

EDITORIALS

Bellussi

THE attitude toward foreign-born workers needed by deportation has been a touchstone of labor solidarity in this country for many years...

This has been especially so in the case of those brought up for deportation to countries ruled by white terror and fascism. The soulless brutality of sending a worker to prison or death in another land...

Anthony Bellussi, held in prison today with an order of deportation to Fascist Italy already pronounced against him, presents a case of exceptional importance and appeal. Here is the now long-familiar story of the rebel against tyranny in his own country...

Why is this case not raised to prominence in the radical labor movement and made an issue of the anti-fascist struggle? Why is his name not made a symbol of the fight as it deserves to be?

Is it because comrade Bellussi, although not a member of the Left Opposition, was arrested on a charge of distributing copies of the Militant? Is it because the persecution of Bellussi for this offense contradicts the theory that "Trotskyists" are counter-revolutionists and fascists combined?

The C. P. L. A. Convention

WHEN the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (C. P. L. A.) meets at Pittsburgh on November 18th it will confront as its major problem the outstanding issue presented by international developments—the question of a new International and, consequently, of a new party.

The Lovestone group dedicated itself with a touching "realism" to the idea of a special American brand of Communism. Within the year it suffered one convulsion over the "Russian" question and is now in the throes of another over the "German" question.

Internationalism is the motto of our epoch, and the determining influence in all tendencies in the labor movement. For all its ardent "Americanism", the C. P. L. A. is itself a by-product of the crisis and disintegration of official Communism in America...

The existence of a healthy party of revolutionary Communism on the one side, and an organization breaking away from reformism and proclaiming revolutionary aims on the other, would raise insistently in the minds of the revolutionary workers, and especially those in the C. P. L. A., the question of fusion into a single party.

This situation is, by its very nature, temporary. Further developments of the crisis in the international movement of the workers' vanguard are up-

setting the old conditions. Positive forces of new revolutionary life are making their way against the stream, combatting the disintegration, preparing the foundations of a new movement. This is the meaning of the steps already taken in Europe toward the formation of a new Communist International.

The influence of this issue in the ranks of the C. P. L. A. is already demonstrated in the fact that the question of a new political party has taken the central place on the agenda of the Pittsburgh Conference. It would be too much to expect that a conservative answer will be given there.

The organization of a new party is a colossal undertaking. What is to be its principle basis, what conclusions does it draw from the Russian Revolution and the experience of the Comintern under Lenin and under Stalin, with whom it is to be formed, what shall be its international affiliation?

The Left Opposition has given its answer to these questions already. Our program is Marxism—the first four Congresses of the Comintern, and the 11 points of our International pre-conference, the September 30th Declaration of the League. We are ready to unite with the revolutionary elements of other organizations for the formation of a new party and a new International—on the condition that it be a Communist Party and a Communist International.

Trade Union Tactics

WITH the entrance of new masses of workers into the A. F. of L. unions a new favorable basis for the rapid reconstruction of a strong Left wing in the labor movement has been provided. If the correct tactics are employed, the new Left wing should take on a broad scope.

The problem is especially acute in the needle trades, and notably in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The outcome of the strike, on top of previous developments, finally consolidated the position of the I. L. G. W. U., swelled its ranks with new thousands of members and eliminated the Industrial Union as a trade union factor.

The workers who once followed the Left wing, first inside the International and later outside, are back in the old union. If the militants now adjust themselves to reality and work on the basis of the union, to strengthen it as a fighting instrument of the workers, great successes for the new Left wing are inevitable.

This is the greatest menace to the prospect of a resurgent militant movement in the needle trades. The wrecking crew which ruined everything before by its stupidity is trying now to prevent any serious repairs being made. The question of what to do about it is being raised by those workers who want to struggle for a militant policy in the International and, at the same time, count on the cooperation of the Stalinists.

Does this imply a break with those who follow or try to follow the Stalinist policy in the union. Absolutely. And the sooner the better. Cooperation in the task of rebuilding the Left wing is possible only on the basis of a correct policy.

Hesitation on this crucial point out of reluctance to make a division in the opposition can only paralyze the work of the revolutionary militants and play the game of the reactionaries in the International, as in every other trade union. A clean break with the bankrupt and discredited tactics of Stalinism is today the first prerequisite for the emergence of an effective Left wing.

The New Rift in the Right Wing

(Continued from Page 1)

perilist war ever lived than Eugene Debs. He was however debased to the function of window-dressing for the party which represented in this country the International of capitulation and betrayal. In his day, there were not a few rogues who sought to conceal their own shame and criminal record under his untried mantle...

The "Existence" of the German C. P. "The C. P. G. certainly exists, although greatly reduced in numbers, and still includes in its ranks some of the most advanced and most courageous class conscious workers of Germany, an essential element for the reconstruction of the C. P. G." Upon this fact, says Lovestone, "any realistic policy in Germany must be based".

A fact it certainly is, but it is not upon that that the policy must be based. In 1917, and 1918, the same and more could have been said about the American Socialist Party. Hundreds of its militants were imprisoned by the American Socialist Party. Hundreds of its militants were imprisoned by the Wilson regime, its papers suppressed, its meetings prohibited.

When Lenin in 1914, and the Comintern in 1919, declared that the Second International was dead, the Lovestones of that day made the clever remark that there were hundreds of thousands and even millions of workers still in the ranks of the social democracy, which as a matter of fact even experienced a period of growth after the world war, without bringing the Second International to life again.

Events in Cuba are moving toward a crisis. The strike wave is coming up again. The struggle against American imperialism is taking a violent form in the cities. In the interior the situation is still deadlocked: the workers hold some mills and plantations as guarantees of their demands for higher wages and better conditions while the soldiers and student bands of the Caribbean Army sent against them have not come to grips with the workers except in one or two cases.

But this state of affairs cannot long continue. One way or another they must be resolved definitely in the interests of the workers or the American imperialists and their Cuban bourgeois servants. The sugar crop in Cuba matures in autumn or early winter. The harvest begins in December. It is the aim of the government to drive the workers off the seized plantations, before the harvest season comes round to insure the American and Cuban owners their vested rights and whatever potential profit there is in the crop.

The workers on the plantations who are armed and organized to some extent will resist the attempt to evict them. In the one or two attempts to evict them that have already taken place the workers have demonstrated that. The coming conflict may develop into a widespread civil war. If the government is successful the United States warships will not land their complement of devil dogs.

But if the fighting should go the other way through the going over of the soldiers to the workers as is not impossible, the American imperialists may resort to armed intervention. The capitalist press reports that the Washington administration is looking for a formula by which it can land marines.

The difficulty here is the result this action and its consequences in Cuba would have in Latin America. Today the Latin American aspect of the question is at an acute stage. The attempt to drive the workers off the plantations coincides in time with the Pan-American Congress which is to convene shortly in Montevideo. For the United States capitalists this congress is an extremely important one. They will make a determined effort there to "adjust" the South and Latin American markets in the interests of "our" own trade. Any misstep in Cuba may tip the scales at Montevideo in favor of English,

the actualities of the labor movement and class relations in the United States." How genuine and touching a tribute to the spirit of the late Morris Hillquit! It will be remembered how the recently deceased fulminated against the Left wingers in his party in 1919 because they wanted to build a new party and discard the old "on the basis primarily of alleged changes" produced by the equally alleged Russian revolution, and not on the basis of "the actualities of the labor movement and class relations in the United States". Hillquit wrote more gracefully and persuasively; otherwise the arguments are identical, equally reactionary and intentionally misleading.

Culmination of Ten Years The Left wing demanded a Communist party in 1919 not simply because "something" had happened in Germany in 1914 or in Russia in 1917, but because August 4th had sealed the fate of the Second International, its program, its philosophy, its tactics and because November 7th had verified the need of a new International, introduced a new program and new tactics of world wide applicability.

A Brandlerist Contradiction This is quite correct, even if it does not constitute the only reason why a new Communist party must be formed in the Soviet Union. But how is such a line of reasoning to jibe with the previous Brandlerist philosophy according to which Stalinism in Russia was an entity by itself, separate and apart from Stalinism in the capitalist world?

The nationalist pliancism of the Lovestone position sticks out like a swollen thumb in his rejection of the new party for the United States. "Neither political nor organizational relations in the revolutionary movement of this country have changed materially in the last period of time.... To urge the formation of a new party in the U. S. A. on the basis primarily of alleged changes in the Communist movement in Germany, as do both the Trotskyites and others (that tells Zam where he belongs!—S.), discloses a hopeless divorce from

which have been making inroads into these markets at the expense of the American brigands. But if the policy of Yankee piracy is beset with difficulties from its trade rivalries it is unhampered by the international working class outside of Cuba. Nowhere is there a broad movement of the workers in defense of the struggling Cuban workers. The responsibility rests, in the first instance, on the Stalinist Comintern.

The policy of the Comintern in the Cuban revolution is also the policy of the Communist Party of the United States, which of all the Communist parties outside of the Cuban party is the most directly involved in the struggle against American armed intervention. There is no movement in the United States. The Communist Party of the United States has demonstrated again its conception of internationalism. Its agitation is confined to articles in the Daily Worker and forum lectures. Demonstrations? There was one party affair of the "vanguard" in Philadelphia. There may have been one or two others. But there has been no serious attempt to build a movement of support to the Cuban workers! Are the American Stalinists under orders not to "interfere" with the success of Litvinoff's diplomatic mission?

The Crisis in the Cuban Revolution

It is now the immediate, burning task of the advanced section of the American working class to come to the aid of the Cuban workers. —T. STAMM.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Notes of the Week

"Pigs Is Pigs" It might have been another chapter of the Mad Hatter and the March Hare. But it was actually a news account in the New York Times.

We refer to a story of triumphant justice as it is practiced in these United States, in this day and age.—After NRA, after the New Deal and after the Rooseveltian exultation and mobilization of the "Human Agencies".

In Brooklyn, the other day, a magistrate held court over a villain who maltreated three poor little pigs, cooped up uncomfortably in a cage too tightly built. A representative of the S. P. C. A. after pondering over this sight (which was used as a display advertisement for a popular porcine comedy at the Flatbush Theatre) had the perpetrator of the...crime...arrested.

The judge, whose commiseration with such animals thereby becomes understandable, ordered the hogs freed, scolded the defendant and snipped the cryptic sentence: "Pigs is pigs and not subway sardines."

All this may be found to be an exact rendition of the Times story on Wednesday, October 26, 1933. The magisterial announcement, reported here in all its cynicism, gives a good measure of capitalist justice and the system on which it is based. "Fit for pigs"—that's capitalism alright.

A Subway Sardinie Commits Suicide

—With Apologies to the Police John Subway Sardinie, on election day known as Mr. Taxpayer or the Voice of the People and otherwise regaled with eulogies on the dignity of labor, leads a less dignified existence than the three little porkers. The courts are not for him. He is not provided with any warm covering to protect him from the cold (that was another point of litigation in the case of the Flatbush Theatre). There is no S. P. C. A. to prevent cruelty against him.

Yet, he holds the proud title of human being. He is, by the law—"a free man". Free to sell his labor power to the boss. Free to starve when the "supply of labor hands exceeds the "demand".

How fictitious this freedom is, how much human dignity is lowered beyond the range of swine by the "commodity market" which produces unemployment, may be gathered from another item in the week's news (World Telegram, Tuesday, November 7, 1933):

JOBLESS, GOING BLIND, HE SLASHES WRISTS

Note on Park Bench Apologizes to Police For Trouble...

Robert Guinevahl sat on a park bench in Central Park before dawn today and took stock of himself. He was 45. He was hungry, jobless. He was going blind, and he could not pay for medical care. It would become worse when winter came.

I scribbled a note to police:— I am sorry, for causing all this trouble," then he cut his wrists with a razor blade. He collapsed finally from loss of blood. A motorist took Guinevahl to Bellevue. Doctors said he might live.

Boss class justice deals kindness to pigs. Working class victims apologize for committing suicide! This is the U. S. A., 1933.

How long will workers stand for pig justice? How long will they apologize for going under? How long will they allow a system of society which degrades them to a fate lower than the beasts, to do its work of human distraction? —G...n.

CORRECTION

The first paragraph of comrade Abern's article in last week's MILITANT contains a misprint. The first fourteen lines of the article should have read as follows:

Eduard Bernstein led the attack of reformism against the revolutionary doctrines of Marx and Engels. Laying emphasis on immediate gains and objectives, Bernstein completely subordinated, or subverted the need of revolutionary strategy to guide the proletariat in its struggles. He lost sight of the ultimate goal of socialism—the goal which, on the one hand, conditions the character of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary workers and, on the other hand is determined by them. For the means employed will also determine the end.

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