

EDITORIAL

Building the New Movement

In breaking finally with the Stalinist party and Comintern, and in striking out an independent path toward the building of a new party, the Communist League has taken a step which flows with irrefutable logic from the realities of the situation; it corresponds completely to the burning needs of the working class and the political movement of its conscious vanguard section.

Our break with Stalinism, its organizations and its treacherous policy, is irrevocable; there is no turning back. The time when the faction struggle within the ranks of the Comintern occupied the center of our attention is behind us.

It is not enough to recognize the logic of this decisive turn and to accept it formally. The next problem—and it is a crucial one now—is to assimilate the idea, with all its implications to the very end, into our blood.

One of the most conspicuous examples of the fruitful results of the new orientation of the League is to be found in the experience of the Minneapolis comrades in the unemployment movement.

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An independent course of action was commenced by the Internationalists in this field. The sterile "Councils" were left to stew in their own juice. Unemployed workers and workers' organizations were approached with a program of united action.

Several conferences, embracing the bulk of the workers' organizations, have already been held; a big mass meeting on the unemployment question has taken place; the movement is growing and broadening in scope and the decks are being cleared for a real demonstration of working class unity and discontent that will wrest concessions from the masters.

In the broad united front of the real workers' movement in Minneapolis the Stalinists appear only as a small minority of disrupters. The workers turned against them. Before the workers, who are concerned vitally with the united fight to make the conditions of their lives more bearable, the Stalinists appeared as enemies of the movement, resentful of its success and bent on disrupting and disorganizing it.

These lessons derived from experience are not the least of the benefits accruing to the general movement from the wide-scale unemployment activity which is being unfolded in Minneapolis.

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That is the way to ensure success in our aim to establish a new and genuine party of Communism without too much delay and to line up the forces for a great forward leap of the revolutionary movement in America.

BOOKS FOR WORKERS

TEN YEARS—History and Principles of the Left Opposition. By Max Shachtman. 79 Pages. 10c. Pioneer Publishers, New York.

At last a pamphlet on the history and fundamentals of the Left Opposition! A serious handicap in educating the newcomers to our movement has been precisely the absence of such a historical sketch.

In reality the pamphlet is a history of the ten years' struggle of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists against Stalinism in the Soviet Union, as well as internationally, in England and in China.

"Ten Years" commences by a clear explanation of why a militant worker should be interested in the factional struggle which has wracked the world Communist movement; the absolute indispensability of a revolutionary vanguard organization of the working class, a Communist party, for the emancipation of the proletariat.

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Because of the highly difficult task of condensing the ten years' struggle of the Left Opposition in a small pamphlet, a number of important omissions are to be expected.

criticism of the draft of the First Five Year Plan, it is essential to stress the contention of our comrades in 1927 that the Plan of the Stalinists meant industrialization at the expense of the working class, rather than at the expense of the non-proletarian elements in Russia; that the living conditions of the workers should increase with the development of industry.

In speaking of socialist planned economy, it would have been well to include a brief paragraph contrasting scientific planning, with constant check-up and experimentation, as against the bureaucratic planning of Stalinism.

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Hardly! The German Stalinists were not inconsistent! Bukharin's "third period" stressed the fact that European economy had exceeded its pre-war level the strengthening of capitalism economically; the conflict between the imperialist powers which would lead to war.

Molotov's "third period" was a "horse of a different color". The emphasis was on the weakening of capitalist economy, the growing strike wave as a result of "inner

contradictions"—Lodz (Poland) strike, Ruhr miners strike, etc. The "third period" became the period of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, the "final period" of capitalism!

The Sixth Congress was compelled to criticize the policy of Communists building workers' and peasants' parties. (This did not stop the Stalinists from building such parties in India a few months after the Congress).

"Ten Years" was written about a year ago, before the victory of Hitlerism. Comrade Shachtman's preface briefly explains the consequences of that fatal event. It would be well if the present pamphlet would be followed by others, on Germany, united front, trade union policies and problems of the American workers.

Comrades should note a typographical error in the pamphlet. The eighth line of page 6 "Ten Years" should be the last line of page seven; the last line of page 7 should be the eighth line of page 6.

The Fukien Rebellion

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great fields for the revolutionary agitation among the masses in demanding the real democratization of the government and the arming of the people. It should be our task to put forth the democratic slogans in a most energetic manner, to support the government so far as its practical steps are really anti-imperialistic, to criticize the tendencies towards compromise.

Conditions in the Soviet Union

An American Worker's Report on Labor and the Five-Year Plan

Some time ago, a criticism appeared in The Militant for publishing experiences of delegates to Soviet Union on the ground that it would make a bad impression on the average casual reader against the Workers State. Maybe so, but that is just where our weakness lies.

In August of 1931 I started from New York. On the boat I met a worker from Chicago who also was going to work in the meat industry of the Soviet Union. He was a member of the Communist Party and, just like many of Stalin's followers, he went to the Soviet Union to get a nice soft place and stay there for good.

Going to work in the morning we often passed groups of about 150-200 peasants dressed pitifully, some of them bare-footed in the cold winter, escorted by 10 to 12 police on horse back to the house of correction (Prison). They are kulaks, said my foreman with whom I walked to work.

Again a new quota was given to our plant to produce a certain minimum number of tons of meat in the next 2 months. A meeting was called after work which was attended by all workers (the guard at the gate will not let anyone go home until the meeting is over).

"Gimme a Match"

The timber tracts of the Diamond Match Company are located on the steep slopes of the Nevada mountains. Here workers daily risk their lives in the dangerous task of felling the trees for the miserable wage of three or four dollars a day.

They are forced to live in camps or "barracks" hastily and poorly constructed. Built low and of third grade cull lumber, they are hot in summer and cold in winter. There are no bathing facilities and the workers can use their rest (Sunday) to launder their clothes.

In the box factories of the company in California women and girls are employed doing the same work as men but at a much lower wage. In the match factories proper the exploitation of children is common, the match companies being one of the worst for this.

The Montevideo Confab

(Continued from page 1)

power and obtain greater control over it, encounters the necessity, at a certain stage, of new markets for capital and commodities. This the Hull Tariff proposal seeks to prepare for. In fact the most urgent need of American imperialism is a greater share in the already divided world. Otherwise the decay will be faster and the class storms more violent.

Masses from the political apathy and will help the spread of the opposition ideas, as the latter represents the most consistent democratic wing in the Chinese Revolution.

day bring reports on the great enthusiasm of the workers for building socialism; they not only accept the plan given them but add a 25% stretch plan; the factory works 9 to 10 hours a day until the plan is fulfilled.

A couple of days later the workers in my department complained that they are getting pigs as small as 25-40 pounds and with that they cannot fill the share given them. It can't be helped. The government grain quota was so big that the kulakoz had to give all their grain to the government and there was none left to feed the pigs, cattle, etc.

At the political school which is held at factory two times a week and three classes are taught, my friend tells about Trotsky's counter-revolutionary propaganda in America. He should have been killed, said one of the functionaries. Why don't American Communists kill him?, asks another. Then my friend explains that Trotsky is in Turkey and not in America.

Again there is talk in line of wages. Comrade Stalin says there must be a wider difference in wages between the professional and non-professional workers. Many Party members who hold responsible jobs cannot be enthusiastic in fulfilling their tasks because the wages of Party members is limited to only 250 rubles a month. From then on there is no limit to the wages of members, (the lowest wage for unskilled is 45 rubles a month) and the wages of lower strata should be fixed according to his own efficiency.

Then came the fever of liquidating classes. Some local newspapers declared that by spring, 1933, the classes will be liquidated. (I did not read Pravda because I did not receive it although I subscribed to it). The Police used Stalin's methods in liquidating classes by throwing in jail those peasants that tried to sell their produce in the open market.

The following liquidation of other "anti-American" organizations. They believe in the "freedom" of the individual. For the maintenance of this "principle" they are willing to spend thousands of the dollars which they have squeezed from the hides of the workers. So long as the workers remain merely as "individuals" the profits of the company are not endangered. But when the workers organize and conduct their struggles against their exploiters as one man it will be time then for the bosses to march forward with the American flag in one hand and a club in the other and try to drive the workers back into line.

Proletarian Party Youth Group Out

(Editorial Note.—The crisis of the labor movement, which affects all workers' organizations more or less, is seizing the Proletarian Party, a sectarian offshoot of American Stalinism, with particular devastation. Now it is bringing a convulsion in the Proletarian Youth League, the youth section of the Party, as the following statement of resignation, signed by thirteen members, reveals.)

Following is a letter that was submitted to the P. Y. L. (Proletarian Youth League) of America, local Detroit on Thursday, Nov. 30, 1933; severing our connections with that organization. We are sending this letter to the Militant, Workers' Arg, Proletarian News, and Daily Worker for the purpose of showing our reasons for resignation:

Due to the following conditions existing in the P. Y. L., we the undersigned do hereby resign from the above mentioned organization: 1. The P. Y. L. makes no attempt to become the revolutionary vanguard of the working class youth. This is proven by its failure to participate in the everyday struggle and the demands of the workers, the means by which they can prove to the workers the correctness of their position.

There is no Negro or Agrarian problem and that the approach taken toward them should be the same as that taken toward all other workers, which means that the P. Y. L. in presenting no demands for these groups have no way of contacting them.

The P. Y. L. as an organization does not give its members the right to formulate its activities, even on the principles laid down by the parent organization, the P. P. (Proletarian Party) instead, the Proletarian Party insists that the P. Y. L.'s entire N. E. C. be composed of members of the Youth League who are also party members, which is an open attempt by the P. P. to establish a bureaucratic element of P. P. members to control the problems of the P. Y. L.

4. Although the P. P. has a member sitting in on all business meetings of the P. Y. L., a non-party representative of the P. Y. L. cannot sit in on any meeting of the P. P., even those in which the problems of youth are discussed. We feel that because of the P. P.'s absolute control of the P. Y. L.'s business, it is our duty to either join the party, so that we can help formulate the line of action which the P. Y. L. shall follow, or else leave the youth league.

Therefore, the principles and organizational structure of the P. P., being of a sectarian and bureaucratic nature, which makes it impossible to serve as the political party which will emancipate the workers, we, as Communists, hand in our resignations.

American imperialism must do things in a big way in order to maintain her dominating world position. At the Pan-American conference the U. S. handles a whole continent which she hopes to place more firmly under her domination.

classes went on in factories. The factory employees were divided into about 10 different classes, from the Engineering technical personnel, in which are included factory administrators and their foremen helpers, down to lower and lower groups each with different food privileges, with nothing left for the last group. At the factory dining room there were tables for udarunks and non-udarunks and of course the food was different for both.

On the streets one sees, beside bread, kerosene or some other line, tired looking faces dressed shabbily asking one another how long will this go on, condemning in low voice Stalin and his five year plans, carefully looking around if some authority did not hear their remarks. There are others mingling among the masses who seem to be quite satisfied. Those are dressed better, their clothing looks much like a uniform with neat Russian boots on and brief case under arm. As an ivoshchik drives by again you see him sitting stiff in back and holding the brief case proudly on his knees so that the public could see the authority coming.

In May this year I came back to America. Many friends, sympathizers and members of the party, many of whom wanted to go to U. S. S. R., came to see me and asked about conditions in the Soviet Union, hoping to hear the same words they read in the Daily Worker, Freiheit and other Stalinist sheets about the freedom of the workers in Soviet Union who have nothing to worry about. Of course I could only tell them the truth and express my criticism from a Marxian viewpoint since I don't believe in hiding the truth.

—JOHN CERNICKY.

Notes of the Week

"FORTUNATELY, I think," thinks General Electric's Owen D. Young, "it will be easy to persuade our people that it is their duty to consume luxuries in order to provide an import balance so that our cotton and our copper may be exported. Such a personal sacrifice for the public economic welfare can be safely predicted".

Mr. Young made this warm spiel for a cold winter evening in the new York Times last Sunday. As luxuries he touches: Coffee, tea, fruit, wine, tobacco, etc. Considering all sides of the question very carefully, we cannot help reaching the conclusion that the (i. e.'s) man is not too audaciously optimistic. We know at least that a dozen unemployed ourselves that would roundly make the sacrifice, by course, in line with the worthy gentleman's "division of consumption" theory of economy, and corresponding to current codes of fair competition, the American unemployed might ask, in return for the conviction that it is their duty to consume luxuries—the concession that it be their privilege to consume also some necessities: Such as bread, butter, pork chops and potatoes, for instance.

But until the necessary arrangements for this sort of a square business deal are concluded, we must unfortunately content ourselves with the luxury of Mr. Young's ingenious philosophy. We could not quite make the sacrifice of consuming it whole. Yet we will nibble at it.

The gist of the idea is that the old conception of world economy being based on an international division of labor has gone haywire, modern technique, communication, transportation have made it possible for every country to build up its own manufactures, its own industry. And, as a matter of fact, Mr. Young rightly finds, most countries are quite content that this should be so. This is called the new trend to nationalism.

Of course England needs India's cotton and France the Saar's iron ore and Germany the potassium of Alsace-Lorraine. But that lies in the realm of a division of consumption rather than of labor. And in this same realm of the division of consumption, our nation is the most advantageous. Its labor is to consume the luxuries and to furnish for the consumption of the others, our cotton and our copper. Out of pure goodness of heart we will also offer for consumption to the budding national industries our motors and generators and dynamos.

So much for the general outline of the future. The whole plan is based on an angry that Mr. Young has plucked from his own intellectual Olympus that we have been wrong in thinking that a compressed world—compressed by the material rapprochement offered by wireless and radio and aviation—breaks down national barriers. It raises them instead. An ordinary mortal might be inclined to ask, how? That is because he is not acquainted with the four-dimensional approach of Mr. Young, however.

Still, if our oracle leaves us in doubt as to how—we can be made quite clear as to why it should be so. American business stands to gain all around by the new nationalisms. While fostering cultural exchanges with the other countries, American big business, in addition to the philosophic satisfaction of nurturing all the new nationalisms, can, as a sort of a by-product find a market for its capital export. And if the different nationalisms come to a clash of arms in their consumption of cotton, potassium or iron ore, that is just too bad. But Uncle Sam will always be there to pull the chestnuts out of the fire and the big boys of Wall Street will be expecting the American masses to lend a hand—it will all be for the sake of doing their duty to consume more luxuries.

Finally, as an illustration that it is possible for a nation uninitiated in the old order of industrial nations to build up a national economy all its own without dependence on the rest of the world, Mr. Young offers us the example of Russia. If, by some mystic or messianic formula socialism can be built in one country, why can't capitalism. Another big victory for Stalin's diplomacy.

In the meantime, since the "readjustment in this field (the new division of consumptive power) may not be abrupt", Owen Young consoles us, "Russia... will provide a cushion, temporarily at least, for diminishing trade in manufactured necessities".

CHICAGO INTERNATIONAL LABOR FORUM 2557 W. North Avenue Every Sunday 3 P. M. Dec. 31—Workingclass Internationalism and Decisive Crises. (An analysis of the causes leading to the downfall of the 3 workers Internationalists.) JOSEPH LEFTANTI of Chicago Left Opposition International Workers School. The hall can be reached by the B. M. T. 14th St. Canarsie Line to Sutter Ave, or the I. R. T.—7th Ave.—New Lots to Rockaway Avenue.

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