

# Trotsky Writes To the British 'New Leader'

October 2, 1933  
Editors "New Leader"  
Dear Comrades:  
In the *Daily Worker* of September 14th I found the letter of comrade S. A. Smith who defends the I. L. P. from the accusation that its delegates have participated in Paris in the building of a Two and one Half International. I have no basis whatsoever to interfere in the essence of this polemic. I must point out, however, that from the letter of comrade Smith the conclusion might be drawn that in Paris there was actually laid the foundation for a Two and One Half International, although without the participation of the I. L. P. I consider it necessary to dispel any misunderstandings that readers of the "New Leader" might have on this score.

It is true, that certain organizations which occupy an intermediary position between the Second and the Third International, such as the Norwegian Workers Party, the French P. U. P., the Italian Maximalists and others, have participated in the Paris conference. But precisely all these organizations expressed themselves against the new International. For the creation of the new International, not a Two and One Half, but a Fourth International, were the following organizations: The International Left Opposition, the Socialist Workers Party (SAP) of Germany and two Holland Socialist parties, the Independent Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party. I urge the readers of the *New Leader*, as however, also the readers of the *Daily Worker* to acquaint themselves with the Declaration of the named organizations "On the Necessity and Principles of a new International". Here I shall quote only one paragraph (No. 8) out of eleven.

"While ready to co-operate with all the organizations, groups and fractions which are actually developing from reformism or bureaucratic centrism (Stalinism) towards revolutionary Marxian policy, the undersigned at the same time declare that the new International cannot tolerate any conciliation towards reformism, or centrism. The necessary unity of the working class movement cannot be attained by the blurring of reformist and revolutionary conceptions, or the adaptation to the Stalinist policy but only by combatting the policies of both bankrupt Internationals. To remain equal to its task the new International must not permit any deviation from revolutionary principles in the questions of insurrection, proletarian dictatorship, Soviet form of the State, etc.

In conclusion I allow myself to say that the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) is much further removed from centrism (No. 2-1-2) than the present Barbussovian Comintern.

With revolutionary greetings,  
L. TROTSKY.

# LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

## C. L. A. Activities in New York

**REORGANIZATION**—The New York branch having grown beyond the size within which effective functioning is possible, the membership decided to reorganize on the basis of borough units. Working branches are now operating in the boroughs of Manhattan, the Bronx and Brooklyn, enjoying the full autonomy of branches in any other part of the country, each with its own executive committees, while guiding the work centralized and guided by a City Executive Committee. Enthusiasm is running high and each of the branches is working out plans for concentration on its own territory.

All three branches now have their own headquarters. In this way, there will not only be a center in each of these boroughs for mass meetings, classes, but also a gathering place for all friends and sympathizers of the Left Opposition.

New York's headquarters remain as before at 126 East 16th Street and are open all day long. The headquarters of the Bronx branch have just been opened at 535 East 146th Street. George Saul is the branch organizer. The headquarters of the Brooklyn branch are 154 Watkins Avenue corner of Belmont, with Joseph Carter as local organizer. All three branches meet on Tuesday at 8 o'clock in the evening.

**OUR MEETINGS**—The first two mass meetings in the series organized "For a New Communist International!" For a New Communist Party in America! proved to be highly successful. The Manhattan meeting at Irving Plaza had the hall full, listening to the speeches of comrades Cannon and Shachtman and participating actively in the question and discussion period. In the Bronx, some 200 workers turned out to attend the Hollywood Garden meetings.

Plans are being made by all the branches now to follow up the initial meetings with others dealing with the same subject.

**SCHOOL AND FORUM**—The fall term of the International Workers School began in Manhattan last Monday, October 15th, with two of the courses: The State and Revolution given by Jack Weber, and Fundamentals of Marxism given by John G. Wright. Both of these courses are given from 8 to 10 P. M. Monday evenings. Two other courses are given at the same hour on Wednesday: Organization Principles by Martin Abern and Applied Economics by B. J. Field. The admission to each session is twenty cents, and the fee for an entire course, ranging from ten to twelve sessions, is \$1.50. Registrations are still being accepted at the headquarters of the school, 126 East 16th Street, all day long and in the evenings up to 10 P. M. Complete outlines for the courses are to be made available to registrants at ten cents a copy, and twenty-five cents to others, not students, who are interested in

them.

The forum season is also getting under way. Each of our three branches plans to have its own local forum in its own quarters. Manhattan has already begun, and its forums will take place every Friday evening at 8 P. M. sharp. Last Friday, October 13, Joseph Carter spoke on the significance of the revolution in Cuba. The week following, on October 20, Max Shachtman will speak on the municipal elections in New York and put forward the standpoint of the Left Opposition, discussing at the same time the problem of what ticket revolutionary workers should vote for in the coming elections. Bronx and Brooklyn forum meetings will be announced in the coming issues of the *Militant*. All workers are invited to attend and participate in the question and discussion period from the floor.

**IN THE TRADE UNIONS**—All efforts are now being concentrated in the New York organization to make every member an active militant in the trade union movement. As the work is being systematized more and more, it is being seen that to hitherto un-unionized members join the union of their craft or industry. Several of our comrades are now very active in the organization campaign being conducted by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers. Others are leading the movement to organize the Greek-speaking painters, of whom there are upwards of 2,000 in New York City, into a local of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of the A. F. of L. One of our comrades is the most active militant among the newly mirror workers who are now seeking to establish a local of the American Federation of Labor following their strike. The Stalinists, in this field, are engaged in their customary work of disruption and are flitting with the idea of a "red union" for these workers.

Another one of our comrades has just returned from an organization drive among the clothing workers of Haverstraw, New Jersey, conducted by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which took the form of a militant strike lasting several weeks. Our younger comrades have been active in the recently concluded strike of the Doll and Toy workers union. Others have been in the front line of the strike of the New York upholsterers. There, by the way, as a result of the work carried on by us, the Stalinists have pounced down upon one of their own militants in the Upholstery Workers Industrial union, comrade Arthur Brandmark, who has now joined the Opposition.

To continue the work of clarification of trade union policy, the City Committee has called a joint membership meeting of all three branches to be held Sunday, October 22nd, at the New York headquarters, for a discussion of our trade union line, to be led by comrade J. P. Cannon. The meeting is to start at 1 P. M. sharp. All comrades are required to attend and participate.

**THE BANQUET**—Attention is called to all friends and sympathizers of the Opposition to hold open the date of Saturday, November 4, so as to attend the banquet of the Left Opposition arranged by the New York local. The banquet will take place on that day, 8 P. M., at the Stuyvesant Casino, 9th Street and Second Avenue, with music, entertainment, a dinner and brief speeches. Admission: 50 cents. Further announcements in coming issues.

—CITY COMMITTEE.

# Left Wing in Teachers Union

The continued attacks on their living and teaching conditions and the attacks now pending are awakening the rank and file of the Teachers Union of New York City to the need of action to protect their interests. Their alarm and their desire to resist is making itself felt on the conservative union administration. Under this pressure the administration is moving toward the left. It now demands unemployment insurance for unemployed teachers and speaks of holding mass meetings of the teachers and is engaged in organizing them, whereas formerly it preached the gospel of reliance on the state legislature and condemned the Left wing for insisting on mass actions of the teachers themselves.

It goes without saying that we have no faith in the administration. It sold out the teachers in the fight against salary cuts a year ago. And if it gets the chance it will do it again. But what is important for the teachers in this new "turn" of the union administration is that it has been forced to move in the correct direction. By this "turn" it opens up possibilities that may well sweep beyond the limits which it sets for the fight.

**Left Wing's Opportunity**

An alert and correctly oriented Left wing can play a decisive part in this movement. This is the opportunity for which it has been working and preparing. In this period and in the period to come its influence and strength should grow.

But this new perspective finds the Left wing unable to realize the opportunities that are presented to it. The Left wing is divided into two groups that are as hostile to each other as they are to the union administration. The Progressive Group which carries out a Lovestonite trade union policy thunders against the administration in its literature and speeches but supports it against the rank and file, the other Left wing group. Their orientation was reform of the administration. They condemned in principle any independent activity on the part of the Left wing. They branded as dual unionist any such attempt. That they themselves organized some of the unemployed teachers outside the union and did not until a few

weeks ago bring them to the union did not prevent them from denouncing as dual unionist the other organization of the unemployed by the rank and file. In short they supported the administration from the left.

The rank and file have carried out a policy which is now contradicted by the new developments in the union. Their thesis was that the union was hopeless; that the administration had a strangulating grip on it; that it could not be reformed into an instrument of struggle in the interests of the teachers. Readers of the *Militant* will recognize this thesis as one of the elements of the Stalinist trade union line. It is the A. F. of L. company union idea applied to the Teachers Union.

**Errors of Left Groups**

The consequences that have flowed from the false policies of these two groups have been ruinous for the Left wing and have not helped the union. Now after a fight of years the Left wing is in a worse position than it was and the administration is firmly in the saddle.

Even now they are more interested in preserving their factional differences and justifying themselves to their own members than they are in building a united Left wing. That is the task that the progressive teachers in the union face. They can, if they make the attempt, penetrate both groups with the idea of one united Left wing. For this they need a program. Whatever program they work out cannot include the false policies and conceptions of the Stalinist and Lovestonite trade union lines. The teachers need instruction in how to find their way to the trade union movement. The way to do it is not in the secret domination of the Left wing by factional cliques but in the open formulation of policies on the basis of trade union democracy. How can the Left wing fight the union administration which has destroyed trade union democracy if it violates it in its own house?

When the Left wing is united it can press the fight for a militant union representative of the interests of all the teachers in the system, steering toward the working class movement.

—T. STAMM.

was vigorously applauded by the workers present.

Comrades throughout the country should take note of this incident, which marks the recurrence of the Stalinist policy of breaking up meetings and seeking to disrupt the Opposition gatherings with the only means at their disposal: violence, rudeness, hooliganism. Such a reactionary course can be met with only one reply and the Opposition everywhere has been prepared to make that reply. We have not the slightest intention of allowing our meetings to be dispersed by the flying squadrons of Stalinist workers misled by the bureaucrats who comfortably occupy their office chairs during these frays. Oppositionists, defend your meetings and beat down all hooliganism in the labor movement!

## 700 Hear Swabek in Toronto

**Toronto Canada**—A huge meeting was held for comrade Arne Swabek in this city. 700 workers turned out to hear his analysis of the international situation and the tasks of the Communists. The size of this meeting is so much more gratifying in view of the counter meeting held the same evening by the Stalinists and several trade union meetings in progress the same evening. A fuller report of this meeting will be given in a subsequent issue of the *Militant*.

## Phila. School Starts Classes

The Philadelphia Section of the International Workers School opens its Fall term, Tuesday, October 17th, at 524 Thompson St.

The classes will be held on Tuesday and Friday of each week on the following schedule:

- SUBJECT INSTRUCTOR**
- Tuesday**  
A. B. C. of Marxism—7:30 to 9 P. M.—T. Holmes  
Labor in America—History—9 to 10:30 P. M.—A. J. Carey
- Friday**  
Communist Manifesto—7:30 to 9 P. M.—S. Hardy  
Opposition—9 to 10:30 P. M.—B. Morgenstern
- The duration of the term will be ten weeks. In the elementary class registration must be made within a period of three weeks at a fee of 25c.
- In advanced classes registration can be made at any time on payment of 50c, single classes 10c.
- These classes mark the beginning of intensive educational activities in Philadelphia by the Left Opposition.

Our Open Forum, under the auspices of the International Workers School, will hold its first meeting, Sunday, October 22 8 P. M.

**LABOR AND THE N. R. A.**  
Speaker: B. Morgenstern  
Your attendance at these classes and cooperation in the Open Forum, and other important work of the Left Opposition is sincerely desired.

## Swabek Lecture in Rochester

**Rochester, N. Y.**—The following is a report of comrade Swabek's lecture here in Rochester. The meeting was orderly and nobody interrupted Swabek. The audience was composed of about 20 members of the Stalinist party, 20 of the proletariat and about 10 of our sympathizers. About 25 others were there.

After Swabek had spoken, Sam Essman, one of the Stalinist leaders here, arose, and commenced to speak. He admitted that the Stalinists made many mistakes but that nobody was perfect. He said that they welcomed criticism within the party and that the Trotskyites were trying to demoralize the party. He forgot that Trotsky was in the party when he criticized and we know what happened to him. The party welcomes criticism of other but not of its policies. When someone criticizes its policies they expel him, and then they don't have to listen to his criticism because he is not within the party any more. Very intelligent tactics! I'll say! When Essman finished his spiel, instead of giving Swabek a change to answer him, he gathered his lambs around him and adjourned to their meeting room where, I suppose, he gave them an explanation of Swabek's criticism. Their party alone left the room. The remainder of the meeting was orderly with questions being asked and answered within the room.

—A COMRADE.

## Swabek Tour Itinerary

- Other meetings on comrade Swabek's tour are as follows:
- Sat., Oct. 21st....Chicago, Ill.
  - Sun., Oct. 22nd....Chicago, Ill.
  - Mon., Oct. 23rd....Chicago, Ill.
  - Tues., Oct. 24th....Chicago, Ill.
  - Wed., Oct. 25th....Springfield, Ill.
  - Thurs., Oct. 26th....Stanton, Ill.
  - Fri., Oct. 27th....St. Louis, Mo.
  - Sat., Oct. 28th....St. Louis, Mo.
  - Sun., Oct. 29th....Kansas City, Mo.
  - Mon., Oct. 30th....Kansas City, Mo.
  - Tues., Nov. 1st....Minneapolis
  - Fri., Nov. 3rd....Minneapolis
  - Sat., Nov. 4th....Minneapolis
  - Sun., Nov. 5th....Minneapolis
  - Tues., Nov. 7th....Chicago, Ill.
  - Thurs., Nov. 9th....Davenport, Ia.
  - Fri., Nov. 10th....Davenport, Ia.

# PARIS CONFERENCE

**Ed. Note:** For the information of our readers who wish to follow all the important international developments step by step, we are reprinting here with the general resolution which was adopted by a majority vote at the Paris conference of Left socialists and independent Communist organizations. As stated in the resolution, of the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition (*Militant*, Oct. 7th) our delegation did not accept this resolution. It is reprinted here however as a document of information.

## RESOLUTION OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE

### The International Struggle of the Working Class.

1. Since the publication of the public manifesto at the beginning of February of this year by the seven independent revolutionary socialist parties, events have developed with a terrifying force.
2. The world crisis has shaken the capitalist system of production to the point of chaos and ruin and has forced capitalism to apply the most extreme measures in order to maintain the position of the ruling classes.
3. World unemployment increases from day to day and the attacks on the standard of life and on the political rights of the working classes grows in brutality everywhere.
4. The danger of war has reached the critical point and the militarist and nationalist passions are developing from one end of the world to the other.
5. At the same time Fascism, the terrorist force of capitalism in agony, with the single aim of destroying the workers organizations and plunging the workers into wage slavery and under tyranny will march rapidly with the aid of violence and armed forces.
6. The Hitlerite regime has completely destroyed the workers' organizations. Never before has the world known such a disaster, one which has struck down the German organizations which were engaged in safeguarding the interests and the rights of the workers.
7. The victory of Fascism in Germany has shown the entire world the bankruptcy of the social democracy and the Communist Party. The Social Democracy was the strongest pillar of the Second International. Its policy in the capitalist state, its collaboration with the parties of the middle classes, its participation in governmental coalition, its toleration of reactionary governments (policy of the "lesser evil"), has led it to abandon the defense of the inter-

ests of the proletariat and consequently to ruin the German workers' movement as is to be seen during the Hitlerite era. The policy of the social democracy was essentially that of the Second International. Even after the complete failure of this policy, neither the Second International nor any of the parties which comprise it have drawn the lesson of the terrible events in Germany.

8. On the other hand, the German Communist Party has existed for fourteen years. It had the great moral support which was given to it by the presence of the Soviet Union; it obtained the vast material assistance for its propaganda and it worked in favorable conditions created by a world crisis of unprecedented proportions. By its mistakes, it also demonstrated its complete bankruptcy.

9. The Third International cannot escape its heavy responsibility for the bankruptcy of the German Communist Party whose pseudo-revolutionary policy was ordered by this Third International and the latter has completely assumed the responsibility for the mistakes by rejecting its own ideology. This degeneration of the Third International, dominated by the Russian Communist Party, and the results of the absence of a revolutionary movement in other countries through the formula of socialism in one country, the bureaucracy of the Third International has betrayed the interests of the world revolution. It introduced the struggle of the Russian Party into the parties of the other countries. It has strangled internal democracy. It has persecuted the critical spirits as heretics.

10. We have appealed for unity of action. This appeal has received no effective response from the two Internationals.

11. Considering the bankruptcy of the policies and the organization of the second and third Internationals, the socialist workers of the world are more than ever faced with the enormous task and the necessary task of regenerating the international movement of the working class and retrieving the international unity of this class on a revolutionary socialist basis. The first step should be made by convening a world congress and re-presenting all organizations which accept the basis of revolutionary struggle for the realizations of socialism. This world congress should have as its principle task the studying of a general expose of the principles and policies for effective revolution action which will be prepared and submitted to the parties by the independent socialist parties. These parties will take the initiative for the meeting of the congress at a date which will be determined later and they will make an appeal for this congress to all workers organizations.

12. The independent socialist parties will be convinced that this appeal will be listened to by millions of workers whose admirable courage and perseverance has not been shaken by the policy of bankruptcy which has led from one catastrophe to another.

# Where are the Stalinists Today?

The Stalinists boast that they are the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. But are they? Let us see.

Today the workers in the United States are in motion as they have not been since the crisis set in. The six hundred thousand miners are stirring with unrest. Thousands have struck for recognition of their union. Thousands are still striking for recognition of the U. M. W. A. This is the largest group of workers in a single industry in the United States. This is a basic industry. The miners are a decisive section of the proletariat. In traditions of struggle, in organization, in fighting quality they belong to the most advanced section of the American working class. How much influence have the Stalinists who once led the Left wing insurgent miners got among them today? Almost none. How many of the recent and present struggles have they led or influenced? Very few; certainly not the larger struggles.

In New York City almost a hundred thousand workers have struck for better wages and conditions. Thousands more are threatening to go on strike for essentially the same demands. Where were the Stalinists? How many of these struggles did they lead? Almost none. How many of these workers are following them? Very few.

Where are the "revolutionary" trade unions of the TUUL? Viewed organizationally and in the columns of the *Daily Worker* they lead a certain existence. They hold conferences and pass resolutions. But they have no influence on the struggles of the workers who are streaming into the A. F. of L. They are shells. And they cannot be revived. It is hopeless to think that the future course of the workers' struggles will lead through these paper shells.

The capitalist press admits there are close to a million unemployed in New York City and says there is no prospect of improvement this winter. Relief has been curtailed. Where are the Stalinists? What are the unemployed councils doing? Nothing. They have no real existence. There is no movement of the unemployed in New York City. And the Stalinists are out of the picture.

The Stalinists are bankrupt. If the Stalin party can be said to exist at all it is only as a bureaucratic apparatus with a diminishing number of workers. Politically the Stalin party is dead. As events and the class struggle are drawing a balance under the policies of the Stalinists and the Left Opposition, the Stalinists who began as a party are retrogressing to an ineffectual opportunist propaganda group while the Left Opposition which began as a Marxian propaganda group is moving toward the creation of a new and genuine Communist party on the unshakable foundations of Marxism and Leninism.

# Militant Builders

As our comrades and friends all over the country in the sub drive the list of subs is shooting up. Look at the list:

- Branch Youngstown 14
  - V. R. Dunne Minneapolis 5
  - M. Abern Bronx 4
  - C. Hedlund Minneapolis 4
  - S. Hardy Philadelphia 4
  - J. Fruitman Toronto 3
  - C. Shechet Boston 3
  - L. Goodman Philadelphia 2
  - Eckelberger New Castle, Pa. 2
- The following comrades got one apiece: H. Ross, Manhattan; M. Kent, Brooklyn; R. Schapp, Brooklyn; A. A. Buehler, Kansas City; J. Carter, Brooklyn; H. Capelis, Manhattan; O. Coover, Minneapolis; M. Gottlieb, Minneapolis.
- Add them up; that makes 49 new subs since the opening of the drive. And there are still a little less than four weeks to go. We expect the drive to gather still greater momentum as it goes along.

## THREE FACTS.

Three facts stand out from the above list: The branch is showing the field a clean pair of heels. Number two: Notice the number of comrades and cities that are figuring in the list. That is one of the brightest things about the drive. And three: Minneapolis and the New York units are dotting the list which means that if you take it from the point of view of collective, organized activity they are doing a fine job bolstering up the list.

## QUOTAS.

A number of cities have set quotas for themselves in the drive. New York has undertaken to raise a hundred dollars in subs divided as follows: Manhattan—fifty; Bronx and Brooklyn—twenty-five each. Berkeley has set a goal of twenty-five subs. So has Philadelphia. How about Chicago, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and the other cities not yet heard from?

We forgot to say in our previous announcements that wherever there is a tie on November 15 when the drive closes the prize for that place will be given to both the tying contestants. This makes it an even greater inducement. The prizes are: for first place—the three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky; for second place—two volumes; for third place—one volume. That is a prize worth shooting for.

## FROM THE WEST COAST:

"The Paterson strike issue of the *Militant* is a dandy, and if I'm any judge it should win for us many new friends. The new character of the *Militant* will appeal more to the workers."

# Exploitation of Farm Laborers

The economy of the United States has undergone such deepening change in the last decade and a half that what was formerly an avenue of escape from wage slavery for the industrial and agricultural proletariat (home-steading or tenant farming) has become a closed alley or an irreparably broken ladder.

As wage workers, though inarticulate and practically isolated from political or any kind of class guidance, America's agricultural proletariat is in desperation and restlessness. They are moving about or planning to move, knowing the far-reaching influences of the present economic system.

Just today I received the following request from my brother Robert, a beet worker in the state of Colorado:

"Try and let us know if you think that there will be any chance of getting a job in New York this winter, as there will be nothing going on here. I am quite sure that I shall not stay here after beet harvest; and maybe Richard will go with me too, but he talks about going to Idaho or Oregon. I imagine that the economic system is about as cruel toward the proletarian class most any other place as it is here, but there is not much industry in this part of the country; the beets are about the only industry here, while Oregon and Washington have beets, fruit, lumbering, hop-raising, ship work, and stock raising. Another great handicap here is that you have no chance to learn much of anything and there is no entertainment afforded which amounts to anything. Life is very monotonous and lonesome here."

In the same letter we are given the experiences back of this conclusion, this state of mind. For blocking, thinning, hoeing, and topping the sugar beets the agricultural workers have received \$11.50 per acre this year. "Food, clothing, and rent are about the same as when they paid \$30.00 per acre; some things are higher and some cheaper."

Children under sixteen years of age are worked in almost all of the beet fields. "There is supposed to be a child labor law here, but it is not enforced because the Sugar Co. wants their labor done as cheap as possible. About three-fourths of the school children in the agricultural districts are kept out of school for the beets for a month to six weeks each fall."

"The beet labor is done by either native Americans, German-Russians, Mexicans, Japanese, or Italians, each of which are prejudiced against the other nationalities."

"Most of these people are housed in miserable shacks or granaries in the summer time; and move to towns in the winter time where they live from a very small sum doled out by the county, the State Relief, or some other form of so-called charity. Each month each list of people who have received county aid, also to what amount. They do not get enough to feed, clothe, house, and keep warm their home and are often driven to stealing or writing checks without funds or, in some cases, to bootlegging."

"The landlords, businessmen, government employees, and teachers say that they are undesirable foreigners, or if they happen to be native Americans, they are poor managers, or they say they are undesirable who inherit criminal tendencies like drinking and stealing; or they are half-wits, ignorant, lazy, or degenerates."

"Practically every beet farm is owned by a landlord and farmed by a tenant, who hires people to do the labor. In some cases the farms are owned by farmers who have government loans that would take them 33 years to pay for them."

"When one keeps in mind that the first important strike of sugar beet workers in this country took place only a year ago last summer in Colorado there is justification for the conclusion that this section of the working class too, pushed on by the conditions here described, will transform their present restlessness into that of organized struggle to improve their conditions as agricultural workers."

The problem of organizing the agricultural workers and educating them to think in working class terms and act in solidarity with their fellow workers everywhere is now posed before us. "They are not organized," writes my brother, "and do not feel as a class, but feel that they are unfortunate individuals." That is to say, they feel the need for organization.

—GEORGE J. SAUL.