Internationalism and The A.W.P.

(Continued from page 1) ies; it is the expression, rather, of the downfall of the internationals which they represent. Stalinism and Social Democracy are bankrupt on a world scale. A new party which emerges to challenge them must begin with this principle condemnation and then translate it into criticism of the concrete activities of these parties here at home. An "American" party, hazy about its own international position, would be obviously incapable of such a

struggle. Without exhausting the question the international section of the parties first, then the international, statement of the A. W. P. may be enumerated as follows: New Parties and New International

-A Single Task 1. The building of new parties and the new international, 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. The statement speaks of "putting the cart before the horse", and adds: "The primary contribution revolutionary workers in any country can make toward building an effective International is by building an effective revolutionary movement in their country". Also: "Our absorbing concern is with the colossal job on our own doorstep. building a revolutionary party in the U. S., rooted in the American soil", etc.

All this has a certain "realistic" sound, but it does not fit the realities which every new party must confront-the realities of world world crisis of the labor movement. despise the methods of understand that they must vote or rather than upon the fighting work-must be founded, their statement (American imperialism lives in the world, not in the 48 states.) It is against it want to establish safe lose their jobs. impossible to build a revolutionary guards; others, it must be said, are party or to draw up a revolution-inclined to raise the bugaboo of ary, that is, a Marxist, program Stalinism as an excuse to avoid any the Labor Board made plans for a in any single country today without kind of centralized organization, contest in the courts. However, the agencies to serve their specific purtaking the world realities as the discipline, uniformity of principle fake election took place in Deceminception, and even in the process of their formation, and have a definite international orientation. The international position of any party is today the primary test of its rev-

olutionary character.

Marxism Is Not A Foreign Product To be sure, the new party must live in America, speak the language of the country, "feel" the moods, psychology and traditions of the masses, etc. In this sense the new party must be "American". It order to be a real support of the own leaders. If we consider it imnot mean it should adapt itself to ics without international cooperanational narrow-mindedness of the tically that the international can ism is not a foreign product; it is ent parts—the national parties—are the theory of the class struggle in really functioning organizations in every country; it is "native" to the full sense of the word. every land of capitalist exploitation. The new party will have the task of making the theory of Marxism of the A. W. P. leaves its own in-

Concepts of Internationalism

strong national parties. Action, of discussions with all who are in-militias, will extend their aims and course, is the highest expression of terested in that problem, and especi- their rights. Their mobilizing by the international organization of ally with those parties which like localities, by districts, in the entire the vanguard and everything leads ourselves cannot accept either the nation, will lay the bases of your to that end. But the role of internationalism is no less weighty in today." in the development and training of in the joint committee and in the oppose the Workers' Commune! the preparation of the actions and the national parties. At the present press, we hope to convince the A. moment, with the whole internation. W. P. that it is absolutely necessary will oppose the Workers' Parliaal organization of the vanguard in to take a precise attitude on this ment! a state of crisis and demoralization, question, to declare what kind of a this side of the question acquires new international is needed and to an exceptional importance.

and the new international, mutual Fourth International. exchange of experiences and ideas, putting the collective experience and theoretical knowledge of the Marxists of all countries at the disposal of each and every national party or group-it is precisely in these fields that the real spirit of internationalism manifests itself most prominently today in preparation for the actions of tomorrow. Herein lies the great historic significance of the work already in progress for the building of the Fourth International.

Can the National Parties

Develop Independently? independently, work out their own tained receipts from the Dressmak- organization! programs, acquire mass proportions ers Union No. 48, Union City, New and influence and then come to- Jersey, and about \$30 in cash gether to form the new Interna- Finder please return to undersigned tional? This is the concept that or to office of the Militant. appears to govern the A. W. P. approach to the question. "The A. W. P. stands for one compact revolu-

repeated internal convulsions and pices. splits. The program of building the As a result the company could The genuine revolutionary interna- that over nine thousand workers tionalists in the whole world today, had participated in the voting. are not too numerous. It is a life ascertaining the correctness together now on an international methods pursued by the company returned to the jobs.

same problem. Organization Methods

imitate the methods of the Stalin much heightened by the shut-down Comintern, with everything decided of those mills in the Weirton plant in advance for the national parties, where the union sentiment was with uniform tactics imposed every-strongest. Simultaneously three where, with leaders imposed from mills belonging to the same comabove, etc.? This question is asked pany at its Clarksburg plant were in some alarm from two different opened, taking in new workers a learned to despise the methods of workers had been given clearly to ing to its formation.

for uniformity in fundamental prin- workers' rights. ciples. Its concept of the Fourth The National Labor Board had World Party. But, along with that, Budd Manufacturing Co. in Philawe stand for internal democracy in delphia. Following its intervention the parties and in the international. in a sfrike, it directed the comthe parties and in the international. In a strike, it directed the combined trade unions recogniez this fact and ence and to serve the Party, jourent? The Stalinists feared not. International must be real parties, "promptly, and without discriminastanding on their own feet, living their own life and selecting their possible to build revolutionary part. Appeal of French become a power only if its compon-

Which International?

understandable to the awakening ternational orientation undecided. ings. workers of America and of applying Or, at any rate, its position is not 3. The immediate organization of LONDON'S ESSAYS OF REVOLT this theory in their struggle. Only clearly stated. Four currents are the workers' militia for the defense on this foundation can a genuinely to be recognized in the internation- of your headquarters, your meetrevolutionary party be constructed. al field: The Second, the Third, the ings, your demonstrations, your Such a party can only be a Two-and-a-half, (Centrist) and the fighters. The least Fascist attack thorough-going party of internation- Fourth (Revolutionary Commun- should call forth a thundering reply ist). The A. W. P. is against the from your militia. 2. The statement of the A. W. P. mention the other currents. It de- Workers' Alliance Commttees, bastends to limit the concept of inter. clares its readiness to "remain in ing themselves on the exploited to 50c a volume plus 5c extra for of sympathetic contact and engage in masses, utilizing the force of the Second or the Third International power.

In the course of discussion, both council, the workers of Paris will

questions, could make the launching Putcaux, Suresnes, Corbeil, Poltiers, of the new party in America, by the Strasburg, etc. Thus has begun joint efforts of the A. W. P. and the method of struggle of the illustri-Left Opposition, a realistic prospect ous leaders of the revolutionary for the not too distant future. There proletariat, Marx and Engels, Lenin can be no doubt that such a party and Trotsky. would be from the start a powerful magnet of attraction for the revolu- ing in the vanguard under the bantionary workers in America.

-JAMES P. CANNON.

NOTICE

A pocketbook was lost at the Cannon-Lovestone debate at Irving sured on one condition: Organiza-Can the new parties each develop Plaza by the undersigned. It con- tion, more organization and always

-HARRY ZAROFF. 829 Adee Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.

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

(Continued from page 1) weeks. Finally the workers return-

tionary labor international built up ed to the jobs as a result of interby actually functioning revolution by the National Labor It of course had its way. Board with a "guarantee" that they This idea, which is very similar would be accorded the right to their to that expressed by Gitlow, takes choice of union organization. The agenda for the present, and gives no for election of representatives on assurance for the formation of the the company union plan. The Lanew international in the future bor Board ordered a postponement left to themselves, and replacing in- company. The Labor Board next lines, adopt contradictory programs ance was similarly rejected by the on many questions, full victim of company, which went ahead with national isolation, and . experience the elections under its own aus-

announce a "great victory" for the scale to prepare the program of the were quickly established. Hundreds new international and to work for of workers made affidavits that the formation of its national sec- heads of departments had forced tions. The task of building the them to vote. For several weeks Fourth International goes hand in prior to the elections, workers had band with the task of forming new been entertained royally in the national parties in the separate country club quarters almost every countries. Genuine international uight under sponsorship of company ism today cannot allow any separa- union officials. But the most eftion of these two aspects of the fective intimidation was naturally constituted by the fear of the men of losing their jobs if they failed Is the Fourth International to to vote. This fear had been very

Enforcing Company Union Plan

Internationalists

(Continued from page 1) economic demands of all the workers without distinction of race or nationality, in defense of all the foreign workers, especially threat-3. The programmatic statement ened by the chauvinism and the

Second and the Third, but does not The workers' defense bodies, the

Against the Chiappist municipal

Against the rotten parliament, you

WORKERS!

On February 12, you have forced agree with us that the new party your organizations to come to an should place itself on the day of its agreement in many localities. There work of charting the new parties birth under the banner of the are local committees for the Workers' Alliance, for vigilance, initia-Such an agreement, which would tive, joint action, etc., in the 4th, imply a solidarity on other principle 18th, 19th districts, in Saint Denis.

Our Communist League, strugglner of the Fourth International, appeals to you to immediately organize for joint action, from top to bottom, of all organizations.

You are strong!....Victory is as-

Forward to the Workers' Alliance! Forward to the Workers' Militia!

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

plied. In every labor dispute on are not so sure. Just the contrary. The new parties, of elections. It was refused by the workers, until the most opportune the New Masses an open letter on you too! You too will have been moment for strike has passed, or else the subject. After condemning the suddenly transformed from a comance would develop on different the elections. That sort of assistand dividing the workers ranks in intellectuals describe the actions of connived directly with the capital- attribute to it "the disruption of official union positions. When the the Austrian workers. They conworkers take matters into their own clude with this paragraph: is utopian, not to say non-Marxist. company union plan. It claimed hands and go on strike the role of the labor board is usually the one of making certain promises or guaras in the period of the world war, There was, of course, no way of antees to the workers which it has neither the power nor the intention and death matter for them to get these figures, but the intimidation to enforce after the workers have

Compulsory Arbitration Scheme 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.

reeds to lean upon. The employers It has been reported since that have shown themselves able in every case to use these governmental

stock of the following important

port of the Labor Boards.

NEGRO LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES By Charles H. Wesley PROUDHON'S SOLUTION TO THE SOCIAL PROBLEM By P. J. Proudhon

By Jack London COMPANY UNIONS By Robert W. Dunne OUT OF THE PAST By R. W. Postgate

They are all cioth bound and of uniform size. The price is reduced ists, Narcissists, etc., etc.! All Five Volumes \$2 Postpaid.

PARIS COMMUNE COMMEMORATION Social and Dance at 126 East 16th Street SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1934 Speaker: AL GLOTZER Dance Contests - - Prizes Music By Prominent Band Entertainments and Refreshments

ADMISSION 20c Auspices: Communist League of America (Manhattan) Spartacus Youth Club

TWO BIG MEETINGS

YOUNGSTOWN WORKERS MAX SHACHTMAN Will deliver the following Lectures at CENTRAL AUDITORIUM

CAPITALIST WAR OR WORK ERS' REVOLUTION? Why the unrest in Europe? What is the meaning of the Austrian civil war? Why all the talk

225 W. Boardman St.

tion for WAR? WHY WE NEED A NEW REV-

about "peace" and prepara-

Aftermath of the Madison Square Garden Affair

The Intellectuals Revolt Against Stalinist Hooliganism

shout that "the C. P. has nothing to power!). It is not necessary to adduce ad- to apologize for" with respect to ditional examples to show what the the disruption of the Socialist heard all this a thousand times

"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

must be endorsed by every enemy of mass movements. Anxious to of Fascism, is evidence of a new have some contact with militant in Germany and clsewhere. This, attitude among the intellectuals labor and the revolutionary movewho in recent years have gathered ment, anxious to join immediately ary movement. While not one of study of what they were long in propagators of the united front As far as the A. F. of L. officials the signers of this letter has, as far clined to call "factional squabbles," are concerned, in practically every as we know, drawn from his critic- they approached the C. P. and its defeat—or they must move forward labor dispute they have learned isms of the C. P. and the S. P. the points of view. Some who have few days before the elections. All such governmental institutions revolutionary's inevitable conclu-

Among the signers are a former secretary (E. E. Cohen) and several of the most active members of the executive of the National Commitorganizations.

"Discussion" a la C. P.

to say that they are incisive ex. tactics of the Marxist. posures of the futility and rotten-

the revolutionary cause. Socialist leaders slander us (yes, from crticism. THURSDAY, MARCH 15th at 8 p.m. you cannot understand our tactic before, not one seems to have drawn union movement from the most re-Down with reaction and Fascism! OLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY of the Socialist rank-and-file and really revolutionary conclusion. For upon its completion will be armed Long live the Workers' Power! FRIDAY, MARCH 16th at 8 p. m. non-Communist trade unionists?); all one can tell from their Open with a theoretical understanding of -Executive Committee of Auspices: Youngstown branch, we are in favor not of the united Letter, they may still regard the trade union problems and a better the Communist League Communist League of America (O.) front but of the united front "from Garden disruption as an exception ability to participate fruitfully as

While Hathaway confinues toled or forgotten since Hitler came Stalinist policy in "the third per-

In other words, although you had

advance. In every instance it has the C. P. at the Garden meeting and trick. The New Masses hopes, by wethers and boot-lickers on "the ist agents in labor's ranks holding working-class action in support of to bring Dos Passos back and thus ed dispense with the Daily Workers' movement is very much all of a and a welcome one.

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 This Open Letter, whose contents to the class struggle by the sweep on the periphery of the revolution- in some action without too much auxiliaries.

All served, some more, some to firmer ground. less, but all as sympathizers, fellowtaking the world realities as the point of departure. That means, laws on the subject and will stand it since. The Weirton Steel Co. en. point of departure. That means, and control. We have definite opin- or and nothing has been neard of the expected. The extent to which the new parties must be internative forced its company union plan, and that can be counteracted depends of the former counteracted depends of the expected. The extent to which that can be counteracted depends of the expected. The extent to which that can be counteracted depends of the expected. The extent to which that can be counteracted depends of the expected. The extent to which that can be counteracted depends of the expected. The extent to which that can be counteracted depends of the expected. The extent to which the expected depends of the expected of the expected depends of the expected. The extent to which that can be counteracted depends of the expected depends of the expected. The extent to which that can be counteracted depends of the expected depends of the e the new parties must be internationalist from the moment of their tionalist from the moment of the m up for them in the Fourth International and in the conferences leadtional and labor movement can develop in ac- Rubin). All these organizations like Joe Freeman, Moissaye Olgin, phenomenon; they have roots which mained so many empty boasts. In the first place they constituted only the first place they constituted only the first place they constituted only bargaining, of union organization, led I T D Tours to the C. P.-control- Sam Don, V. Jerome, William Pat- reach deep into the C. I. itself, The International Left Opposition one are place they constituted only bargaining, of union organization, led I. L. D. Here, too, is to be terson, press into the Party new which arise from the most basic and of compelling the employers to and of compelling the employers to found James Rorty, the secretary intellectuals with five times their theory of the Stalinist chiefs of the accede to the demands of the work- of the League of Professional Groups equipment? As long as the new C. I. and of the Soviet State—the ciples. Its concept of the Fourth Inc National Labor Board had ers—these are not matters of polite for Foster and Ford, the C. P.'s men stay outside, furthermore, they theory of socialism in one country. discussions or ordinary business. proudest boast in the 1932 Presi- may continue to believe that within The Communist League of Amer-

> yearning for armies, lacking in in. of condescending superiority to and comradely fashion. tegrity and humility, Hamlets, egot- workers (they must be tricked into Whether these intellectuals remilitancy, "encouraged" by cock- main sympathizers, fellow-travelers, Of them all, the New Masses and bull stories about the growth of or become an integral part of the hopes to save from the ruin only the German C. P. since Hitler); revolutionary movement, depends one-John Dos Passos. Him alone writing clearly non-revolutionary largely upon themselves. But the -apparently on the hunch that of pieces for the liberal press ("oh, Left Opposition will do all it can the 25 he has been least concerned the workers don't read that stuff to prevent their disgust with Stalinwith careful, critical study of C. P. anyway"); permitting themselves ist tactics from turning into a distheory and tactics-will it address other forms of juvenile Machiavel- gust with Communism, to rearm in as a Comrade. One may well differ lianism suitable to the inner poli- the service of the international prowith the New Masses' view that Dos tics of a petty-bourgeois newspaper letariat these intellectuals who, hav-Passos' novels are "proletarian or art circle or university, but hav- ing experienced their first skirmishliterature." It is perhaps enough ing nothing in common with the es under a bankrupt leadership,

Many a lesson in such attitudes ness of bourgeois civilization, and was administered them by Earl that there shines through them not Browder, a past master of questiona little of the vitality of the class able maneuvers, lies and hypocrisof the future, the proletariat. By ies. Little wonder that in nine these books, by his work as treas- cases out of ten the C. P. intellecurer of the National Committee for tual sympathizer was one who disthe Defense of Political Prisoners believed much that Stalin, Browder since its establishment, and in and the C. P. said, buying himself other ways, Dos Passos has served freedom from casting in his lot with the revolution by pretending

posed to revolution); what we did not without guilt in this matter, This class, one of a series conductat Madison Square Garden was "an nor do we hold any special brief ed this semester by the Internaattempt to throw the masses to for the 25 who signed the Open Let- tional Workers School, is held every gether" (have such attempts ever ter. They have no doubt at times Wednesday evening, 8 P. M., at 126 succeeded?); Socialist leaders on and in varying degrees shared the East 16th Street. the platorm struck St. Clarence attitudes we condemn. They still In addition to an historical sur-Hathaway the Pacifier (whom was carry with them many of the un- fey of the trade union movement, he "trying" to pacify and who is certainties which characterize the comrade Swabeck will analyze all responsible for their provocation?); class of their origin. As we said the present currents in the trade unless you understand our psychol. from his critique of the Second and actionary to the most revolutionogy (and how about the psychology Third Internationals' policies, a ary. The students of the course Paris, Feb. 14, 1984. Tickets Ten Cents, Unemployed Free below" (so nothing has been learn- rather than as a regular feature of revolutionists in the trade unions,

United Front from Below But this much is clear: they have role of the Labor Board is and in meeting at Madison Square Gar-before you signed the Open Letter, understood that what the C. P. did active internationalism of the company lost no time, but set a date what direction its power is to be ap- den, some of his Party's supporters we tell it to you again—and one at Madison Square Garden was a word more a threat. If you Dos disgrace to the name of Communrecord since its creation it has in- A group of 25 intellectuals last Passos, do not remove your name, ism, a crime against working-class tervened to forestall acton by the week addressed to the C. P. and crawl before us, we will denounce unity, an objective aid to Fascism. They have done more: they have dared the foul slanders that will ternational cooperation and assist announced that it would supervise it has injected itself into such situa- policies of Socialist leadership in rade into a butterfly, a Trotskylte be spread by the Freemans, the Passes, the Hutchins, the Colemans, Obviously this is a cheap political and the whole tribe of Party bella mixture of flattery and threats, intellectual front." They have darto give a shadow of justification assurance that they are "the honest to its denunciation of the remain- intellectuals"-and in daring to do ing 24 co-signers. In truth, from so they have begun to be the most a revolutionary standpoint the sim- honest intellectuals of all those who ilarities of origin, record and pre- have, during the last few years, sent attitude among all these in turned their faces away from contellectuals, including Dos Passos templating the rottenness of Stalin-(as he himself would probably be ism because they would not take the first to affirm) are more signi-the responsibility of carrying criticficant than the differences, and the ism into action. This much, at history of their relations with the least, is a significant development

> 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 the New Masses admits, is the issue at stake. They must now apologize for that blow and capitulate to the "from below", the organizers of The Rebels' Destiny

The first need is a discussion of travelers, outsiders. The Stalinists the question of the united front and accepted their services, cynically the united front "from below". The "used" them, flattering them to their Left Opposition is interested in such faces and sneering at them behind a discussion for its own sake; untheir backs. It made no effort to less this question is clarified, no criticize frankly their errors and militant unity against Fascism is

They are matters of class struggle. dential campaign. And here are in the Party all is as it should be; ica invites these and all other in-The somer the workers and the tellectuals who, under Party influonce inside would they remain silof the October Revolution and for prepare themselves accordingly, the neyed to the class battle-front in Consequently, they encouraged the defense of the Soviet Union, sooner they will be able to enforce Kentucky, Alabama, Michigan, them to stay out, playing up to all the only workers' State, to a comtheir own rights without relying on Washington, D. C.; members of a their doubts, fears, prejudices and radely discussion of the question of the pretended impartiality or sup- National Student League delegation weaknesses, perpetuating in them the united front, in its historical, to the U. S. S. R.; agitators and the characteristics which their past theoretical and immediate practical fund raisers for the I. L. D. in the had stamped upon them. The re- aspects. Such a discussion may MORE BOOKS FOR YOU Scottsboro and other cases; authors sult has been disastrous for the take place either by meeting or in The Pioneer Publishers has a limited of articles in the Daily Worker, revolutionary movement and for the the pages of The Militant. Here Fight, the New Masses, etc., and of intellectuals. The C. P. has devel- these intellectuals will find neither pamphlets bearing imprints of party oped a whole system of opportunism the flattery nor the cynicism, neither vis-a-vis its captive intellectuals: the nauseating blandishments nor it complacently fails to rally masses the nauseating slanders which are Yesterday all these were among (election campaign, Scottsboro the stock-in-trade of the C. P. in "the honest intellectuals who ac-struggle, anti-war struggle) and in-dealing with fellow-travelers and cept the leadership of the C. P. un- stead shoves forward a dozen poets sympathizers. They will be asked der comrade Stalin." Today? Hell and artists whose names, printed to take nothing on faith, nor will hath no fury like a Stalinist spurn on the front pages of the capital they have to prove, as the New ed. Today—we take this from the ist press, make good reading in the Masses now demands, that they New Masses "reply" to the Open many intellectuals began to adapt were born with a silver hammer-Letter-they are Zionistsfi academ- superior offices in Moscow. In turn, and-sickle in their mouths. Where icians, butterflies, Lovestoneites, themselves to or even to adopt Stal- differences of opinion exist, they Trotskyites, Musteites, generals inist methods; assuming attitudes will be expressed by us in candid

the militant working class and the

BANQUET for the benefit of the PROTOMAGIA CLUB on SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1934 8 P. M. 633 Eighth Avenue

revolutionary movement.

Between 41st and 42nd St. CLASS IN TRADE UNIONISM

Registration is still open for the And what does the New Masses to believe in the Stalinist line and class, "Survey of American Trade have to say to him? Only this: the the Stalinist lies and by refraining Union Strategy and Tactics", with Arne Swabeck, Secretary of the yes; the Socialist leaders are op- The intellectuals are themselves Communist League, as instructor.