WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

# EMILITA

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6. Gourov

## Left Socialist Conference

A Firm Nucleus for A New International Emerges

historic importance.

world wide baiting and slander of clarity. the Left Opposition; in spite of the The "Yesterday" and "Tomorrow" 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, 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 gan expect with certainty that new and more of the Polish government, writes organizations and fractions which on the reasons which détermined are pushed to the revolutionary path by the whole situation will the Soviet-Polish rapprochement: with every passing month convince Bolshevism-Leninism.

#### Only Serious Result

The Declaration of four is called above the only serious result of the Paris conference. As far as the real revolutionist. And not alone vague decisions of the majority are the bourgeoisie. Millions of workconcerned, they have no future. This will not be hard to understand if we should analyze the composi- correct conclusions. Let the Staltion of the conference. If the delegates of the four organizations which signed the declaration made up its Left wing, then the Right Reichstag Fire grew out of the October revolution with the passing of each day the A.F. of L. Leaders wing was made up of the representation and the representation of the representation of the passing of each day the A.F. of L. Leaders tatives 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, through and through, opportunistic party or with the small groups which gravitate to it like the French Pupists, It accepted the alibis of these ac-Party of Proletarian Unity, the Italian Maximalists, the Catalonian Federation of Maurin, the Polish group of Doctor Cruck, or the altogether humorous party of Steinberg (former "People's Commis

sar"). Urbahns represented at the conference that little which remained of the Leninbund. If, with all his could be traced between the Combest 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 tional Socialist party." the same level the U. S. S. R. the

#### The Swedish Ind. Communists

The Swedish Independent Communist party (Kilbom) and the British Independent Labor Party stand in a class by themselves. Both these organizations are at the cross- fense. The working class of Gerroads. The Swedish party repre- many has no means of expression, sents too solid a workers' organiza- it is entirely at the mercy of the its fourteen year existence, despite tion to follow the policy of Brandler-Thaheimer, based entirely on tioners. Right along these bandits the servile hope that, perhaps, Manuilsky will pardon them and call munists and anti-Fascists to keep ful means for propaganda, the Comthem to power. On the other hand, the party of Kilbom is, apparently, They are sharpening the axe. as yet strongly infected with rightist tendencies and especially with distrust towards the Left Opposition. It cannot retain its present intermediary position. It must the Nazi Axe! make a choice. We must help it

make the right choice. If the party of Kilbom vacillates between the Right and the Left Comrade Arne Swabeck will speak Communist oppositions, the Independent Labor party vacillates between the Comintern and the new International. Maybe not at once, but inevitably the bureaucrats of the Comintern will push the Independent Labor Party on the road of the new International. Sooner or later

It is absolutely clear, that the de-

The conference is over. As yet cisions adopted by such a heterowe have neither the minutes nor geneous majority can have only a the final text of the resolution. platonic, decorative character. Not Nevertheless the principal conclu- a few are all too willing to "condiscussions and correspondence we to carry on in reality a policy of the basis for their activity they lay Marx and Lenin. all agreed that if we should suc-back-stage combinations which are ceed in getting four or even three in spirit very much akin to bureausignatures under a clear and pre-cratic centrism. Not only are decise document in favor of the new nunciation of the Second and Third props out from under reformism and factions which are actually International, we would make an internationals insufficient to adenormous step forward. We obtain- vanced workers but the bare admised the four signatures that we sion of the necessity of a new Incounted on (the Revolutionary So-ternational does not suffice either. cialist Party of Holland, the So-it is necessary to say clearly what cialist Labor Party of Germany international we have in mind: the and the Independent Socialist Party restoration of the miserable Two struggle for the conquest of power of Holland together with the Inter- and a half International, or the and the establishment of the pronational Left Opposition) under a unification of the international prodocument which is the only tangi- letarian vanguard on the basis of ble result of the conference and a revolutionary program really corwhich may and should become of responding to the problems of our epoch. To elaborate such a pro-We achieved this momentous regraw in the company of Tranmael sult not by some chance combina- Louis Selier, Maurin and others, of ture, an international character. The tion or skillful maneuvers (on the even to support the fiction of an proletariat can build a complete socontrary, in this field we made some international organization in comerrors) but due to the fact that the mon with them would mean to sow historic step made by us has fully chaos and ideological demoraliza- world cooperation. The undersignmatured. In spite of ten years of tion instead of the necessary saving the theory of "socialism in one

#### of the Movement

We cannot pass by the fact that two of our allies (the German S. A. P. and the Holland O. S. P., Inde-(Continued on Page 3)

#### Historic Words

under which the proletarian van- line and the triumph and strengthguard can rally is the banner of ening of Stalin's line, the building of socialism in one country."

Gazeta Polska, Aug. 29, 1933 The Polish government like the world bourgeoisie knows who is the ers will note the reasoning of the Polish Government and draw the inists rave-

## Frame-Up Unmasked

lawyers at London, which has just concluded its hearings of evidence of the post war revolutionary move- mittingly. Welles is busy conniv- ways been heeding the call of their blood of the toiling masses. On the munists framed-up by the Nazis. tarian dictatorship in a backward bourgeois regime. longs-upon the Nazi themselves.

The commission says in its findings, that, "no connection whatever munist party and the burning of zational weakening and more than the Reichstag" On the other hand that the Comintern proved not only it declares that, "grave grounds incapable of fulfilling its historic exists for suspecting that the Reichstag was set afire by or on behalf of leading personalities of the Na-

There need not be the slightest U. S. A., the Germany of Hitler and doubt that the findings of this comthe Italy of Mussolini excludes the mission are entirely correct. Workpossibility of joint work with him ers familiar with the Nazi terror in the creation of a new Interna- 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 deblood thirsty brown-shirted execuare staging new raids upon Comthe demand for more blood alive.

outrageous frame-up!

#### NEWARK MASS MEETING

in Newark on Sept. 29th at the

ST. REGIS HOTEL 34 Park Place

#### THE FUTURE OF INTERNA-

## Joint Declaration for New Internat's Reject N. R. A. Truce

In full realization of the great gether of the proletarian vanguard one of its most important task th down the following principles:

1. The mortal crisis of imperialist capitalism which has taken the (social-democracy, the Second International, the bureaucracy of the International Federation of tradeunions) poses imperatively the question of the break with reformist policy and of the revolutionary letarian dictatorship as the only means for the transformation of capitalist society into a socialist society.

2. The problem of the proletarian revolution bears, by its very nacialist society only on the basis of the world division of labor and country" which undermines the very foundation of proletarian internationalism.

cialist revolution, advocate an expectant passivity with regard to their own country, delivering thereby the proletariat in reality into the hands of Fascism. A proletar-The Gazeta Polska, official organ ian party which evades the seizure of power under the present historic ing into civil war. Soldiers have condits, commits the worst of be- been sent against the striking sugar "One of the reasons, and not the ure of power and the international the soldiers support the govern- workers. character of socialist society can be ment, which it is leaning ever more olutionary action.

> 4. The Third International which next days will decide. letarian policy in the epoch of imfeats, to bureaucratic degeneration of the theory and practice of the 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 it 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 the experience gained in gigantic battles, despite the moral support of the Soviet state and the plentimunist party of Germany revealed under conditions of a grave economs, social and political crisis, con-Workers everywhere protect this ditions exceptionally favorable for a revolutionary party, an absolute Save these militant workers from 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

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 winch threaten to dethis party, at least its revolutionary Auspices: Newark Br. C. L. A. (O.) these are the conditions which imperatively demand the welding to-

historic responsibility which devolv- into a new (Fourth) International, defense of the Soviet state from imsions can be drawn. These concludemn" the Second International, to ed upon them, the undersigned or The undersigned obligate themselves perialism and internal counter-revsions are entirely favorable to the shout about its bankruptcy, so as ganizations have unanimously de- to direct all their forces to the for- olution. Precisely the revolutionary Left Opposition. This can be seen to carry on in practice a policy of laint work for the regeneration of laint work for the regeneration of best of all by the comparison of opportunism. Not a few are will- like revolutionary proletaries possible time declared to the control of this International on the firm upon us the imperative task of free- es the national silk strike still holds W. leadership, headed by MacMawhat we expected to obtain and in to shout about the bankruptcy what we expected to obtain and in to shout about the bankruptcy where the revolutionary proletarian moves foundation of the theoretic and ing the revolutionary forces of the solid. Monday morning, Septem hon, did not sanction the strike but what we obtained. In preliminary of the Third International so as ment on an international scale. As strategic principles laid down by

> with all the organizations, groups developing from reformism or bureaucratic centrism (Stalinism) to wards revolutionary Marxian policy, the undersigned at the same time declare that the new Interna- Union possible. tional 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 conception, 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,

9. By its class basis, by its social foundations, by the incontestably prevailing forms of property, difficult conditions and circum-3. No less energetically must be the U. S. S. R. remains also today rejected the theory of the Austro- a workers' state, that is an instru-Marxists, centrists and left reform- ment for the building of a social- full force: honest information of crican Federation of Silk Workers three organizations which lead a pendent Socialist Party) enter not international control of the list society. The new Internationinternational character of the so- al will inscribe on its banner as

complete independence of the in- the local newspapers. Militant ed the truce settlement for which ternational proletarian organizations mass picketing by the workers he had no authority from the workfrom the Soviet bureaucracy and quickly shut them again. Over rs. This treacherous attempt rethe tireless unmasking of its false 50,000 are on strike for \$36, a 30 ceved its proper reward in the unmethods before the working masses hour week, two looms and the aboli- animous repudiation of the truce is a successful defense of the Soviet tion of night work.

ary party is possible.

The need for secrecy under conditions of illegality changes completely the forms of the internal life of a revolutionary party and makes wide discussions and elections difficult, if not altogether imstances the basic demands of a the strikers is a national agreement.

(Continued on Page 4)

## Silk Strikers Hold Firm;

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

without the elections of function- until the adoption of a permanent aries from top to bottom, without code. At the membership meeting tion. the control of the apparatus by the of the Associated Silk Workersrank and file, no truly revolution- 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 tuted a small wage increase for the increase by only a part of the silk manufacturers offered no guarantee a wage cut of 1 and 2 cents per that all the bosses would accept it. yard for the workers in the better The only settlement acceptable to paid shops. The jacquard workers

which is now a part of the United Textile Workers but having local

ing volcano. The workers are seiz-

the plantations by force. The strike

wave is spreading continuously.

Santiago is threatened with a com-

plete tie-up. The struggles of the

workers to improve their economic

and with the American imperialists

upon the fundamental issues of the

Condemned to futility and extinc-

tion from its birth the government

of the petty bourgeoisie, both as

revolutionary junta and as its off-

spring, the San Martin government,

Communism is growing.

entire world from the corrupting ber 18, the bosses of Paterson, the attempted from the outset to smash influence of the Stalinist Comintern stronghold of the strike made a it by maneuvers in Washington with and of building a new Internation- feeble attempt to open the mills the Roosevelt arbitration board. 8. While ready to co-operate al. Only under the condition of after getting plenty of support fron. MacMahon entered into and acceptettlement. But these maneuverings On Saturday the bosses had offer of MacMahon should serve as a 10. Party democracy is a neces. ed the workers a "temporary truce serious warning for the striking sary prerequisite for the healthy settlement" on the basis of a slight workers to be on their guard against development of revolutionary pro- increase to four and a half cents further attempt to sell them out. letarian parties on a national as for 100,000 picks (approximately They must be on guard against well as on an international scale. \$22 a week) for weavers and slight his endeavors to prevent the Federa-Without the freedom of criticism, increases for the auxiliary crafts tion of Silk Workers from becoming a really representative organiza-

> The jacquard bosses tried to split the ranks of the strikers by offering .heir workers, a skilled section of the trade, a separate settlement embodying a standard scale. This was a maneuver. The offer constiworkers in the lower paid shops and unanimously 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. ast Sunday the NTWU arranged a conference of striking textile groups in Allentown, called by the Independent Allentown Silk Working the sugar plantations and are ers Union which is under Stalinist attempting to operate them by influence. Representatives from threat of the government to retake 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. condition is bringing them into more Our fellow workers of the Indedirect conflict with the bourgeoisie pendent Allentown Silk (Workers Union have been confused and do not understand that their action Cuban revolution, the influence of leads to a division of the strike ranks.

Already the effects of the dual National Strike Committee are apparent. The Daily Worker of Sept. 14 carried a report of a telegram sent to Senator Wagner declaring that the UTW does not represent the national silk strike nor the Allentown strikers and that only the "national strike committee" is anti-imperialist government it pro- authorized to represent the strik-

mised the payment of all foreign obligations, that is to say, of the These things bode no good for the silk workers. The false policy of enormous debt to Wall Street which the NTWU and its efforts to capcan be paid only by the sweat and ture the leadership of the strike is not serving the best interests of 14th of September it guaranteed the workers. The Allentown workthe investments of the United Staers must be made fully aware of the danger that threatens from this direction.

The American Federation of Silk Workers must make determined efforts to draw these workers into the main stream of the movement of the silk workers. The sentiment among the Allentown workers is reported favorable to the AFSW. The Allentown Independent workers want a place on the National Strike Committee of the AFSW. This the AFSW must grant to the Allentown workers. In this way can there be unity between the American Federation of Silk Workers-UTW in Allentown and the Allentown Inde-

pendent Silk Workers. Perhaps the clearest example of the maneuvering of the Stalinists New York port workers voted to ers into their paper union has long abandoned hope of recapturing it. workers. The proposal was voted "Wright presently was out of his down by the warpers by an overthe conditions of Cuban workers conference, the warpers, who were has grown steadily worse, that as not willing to follow this direct sassinations have continued, that path of division, agreed to send two

· At a Joint Strike Committee meet-From The Crime of Cuba by Car- ing of the United Warpers League, the Independent Loomfixers League and the United Twisters Club, N. T. W. U. men on the committee brought forward a resolution correctly demanding that the Joint Strike Committee of these independent craft organizations be represented on the strike committee of the Associated. But it also demanded that other textile organizations

(Continued on Page 2)

## ar Looms in Cuba; Situation Tense

The situation in Cuba is developtrayals. The victorious proletariat workers to recapture from them the resolved only by courageous rev- heavily upon the Cuban bourgeoisie gles is leaving the San Martin gov and the American imperialists? The

laid down the principles of pro- ground is being cut from under the feet of the San Martin government. perialism and gave the world pro- On the one hand it is being subletariat the first lessons in the rev- jected to enormous pressure from olutionary struggle for power, fell the Cuban bourgeoisie and the Univictim of a chain of historical con- ted States. The Menocal and Mentradictions. The treacherous role dieta factions together with the of the social-democracy, the imma- ABC are insistently demanding the The international commission of turity and inexperience of the Com- resignation of the government. The connected with the German Reich ments in the East and in the West. ing and plotting to replace the Mar- accepted masters in the governmentstag fire, has exonerated the Com- The isolated position of the prole- tin government with an outright al administration regardless of

country gave an extraordinary The petty bourgeoisie, too, bring- politics might require. Its stupid- be deprived of legitmate property cused and found it physically im- power to the ever more conserva- ing pressure to bear on the govern- ities they have fully shared without except by competent authority and possible for them to have taken any tive and nationally-limited Soviet ment to drive it to the Right, against possessing any of its far sighted for verified reasons of public welactive part in the fire. It has bureaucracy. The slavish depend the workers, on the ground that ness. Where they have differed, fare after proper indemnification." turned the accusation of the in- ence of the sections of the Comin- strikes are paralyzing business and they have usually been further to cendiary right back where it be tern on the Soviet tops led, in its ruining them. In Havana they the right of the capitalist governturn, to a new series of grave de- threatened a 24 hour closure of all ment.

### Communist parties, to their organi-Tour Begins

The following is the schedule of

cities: Fri., Sept. 29th....Newark, N. J. St. Regis Hotel-34 Park Place Sun., Oct. 1st....Bethlehem, Pa. Tues., Oct. 3rd....New Haven Wed., Oct. 4th....Boston, Mass. Social Science Hall, 28 Hayward Pl. (Off Washington St., near

R. H. Whites) 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. Weinstein's Retaurant

1830 Center Ave., 2nd Fl. Sat., Oct. 14th....Pittsburgh, Pa. Sun., Oct. 15th...Pittsburgh, Pa. Tues., Oct. 17th....Youngstown Wed., Oct. 18th....Youngstown 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., Nov. 2nd. Minneapolis Fri., Nov. 3rd....Minneapolis Sat., Nov. 4th....Minneapolis Sun., Nov. 5th....Minneapolis Tues., Nov. 7th....Chicago, Ill.

#### Military Intervention by ernment suspended over an erupt-United St tes Imminent

of one country must strengthen its plantations they have seized. The business houses "in protest against national dictatorship by socialist workers are armed and are deter workers' acts of violence". Another arming themselves against the there and formed "one National arming themselves against the there are a formed to resist Conflicting press proper has it that there "throaten" arming themselves against the Strike Committee". To the 40,000 essity incomplete and contradictory reports state that the soldiers fired to close their doors unless the govuntil the working class seizes poli- on workers; that they fraternize ernment compromises with the optical power in at least a few ad- with the workers. At any rate the position (bourgeois factions) and vanced capitalist countries. Simul- struggles of the workers for in- agrees to a coalition cabinet that taneously, the victorious working creased pay, better working condi- will satisfy all, win U. S. recogniclass of one country must direct all tions, and against imperialism has tion and restore the country's econits efforts to the extension of the brought them to the point where omic life." Out of fear of the worksocialist revolution to other coun- they are beginning to confront the ers the petty bourgeoisie are askries The contradiction between army. Will the soldiers go over ing the Cuban bourgeoisie and the the national character of the seiz- to the side of the workers? Or will U. S. imperialists, to suppress the

The rising tide of workers' strug

#### has pursued a steady course toward Accept Company the Right, toward the bourgeoisie and American imperialism. Although it came into power as an Union Clause It is a well established fact that munist parties led to the breakdown financial sabotage continues unre- the A. F. of L. executives have al-

what the exigencies of capitalist tes in its statutes: "No one shall

Thus today, when the Roose velt 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 pro test, 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 L. Lewis in obedience to their mas-

"famous" section 7 (a) of the N. I. ed. R. A. establishing the workers' pany union and is composed only of the employees of one company". Thurs., Oct. 19th....Cleveland, O. At first these two gentlemen made Fri., Oct. 20th . . . Cleveland, O. a lame protest but later signed the two jobs, and despite the fact that whelming majority. After this code with this interpretation included, but President Roosevelt, roled it out.

I would thus appear that Roose velt is more progressive than Green Thurs. Oct. 26th....Staunton, Ill. and Lewis. But let us not be mis-Fri. Oct. 27th....St. Louis, Mo. led. President Roosevelt was only Sat., Oct. 28th....St. Louis, Mo a little more farsighted and wanted Sun., Oct. 29th. Kansas City, Mo. to avoid the serious trouble which Mon., Oct. 30.... Kansas City, Mo. 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 o render them service whenever Thurs., Nov. 9th. . Davenport, Ia. required even at the cost of deal-Fri., Nov. 10th.... Davenport, Ia. ing a death blow to the organiza- 28 Hayward Place (Off Washington tion they are supposed to represent.

#### This regime which began to conciliate the workers by sending arbi-(Continued on Page 3) William Green

"In 1927 Chester Wright, editor of International Labor News, organ of the Federation of Labor. and English Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, is to be seen in their work among brought to Washington the account the warpers in the United Warpers of 147 assassinations committed by League. This organization although acrobatics of Bill Green and John the Machado regime. This evidence started by the N. T. W. U. as a was given much publicity. The means to corral the unwilling work-The final text of the coal code sabotage Cuban sugar arriving in since got out of the hands of the carried an interpretation of the the port. Then something happen- local Stalinists. They have not

"Machado hastened to Washing- Saturday last a proposal was made rights of collective bargaining ton and met Green in the Belgian that the United Warpers League of through representatives of their legation. Green thereupon issued a Paterson send two delegates to the own choosing. In this interpreta- public statement that from this Allentown Conference. Militant tion the following sentence occurs: date on the condition of Cuban workers in the League got up and "The law does not prohibit the ex- workers 'would be improved'. After denounced the idea as an attempt istence of a local labor organiza- all a great labor leader must feel on the part of the NTWU to lead Mon., Oct. 16th.... New Castle, Pa tionfi which may be called a com- honored when a president calls the independent silk crafts away upon him regardless of the fate of from the main stream of the silk mere workers.

> men then jailed are today in jail delegates to the committee formed without trial, Green never once has at Allentown as observers only. lifted his voice in their behalf." leton Beals, page 247-8.

BOSTON MASS MEETING ARNE SWABECK

THE FUTURE OF INTERNA-TIONAL COMMUNISM FRIDAY, OCT. 6, at 8 P. M. SOCIAL SCIENCE HALL St. near R. H. Whites)