

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Rate red as second class mail matter, November 22, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. **VOLUME VI, NO. 44 [WHOLE NO. 191]** **NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1933** **PRICE 5 CENTS**

## G. Gourov Left Socialist Conference

### A Firm Nucleus for A New International Emerges

The conference is over. As yet we have neither the minutes nor the final text of the resolution. Nevertheless the principal conclusions can be drawn. These conclusions are entirely favorable to the Left Opposition. This can be seen best of all by the comparison of what we expected to obtain and what we obtained. In preliminary discussions and correspondence we all agreed that if we should succeed in getting four or even three signatures under a clear and precise document in favor of the new International, we would make an enormous step forward. We obtained the four signatures that we counted on (the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, the Socialist Labor Party of Germany and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland together with the International Left Opposition) under a document which is the only tangible result of the conference and which may and should become of historic importance.

We achieved this momentous result not by some chance combination or skillful maneuvers (on the contrary, in this field we made some errors) but due to the fact that the historic step made by us has fully matured. In spite of ten years of world wide baiting and slander of the Left Opposition; in spite of the fact that this slander left its trace even in the consciousness of the opponents of Stalinism, among them in the ranks of the social-democratic workers; in spite of all this, three organizations who lead a few tens of thousands of workers found no other path but to unite with us on a common document which presupposes a long and stubborn struggle. A wide breach was made in the wall surrounding the Left Opposition. We can expect with certainty that new and more organizations and fractions which are pushed to the revolutionary path by the whole situation will with every passing month convince themselves that the only banner under which the proletarian vanguard can rally is the banner of Bolshevism-Leninism.

### Only Serious Result

The Declaration of four is called above the only serious result of the Paris conference. As far as the vague decisions of the majority are concerned, they have no future. This will not be hard to understand if we should analyze the composition of the conference. If the delegates of the four organizations which signed the declaration made up its Left wing, then the Right wing was made up of the representatives of the Norwegian Workers party which aims at the creation of a Scandinavian "International" through an alliance with the Swedish and Dutch social-democracy and is afraid, therefore, to compromise itself by proximity to Communists. One must be a hopelessly naive person, or what is worse, an unprincipled schemer to hope for a union or collaboration with this party and with the small groups which gravitate to it like the French Pupils, Party of Proletarian Unity, the Italian Maximalists, the Catalanian Federation of Maurin, the Polish group of Doctor Crain, or the altogether humorous party of Steinberg (former "People's Communist Party").

Urbahns represented at the conference that little which remained of the Leninist. If, with all his best revolutionary intentions, Urbahns proved anything in the last years, it is his total incapacity for collective work, on one side, and for systematic thinking, on the other. Alone his laughable theory of "state capitalism" which puts on the same level the U. S. S. R. the U. S. A., the German of Hitler and the Italy of Mussolini excludes the possibility of joint work with him in the creation of a new International.

### Reichstag Fire

## Frame-Up Unmasked

The international commission of lawyers at London, which has just concluded its hearings of evidence connected with the German Reichstag fire, has exonerated the Communists framed-up by the Nazis. It accepted the alibis of these accused and found it physically impossible for them to have taken any active part in the fire. It has turned the accusation of the incendiary right back where it belongs—upon the Nazi themselves.

The commission says in its findings, that, "no connection whatever could be traced between the Communist party and the burning of the Reichstag." On the other hand it declares that, "grave grounds exist for suspecting that the Reichstag was set afire by or on behalf of leading personalities of the National Socialist Party."

There need not be the slightest doubt that the findings of this commission are entirely correct. Workers familiar with the Nazi terror and frame-up methods will entertain no such doubts. But what will happen at the trial of the frame-up victims at the Fascist controlled supreme court at Leipzig, Germany, which is now on, that is again a different matter. The accused are in reality denied all defense. The working class of Germany has no means of expression, it is entirely at the mercy of the blood thirsty brown-shirted executioners. Right along these bandits are staging new raids upon Communists and anti-Fascists to keep the demand for more blood alive. They are sharpening the axe.

### NEWARK MASS MEETING

Comrade Arne Swabeck will speak in Newark on Sept. 29th at the **S. T. REGIS HOTEL**  
34 Park Place  
on  
**THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM**  
Auspices: Newark Br. C. L. A. (O.)

## Joint Declaration for New Internat'l

In full realization of the great historic responsibility which devolved upon them, the undersigned organizations have unanimously decided to combine their forces for joint work for the regeneration of the revolutionary proletarian movement on an international scale. As the basis for their activity they lay down the following principles:

1. The mortal crisis of imperialist capitalism which has taken the form of world war has created a new situation. The undersigned organizations have unanimously decided to combine their forces for joint work for the regeneration of the revolutionary proletarian movement on an international scale. As the basis for their activity they lay down the following principles:
2. The problem of the proletarian revolution bears, by its very nature, an international character. The proletariat can build a complete socialist society only on the basis of the world division of labor and world cooperation. The undersigned organizations, therefore, reject, the theory of "socialism in one country" which undermines the very foundation of proletarian internationalism.
3. No less energetically must be rejected the theory of the Austro-Marxists, centrists and left reformists who, under the pretext of the international character of the socialist revolution, advocate an expectant passivity with regard to their own country, delivering thereby the proletariat in reality into the hands of Fascism. A proletarian party which evades the seizure of power under the present historic conditions, commits the worst of betrayals. The victorious proletariat of one country must strengthen its national dictatorship by socialist construction, which remains of necessity incomplete and contradictory until the working class seizes political power in at least a few advanced capitalist countries. Simultaneously, the victorious working class of one country must direct its efforts to the extension of the socialist revolution to other countries. The contradiction between the national character of the seizure of power and the international character of socialist society can be resolved only by courageous revolutionary action.
4. The Third International which grew out of the October revolution laid down the principles of proletarian policy in the epoch of imperialism and gave the world proletariat the first lessons in the revolutionary struggle for power, fell victim of a chain of historical contradictions. The treacherous role of the social-democracy, the immaturity and inexperience of the Communist parties led to the breakdown of the post war revolutionary movements in the East and in the West. The isolated position of the proletarian dictatorship in a backward country gave an extraordinary power to the ever more conservative and nationally limited Soviet bureaucracy. The slavish dependence of the sections of the Communist Party on the Soviet top led, in its turn, to a new series of grave defeats, to bureaucratic degeneration of the theory and practice of the Communist parties, to their organizational weakening and more than that the Communist parties are not only incapable of fulfilling their historic role but became more and more of an obstacle in the way of the revolutionary movement.
5. The advance of Fascism in Germany put the organizations of the working class to a decisive test. The social-democracy once more confirmed the designation given by Rosa Luxemburg and revealed itself for the second time as "the stinking corpse." The overcoming of the organizations, ideas and methods of reformism is the necessary prerequisite for the victory of the working class over capitalism.
6. The German events revealed with no less force the collapse of the Third International. Despite its fourteen year existence, despite the experience gained in gigantic battles, despite the moral support of the Soviet state and the plentiful means for propaganda, the Communist party of Germany revealed under conditions of a grave economic, social and political crisis, conditions exceptionally favorable for a revolutionary party, an absolute revolutionary incapacity and had thereby shown conclusively that despite the heroism of many of its members it had become totally incapable of fulfilling its historic role.
7. The position of world capitalism; the frightful crisis which plunged the working masses into unheard of misery; the revolutionary movement of the oppressed colonial masses; the world danger of Fascism; the perspective of a new cycle of wars which threaten to destroy the whole human culture—these are the conditions which imperatively demand the welding together of the proletarian vanguard into a new (Fourth) International. The undersigned organizations have decided to direct all their forces to the formation in the shortest possible time of this International on the firm foundation of the theoretic and strategic principles laid down by Marx and Lenin.
8. While ready to co-operate with all the organizations, groups and fractions which are actually developing from reformism or bureaucratic centrism (Stalinism) towards revolutionary Marxism policy, the undersigned at the same time declare that the new International cannot tolerate any conciliation towards reformism or centrism. The necessary unity of the working class movement cannot be attained by the blurring of reformist and revolutionary conceptions, or the adaptation to the Stalinist policy, but only by combatting the policies of both bankrupt Internationals. To remain equal to its task the New International must not permit any deviation from revolutionary principles in the question of the insurrections, the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet form of the state, etc.
9. By its class basis, by its social foundations, by the inconceivable prevailing forms of property, the U. S. S. R. remains also today a workers' state, that is an instrument for the building of a socialist society. The new International will inscribe on its banner as one of its most important tasks the defense of the Soviet state from imperialism and internal counter-revolution. Precisely the revolutionary defense of the U. S. S. R. places upon us the imperative task of freeing the revolutionary forces of the entire world from the corrupting influence of the Stalinist Comintern and of building a new International. Only under the condition of complete independence of the International proletarian organizations from the Soviet bureaucracy and the tireless unmasking of its false methods before the working masses is a successful defense of the Soviet Union possible.
10. Party democracy is a necessary prerequisite for the healthy development of revolutionary proletarian parties on a national as well as on an international scale. Without the freedom of criticism, without the elections of functionaries from top to bottom, without the control of the apparatus by the rank and file, no truly revolutionary party is possible.

## Civil War Looms in Cuba; Situation Tense

The situation in Cuba is developing into civil war. Soldiers have been sent against the striking sugar workers to recapture from them the plantations they have seized. The workers are armed and are determined to resist. Conflicting press reports state that the soldiers fired on workers; that they fraternized with the workers. At any rate the struggles of the workers for increased pay, better working conditions, and against imperialism has brought them to the point where they are beginning to confront the army. Will the soldiers go over to the side of the workers? Or will the soldiers support the government, which it is leaning ever more heavily upon the Cuban bourgeoisie and the American imperialists? The next days will decide.

## Swabeck National Tour Begins

The following is the schedule of cities:

Fri., Sept. 29th	Newark, N. J.
Sat., Oct. 1st	Bethlehem, Pa.
Sun., Oct. 3rd	New Haven
Wed., Oct. 4th	Boston, Mass.
Thurs., Oct. 5th	Boston, Mass.
Fri., Oct. 6th	Boston, Mass.
Sun., Oct. 8th	Rochester, N. Y.
Mon., Oct. 9th	Buffalo, N. Y.
Tues., Oct. 10th	Toronto, Can.
Wed., Oct. 11th	Toronto, Can.
Fri., Oct. 13th	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat., Oct. 14th	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sun., Oct. 15th	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mon., Oct. 16th	New Castle, Pa.
Tues., Oct. 17th	Youngstown, Pa.
Wed., Oct. 18th	Youngstown, Pa.
Thurs., Oct. 19th	Cleveland, O.
Fri., Oct. 20th	Cleveland, O.
Sat., Oct. 21st	Chicago, Ill.
Sun., Oct. 22nd	Chicago, Ill.
Mon., Oct. 23rd	Chicago, Ill.
Tues., Oct. 24th	Chicago, Ill.
Wed., Oct. 25th	Springfield, Ill.
Thurs., Oct. 26th	Stanton, Ill.
Fri., Oct. 27th	St. Louis, Mo.
Sat., Oct. 28th	St. Louis, Mo.
Sun., Oct. 29th	Kansas City, Mo.
Mon., Oct. 30th	Kansas City, Mo.
Tues., Nov. 2nd	Minneapolis
Fri., Nov. 3rd	Minneapolis
Sat., Nov. 4th	Minneapolis
Sun., Nov. 5th	Minneapolis
Tues., Nov. 7th	Davenport, Ia.
Wed., Nov. 8th	Davenport, Ia.
Fri., Nov. 10th	Davenport, Ia.

## Silk Strikers Hold Firm; Reject N. R. A. Truce

### N. T. W. Forms Splitting Strike Committee; All Unions Must Unite in Associated Silk Workers

Despite all the efforts of the bosses the national silk strike still holds solid. Monday morning, September 18, the bosses of Paterson, the stronghold of the strike made a feeble attempt to open the mills after getting plenty of support from the local newspapers. Militant mass picketing by the workers quickly shut them again. Over 50,000 are on strike for \$36, a 30 hour week, two looms and the abolition of night work.

On Saturday the bosses had offered the workers a "temporary trade settlement" on the basis of a slight increase to four and a half cents for 100,000 picks (approximately \$22 a week) for weavers and slight increases for the auxiliary crafts until the adoption of a permanent code. At the membership meeting of the Associated Silk Workers—U. T. W., the strikers overwhelmingly rejected the bosses' truce and voted to continue the strike.

The National Strike Committee very correctly pointed out in a leaflet that this offer of only a slight increase by only a part of the silk manufacturers offered no guarantee that all the bosses would accept it. The only settlement acceptable to the strikers is a national agreement.

The strike was called by the American Federation of Silk Workers which is now a part of the United Textile Workers but having local autonomy. The reactionary U. T. W. leadership, headed by MacMahon, did not sanction the strike but attempted from the outset to smash it by maneuvers in Washington with the Roosevelt arbitration board. MacMahon entered into and accepted the truce settlement for which he had no authority from the workers. His treacherous attempt received its proper reward in the unanimous repudiation of the truce settlement. But these maneuverings of MacMahon should serve as a serious warning for the striking workers to be on their guard against further attempt to sell them out. They must be on guard against his endeavors to prevent the Federation of Silk Workers from becoming a really representative organization.

The Jacquard bosses tried to split the ranks of the strikers by offering their workers, a skilled section of the trade, a separate settlement embodying a standard scale. This was a maneuver. The offer constituted a small wage increase for the workers in the lower paid shops and a wage cut of 1 and 2 cents per yard for the workers in the better paid shops. The Jacquard workers unflinchingly rejected this attempt to split the ranks of the strikers. Along with the fierce struggle against the bosses and the disruptive tactics of MacMahon, the workers face the danger of disunity presented by the Stalinist controlled National Textile Workers Union. Last Sunday the NTWU arranged a conference of striking textile groups in Allentown, called by the independent Allentown Silk Workers Union which is under Stalinist influence. Representatives from several independent groups met there and formed "one National Strike Committee." To the 40,000 militant workers following the real National Strike Committee of the American Federation of Silk Workers this dual strike committee can mean only disruption of the strike. Our fellow workers of the Independent Allentown Silk Workers Union have been confused and do not understand that their action leads to a division of the strike ranks.

## William Green "Friend" of Cuba

"In 1927 Chester Wright, editor of the Federation of Labor, and English Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, brought to Washington the account of 147 assassinations committed by the Machado regime. This evidence was given much publicity. The New York port workers voted to sabotage Cuban sugar arriving in the port. Then something happened."

"Machado hastened to Washington and met Green in the Belgian legation. Green thereupon issued a public statement that from this date on the condition of Cuban workers 'would be improved.' After all a great labor leader must feel honored when a president calls upon him regardless of the fate of mere workers.

### BOSTON MASS MEETING

ARNE SWABECK  
ON  
**THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM**  
FRIDAY, OCT. 6, at 8 P. M.  
**SOCIAL SCIENCE HALL**  
28 Hayward Place (Off Washington St. near R. H. White)

## Military Intervention by United States Imminent

business houses "in protest against workers' acts of violence." Another report has it that they "threaten to close their doors unless the government compromises with the opposition (bourgeois factions) and agrees to a coalition cabinet that will satisfy all, win U. S. recognition and restore the country's economic life." Out of fear of the workers the petty bourgeoisie are asking the Cuban bourgeoisie and the U. S. imperialists, to suppress the workers.

## A. F. of L. Leaders Accept Company Union Clause

It is a well established fact that the A. F. of L. executives have always been heeding the call of their accepted masters in the government administration regardless of what the exigencies of capitalist politics might require. Its stupidities they have fully shared without possessing any of its far sightedness. Where they have differed, they have usually been in the right of the capitalist government.

Thus today, when the Roosevelt administration casts its eyes toward the Russian market and discuss possibilities of recognition of the Soviets, with closer trade relations and advancing of credits, the A. F. of L. executives have already come forward with their protest, exposing themselves as even more reactionary than the capitalist government. Perhaps this can be explained by their more ingrained hatred for the Soviets and their greater fear of revolutionary ideas. But how explain the very latest acrobatics of Bill Green and John L. Lewis in obedience to their masters' voice.

The final text of the coal code carried an interpretation of the "famous" section 7 (a) of the N. I. R. A. establishing the workers' rights of collective bargaining through representatives of their own choosing. In this interpretation the following sentence occurs: "The law does not prohibit the existence of a local labor organization which may be called a company union and is composed only of the employees of one company."

I would thus appear that Roosevelt is more progressive than Green and Lewis. But let us not be misled. President Roosevelt was only a little more farsighted and wanted to avoid the serious trouble which he anticipated with the company union clause remaining. Green and Lewis, on the other hand, showed themselves once more as the servile craven tools of the employers ready to render them service whenever required even at the cost of dealing a death blow to the organization they are supposed to represent.

(Continued on Page 2)