



FOR THE 4th INTERNATIONAL!

Appeal of the Communist-Internationalists to the Workers of the World

We, the representatives of the Communist Internationalists (Bolshevik-Leninists) of U.S.S.R., Germany, France, England, Italy, Spain, Holland, Belgium, the United States, South America, China and other countries turn to you, workers of the world, in an hour of impending danger, with this appeal.

Since the crushing of the Austrian proletariat and the bloody fights in the streets of Paris, it is clear even to the blind that old methods of struggle, based on peaceful development, are completely exhausted. Rotting capitalism has no other resort except to suppress the proletariat, smash its organizations, crush its will and reduce it to abject slavery. The bourgeoisie will not and cannot wait until the proletariat gains 51 per cent of the votes. The question will be settled by force. Finance capital is organizing and arming fascist bands. Mussolinism is not an Italian but a world phenomenon. The gangrene of barbaric reaction is spreading over one land after another. France is next in order. February 6th marked the first rehearsal of fascist banditism. The same manifestations are in preparation in England. The prerequisites for fascism exist in the United States just as much as in Europe.

What a terrible degradation!

The proletariat is the only creative class in present-day society. On it depends the entire life of the country, its economy and culture. Together with the semi-proletarian masses, whose leader it is destined to be, the proletariat constitutes the overwhelming majority of civilized humanity. It is inspired by a great social ideal. During recent days in Austria as throughout all modern history, it has shown itself capable of great self-sacrificing heroism. Nevertheless, Fascism, basing itself on the worst, most demoralized elements of the petty bourgeoisie, on human dust, the scum of the nation, gains one victory after another.

The Bankruptcy of the Leadership

What is the cause of this?

This is the question weighing on the mind of every worker. The answer is written in the flames of the events themselves. The cause lies in the bankruptcy of the leadership. The proletariat is betrayed, divided and rendered powerless from above. For this the social democracy, the Second International, bears the major responsibility. As long as the question was limited to peaceful parliamentary and trade union struggles and settlements, the workers did not notice that the staffs were made up of narrow-minded petty-bourgeois types, ex-reformists and semi-revolutionists who had become conservatives and, finally, common traitors. To these leaders (Wels and Hilferding, Vandervelde and de Man, Leon Blum and Renaudel, Lansbury and Henderson, Robert Grimm, etc.) the thoughts and feelings of bourgeois ministers, bankers, journalists and professors are incomparably nearer than are the thoughts and feelings of the proletariat, the unemployed, the small farmers, the starving youth growing up on the streets.

But a heavy responsibility rests also upon the Third International which once rose high under the banner of the October revolution but which, sinking ever lower and lower, has changed from the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat into an ossified bureaucratic apparatus. The Stalinist Comintern led the revolution in China and brought it to defeat. The Comintern took the revolutionary workers of the whole world out of the trade unions, isolated the left wing and thereby saved the conservative trade-union bureaucracy from collapse. The Comintern entered into blocs with individual bourgeois pacifists, chatterers, careerists while rejecting joint action with proletarian mass organizations. The Stalinist leadership of the Comintern says to the world proletariat: "Accept without dispute my commands or I will smash the fighting unity of your ranks and sabotage the defense against Fascism." This was the policy of the most powerful section of the Comintern, its German section, thru 1923-1932, and this policy led to Hitler's victory. In Austria, thanks to the chain of crimes and mistakes of the Comintern, the C. P. did not even succeed in raising its head. Finally, heedless of all tragic lessons, the Communist parties of France, England and other countries proceed slavishly to repeat the criminal policy of the German C. P. The combination of Marcel Cachin and Leon Blum will inevitably lead to the same consequences as the combination of Thaelmann and Wels. Along this road complete and final catastrophe awaits the proletariat.

The result of the great October overturn in Russia was the Soviet Union. It showed the power and potentialities inherent in the proletariat. The Soviet Union remains today flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. With all the power at our command, we call on every

honest worker to come to the defense of the Soviet State in the hour of need.

Under the pressure of world imperialism, however, the difficulties of the leadership, and, in particular, a powerful bureaucracy has elevated itself over the workers' and peasants' soviets, and now makes a religion of its infallibility. The autocratic rule of the unrestrained bureaucracy today constitutes the chief danger to the further development of the peoples of the USSR and to the triumph of world socialism. The Communist International created by Lenin has fallen victim to its slavish dependence on the degenerate Soviet bureaucracy.

Which is the Way Out

A new party and a new International must be built. Although in these words many hear the voice of "sectarianism" and "despair," this slogan is dictated by the situation in the world arena as well as in each individual country. There is no other way. Is it possible to reform or renew the Second International, pervaded by crimes and treacheries? The war and all post-war events answer: "No!" The matter stands no better with the Third International. We Bolshevik-Leninists, known hitherto as the left Opposition have tried for ten years to reform the Comintern, to bring it back to the road of Marx and Lenin. Colossal events in all parts of the world have confirmed our warnings and appeals. In vain! The conservative ideas and the interlocking interests of the privileged bureaucratic group have proven stronger than all the lessons of history.

It is impossible to rebuild the Comintern through the masses because it no longer depends on the masses. The Second and Third Internationals have played themselves out.

Now they are only obstacles on the road of the proletariat. It is necessary to build a revolutionary organization corresponding to the new historic epoch and its tasks. It is necessary to pour new wine into new bottles. It is necessary to build a genuinely revolutionary party in every country. It is necessary to build a new International.

The thinking worker must recognize the iron logic of these conclusions. But doubt born of the all too recent disappointments, rises in him. A new party! This means new splits. But the proletariat needs unity above everything else. This is simply a pretext, largely arising from a reluctance to face great difficulties.

We reply that it is not true that the proletariat is in need of unity in and of itself. It needs revolutionary unity in the class struggle. In Austria almost the whole proletariat was united under the banner of the social democracy; but this party taught the workers capitulation, not fight. The Austrian workers have demonstrated that they know how to fight. With them part of the old leadership also fought courageously, but the responsibility for the defeat falls on the party as a whole. Opportunistic "unity" has proven itself to be the road to ruin. In Belgium the party of Vandervelde, de Man and Co. have the overwhelming majority of the working class behind them. But of what value is this "unity," when the general staff of the proletariat army crawls on its belly before the royal power, the patriotic bishop, the liberal city mayor, all the representatives of the class enemy? In little Norway, the opportunistic party led by Tranmael, which received 45 percent of the total votes cast in the last elections, is repeating every crime of the Austrian social-democracy, is crippling the proletariat and opening the door to Norwegian Fascism. Such unity is a rope around the neck of the working class.

The Proletariat Must Forge a New Weapon

We need genuine revolutionary fighting unity: for the resistance of fascism, for the defence of our right to live, for an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois rule for the full conquest of power, for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, for the Workers' State, for the United States of Europe, for the Socialist World Republic. Social democracy is devoted in body and soul to the bourgeois regime. The Comintern has shown in practice its total inability to assemble the masses for revolutionary tasks. There remains for the proletariat only to bow its head under a slave yoke, a yoke even more terrible than that of the Middle Ages, or to forge itself a new weapon for its revolutionary liberation.

"Where however is the guarantee that the new International will not suffer shipwreck in its turn?"

A miserable, philistine question. In the revolutionary struggle there are no guarantees in advance and there can be none. The working class climbs up steps that it hews for itself out of granite rock. Some-

times it slips down a few steps, sometimes the enemy dynamites the steps which have been cut, sometimes they cave in because they were cut of poor material. After every fall one must arise; after every slip down one must reascend; every step destroyed must be replaced by two new ones.

A guarantee of success—if one must speak of guarantees—lies in the fact that we are enriched by the experience of the Second and the Third Internationals which were of great service to the proletariat before they broke down. We stand on the shoulders of our predecessors. That is our greatest advantage. We gather all who today have realized the perniciousness of the policy of the two outlived bureaucratic apparatuses. The correctness of our methods, our predictions and our slogans have been incontestably proved through the entire historic development of the last ten years, that is, the period of the degeneration and decay of the Communist International. Correct theories and a correct policy will inevitably clear a road for themselves and gather the majority of the world proletariat under their banner. Thus is revolutionary unity forged.

Here, however, we hear another answer which, at first glance, seems most convincing: "The Fourth International will not crystallize at once, and meanwhile fascist pestilence stalks over every land with seven-league boots; is this the time to divide the ranks of the working class?" To this we answer: "For the unity of the ranks in the direct struggle there is the Leninist united front policy. Bolshevik victory in October, 1917, thank only to the correct application of this policy. Marx and Lenin were not frightened by the splitting of opportunist bureaucratic parties while they welded the real revolutionaries into an independent vanguard; at the same time Marx and Engels were ready to make practical agreements with any mass organization for the defense of the daily interests of the proletariat. The wisdom and strength of Leninism lies, on the one hand, in the theoretic and political intransigence of the party, and on the other, in the realistic attitude to the class, all its organizations and groups. Leninism did not try to order the proletariat from above to follow it, but neither did it dissolve itself in the mass—and precisely because of this it gained the leadership of the proletariat.

The Proletariat Can Crush Fascism

Yes, throughout the world Fascism marches forward with seven-league boots. But wherein lies its force? In the confusion of working class organization, in the panic of the workers' bureaucracy, in the treachery of its leaders. It would be sufficient for the proletariat of one country to offer merciless resistance to the reactionary band, to go over to the offensive, to seize power, for the attack of Fascism to turn into panicky retreat and go down in ruin. Between the USSR and Soviet France the dictatorship of the Nazis could not last two weeks. Mussolini would not be long in following Hitler to inferno. Defense is possible and necessary; from an active defense there would emerge the attack. It is necessary to throw all waverers overboard and to free ourselves of the vacillating —they will follow later—it is necessary today that the vanguard close its ranks in the international arena. The masses harassed and made restless by terrible pressure and dangers await an answer and demand a leadership. That leadership must be created.

The greatest of all dangers is the war danger. The whole world listens to the indistinct subterranean rumblings of approaching collision. The leaders of the Social Democracy and the trade union bureaucracy are preparing anew to assume the role of patriots, that is hirelings of imperialism, to become suppliers of cannon-fodder to the imperialist masters. Under the guise of "defense of the fatherland," they are preparing the slaughter of the peoples. At the same time the Comintern is replacing the revolutionary mobilization of the urban and rural masses with empty sound and fury, and tries in vain to hide its impotence by masquerade congresses. The proletariat can prevent a new war or shift its consequences to the shoulders of the exploiters in no other way than by re-grouping its ranks from the ground up on a new basis, under the banner of the new International. By taking the initiative, a small minority can, under wartime conditions, play a decisive role. Think of Liebknecht! Think of Rosa Luxemburg! and think of Lenin!

A Program of Action

The miserable philistines may speak of our "sectarianism." To prepare for the coming day is not sectarianism, but revolutionary realism. To all working class organizations we offer a program of action on the basis of the proletarian united front. Beginning

today, we see active proletarian self-defense as the main task. Force against force! The workers' militia is the only weapon in the struggle against fascist bands, who sooner or later will have the aid of the official police.

A workers' militia, however, is not for parades or theatre performances, but for fierce struggle. A workers' militia, that is the mailed fist of the proletariat. Answer each and every blow with two blows. Carry the struggle to the point of exhaustion, to annihilation. Do not let the Fascist enemy raise its head. Follow hot on its trail.

The general strike of February 12th in France was an impressive warning, but no more than that. Scenting the danger the enemy has doubled, trebled and quadrupled its efforts. The working class of France, like that of the whole world, will be able to hold its position and win new conquests in no other way than by heroic battles. The revolutionary defense must become a great school for attack. The workers of France have shown that the blood still runs hot with the flame of revolution which flared in the Paris Commune. But the readiness to fight, as shown by Austria, is not enough. It is necessary to know how; organization is necessary, a plan is necessary proletarian necessary.

On the 12th of February, on the day of the general strike and powerful demonstrations, the workers of France forced the two bureaucratic apparatuses into a united front for 24 hours. This was, however, improvisation, and for victory organization is needed. The natural united front apparatus in days of struggle is the body of proletarian representatives, the delegates from shops and factories, from working quarters and trade unions: the Soviets. Long before they become organs of power, the Soviets are the revolutionary apparatus of the united front. In honestly elected soviets, the minority submits to the majority. The powerful logic of the struggle pushes us in this direction. Our conscious efforts must be bent in this direction.

Today proletarian France is next in historic order. Again in France is being decided not only the history of France but that of Europe and, in the final analysis, of the whole world. Should Fascism succeed in crushing the French proletariat, the whole of Europe will have to drink of the bitter cup. On the other hand, under present conditions the victory of the French proletariat would far surpass in significance even the October victory of the Russian Proletariat.

Workers of the World

You can help the French proletariat best and most surely by an irreconcilable struggle against your own bourgeoisie. Under the fire of the enemy gather the most intrepid, far-sighted, devoted among you, and weld them together into detachments of the Fourth International. Call upon and lead the toiling, the downtrodden, the unemployed masses into struggle. Penetrate every organization; Explain, arouse, recruit! Do not lose a day, not an hour!

HANDS OFF PROLETARIAN ORGANIZATIONS AND THE PROLETARIAN PRESS!

FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THE SOCIAL GAINS OF THE PROLETARIAT!

FOR THE BASIC RIGHT—THE PIECE OF BREAD!

AGAINST REACTION! AGAINST BONAPARTIST POLICE RULE! AGAINST FASCISM!

FOR THE PROLETARIAN MILITIA!

FOR THE ARMING OF THE WORKERS!

FOR THE DISARMING OF REACTION!

AGAINST WAR: FOR THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE PEOPLES!

FOR THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM!

FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

FOR THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY!

PROLETARIANS OF BOTH HEMISPHERES! The First International gave you a program and a banner. The Second International raised the widest masses to their feet. The Third International gave the example of revolutionary action. The Fourth International will bring final victory!

—League Secretariat,
League of Communist-Internationalists.
Geneva, March, 1934

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Tammany Hall Tammany Hall, which has become too discredited and too expensive to be an effective tool for the ruling class of New York, has been shaken and investigated to such an extent that we can get a fair picture of the inner life of the "practical" working forces of a capitalist political party.

When John McCooey, fat and wealthy Tammany leader of Brooklyn's "democracy" died, all the leading newspapers of New York carried stories of his charity to the poor, his loyalty to his friends, his love for his wife and family and his reverence for the church.

Al Smith, Senator Copeland, Governor Lehman, Postmaster General Farley and others of their kind turned out in silk hats and long faces and posed for the press photographs at the McCooey funeral. They made an imposing "front."

President Roosevelt sent a dignified message of sorrow and condolence to the McCooey family, thus rounding out and completing the "front" behind which the McNallys and the gangsters could do "practical work."

McNally and associates robbed unfortunate inmates of the "Home for the Destitute" of at least \$86,000. Instead of a surgeon and a surgical ward, a sailor with a jack knife performed operations. Gangsters and "silk hats" cost money, so disperse with surgeons. McNally and his kind also delivered the votes.

The administration of Welfare Island Penitentiary cooperated with gangsters in selling drugs and grafting on prison food. From each according to his talents.

A. F. of L. fakers gave the endorsement of "labor" to Tammany politicians and did not lose thereby.

The gangsters manned and terrorized the polls and acted as strike breakers when needed. The gambling, alky, and red light concessions were theirs on a percentage basis. Just humble workers in a "noble" array.

New York's "finest" saw to it that squawkers were properly disposed of, clubbed "reds" who exposed the racket, etc. Uniformed members of the same gang.

Supplies to the City were paid for several times over. Concessions were handed out to "friends." Payrolls were padded. Special privileges to transit and other corporations brought in the swag.

From Roosevelt's telegraphing a message to the McCooeys down to the old sailor cutting ulcers from the legs of screaming paupers with a jack knife, each part fitted into the machine and each depended on the other. All had their price, from high positions and millions for the "high hats" down to a plug of chewing tobacco for the filthier tar. All served—some unconsciously—but all served the pitiful, banking, real estate, and other corporations whose tools they were and are.

"Success" of British C. P. In reporting for the C. I. to the Seventeenth Congress of the C. P. of the U.S.S.R., Manuilsky said that Stalin's inflexible, iron will was leading the toilers of the world to victory. One example was the British Party. But here it is in Manuilsky's own words: "If the students of the two most aristocratic universities strike horror into the whole of the English bourgeoisie by passing a resolution that they will not defend king or country in the event of war, that is a result of many years of anti-war agitation by our party... Stalin taught the Communists of all countries to fight and conquer. He taught them... to patiently accumulate forces and at the decisive moment to inflict upon the class enemy a crushing lightning-like blow."

However, Stalin will have to contend with the Episcopalian Left Wing, the Baptist Church, the War Resisters League, and every other pacifist and Ghandist in England for credit for the "aristocratic" resolution. But maybe it was a united front from below with Stalin at the head. And who are we to take credit from Stalin for such a "crushing blow to the bourgeoisie?" —BILL.

Letters to the Editor

Another Opinion on the Furriers' Situation

Ed. Note.—We print below another letter on the furriers' situation with a reply appended. The first letter was published in the Militant March 17 and an editorial reply appeared in the issue of March 24. Other contributions of reasonable length will be printed regardless of the point of view of the writers.

To the Editor of The Militant:

The controversy over the furriers is still raging in the radical press, and oceans of ink will be spilled before this question is satisfactorily settled. Everyone acquainted with the social composition of the workers who work in this trade must often wonder why it is the furriers' lot to be destined to become the "vanguard" of the proletarian revolution; the furriers where each and everyone dreams to become someday a manufacturer or at least an independent contractor. And this middle class element is boomed daily in the Stalinist press as the cream of the revolutionary movement.

It is a habit with many people who criticize the general policy of the T.U.U.L. to find excuses for the policy of the Stalinists in the fur trade, because they claim to have the majority of the furriers behind them. Very similar reasons are brought forward daily by the apologists of Fascism because the Mussolinis and Hitlers too claim that they have the backing of the large majority of their people behind them, but how do they really know that this is the case, when the press, radio, and all the weapons of suppression are in the hands of the Fascist state. The fur workers are being faced daily with the same situation.

Terroristic Methods

The Stalinist Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union was able through the use of terroristic methods to intimidate the workers and monopolize the fur market, the members of the Right union have been met with riots staged by Stalinist cronies whenever they tried to bring their message to the workers, with the consequence that workers have been beaten and insulted.

992 New Subs!

Almost over the top! Seventy three new Club Plan subs came in last week, raising the total to 992 and bringing us within eight of the goal of 1,000.

Table listing subscriptions received last week from various branches like Minneapolis Branch, New York Local, Youngstown Br., etc.

TOTAL 73

The complete record up to date follows:

Table listing cumulative subscriptions from various branches like New York Local, Minneapolis Br., Kansas City Br., etc.

TOTAL 992

Next week's report will close the drive. Let's see how far over the top we can go.

The writer does not consider the A. F. of L. as a fetish, but no one will deny that the vast majority of the workers who are employed in the needle industries, are members of the A. F. of L. labor unions. Even if it were true that the N.T.W.I.U. has the majority of the furriers—and to my opinion a very disputable contention—is it the best policy for them to be isolated and detached from the general organization of workers and to resort to dual organization when they could do better work and gain more power in the general organization of workers even though the latter is conservative in some respect?

Democracy in International

With all the just criticism any one may have against the Right-wing union, no one can deny that every member can express freely his differences with the policy and leadership of the union without running the risk of being ostracized or abused by the zealots of the "United Front." Is it possible for a member of the Left Opposition to stand up in a Stalinist controlled organization and question policies of the organization without running into danger of being sneered at or have a howling mob set against you. Many Trotskyites received this medicine one time or another.

I surely hold no brief for the Lovestonites, because in my opinion they possess all the bad qualities of the Stalinists and none of their good ones, being that they always try to sneak, even through the back door, into the Communist International. They always try to justify the adventurous policy of the Stalinist International. Their policy in the trade unions is always designed to maneuver with one group or another, as long as this will help them to achieve their purpose, to gain power in order to convince Stalin that they, and not the official Stalinist party, have the leadership of the American masses. And still I maintain that in the furriers situation they did the most plausible thing. Every avenue of activity in the Industrial Union was closed to them, and being a political group with a desire to function in a trade union, what else could they do but to join the A. F. of L. union, where no one is asked if he is in agreement with the latest thesis of Manuilsky?

—LEON KOENIG.

Editor's Reply

We are glad to publish the above dissenting opinion on the complicated problem of the furriers, and other contributions to the discussion will be welcomed. Our remarks on the question are put forth as a point of view, not as an ultimatum or a law. Generally speaking, the only way to arrive at an intelligent collective judgment of trade union problems—or any other problems of the class struggle for that matter—is by free discussion, exchange of opinion and comparison of experiences. When this is prohibited or prevented we get not collective judgment but ultimatums and instructions—and disastrous blunders every time. The furriers will not get out of the blind alley into which Stalinist as well as reactionary compulsion and terrorism has driven them until they conquer their problems freely.

Unconvincing Arguments

The argument of comrade Koenig appear to us to be unconvincing despite a number of indisputable facts which he advances. In the trade union question it is necessary to follow a principle line in order to arrive at the right conclusions in regard to tactics. If one departs from this method it leads to guess-work and contradictions in policy at every step. From this point of view it appears to us that comrade Koenig errs in his conclusions on the main points he raises.

1. The Stalinist bureaucrats resort to terrorism.

This is true, as every furrier knows and, as is always the case with such methods in the end, the terroristic tactics are employed against members of the union as well as against the rival organization. But the Stalinists are not the originators of these degenerate, anti-working class practices. As a matter of fact they are only slavishly imitating the methods of the reactionaries who ruled the International for years by methods of violence and terror.

How the Left Wing Took Shape

In the struggle against the gangster regime of Kaufman & Co. the left wing originally took shape and gained the allegiance and support of the great majority of the furriers. Didn't this experience prove quite conclusively that terrorism cannot

bind the workers to a trade union machine when they are offered a better program and a better leadership?

This, in our opinion, is the nub of the question. The rank and file of furriers, hating and despising the violence of worker against worker, do not leave the Stalinist Union because they have no confidence in the treacherous leaders of the International and their Lovestonite camp-followers. They have a good memory. They do not trust the saccharine promises of "democracy" made now so glibly and freely by the isolated fakers and their "radical" agents.

Terrorism is an abominable evil in the labor movement. Every class conscious militant worthy of the name will fight against it. Comrade Koenig is wrong when he says the furriers cling to the Stalinist Union only out of fear. If they really wanted to go over to the International, a single mass demonstration would suffice to accomplish the transformation. In the absence of such a demonstration, or even of a serious group of militants to propose it, there is no ground for the assumption that the mass of furriers want to join the International. The indications are all to the contrary. We must govern ourselves accordingly and respect the attitude of the majority in the choice of unions.

The Criterion of the Mass

Nobody will accuse the Militant of partiality for Stalinist organizations. But we do not determine our attitude toward labor organizations by like and dislikes for the leadership and its methods. We choose a party by its program, its methods of work and the quality of its leadership, regardless of whether it has a majority or minority of the politically organized workers. For a trade union, on the other hand, an entirely different criterion is necessary. Here the mass character of the organization, not the program and leadership, is decisive.

If the masses elect to belong to a conservative union in preference to a radical one we are obliged to go with them, support their chosen organization and work within it for our ideas. By the same token, when the majority decide in favor even of a Stalinist union—and the case of the furriers is a rare example of such a choice—we are obliged to support the Stalinist organization without relenting for one moment in our irreconcilable hostility to Stalinist ideas and methods.

Consistent Principle

The revolutionary left wing can be reconstituted in the labor movement only on the foundation of principle, and its consistent application. If one is to leave the dominant organization among the furriers because it employs violence and terrorism, and go over to a smaller organization because it is presumably more civilized and democratic, what is to be done in the building trades, the United Mine Workers and many other similar cases? The left wing is up against gangsterism, more or less, in a great many conservative mass organizations. If that is taken as a ground for splitting, the new left wing would soon find itself isolated from the trade union movement. Such a precedent should not be set in the furriers' situation.

The Furriers and the A. F. of L.

2. The vast majority of workers employed in the needle trades as a whole are members of A. F. of L. unions; the furriers should not be isolated from them.

As a general formula, both the facts cited and the conclusion are unassailable. But it hardly covers the concrete case. The fact that practically all the other organized workers in the needle trades are in the A. F. of L. is a powerful argument for the furriers' union, as a union, to apply also for admission into the A. F. of L., with the same autonomy and rights as those enjoyed by the other unions. But we cannot see the wisdom of splitting the furriers for the sake of what amounts to a platonic unity of the needle trades as a whole.

Connection with the other needle unions in the A. F. of L. will have a much greater meaning when a movement is set on foot to amalgamate them all into a single organization. The Furriers' Industrial Union ought to apply for an A. F. of L. charter. It ought to signify its readiness to merge with the International into a single union of the trade affiliated to the A. F. of L. But under the present conditions and relation of forces, individual militants should not jump over to the International. On the contrary, they should put forward the program of unity and fight for it inside the Stalinist union.

The idea is unassailable and the workers will respond to it. It corresponds to their vital interests and shows them a way out of the present chaos. In reacting against the perverted functionaries of Stalinism it should not be forgotten that their followers are workers—badly de-

Shachtman on Tour

NEW CASTLE

New Castle.—On Wednesday evening, March 14th, comrade Max Shachtman spoke to a group of thirty advanced New Castle workers on the need for a new revolutionary party and a new international. In the course of his address he showed very clearly how the policies of the official Communist party leadership and the Social-Democratic leadership had paved the way for the victory of Fascism in Germany. In Austria, where the official Communist Party is almost non-existent, the entire responsibility for the Fascist victory must be placed on the leaders of the Austrian Social-Democracy. Since these two parties have shown their political bankruptcy in these events, it becomes necessary to take steps toward the formation of a new international and new parties throughout the world, which will adhere to the tested principles of Marxism in the class struggle. At the conclusion of the address, the speaker answered various questions from the audience. Following the question period the meeting was adjourned.

YOUNGSTOWN STALINISTS FRUSTRATED

For several weeks the functionaries of the so-called "Communist Party" who have been shipped into this city have been threatening violence against individual members of the Communist League. At the second meeting of the recently organized "League Against War and Fascism," which Stalinist domination dooms to a still birth, these same functionaries did a little Trotsky baiting while condemning J. B. Matthews and demanding the expulsion of all "Trotskyites" for their stand on "anti-Communist" Party common on the recent Madison Square Garden affair. At this meeting they openly announced that they did not believe in free speech for the "counter-revolutionary, social-Fascist Trotskyites."

Three days later Max Shachtman delivered his lecture on "Boss War or Workers' Revolution!" at Central Auditorium. A handful of "Communist Party" supporters came down, headed by the Y. C. L. leaders Gray and Gates. When the audience voted decisively to put an end to some filthy disruption by Gray, the latter declared: "You think you're going to hold a meeting here tomorrow night, but we'll see about that!" To everyone present this meant that an official representative of the Stalinized Communist Party threatened to break up the meeting at which Shachtman was scheduled to lecture the next night.

Stalinist Hoodlums Mobilize

On Friday the Stalinists mobilized a gang and went to the hall one-half hour ahead of time. But on arriving they found to their dismay that a workers' guard was already on hand to keep them out of the hall. So the hoodlums headed by Dallet and Gray waited for reinforcements—and reinforcements came—for the workers' guard! Seeing our forces growing stronger as the minutes passed, General Dallet ordered his forces to make a sally at the door. The General took a poke at the door guard and received in

return three healthy punches from some young steel workers of the guard. After recovering from his dizziness the General dictated a change of tactics: two female comrades were sent to the entrance to disrupt the speaker with their yells. The meeting started, and the chairman announced that adequate preparation had been made to guarantee order during the lecture, the question and discussion periods. Out-witted and out-punched, the Stalinists capitulated to our earlier offer to allow three representatives of the official "Communist Party" to enter. The delegates entered, followed by a few more Stalinists who suddenly decided they were no longer "unemployed workers" but quite able to pay.

Dealing with the Disrupters

During the meeting a minimum of weak heckling was tolerated from this bunch of hoodlums. The question period passed without anything unusual. During the discussion period the Stalinists tried to play the old game of "conceding time to the speaker" but this was not tolerated. When the six who had first asked to discuss had all either spoken or refused to take their time, Shachtman began to summarize and reply. Then one foolish C. P. supporter began to yell that he wanted his time NOW! And all the Stalinists joined the chorus with him. Quickly small groups of the workers' guard approached the disrupters. A motion was put and carried that Shachtman should conclude the lecture without further discussion. And the General and his army marched out complaining that "there ain't no justice!" because there were "paid thugs" present. To the workers, young and old, who had volunteered to defend our meeting this "paid thug" slander became the good-night joke of the evening.

In concluding we want to record that Shachtman's exposure of the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals was so thorough and annihilating that no one made any serious attempt to defend the Socialist International and all the Stalinists could do was yell: "There can be only one Communist Party and that is ours!" And finally, the Youngstown branch wants to thank all the workers, our sympathizers and friends in other organizations, who gladly helped us to protect our meeting against hoodlums and disrupters. In return we assure you that we will come to your assistance when you are threatened by similar hoodlums, regardless of whether they are of the Fascist or Stalinist variety.

Sick-Bed Repentance

One should not take too seriously the sick-bed repentance of the International fakers. When the devil is sick the devil a monk would be. Still less should one be deceived by the radical "face" which the Lovestonites give to the union. They are only serving as come-ons for the reactionaries. When these reactionaries—and the bosses who stand behind them—show their face it will not be a liberal or democratic one. To enjoy democracy in a mass union the workers must conquer it for themselves by struggle. The mere application for membership in the discredited International is too simple a formula.

—J. P. C.

return three healthy punches from some young steel workers of the guard.

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Stalinist hoodlumism has been checked again! The united forces of those defending workers' democracy have won another victory!

For a United Front Workers' Guard! —YOUNGSTOWN BRANCH REPORTER.

Shachtman Tour

Schedule

The schedule for the tour, in addition to the cities already covered, is as follows: Tues., April 3rd—Williston, N. D. Wed., April 4th—Thurs., April 5th—Portland Ore. Fri., April 6th—Portland, Ore. Sat., April 7th—Sun., April 8th—San Francisco. Mon., April 9th—San Francisco. Tues., April 10th—San Francisco Wed., April 11th—Thurs., April 12th—Los Angeles. Fri., April 13th—Los Angeles. Sat., April 14th—Los Angeles. Sun., April 15th—Los Angeles. Wed., April 18—Salt Lake City, Utah. Thurs., April 19—Salt Lake City, Utah. Fri., April 20—Denver, Colo. Sat., April 21—Denver, Colo. Sun., April 22—Kansas City, Mo. Mon., April 23—Kansas City, Mo. Tues., April 24—Kansas City, Mo. Wed., April 25—St. Louis, Mo. Thurs., April 26—St. Louis, Mo. Fri., April 27—Stanton or Gillespie, Ill. Sat., April 28—Springfield, Ill. Sun., April 29—Davenport, Ia. Mon., April 30—Davenport, Ia. Tues., May 1—Chicago, Ill. Wed., May 2—Chicago, Ill. Thurs., May 3—Detroit, Mich. Fri., May 4—Detroit, Mich. Sat., May 5—Detroit, Mich.

GRAMMERCY 5-9524

This is the phone number of the Militant, The Communist League and the International Workers' School.

MARCH OF EVENTS

The A. F. of L. Bureaucracy

The new wave of strikes sweeping the country alarms not only the capitalists but the A. F. of L. bureaucracy as well. For in the present situation militant action of the workers may spread like wildfire and get "out of hand," thereby becoming a threat to the labor lieutenants of capital just as much as to the bosses. Let the proletariat once signal their determination to pay off their oppressors for the agonies they have endured, and the battle will take on undreamed of proportions. The bosses are fearful that a strike, starting in the automotive industry, will quickly spread to the steel plants and to the railroads. And how much would it take to bring the miners to their feet?

The class struggle is irrepressible but the A.F. of L. with its treacherous, reactionary leadership and its obsolete craft structural basis, acts at this juncture as a serious obstacle to militant action. By its policy of delay and fake "progress" with the aid of the NRA machinery, the bureaucracy plans to harness the proletariat; substitute for the real battle on and hold it in check. The intent to the industrial field the sham battles in Washington.

The Role of Roosevelt

Roosevelt becomes the "impartial" arbiter in this game played at the expense of the workers. Roosevelt, who was hailed last November by the boss magazine "Automotive Industry" for his aid against the tool and die makers in their struggle that formed the prelude to the present one: "Without doubt President Roosevelt's recent communication to General Johnson, interpreting the NRA labor clause in line with automobile producers' views, had a considerable psychological effect in breaking the backbone of the strike." Roosevelt, who is hamstringing the railroad workers by announcing in advance of their negotiations that he favors the retention of 10% wage "deduction." Roosevelt, who mobilizes the nation's resources to bolster up finance capitalism and to raise profits for the bosses while beating down the living standards of the working class. To expose Roosevelt means to expose the entire fraud of class collaboration practiced on the workers.

The Philippines

Roosevelt has just signed the bill granting complete independence to the Philippines—ten years from now. It is strange that we leave our rejoicing till then? Meantime we prefer to watch how the United States will most likely not dismantle its naval bases and fortifications in these islands of the militarized Pacific. The Philippines are merely a stepping stone to more distant shores for American imperialist hopes to solve its internal impasse, its desperate need for expanded markets, by challenging Japan for domination in China. The Philippines are the most trifling pawns in the bigger game of imperialism. The United States, in the maneuvering for "position," appears to retreat for the moment the better to attack later.

The New York Post and Civic Virtue

The Post has been conducting an investigation to determine the state of knowledge of the masses regarding the names of "their" elected representatives in the city, state and federal governments. And the estimable Post editors have been scandalized to learn that the average run of person is abysmally ignorant of capitalist politics and politicians. [In itself this shows quite clearly that the capitalist government is not "theirs"; i. e. that of the masses. We refer the Post to Engels' remarks on this subject: "There is no country in which 'politicians' form a more powerful and distinct section of the nation than in North America. There each of the two great parties which alternately succeed each other in power is itself in turn controlled by people who make a business of politics, who speculate on seats in the legislative assemblies of the Union as well as of the separate states, or who make a living by carrying on agitation for their party and on its victory are rewarded with positions. It is common knowledge that the Americans have been striving for years to shake off this yoke which has become intolerable, and that in spite of all they can do they continue to sink ever deeper in this quicksand of corruption. — And nevertheless we find here two great groups of political speculators, who alternately take possession of the state machine and exploit it by the most corrupt means and for the most corrupt ends—and the nation is powerless against these two great cartels of politicians who are ostentatiously its servants, but in reality exploit and plunder it."

Gala Spring Festival PROGRAM: Chief Littlehouse in a recital of his American Indian native dance. A Duncan dancer—Lifshitz. Fortune teller. Other special feature. Private Table. Saturday, March 31st IRVING PLAZA 15th St. and Irving Place. Get your tickets now, only 35c in advance at the International Workers School, 126 E. 16th St.

International Agitation For Deported Youth

The Dutch government, feeling the growth of an international protest movement against its police services to Hitlerism in deporting four German political refugees to Germany, is scurrying to cover its tracks. By radio and press statements it is denying its guilt. The facts are clear, however, and the protest movement is growing rapidly.

The four workers turned over to Hitler's police were delegates to an international conference of workers youth organizations called at Laren, Holland, Feb. 24. The conference was broken up by the Dutch police and the 16 foreign delegates deported. All the latter had passports in good order visaed by the Dutch government. The papers of Kurt Liebermann, Franz Bobzien, Hans Goldstein and Heinz Hoso showed that they had entered Holland not from Germany but from other countries where they had been living as exiles from Hitler's Nazi state.

When these four comrades were arrested, they were assured that they would be deported to Belgium. Deputy Sneeveliet (Revolutionary Socialist Party) of the Dutch parliament demanded of the Minister of Justice the release of all the delegates and freedom for the Germans to leave via Belgium. Attorneys Stockvis and de Reuter, retained for the comrades, also informed the government of this demand. Three German comrades had been removed to Amsterdam jail where they were finger-printed and forced to sign a statement that they were being deported to Belgium as political refugees. They pointed out that the four other German delegates were in Laren jail and were assured that these would be sent to Belgium too.

At that very moment the mayor

Add New Names to Pledge Fund to Sustain Militant

Last week we printed a special appeal to our readers and sympathizers to join us in our effort to stabilize *The Militant* by pledging a definite weekly or monthly sum. In response, we received the following letter from Brooklyn, in addition to eight new pledgers from the Bronx:

"Please include me in your Militant Pledge Fund for \$1.00 monthly. The Left Opposition Press has certainly been an eye-opener to me in the past few months. Enclosed you will find One Dollar.
City Subway Worker."

We feel confident that there are many more of our readers and sympathizers who feel keenly the need of supporting the Militant. We trust that they will not delay their response to our appeal and will soon join the members of our organization in helping to sustain our paper.

THE PLEDGERS

Brooklyn	
1. Paul King	weekly \$.25
2. City Subway Worker	1.00 monthly
Manhattan	
3. G. Wright	.50
4. E. Konikow	.25
5. M. Beardslee	1.00
6. M. Sterling	.25
7. F. Victor	.50
8. J. Weber	.50
9. S. Gordon	.50
10. H. Stone	.25
11. M. Kling	.50
12. S. Bleeker	.50
Harlem	
13. T. Smith	weekly \$1.00
14. A. Teacher	1.00
Bronx	
15. A. Bramdamark	weekly .25
16. G. Saul	.10
17. B. Ramloff	.10
18. M. Mendelson	1.00
19. S. Egstadt	.25
20. I. Dryer	.25
21. M. Lipshitz	.25
22. P. Shulman	.50

THE MILITANT

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SATURDAY, MARCH 31, 1934

EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swaback

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75c for six months.
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of Laren, however, was informing Attorney Stockvis that the four were already in Germany!

Eye-witnesses have testified that the four comrades were turned over to Goehring's secret police by the Dutch police. They were in chains at the time!

Those who have joined the protest movement include the following: International Communist League; Dutch Socialist Party, Dutch Independent Socialist Party, Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, Socialist Labor Party of Germany, German Social Democratic Party (Prague headquarters), Italian Socialist Party, League of the Rights of Man, Norwegian Labor Party, I.L.P. (England), General Confederation of Trade Unions (France), International Juridical Association, World Committee Against Hitler Fascism. In the United States a protest statement is being circulated to which the Communist League of America, the American Workers Party and other organizations have subscribed.

Shachtman Tour San Francisco
"TOWARDS A NEW REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THE U. S."
TUESDAY Evening, April 10, 1934
LABOR COLLEGE HALL
1254 Market Street

"Expert" Deals a Foul Blow at the N. Y. Teachers

A reactionary Board of Education official and a rabid capitalist press joined this week in dealing the foulest sort of blow to the teachers of New York City. Dr. Emil Altman, chief medical examiner for the public schools, made the announcement on March 26th that 1,500 of the 36,000 teachers of the city were "either emotionally unstable or insane." The capitalist papers pounded upon the announcement avidly, playing it up in a hair-raising manner, splashing the front pages with headlines like "FIFTEEN HUNDRED TEACHERS CRACK POTS." The attack upon the teachers could hardly have been better timed, coming as it did at a crucial moment in their fight against a threatened salary cut in the form of a payless furlough contained in the La Guardia-Lehman "Economy Bill." The obvious intent of the press, in treating the story as a "sensational disclosure," was, of course, to discredit the teachers and thus weaken their fight.

A Storm of Protest
This miserable strategy received a swift defeat. The storm of protest which Altman's "exposure" aroused forced him to retract the substance of his "scientific" findings. And in the same period of time the Economy Bill was decisively defeated for the fourth time in the N. Y. state legislature.

That is how the matter stands now. The teachers have won the first round. But they cannot afford to rest on their laurels. The bankers, the realty interests and the other friends of education and economy will soon be back with other schemes to cut the teachers' standard of living.

Now is the time to prepare the defense. The Teachers Union which led the teachers' fight up till now has a breathing spell in which it should begin without delay and with great energy to organize the defense against the next assault. Today it has only some nineteen hundred members out of a potential thirty six thousand employed and fifteen thousand unemployed teachers. Number one on the agenda of the union should be a membership drive. The aim of the Union should be to plant its banner in every school in the city.

Organize the Unemployed
Number two is the organization of the unemployed whom the Board of Education is trying to use as a lever to lower the pay and worsen the conditions of the employed.
A third important point in the union's agenda should be the organization of mass meetings to arouse the teachers to action in defense of their standards of living, and to bring pressure to bear on the state to keep its hands off the teachers' standard of living.

The issue of the defense of the institution of public education should be taken into the trade union movement by the union which is chartered by the State Federatio of Labor. We have not forgotten that what is now called the free public school system was fought for and won by the working class in the twenties and thirties of the nineteenth century.
On this road the teachers have a fair chance of conducting a successful struggle. On any other they are sure to invite defeat.
—H. L.

THE BETRAYAL OF THE AUTO WORKERS

The new strike wave of revolt against the exploitation foisted on them by the once-trusted NRA has received a definite check by the calling off of the threatening automobile strike. The entire capitalist class of the country is delighted with Roosevelt's skill in conducting the negotiations on behalf of the Automobile Chamber of Commerce and full of satisfaction with the work of Messrs. Green and Collins, their labor lieutenants in the automobile field.

"Had the strike begun," writes the N. Y. Times, "it was regarded as likely that it would spread to scores of accessories plants and to the steel industry. It would have affected the railroads, lumber, glass and textile industries particularly, for these furnish a large part of the automobile industry with raw materials."

Instead of this enormous strike wave being loosed, there is now a temporary lull. On the heels of this settlement, the Budd workers who were already striking against fierce exploitation gave up the fight for the moment.

A. F. of L. Sabotage and Treachery

The Militant has repeatedly pointed out that any rising movement of the workers against the NRA and capitalist exploitation would meet the sabotage and treachery of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. This forecast has been strikingly illustrated by the automobile settlement. The workers in the industry have been for years discontented with their working and living conditions. For years the A. F. of L. made no effort to organize them or to help them fight for better conditions. Not until rank-and-file discontent reached the boiling point and began to find a channel of expression in independent unionism (Mechanics Educational Society) did the A. F. of L. reluctantly come into the picture. With the funds and powerful apparatus at its disposal, it organized automobile workers, put its mercenaries at their head, and began to speak in their name.

The temper of the workers grew shorter and shorter and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats loosed a flood of demagogic strike talk. Only in this way were they able to hold the workers in line. The situation was ripe for the conduct of a militant strike. The workers in the industry were ready for it, the bosses were caught at the peak of production period with unfilled orders before them. Throughout the country, in railroads, mines, steel, millions of workers watched Detroit ready to march shoulder-to-shoulder with the auto workers as soon as the struggle would begin.

The Role of Roosevelt

At the critical moment, of course, when the bosses could no longer hold the men in line, when the promise to lead them into the fight made by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats was maturing, the government intervened. Mr. Green is saying in the news-reels, "The President dominated the entire proceedings." Acting for the bosses, Roosevelt ordered the A. F. of L. "strike leaders" to Washington. There Roosevelt and Johnson, in constant touch with the bosses, chipped away for five days at the program of the A. F. of L. Meanwhile lesser bureaucrats in Detroit kept the workers in line with promises of something good coming out of Washington.

What finally came out was one of the rawest deals ever pulled by this Administration. Roosevelt calls it "a pioneer effort in human engineering on a basis never before attempted." The anti-labor N. Y. World Telegram comments on this remark with skepticism, pointing out that the workers have not even won collective bargaining agreement or union

recognition. Everything is left up to a three-cornered board made up of an automobile manufacturer, an A. F. of L. bureaucrat and a professor who was once Sidney Hillman's economic expert and is now an experienced strike-breaker.

No provisions are made for adjudicating contracts regarding hours, wages and other matters. All that happens is that the A. F. of L. turns over its membership lists to Mr. Wolman (who promises not to tip off the bosses' representatives) and the bosses agree to rehire those on the list who have been fired for union activities. The recent N. Y. hotel strike makes it clear how little such promises are worth. In addition, the open shop is guaranteed and the company union given a firm base.

An Old Lesson Taught Again

The workers got nothing and will get nothing from this settlement. For this job Green certainly deserves a bonus from the auto bosses. As for the government, it has made its most radical swing to open support of the bosses. Here is the old lesson taught again: the government is a class government, the existing government is that of the existing ruling class, the auto bosses and their fellow-capitalists. The latter get a delay of the strike at the peak of the season and a chance to prepare to fight future strike movements.

For there will certainly be such movements. Conditions cry out for improvement. The bosses will concede nothing freely. Their recovery program is based upon ever sharper exploitation of the workers. Talk about a 30-hour week is so much syrup to help down the bitter draught prepared for the workers by Roosevelt, Green and Collins. Sooner or later the workers will have to fight or starve. There is every indication that they will fight.

When they do so they will meet the fierce opposition not only of the bosses but also of the government and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. Now that they made their deal, Green, Collins and Co. are against strikes in word as well as in deed. This means that in all likelihood the new strikes, bitter and fiercer because postponed, will be an outlaw movement.

The Task of the Militants

The place of the revolutionary in the auto field today is with the masses of workers. The greatest weakness of the auto workers in the recent situation was the lack of a class-conscious core in touch with the broad masses of the exploited workers. The Auto Workers Union, an invention of the C. P., drew off into its ranks some class-conscious elements who thereby lost that contact. It muddled the situation and was itself impotent. When the A. F. of L. misleaders postponed and called off the strike, the Daily Worker called on the auto workers to act over the heads of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. Nobody moved.

The task of the militant fighter is to penetrate the A. F. of L. and the Mechanics Educational Society. The latter union was unable to develop a clear independent line in the recent situation, but it probably has a future as a rallying point for militant elements.

The answer of the class-conscious militant to the combination of capitalists, government officials and A. F. of L. bureaucrats who put over this swindle settlement is clear: We have barely begun to fight. When there finally breaks the broad and powerful strike wave now shaping up as a result of the growing disillusionment of the masses with the NRA, the auto workers will be in the forefront of the battle.

Plan Early Publication of the "New International"

Theoretical Organ of Revolutionary Marxism Out in May

In the past few weeks, since the announcement in these columns of the forthcoming publication of *The New International* magazine, an impetus has been given to the early issuance of the theoretical review. The response to the announcement on the part of the branches of the Communist League as well as from sympathizers of the Left Opposition has been very gratifying. Every branch has responded, either with advance bundle orders or subscriptions. A keen interest is evidenced in a new organ of revolutionary Marxism.

It has been decided by the National Committee to issue the first number of *The New International* in the month of May. This definite announcement of the date of publication will no doubt meet with added enthusiasm upon the part of those who are active in building up circulation and support for *The New International*.

Cities that have responded are: Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, New York, Youngstown, New Castle, Boston, New Haven, Parkersburg, Dayton, Cleveland, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, Detroit and other places. In Canada there has been an exceptional enthusiasm for *The New International*. Toronto has been in the forefront in the advance work for the magazine, sending in seven bundle orders. Bundle order responses have also come in from England—London, Hull, Cornwall, from Glasgow, Scotland and Dublin, Ireland. The British comrades feel that *The New International* can be of special value

500 at Cannon Lecture on International Program

Lecture Course on the Subject to Follow Successful Meeting

Comrade James P. Cannon spoke last Sunday night before a highly attentive audience of 500 at the Irving Plaza Hall, presenting in broad outlines the fundamental Marxian principles upon which the Fourth International is to be founded.

The lecture was arranged by the New York Local of the Communist League as a follow-up to the debate between Cannon and Lovestone, held several weeks earlier, at which comrade Cannon, speaking on the need of a new revolutionary International, annihilated the position of Lovestone and his group, who have set themselves up as attorneys for bankrupt Stalinism.

In his lecture, comrade Cannon took up one after another the fundamental problems the working class has been confronted with in its struggles in the present period of wars and revolutions. He pointed out where the Socialist and Stalinist Internationals have failed to meet these problems, and the solution offered by the Fourth International.

Speakers for the various tendencies in the labor movement participated in the discussion which followed the lecture. This only helped to bring out in bolder relief the clarity that characterized the program as outlined by comrade Cannon.

Since the lecture we have received numerous requests that comrade Cannon give a lecture course dealing in greater detail with the fundamental problems of the Fourth International and the American workers which could not get an elaborate treatment in one evening. In compliance with these requests, we are arranging for a series of six lectures to be held every Sunday evening, beginning April 22. In the next issue of the Militant we will announce all the particulars.

Shachtman Tour Los Angeles
Boyle Heights Lecture
Sunday, April 15th, 8 P. M.
at
2526 1/2 Brooklyn Avenue
SPEAKER
MAX SHACHTMAN

Just Off the Press!

I Accuse Stalinism!

BY
MARIA REESE

5c

3c in bundle orders of 5 and more

PIONEER PUBLISHERS, 84 East 10th Street, New York City, N. Y.

CWA Delegations March in Protest at Washington

A Mass delegation of 900 CWA workers and unemployed from New York, Camden, Reading and Baltimore demonstrated in Washington on Saturday, March 24, presenting their demands to Harry L. Hopkins, Federal relief administrator. Through snow-covered streets and in a hail and rain storm, the workers marched from Union Station more than two miles to Hopkins' office and back, partly along Pennsylvania Avenue, chief artery of Washington.

Earlier in the week, Hopkins had refused to see the delegation, but had backed down. When the committee of 24 came in, Hopkins declared he wanted a private conference, with no reporters present. This was indignantly refused, and Hopkins was forced to let the press in. When a worker supporting a family of seven on CWA wages cut to \$13.44 a week asked Hopkins how anyone was expected to live on that wage or the still lower wages or relief proposed after April 1, Hopkins answered that millions of workers in private industry had been living on less for generations.

Exposing the "New Deal" Program

Inadvertently revealing the importance of local struggles, Hopkins gave the direct lie to the New York officials, De Lamater and Daniels, who had claimed that orders for wage cuts and abrogation of sick pay came from Washington. Hopkins

Attempts to Split the Amalgamated Hotel Workers

The combined activities of the Field clique and the Stalinist disrupters working in the interests of the Food Workers Industrial Union have culminated in attempts to split the Hotel and Restaurant branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers.

Thriving on the demoralization which followed the defeat of the hotel strike and capitalizing on the justified resentment of the membership against the conservative and bureaucratic administration of the Field clique, the Stalinists gained the upper hand at a membership meeting and deposed the officers. Removed from leadership Field immediately attempted a split.

In this criminal adventure, as in all his conduct throughout the strike, Field is adapting himself to the most conservative elements among the hotel workers. As in the actions which brought about his expulsion from the Communist League, he demonstrates again his incapacity to submit to any kind of proletarian discipline.

The "Brotherhood of Culinary Workers," the organization sponsored by Field, is a craft union of cooks announced by the capitalist press as an "anti Communist move." Besides adding to the demoralization of the hotel workers and weakening the struggle to rebuild their organization, the splitting manoeuvre of Field is a reactionary step away from the principle of industrial unionism represented by the Amalgamated.

The split, adding to the general demoralization and resulting in the withdrawal of large numbers of hotel workers from any kind of union activity, directly facilitates the game of the Stalinists who never had any other aim than to incorporate fragments of the Amalgamated union into the Food Workers Industrial Union. The best militants in the union, however, remain equally hostile to the Stalinist machinations and the conservative, craft union split of Fields.

The tradition of the Amalgamated as a militant and progressive industrial union retains its strength with the hotel and restaurant workers despite the defeat in the strike. It is not the union that has been discredited but a clique of unworthy leaders. The vitality of the Amalgamated will undoubtedly enable it to survive the present demoralization and throw off its authors. The pending election should witness the consolidation of the genuine progressive elements on a program of rebuilding the Amalgamated union and the unification of the food workers under its banner.

OPEN FORUM
PROF. JAMES BURNHAM
on
FASCISM AND THE NEW DEAL
Sunday, April 8, at 8 P. M.
International Workers School
126 E. 16th Street
New York City

workers, under questioning by the Government intends to go through with ending the CWA on April 1, put only a fraction of unemployed on relief work at pauper wages—averaging \$7.20 to \$10. a week—and gave the majority of unemployed families home relief at still lower rates—or nothing. With the hunger program of the New Deal exposed, the workers must fight for a workers' program.

The Washington delegation was arranged by a Joint Committee of the Associated Office & Professional Emergency Employees, the Association of Civil Works Employees, Emergency Workers in Adult Education, Tenement House CWA Employees, and the Workers Unemployed Union, all of New York. Also in the delegation were representatives from CWA and unemployed organizations in Westchester County, Baltimore, Reading and Berks County, Pa. and Camden, New Jersey. The four main demands raised by the Joint Committee are: 1. Continuation of CWA at living wages, with a minimum of \$20 a week; 2. Extension of CWA to include all unemployed workers; 3. A public works program at trade union wages on socially necessary work, especially Federal housing for workers; 4. Federal unemployment insurance at the expense of employers and government at living wages for all workers for whom whom work is not made available.

A Tail to the Socialist Kite

Norman Thomas was brought in by Socialists and Lovestonites as the leader of the delegation and thus it was made a tail to the Socialist kite. The publicity both in Washington and throughout the country centered on Norman Thomas, with no mention of the participating organizations. This served to defeat one of the purposes of the demonstration—namely to popularize the various organizations to the unorganized unemployed and relief workers as fighters in their interests. The "bodies" responsible for this also did all in their power to put a damper on the militancy and enthusiasm of the delegates while in Washington.

The task of the hour is to strengthen the organizations—the A.O.P.E.E., the A.C.W.E.; the E. W.A.E. and the Workers Unemployed Union by drawing into their ranks masses of workers and fighting for militant leadership and policies.

The Opportunists in Home Relief Workers Body

To the Editor of the Militant:
The article in the Militant concerning the Home Relief Bureau Workers, while accurately describing the role of the party in the Association, does not, however, say a word about the activities of the Lovestonites.

The Lovestonites play a special role in the Labor movement and their activities in the Emergency Home Relief Bureau Employees Association is no exception.

When the party captured the controlling positions in the organization, and by subtle maneuvering, tried to draw the Association into "United Fronts" with the Relief Worker's League and the Unemployment Councils the workers emphatically rejected their proposals.

A few conservatives, seeing the tremendous pressure that the Stalinist officers were using to get them into the Relief Workers League, utilized this to declare that they did not want to have anything to do with any "red" organization, and in general showed their aversion to communists.

The Lovestonites used this reaction for their own sectarian purposes. They aligned themselves definitely with the backward elements on the basis of a "red" scare. Keep the reds out! That was the slogan.

It is true the Lovestonites did not instigate this campaign, but they certainly encouraged it.

This unprincipled alliance with the conservatives (they are not really reactionaries) on such an issue should be condemned by every honest militant. There are certainly enough issues with which to combat the incompetent Stalinist hacks without resorting to such methods.

I therefore welcome the suggestion of your correspondent that a progressive group be formed on the basis of a really militant program. Here we can find a common meeting ground on which to rebuild the Association into an effective weapon against the administration.
A Home Relief Worker.
Brooklyn.

One Year of Roosevelt's New Deal

Article II

"The program comes from the American people," said President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on the New Deal, January, 3rd, 1934. And why not blame the American people. They have been blamed for so much anyway.

It is quite clear that the American people, to use that term, that is, the exploited and exploiters alike in their overwhelming majority, supported the New Deal program. But as it swings into operation on a large scale, the attitudes toward it begins to divide on class lines. Issues of labor unions versus company unions arise. Code regulations tie the workers to the crisis level of wages. And, besides that, the economics of the New Deal with its general inflation schemes hit the workers below the belt. It increases the money available—for those who own the means of production—by forcing the rate of exploitation of the workers upward due to the lowering of their real wages. The workers come face to face with the realities of a stronger monopoly capitalism functioning under governmental regulation and support.

Aid to Big Financiers

The very first steps in the New Deal program constituted an aid to the big financial overlords who had "suffered" so much from crisis and deprivation. Hoarding and exportation of bullion or currency were prohibited under presidential emergency powers. The Emergency Banking Act reopened the closed big banks and authorized their issuing new preferred stocks to obtain additional capital. Following on the heels of this came a whole series of legislation.

First, the Securities Act which established federal supervision over sales of investment securities. Then came the project to refinance farm mortgages on the plea of helping the farmers. It was well known that there could be no more farm foreclosures because such would hurt the bankers more than the farmers. The bankers had already too much farm property on their hands, so it was much better for them to obtain refinancing and interest on the farm mortgages. Next, followed the Home Owners Loan Act to secure the interest payments to the bankers on outstanding mortgages due from small property owners. Then, the Bank Insurance Act which established a guarantee on bank deposits. It also provided for expansion of credits and authorization to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to invest one billion dollars to "strengthen the banks and make it possible for them to respond to the credit needs of the country."

But, as they many wallings and lamentations have since proven, the bankers cashed in on the dough but failed to "respond." They refused to lend unless they could see something profitable to use their money for.

Government Money Flows

Government money began to flow easy and all the pilfering pirates were gathering to get their share of the loot. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was also authorized to aid the "hard-pressed" insurance companies, who gobble up the small savings of the gullible investors. Railroad companies and other monopoly enterprises got their heavy share until this orgy of credit expansion, through the R.F.C. subsidies and loans, reached the stupendous sum of six million dollars at the end of 1933.

The suspension of the gold standard and the dollar devaluation climaxed the series of inflationary schemes. They were all designed to raise the commodity price level at home and thus to reestablish the profit inducement for capital investments. In addition they also become preparations to facilitate the competition of American capitalism in the world market. Such is the picture of one side of the New Deal in operation. An enormous flow of easy money for finance monopoly institutions with the resulting inflated credits and rising price level for the things the workers need.

The slow moving index of 784 commodities compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics has advanced 23% and the more sensitive index of The Analyst 33% during the first year of the New Deal. Since farm prices, helped by the outright destruction of wheat, meat, and cotton, have risen more than those of non-agricultural products, it is quite easy to get an idea of the advancing cost of living which means a lowering of real wages to the workers.

Standardizing on a Lower Level
We have presented to us the New Deal program as a means of restoring and stabilizing the purchasing power of the broad masses. But this is, of course, to be on a distinctly lower level than the former "prosperity" equilibrium. It hovers around the industrial code minimum wage of \$11 to \$15 weekly. Is this not distinctly the crisis level of wages? Is it not a wage level as low if not lower than that of 20 to 30 years ago?

Quite cleverly, the first of the

codes to be adopted was that for the textile industry. In that industry wages had always dipped the lowest. The code provides for a forty-hour week, the magnificent sum of twelve dollars in the South and thirteen dollars in the North. Being the first code adopted, it tended immediately to become a standard for wages and other provisions, from which other codes proceeded with as little variation as little variation as the exploiter could get away with.

Now we can add to this wage standard the combination of increased commodity prices and the devaluation of the dollar. As a consequence unbearable conditions have become the lot even of those workers fortunate enough to have a job. For the working class as a whole, and that includes the unemployed millions, the total income remains vastly reduced.

Unemployment and Reduced Hours

How do matters stand in regard to the other aspect of increased purchasing power of the broad masses by the spread of employment through a reduction of working hours? In administration circles much has been made about the shorter work day. Each reduction of hours made in any code regulation was widely advertised. But, as it turns out, only a few codes go below forty-hour weekly maximum and many remain above the forty-hour maximum.

As compared to 1929, when the average work week was forty-eight hours, this would even have some significance, but when compared to the crisis, none whatever. The average working hours of the first five months of 1933 in manufacturing industry, for full time workers and part time workers put together, were 34.7 weekly. Thus the code regulations of working hours attained so far could not appreciably increase employment. With the Civil Works schemes at an end, the unemployed army, according to all reliable estimates, will remain about as large as before.

Statistics on unemployment have become exceedingly scarce since the drop which followed the early flush of business revival, artificially stimulated by the various NRA schemes. Now whatever statistics

are available are being manipulated. Facts and figures are turned upside down, inside out, and squeezed until they bleed from every pore. Yet they cannot hide the enormous numbers on the unemployment market. With the NRA in operation and the suspension of the anti-trust law, there is in motion a greater concentration in industry and a greater centralization of finance, all at the expense of the workers. What was formerly spent by big concerns for high pressure sales and for advertising purposes tends to go into so-called scientific management and elimination waste, which in reality means more speed-up and further elimination of labor power necessary to the productive forces.

The Real Aim of the New Deal

There should be little doubt left in the minds of the thinking workers that the New Deal represents a series of measure to save the capitalist system which was so badly dislocated during the crisis. The economic part of these measures does not aim to improve the conditions of the workers regardless of what temporary advantages they may offer. In the objective results of these measures the workers face a reduced level of real wages, an intensified speed-up system, and increased rate of exploitation. Mass unemployment remains in permanent form, and the workers are brought face to face with a stronger monopoly capitalism. That, of course, is the real aim of the New Deal.

It means a reorganization of American national economy to restore and increase capitalist profits. In the program as a whole are embodied the active preparations for further imperialist expansion. For that, tranquility of class relations is required. But this is another aspect of the New Deal program, to be dealt with separately. Meanwhile one important lesson must sink deeply into the minds of the workers:

Preparations for further imperialist expansion as a means of issuing out of the crisis lead directly on the path of war. That, we can rest assured, is taken fully into account in the New Deal program.

Arne Swaback.

Inside the C. C. C. Camps

Minneapolis.—Today there are 1,522 C. C. C. camps in this country with over 300,000 recruits. By summer many more such camps will be established. I have just returned from a visit to several such camps in Minnesota, and would like to tell the Militant readers what I observed.

Most of the boys at work in Minnesota forests have been imported from Kansas. The government makes a fixed policy of sending the young workers far from home: in this way the potential rebels and deserters will think twice before they run away, with a long trek back to the farm staring them in the face.

For working 8 hours a day, five days a week, these boys receive thirty dollars monthly—twenty-five of which is sent home to their parents. In this way many Kansas families are removed from local relief. This peculiarly ingenious plan has a double merit, then, in Rooseveltian eyes. By making one member of the family support his parents and brothers and sisters in the style to which they have become accustomed, it preserves the domestic self-respect. Likewise, the C. C. C. worker himself receives a tidy bit of pocket money. For working 40 hours weekly, he receives the magnificent sum of \$1.25—or slightly over 3 cents an hour.

One of the camps at which I stayed for several days (in the Chippewa National Forest) was located near an Indian reservation. After every meal, a throng of dirty, ragged Indian boys and men would throng themselves at the kitchen door, carrying large cans and buckets. They were waiting to receive the scraps from the meal. All that could not be garnered by the camp cooks for subsequent meals was given to the Indians—soups, brown, crusts, vegetables—all were thrown in the greasy pails making the most filthy, garbage-like ollapodrida—to be eagerly taken home and eaten by the Chippewa braves and squaws and tubercular papooses. Thus does Uncle Sam provide for his First Families.

A word about the forestry work. These Kansas boys are not used to the bitter weather of northern Minnesota winters. One day it was 27 degrees below zero. Eighty boys decided that this was too cold and revolted. After breakfast they returned to barracks instead of climbing on the trucks which were to convey them to the woods. Ten minutes later the officer in charge strode in and paused in the center of the room.

"Any man not reporting for work this morning, will be fined \$20," he announced. "Just follow me back to the office and I'll take your names."

The boys thought of their families back home, destitute, starving. The putsch was over almost as soon as begun.

At noon a handful of boys came back to camp with frost-bitten ears and cheeks. After bandaging the injured parts, the camp medic observed, "The bandages will be a warning to the rest of the men. Now they will take more care to protect themselves." What a soothing philosophy!

While at the camps I had the opportunity to talk to many of the boys. I should like to report that many were militant, class-conscious workers; but such is not the truth. The boys, almost without exception, come direct from farm homes. None has ever worked in a factory, has ever stood face to face with his exploiters across a picket line. I found no evidence to indicate that any boy had the least understanding of the economic forces at work in the world which were condemning him to an empty futureless life. They, and their fathers, had slaved on the farm, had been losing ground every year in this struggle for existence. Then came the New Deal, with its shabby offer of six months of camp life; and, poor as the work was, these boys jumped at the chance to escape from the wretched gray existence on the farm.

I was particularly interested in the attitude of the recruits towards war. Would they go to war if America should become embroiled with a foreign nation? Yes, almost to a man, they would. "There's nothing doing back home," they say. "Might as well fight as rot on the land." Should an emergency arise, and the Government throw rifles at these 300,000 young men, 99% of the rifles would be caught and drilled could immediately start. At present, the army staff makes a great show of the lack of military discipline prevailing in the C. C. C. camps. No saluting, no drilling, no court-martial, etc. But let war appear on the horizon: how the picture would change overnight. The department of war must be well aware of the fact that, if occasion arises, they have a third of a million young men in first-class condition available for fighting forces at a moment's notice.

The C. C. C. workers have become accustomed to having the government take care of them. Poor as the pay is, they are living better now than were they back home. In the evenings in camp they have attended classes in American history, in military tactics, etc. Subtly they have been filled with the insidious nationalistic ideology. Here the greatest danger lies.

—CARLOS HUDSON.

International Notes

LITHUANIA—

The Lithuanian opposition is growing stronger and gaining adherents among Lithuanian workers as well as among the student youth. A few student-propagandists lead workers' study circles on political economy, history of the revolutionary movement and history of the opposition. On the 16th anniversary of the October revolution Lithuanian Bolshevik-Leninists published an illegal leaflet to the workers. In December the Lithuanian comrades printed a first issue of their periodic illegal organ in the Lithuanian language under the name "Lenin Kelin" (In Lenin's Steps). The issue contained the following articles: An editorial on the Lithuanian Fascist overturn of 1926; an article "On the building of the Fourth International"; "The Declaration of Four"; a warning to the Stalinists on the provocative character of their publishing the names of our comrades; Workers Correspondence; On parliamentary cretinism in Austria.

In the discussion which took place on the question of the Fourth International not one voice was raised against the new orientation. We have now in Lithuania 20 active members of the opposition organization, the majority of whom are workers. The work has to be carried on under the severest conditions of illegality.

The Stalinites have begun to feel the influence of the Lithuanian oppositionists and have therefore opened up a slanderous campaign against them, not stopping even before making public the names of the leading Bolshevik-Leninists. For instance, the Stalinist illegal press—in the student party organ, the Aurora (No. 2-3)—published an article: "Trotskyism—the advance guard of the counter-revolution". This article, outside of the usual slanders of Trotsky carries information on the activity of the Lithuanian "Trotskyites". They have allegedly the most backward workers with them and are carrying on Trotsky's line directed against the Lithuanian peasants since they stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat, "ignore" the peasantry, etc., in the same spirit. In conclusion, as stated above, they mention by name "as a traitor" a leading comrade in order to draw the attention to this "traitor" of the Lithuanian police. Thus, the Lithuanian comrades find themselves between two fires; the Stalinist provocateurs and the Lithuanian police. The provocateur work of the Stalinites must be completely unmasked before the Lithuanian workers.

GERMANY—

Agitation for a new party which at first met with certain difficulties gained ground among the Communist as well as the social-democratic workers. In the general chaos in which the German working class movement found itself after Hitler's coming to power, the remnants of the former working class organizations are searching for new roads and are standing face to face before new realignments. In this chaos the Left Opposition tries—and with success—to create nuclei of the new coming party from the cadres of the Communist party, of the social democracy and the trade unions. First of all the causes of defeat are being discussed.

Parallel with this a discussion with the SAP (Socialist Workers Party of Germany) is being carried on, a discussion which first of all takes up international questions. The SAP, as is known, is by its origin a centrist organization which has undergone an evolution towards Communism. The SAP signed the Declaration of Four for the new International. The unification of the German opposition with the SAP would have been an important stage on the road to a new party. But the discussion showed that the SAP still has some Rightist tendencies. Therefore, a deepened discussion must precede unification.

Armed with correct policy, the German Left Opposition made a successful turn towards illegal work under new conditions. It escaped the decomposition and demoralization of big organizations. Only in small towns, where our comrades were widely known, were the groups of the German opposition routed by the police. In the majority of large cities the German oppositionists issue the weekly organ of the German Bolshevik-Leninists "Unser Wort" (Our Word) appearing abroad since February, as well as a number of other publications penetrating by various ways into Germany, have given great impetus to the spread of the ideas of the German Left Opposition, the correctness of which had been proven by living events.

The spread of the ideas and the growth of the influence of the Left Opposition are by no means limited to a layer of critically thinking Communists, but on the contrary find a considerable echo among social-democratic cadres standing for

The Left Movement in Poland

According to recent documents, and particularly to Piatnitsky's articles the Communist Party of Poland (C. P. P.) is the best Communist party in the Comintern from which all the sections can take example. One might really believe the veracity of this statement because the founders of this party fought with Lenin against Czarism. Under the leadership of Rosa Luxemburg the old Socialist Party of Poland was a model of revolutionary proletarian internationalism. In spite of the theoretical differences between Lenin and Luxemburg the Socialist party of Poland stood closest to Russian Bolshevism. Not only the leaders but also the proletarian masses of Poland have behind them a glorious past of revolutionary struggle. To that can be added the conditions in the country favorable to a strengthening of the Communist movement. Poland is still the weakest link in the chain of capitalism.

Effects of Crises

All of the post-war crises lasted longer and had a more catastrophic effect in Poland than in other countries. The agrarian crisis is so serious that the frequent demonstrations of the peasants bear a near revolutionary character. More than 40% of the population consists of national minorities and of these 80% are Ukrainian and White Russians who hate Polish imperialism and are striving for national liberation. Poland does not lack in cadres and reserves for real revolutionary activity. Piatnitsky's prognoses could be realized if the Communist leaders were fully aware of their tasks and employed a correct Leninist line. Unfortunately their tactics are not Leninist but Stalinist. And since the tested leaders of the movement have been eliminated, and those at its head now are incapable of giving it leadership the results are not very gratifying. It can even be said that in Poland there is not a party in the real sense of the word, but a party apparatus which is completely isolated from the masses.

Trade Union Deceit

What caused this ruin of the C. P. P.? We can only give some of the reasons here. The 6th Congress of the Profintern instructed the Polish party to build its own trade unions. That was grist to the reformist mill. Of course the party did not succeed in building its own trade unions. Two examples: (1) There are more than 90,000 Polish miners in Upper Silesia. They are organized in Christian and reformist trade unions. The party recruited but 300 of these workers in its attempt to build its own trade unions. To be sure these 300 were the best revolutionaries but they were demoralized by their impotence, and the broad masses remained under the influence of the Christian and reformist trade unions. (2) Following their victory in the textile workers strike in Lodz the reformists built a union with a membership of 10,000. This is the largest union in existence in Poland. The party forbade its members to join this union and instructed them to create small trade unions in each factory. The disastrous results of this tactic were soon demonstrated at the recent congress of the Warsaw metal workers, to be sure bureaucratically prepared by the socialist officials, there was not a single Communist delegate. And at the railroad workers congress, where the Communists had the majority two years ago, their delegates did not form an independent group. Their few delegates were so fearful of being known as Communists that all the reformist resolutions were adopted unanimously.

The Internal Regime in the Party
Mass discontent grew simultaneously with the loss of the party's influence in it. Instead of encouraging criticism from the membership to find the basis of the mistakes, the party bureaucrats used every possible

break with reformism and against joining the Stalinites. In July of last year the German Opposition was subjected to serious blows of the Fascist police. But the comrades who were arrested or forced to emigrate were soon replaced by fresh recruits from the former social democrats and Stalinists. The illegal publications of the German Opposition testify irrefutably to the fact that this "rejuvenation" of the cadres did not at all affect the level of our propaganda work. Out of seven Regional organizations existing at the time the Left Opposition had to go underground, systematic uninterrupted work is carried on in six of them to this very day. The loss of old elements is replenished by the influx of new. The fact that MARIA REESE, former member of the Reichstag enjoying a wide popularity among the German workers, joined the banner of the Left Opposition found a wide echo among German workers. A supplementary edition of "Unser Wort" carrying the declaration of Maria Reese was published in Moscow, graphed form in

ble means to suppress it. Every criticism was considered and branded the work of renegades, and every critical member expelled from the party. The seizure of power by Hitler was communicated to the membership as a mere piece of news and no discussion on this question was permitted. In the same manner the resolution of the Comintern on March 5th, 1933 on the united front was conveyed to the membership as a mere communication. The bureaucratic party apparatus, which has made every criticism impossible, brought things to a different end: the discontented members have grouped themselves together to build an opposition.

The Opposition

The Opposition was created two years ago in Poland. Without forgetting the international character of their struggle, the leaders of the Opposition raised demands on all the national and local questions. They did this because they had no desire to break with the party. The party bureaucrats answered these demands by expelling the best members. That further sharpened the contradictions in the party.

The aggravation of the situation in Russia and the seizure of power by Hitler have shown the Opposition that the struggle is not limited to local questions but must be broadened to the international field. We solidarized ourselves with the Left Opposition and decided to educate our members in this spirit. We struggle against the Stalinists on the basis of the interests of the workers and in all the daily econ-

omic and political questions. In that way we won the sympathies of the Communist and non-party workers who follow us to this day. We also have contacts in various groups in reformist organizations. We have oppositionist organizations in all the trade unions. We have about 300 members, equally young and old comrades. We have two weekly papers, one in Polish and another in Jewish, which are issued in 5,000 copies. It is significant that our papers are better sold than the party's.

The Polish Opposition has issued a series of Left Opposition pamphlets in the Polish language: "The Key to the International Situation", "What Next?" a pamphlet by Trotsky on the Amsterdam Congress with the declaration of the Left Opposition, Lenin's "Left Communism" with an introduction by Trotsky, the declaration by the Left Opposition on the Paris Anti-Fascist congress, a pamphlet on the Fourth International (which was confiscated), "The Fourth International and the Soviet Union" (also confiscated) and a pamphlet on the "Bund". 20,000 copies of these pamphlets have been bought.

The question of the Fourth International, which was under discussion for five months and disclosed serious differences in the organization, is now about to be definitely decided. The leadership of the organization and the majority of the membership have taken a firm position for the Fourth International. The official entry of the Polish Opposition into the League of Internationalist Communists will soon be consummated.

—VICTOR.

The Right Wing and Labor Party

Today, in America, we have entered upon a new and higher stage of the class struggle. With the sharpening of the class struggle, the true nature of classes, and political parties or tendencies stand out in ever sharper relief. In the light of sharpening contradictions, most revealing of all are the political perspectives put forward by parties or tendencies within the working class. Let us apply this touchstone to the perspectives put forward by the Lovestonites.

What is the task facing the revolutionist today? According to the Lovestonites: "to agitate and prepare the ground for the formation of a Labor Party". What is the historic need of the present moment? According to the Lovestonites "the fight for a Labor Party".

In the Workers Age (March 15, 1934) two articles appear proclaiming this perspective: one by H. Connor who deals with the Labor Party in Fort Wayne; the other by S. Jonas & H. Vaughan who deal with the Labor Party in general. Connor reports as an "activist"; Jonas & Vaughan on the other hand, approach the question "as theoreticians".

Both the activist and the theoreticians argue for the Labor Party from the same premise, a very remarkable premise, to wit, because of the immediate need "to divorce the workers politically from the capitalist class" (Connor); because of "the necessity for the political separation of the working class from the capitalist class." (Jonas & Vaughan).

From such a premise a Communist would argue not for a Labor Party but for a genuine revolutionary party. Beginning with the Communist Manifesto, all Communists have proclaimed the necessity of separating the proletariat politically from the bourgeoisie, i. e., "the organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party"; and it is equally an ABC of Marxism that this task can be achieved only by organizing the vanguard into a revolutionary party. Only the revolutionary party can divorce the workers from the capitalists politically.

But the Lovestonites are not of the opinion that the proposed Labor Party would be revolutionary. No, Jonas & Vaughan deny that such a party would be revolutionary. It should only serve as a rallying point of all workers "regardless of individual differences". Of course in the very next sentence, our theoreticians proceed to contradict themselves by insisting that such a party "will become more and more revolutionary in its outlook" in the process of the class-struggle. But let us pass in silence this vision of a party which although not revolutionary, will become more and more revolutionary. There is another and much more essential aspect to the question.

Lovestonites minimize the elements of class-consciousness, and worship the elements of spontaneity.

They have revived the hoary Menshevik theory preached by Martynov—the theory of "organization-process"; the theory of the spontaneous growth of the revolutionary party; and of the spontaneous growth of class-consciousness. Today, on a different historical level, the Lovestonites are chewing once again the thrice-digested cud of Menshevism. They counterpose the Menshevik concept of the spontaneous political development of the class to the Leninist concept of the vanguard, organized as a party, permeating the working masses with class-consciousness.

After proposing to divorce the workers politically from the capitalists by means of the Labor Party, Jonas, Vaughan, Lovestone and all other Martynovs further propose to make the workers class-conscious by means of the same Labor Party. "It is obvious (!) that no progress can be made in building a revolutionary movement, until workers have first BECOME politically conscious as a class. It is equally obvious (!) that the tactics of the revolutionary parties have failed to accomplish this" (our italics). Ergo, most obviously, the Labor Party is needed.

In the period of civil wars and revolutions one must for the thousand and first time lecture to the American Brandlerists the A. B. C. of Marxism. A politically conscious worker is a class-conscious worker. Workers do not become "politically conscious as a class" in the process of the class struggle by themselves, not even if they all joined or voted for a dozen Labor Parties. The revolutionary party is that historical organ by means of which the class becomes class conscious. The workers as a class do not first become politically conscious and then build a revolutionary movement; just the contrary, only if a revolutionary party exists "which does not fail to accomplish" its historic task of mobilizing the overwhelming majority of the workers under its banner can progress be made in building a revolutionary movement.

In 1920, the Leninist Comintern said, "After the defeat of the revolution in 1905, during the course of several years the Russian Mensheviks proclaimed the necessity of a so-called Labor Congress which was to replace the revolutionary party of the working class; all kinds of 'laborites' of England and America, while consciously carrying on a bourgeois policy, are propagating among workers the idea of creating indefinite shapeless workers' unions instead of a political party."

In 1934, after the disastrous defeat of the German and Austrian proletariat, and the collapse of the Stalinist Comintern, the Lovestonites can only repeat the perspectives of the Mensheviks in 1905, and of the "laborites" of England and America in 1920.

The task facing the revolutionist in America today is the building of a genuine Communist party. The historic need of the present moment is the formation of the Fourth International.

—J. G. WRIGHT.