

60th Birthday of Rakovsky His Activities During War

The sixtieth birthday of Christian Georgevitch Rakovsky (born September 1, 1873) brings to mind again some of the episodes in his life during that crucial period of the world war when the proletarian international was breaking through the sea of depression, treachery and slander like new life surging out of the primeval slime.

Christian Rakovsky was the inspiring leader of the modern socialist movement in Rumania. The labor movement as such took shape there only in 1905, under the direct influence of the Russian revolution, and it bore an almost exclusively economic character. "Later on," writes one of the founders of the Rumanian Communist Party, Arbori-Rail, "after the year 1907, when the government proceeded to mass deportations of Jewish, Hungarian and Transylvanian workers and banished the labor leader Rakovsky from the land, the movement took on a political coloring. In the spring of 1909, the arrest of Rakovsky on the border of Rumania, coinciding with the protest meeting on the occasion of Ferrer's execution, produced the first significant collision between the working masses and the police."

The representative of the Rumanian social democracy in the Bureau of the Second International up to the outbreak of the war, was comrade Rakovsky. His Bulgarian origin (the rabid bourgeois press always referred to him contemptuously as the "Rumanian" Rakovsky), far from militating against his activity in Rumania, contributed to making him known as the most prominent internationalist in the Balkans, one of the leading proponents of the Balkan Federative Republic, the socialist who was equally at home in Bucharest, Sofia, Belgrade, Athens or Constantinople. Of all the members of the doomed Bureau, Rakovsky was perhaps the only one who remained a genuine internationalist. The others flocked either to the standard of the Allies or of the Entente.

Delegate to Zimmerwald

The Rumanian party instantly took a position against the war and until the country was drawn into the European shambles, the party developed a systematic agitation against it. In February 1915 it was represented at the all-Balkan protest meeting against war organized in Sofia by the Bulgarian Left wing socialists (the "Narrows" inspired by Blagovest, Kolarov and others). At a conference which took place there at the same time, the Rumanians joined with the Left wing Bulgarians and the Serbs under Lapchevitch to break conclusively with the Right wing Bulgarians (the "Broad-minded"). In July of the same year, finally, with representatives attending from Bulgaria, Greece and Rumania (the Serbs were prevented from sending a delegate because of the war conditions), the social patriots of Europe were decisively condemned and with them, the policy of the Second International. At the same period, the Rumanian socialists associated themselves openly with the Zimmerwald Commission and delegated comrade Rakovsky to attend the first conference at Zimmerwald.

At Zimmerwald, Rakovsky found himself side by side with his long friend and comrade, Trotsky. At that time, as is known, both Rakovsky and Trotsky were still engaged in that sharp dispute with Lenin which marked many of the pre-October years of the evolution of Bolshevism. Internationalists to the core though they were they did not eye to eye with Lenin on all the burning problems of the day. Trotsky, in particular, exerted his efforts towards arriving at a solution which would not only produce a unanimous manifesto out of the Zimmerwald Conference but would leave the true Left wing the opportunity of maintaining close contact with the millions of confused anti-war socialist workers who had not yet found the revolutionary path. Rakovsky, like Lenin, Kolarov, Varsky, Lazzari and a score of others appended their names to the compromise manifesto of Zimmerwald drafted by Trotsky.

In France, the internationalists, who had to be sought with lanterns, enlisted the aid not only of Trotsky, but also of Rakovsky. His polemic with the chauvinist Charles Dumas, was published as a brochure both in Bucharest and Paris, and circulated clandestinely throughout France by the first internationalist group of Rosmer and Monatte. The French chauvinist press denounced him as the grand chief of Austrian espionage in the Balkans," just as Trotsky was denounced as "the principal agent of Rakovsky" before the war!

"Rakovsky," wrote the Paris *Matin* at the end of 1917, "in order to establish an enter of surveillance and propaganda, granted funds to Trotsky and the latter opened a little bookstore in Vienna where papers and pamphlets in the Slavie language were put on sale. All those of Russian birth living in Vienna would come together in this bookstore which rapidly became their habitual meeting place. They were not alone to come there: they encountered Serbians, Bulgarians, Macedonians... A revolutionary circle, a laboratory of espionage, Trotsky's bookshop was still another thing: a mouse-trap, coming out of which certain revolutionists could be picked up by the Russian police..." Elsewhere, Rakovsky was attacked by the gutter press of the French bourgeoisie (itself heavily subsidized by the Czar's Foreign Office to support the Pan-Slavic

policy in the Balkans) as the man "elected by Suedekum to assist in the Boeser's maneuver in Rumania." (Perhaps it now becomes clear from what spiritual springs some zealous Stalinists have quaffed the inspiration for the attacks upon Trotsky and Rakovsky as agents of the Rumanian Siguranza, the Polish Schlyachta, etc., etc.)

Rakovsky Imprisoned
On August 15, 1916 Rumania finally declared war on the Dual Monarchy. The last public anti-war meeting of the Rumanian socialists, scheduled for the same day, was surrounded by troops; the masses were dispersed by cavalry charges. Two weeks later, the daily paper of the party, which Rakovsky helped so generously to maintain, was suppressed by the government. Almost all the party members were called to the front. All the members of the Central Committee, with two exceptions, were instantly arrested. Rakovsky himself met with the same fate and was interned as a dangerous enemy of the state. The two members of the Committee who had remained at liberty, were then also arrested after having sent a written protest to Bratinnu, the president of the ministerial council, against the imprisonment of Rakovsky. The party itself was driven into virtual illegality.

Rakovsky, "the valiant leader of the Rumanian social democracy" as he was called by the attorney, Nicolau, remained imprisoned at Jassy for months. In March 1917, the proletariat of Rumania, despite the occupation of most of the country by the German troops, was brought to its feet again by the intoxicating news of the overthrow of the Czarist regime in Russia and the triumph of the insurrectionary masses. For the first time since war was declared, thousands of men and women appeared in half-spontaneous demonstrations on the streets, demanding bread and freedom. The Russian revolution was discussed on every hand and the outlawed socialists began to resume their activities. It seemed as if the release of Rakovsky would soon be effected.

Russian Troops Release Rakovsky

The German forces of occupation became alarmed at the ferment in the masses. Meetings were forbidden. The May Day demonstrations, for which permission had first been obtained, were ordered called off by the German officials. But in one part of Rumania, the May Day of international proletarian solidarity was celebrated nevertheless. The Russian revolutionary soldiers, stationed on the border which divided Rumania from the Ukraine, moved in upon Jassy, red flags at their head, and tore upon the prison doors which confined Rakovsky and his comrades. The internationalists were liberated and put at the head of a triumphal procession that went through the streets of the city.

Immediately thereafter, Rakovsky passed the frontier into turbulent Russia to put his magnificent talents at the disposal of Bolshevism and the proletarian revolution. A new epoch was commencing in his life.
—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Doll Workers Strike Strong

The Doll and toy workers, 6,000 strong, are now in the fifth week of their strike. We now have one strong union, thanks to those workers who forced the shops controlled by the Stalinists to liquidate their paper union, join our A. F. of L. union and come down on strike. The Stalinists, matched their step forward with a corresponding step backward; they entered the A. F. of L. individually, not as a body. The workers are not in a position to offer organized resistance as a Left wing to the administration which is showing signs of capitulation.

Cannon and Farulla, the Right wing leaders of our union, are following a policy that will lead to defeat. They refused to let certain shops where scabs were working have a mass picket line. At a meeting of shop chairmen, workers from the Rosenberg Toy shop came in and asked for a mass picket line because scabs were working there. Farulla told them to do without mass picketing because the union had no money to get arrested pickets out of jail.

The Freundlich Doll Shop pickets asked for mass picketing because of scabs. Again the leadership tried to talk the workers out of it, but they kept demanding until three days later, Tuesday, September 28, the leadership was forced to give in. In 400 strikers picketed the shop, and their militancy and solidarity struck fear into the hearts of the scabs. Only about 10 percent of them showed up for work Wednesday morning and even these didn't go up to work. Some of the scabs even picketed. No one was arrested, in spite of what the leaders told us.

Workers we must fight for mass picket lines at those shops reporting scabs and we can win the strike. Some of the scabs said that the reason they went back was because they have to eat. We must demand and fight for strike relief. The workers should be on guard and fight for the above demands. Regular and frequent meetings of all committees (shop, strike, settlement, etc.) must be had so that we can collectively work to win the strike.
—A DOLL WORKER.

Brandler International Makes Overtures to Stalin

The Brandler-Lovestone "International", or whatever is left of it, held a plenary meeting, following right upon the heels of the gigantic German experience, and once more demonstrated its incapacity to distinguish the face of the revolution from its rear. The sum total of its deliberations it crystallized into new efforts to pull the revolutionary movement backward to the Stalinist Right-Centrist bloc. A resolution adopted imposes this orientation as binding upon its affiliated groups. But hardly was the link on the signatures dry before its biggest affiliate, the Swedish (Kilbom) Communist party, which was not represented at the meeting, broke the binding decision and attended the Paris conference, and the Paris conference, and Communist Left Socialist and Communist parties. Meanwhile the split-off Gilroy group in the United States has come out openly against the Brandler policy and proclaims the collapse of the Brandler-Lovestone "International".

This is true; this "international" is collapsing. After Jilek and Hais of Czechoslovakia led their trade union following back to the social democracy in the Amsterdam International, the French P. U. P. started to tread the same ideological path. The Neurath group of Czechoslovakia took the opposite course to the Left Opposition, and the Swiss Brandler section is permeated with and learning from the ideas of the Left Opposition. Stagnant ideologically, this "international" is diminishing organizationally. With all its opportunist practicality it neither embraced masses nor brought correct ideas into the movement. From the German experience it has learned nothing. Its orientation to pull the movement backward becomes so much more distinctly fallacious in this epoch of deep going differentiations in which groups and parties, formerly social democratic, are groping their way toward Communism.

Right Wing Prepared the Ground For Bureaucratic Adventurism

The Brandler-Lovestone meeting brought forward a document which theoretically verifies what has been said above. This document is characteristic for its lamentations over the ultra-Leftism pervading the Comintern, for its fulminations against "Trotskyism" and for its overtures to the Stalin regime on the basis of live and let live.

But it is precisely these partners of the former Right-Centrist bloc who prepared the ground for the "ultra-Leftism"—it should be called by its correct name, bureaucratic adventurism—which they lament so much. It is their opportunism which prepared the zig-zags to the "Left", to adventurism by the fact of Centrim, having no consistent Marxian position. In pursuing its empiricist outlook and methods it recoils from opportunism to adventurism when pressed by events and

Stalinists Split Food Workers

About four weeks ago a leaflet signed by the Amalgamated Food Workers and the Food Workers Industrial Union was circulated among hotel, restaurant and cafeteria workers, calling for a united front mass meeting on August 22 against the intolerable conditions in the industry.

This leaflet said, "For the first time in the history of the Hotel and Restaurant workers, labor and fraternal organizations, representing workers in the industry, have united, set aside all differences, and are pulling together with one common purpose: to eliminate the inhuman, nerve-racking, miserable, working conditions in the industry. This is a great step forward. Only united action of all workers regardless of affiliation will be our mightiest weapon against the employers."

"The only way we can force the employers to live up to the code and even force better conditions out of them, is when we will organize and fight!"

Against One Union

In admitting that the proposed united front was a step forward, the Stalinists must have realized that their past action in splitting the A. F. W. and organizing a separate Industrial Union must have been a step backward.

What was the conclusion which we drew from the speeches of the Stalinist leaders at this mass meeting? The organizer of the cafeteria local, comrade Kramberg, in his speech said nothing about the necessity of one union for the industry, devoting his whole speech to the question of the code which had been already worked out and was presented to be approved by the mass meeting. The chairman, comrade Reich, in answer to the speeches of Gitlow and Lyons, representing the A. F. W. in which they emphasized the urgent need of one union in the industry, said that the urgent necessity now is not for one union in the industry, but for a united front against the bosses' code presented under the NRA.

Cut-Throat Competition

What has happened since then? Not a single step was taken toward even a united front, not to speak of unity. The two organizations held separate mass meetings in support of their separate organization drives. More than that—the leadership of the Industrial Union made a conscious attempt to sabotage the most recent mass meeting of the A. F. W. on Tuesday, Sept. 19, at

the catastrophes resulting from its own policies. These Right wing lamentators have no complaints to make over the disastrously false and opportunist bloc with Chiang Kai-Shek in the strike-breaking bureaucrats in the Anglo-Russian Committee, or the many other similar combinations.

Their fulminations against "Trotskyism", that is, against the Left Opposition, are all borrowed from Stalin, and they have made no improvements upon them. It is quite natural that these people should find themselves at one with Stalin in this respect for today after the terrible German catastrophe, it has been demonstrated more clearly than ever that the Left Opposition, with its orientation for new national parties and for a new International, represents the main kernel of the progressive forces within the proletarian movement. Moreover, these people also know that it is only through such fulminations that the requirements can be met for application for re-entry into the Stalin bureaucracy.

The Anti-Trotsky Crusade

In essence this Right wing document, except for its lamentation over "ultra-Leftism", absolves Stalinism from any complicity in the German defeat. It says—we quote from the document published in the *Workers Age*, of September 15: "Especially is it necessary to attribute tactical mistakes of the C. I. and the C. P. G. and the defeat of the German working class to the alleged national interests of the Soviet Union. The assertion that the theory of the construction of socialism in one country has made the Russian Communists sacrifice the interests of the workers of other countries, must be branded as dangerous anti-bolshevism."

This is their type of crusade against so-called Trotskyism. But first of all this itself contains a politically dishonest distortion of the views of the Left Opposition in substituting the "national interests of the Soviet Union" for the bureaucratic interests of the Stalin regime. Between these a definite distinction must be made. Comrade Trotsky, more than anyone else has repeatedly pointed out that "between the interests of the Soviet

BOSTON ANNOUNCEMENTS

- VETCHERINKA—Saturday, Oct. 7 at 8 P. M.
- FORUM—every Friday evening.
- SOCIAL SCIENCE CLUB meets every Monday evening at 8 P. M., starting October 9th.
- MARKSIAN YOUTH CLUB meets every Thursday 8 P. M.

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Six Months 50 Cents.

Palm Garden, by posting pickets and distributing leaflets in the neighborhood of the hall, to announce that the Tuesday meeting had been postponed until Wednesday at the same place—where their own meeting was scheduled!

Instead of engaging in such a low type of petty bourgeois cut-throat competition, splitting the forces of the working class, the Stalinist leaders should have emphasized the necessity of united action against the bosses, so as to concretize the slogan of the united front, and as Communists urged their membership to support this mass meeting. Such united action would have served as a first step toward unity.

The reformists and the reactionaries within the trade unions, as comrade Trotsky has pointed out, function to split the ranks of the workers. It is the task of the Communists to unite them. In this case the Stalinist leadership of the F. W. I. U. has assumed the splitting task of the reformists, and this under the title of "a step forward"

Perspectives Under NRA

Under the NRA new perspectives are opened for the reformist organizations for rapid growth of forces, as has already been seen in the coal mines, needle trades, etc. Unless there is a powerful Left wing in these unions, the movement, though a progressive step compared with the conditions of the unorganized workers for the time being, will inevitably be led by the A. F. L. fakers toward degeneration in the direction of class-collaboration and company unions.

The food industry is by no means excluded from these perspectives. The Left wing must be ready to meet this situation. But the policies of Stalinism in the F. W. I. U. are an obstacle in the road.

We appeal to the rank and file of the party and the FWIU membership, to bring pressure to bear on their leadership and the TUUL leadership for an immediate and sharp change in the course which they have been pursuing up to this very day.

Concretely, the FWIU must take immediate steps toward reuniting with the A.F.W. With the A.F.W. in which a different situation prevails, on the other hand, it should propose a concrete program for united front action as a first step toward one union in the industry.
—S. PAPPAS.

DANCE AND BANQUET

The Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition is holding a celebration for the evening of its beautiful new headquarters at 2559 W. NORTH AVE. ON SATURDAY, OCT. 7th—8 P. M. —Real Spaghetti Dinner — Poppy Orchestra —

State and those of the international proletariat there is and there can be no contradiction. But it is false to the roof to transfer this law over to the Stalinist bureaucracy." This is precisely what the authors of this opportunist document have done. By this they brand themselves as flunkies of the Stalinist bureaucracy anxious to crawl back into its good graces.

Defenders of the Theory of Socialism in One Country

If it is not the theory of Socialism in one country, with its resulting reactionary national position, which is bringing the Stalinist bureaucracy into contradiction with the interests of the Soviet Union as well as the interests of the world revolution, how then explain the Comintern responsibility in the German catastrophe? But with this the authors of the document were not concerned and hence they stated further: "The I. C. O. fights to liquidate the false tactics of the C. I., not, however, to oppose the policy of the C. P. S. U. in the Soviet Union." By this they only further reveal themselves, not as revolutionary theoreticians but as "practical" opportunists of give and take. You let us have our policies for our respective countries; we will let you have yours. For them as for the reformists the international situation is a sum of the national situations. But this is also what led the social reformists to their August 4.

To Reestablish the Right-Centrist Bloc

This "remarkable" document concludes with a proposal from the Brandler-Lovestone "International" to the Comintern for the "setting up of a working bloc, which... can establish joint action for carrying out united front tactics, for a common struggle against reformism, centrism and Trotskyism."

Here we come to the very crux of the issue: the reestablishment of the Right-Centrist bloc for a common struggle against the Left Opposition, against the progressive force within the revolutionary movement. The struggle against reformism and centrism is thrown in only for embellishment.

There need be no denial of the fact that much of the Brandler-Lovestone criticism of the Stalinist bureaucratic adventurism has been stated correctly; but it is animated by entirely different motives and is heading for an entirely different course from ours. From the German experience they draw the conclusion for the practical absolving of responsibility and for the further strengthening of the Stalinist bureaucratic regime. We draw the conclusions leading to the creation of new national parties and a new International. Theirs is the course toward the strengthening of reactionary nationalism as against revolutionary internationalism.
—A. S.

Swaback Tour Itinerary

- The following is the schedule of cities:
- Sun., Oct. 1st...Bethlehem, Pa.
 - Tues., Oct. 3rd...New Haven
 - Workmen's Circle Center 72 Legion Ave.
 - 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 Restaurant 1830 Center Ave., 2nd Fl.
 - Sat., Oct. 14th...Pittsburgh, Pa.
 - Sun., Oct. 15th...Pittsburgh, Pa.
 - Mon., Oct. 16th...New Castle, Pa.
 - Tues., Oct. 17th...Youngstown
 - Wed., Oct. 18th...Youngstown
 - 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. 30...Kansas City, Mo.
 - Thurs., Nov. 2nd...Minneapolis
 - Fri., Nov. 3rd...Minneapolis
 - Sat., Nov. 4th...Minneapolis
 - Sun., Nov. 5th...Minneapolis
 - Thurs., Nov. 9th...Davenport, Ia.
 - Fri., Nov. 10th...Davenport, Ia.
 - Tues., Nov. 7th...Chicago, Ill.

SUB NOTE

Subs are coming in a very encouraging way. Here is what a comrade from Guelph says: "I value this paper very highly, both for its news and for its theoretical articles. The articles on the NRA are very enlightening..."

From Montreal comes the following: "We wish to receive twenty-five copies every week instead of ten as heretofore. Sympathy for the I. O. in Montreal is growing as never before."

That is how it goes from one of our sub getters will take the full advantage of the opportunity that presents itself we know that our mailing list can be increased many times over in a comparatively short time.

British Labor Skates Have Own Way at Congress

EDINBURGH.—To outward appearances, capitalist Britain is coming through the prolonged crisis with no signs of depression. The large towns are managing to conceal their troubles under a veneer of seeming well-being. New buildings are being constructed everywhere and the gaudy new designs for shops, houses, and cinemas raise the enthusiasm of the local journalists who have developed the theme of a "brighter Britain". The theatres and cinemas are crowded and the masses roll along in their thousands to roar themselves hoarse at football matches and greyhound meetings.

The speed-up in industry and the spectre of unemployment has created a lust for entertainments and sports; anything to detract the mind from the reality of impending disaster. The financial journals have not let this phenomenon pass without notice and they advise their get-rich-quick readers to invest in cinema and greyhound enterprises. The small investor has already been crushed out here and it is computed that several thousand American dollars have found their way into the British entertainment industry where fortunes are being made upon the exploitation of sweated labor. In this connection the attitude toward the invasion of American capital is a new one of hostility and in line with the present diplomatic policy of the ruling class, a definite anti-American tone pervades the press.

Despite this, however, there is a sneaking admiration for America. Especially is this so among the small business people of the middle-class who greedily devour the sensational stories of the yellow press and the motion pictures, where young men arrive on Wall Street and become millionaires as if by magic. To emulate America is the secret dream of every British "Babbit". In this category belong the thousands of well-paid trade union officials who have been raised by their former workmates into a new world of ease and comfort. Traveling the country on union business or sitting in conference with the bosses in some palatial hotel, these gentlemen soon develop a new outlook on life. They begin to see certain good points in the capitalist system which they formerly vigorously denounced in their trade union branches.

Strikes are now frowned upon as tending to drain the union funds and the unemployed are also looked upon as being a source of trouble to the union. Is it not much easier to negotiate wage-cuts with a pleasant employer than to reason with angry strikers or discontented unemployed? Thus reasons the

CHICAGO LECTURE

The Friends of the Militant Club announces the opening of the season with a lecture on

"THE SPLIT IN THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL"

by Comrade Albert Glotzer
On Sunday, Oct. 8th at 8:30 P. M. at the Scholem Aleichem School 1214 North Washtenaw

New York Strikes Alarm N.R.A.

New York.—With strikes in New York City spreading and sharpening the NRA here is rapidly stripping itself of all working class coloration and nakedly manifesting itself as the bosses' weapon for strike-breaking.

This is brought to our attention by an article in the *New York Times*, Sept. 22, 1933, written by the NRA's chairman of the Labor Mediation Committee, Henry W. Wolff, who points an accusing finger of the most wide awake workers as he publishes the following list of strikers:

- Underwear workers — 25,000;
- painters—15,000; toy makers—5,000;
- tailors — 2,500; metal workers — 3,000; shoe and slipper workers—8,000; waist and blouse makers—5,000; bakers — 2,500; neckwear workers—2,000; belt and leather workers—800; mirror makers—200; knitted goods—3,000."

With deep concern he looks upon the mood and organization of the city's 35,000 transportation workers and its longshoremen who will strike or get a raise in pay and exclaims with anger, "the time has come to call a halt to industrial strife."

Wolff refers to the President's no-strike treaty concluded with Wm. Green of the A. F. of L. some weeks ago and observes that "their program has not worked...Industrial warfare is sweeping over the city to such an extent that the machinery set up to handle these emergencies has proved insufficient."

He proposes measures through which the NRA, and more especially its committee which he heads, can hope to break the worker's strikes—getting the public to condemn the strikers—forcing the workers to go to the NRA slaughterers of their efforts to raise their wages or better their conditions. The speech of Mr. Wolff reveals the purpose for which the NRA is designed—deceiving the workers with "concessions" and strike-breaking them when try to gain real concessions.
—GEORGE J. SAUL.

trade union bureaucrat and in this frame of mind he arrived at the annual Trade Union Congress. The full-time officials usually manage to gain election as delegates to these congresses and as a consequence the official policy as formulated by the General Council is well guarded from the thrusts of any militant elements who might upset the bureaucracy if elected in sufficient numbers by the branches.

No Opposition to Bureaucrats

This year, at Brighton, the bureaucrats had it all their own way and when the President of the Congress, Mr. Walkden, made the opening speech there were no interruptions or no ill-mannered attempts to find fault with his carefully prepared outline of policy. His address was a model of bankruptcy but it acted like soothing syrup on the bureaucrats. Before the Great War, former presidents of the congress extolled the great industrial system and social legislation of Germany. The fatherland was the terra to be copied.

Since the war the T. U. C. has found a new model in America. A few years ago it was Henry Ford who was their hero. Not only did his system of mass production stagger the minds of these glibbly ones but they actually thought that at last they had found the weapon with which to destroy Marx. Today, Ford is replaced by Roosevelt and "the policy of the American President," declares Walkden, "is one which organized Labor has long advocated as a solution to the present crisis." In America thousands of workers strike against the Roosevelt policy but here in Britain the T. U. C. finds time to praise Roosevelt.

How to American Plutocrats

Not a message of fraternity and encouragement to the scarred fighters in the ranks of the American working class but a meek bow to the plutocrats of Wall Street and Tammany Hall. Not one voice was raised at the Congress against this monstrosity. Likewise upon the question of war. The old formula of the general strike was brought forth and then quietly laid upon the shelf and when a lone delegate rose to protest against this travesty he was promptly steam-rolled by the chairman.

On Fascism, Mr. Citrine delivered a well-documented speech exposing the horrors of Hitlerism. According to his admirers, Mr. Citrine's speech "will become historic", but upon the question of how to fight Fascism the speech is strangely vague if not completely silent. According to Citrine, the real reason for the advent of Hitler was the huge army of unemployed which made the calling of a general strike impossible and if here in Britain the unemployed continue to increase then M. Citrine will not be responsible for what will happen, which all sounds very much like saying that Fascism is inevitable and that so long as there is an unemployed army then the trade unions cannot fight.

Unemployed Refused Hearing

A "left" M. P. protested against this speech without obtaining much support. As for a band of unemployed who had marched all the way from London in order to place their demands before the Congress, they were refused a hearing, which does not look as though the bureaucracy is really greatly concerned about the unemployed. Everything in connection with unemployment was shelved and the Government has now a clear field when launching its next attack upon the unemployed.

A much-advertised debate upon workers' control proved a complete muddle as the delegates were not clear upon whether workers' control is possible under capitalism or only after the latter system has been overthrown.

The Congress ended on a note of pessimism which even the well-oiled bureaucratic machine could not conceal. From the point of view of the militant trade unionist, the main feature of the Congress was the lack any opposition to the feeble policy of the General Council. The main issues of war, the general strike, Fascism, workers' control, simply cried aloud for a Communist interpretation but, alas, there was not one Leninist there.

C. P. Conspicuous by Absence

Where was the Communist Party? A year ago, the Party announced a drive back to the unions. From time to time, great successes have been claimed for the new trade union line but here we arrive at the Brighton Trade Union Congress and the Party representation has reached rock bottom. The reason is not hard to find. The majority of the 4,000 Party members are unemployed and are not members of trade unions while the trade union members of the Party are not consistent in their trade union work. The leaders of the Party have neglected to train the trade unionists for work in the unions and as a consequence the reformist officials can easily out maneuver the new Communist recruits whose passion for propaganda speeches bores the rank and file and plays into the hands of the bureaucrats.

The I. L. P. is in much the same plight although they at least admit their weakness and are now calling for an attempt to hammer out a trade union policy. If the Brighton Congress brings home to the militants the need for a fresh start in the building up of a strong trade union opposition based upon sound principles and free from sectarianism then it may have been a blessing in disguise.
—T. C., September 17, 1933.