a report from Mukden last week, which stated that the exiled Turkish prince, Abdul Kerim, is now en route from Tokyo to Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) on the Soviet borders, to head a puppet government that Japanese agents are trying to set up there. The prince has been the guest of the Japanese government for almost a year, being held in readiness to fill in Sinkiang the role that the ex-Manchu emperor, Henry Pu Yi, fills in Manchukuo. Japanese intrigues in Sinkiang are part of the preparations for the coming assault on Outer Mongolia. Hence, while it is indubitably true that Japano-American antagonisms are growing sharper, the reported reorganization of the Japanese fleet on a war basis, coupled with the whisperings concerning the Philippines, should be construed as a warning rather than as a threat.

Japanese Militarism in a Hurry

If Japan is not yet fully prepared for a war with the Soviet Union, she is not even at the beginning of preparedness for a war against her powerful Pacific rival. A Japanese war against the United States is predicated on the completion of Japan's several contemplated land-grabs on the Asiatic mainland, including eastern Siberia. In other words, victorious emergence from a war with the Soviet Union is the condition precedent to a trial of conclusions with dollar imperialism.

The growth of Japano-American rivalry was emphasized in news items appearing last week. American imperialism is in particular seeking set-offs against growing Japanese influence in China. On the same day that reorganization of the Japanese fleet on a war basis was announced from Tokyo, Thos. A. Morgan, president of the Curtiss-Wright Corporation, announced in New York the signing of a contract with the Nanking government for the erection at Hangchow, in Chekiang province, of a $5,000,000 airplane factory. The Nanking government has contracted to buy an initial total of 60 war planes a year. This latest deal was preceded a short while ago by an American $50,000,000 wheat and cotton loan through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Earlier, according to George Bronson Rea, a contract was concluded for the construction of a steel and munitions plant at Canton with American capital. The recently-concluded Mackay radio contract gives America virtual control of China's radio communications, while Pan-American Airways are actively bidding for control of international sections of China's air communications.

Drive of Rival Imperialisms

Thus American imperialism enters into the general drive for domination of China—a general drive of rival imperialisms in which Britain and France also have most important interests and roles.

But in the phases of this drive which reflect specifically Japano-American rivalry Japan is in the lead, diplomatically, economically and strategically. Tokyo's overtures to Nanking—to that government which time out of number has declared it would never enter into direct negotiations with Japan—have already produced concrete results. The Chinese bourgeoisie, represented politically by the Kuo Min Tang government at Nanking, has moved steadily toward rapprochement with Japan during the year now closing. Hoping for much from renewed relationships with the Soviet Union, Nanking abandoned all such hope when, to its utter amazement, Moscow declared its readiness to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan. Ever since, with clumsy attempts at secrecy, Nanking has been dickering with Tokyo.

Relations of China and Japan

Nanking's present position vis-a-vis Japan has been defined with a clearness that precludes misunderstanding by the Peiping correspondent of the **New York Times:**

> "Remarkable development has occurred during recent months in the relations between China and Japan. Although the Nanking government has not yet chosen to risk public displeasure by entering into formal diplomatic negotiations with Japan for the settlement of the Manchurian and related issues, Japanese diplomacy has made important gains through informal dealings with the North China political faction headed by General Huang Fu.
>
> "It has been scarcely half a year since the Tangku armistice brought an end to Sino-Japanese hostilities. Yet, in that brief period, the attitude of the North China administration toward Japan has been transformed from one of bitterness to one of utmost friendliness and cooperation. Anti-Japanese elements in the administration have been gradually weeded out. Intimate relations have grown up between Japanese military and diplomatic representatives and the North China government. Within the last month Japan has become particularly assiduous in sowing good will. **N. Y. Times,** December 10.)

The correspondent goes on to relate how, as evidence of the "new spirit" he describes, there took place a "strange spectacle", when Chinese and Japanese troops, which a few months before had been at war with each other, joined forces to quell the Chinese rebel, General Fang Chen-Wu. But what is of especial importance and significance is the Japanese view of the strengthened influence they have gained in Chinese government circles. It is considered **"an important factor in the event of Soviet-Japanese complications,"** says the correspondent.

Nanking's Deal with Japan

It is plain that Nanking has made at least a tentative deal with Japan—a deal that is directed, obliquely at any rate, against the Soviet Union. This development is very largely the bye-product of Soviet diplomacy, which retreated step by step before Japanese aggression during the past two years. The culminating act in this retreat was the decision to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Current developments in the Far East demand the closest vigilance of the revolutionary movement and of the working-class movement generally. A war by Japan against the Soviet Union, in which the Kuo Min Tang government would be the ally of Japanese imperialism, would undoubtedly engender the profoundest repercussions in the ranks of the Chinese working class and in the broad layers of the poor population. The Chinese workers are still confused and disorganized, largely passive. They have not yet recovered from the catastrophe wished on them by the Stalinists in 1927. But there are signs of their revival, indicated in the rising strike movement in the industrial centers.

Tasks of Chinese Communists

The Chinese Communists are obligated by their revolutionary tasks to penetrate the ranks of the workers, aid in the work of reorganization, give sound political direction to the movement. The official party still maintains its false course toward the armed uprising, predicating it upon the existence of Soviet districts and the continuance of peasant guerilla warfare in remote rural areas in the heart of the country. The raising of democratic slogans around which the city masses can be mobilized for action is still denounced as "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism", although only nine months ago the Provisional Soviet Government at Juikin—that government of which Moscow is still not officially cognizant—advanced a series of democratic demands in an official manifesto. Pressed by political needs born of actuality, this peasant government, which the Stalinists point to as evidence of the "mistakes" of the Left Opposition, advances a program of demands which the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist International even to this day denounce as counter-revolutionary

Democratic Demands

What were these demands? They are embodied in a declaration issued to the people of China on April 15 this year over the signature of Mao Tse-tung, president of the Provisional Government of the Soviet Republic of China. Toward the end of the declaration we read the following—note it carefully, you who denounce the democratic slogans of the Left Opposition as Menshevism:

> "The Red Army is ready to enter into fighting operative agreements with any army or military detachment in the fight against Japanese invasion under the following conditions:
>
> "1. Cessation of the advance against the Soviet Districts.
>
> "2. Granting of Democratic rights to the people of China (free speech, free press, rights of assembly, demonstration, organization, release of political prisoners, etc.)
>
> "3. Arming of the people, the creation of armed volunteer detachments to struggle for the defense, independence and unity of China."

For A New Party in China

If we add the obviously requisite demand for the National Assembly there is nothing to cavil at in this program. Put forward by radio from the bottled-up Soviet government at Juikin it reached nowhere. As the program of the Chinese Communist Party its slogans could become the slogans of the workers in the cities and acquire a tremendous significance. But it is hopeless to expect anything of the Chinese Communist Party, decayed beyond repair by its own vices. The Chinese oppositionists must construct a new party which will enter into its tasks correctly, seriously and conscientiously, mobilize the masses for the third Chinese revolution and simultaneously for the defense of the Soviet Union. These twin tasks converge and supplement each other. The new party must bury the rubbish heaped upon the Chinese revolutionary field by the Stalinists. It must oppose itself directly to the Chinese ruling class and its government, enemies of both the Chinese masses and the peoples of the Soviet Union, and not lose itself and disperse its forces in nebulous activities against imperialism in general.

In the measure that the Chinese working class, led by a new Communist Party, is successful in furthering its own revolution by fighting the Kuo Min Tang and the Nanking government, and the class forces represented therein—to that extent will it be discharging its share of the task of defending the Soviet Union. The Chinese workers are confronted by great tasks. They must receive the unstinting support of the workers of America and other countries.

—LUCIFER.

The Collapse of the Brandler Movement

(Editor's Note.—The interesting account of the disintegration of the international organization of the Right wing Brandlerists is translated from **Die Neue Front,** organ of the German Socialist Workers' Party).

I. V. K. O. is an abbreviation for the Internationale Vereinigung der Kommunistischen Oppositionen (International union of Communist Oppositions). Until very recently the IVKO consisted of KPO-Germany, KPO-Switzerland, KPO-Alsace, Mot-Dag group in Norway, KP-Sweden, the Lovestone group in America and a small group in Czechoslovakia. For some time already sharp differences have manifested themselves in the IVKO. They have now culminated in the declaration of Brandler, made at the Oct. 24th session of the Central Committee of the Swedish Independent Communist Party, to the effect that it is excluded from the IVKO. Thus, the already shaking structure of the IVKO lost its strongest prop.

The immediate cause for the expulsion was the participation of the Independent Communist Party of Sweden in the Paris Conference. But just as in case of the differences in the KPO-Germany the main question revolved around the attitude to Stalinism. The fact that the Norwegian Mot-Dag group answered the call to the Paris conference, and would have participated had not external circumstances prevented it, can be interpreted only that the Mot-Dag group feels itself in solidarity with the Swedish group, so that its official break with the IVKO is not far off.

New Rifts Developing

But with the loss of the quantitatively and qualitatively best elements of the IVKO the process of disintegration did not reach its end. It seems that a rift is also brewing with the KPO-Switzerland and with the group around Brandler. At any rate the declarations of comrades Thaelmann and Bringholf made at the enlarged session of the bureau are entirely in the spirit of the former KPO minority (present S. W. P. leadership—Tr.). In fact, comrade Thaelmann pronounced himself in favor of a new party in Germany. Comrade Bringholf at one time made a statement that the KPD deviates from fundamental Communist principles, that the C. I. has been degraded to an instrument for the furtherance of Russia's foreign policy and that as far as the West-European proletariat is concerned the C. I. is "absolutely hopeless".

For some time already the relations between the Alsace opposition group and the leadership of the KPO-Germany have been very tense. As we see, only the Lovestone group in America remains steadfast and loyal to Brandler-Thalheimer. But information reaches us that also in America there are currents "against the stream", so the Gitlow group, which is approaching the point of view of the Left Opposition and the S. W. P., has broken with Lovestone.

In face of this mass of ruins we can only hope that the C. C. of the IVKO will clear the path for the international unity of all Communists who have recognized that a correct policy today can be carried on only against the C. I. and its sections. Inside of Germany the isolation of Brandler and Thalheimer will undoubtedly hasten the winning over of the best elements of the KPO-Germany for the building of a real Communist party.

Disintegration Also in Bohemia

We have information from Czechoslovakia which shows to what extent the SPD and KPD have been losing and are still losing in influence. Orientation towards the Left Opposition is especially marked among SPD workers. The idea of building a new revolutionary party is gaining momentum.

On the KPO the report says:

"Our Brandlerites have almost disappeared from the face of the earth due to their cringing policy before the Stalinists. A half a year ago they were still rather strong. They have since driven the majority of their members to indifference. While formerly they had been much stronger than the Left Opposition, now the L. O. is almost twice as strong. Thus, at the Nov. 1st meeting of Asch only a mere handful of no more than ten participated".

It would be unjust to blame the Asch KPO comrades for this defeat. It is the inevitable result of the opportunist policy which the leadership of the KPO has embarked upon. The workers say to themselves and with absolute right—if the internal and foreign policy of Stalin corresponds to Communist interests, this must also be true as far as the Stalin Comintern policy is concerned. And from this they draw a conclusion, absolutely logical, from their point of view, that the existence of the KPO groups is absolutely senseless.

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Discussion Article

The Proletarian Party -- Position and Prospects

(continued from the last issue)

Both these disturbances were a direct result of the depression. During the "prosperous" days, when money was comparatively plentiful, no one in the Party seriously questioned Keracher's judgment and ability as custodian of the Party's funds. This is proved by the fact that **his books were never audited.** But as the depression advanced money got scarcer and scarcer. It became necessary to not only count the dimes but the pennies too. Some of the bolder spirits even questioned whether Keracher was handling the Party funds in the most advantageous manner. They became very inquisitive and discovered that the different Party funds were mixed together quite indiscrimately. All the money was put into one pot. Press funds, membership dues, organization funds, local rent, C. H. Kerr Co. funds, were all put together and whatever need came along first got whatever money was available. This could perhaps best be described as financial opportunism.

New Opposition in 1932

About September 1932, comrades Anderson, Knight and Novak, as a majority of the Executive Council, undertook to instruct Keracher in the handling of press funds, and when he ignored the instruction they elected Knight as Press Fund Secretary, and instructed him to open a separate bank account for the press funds, which he did. The majority of the Executive Council did not take the stand that under no circumstances could press funds be diverted to other purposes and later restored, but that this should be done only in emergency whereas Keracher did it as a habit. Keracher appealed the decision of the majority of the Executive Council to the N. E. C. as a whole. He made his appeal on the basis of the Party constitution which, while it says "The N. E. C. shall have full power to carry on Party work between conventions", it also says "The National Secretary shall supervise the accounts of the National Office", and also that "The National Secretary shall be elected at the same time and in the same manner as the N. E. C."

On the matter of this appeal the N. E. C. as a whole, under the influence of Keraches correspondence, decided that the constitution gave complete control of Party funds to Keracher and that the press funds should be returned to him. They agreed with Keracher that, having been elected by the same body as the N. E. C., namely the convention, he was not only not subject to the Council but he was not even subject to the N. E. C. but was on an equal footing with them. He contended that not even the NEC had power to take funds out of his hands, and the N. E. C. agreed. To illustrate the attitude of most of the N. E. C. members it may be said that one of them moved for the abolition of the Council and the placing of the National Office affairs entirely in the hands of the National Secretary till the next convention. Another N. E. C. member moved that the resignation of Novak and Anderson from the N. E. C. be requested.

Questions of Organization Principle

Under these circumstances members of the Party for the first time took up the study of democratic centralism and Bolshevik party structure. Anderson, Knight and Novak soon discovered that the principles of democratic centralism require the election by the convention, or congress, of a Central Committee which shall really **have full power** over all party affairs till the next congress, and that this committee shall elect from its members a secretary, who shall be the Secretary of the committee and at all times subordinate to the committee. The Secretary is not elected by the congress and gets no power from the congress. The Central Committee elects a Bureau to carry on the day to day work (to which the Executive Council of the Proletarian Party is comparable) and this Bureau is also under the control of the Central Committee, but is entitled to make decisions for the committee between meetings of the committee. The secretary of the committee is also the secretary of the Bureau. This is democratic centralist structure as outlined by Lenin, the fundamental principles of which must be incorporated into the constitution of any organization calling itself Communist. There is little room for dualism in such a structure. Had the Proletarian Party been organized in this fashion Keracher could never have carried the Party in his pocket for so many years even though the intelligence of the rank and file was very low.

As an example of the loose and careless manner of carrying on the Party work and of the complete lack of criticism of the leaders by the rank and file it should be stated that although the Party had for over ten years a functioning body known as the Executive Council, consisting of those members of the N. E. C. who lived in, or happened to be in, the city of Chicago where the National Office was located, and although this body was understood by the rank and file to be the executive and representative body of the N. E. C. as a whole, yet there was never a word in the Party constitution about even the existence of such a body till the convention last September when the opposition group, after a hard struggle, succeeded in forcing into the constitution a modest definition of its powers and functions.

1933 Convention

Since a convention was scheduled for 1933 and a period of pre-convention discussion was approaching, Anderson, Knight and Novak, decided to lay the whole matter before the rank and file. However, with a hostile secretary in the National Office, through whose hands all correspondence must pass and who supervised the issuing of the discussion bulletins, this was not an easy matter. Keracher used all the tricks in his bag (and it's a big bag) to prevent this matter from reaching the membership. After much struggling on the part of Anderson, Knight and Novak, it did get into the pre-convention bulletin but it was at the tail end, just a short time before the convention opened and the membership had too little time to properly consider such fundamental questions and instruct their delegates on them before the convention opened.

But in spite of this the proposed changes in the constitution almost carried. The vote was 12-11 against them, and even this was only accomplished by a pre-convention maneuver on Keracher's part by means of which two prominent members of Local Detroit, Schock and Landgraf, who had proclaimed themselves favorable to the proposed constitutional changes, were suspended from the Party for three months on a minor charge and thus excluded from the convention. For the first time in Proletarian Party history the fundamental principles of Leninism were discussed on the floor of a convention. But the majority still supported Keracher, finding it impossible to believe that a man they had trusted so many years should really have been untrustworthy.

Social Democratic Viewpoints

Most of the decisions taken at the convention were of a Social-Democratic character. More so than those of any previous convention of the Party. The decisions on the farm question, the Negro question, partial demands, the Communist International, were all characterized by evasion or obvious misunderstanding, such as for example the decision that the farmer is not a worker and should not be seriously considered by a revolutionary party. Keracher was re-elected, as National Secretary with all of his former power intact.

Anderson resigned at the convention and Knight shortly afterwards. Also a body of about 20 others, members of Local Detroit, have left the Party as a result of the convention decisions. There are indications that those still in the party are progressing as a result of the controversy. Many of them have, for the first time, taken up a study of Leninism. This will probably result in other attempts to change the Party line and doubtless there will be other splits, resignations or expulsions. There seems no reason to hope that the Party leaders will be able to change their position and become revolutionary. It appears that whatever usefulness the organization had in the past has definitely disappeared and the Party is now nothing but a hindrance to revolutionary development.

Workers should be able to gain some understanding from such events as these. One conclusion to be drawn from this controversy is that we should never cease to be critical of our leaders. We must have leaders, and the rank and file must have confidence in those leaders, but those extending the confidence must not be deaf, dumb and blind but always alert and critical. Previous to this conflict in the Proletarian Party it would have been quite impossible for me to conceive of a great leader like Stalin playing any dirty tricks on his fellow party members or in any way failing to serve the best interests of the international working class.

Leaders and Rank and File

While there is little comparison between the size of the Russian party and the Proletarian Party I can understand that if workers, who for years had prided themselves on being super-critical, could be so easily deceived by a Keracher it might be possible for good Bolsheviks to be deceived by a Stalin. The actions of our leaders, national and international, must be watched at all times and nothing taken for granted. While watching our enemies we must also watch our friends. If we fail in this important matter we shall pay as the workers of Germany are now paying.

In addition to this very important lesson there is another which deserves attention. That is that parties and individuals cannot be understood apart from their backgrounds. The Proletarian Party's over-emphasis on education, and failure to accomplish anything in practical every-day organizational work, was to quite an extent a reaction to the stupid ballyhoo of the Communist Party, though it was partly due to the conservative tendencies of the leaders inherited from the Socialist Party. The utterly un-Communistic Proletarian Party constitution, with its paralyzing effects, must be considered definitely as a Socialist Party heritage.

We must learn to critically analyze our tendencies in the light of past and present influences and to shake off mercilessly all outworn dogma and tradition. Eternal vigilance is the price of success in our work.

—JOSEPH KNIGHT.

Movie Review

First National's **Wild Boys of the Road** is the first socially serious picture to be made since the crisis hit us like one of Moses' plagues. It tells the story of the tens of thousands of boys of all ages who are driven from home by the pressure of the crisis on their families; how they live; and the brutal treatment capitalist society gives them.

The break-up of working class families is faithfully recorded, but the scenes on the freight trains as the boys fight with and lick the railroad bulls by throwing fruit at them were written to order in the studio, not copied form life. None the less some effort was made to paint the police as the brutal ruffians they are. They are shown in action swinging clubs against kids. For once they don't appear as moralizing protectors of society.

In the last scene the boys who are hailed up before a juvenile court judge explain how they came to hit the road. They fix the blame on society and make themselves out to be its victims. The words they use are obviously put into their mouths. The sentiments they express are way beyond their understanding. On the other hand this is a new kind of talk for the moving pictures.

The producers vitiated their indictment of capitalist society by their treatment throughout the picture and, particularly, by its conclusion. Whenever a scene threatens to carry a biting sting and reach the spot in a man's heart where outrage lives the producers put in some light touch to set the audience laughing. The audience we sat with did just that.

Most of them that got by this trick fell for the end. The juvenile court judge turned out to be a kind hearted gent who let the boys off got them jobs, and told them everything was going to be alright and their folks would get jobs so they could go back home. They left out only the American flag and F. D.'s face. In this way the picture made the whole thing out to be one of those temporary dislocations in society which recovery will set straight. And in this sense the picture is false.

On the other hand the faithful presentation of much of the brutality and suffering which these young workers and workers' children are made to experience by the breakdown of the profit system gives the picture a positive value. —T. S.

KEEP NEW YEAR'S OPEN FOR THE EVENT OF THE SEASON

EDITORIAL

Building the New Movement

IN breaking finally with the Stalinist party and Comintern, and in striking out an independent path toward the building of a new party, the Communist League has taken a step which flows with irrefutable logic from the realities of the situation; it corresponds completely to the burning needs of the working class and the political movement of its conscious vanguard section. The political wisdom of this decision will be verified in life, as in a certain measure it has already been verified, to the extent that we steer a resolute course on the new path.

Our break with Stalinism, its organizations and its treacherous policy, is irrevocable; there is no turning back. The time when the faction struggle within the ranks of the Comintern occupied the center of our attention is behind us. The main weight of our activity has to be shifted now directly into the broad class struggle. Delay or hesitation with this radical transformation of our work can only militate against the movement and our own influence in it.

It is not enough to recognize the logic of this decisive turn and to accept it formally. The next problem—and it is a crucial one now—is to assimilate the idea, with all its implications to the very end, into our blood. A complete break with narrow factional activity and the psychology engendered by it is an imperative necessity. Only then will we be able to translate our decision into action. A check-up of our activity and its results since the publication of our resolution on the question of the new party, which is in order now, will convince us of this.

One of the most conspicuous examples of the fruitful results of the new orientation of the League is to be found in the experience of the Minneapolis comrades in the unemployment movement. For a long time there, as elsewhere, while we maintained our position as a faction of the Stalinist Party and of its peripheral organizations, the League members and other revolutionary workers attempted to participate in the Unemployment Councils of the Stalinists. A futile task and a waste of time, as experience demonstrated. These Unemployment Councils, like all other Stalinist "mass organizations" are narrowly-constructed family affairs, isolated from the actual movement of the masses and serving the special interests of the bureaucratic machine. They far more concerned to keep "Trotskyites" out than to get workers in. The attempt to work in the unemployment movement under such auspices became a monotonous process of squeezing into the so-called Unemployment Councils and being thrown out again. The more the burden of mass unemployment pressed the workers toward action the more the Stalinist clique blocked the way. A resolute break out of this vicious circle became the condition for a real activity among the masses on the issue of unemployment.

An independent course of action was commenced by the Internationalists in this field. The sterile "Councils" were left to stew in their own juice. Unemployed workers and workers' organizations were approached with a program of united action. This tactic brought gratifying results in a comparatively short time. The will of the workers generally to get together in the fight against the scourge of unemployment was shown in the widespread response to the initiative of our comrades. The relative insignificance of the Stalinist clique in the broad movement, and the absurdity of their claim to a "monopoly" of leadership, were likewise revealed with striking force.

Several conferences, embracing the bulk of the workers' organizations, have already been held; a big mass meeting on the unemployment question has taken place; the movement is growing and broadening in scope and the decks are being cleared for a real demonstration of working class unity and discontent that will wrest concessions from the masters. The developments to be seen in Minneapolis already are a heartening sign of the moving power that resides in the slogans of struggle against unemployment once they are taken out of the closed circle of a clique and made an issue of the class.

In the broad united front of the real workers' movement in Minneapolis the Stalinists appear only as a small minority of disrupters. The workers turned against them. Before the workers, who are concerned vitally with the united fight to make the conditions of their lives more bearable, the Stalinists appeared as enemies of the movement, resentful of its success and bent on disrupting and disorganizing it. In this way they convince the workers, on the basis of their own experience, that the Stalinist Party, which serves the special interests of a bureaucratic clique, is a sabotaging obstacle to the development of the workers' movement.

These lessons derived from experience are not the least of the benefits accruing to the general movement from the wide-scale unemployment activity which is being unfolded in Minneapolis. The members of the Communist League, while proceeding with their constructive work in the forefront of the movement, are true to its interests in exposing the fundamental meaning of the Stalinist tactics and aiding the workers to draw the necessary conclusions. Nevertheless, it appears to us, that too much time and effort should not be devoted to this aspect of the problem. In the broad movement of the working class it is most important to see things in their true proportions. We should be careful not to carry with us too many relics of the internal faction struggle that dominated our activity for so long a time.

The completely independent course in the class struggle, which our preparations for the new party enjoin upon us, gives us at the same time the opportunity to contrast our policy to that of the Stalinists before the workers in actual practice. This is the most effective way now to complete the task of annihilating Stalinism and liberating the vanguard labor movement from its disruptive influence. Our strength in the broad workers' movement will grow most rapidly if we appear there, in relation to the Stalinists, not as one faction fighting another, but rather as the representatives of the fundamental interests of the class opposing a policy of sabotage and disruption based on interests alien to those of the class. That, in fact, is how the conflict stands in reality. It is up to us to make it clear, in practice, in the whole course of our activity, as well as in words.

That is the way to ensure success in our aim to establish a new and genuine party of Communism without too much delay and to line up the forces for a great forward leap of the revolutionary movement in America. We have not yet set our feet firmly on this path—this we must acknowledge. Our long years of existence as a small faction fighting to restore the line of Marxist principle—a position inseparable from a certain tendency toward sectarianism—have left marks in our habits of thought as well as in our method of work. We have broken with the old position as a faction. Now we must break with the phychology of a faction and appear in all our work as the banner-bearers of an independent party.

Conditions in the Soviet Union

An American Worker's Report on Labor and the Five-Year Plan

Some time ago, a criticism appeared in **The Militant** for publishing experiences of delegates to Soviet Union on the ground that it would made a bad impression on the average casual reader against the Workers State. Maybe so, but that is just where our weakness lies. Can one fight against disease successfully if he hides its symptoms? I spent almost two years working in the Soviet Union, mostly in meat industry; and even though I wasn't much developed politically one could not help seeing the dissastrous effects of the adventurous policy which undermined all the principles of the October revoluton. If you will permit, I will give a short sketch of my experience in the Soviet Union.

In August of 1931 I started from New York. On the boat I met a worker from Chicago who also was going to work in the meat industry of the Soviet Union. He was a member of the Communist Party and, just like many of Stalin's followers, he went to the Soviet Union to get a nice soft place and stay there for good. Arriving in Moscow we were taken to a hotel, and, after a little rest, went out for a walk passing by numerous bread lines. My friend, in his disillusionment, always managed to avoid passing by them. After one week of our stay in Moscow we were sent to a city called Armovir in the Caucusus. There we started to work in the meat packing house. At that time the working week was four days' work, fifth day rest, 8 hour day. But because the 14th anniversary of Red October was near it was decided at the trade union meeting that we all work four Soviet weeks (20 days) straight (with no rest) and 9 hour day. The aim was to fulfill the quota that was given to our plant for the months of October and September.

Labor Conditions in Factory

Going to work in the morning we often passed groups of about 150-200 peasants dressed pitifully, some of them bare-footed in the cold winter, escorted by 10 to 12 police on horse back to the house of correction (Prison). They are kulaks, said my foreman with whom I walked to work.

Again a new quota was given to our plant to produce a certain mniimum number of tons of meat in the next 2 months. A meeting was called after work which was attended by all workers (the guard at the gate will not let anyone go home until the meeting is over). The speaker reads the new plan from the Center and tells the workers not to be frightened by the big task given to them, since there is nothing too hard for real Bolsheviks. A functionary proposes that we add to the quota 25%. Does anyone oppose that? Silence—Accepted. The political papers next day bring reports on the great enthusiasm of the workers for building socialism; they not only accept the plan given them but add a 25% stretch plan; the factory works 9 to 10 hours a day until the plan is fulfilled.

Stalinist "Political Education"

A couple of days later the workers in my department complained that they are getting pigs as small as 25-40 pounds and with that they cannot fill the share given them. It can't be helped. The government grain quota was so big that the kolhozes had to give all their grain to the government and there was none left to feed the pigs, cattle, etc. When at the end of two months our plant fulfilled the plan 85%—too much counter-revolutionary influence in the factory and our plant got on the black list.

At the political school which is held at factory two times a week and three classes are taught, my friend tells about Trotsky's counter-revolutionary propaganda in America. He should have been killed, said one of the functionaries. Why don't American Communists kill him?, asks another. Then my friend explains that Trotsky is in Turkey and not in America.

The New Wage Policy

Again there is turn in line of wages. Comrade Stalin says there must be a wider difference in wages between the professional and non-professional workers. Many Party members who hold responsible jobs cannot be enthusiastic in fulfilling their tasks because the wages of Party members is limited to only 250 rubles a month. From then on there is no limit to the wages of members, (the lowest wage for unskilled is 45 rubles a month) and the wages of lower strata should be fixed according to his own efficiency. A few days later I noticed a man with book and watch standing behind me and checking up the work performed within certain period of time. It reminded me of an incident when a revolutionary union controlled by Stalinists in America issued a call to the workers of Chicago Packing houses to strike against such enslaving methods (Bonus system).

Then came the fever of liquidating classes. Some local newspapers declared that by spring, 1933, the classes will be liquidated. (I did not read **Pravda** because I did not receive it although I subscribed to it). The Police used Stalin's methods in liquidating classes by throwing in jail those peasants that tried to sell their produce in the open market. That often led to violent outbreaks and often the peasants got support from the workers in the struggle against the red Police, the workers knowing that the bazaar is the only place where there is still something to buy.

The following liquidation of classes went on in factories. The factory employees were divided into about 10 different classes, from the Engineering technical personnel, in which are included factory administrators and their foremen helpers, down to lower and lower groups each with different food privileges, with nothing left for the last group. At the factory dining room there were tables for udarniks and non-udarniks and of course the food was different for both.

Discontent of Workers

On the streets one sees, beside bread, kerosene or some other line, tired looking faces dressed shabily asking one another how long will this go on, condemning in low voice Stalin and his five year plans, carefully looking around if some authority did not hear their remarks. There are others mingling among the masses who seem to be quite satisfied. Those are dressed better, their clothing looks much like a uniform with neat Russian boots on and brief case under arm. As an isvoshchik drives by again you see him sitting stiff in back and holding the brief case proudly on his knees so that the public could see the authority coming.

In May this year I came back to America. Many friends, sympathizers and members of the party, many of whom wanted to go to U. S. S. R., came to see me and asked about conditions in the Soviet Union, hoping to hear the same words they read in the **Daily Worker, Freiheit** and other Stalinist sheets about the freedom of the workers in Soviet Union who have nothing to worry about. Of course I could only tell them the truth and express my criticism from a Marxian viewpoint since I don't believe in hiding the truth.

—JOHN CERNICKY.

Notes of the Week

"FORTUNATELY, I think", thinks General Electric's Owen D. Young, "it will be easy to persuade our people that it is their duty to **consume luxuries** in order to provide an import balance so that our cotton and our copper may be exported. Such a personal sacrifice for the public economic welfare can be safely predicted".

* * * *

Mr. Young made this warm spiel for a cold winter evening in the **New York Times** last Sunday. As luxuries he classes: Coffee, tea, fruit, wines, tobacco, etc. Considering all sides of the question very carefully, we cannot help reaching the conclusion that the G. E.'s man is not too unduly optimistic. We know at least half a dozen unemployed ourselves that would readily make the sacrifice. Of course, in line with the worthy gentleman's "division of consumption" theory of economy, and corresponding to current codes of fair competition, the American unemployed might ask, in return for the conviction that it is their duty to consume luxuries—the concession that it be their privilege to consume also some necessities: Such as bread, butter, pork chops and potatoes, for instance.

* * * *

But until the necessary arrangements for this sort of a square business deal are concluded, we must unfortunately content ourselves with the luxury of Mr. Young's ingenious philosophy. We could not quite make the sacrifice of consuming it whole. Yet we will nibble at it.

* * * *

The gist of the idea is that the old conception of world economy being based on an international division of labor has gone haywire. Modern technique, communication, transportation have made it possible for every country to build up its own manufactures, its own industry. And, as a matter of fact, Mr. Young rightly finds, most countries are quite content that this should be so. This is called the new trend to nationalism.

* * * *

Of course England needs India's cotton and France the Saar's iron ore and Germany the potassium of Alsace-Lorraine. But that lies in the realm of a division of consumption rather than of labor. And in this same realm of the division of consumption, our nation is the most adventageous. Its labor is to consume the luxuries and to furnish for the consumption of the others, our cotton and our copper. Out of pure goodness of heart we will also offer for consumption to the budding national industries our motors and generators and dynamos.

* * * *

So much for the general outline of the future. The whole plan is based on an augury that Mr. Young has plucked from his own intellectual Olympus that we have been wrong in thinking that a compressed world—compressed by the material rapprochement offered by wireless and radio and aviation—breaks down national barriers. It raises them instead. An ordinary mortal might be inclined to ask, how? That is because he is not acquainted four-dimensional approach of Mr. Young, however.

* * * *

Still, if our oracle leaves us in doubt as to how—we can be made quite clear as to why it should be so. American business stands to gain all around by the new nationalisms. While fostering cultural exchanges with the other countries, American big business, in addition to the philosophic satisfaction of nurturing all the new nationalisms, can, as a sort of a by-product find a market for its capital export. And if the different nationalisms come to a clash of arms in their consumption of cotton, potassium or iron ore, that is just too bad. But Uncle Sam will always be there to pull the chestnuts out of the fire and the big boys of Wall Street will be expecting the American masses to lend a hand—it will all be for the sake of doing their duty to consume more luxuries.

* * * *

Finally, as an illustration that it is possible for a nation uninitiated in the old order of industrial nations to build up a national economy all its own without dependence on the rest of the world, Mr. Young offers us the example of Russia. If, by some mystic or messianic formula socialism can be built in one country, why can't capitalism. Another big victory for Stalin's diplomacy. . . .

* * * *

In the meantime, since the "readjustment in this field (the new division of consumptive power) may not be abrupt", Owen Young consoles us, "Russia . . . will provide a cushion, temporarily at least, for diminishing trade in manufactured necessities". . . .

—G....n.

Proletarian Party Youth Group Out

(**Editorial Note.**—The crisis of the labor movement, which affects all workers' organizations more or less, is seizing the Proletarian Party, a sectarian off-shoot of American Stalinism, with particular devastation. Now it is bringing a convulsion in the Proletarian Youth League, the youth section of the Party, as the following statement of resignation signed by thirteen members, reveals.)

* * * *

PROLETARIAN PARTY
Detroit, Michigan
December 5, 1933.

Comrades:

Following is a letter that was submitted to the P. Y. L. (Proletarian Youth League) of America, local Detroit on Thursday, Nov. 30, 1933; severing our connections with that organization. We are sending this letter to the **Militant, Workers' Age, Proletarian News,** and **Daily Worker** for the purpose of showing our reasons for resignation:

Comrades:

Due to the following conditions existing in the P. Y. L., we the undersigned do hereby resign from the above mentioned organization:

1. The P. Y. L. makes no attempt to become the revolutionary vanguard of the working class youth. This is proven by its failure to participate in the everyday struggle and the demands of the workers, the means by which they can prove to the workers the correctness of their position.

2. The P. Y. L. maintains that there is no Negro or Agrarian problem and that the approach taken toward them should by the same as that taken toward all other workers, which means that the P. Y. L. in presenting no demands for these groups have no way of contacting them.

3. The P. Y. L. as an organization does not give its members the right to formulate its activities, even on the principles laid down by the parent organization, the P. P. (Proletarian Party) instead, the Proletarian Party insists that the P. Y. L.'s entire N. E. C. be composed of members of the Youth League who are also party members, which is an open attempt by the P. P. to establish a bureaucratic element of P. P. members to control the problems of the P. Y. L.

4. Although the P. P. has a member sitting in on all business meetings of the P. Y. L., a non-party representative of the P. Y. L. cannot sit in on any meeting of the P. P., even those in which the problems of youth are discussed.

We feel that because of the P. P.'s absolute control of the P. Y. L.'s business, it is our duty to either join the party, so that we can help formulate the line of action which the P. Y. L. shall follow, or else leave the youth league.

Therefore, the principles and organizational structure of the P. P., being of a sectarian and bureaucratic nature, which makes it impossible to serve as the political party which will emancipate the workers, we, as Communists, hand in our resignations.

C. Jones	E. Lovett
D. Gabe	L. Walters
A. Wiencek	N. Wiencek
R. Jones	R. Romm
S. Walters	R. Brenner
K. Jones	F. Jones

R. Nagle

BOOKS FOR WORKERS

TEN YEARS—History and Principles of the Left Opposition by Max Shachtman. 79 Pages. 10c. Pioneer Publishers, New York.

At last a pamphlet on the history and fundamentals of the Left Opposition! A serious handicap in educating the newcomers to our movement has been precisely the absence of such a historical sketch. The simplicity and lucidity of style and presentation makes it interesting and informative reading even to the uninitiated.

In reality the pamphlet is a history of the ten-years' struggle of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists against Stalinism in the Soviet Union, as well as internationally, in England and in China. The proof that the "Russian Question" is in reality a problem of world Communism is clearly presented by the author's well-knit story of how the basic theories of the Stalinist bureaucracy flow from the defeat of the West European working class; and the logical consequences of these theories in the Centrist zigzag of Stalinism in its policies in the Soviet Union, England and China.

"Ten Years" commences by a clear explanation of why a militant worker should be interested in the factional struggle which has wracked the world Communist movement: the absolute indispensability of a revolutionary vanguard organization of the working class, a Communist party, for the emancipation of the proletariat. Comrade Shachtman then proceeds with the struggle in 1923 for party democracy in the Russian Communist Party. The struggle is placed on the background of the economic and social difficulties of the Soviet Union. This method, of connecting the political conflicts with their social conditions, and the employment of well chosen questions from leading spokesman of the official regime, make the struggles realistic and easily understandable.

The controversies over "The Lessons of October", the theory of socialism in one country, the Anglo-Russian Committee and the British General Strike, and the Chinese Revolution, are so analyzed that, despite the brevity of the sections, all the essentials are expounded. The highly complicated problem of the danger of Thermidor and Bonapartism in the Soviet Union is explained in very simple language.

Because of the highly difficult task of condensing the ten years' struggle of the Left Opposition in a small pamphlet, a number of important omissions are to be expected. In discussing the Opposition's criticism of the draft of the First Five Year Plan, it is essential to stress the contention of our comrades in 1927 that the Plan of the Stalinists meant industrialization at the expense of the working class, rather than at the expense of the non-proletarian elements in Russia; that the living conditions of the workers should increase with the development of industry. These points cannot be overemphasized: the stupendous gains in production of the First Five Year Plan were achieved, to a large degree, at the expense of the living standard of the workers—to a far greater extent than was necessary.

In speaking of socialist planned economy, it would have been well to include a brief paragraph contrasting **scientific** planning, with constant check-up and experimentation, as against the bureaucratic planning of Stalinism. In this connection, the reference to Trotsky's prediction, in "Whither Russia", on the possibility of a 20% annual increase of production is insufficient. A few words should have been added on how he arrived at this figure; in that way it could be made clear why his figure was realistic and superior to Rykov's and the State Planning Commission.

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern (1928) is handled inadequatley. The "third period" of the Sixth Congress was as different from the "third period" of the 10th Plenum (1929) as the views of Bucharin-Lovestone differed from those of Stalin-Molotov. Comrade Shachtman states in reference to the 10th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern: "It was the Plenum par excellence of the 'third period', the same 'third period' which was at first denounced as an opportunistic idea by the Thaelmann-Neumann delegation to the Sixth Congress" (Page 66.).

Hardly! The German Stalinists were not inconsistent! Bucharin's "third period" stressed the fact that European economy had exceeded its pre-war level the strengthening of capitalism economically; the conflict between the imperialist powers which would lead to war. According to this theory, the "war danger" was the paramount factor which accelerated the class struggle. Who is there who was in the American C. P. in late 1928 who does not recall how every strike was called "a manifestation of the war danger".

Molotov's "third period" was a "horse of a different color". The emphasis was on the weakening of capitalist economy, the growing strike wave as a result of "inner contradictions" — Lodz (Poland) strike, Ruhr miners strike, etc. The "third period" became the period of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, the "final period" of capitalism!

The Sixth Congress was compelled to criticize the policy of Communists building workers' and peasants' parties. (This did not stop the Stalinists from building such parties in India a few months after the Congress!). The Sixth Congress not only accepted the theory socialism in one country for the Soviet Union, **but for the first time divided the countries of the world—and the tasks of the Communists in these countries—according to whether they could build a complete and isolated socialist economy or not!** This is important because such is the theoretical basis—despite inconsistences—for the slogan of "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants".

"Ten Years" was written about a year ago, before the vctory of Hitlerism. Comrade Shachtman's preface briefly explains the consequences of that fatal event. It would be well if the present pamphlet would be followed by others, on Germany, united front, trade union policies and problems of the American workers. "Ten Years" should be read by all workers who want to understand the conflicts of the past decade in the world Communist movement; so as to better equip themselves in the struggle of today.

Comrades should note a typographical error in the pamphlet. The eighth line of page 6 "Ten Years should be the last line of page seven; the last line of page 7 should be the eighth line of page 6.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

The Fukien Rebellion

(Continued from page 1)

great fields for the revolutionary agitation among the masses in demanding the real democratization of the government and the arming of the people. It should be our task to put forth the democratic slogans in a most energetic manner. to support the government so far as its practical steps are really anti-imperialistic, to criticize the tendencies towards compromise. Much can be done if we utilize the declaration of principles of the new government to deepen the anti-imperialist and the anti-Kuo Min Tang movement among the masses.

It is usual that the violent collisions of the ruling factions give rise to revolutionary movement. What is now lacking is revolutionary leadership. Let us hope that the political crisis created by the Fukien movement will rouse the masses from the political apathy and will help the spread of the opposition ideas, as the latter represents the most consistent democratic wing in the Chinese Revolution.

—NIEL-SIH.

November 26, 1933.

"Gimme a Match"

The timber tracts of the Diamond Match Company are located on the steep slopes of the Nevada mountains. Here workers daily risk their lives in the dangerous task of felling the trees for the miserable wage of three or four dollars a day. In addition to this they are unemployed for at least five months out of the year due to the heavy snows which make logging impossible for the winter months.

They are forced to live in camps or "barracks" hastily and poorly constructed. Built low and of third grade cull lumber, they are hot in summer and cold in winter. There are no bathing facilities and the workers can use their rest (Sunday) to launder their clothes, a process which is generally referred to as "boiling up". For this they must use any old tin can or bucket they can find. The bed clothing consists generally of old, ragged blankets which have been in use for years; since the camps are seldom or never fumigated beg bugs and other vermin abound. The food served is of the poorest quality.

In the box factories of the company in California women and girls are employed doing the same work as men but at a much lower wage. In the match factories proper the exploitation of children is common, the match companies being one of the worst for this.

But "the picture of life's other side" in the case of the Diamond Match Company is quite different. While the workers toil at these low wages and under such inhuman conditions the company reports net profits of nearly $2,000,000 every year since 1927 and in 1928 announced undistributed profits of $50,00,000. The Capital Stock of $16,000,000 is held by about 3500 stock holders.

No starvation here. No heart breaking, back breaking toil for these. No sleeping in filthy vermin infested bunks for these parasites They may live in palatial homes, take vacations to Europe and marry their daughters to the counts and no accounts of the degenerated nobility of the Eastern Hemisphere. And to the latter at least they are welcome.

The Diamond Match Company is opposed to labor unions and all other "anti-American" organizations. They believe in the "freedom" of the individual. For the maintenance of this "principle" they are willing to spend thousands of the dollars which they have squeezed from the hides of the workers. So long as the workers remain merely as "individuals" the profits of the company are not endangered. But when the workers organize and conduct their struggles against their exploiters as one man it will be time then for the bosses to march forward with the American flag in one hand and a club in the other and try to drive the workers back into line.

What is true of the Diamond Match Company is true for all the others of the American boss class. That is why they are for the Industrial Control bill and the NRA. They want to make strikes and labor unions illegal. That is why the workers must solidly organize today to be ready for the big fight tomorrow.

The Montevideo Confab

(Continued from page 1)

power and obtain greater control over it, encounters the necessity, at a certain stage, of new markets for capital and commodities. This the Hull Tariff proposal seeks to prepare for. In fact the most urgent need of American imperialism is a greater share in the already divided world. Otherwise the decay will be faster and the class storms more violent. No matter which road America follows she cannot avoid these problems.

The administration knows what is needed in relation to the internal reorganization attempted under the NRA. Besides the Dollar-Pound struggle, Washington is takng four other important steps. Two of them are well under way. They are the recognition of the USRS and the Hull Tariff proposal and Tariff agreements with other countries in Latin America and Europe. The two others are the plan to establish a privately owned export credit bank, through which the RFC intends to finance American exports, and the setting up of export expansion machinery with George Peek in charge. Each step listed is a part of a general plan to cope with the above burning problem of American imperialism

American imperialism must do things in a big way in order to maintain her dominating world position. At the Pan-American conference the U. S. handles a whole continent which she hopes to place more firmly under her domination.

—HUGO OEHLER.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION FILM

The "Russian Revolution" film scheduled for Dec. 3rd is postponed for Saturday, Dec. 23rd. It will be held at the Militant Hall, 154 Watkins St., Brooklyn, under the auspices of the Film Club of the In-ternational Workers School. The hall can be reached by the B. M. T. 14th St. Canarsie Line to Sutter Ave., or the I. R. T.—7th Ave.-New Lots to Rockaway Avenue.

CHICAGO
NTERNATIONAL LABOR FORUM
2557 W. North Avenue
Every Sunday 3 P. M.
Dec. 31.—Workingclass Internationalism and Decisive Crises.
(An analysis of the causes leading to the downfall of the 3 workers Internationals.)
JOSEPH GIGANTI
of Chicago Left Opposition