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Toward the New Party

Internationalism and The A.W.P.

National Committee of the Com-gram-the Communist Manifesto. munist League is conducting nego- After all that has happened since, tiations with the Provisional Or-lafter the collapse of the Second Inganization Committee of the Amer-ternational along the line of social ican Workers' Party. We hope for patriotism and the downfall of the fruitful results of these negotiations Comintern along the line of "socialand for the eventual fusion of the ism in one country" (national retwo organizations in the great task formism), there is less ground than of launching the new party. Such ever to think the problems of the an outcome of the negotiations proletarian revolution can be apwould undoubtedly give a tremend-proached from a national stand- Talk, dance and have a good time ous impetus to the reorganization point. It is from this point of view generally. of the proletarian vanguard in Am- that we raise the question of the erica and could not be without ef- Fourth International as a funda-

can only be realized if there is a We take part in the discussion of firm agreement on the fundamental a new party in this country not questions of principle—an agree merely as American revolutionists ment, moreover, which extends but as internationalists, as adherdown into the ranks of both organi-ents of the Fourth International. zations—we are bringing out in a series of articles in the Militant the point of view which we are advanc- the American Workers Party ("Toing in the discussons within the ward an American Revolutionary joint committee of the two organiza- movement") appears to us to be tions. The more openly and clear- inadequate and decidedly incorrect ly the points of disagreement are in its treatment of the interna- debate which the Lovestone group discussed the firmer will be the tional question and to chart a had so long evaded occurred. In a foundation for eventual fusion if course which would doom the new packed hall, on Monday evening, agreement is arrived at.

The Paramount Question

as it has always been for revolu- party arises, is not due simply to of the Communist International tionary Marxists, Marx and Engels

As has already been reported, the began with an international promental consideration in the discus-And since, in our convinction, this sion of a new party in America.

The A. W. P. Program

For us, the question of Interna- parties in this country, from which Party (Opposition), Jay Lovestone tionalism is a paramount question the imperative necessity for a new defended the position of the reform

(Continued on page 4)

End of the N.Y. Hotel Strike ternational. Sidney Hook acted as chairman. At the conclusion of the

Left Wing Fights to Rebuild Amalgamated Union group was outside the ranks of the

called off by action of a member-strike militants, disorganzed and ship meeting last week on the re-disrupted the strike machinery. commendation of the general strike sabotaged the functioning of the committee. According to the terms most important committees and delaid down by the Regional Labor moralized the ranks of the strikers Board all strike breakers are to be by their general incompetence, budischarged and all strikers rein- reaucratic methods and conservastated within two weeks. Strikers tism. not reinstated within that time are to be given preference in future Union" (Stalinists), which was al- events which had occurred interhiring. Since no provision was most completely isolated at the be- nationally in the last year, that made for the recognition of shop ginning of the strike, could only Lovestone could just, as well have committees or shop delegates in the thrive on this policy and practice made the same speech two or three supervision of the return to work, of the leadership and add to the years ago with no change. From the workers were left without any general demoralization. Working the rise of Hitler to power in Gerreal check on the employers in pre- from the start to break up the many, from the tragic defeat of the venting discrimination. As could Amalgamated and gain some advan- Austrian workers in their desperstances the bosses are discriminat-[union"—the disruption of a strike against Fascism, Lovestone was in ing right and left and are making in the process is a small matter to capable of drawing any Marxist a concentrated drive to break up them-the Stalinists were able to conclusions. In these events not

Discrimination Against Strike Militants

A so-called "citizens committee" of five, on which the union has only one representative, is obviously following the line of the Militant, before the revolutionists will be TO THE WORKERS OF FRANCE: without power to protect the work- made a sharp break with the offi- convinced of the necessity of a new ers against discrimination even if cials and began to organize the it should be so disposed. And when fight against them, that the adit is considered that this committee vances of the Stalinist wrecking International has made many mis- Patriotes, Croix de Feu, Solidarite was appointed by the notorious crew were checked and a genuinely takes of an ultra-Left character", Française) mutinled. Assured of Judge Panken, fresh from his ex- constructive movement for the pre- said Lovestone, "but it is getting the support of Chiappe (ex-police ploits in breaking the taxi strike, servation of the Amalgamated be- better". Cannon had merely to commissioner of Paris-Ed.) they the idea of it functioning in any gan to take shape. The election of point to the decisions of the 13th exploited the discontent and the way as an aid to the strikers has Hugo Oehler as chairman of the plenum of the Comintern which en-chauvinism of a section of the petty to be dismissed altogether.

ment as a basis for the establish the union around the picket com- at the recent Madison Square meet- a dictatorial regime for the benefit very quickly; not to wait for the tem" in hiring and firing workers policy in the strike under the chair- tion. Stalinism, said Cannon, does sion of the workers' rights, the en- provocation and then to put up a ed) and that average wages for the and that a blacklist of the leading manship of James Gordon - were not follow only an ultra-Left course slavement of the toilers, to sweep desperate struggle. militants among the strikers will two outstanding signs of the rapid but also a Right opportunist one away the last remnants of bourhe attempted.

the workers, and the stirring exam-lated union and its future. ples of solidarity, courage and sacrifice it called forth from the ranks,

NRA and the Strike Leadership action as no better than ordinary | The task of the Left wing is now so miserably capitulated before the first alignment of bourgeois fearful of the "public opinion" of without any compromise and to fending the Soviet Union against dictatorship. The inauguration of different to the public opinion of for the rebuilding of the Amalgam-geoisie? The answer is obvious ibrium between the two hostile their own rank and file, especially ated Food Workers, the defeat of They would prove just as bankrupt. camps, will not prove any more

backward and reactionary elements the banner of the Amalgamated. munist International. -G. R. pave the way for bloody Fascism

The general strike of the New in the union, these careerists in- really deserved to hold a place York hotel workers was formally trigued and conspired against the

general demoralization.

The Left Wing Organizes

It was not until the Left wing,

Rebuild the Amalgamated!

the result has to be recorded as a a program for saving the strike by 1933. defeat. A reorganization of the un-concentrating on relief, picketing ion and preparation for new strug- and a class struggle policy to the gles confront the hotel workers as end. Frustrated in this aim by the a necessity in their aim to estab. whole course of the official leaderlish union conditions and recogni-ship, the Left wing is now fighting to re-form the ranks of the union, to rebuild the organization, fight The Regional Labor Board play-the blacklist and keep up the relief ed a highly effective part in defeat- to support its victims, and to cleanse ing the aims of the strike; and its the union of its careerist leaderdesigns in this respect, clear to ship. The motion of James Gordon, every class conscious militant, were at the first meeting of the Executive supplemented perfectly by the con-Board of the Union after the endservative, belly-crawling policy of ing of the strike, to reject the rethe officials of the union-Field, port of Field and declare no confid-Costas and Kaldis. These unworthy ence in the leadership, was carried leaders, posing originally as pro- by a vote of 14 to 2. In this the gressives and even as Left wing strength of the revolt against the militants, showed themselves up in Field administration is indicated.

routine trade union bureaucrats, to lead this revolt to the very end Fascism would be capable of de-forces for the establishment of a the bourgeois world and utterly in steer it into constructive channels the attacks of the imperialist bour a period of Bonapartism, the equil-

SPRING FESTIVAL

The last indoor affair of the season to be held by the New York Local of the League will be held on Saturday, March 31st. at Victoria Hall, Irving Place.

This affair will be primarily a dance, with a good band. In addition, we are planning a short program of entertainment. Among the numbers of the program we expect Chief Littlemoose, an American Indian, in a recital of his native dances, and Madame X who will appear in typical gypsie costume prepared to tell you all the pleasant things you want to hear about your fortune.

Keep the date open. Come and bring your friends. Get together.

Big Crowd **Nt Debate**

The programmatic statement of Cannon and Lovestone Discuss Internationals

Before an audience of 1500 the party from its inception. The col- March 5th at the Irving Plaza the lapse of the Stalinist and Socialist representative of the Communist while James P. Cannon, representing the Communist League, spoke for the formation of the Fourth Indebate the question which stood outstanding was why the Lovestone Stalinist party, sincè such warm defenders of the Stalinist Comintern

> Lovestone maintained that with some tactical reforms in the line of the Comintern it could be made to serve the interests of the proletarian revolution.

Cannon in an annihilating reply showed how Lovestone completely The "Food Workers Industrial ignored the significance of the great exploit the gross mistakes of the only social democracy, but also leadership in order to add to the Stalinism had demonstrated its bankruptcy and impotence. Does the working class need the victory of Fascism in a few more countries International?

"Yes, it is true, the Communist gains of the bona-fide Left wing as was manifested in the referen- geols democracy; opening the road the 12 of February which enlisted 1931 (a 25% reduction)—in spite Despite the militant struggle of that is fighting for the Amalgam-dum with the Fascists in Germany to complete Fascism, to unleashed all the workers of France, was not, of that, B. L. Patterson, President and the agreement to refrain from chauvinist barbarism, to war. criticism of the social democrats in The Left wing brought forward the united front manifesto of March

experiences of the last ten years, reaction and Fascism. in other words, on the ideas of Marx and Lenin. Lovestone's at- strength. War has begun between tempt to make of the International them. No peace is possible, but Communists opponents of the Soviet struggle to the death. One must Union because they fight the Stalin- annihilate the other and take power. ist bureaucracy collapsed dismally. The period of democracy and paring the truth by such methods.

Is it to be expected, asked Cannon, that the Stalinist parties which mergue ministry, is proceeding to

Case - by L.D. Trotsky L'Humanite (organ of the French C. P .-- ed) for February 21st

published a telegram from Moscow which announces that Rakovsky is giving up his fight and submitting to discipline. Without a doubt this news cannot fail to produce a deep impression among all the workers who knew and followed the old fighter.

It has always been our motto to speak out what is. Even at this time we do not wish either to mitigate or conceal.

The telegram concerning the declaration of Rakovsky tells us, however, that Rakovsky has not "capitulated" after the fashion of Zinoviev, Kameney and Co. He has not recanted a single word of the ideas in whose name he fought together with us. He has not recognized the so-called "mistakes" committed by the Left Opposition. He has not proclaimed the correctness of the official policy. Thus, in the conditions of the U. S. S. R., of which we are well aware, this essential feature of Rakovsky's declaration is exceptionally outstanding. It can only emphasize the fact that Rakovsky, theoretically and politically, has abandoned nothing, nor has he renounced his past.

In an interview with comrade Trotsky on this subject he had the following to say:

"Rakovsky states that he will give up his struggle and submit to discipline. That is the only content of his declaration. In order to understand this declaration in its proper light-and naturally we condemn it-it is necessary to understand the situation in which Rakovsky was placed. In fact he had been placed in a condition of giving up his active struggle three or four years ago. He could neither communicate with his friends, nor write articles, nor receive the literature of the Left Opposition and generally information on the international labor movement. In his complete isolation he remained without any perspective whatsoever.

"Rakovsky's declaration, far from being an ideologic or political capitulation, is at the same time not only a highly regrettable but a condemnable fact. Undoubtedly this example will be extensively utilized by the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to draw many of the youth, imprisoned and isolated like Rakovsky, on the path of capitulation not in the manner of Rakovsky but of Zinoviev.

'We have reiterated many times that the restoration of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. can only be accomplished on the international arena. The case of Rakovsky confirms this in a negative but striking manner. The Bolshevik-Leninists in the U. S. S. R. are not aware from the Pravda of the burning facts of international life: Hitler's victory, the danger of war, now the crushing of the Austrian proletariat. They have no opportunity of orienting themselves in the true light of these events, nor of discerning the different formations

"In order to recreate a powerful Internationalist-Communist movement in the U. S. S. R. the struggle of the IV International must take form, become so powerful a factor that the Stalinist bureaucracy will no longer be able to hide it from the Soviet workers, the Bolshevik-Leninists included

"We register the purely formal declaration of the old warrior, who by his whole life has demonstrated his unshakable devotion to the revolutionary cause; we register it with sadness and pass on to the order of the day, that is to the doubly vigorous struggle for the new parties of the new International."

-INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT LEAGUE OF INTERNATIONALIST COMMUNISTS (BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS)

venting discrimination. As could Amalgamated and gain some advandant workers in their desperonly be expected under the circumtage for their own "18th Street ate attempt to defend themselves FRENCH INTERNATIONALISTS APPEAL TO THE MASSES

Appeal of the Communist League of France (Bolshevik-Leninists) published in La Ver-

ite of February 16.

Two forces face each other. On February 6th the reactionary vermin (Action Francaise, Jennesses

As to the program of the Fourth provocation in a complete general was under your pressure that all International and the revolutionary their forces to block the road to

Two forces are measuring their

The present government, the Dou-

on the model of Hitler. WORKERS!....EITHER YOU OR THEY!

Upon your action depends the future of the proletariat and of all society. It depends on you to mobilize all the toiling masses against Fascism as well as a large part of the armed forces of the nation who have been completely disoriented and that average wages for the emby the present situation.

HOW SHALL THE STRUGGLE BE CARRIED ON?

By organizing your forces rapidly, hearts of the workers in the foundstrike committee in a session called dorsed the whole disastrous course bourgeoisie which overthrow the There is not a minute to lose. The ries and machine shops to know There is no doubt that the hotel over the heads of Field & Co., and in Germany and to the native Stallast Left government of Daladier, heroic example of our Austrian that despite the fact that the numbosses aim to interpret the settle- the rallying of the best fighters in inists with their hooligan actions Its objective: the establishment of brothers should inspire us to act ber of workers in this industry was ment of the infamous "merit sys- mittee—the center of class struggle ing to finish this ridiculous asser- of the big bourgeoisie, the suppress moment chosen by the reactionary 285,000 in 1931 (37.2% unemploy-

February 12 saw a magnificant certed action of all the central or- ine and Foundry Co. received as proletarian reply. You have ac-ganizations of the working class, salary and bonus \$270,980 in 1929 cepted the challenge of the Fascist They acted separately. Workers, it and \$294.211 in 1931. more far-reaching results.

continues to propose to you:

gle against Fascism.

(Continued on page 4)

A Statement on the Rakovsky Corporations Win the Fake "Elections"

N.R.A. and Company Unions

Street Carmen's Union or any other places to cast their vote. this is not the first case on record with pads and pencils ready to take interpretation and compelling the who would exercise their right to acceptance of their company union. vote. Thirdly, the company had The company union vote successful- given every worker to understand ly staged by the Weirton Steel Co. that the employment would terminlast December, is one of the crass-late for any worker who would avail could be cited. There are sure to ner it was very easy for the combe more in the future.

"Protecting Workers' Rights"

On behalf of a goodly number of the New York Coach Co. employees, the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees had filed a petition with the Labor Board for the right of these workers to decide in a regular election for a union of their own choice. The Labor Board ordered that such elections be held, set the date and stated that the board would "pro-tect every worker, who exercised his designated several polling places. It right to vote, against any and all

Last week the Fifth Avenue Coach (efforts at reprisals." What this Company of New York successfully pretended protection meant to the prevented its 1,450 employees from workers was quite clearly illustratrecording themselves whether they ed by the fact that only one dozen wanted to belong to the A. F. of L. of them ventured inside the polling

union of their own choice. For The company had of course taken this purpose an election had been its measures of reprisals in advance. arranged by the Regional Labor In the first place it declined al-Board. This right of choice is sup-together to comply with the order posed to be accorded all workers of the Labor Board. Secondly, it under Section 7-a of the NRA. Yet sent its spotters to all polling places of the employers enforcing their down the names of those workers est among several examples which himself of this right. In this manpany to make a farce of the elec-

Weirton Steel Case

The case of the Weirton Steel Co. is another instance of "protection" of the right to union organization under the NRA. Only, in this instance the bosses proceeded much more crudely and flagrantly to enforce the company union provisions. The workers had gone on strike for the right of union organization and had walked out almost to a man. (Continued on page 4)

Hard Times Missed Bosses

"Presidents" Increased Salaries and Bonuses

ing the shares of a company into ceived \$191,006 in 1931. many hands, and by means of complicated systems of holding companies, are able to control many industries which they themselves own only partly. This enables them to milk these industries to their heart's content, either through financial jugglery of these companies, or by paying themselves fancy salaries and bonuses.

A corner of the curtain screening the latter method was lifted by the publication, by the Federal Trade Commission (New York Times of Feb. 27, 1934), of the "salaries" and 'bonuses" which were paid to the officers of various large corpora-

Hill Draws A Mere Million

It will interest the workers in the tobacco industry to know that G. W. Hill, President and Director of the American Tobacco Co. was paid \$605,613 in 1929, and \$1,051,630 in 1931, despite the fact that out of 105,000 Workers in the industry in 1929, only 88,000 were employed in 1931 (16.2 per cent unemployed); ployed were cut from \$818 per year in 1929 to \$690 per year in 1931 (15.3% reduction).

It will probably gladden the reduced from 454,000 in 1929 to employed were cut from \$1,535 per The magnificent general strike of year in 1929 to \$1,150 per year in it must be said, the result of con- and Director of the American Mach-

Schwab Gets A Raise International, Cannon stated, it strike, a mass gathering of the pro- of the organizations were finally In the Steel industry, of the 419. won't have any innovations, but will letariat in all the workers' centers forced to join the demonstrations. 000 workers in 1929, 278,000 were stand on the foundation of the first of France. Everywhere, the work. We greet you in this first step, but employed in 1931 (33.7% unemployfour congresses if the Communist ers of city and country mustered you must continue your pressure for ed); wages, which averaged \$1.745 in 1929 were cut to \$1,290 in 1931 Joint action was spontaneous on (a 26.1% reduction). The same CENTRISM AND THE FOURTH February 12; henceforth it must be steel workers will no doubt rub organized. That is why our party their hands in glee when they hear that Charles Schwab, director and The united front of all organi-chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Co. zations of the proletarist in a broad was paid a \$150,000 salary in 1929 workers' alliance which will co- and \$250,000 in 1931. Bitter tears Marxist revolutionists could not be liamentary games is over. The fu- ordinate the actions of each of the will be shed when it is known that silenced and prevented from speak- ture will be decided in the street organizations and unify the strug- E. G. Grace director and President of that company, who received 2. The immediate and universal \$1,635,653 in 1929 was forced to acorganizations of Committees of the cept a paltry \$297,796 in 1931. The Workers' Alliance grouping the re-cup of joy, however, will once more presentatives of all the workers' or flow over when it is announced that ganizations by localities and factor- Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the THE TRADE UNION POLICY OF ies. These committees, basing them. Finance Commission of the U. S. selves on all the toiling masses, or Steel Corporation who was paid ganized or not, civil and military, \$209,361 in 1929, was rewarded will struggle for the dissolution of with \$241,357 in 1931. The Youngt its militant and class conscious the Stalinist disrupters and the pre-section.

Basing themselves on the most most of the coming struggles to the defense of the Soviet Union stable in France than it was in the Fascist bands. They will struggle for the descondance of the Soviet Union stable in France than it was in the Fascist bands. They will also stown workers who can speak first participate in the defense of the unemployment and the pre-tis necessary the creation of new for Hitler, Doumergue can only will struggle for the dissolution of the Germany. Hindenburg made the bed unionize the hotel industry under Communist Parties and a new Comwage-cutting in that city from 1929

It is one of the well-known char- to know that J. A. Campbell, Presiteristics of modern imperialism dent, Director, and Chairman of the that the finance capitalists, by their Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., interlocking directorates, by spread- who was paid \$100,000 in 1929, re-

Hardship For Some "Captains" Not all "captains" of industry

were able to raise their "salaries and "bonuses" during this period. Sad as it may seem, some had to be cut. There is the case of poor Alexander Legge, President and Director of the International Harvester Co., who received \$612.860 in 1929 and a paltry \$63,673 in 1931. (Of the 42,000 workers in that industry in 1929 only 18,000 were working in 1931, 57.1% unemployed, and the average pay of \$1,400 per year in 1929 was cut to \$1,060 per year in 1931, 24.3%). Then there is poor Jesse J. Straus, President and Director of R. H. Macy and Co. who was paid \$139,240 in 1929 and had his pay cut in 1931 to-

The list could be continued, but the picture would not vary much. the magnates of industry, big fat "salaries" and "bonuses", even though in a number of cases they may be getting less than they received in 1929. Out of some 300 names published in the N. Y. Times, one has to search with great care in order to find, "salaries and bonuses" as low as \$20,000. The majority are over \$100,000, and what is of importance is that this is only part of the income which these gentlemen "earn" through dividends and other sources.

Millions suffer so that a handful of individuals can live in the lap of

Such a system can be changed. It must be changed.

(Nete: Figures on employment and wages are from the U. S. Census Bureau, which certainly cannot be accused of exaggerating unemployment or wage cutting.)

NEXT WEEK!

INTERNATIONAL

This is the subject of an article by comrade Leon Trotsky just received at the office of the Militant. It is now in process of translation and will be featured in the next issue of our paper.

OPEN FORUM

BARNEY HERMAN

THE COMMUNIST PARTY— OPPOSITION (Lovestone Group).

126 East 16th Street, New York City to 1931, will probably be interested SUNDAY, MARCH 11, at 8 P. M.