

Toward the New Party

Internationalism and The A. W. P.

(Continued from page 1)

"national peculiarities" of these parties; it is the expression, rather, of the downfall of the internationalism which they represent.

Without exhausting the question in a single article, the mistakes of the international section of the statement of the A. W. P. may be enumerated as follows:

New Parties and New Internationalism—A Single Task

1. The building of new parties and the new internationalism, which are inseparable bound together in a single task are counterposed as separate tasks, and the building of national parties is put in the first order.

2. The building of new parties and the new internationalism, which are inseparable bound together in a single task are counterposed as separate tasks, and the building of national parties is put in the first order.

3. The programmatic statement of the A. W. P. leaves its own international orientation undecided.

4. The immediate organization of the workers' militia for the defense of your headquarters, your meetings, your demonstrations, your fighters, the least fascist attack should call forth a thundering reply from your militia.

5. The workers' defense bodies, the Workers' Alliance Committees, basing themselves on the exploited masses, utilizing the force of the militia, will extend their aims and their rights.

6. Against the Chiappist municipal council, the workers of Paris will oppose the Workers' Commune!

7. Against the rotten parliament, you will oppose the Workers' Parliament!

8. On February 12, you have forced your organizations to come to an agreement in many localities.

9. There are local committees for the Workers' Alliance, for vigilance, initiative, joint action, etc., in the 4th, 18th, 19th districts, in Saint Denis, Puteaux, Suresnes, Corbeil, Puteaux, Strassburg, etc.

10. Our Communist League, struggling in the vanguard under the banner of the Fourth International, appeals to you to immediately organize for joint action, from top to bottom, of all organizations.

11. You are strong!... Victory is assured on one condition: Organization, more organization and always organization!

12. Forward to the Workers' Alliance! Forward to the Workers' Militia! Down with reaction and Fascism! Long live the Workers' Power!

13. —Executive Committee of the Communist League Paris, Feb. 14, 1934.

14. A pocketbook was lost at the Cannon-Lovestone debate at Irving Plaza by the undersigned. It contained receipts from the Dressmakers Union No. 45, Union City, New Jersey, and about \$30 in cash.

15. Finders please return to undersigned or to office of the Militant.

16. —HARRY ZAROFF, 829 Adee Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.

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tion". The company pledged its "full support", but added tersely that "the men will be re-engaged as soon as our operation improves".

As a result the company could announce a "great victory" for the company union plan. It claimed that over nine thousand workers had participated in the voting.

There was, of course, no way of ascertaining the correctness of these figures, but the intimidation methods pursued by the company were quickly established.

Hundreds of workers made affidavits that heads of departments had forced them to vote. For several weeks prior to the elections, workers had been entertained royally in the country club quarters almost every night under sponsorship of company officials.

But the most effective intimidation was naturally constituted by the fear of the men of losing their jobs if they failed to vote.

This fear had been very much heightened by the shut-down of those mills in the Weirton plant where the union sentiment was strongest.

Simultaneously three mills belonging to the same company at its Clarksburg plant were opened, taking in new workers a few days before the elections.

All workers had been given clearly to understand that they must vote or lose their jobs.

It has been reported since that the Labor Board made plans for a contest in the courts. However, the fake election took place in December and nothing has been heard of it since.

The Weirton Steel Co. enforced its company union plan, and the orders of the Labor Board remained so many empty boasts.

In the first place they constituted only a public pretense of protecting the workers' rights.

The National Labor Board had no better luck in the case of the Budd Manufacturing Co. in Philadelphia. Following its intervention in a strike, it directed the company to reinstate all strikers "promptly, and without discrimina-

economic demands of all the workers without distinction of race or nationality, in defense of all the foreign workers, especially threatened by the chauvinism and the anti-semitism of the Fascist groupings.

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The workers' defense bodies, the Workers' Alliance Committees, basing themselves on the exploited masses, utilizing the force of the militia, will extend their aims and their rights.

Their mobilizing by localities, by districts, in the entire nation, will lay the bases of your power.

Against the Chiappist municipal council, the workers of Paris will oppose the Workers' Commune!

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Corporations Win the Fake N.R.A. "Elections"

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weeks. Finally the workers returned to the jobs as a result of intervention by the National Labor Board with a "guarantee" that they would be accorded the right to their choice of union organization.

The company lost no time, but set a date for election of representatives on the company union plan. The Labor Board ordered a postponement of elections. It was refused by the company.

The Labor Board next announced that it would supervise the elections. That sort of assistance was similarly rejected by the company, which went ahead with the elections under its own auspices.

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This fear had been very much heightened by the shut-down of those mills in the Weirton plant where the union sentiment was strongest.

Simultaneously three mills belonging to the same company at its Clarksburg plant were opened, taking in new workers a few days before the elections. All workers had been given clearly to understand that they must vote or lose their jobs.

It is not necessary to adduce additional examples to show what the role of the Labor Board is and in what direction its power is to be applied. In every labor dispute on record since its creation it has intervened to forestall action by the workers, until the most opportune moment for strike has passed, or else it has injected itself into such situations with a view to demoralizing and dividing the workers ranks in advance.

In every instance it has conspired directly with the capitalist agents in labor's ranks holding official union positions. When the workers take matters into their own hands and go on strike the role of the labor board is usually the one of making certain promises or guarantees to the workers which it has neither the power nor the intention to enforce after the workers have returned to the jobs.

There is now before congress a bill providing for the creation of a permanent National Labor Board which, if adopted, will become tantamount to compulsory arbitration.

This bill is introduced by Senator Wagner, and it has the backing and support of the officials of the American Federation of Labor. William Green, John L. Lewis of the miners union, and William L. Berry of the Pressmen's Union are members of the present Labor Board and are a party to all its pretences and fraudulent promises.

As far as the A. F. of L. officials are concerned, in practically every labor dispute they have learned almost entirely on the support of such governmental institutions rather than upon the fighting workers ranks. This is the weakest of needs to lean upon.

The employers have shown themselves able in every case to use these governmental agencies to serve their specific purposes. In the first place it is their government and nothing else could be expected.

The extent to which that can be counteracted depends entirely upon the power that the labor movement can develop in action. The questions of collective bargaining, of union organization, and of compelling the employers to accede to the demands of the workers—these are not matters of polite discussions or ordinary business.

They are matters of class struggle. The sooner the workers and the trade unions recognize this fact and prepare themselves accordingly, the sooner they will be able to enforce their own rights without relying on the pretended impartiality or support of the Labor Boards.

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Aftermath of the Madison Square Garden Affair

The Intellectuals Revolt Against Stalinist Hooliganism

While Hathaway continues to shout that "the C. P. has nothing to apologize for" with respect to the disruption of the Socialist meeting at Madison Square Garden, some of his Party's supporters are not so sure.

A group of 25 intellectuals last week addressed to the C. P. and the New Masses an open letter on the subject. After condemning the policies of Socialist leadership in Austria and the United States, these intellectuals describe the actions of the C. P. at the Garden meeting and attribute to it "the disruption of working-class action in support of the Austrian workers. They conclude with this paragraph:

"The Daily Worker of February 16th says: Anyone who splits the ranks of the workers at this time helps the Fascists, injures the valiant struggle of our heroic brothers in Austria, and is a contemptible enemy of the working class. We who write this letter watch with sympathy the struggles of militant labor and aid such struggles. We agree with the statement of the Daily Worker. And it is with horror that we see the Communist Party play the part against which it itself has warned."

This Open Letter, whose contents must be endorsed by every enemy of Fascism, is evidence of a new attitude among the intellectuals who in recent years have gathered on the periphery of the revolutionary movement. While not one of the signers of this letter has, as far as we know, drawn from his criticisms of the C. P. and the S. P. the revolutionary's inevitable conclusion that a new revolutionary party must be founded, their statement has its own importance.

Among the signers are a former secretary (E. E. Cohen) and several of the most active members of the executive of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners; the secretary of the Prisoners' Book Committee (George Novack); the former secretary of the Prisoners' Relief Committee (Diana Rubin). All these organizations are auxiliaries of the C. P.-controlled I. L. D. Here, too, is to be found James Rorty, the secretary of the League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, the C. P.'s proudest boast in the 1932 Presidential campaign. And here are intellectuals who, under Party influence and to serve the Party, journeyed to the class battle-front in Kentucky, Alabama, Michigan, Washington, D. C.; members of a National Student League delegation to the U. S. S. R.; agitators and fund raisers for the I. L. D. in the Scottsboro and other cases; authors of articles in the Daily Worker, Fight, the New Masses, etc., and of pamphlets bearing imprints of party organizations.

"Discussion" a la C. P. Yesterday all these were among "the honest intellectuals who accept the leadership of the C. P. under comrade Stalin." Today? Hell hath no fury like a Stalinist spurred. Today—we take this from the New Masses "reply" to the Open Letter—they are Zionistish academicians, butterflies, Lovestones, Trotskyites, Muscovites, generals yearning for armies, lacking in integrity and humility, Hamlets, egotists, Narcissists, etc., etc!

Of them all, the New Masses hopes to save from the ruin only one—John Dos Passos. Him alone—apparently on the hunch that the 25 he has been least concerned with careful, critical study of C. P. theory and tactics—will it address as a Comrade. One may well differ with the New Masses' view that Dos Passos' novels are "proletarian literature." It is perhaps enough to say that they are incisive exposures of the futility and rottenness of bourgeois civilization, and that there shines through them not a little of the vitality of the class of the future, the proletariat. By these books, by his work as treasurer of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners since its establishment, and in other ways, Dos Passos has served the revolutionary cause.

And what does the New Masses have to say to him? Only this: the Socialist leaders slander us (yes, yes; the Socialist leaders are opposed to revolution); what we did at Madison Square Garden was "an attempt to throw the masses together" (have such attempts ever succeeded?); Socialist leaders on the platform struck St. Clarence Hathaway the Pacifier (whom was he "trying" to pacify and who is responsible for their provocation?); you cannot understand our tactic unless you understand our psychology (and how about the psychology of the Socialist rank-and-file and non-Communist trade unionists?); we are in favor not of the united front but of the united front "from below" (so nothing has been learn-

ed or forgotten since Hitler came to power!)

In other words, although you had heard all this a thousand times before you signed the Open Letter, we tell it to you again—and one word more... a threat. If you Dos Passos, do not remove your name, crawl before us, we will denounce you too! You too will have been suddenly transformed from a comrade into a butterfly, a Trotskyite and, no doubt, even a Zionist!

Obviously this is a cheap political trick. The New Masses hopes, by a mixture of flattery and threats, to bring Dos Passos back and thus to give a shadow of justification to its denunciation of the remaining 24 co-signers. In truth, from a revolutionary standpoint the similarities of origin, record and present attitude among all these intellectuals, including Dos Passos (as he himself would probably be the first to affirm) are more significant than the differences, and the history of their relations with the movement is very much all of a piece.

Intellectuals and the Party

Awakened to the horrors of capitalist civilization, in most cases by the collapse of 1929, they and hundreds like them were drawn close to the class struggle by the sweep of mass movements. Anxious to have some contact with militant labor and the revolutionary movement, anxious to join immediately in some action without too much study of what they were long inclined to call "factional squabbles," they approached the C. P. and its auxiliaries.

All served, some more, some less, but all as sympathizers, fellow-travelers, outsiders. The Stalinists accepted their services, cynically "used" them, flattering them to their faces and sneering at them behind their backs. It made no effort to criticize frankly their errors and weaknesses. It had no thought of drawing them closer to the movement by comradely polemics. In fact, it preferred to keep them at arm's length. Why should intellectuals like Joe Freeman, Moissaye Olgin, Sam Don, Y. Jerome, William Patterson, press into the Party new intellectuals with five times their equipment? As long as the new men stay outside, furthermore, they may continue to believe that within the Party all is as it should be; once inside would they remain silent? The Stalinists feared not.

Consequently, they encouraged them to stay out, playing up to all their doubts, fears, prejudices and weaknesses, perpetuating in them the characteristics which their past had stamped upon them. The result has been disastrous for the revolutionary movement and for the intellectuals. The C. P. has developed a whole system of opportunism vis-a-vis its captive intellectuals: it complacently fails to rally masses (election campaign, Scottsboro struggle, anti-war struggle) and instead shoves forward a dozen poets and artists whose names, printed on the front pages of the capitalist press, make good reading in the many intellectuals began to adapt superior offices in Moscow. In turn, themselves to or even to adopt Stalinist methods; assuming attitudes of condescending superiority to workers (they must be tricked into militancy, "encouraged" by cock-and-bull stories about the growth of the German C. P. since Hitler); writing clearly non-revolutionary pieces for the liberal press ("oh, the workers don't read that stuff anyway"); permitting themselves other forms of juvenile Machiavellianism suitable to the inner politics of a petty-bourgeois newspaper or art circle or university, but having nothing in common with the tactics of the Marxist.

Many a lesson in such attitudes was administered them by Earl Browder, a past master of questionable maneuvers, lies and hypercrites. Little wonder that in nine cases out of ten the C. P. intellectual sympathizer was one who disbelieved much that Stalin, Browder and the C. P. said, buying himself freedom from casting in his lot with the revolution by pretending to believe in the Stalinist line and the Stalinist lies and by refraining from criticism.

The intellectuals are themselves not without guilt in this matter, nor do we hold any special brief for the 25 who signed the Open Letter. They have no doubt at times and in varying degrees shared the attitudes we condemn. They still carry with them many of the uncertainties which characterize the class of their origin. As we said before, not one seems to have drawn from his critique of the Second and Third Internationals' policies, a really revolutionary conclusion. For all one can tell from their Open Letter, they may still regard the Garden disruption as an exception rather than as a regular feature of

Stalinist policy in "the third period."

United Front from Below

But this much is clear: they have understood that what the C. P. did at Madison Square Garden was a disgrace to the name of Communism, a crime against working-class unity, an objective aid to Fascism. They have done more: they have dared the foul slanders that will be spread by the Freemans, the Passes, the Hutchins, the Colemans, and the whole tribe of Party bell-wethers and boot-lickers on "the intellectual front." They have dared dispense with the Daily Workers' assurance that they are "the honest intellectuals"—and in daring to do so they have begun to be the most honest intellectuals of all those who have, during the last few years, turned their faces away from contemplating the rottenness of Stalinism because they would not take the responsibility of carrying criticism into action. This much, at least, is a significant development and a welcome one.

These 25 cannot remain where they are. They must go forward or back. They have left reformism and the Socialist Party behind. They have now dealt their first blow against the theory and practice of the united front "from below" which had such tragic effects in Germany and elsewhere. This, the New Masses admits, is the issue at stake. They must now apologize for that blow and capitulate to the propagators of the united front "from below," the organizers of defeat—or they must move forward to firmer ground.

The Rebels' Destiny

The first need is a discussion of the question of the united front and the united front "from below." The Left Opposition is interested in such a discussion for its own sake; unless this question is clarified, no militant unity against Fascism is possible. Quite frankly, we also believe that an investigation of the issue will reveal that the errors of the C. P. in this matter are neither a temporary, local nor accidental phenomenon; they have roots which reach deep into the C. I. itself, which arise from the most basic theory of the Stalinist chiefs of the C. I. and of the Soviet State—the theory of socialism in one country.

The Communist League of America invites these and all other intellectuals who stand on the ground of the October Revolution and for the defense of the Soviet Union, the only workers' State, to a comradely discussion of the question of the united front, in its historical, theoretical and immediate practical aspects. Such a discussion may take place either by meeting or in the pages of The Militant. Here these intellectuals will find neither the flattery nor the cynicism, neither the nauseating blandishments nor the nauseating slanders which are the stock-in-trade of the C. P. in dealing with fellow-travelers and sympathizers. They will be asked to take nothing on faith, nor will they have to prove, as the New Masses now demands, that they were born with a silver hammer-and-sickle in their mouths. Where differences of opinion exist, they will be expressed by us in candid and comradely fashion.

Whether these intellectuals remain sympathizers, fellow-travelers, or become an integral part of the revolutionary movement, depends largely upon themselves. But the Left Opposition will do all it can to prevent their disgust with Stalinist tactics from turning into a disgust with Communism, to rearm in the service of the international proletariat these intellectuals who, having experienced their first skirmishes under a bankrupt leadership, might otherwise lose contact with the militant working class and the revolutionary movement.

BANQUET for the benefit of the PROTOMAGIA CLUB on SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1934 8 P. M.

633 Eighth Avenue Between 41st and 42nd St.

CLASS IN TRADE UNIONISM

Registration is still open for the class, "Survey of American Trade Union Strategy and Tactics", with Arne Swabeck, Secretary of the Communist League, as instructor. This class, one of a series conducted this semester by the International Workers School, is held every Wednesday evening, 8 P. M., at 126 East 16th Street.

In addition to an historical survey of the trade union movement, comrade Swabeck will analyze all the present currents in the trade union movement from the most reactionary to the most revolutionary. The students of the course upon its completion will be armed with a theoretical understanding of trade union problems and a better ability to participate fruitfully as revolutionists in the trade unions.

Appeal of French Internationalists

(Continued from page 1)

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