

QUESTION BOX

G. S., Los Angeles— Question: What is the program of the "Welsbordites" and where do they differ from the Communist League? Answer: A complete answer to this question is outside of the limits of this column...

However, the main differences between us and Welsbord springs from the fact that he is an individual with whom the League finds it impossible to deal. One must have had the experience of the New York comrades during the past four years to quite appreciate this.

Question: How was the vote for the settlement of the first Minneapolis truck drivers' strike taken? Answer: We are informed by comrades who were in Minneapolis at the time that the following took place: The terms of the settlement were introduced by the strike leadership with a recommendation for acceptance...

Question: Was the agreement about union recognition written or verbal? Answer: Written. Question: Did Local 574 consult the other unions, some of whom were still coming out on strike before calling off the strike? Answer: There were no unions coming out at the time the settlement was made...

A.M.D., Bronx— Question: What is the truth of the statement made by Stalin that it was necessary to support Chiang Kai-shek in the Chinese revolution of 1927 because he fought against imperialism? Answer: This is the official Stalinist alibi. Trotsky long ago replied to this as follows: "Draft Program of the C. I., a Criticism of Fundamentals"...

"In the sphere of international policy it occupies a passive position in the full meaning of that word. It is inclined to fight only against British imperialism; so far as the Japanese imperialists, however are concerned, it is under certain conditions ready to make a compromise with them."

Question: What is the basis for the Stalinist assertion that the practical organization of the October Revolution was in the hands of Stalin, since such statement contradicts practically all the known facts? Answer: It is almost incredible that such a contention should be advanced and yet Stalin does it in order to support his fable of the Russian Revolution "headed by Lenin and Stalin"...

For a detailed account of this and other falsifications by Stalin see the appendix to the third volume of Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution", where the minutes of the above-mentioned meeting and other documentary evidence are presented.

PIONEER NOTES

The latest moves by Japan in the Far East; its threatened seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railroad; its recurrent threats to the Soviet Union indicate again how imminent the next war is. With the wealth of experience left us by the events of 1914-1918 there is no need for any revolutionist to be caught off guard when it comes.

To the Bolshevik-Leninists of the U.S.S.R.

Dear Comrades, For a long time the Stalinists prepared Rakovsky's capitulation as a decisive blow. And now, only several months later, it is proved that the blow has miscarried...

The principal argument of the capitulation is at the same time the principal proof of the political inconsistency of the capitulators. The victorious offensive of Fascism, according to Rakovsky, the unity of "all forces" for the defense of the Soviet power.

Moscow, understands, it seems, that the increase of tractors alone, not only does not solve the problems of socialism, but does not even assure the existence of the Soviet state. Even if one were to believe for a moment that a complete socialist society will be built in the U.S.S.R. in the next four or five years, it is still impossible to close one's eyes to the fact that fascism obtains its cannibal victories in increasingly shorter intervals.

By means of such procedure the bureaucracy now has an unlimited domination over the C. I.; but at the same time the C. I. is losing the esteem and confidence of the working masses. The turn in France was accomplished without a semblance of discussion or criticism. The members of the French

party simply awoke to find out that today it was necessary to call the truth what had yesterday been called a lie. Such a regime, declare the Rakovskys and the Sosnovskys, is to the "credit" of Stalin! We think that such a regime is the misfortune of the revolution. In any case the capitulators should, at least, make clear to what extent they have capitulated: to yesterday's policy of Stalin-Thaelmann, which brought such happy results; or before the directly opposite policy of Stalin-Cachin in France today? But the capitulators do not dare make a choice. They have capitulated not to a policy, but to the bureaucracy!

In the last ten years the policy of the C.I. permitted the Second International to retrieve its dominant position in the working class. Of course, the crisis, misery, reactionary gangsterism, the approach of a new war, violently push different groups of workers towards the sections of the C. I. But these superficial and ephemeral "successes" caused by the situation do not at all correspond to the political situation and to its gigantic tasks. The German Communist party had incomparably greater "successes" up to the end of its legal existence but that did not save it from an ignominious collapse.

Within the parties of the Second International, whose leadership is a reflection of its miserable and infamous orientation, there is at this moment a process of radicalization of the masses. The regime of the C. I., the "somersaults" of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the cynicism of its means and methods, constitute now the principle obstacle on the road to the revolutionary education and self-education of the proletarian vanguard.

Herbert Zam Quits the Lovestone Group

The Lovestone group, both internationally and at home, marches from triumph to triumph! As a world-wide Right wing reaction to the more obvious follies of the Stalinist "third period", it first swept along thousands, and perhaps tens of thousands, of Communist workers, and not the worst among them. Its hopeless position determined its own disintegration.

"I write this after hearing the report of our International representative that the Alsatian section of the I.C.O., the Communist Party of Alsace, has been expelled. This was the strongest section of the I.C.O. after the Swedish party, which was similarly expelled some months ago. The expulsion of the Alsatian section marks one of the major steps in the disintegration of the I.C.O., which has today been reduced practically to the German and American groups, thus giving substance to the charge of our opponents that the I.C.O. is only a 'Brandler-Lovestone faction'."

After showing that the prevalent view in his group was that some great event would bring the Stalinists to sanity, that this event occurred in Germany but produced no effect upon the bureaucracy, that the only way genuine revolutionary unity can be effected is by assembling the revolutionists outside the 3rd International, Zam continues:

"In the last year the group has moved backward, not forward, in its political orientation. It is not accidental that on all new questions the I.C.O. finds itself in substantial agreement with the Comintern. The I.C.O. and the Comintern agree in the condemnation of all groups desiring new Communist parties as 'Centrist' and 'counter-revolutionary'; the I.C.O. and the Comintern agree that only the Russian C.P.'s adherence can make a revolutionary international genuine (Even if there were a new Communist party in every capitalist country there could not be a new International without the Russian party—Wolfe); the I.C.O. has retreated from its previous estimate of the Trotsky movement and today agrees with the Comintern as to its 'counter-revolutionary' character; the I.C.O. and the Comintern are in complete agreement in their condemnation of the Left wing inside the Socialist movement as 'fake'; the German group (but not the American group) approves the shameful hero-cult which is being developed in the Soviet Union and through-out the Comintern; the American group (but not the German group) has become one of the most militant

tant apologists for the failure of the German C.P. to organize a real fight against Hitler's assumption of power; the German group (but not the American group) agrees with the Comintern in its opposition to the formation of a Farmer-Labor party in the United States; the I.C.O. and the Comintern both agree in their sectarian attitude to the 'Centrist' parties and organizations and on the necessity of working for their destruction rather than their conversion to Communism. The I.C.O. developed for the Comintern the 'August Block' theory which grants the Comintern the monopoly on revolutionary integrity."

Zam's notes on the internal regime in this "International" of crusaders for party democracy reveal that Brandler-Thalheimer, in Berlin or in exile, differ little from the Stalin Secretariat. In the American group, the picture is no more alluring: "In our own group discussion before the last convention (whatever discussion there was) name-calling became the main weapon of the majority ('Centrist', 'Trotskyist', 'social democrat', etc.); the leadership was anxious not to convince the membership of the proposed policies, but to stampede or even intimidate it, into accepting them. Cheap political trickery was resorted to at the convention itself, and the new National Committee was elected on a most factional basis, practically excluding all but a single representative of the minority from participation in the leadership of the group. A practice was developed of presenting new policies first to the outside world as the policies of the group, and then asking the group to pass upon them when the group had already been committed to them. Leading spokesmen of the group took it upon themselves, as individuals, to expound views which had been formally rejected by the group (Lovestone at open meeting on Socialist party convention). Comrades who were in agreement with the minority, or otherwise in discord with the Bureau majority, were squeezed out of work in the group, or out of the group altogether (Rubenstein, Conner, Jones). Of internal party democracy, only the form remained, the substance was discarded just as surely as had been the case in 1929."

"All this was done because the majority of the leadership of the group stood in deadly fear of a rejection of its policies by the membership, and because it was desirous of making a 'clean' appearance in the eyes of the official C. P. and Comintern leadership." He is leaving his group, concludes Zam, "because I am a revolutionist, because I want to continue to work effectively for revolutionary working class unity; because I want to help build a real, world-wide, united Communist International."

To the Marxist, politics finds expression only through organization. How, by what instrument, does Zam propose to effect the estab-

lishment of the genuine Communist international? On this score, not a word is uttered. If the Gitlow incident has more than a fleeting importance, it lies not so much in his break with the Lovestone group, as in the brief and futile career of the group which Gitlow formed after the break, the existence of which—never more than a shadow—is now a matter of concern only to a political corner. Because a revolutionist is not an adventurer, his choice in politics is extremely restricted. After his breach with Lovestone, Gitlow thought he could avoid making the choice. He failed to draw the logical conclusions of the advance he made. His inability to think the problem out to the very end, manifested itself in his quaking fear of "Trotskyism", that is, of the bold, consistent principles of revolutionary Marxism. After the first few gingerly approaches, he leaped back. He has been moving to the right ever since. On a different scale, but essentially of the same gender, the Frenchman Doriot has travelled the same road, with the result that he too is now tobogganing down the Centrist slide to the camp of the Right wing. It is worth while pondering over such lessons...

Zam is now at the crossing of the currents. He is free to strike out vigorously to one side or another. In view of the direction from which he has come, there are really but two currents with which he can go. One will reluctantly impel him to the social democracy, and his resistance will only be diminished and eventually eliminated by the illusion that, as a single revolutionist, sailing without banner or rudder, unsupported by the collective physical and ideological collaboration of co-thinkers, he will be able to achieve his goal (the new International) on reformist shores. The other will bring him to the camp of organized Marxism, which, whatever the marching route that objective conditions may indicate to it, always proceeds with a banner collectively worked out and borne aloft, a clearly understood strategic goal, a trained army and staff—all of which make its blows a hundred times more effective.

There is the choice. It is not the easiest one in the world to make. The genuine revolutionist, however, will not choose wrongly.

Foreign Representatives of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists.

capitulate, but on the contrary, will redouble their efforts. The socialist workers ought now to become the principle arena of their activity. It is necessary to explain the issues to them; more precisely to side by side with them to find a road to the revolution. It is only thus that the Communist workers can be torn from the vise of the bureaucracy and not only unity of action in the struggle against fascism be assured but also the creation of a truly revolutionary party of the masses, a section of the Fourth International which will lead the proletariat to the conquest of power.

Dear Friends! Your comrades in arms in all the countries of the world know the difficult, inhuman conditions you endure under the Stalinist bureaucracy. They have only respect for the firmness which the majority of you have shown in the face of new repressions, new autisms, new betrayals. No, you have not capitulated in spite of everything. On the contrary, you have before you a grand revolutionary mission to perform. You have a duty to place, insofar as possible, before the advanced workers of the U.S.S.R. the problems of the international revolution now monopolized by the Manniskys, the Kusnysks and the other third and fifth rate irresponsible functionaries.

Bolshevik-Leninists! The development of Europe and the entire world is now entering a critical stage, in which the fate of Europe and the international revolution will be decided for a whole historical epoch. We will now bring to the masses the revolutionary lessons that we assimilated in a dozen years of struggle against the centrist bureaucracy (Stalinism). Step by step, we will point the way to them.

FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE U.S.S.R. FOR THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION! FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL! Foreign Representatives of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists.

WORLD OF LABOR

WELCOME! POLISH YOUTH Greetings to the Young Leninists of Poland. We have learned through the organ of our Belgian Youth Section, la Voix des Jeunes, of the adherence of an important group of young revolutionaries to the youth section of the International Communist League. Up till July they were an opposition force within the Stalinist organization. A fundamental discussion on the basic problems of the workers' movement took place within their ranks and after a national conference of the group they decided in favor of a new revolutionary youth international for the youth and a Fourth International. The following is part of a letter to the International Secretariat of the Young Leninists in which they apply for admission:

"Our conference has unanimously decided in favor of the Fourth International, and has changed the name of the organization. . . . Our organization numbers around 130 militants in Warsaw and several groups in other cities. . . . Our organization is for the most part composed of Jews because we have had our origin in the Stalinist organization which in Warsaw is in large majority composed of Jews. . . . We also have a group of intellectuals (30 comrades) . . . We hope, and doubtless you do too, that your collaboration becomes a lever for the development of our section. . . . We hope that with your aid we will become the vanguard of the young workers of Poland."

MENSHEVIKS IN THE OPEN WITH THE GRACE OF STALIN

Every new event serves to prove that Stalinism weakens the dictatorship of the proletariat. The latest is the publication in l'Humanite, C. P. organ, and Le Populaire, S. P. organ in France of a letter from a group of Russian mensheviks in Kazan greeting the united front. This letter could not have appeared outside of Russia without the authorization of the Soviet Government and therefore of the political bureau of the Communist party. It is the first legal manifestation of a menshevik group in the U.S.S.R. In the early days of the Soviet Republic the Mensheviks placed themselves on the side of the white guards and the imperialist intervention. They sided with the counter-revolutionist and therefore were outlawed on Soviet soil. Since that time there was the trial of the Mensheviks for aiding and abetting the interventionists in 1922. Nothing since that time has appeared to prove that these Mensheviks are less hostile or less an enemy to the Soviet Union than they were a few years back.

Stalin, who used every means of state coercion against the proletarian wing of the party, to the extent of the destruction of the party itself, who has destroyed all democracy within the soviets and the trade unions now becomes lenient—to the enemies of the Soviet regime. In connection with this letter a dispute arose between the Stalinists and the Socialistists, the latter maintaining their usual attitude. Instead of denouncing the counter-revolutionary (the Stalinists have so abused this term that they don't know a real one when they see him) Mensheviks and taking full responsibility for making this party illegal under the proletarian dictatorship they speak like liberals of the most luke-warm variety: "The soviet revolution has always defended itself against counter-revolutionary taken part in which the Mensheviks have unfortunately taken part."

"Unfortunately!" Lenin would turn over in his grave if he could hear the conscious anti-Soviet acts of the Mensheviks described thus. The Bolshevik-Leninists are expelled, exiled, persecuted and their leader hounded from one end of the globe to the other; the party is destroyed; the soviets are made into caricatures; the world revolution is sacrificed in the interests of a reactionary utopia . . . and now the Mensheviks are given the right to legal expression. What next? . . .

DOOM TO FAILURE

The Labor Day issue of the New Leader reports that a new move is under way to organize an in-between, two-and-one-half international. First the Executive Committee of the British Independent Labor party is instructed to communicate with the French and Austrian Socialist and Communist parties and propose a world unity congress to them. Second, the Norwegian Labor Party, the Swedish Socialist party, the Independent Socialist party of Holland, the I.L.P. and the German Workers Party are preparing a call for a world congress. Not for the first time is such an attempt being made to organize a centrist international. And not the first time will it be wrecked on the rocks of reality. Such a half-way house was organized in Vienna in 1921. It tried to reconcile both internationalists and ended by returning to the Vanderveldes and the Scheidemanns of the Second International. In 1933 a similar movement began in Paris which included all of the above-mentioned parties. They did not divide on a new international but on joint action on an international scale. To date their record is a complete blank in both fields.

The Dutch Independent and the Socialist Workers Party forsook the cause of the Fourth International for the sake of these dubious allies. Even if a successful centrist international is formed, it will linger on a while and then return to the bosom of reformism.

Should the movement towards organic unity take an international turn, it cannot establish a revolutionary organization of the world's working class. Without a clear Marxian program—at least such a minimum as established in the pact of Four—no revolutionary international is possible. Issues are posed too sharply today to permit any straddling. The danger of Fascism and war are so acute and so pressing that any party and any international which cannot provide a clear answer must come to grief. The I.L.P. tried it and its ranks have melted away, leaving only a skeleton of the party it once was. The same fate awaits the other centrists.

Off the Press: August Number of

The New International

CONTENTS The Twentieth Anniversary of the World War The Second International and the War America and the War in the Pacific Lenin on the "Disarmament" Slogan Diplomacy in the World War The Stalinists and Pacifism The War in the Chaco The Crisis in Fascism—Hitler's Triumph Mussolini's Triumph The United Front in France—Should the Socialists and Communists Unite in One Single Party? And other interesting and educational features. PRICE: 15 CENTS Can be obtained at any headquarters of the Communist League, Pioneer Publishers, or write for it to The New International, Station D, P. O. Box 119, New York City.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE