

The Cuban Challenge to U. S. Imperialism

Reports from Cuba, no matter from what political source, indicate that the revolution has passed beyond the stage of a simple political revolution and has entered the first stage of a social revolution. The ruling cliques and exploiting class are in confusion. The crisis and economic conditions had reached a breaking point. The American imperialists, facing the coming Pan American conference, pressed upon all sides by the new measures adopted to surmount the mounting world contradictions, was forced to delay open armed intervention. In place America uses a new form of intervention, a method of bottling up the island with the Atlantic fleet and secretly aiding counter-revolution within, and at the same time endeavoring to further worsen the economic and political situation to either force a surrender or hasten the downfall of the present petty-bourgeois revolutionary government, headed by Grau San Martin.

Communist Activity in Cuba
The New York Times of September 20th, reports: "Communist seizure of mills approaching Havana with no government curb." "Workers hold 15 mills." "Communist leaders have been very active since Senor Machado's fall." "Cuba is now at the cross-road and must go right or left." "The Cuban labor trouble began with the spontaneous seizure of sugar mills by syndicalist unions and is now taking the form of an organized Communist movement that is sweeping the interior of the island from end to end and is daily approaching closer to Havana. Other papers report Soviets are being set up."

The revolution in Cuba is the most important political event of the day. It overshadows the NRA in importance in spite of the profound effect the Blue Eagle will have on the lives of the American people and the class relations. The NRA in all its magnitude is a stop-gap and capitalist attempt to stem the tide—while the revolution in Cuba is a wave of the social tide breaking through the world structure of American imperialism. This means that the Cuban revolution must be studied in detail, especially by the American revolutionists, because it foreshadows and confronts America with all that the capitalist defenders said was impossible. That is, the first steps toward a social revolution on American soil, in one of America's most important colonies.

At Gates of U. S. Imperialism
Most significant is the fact that while American hegemony is spreading to a greater degree over the earth and desperate steps are being taken internally and internationally to hold the dominating position in the downward curve of decay capitalism—America finds that she is confronted with the menace of Soviets at the gates of her 48 states. Her world struggle since 1917 to prevent the spread of the October revolution, can be revealed by the events in Cuba and its implications for America as a futile struggle in spite of Stalinism and its aid to capitalism as a leader of proletarian defeats.

The Cuban revolution comes at a most difficult period in world politics. The Cuban revolution as the first stage of a social revolution takes place on American soil, on the heels of the victory of Fascism in Germany and when the world proletariat has just passed through the most disastrous defeat, and in a period when reaction flows from it. It is logical to face world wide repercussions from the victorious October Revolution. And it is not a surprise, yet seemingly a contradiction, to be confronted with the Cuban situation after the German event.

Trotsky's Prediction
It was almost ten years ago that comrade Trotsky startled many when he pointed out that the economic center of the world was shifting from Europe to America. Since then the forces making up the International Left Opposition and its American section have pointed out that with the shifts in world relations goes increased class conflicts and revolutions. In this case Cuba, even at this stage, is a certain raiser, informing the world that America will have its share of the red menace that haunts the capitalist world—the proletarian revolution. The NRA stop-gap, and the special struggles America is conducting a gigantic scale with Europe, Latin America and Japan, (on three different fronts) all indicate that conditions and class relations within the United States are going to shift rapidly forward to struggles that will take on a revolutionary scope.

The Cuban revolution, under proper guidance and cooperation from the American Communists, could be the spark to start a more rapid shift of the American workers to the Left. Will that be its direction? This question will be answered within the next few months or sooner. However, at the very least, if we consider the worse variant—that reaction triumphs and American imperialism gains its objectives (as well as the fact that one must take into consideration the position of Stalinism)—nevertheless, the importance of Soviets on American soil, in Cuba, must not be underestimated.

Marxian Communist Party Vital
A significant fact is revealed when one studies the economic and social forces of Cuba. The objective conditions in Cuba are in favor of the task of carrying the revolution beyond the present stage. The spontaneous action of the workers in strike struggle and united front

developed to its highest stage—Soviets. A major shortcoming is the fact that we have a Stalinist Communist Party in Cuba and not a Marxist Communist Party. Without a leadership, without a program there can be no successful revolution regardless of the revolutionary struggles of the masses. Worse yet, we do not have a Marxist Communist Party in the United States. It is our task to hurry and build one. The revolutionary struggle in Cuba shows the importance and the speed required.

Must Abrogate Platt Amendment
The Cuban people must abrogate the Platt Amendment. The present petty-bourgeois government cannot carry out this task nor will it be able to stand the pressure of the class struggle between the national capitalists and the American imperialists against the workers and peasants. The workers must fight for a free and democratic constituent assembly. The workers must demand that the election be called while the revolution is still on the upgrade. This can only be accomplished if the organs of Soviets are functioning to protect workers' democracy, to beat down the head of counter-revolution, to further develop the revolution, and to thereby confine the Constituent Assembly to its proper place.

In the United States united front mass meetings must be called throughout the country. The fact that the Stalinists with their huge apparatus have not started this shows how "serious" they take the Cuban situation. The A. F. of L. unions must be drawn into this protest. Financial aid must be forwarded to Cuba. Petty bourgeois and anti-imperialist forces must be organized behind Cuba's struggle against American imperialism. The workers and liberal forces in every Latin America country must bring pressure upon their governments to protest and demand that the United States withdraw the ships and Marines from Cuban waters. Cuba must have the right of self-determination. Such a move in all of the Latin American countries, connected with the struggle of the American workers against American imperialism, will have powerful pressure. It will also make a distinction between words and deeds of many so-called anti-imperialist forces in Latin America and expose the puppet governments to a greater degree before the eyes of the workers and peasants.

The argument that the Communists of Cuba cannot establish a Soviet Government at this stage and therefore must be satisfied with more modest demands has no place in the plans of the revolutionist and the Left Opposition. No doubt Soviets are very difficult to establish. But once the fires of the social revolution, are started in this decay stage of capitalism it can sweep beyond Cuba, providing there is a Communist party, and a leadership with a program. It is up to the American workers to come to the aid of the struggles of the Latin American workers just as it was the duty of the European workers to come to the aid of the Russian workers after the October days. The Cuban revolution must be used as a lever against American imperialism.

—HUGO OEHLEK

Before the Court of the Fascists

Four men are on trial for their lives, at the Leipzig supreme court in Germany, together with the Nazi dupe Van der Lubbe. The charge is high treason and whatever the monstrously farcical court procedure may reveal the accused are in advance condemned to the executioner's axe. That is, if the Nazis are permitted to pursue their prey unhindered.

It is the aftermath of a drama of two world forces at grips—Fascism and Communism. But the fascists, drunk with victory, are tightening their strangling hold upon the throat of their victims. They demand their blood to the very last drop. What an insolent challenge is this trial, not only to the Communist movement, not only to the working class, but to all that bears the name justice within this capitalist world.

Communists Meet Challenge
The Communists, who are before the bar at Leipzig, have met this challenge and stood up manly as only soldiers of the proletarian army can do. They did not disavow their creed or hide their convictions, but proudly asserted their Communist aims. And the official Communist

St. Louis Strike Briefs

St. Louis.—Six thousand workers on strike in St. Louis and the bosses build an organization to kill the organization of the working class. The purpose of the St. Louis League for Industrial Peace, to quote one of the big open shop clothing manufacturers, S. H. Curie, is to "combat the epidemic of strikes which is disturbing and preventing industrial recovery in St. Louis."

With 1500 silk dress workers returning to work there is great danger that the remaining 1500 cotton dress workers will lose their strike. The silk dress workers had been the most militant (over 300 arrests in one week) and their going back to work will leave the arena more open for the expounding of the L. G. W. U. leadership's circus talk about the new Messiah, Roosevelt. The local leaders do not believe that honesty is the best policy. They are strict advocates of class collaboration. The Left wing workers must continue to fight against the leaders of the ILGWU lest one-half of their union membership is sold out.

The strike of the 2,000 hat and cap workers, settled by Max Zaritsky's arbitration powers under the banner of the NRA, may again be resumed tomorrow. The open shop manufacturers are refusing to recognize the union strikers, as they agreed to when the strike was "settled". The hat and cap workers are still as disgusted with their "union" conditions as they were with their "open shop" conditions. "The only difference," as one striker expressed it, is, "that now the windows are slightly closed." Hell's winds will blow here in St. Louis this winter unless the bosses and their Judas' gold agents give the under-paid and over-worked hat and cap workers some concessions. There can be no cheering of pay day when "union" workers get \$10 checks. . . .

—MARTIN PAYER.

movement, which has for its leadership the Stalin clique, what has it done in this situation? Vociferous protests have been heard against the Nazi attempt to railroad the accused. But these protests have come almost exclusively from the liberal bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Even sections of the reactionary capitalist world press find the nauseating stench from this "travesty on justice" too revolting. In other words whatever comfort and help has reached these victims of a dastardly frame-up has come from these quarters and not from the official Communist movement.

The party and the Comintern capitulated to Fascism without attempting to strike a blow. That fact has burned itself deeply into our conscience. But have they also abdicated the right of protest against the Nazi hangman in a court proceeding? Almost the entire western world is aroused by this hangman's work. Even the A. F. of L. officials give vent to their condemnation. What is the so-called anti-Fascist united front movement doing about it? The truth is that it remains as dead and meaningless as intended by its Stalinist initiators. But what is the Comintern doing about it? What are the official parties doing about it? Around this issue was another opportunity to actually set a powerful protest movement on foot. And the official party in the United States when it proclaimed its demonstration in New York mobilized about a thousand workers; less than the party membership itself.

No Protest in Soviet Union
From the Soviet Union, from the proletarian stronghold, has come no protest. The Pravda has confined itself to the demand for an apology because its reporter was molested by the Nazis, in the city of the trial and it remained satisfied with the explanation that this was a mistake. Such are the depths to which Lenin's Pravda has sunk. . . .

But the working class cannot remain satisfied with such explanations. They cannot remain satisfied with the Comintern abdication even of the right of protest. The Fascist executioners axe is hanging over their heads and they will rightfully demand that this menace be fought every inch of its way. In this there is not a minute to lose.

Int'l. Workers School-Fall Term

Registration—Oct. 1-15 every eve.
Announcement of Courses
Organization Principles —M. ABERN.
Applied Marxian Economics —B. J. FIELD.
State and Revolution —J. WEBER.
Fundamentals of Marxism —J. G. WRIGHT.
Write or phone School Headquarters for information:
126 East 16th Street
Tel. GRamercy 5-9524

Before the A.F. of L. Convention

Reactionaries Plan to Harness Labor at Momentous Gathering Opening Oct. 2

President William Green is advancing claims for the coming A. F. of L. convention, to begin October 2, to become the most momentous gathering of this body in sixteen years. This comparison refers to the wartime convention held in Buffalo, in 1917, at which Samuel Gompers, together with his whole staff, made their "heroic" efforts to harness the American Federation of Labor as an auxiliary machinery to serve the interests of the imperialist war mongers. The comparison is ominously sinister in its implication.

No doubts need exist of this gathering becoming a momentous one. It will be so, not by virtue of what the skilled pie-card artists in attendance can be expected to do, but by the special period and exceptional conditions under which it takes place. In the first place this convention gathers under the sign of another "heroic" effort to harness the American working masses

in the chains of the brand new NRA machinery of regulating class relations and reinforcing the means of keeping them in subjection as a class. But on the other hand, the very developments growing out of this, already indicate that the A. F. of L. is arriving at its cross roads with a speed which is truly American. How it will attempt, or rather how it will fail to do, with this new situation will be of decisive importance for the future.

The Growth of the A. F. of L.
The A. F. of L. executive claims at least 500,000 new members. There is no reason to doubt this figure, the acrobatic arithmetics of Stachel—the "head" of the TUUL, notwithstanding. In a Daily Worker article, of September 19, by the process of deducting from the A. F. of L. claims and padding the TUUL claims, all on paper, he succeeds in proving, apparently to his own satisfaction that the latter has made gains amounting to al-

most fifty percent of that of the former. Despite this juggling the truth remains that the overwhelming trend of labor organization flows at this moment, toward the A. F. of L. while the TUUL unions, in making certain gains in isolated cases, are being wiped out elsewhere; and precisely in those cases where the A. F. of L. has growth to record. Once more, and by the process of life itself, this proves the fact that the official party TUUL policy runs in violent contradiction to the curve development of the living movement.

The present record growth of the A. F. of L. almost amounts to a stampede with genuine mass strikes everywhere for recognition of its unions. In such cases where the party unions exist alongside of them the former are, by their radically false policy, forced to trail behind. In many cases they are even more conservative in their demands, and impotent to influence the workers where they are not entirely eliminated. These are salient facts of which the reactionaries do not fail to take notice. Revolutionists, above all, must take notice and act accordingly.

It would be idle to speculate on what the reactionary A. F. of L. capitalist agents will do at this convention. First of all they will endeavor to strengthen their own positions and strengthen their own relations with capitalism, by correspondingly reinforcing the means of holding the working masses in subjection. It is in this sense, and distinctly in this sense, that they have embraced the NRA. The A. F. of L. will demand the adequate representation in the machinery presented under the codes, says Green. Will this be for the purpose of advancing the ideas of workers' control of production? Will these leaders demand that the books of the industrial enterprises be thrown open for the inspection of labor's representatives and by this method begin to give labor a say in the matter of control of production? Of course not. The A. F. of L. demand will be advanced with the purpose of strengthening the relations with capital for more effective class collaboration under the new conditions.

But there are also other trends indicated for the coming convention. The Metal Trades Department is now about to propose the industrial form of organization for the basic industries. This shows the pressure to which the A. F. of L. will likely feel itself compelled to yield, if not now, then later. This pressure will increase under the new conditions. Most significant, however, is the statement made by Green that the A. F. of L. is going to be the recognized all-embracing spokesman for American labor. That means there is no room in the United States for any other labor movement.

That no efforts will be spared to make good on this threat is certain. To that the convention will unquestionably be keyed up. That is one of the duties which American capitalism imposes upon its agents within labor's ranks to be carried out with the assistance of the NRA. Its intention is to crush any and all militant or progressive unions outside of the A. F. of L. and, in this manner, help to head off and forestall the development of working class militancy finding organized expression. For the moment this may be comparatively easy; but it will begin to really bring to the fore the contradictions of the A. F. of L. position because it implies a more open suppression of the militancy bound to develop within its own ranks. In this lies the prospects for revolts from within.

The A. F. of L. officialdom is entering upon its thorny road. The reconstitution of a Left wing is now more essential than ever. —A. S.

NEW SPLIT IN CHILEAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Each day the disintegration of the official C. P. of Chile (Jaffertist group) becomes more accentuated to the point where the few Bolsheviks still in its ranks find themselves obliged to openly unmask the adventurist bureaucracy in the leadership.

In the last national conference of the party, which took place recently, with the participation of only those closest to the leadership, and absolutely without the knowledge of three of the members of the Central Committee these latter were accused of being oppositionists and were summarily expelled.

Until recently all three of these comrades were considered loyal Bolsheviks and now for having protested against, and criticized the party policies, they have been expelled and branded as traitors. Their "treason" consisted in demanding a discussion of the past errors of the party.

The Political Bulletin of the Chilean Communist Left reports that the units to which the three expelled Central Committee members belonged are also to be expelled en masse.

BRONX MASS MEETING

FOR A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY AND A NEW INTERNATIONAL

New Hollywood Gardens 896 Prospect Ave. (Nr 162nd St.) Speakers: Max Shachtman and James P. Cannon

Friday, October 6, 1933

Auspices: Bronx branch of the Communists League of America (O.)

A Letter from Shanghai

Shanghai.—About Huang Ping, whose capitulation the New York Stalinists deny as an Opposition "slander," I am in a position to give you direct information supplied by Madame Sun Yat-Sen. Notwithstanding her close connections with the League Against Imperialism and the Paris Anti-War Committee she is a genuine protagonist of the workers' cause. In China, she has played a prominent part in a hedge-pole organization of liberal intellectuals known as the China League for Civil Rights, which has been agitating for better treatment of the Kuo Min Tang's political prisoners. The organization is now practically defunct—it bumped up against too many matters involving class issues, which, because of its composition it was incapable of handling. It tried to be "non-political" and inevitably failed. When its secretary, Yang Chen, was assassinated recently by "Blue Shirt" (Fascist) agents employed by Chiang Kai-Shek, most of its more prominent adherents decided it would be healthier if they became even more respectable than they had been.

Interview with Huang Ping
But to get on with the story, Madame Sun had occasion to visit Nanking shortly after Huang Ping's arrest, in connection with her work in the China League for Civil Rights. At the time Huang Ping's fate was unknown, beyond the fact that he had been tortured and that a recantation had appeared under his name in the People's Tribune, Wang Chin-Wel's organ. Madame Sun determined to find out what had happened to Huang Ping. Due to her personal influence, she managed to persuade the Kuo Min Tang authorities to allow her to interview Huang. She challenged them to produce him and prove that he had not been murdered, as had been rumored.

Huang was brought to her at the Yangtze Hotel, accompanied by a guard who remained throughout the interview—such as it was. In Madame Sun's words, Huang had

been reduced to a skeleton of his former self. A wracked and tortured body, the physical fiber all gone, stood limply before her. Listless, lifeless eyes stared out from what once had been a human being, but which was scarcely one now. Madame Sun's questions brought no answers. Had he been tortured (the question seemed so superfluous)? Head bowed, Huang made no reply, but the guard returned an eager negative to the question put to his charge. "You have not been tortured, have you, Mr. Huang?"

"Of course not!" answering his own question.
Torture of Huang
Questioning was obviously useless, and Madame Sun's last question to Huang Ping was: "Did you write or give your name to the article in the People's Tribune containing a renunciation of your past?" Huang hung his head and gave no reply. His jailer answered, "Yes, of course Mr. Huang wrote it—didn't you Mr. Huang?"

That was all. Huang failed to repudiate the article when given the opportunity of doing so. All that could be done to a man but take away the spark of life had obviously been done to him. On the verge of the grave he refused the opportunity of vindicating himself before his comrades.

Rumor has it that Huang Ping has since been done to death, his jailers finding him an unnecessary burden on their hands, but it is not possible to obtain confirmation. From the time of his arrest the only one interested in his fate who managed to see him was Madame Sun, and she seems satisfied that the recantation attributed to Huang by the Kuo Min Tang was dragged from him in the anguish of physical torture, when his wracked body could endure no more and live.

"Blue Shirts" in North China
Chiang Kai-Shek's "Blue Shirts", who commenced their activities in Shanghai in a big way, working through the local police organizations, and succeeding in arresting many Communists and Communist "suspects", have now invaded North China. Scores of Communists have been arrested in Peiping (now virtually in Japanese control) in the past couple of months. Each Communist arrested, we learn, is offered his liberty if he will renounce his principles and sign a declaration to that effect. Torture is employed, of course, to "induce" prisoners to make these declarations, which are immediately used as propaganda against Communism. Many of these recantations have lately been published in the press of the north. In one instance, only last week, a group of Communist renegades were brought by the Kuo Min Tang officials to a public park in Peiping where they addressed large crowds, attacking the principles they had renounced.

The Communist party organ in North China, I learned this week, circulates about 100 copies. Completely disorientated, it fails to voice the urgent needs of the masses and is entirely unpopular. One party member expressed to a friend of mine who has just returned from the North his disappointment with party activity. Outright lying and exaggeration are the chief characteristics of the party newspaper. As this man remarked: "We read in the party organ things we know are not true." Voicing what was probably an unwittingly devastating criticism of this organ, he said: "My idea of good propaganda is presentation of the facts, however unpalatable, and their correct interpretation. A good cause has no need to resort to lying and exaggeration. On the contrary, it harms the cause." —N.

PITTSBURGH MASS MEETINGS

ARNE SWABECK will speak at WEINSTEIN'S RESTAURANT 1830 Center Ave., 2nd Floor on

Friday, October 13 at 8 P. M. THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

Saturday, October 14 at 8 P. M. THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM AND THE WORKERS

Workmen's Circle Center, 72 Legion Ave. (Opposite Dwight St.) Tuesday Evening, October 3rd, 1933 at 8 P. M.

Admission 10 cents

Auspices: New Haven Br. C. L. A.

Discussion on the NRA - The Slogan of Nationalization

The following article is a contribution to the discussion on the NRA. It represents the views of the author.

Other articles are invited but should not exceed 700 words. (Continued from last week)

The slogan of nationalization of industries is at the present stage not one of immediate agitation laying the basis and setting directives for the movement in the period of upheaval which lies ahead. Even with American economic development taking the most favorable course for the capitalist class—even, that is, with a coinciding of the NRA and a real expansion of production resulting in the temporary liquidation of the crisis,—the class struggle will necessarily take on new forms owing to the trend of development towards state capitalism. The "new" capitalism will be militantly imperialistic. The violent struggle for control of markets will base itself at home on the ever more oppressive exploitation of the working class. For the moment the stream of mass pressure follows the Roosevelt, but as events (the progress of inflation for example) clarify the situation the stream will over the confining walls.

We cannot wait expectantly for swell and become a flood breaking the period of open struggle to "educate" the workers. We must set forth our views and a corresponding plan of action now, correcting in the light of events those errors that will naturally adhere to our rough drafts as we go along. Meantime we patiently answer the queries and objections raised by the serious workers looking for a solution to their problems.

Compensation or No Compensation?

In the mind of the worker the question of compensation naturally arises when nationalization is under consideration. Losovsky, in approving of the slogan at the 15th C. E. S. U. Congress in 1927, thought that the fight for "no compensation" serves to distinguish the Communist from the socialist. But to Trotsky, viewing the slogan as opposed to the formation of a labor mass of engaging the workers in a gigantic struggle with the bour-

geoisie, the question of compensation is entirely secondary, if not irrelevant. It is entirely a matter of objective conditions and not a matter of principle as is indicated in the work "Whither England?"; "The financial side of the question is of secondary importance. The principal task is to create the political conditions for nationalization, whether by purchase or without purchase, that is of no importance. In the last instance it is a matter of life and death for the bourgeoisie. Revolution is inevitable for the reason that the bourgeoisie will never permit itself to be strangled by Fabian banking operations. Even a partial nationalization can be undertaken by bourgeois society in its present form, only by surrounding it with such conditions as would render the success of these measures extremely doubtful, thus compromising the principle of nationalization and with it the Labor Party. The bourgeoisie would oppose as a class every straightforward attempt at even a partial nationalization. The other branches of industry would resort to lockouts, to sabotage, to a boycott of the national industry; i. e., bring about a life and death struggle. However guarded the first steps might be, the task will nevertheless lead to the necessity of breaking the opposition of the exploiters." Here we have clearly given the dialectic nature of the struggle for nationalization.

Nationalization and the Labor Party

The U. M. W. of a Committee on Nationalization stated in their report in 1924 that the struggle for nationalization would build up a labor party. We Communists are party. Why then propose nationalization?

It might be conceded, for exam-

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. Whites)

ple, that in the case of England, where the Labor Party existed as the stumbling block in the road of the proletariat, it was perfectly proper for the Communists not merely to pose the problem of nationalization but to set in motion mass pressure for an actual struggle for its realization, at the same time pointing out its inadequacy. But how does this apply to America where the masses are so backward, where the Left organizations, even including the reformists in this category, are so few in number? The answer depends on our judgment as to the mode of awakening of the political class consciousness of the masses and the speed with which this will occur. We are opposed to the formation of a labor party here because among other things the English experience warned us how such a party diverts the energy of the masses from a real struggle acts as a brake and helps to defeat our aims. But in that case it is our duty to take over those slogans which appeal to the masses and lead in a progressive direction, making them the basis not for programs to fool the masses, but for but filling them with our content, actual class struggles conducted with every weapon in our power.

Our Tasks

The way in which even now the workers are showing initiative in taking full advantage of the "pacifying" collective bargaining clause in the NRA, gives every hope for expecting the speedy political development of class consciousness in the American working class. In that case the slogans of nationalization and of workers' control of industry will be pushed more and more to the fore and we must be ready to fill them with our class content at the proper time, and to make them the basis for a real and not sham battle. Under proper conditions these slogans offer every possibility of rallying the miners, the railroad workers and the entire working class for a struggle against the capitalists, they offer a means of striking a blow at finance capital, and with a real struggle they permit development of our strategy on the widest scale for orienting the working class towards the