# **QUESTION BOX**

HARVARD STUDENT, Cambridge-

Question: What is the basis upon which an appeal can be made to the petty-bourgeoisie without the making of concessions?

Answer: A revolutionary party would be tying it self hand and foot if it approached problems this way. "There are compromises and compromises." The question of whether or not "concessions" are to be made depends upon the relationship of forces, and this may particularly apply where the petty bourgeoisie is concerned. There may be no other road. An example of such a "concession" was the division of land among the peasantry by the Bolsheviks. In his "History of the Russian Revolution". Trotsky comments on this as follows: "The equal distribution of the land-objected Rosa Luxembourg . . . has nothing in common with socialism. The Bolshevike, it goes without saying, had no illusions

upon this point. . . . "It would be possible to speak of socialist perspectives only after the establishment and successful preservation of the proletarian power. And this power could preserve itself only by giving determined co-operation to the peasant in carrying out his revolution. If the distribution of the land would strengthen the socialist government politically, it was then wholly justified as an immediate measure. The peasant had to be taken as the revolution found him. . . ."

To return to the rest of your question. In appealing to the middle class the proletariat has two levers. 1. It must constitute itself as a force capable of inspiring confidence in its ability to realize its program. This is the long lever and it is precisely because of its failure to do this that the German proletariat lost the middle class of that country to Hitler. 2. The support of certain sections of the middle class may be mobilized on the basis of immediate demands. This is the short lever for which no general formula can, a priori, be written.

The latter condition flows from the heterogeneity of the class itself, which contains within it all kinds of farmers, shopkeepers, professional people, business agents, etc., with roots extending into finance-capital above and the proletariat below. Certain reactionary strata will have to be fought, some can be neutralized, and others won over.

For that section, who are, or are rapidly becoming, declassed, the slogan of "social insurance" applies. For certain sections of the middle class no immediate demand can have any value and even amelioration of out at the session of the executive their lot can be found only through the proletarian of the Socialist Youth Internationrevolution. To the farmers, the most important sec. al, one may record the first indication of the class, slogans around the question of tions of a sharp crisis in the L.S.I. evictions from farms and around the matter of mort- The successive collapses of all asgages and taxes, would, no doubt, find a response. These demands must, of course, be properly connected up with the struggles of the workers and with the 180 degree turn executed by Mos- the French Bolshevik-Leninists. general propaganda and agitation for a final revolu- cow, have their inevitable conse- Appearing under the old masthead, tionary solution.

It is necessary to emphasize here that we are treading on historically unexplored, or little known, marked by successive regroupings shevik-Leninist Group in the S.F. territory. Only a revolutionary party testing its slogans in the actual events, can find the correct road has and will have still more pro- and Socialist International)" to winning the middle class. The primary task, found repercussions on an internatherefore, is to build such a party.

JAMES SH., New York-

Question: Can you give me quotations from Marx, jority groups of self-confessed re-

Answer: Your editor knows of no work of Marx in which the expression, "law of uneven development" is used as such, but his economic and political clares as irreconcilable membership (both reprinted in the last issue of self chiefly with the question of prewritings are permeated with the conception. His in the Party and collaboration in the Milltant) and to a stirring edi- parations for the general strike in is not, as comrades of the center remark that the advanced nations hold up to the the Action Socialiste (a left centrist torial entitled: "Substitute the connection with this question, and left wing may think, simply a backward ones the mirror of their future is an ex- periodical-Tr.), gives high signipression of his concept that the evolution of society ficance to the Belgian crisis. proceeds unevenly in different countries.

Here are two quotations from Lenin: "Uneven economic and political development is an unconditional law of capitalism." (Quoted by Trotsky from Lenin's collected works, "The Draft Program of the C. I.", p. 29).

". . . there cannot be, under capitalism, an EQUAL development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industries or countries." ("Imperialism" Vanguard Press edition, p. 99, emphasis in original.) Here is one by Trotsky: ". . . the whole history of

mankind is governed by the law of uneven development." ("The Draft Program of the C.I.", p. 21.) Question: Where does Stalin say that the "law of uneven development was unknown to Marx and Engels

Answer: In the "Draft Program of the C.I." (p. 20) Trotsky states as follows: "On September 15, 1925, Stalin wrote that Trotsky has no reason to refer to Engels who wrote at a time 'when THERE COULD BE NO QUESTION of the law of uneven development of capitalist countries." (Emphasis in "Draft Program.")

Stalin's absurd statement was made in a speech at the Plenum of the E.C.C.I. which preceded the expulsion of the Left Opposition. It was published in English in the Inprecor. We will dig up the exact quotation.

Question: Who first referred to the "law of uneven development" as such?

Answer: As far as this editor knows Lenin was the first to describe the phenomenon in these words. Question: Can you give a definition of "the law of

uneven development"? Answer: The definition is contained in the very words themselves. The following, using as illustration only a few of the advanced countries, may help you to understand what is meant; Germany came to capitalism later than England or France. Then it outstripped the latter in its economic development and was passing the former when the world war broke. France came to capitalism later than England and continues to this day to lag behind her in economic development. The United States lagged behind England in economic development only to later outstrip the world. Russia, one of the last of the countries to be seized by capitalism, remained behind most of the advanced countries up to the time of the revolution. Nevertheless it produced the most politically developed proletariat who were able to seize power. The proletariat of the most advanced country, the United States, is yet in an early stage of its political development. A disproportion between the political development in other countries is also to be observed. The starting point of capitalism for the various countries is uneven, the rate of economic development is uneven, the political development is

P.S. The rest of your questions will be dealt with in a subsequent issue.

### Off the Press Today

## The New International

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# A Reformed 2nd or a 4th International?

A Discussion of the International

Left Socialist Declaration

(Note: The following critique of the new international declaration of the Socialist left wing appears in the latest issue of Verite, organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist group of the French Socialist party (S.F.I.O.) This is the first number of Verite tormer Communist League France joined the Freuch Socialist party as a step in the building of a new revolutionary movement in France. The declaration under tion of the soviets, the absolutely Bankruptcy of Second International Co. criticism is signed by Spaak (Belgium). Zyromski (France), Alter But the declaration seems to be complete bankruptcy of the 2nd Inhas rejoined the "Militants" group

centrist movements apart from the eys of the King and the bourgeoisie tions. To drive out the lackeys of two internationals, but also lies at as Vandervelde, but through them the bourgeoisie is not to divide the the bottom of strong centrist currents within the 2nd International U.S.A., etc.).

The declaration of the internacional left wing published in the Bataille Socialiste of July-August 1934, is the first effort since the our French comrades in their dememorandum of the 1933 international conference toward concerted of France demands the closest ataction of the left centrists evolving tention of all the International tendency to capitulate to the deinside the 2nd International.

Taking this declaration along with the conflict respecting the united front, which recently broke pects of reformism (parliamentary, trade union, municipal), and the issue dedicated to the new tasks of Saar, U.S.A., Spain, Bulgaria, etc. quences on the international scene. It is quite clear that the crisis, the new legend: "Organ of the Bolwhich are developing in France, I.O. (French Section of the Labor tional scale. In Belgium, Spain following slogan: and the U. S., the conflicts between the centrist tendencies and the maformists will sharpen rapidly from now on. The recent decision of the General Council of the Belgian Declaration and the account of the unity in the trade union movement Labor Party (S. P.)-which de- Third Conference of the Ligue appears on page 4. It occupies it-

The Left Socialist Declaration tional left wing must be studied as Anti-Fascist Militia-the Need of a part of this struggle. Unlike all the Hour." On page 1 also a meetthe right wing statements, whether ing of the Parisian District of the open or concealed, it poses sharply Bolshevik-Leninists is announced the current dilemma: fascist dic- for September 17, and there is a tatorship or dictatorship of the letter from a group of soldiers proletariat. The few lines on Fas- hailing the united front, protesting cism indicate considerable progress against the Stalinist withdrawal in the political analysis made by from the united front in Belgium the left wing. It finally abandons and against L'Humanite's attack the shop-worn argument constantly against comrade Trotsky and the resorted to by oportunists, that "it Bolshevik-Leninists. is enough to have some big meetings, to have great masses in order International Movement", we find to conquer power," an argument of an article which polemicizes sharpparliamentary traders gone mad ly against Spaak, Zyromski, Alter,

ways handed it over, and that, on to the bourgeoisie itself. The left to expel the Deats and Renaudels; It is indispensable that the com- from such policies under pain of in order to create a genuine revolurades of the left wing become more being irretrievably dragged along tionary current, it is necessary to precise on this point, and express into bankruptcy with the opportun- break with all movements linked hemselves concretely on the ques- ists of every shade.

essential question of this period.

It is necessary to proclaim the

(Poland), Pivert (France) and dangerously akin to right wing op- ternational, which occurred in 1914. David Felix of Local Philadelphia portunist policy on a whole series The crushing of the revolutions of of the American S. P.; Felix was of points. It does not say a word Austria and Germany, immediately one of the American delegates to on the subject of national defense. after the war, alone gave to Vanthe 1933 session of the 2nd Inter- It is impossible at the present mo- dervelde's International a chance national and a member of the Rev- ment to build a revolutionary move- to survive, no longer as a revoluolutionary Policy Committee which ment without clearly condemning tionary party but as a conservative made such a poor showing at the national defense and thereby the movement of labor. When the 1934 Detroit Convention of the S.P. Second International as the typical bourgeoisic went over to the offen-Since the Detroit Convention he exponent of this treasonable policy, sive, however, the Wels and Leip-On this second point, too, the de- arts abandoned treacherously every claration seems to be tied to that position which had been won in the of the right wingers. It calls for past; on an international scale The bankruptcy of the German a reform of the International, and they went from defeat to defeat. Social Democracy and of the Stal- assumes collaboration with the re- from disaster to disaster. Under inist Party, reenforced by the tormist right. Here is the knot the pressure of these events, an in crushing of Austro-Marxism, not which still closely binds this left ternational left wing has appeared only encouraged the development of movement, not only to such lack- it should be consistent in its ac

## (France, Belgium, Spain, Austria, Bolshevik-Leninists in the French S.P.

The extraordinary international for its opportunist failure to take importance of the step taken by a position on the question of nacision to join the Socialist party task on the point of their collabor-Communists, To facilitate acquaintance with the progress and the methods of work employed by the Bolshevik-Leninists under the drusticully changed conditions imposed nine Left wingers to join with the by the march of events, we print Bolshevik-Leninists in the preparbelow a review of the latest issue ation of the Fourth International. of La Verite, the central organ of Under the same rubric there are tion, written in a series of defeats our French comrades:

with the Soviet emblem, it bears Alongside the masthead appears the

"Tardieu is appealing to the "moral forces" . . . 'eople's Militia."

GENERAL STRIKE FOR THE Trade union correspondence fills OVERTHROW OF DOUMERGUE the rest of the page. for the ballot-box united front be-The declaration of the interna- tween the C. P. and the S. P.;

On page 2, under the rubric "The er but that the bourgeoisie have al- the Lefts in La Bataille Socialiste mass of French workers.

ation with the Right wing and their mand of the Belgian reformists for the dissolution of the Left wing Action Socialiste. The polemic is concluded with a call upon all gen-La Verite No. 220 is a special labor struggles in North Africa, the passing through the Anglo-Russian

An editorial on the adherence of the U.S.S.R. to the League of Nations, drawing the conclusions from ten years of Stalinist foreign policy and casting historical light on the National Socialist degeneration of the C. I. sections, starts off the third page. In reply to the boosters of "organic unity" as a panacea, we find on that page the famous Liebknecht article "Against the "It is high time to form the Unity of Fire and Water-for REV-OLUTIONARY UNITY". A The front page is devoted to the found analysis of the problem of

> Letters from militants and a penetrating account of fascist activities beaded "More than Ever-We Need the People's Militia", are featured on page five. The last page contains a programmatic statement by the Central Committee on the dialectic transformation of the French socialist and communist parties. A translation of pear in the forthcoming issue of the New International.

sion from a perusal of the con-Fascism has never conquered pow- attacks the latest declaration of ist Bolshevism with the stirring sie and Fascism, will build itself.

forces of labor; on the contrary, it is to work for an international re- TENSE SITUATION IN COSTA RICA organization on the revolutionary path. In order to build a united front in France, to make progress towards the left, it was necessary

The international left wing is today confronted by a concrete problem which it can not ignore in any way. The decision of the General Council of the Belgian Party is a direct blow at the Action Socialiste. Here the dilemma is posed: either the abolition of the Action or its expulsion. Are its international representatives, who are allied with Spaak (Belgian signer of the Declaration and editor of the Action, who is threatened by Vandervelde with expulsion-Tr.), going to give the right wingers an open road? This is not simply "a Belgian problem"; it is a question which faces all the working masses evolving toward the left.

It is essential to let loose in the French party and in all the other national sections a forceful campaign against the reformist and reactionary leadership of the Belgian party, and in support of the left wing current. If the representasives of the left wing keep silent, it will mean that all their declarations are mere words and phrases. It is necessary to join battle, and in this battle to raise all the political problems and to cut off internationally by a break, all those currents supporting the "democratic", reformist and patriotic policy.

If the 2nd International, charged with treason, is ead, the 3rd International has lost the confidence of the masses by its policy of liquidanews accounts and comments on running from Germany in 1923. Committee and the smashing of the Chinese Revolution, and coming down to 1933 Since the decisive defeat of 1933, the internal regime of bureaucratic suppression has only grown, stifling every serious discussion of the political line and forbidding thereby any possible correction. An International, which, after the German catastrophe, has not known how to grasp any of In the daily struggle the ques-

posed more than ever before. This little grouplet of "Trotskyites" isolated from the masses. It is the organic expression, the revolutionary regrouping on an international scale. The Fourth International will build itself by the movement of the centrist masses to a revolutionary position through their daily struggles. It is up to you, left Socialist workers, who have already fought for a revolutionary policy of expelling the neo-Socialists (Deat, Marquet, Renaudel this important document will ap- Tr.), who have made the united front, to build the Fourth International by fighting side by side with All in all, one gets the impres- us for a break with all defenders of "the Fatherland", for the prepartents, of the extreme tenseness of ation of an insurrectionary strugthe situation prevailing in the gle against the bourgeoisie. It is under the pressure of the masses. Piverts and other Left wingers for country and of the earnest deter- in this struggle that the New In-This is rejected by means of a clear their advocacy of the reform of the mination of our French comrades ternational, the only instrument declaration that, on the one hand, Second International. The article to fuse the great capital of Lenin- capable of smashing the bourgeoi-

# The History of the Frisco General Strike

By JIM OSBORN and DICK ETTLINGER =

(Continued from last week) tee of the Labor Council, the joint strike. By this move the bureau- leur, the president of the labor the strikers by means of mass meet-16 agreement had made plans for unions, which met the next day in overwhelming majority of the mass- most of them remaining apathetithe calling of a mass meeting of most instances consisted of the bus- es were in sympathy with the gen- cally at home, and the rest congretrade unionists. A circular letter iness agents and other officials of eral strike, they forced back to gating at the headquarters of the was sent out to all local unions these unions. In spite of the re- work, under pressure from the city various unions. requesting them to send delegates actionary composition of these del- administration, the Municipal Carto a meeting to be held on July 7. egates, the pressure of the rank and men who had walked out with the the municipal carmen back to work, It was the intention of the strike file was so powerful that the meet- other strikers. This first treacher- the strike committee on the second committee to have delegates select- ing overwhelmingly voted for a ous set of the strike committee re- day of the strike in violation of general strike committee for the morning, July 16, 1934. since on the previous day the La- in San Francisco, a city noted for quickly as possible. bor Council had appointed the its conservative labor movement restrike committee had been formed with the striking marine workers. labor movement as most of the un- labor movement was the concern of mittee before going out.

tween July 6 and July 13. On July workers would win, enabled the tremendously effective weapon in such a resolution to the union dele-13 the committee at a meeting of bureaucracy to quickly and effect the hands of the strikers. Just the gates the following day which mothe Labor Council stated that they, tively liquidate the strike.

but that five delegates from each strike committee of twenty-five, tribution naturally was a vicious A short time previous to the ap- union should meet the next day, overwhelmingly reactionary in campaign of slander. In addition. pointment of the strategy commit- July 14 and act on the general outlook, was appointed by Vande- no attempts were made to mobilize strike committee of the Marine crats succeeded in maintaining con- council. Even on the first day of ings or parades. Nor was any at-Workers which had been set up trol, for due to the shortness of the general strike, when the city tempt made to call out the printers. following the rejection of the June time, the delegates from the local was completely tied up and the The strikers were left leaderless.

They were not out to win the gen-

filling its columns with a vicious that they had taken favorable ac- the craft ideology of their reaction- the contrast between the Minneathe strategy committee, had no From the very first the reaction. The only available news was the of 191 to 174. power to call the general strike arise were in control. A general capitalist papers whose only con- (Concluded in next issue)

Following its action of ordering

ed from this meeting to act as a general strike to begin Monday veals clearly their future activities, its pledges that the demands of the maritime workers were just and calling of the general strike. But The calling of a general strike eral strike but to call it off as could not be arbitrated, presented a resolution calling for the arbi-While the capitalist press was tration of all issues in the waterstrategy committee they decided it veals clearly the tremendous pres- conducting a furious campaign front strike. Such an open betraytion in their hands. If a general officials and the solidarity they felt lawful, and predicting its collapse, fight but the machine succeeded in committee countered with no pub- vote on this important question. ions at that time had not as yet the entire labor movement. In fact, licity of any kind to undermine The employers, acting through the acted on the question of the gener- the calling of the general strike this attack which was bound to city and state officials, were now al strike. Twenty-five unions, was an uprising of the rank and cause demoralization in the ranks out for complete surrender, and however, reported at this meeting file of the labor movement against of the strikers. In this connection demanded the unconditional calling off of the general strike. At a

# INTERNATIONAL

The tense situation creat I by the governmental attempts to smash the geteral strike of Atlantic Coast workers threatens to get out of hand. It is the object of the Costa Rican reactionaries in their role as lackeys of the United Fruit Company, to to appear since the members of the the other hand, force is essential. wing must sharply cut itself off similarly, on an international scale, provoke armed clashes in order that the workers' organizations can be destroyed under pretext of "putting down an insurrection"

A demonstration of several thousand students and to the policy of Vandervelde and workers was held last week in San Jose to protest against the action of the Guatemala government which recently summarily executed several army officers and students who had been charged with communist activities. This demonstration of solidarity with their Guatemalan comrades was broken up by the police after a firee clash in the streets of the capital, in which many were injured.

It is becoming increasingly evident that the banana workers are waging an unequal battle against the United Fruit Company. This imperialist monopoly is international in scope, controlling the banana industry of all the Carribean countries. The imperialists realize that a victory for the workers in Costa Rica would be the beginning of a general movement of all plantation workers of the Carribean area, for joint organization and joint action. Wall Street intends to prevent this at all costs.

#### MENDIETA REGIME IN CRISIS

The reactionary regime of Mendieta-Batista, In spite of the very definite political and practical support rendered to it by American imperialism-annulment of the Platt Amendment and the Reciprocal Trade Treaty-is today in the greatest crisis since it came to power last January. The forces opposed to the regime have intensified their activities in recent periods and the Government has cracked down on them with violent repressive measures.

A strike wave is rising in Havana and throughout the provinces where transportation workers are tieing up the bus, tramway and taxi lines. Attempts are being made to pull out the stevedores and railway workers, and a general strike throughout the island such as that which overthrew General Machado, now threatens Mendicta and his would-be Bonspartist colleague, Batista. The latter is losing no ime in mobilizing the army against the workers of city and plantation against the peasants of Realengo 18 (Oriete Province) who are defying the government that threatens to evict them from their lands which are claimed by the Royal Bank of Canada, and against ex-president Grau San Martin's "Autenticos", who are said to be preparing another revolu-

Many Communists and other labor leaders have been arrested, and the National Revolutionary Party ("Autentico") is being persecuted by the authorities. Several of the leaders of the latter have already been imprisoned and Gran himself has fled to the United States. Constitutional guarantees have been suspended and martial law proclaimed in the provinces of Havana and Oriente; the army is held in readiness to put down the threatened uprising. Events point to a new turn in the course of the Cuban revolution the facts, which has purely and it is doubtful whether Mendicta can hold out much simply covered up its past policy in longer. The contradictions tacing his regime are a bureaucratic fashion, is a dead too great and he has been unable to really solve any

For the immediate period the most probable perspectives are either for a military dictatorship under tion of the Fourth International is Batista or else a new edition of the petty bourgeois "authentic Revolution".

### BOLIVIAN COMMUNISTS REORGANIZE

The Bolivian Communist Group has recently declared its adhesion to the idea of the Fourth International, according to Izquierda, organ of the Chilean section of the International Communist League. At the beginning of the Chaco War the Communist Party of Bolivia, which was even then not very strong and influential, disintegrated and disappeared from the scene. During the whole course of the war, only isolated individuals have dared oppose the imperialist conflict and the working class has been without even the semblance of a revolutionary vanguard.

The orientation now, of this small newly formed group towards the Fourth International, is a hopeful sign for the future of the Communist movement in that country.

## CHACO WAR THREATENS OTHER COUNTRIES

The years-old see saw war between Bolivia and Paraguay, continues with unabated fury in the Chaco region, where the lackey regimes in the service of American and British oil interests, continue to hurl thousands of workers and peasants into the slaughter. Right now it is the Bolivian army that is covering itself with "immortal glory" by three important victories over the Paraguayan forces. The artillery roars, several forts have been taken and the "peace" chorus composed of the members of the League of Nations commission, sings all the louder its hymn of international goodwill, in an effort to drown ont

However, all of the intrigue and activity is not being carried on by the "peace makers". Other forces are at work just as actively, if more silently. An independence movement has been set under way in the Tarija and Santa Cruz provinces of Bolivia, a region that borders on Argentina and on the war zone. It is quite evident that this agitation is inspired from Argentine sources, in an effort to weaken the position of Bolivia in the war and to either es tablish a new buffer state, tributary economically to Argentina, such as is the case with Paraguay today, or else to bring about the eventual annexation of the region to Argentina.

It should also be noted that within the territory of Argentina itself, the Standard Oil Company, which has quite extensive holdings in the Salta region bordering on Tarija and the Gran Chaco, is engaged at present in a furious struggle with the Argentine government. Many miles of pipeline were laid by the company in defiance of a governmental order. Having discovered that Standard Oil was using its private radio station in Salta, for the sending of military communications to the Bolivian Army, the would be better to leave the situa- sure of the rank and file on their against the strike, calling it un- al naturally precipitated a bitter Argentine authorities have closed down the station.

While Argentina backs Paraguay in the interests passing this resolution by a vote of the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Co., Chile on the other at this meeting there would have For once they clearly realized that propaganda that the strike was in- of 213-180 by a show of hands but hand, is supporting Bo'ivia in every possible manner. been grave danger of a split in the the battle of one section of the spired by the "reds", the strike refused the demand for a roll call Recruiting for the Bolivian Army is being conducted openly in Chilean cities and many Chilean army officers are already serving with the Bolivian forces at the front. In spite of the "embargo" Bolivia has been importing armaments through Chilean ports Of great importance also are the aids that the Chilcan authorities are rendering Bolivia to keep the tion on the strike but were await- ary leadership. This uprising, how- polis truck drivers' strike and the secret meeting held on Wednesday economic and industrial structure of the latter from ing the action of the strategy com- ever, due to the lack of an organ- general strike in San Francisco is evening. July 18, between General cracking under the strain of the protracted war. Inized militant leadership and the very illuminating. In the former Johnson, city officials and "labor dications are that if the present negotiations fall to The strategy committee made no naive belief that by merely calling city, the publishing of the Organ- leaders", the latter agreed to call contribute anything to the solution of the Chaco recommendation to the unions be- the general strike the waterfront izer as a daily strike paper was a off the general strike, and presented deadlock, both Argentina and Chile may become directly involved in open warfare. An old. unsettled territorial dispute between Argentina and Chile, over reverse was true in San Francisco, tion passed by the narrow margin several small islands in the Beagle Channel (near Cape Horn) is being revived and cannot but contri-