

QUESTION BOX

N. L. RICHMOND—

Question: In the automobile and steel industries there were threats of a strike a short while ago, but this was choked by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

Answer: The attitude of the workers in this instance is conditioned by the state of the industry itself. In general, the workers can go on strike, during a period of revival from a crisis, primarily because they find themselves back again in the factories.

The threat of a steel strike was coming at the time steel was operating at about 55% of capacity. The automobile strike threatened at a time when production and sales rose to their highest in four years.

L. B. NEW YORK—

Question: In the Daily Worker of October 2, 1934, the editor, in explaining the difference between the Socialist and Communist parties, makes the following statement: "Socialism is defined as that society which is transitional to Communism, a society in which the ruling class is the proletariat, governing through its dictatorship, through Soviet power."

Answer: The contradiction is self-evident and flows from the "theory of 'Socialism in one country'." The Socialists simply attempt to distinguish the difference between the proletarian dictatorship and Socialism in order to harmonize the "theory's" contradictions. At the present time the ruling class in the Soviet Union is "the proletariat, governing through its dictatorship."

G. T. AND R. L.—

Question: A recent issue of the Minneapolis Labor Review, official organ of the Central Labor Union, reports the C.L.U. has adopted a resolution approving Governor Olson's conduct during the drivers strike, and stating he did not use government power against the workers.

Answer: The League has openly and consistently attacked Olson's strike-breaking moves, during and since the strike. Similarly, the members of the League in Minneapolis warned the workers against Olson and his troops before the troops came in, denounced Olson when he brought the troops in, and took the lead in arousing working class sentiment which eventually forced Olson to retreat to an extent that saved the strike.

The facts are these: The Central Labor Union is made up of union delegates who are almost without exception members of the Farmer-Labor Party. They strongly disapproved the attitude of the C.L.A. during the strike; they were deeply concerned to protect Olson's reputation with the workers and, even at the cost of letting his attacks on the strike go unanswered, they did not want him to be criticized.

The League, which was glad to see Brown go into the Hennepin County Central Committee of his party during the strike and demand that they protest against Olson's policy, and which was glad to see Brown denounce Olson's policy publicly during the strike before scores of thousands of workers, cannot agree with his change of estimate of Olson.

The manner in which trade union struggles are translated into political struggles is clearly illustrated by this incident. The particular strike struggle having ended, many workers turn their thoughts to other problems and cease to guard themselves against the misleading effects of such resolutions as this one of the Minneapolis C.L.U.

Program of the Latin American Bourgeoisie

The American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (better known as the Apra) is the most important organization of the Latin American left bourgeoisie. Centered in Peru, it claims sections in all or most of the countries that make up Latin America.

The Apra Program The theoretical bases of Apraism can be summed up in the following points: 1. Co-operation of the three classes, who are oppressed and repressed by imperialism is necessary to solve the problems of Latin America.

2. The state that will be set up as a result of the three classes above named joining in a united front within the Apra will be the democratic republic, which will, according to the theoreticians of the Apra, represent all three classes.

3. The establishment of the democratic republic and the freeing of native industry from the bonds of imperialism will allow the development of the proletariat, so as to—in the future to be sure—take over the nation and set up socialism. Up to that time the proletariat must co-operate and support the bourgeoisie in the development of industry and be only the left wing in the national bloc.

4. It is not necessary to banish imperialism from Latin America, but only control it, so that the advanced technic that imperialism brings will be utilized for the development of national industry. How imperialism will be controlled is not stated.

5. Co-operation with the liberal groups of Latin America in favor of the above program and against imperialism, particularly Yankee imperialism.

Menshevism in a New Guise It is clear that in the main we have in the Apra an organization that in nearly every point is a repetition of the program of the Menshevik wing of the labor movement in pre-revolutionary Russia.

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The "red" raids showed very clearly the isolation of the Stalinists from the masses of workers, especially those in the unions. The lack of base in the trade union movement prevented the rank and file of the unions from realizing that these attacks were directed against the general strike with the view of demoralizing the workers and breaking the backbone of the strike.

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bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, peasantry and proletariat, and that the class struggle between these four classes must be placed in secondary place until the solution of the "national task?"

The Chinese proletariat was chained and delivered to the executioner's sword by the Menshevik policy of Stalin and Co. Haya de La Torre, the very able leader of the Apra, stole his program from the Stalinists and the Stalinists from the Mensheviks.

Haya de La Torre has this to say describing the native capitalist class of Latin America: We are as a child already senile without having enjoyed maturity.

The Latin American proletariat must not wait to make the proletarian revolution, neither for the development of native capitalism, as advocates of de la Torre, nor for the proletariat of North America. It can disregard all those holding these ideas and who use Marx's and Lenin's names in defence of their bourgeois point of view.

Before that can be done Stalinism and its brother, Apraism, must be driven from the field. The permanent revolution is the only road the Latin American masses can take.

De la Torre imagines a three class party. It is logical that he should imagine a three class state, where the only repression would be against the imperialists.

In a previous article we discussed the idea of controlling imperialism, which is the watchword of the native bourgeoisie of Latin America. We explained the economic impossibility of the weak native bourgeoisie controlling powerful imperialism which can bring such a vast amount of pressure against the native bourgeoisie, up to the point of intervention.

It is true that a proletarian dictatorship, under the direction of a Marxist party with certain conditions can and, in Russia, did allow an amount of controlled foreign capital to enter its country. The proletariat, however, is quite disinclined to fight and carry on agitation for the strike, but which at the same time, would not take on a communist party character.

Another crowning blunder of the Stalinists was that of permitting the Western Worker to become the official strike paper on the waterfront. This openly put the label of communism on the leadership and gave considerable support to the red baiting of the capitalists.

Due to our lack of forces, the League was not able to play a very important role during the strike. We had on the Oakland side one comrade who was in the I.L.A., a militant worker who was a leading member of the picket committee.

It is to this task that the League must devote its energy. Its ability to activate such a movement and play a dominant role in the building of such a left wing will determine whether or not it is capable of building the new party.

peralism directly through foreign ownership, or indirectly through the banks, is directly involved in the agriculture (fruit, cotton, rubber, coffee, hemp, cocoa), meat and leather, wool, in mining, in railroads and power and light. In these industries high grade, advanced technique is used. The proletariat, organized in huge works, uses the most modern tools.

The proletariat of Latin America is the product not of the native capitalist class but of the world capitalist class, of imperialism. Latin America as an independent entity, is not and never will be ready for socialism, but the world of which Latin America is part, is overripe.

The Road of the Proletariat The Latin American proletariat must not wait to make the proletarian revolution, neither for the development of native capitalism, as advocates of de la Torre, nor for the proletariat of North America.

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WORLD OF LABOR

BOLIVIAN COMMUNISTS AND THE CHACO WAR

It is becoming apparent that both Bolivia and Paraguay are already breaking under the strain of war in the Chaco. Unless other countries of the South American Continent are drawn into the conflict, the struggle between the local agencies of Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell reflected through this war may be obliged to seek other forms of solution.

In Bolivia, the last recourse, general mobilization is already being taken. At the commencement of the struggle all of the bourgeois political parties waved the banner enthusiastically, inflated with optimism. The war would be brief and with booty for all.

Only one voice of absolute opposition to the war was heard. This was in the two or three proletarian demonstrations in Cochabamba, La Paz and Potosi, calling for the fraternization of the soldiers at the front. These demonstrations took place in May 1932, two months before the mobilization and were immediately followed by a wave of merciless persecution of the revolutionary workers and students.

Faced by the rising tide of the bourgeois opposition, which criticized its manner of conducting the war, the Bolivian government found it necessary to resort to a stratagem in order to hold the various parties in line. Thus the Communist bogey was raised. Pretexts were created for legitimizing the government's permanence in power and its rigorous measures.

The young inexperienced Communist movement of Bolivia was unable to hold together under the trials and tests of the war period. It has finally reached the point where the only possibility of a revolutionary rebirth of the movement rests with the groups of exiled revolutionists whose hands are still free, who have had the opportunity of learning from international experiences, and among whom the sentiment for a new Communist Party and a Fourth International has already taken root.

STRIKE WAVE RISES IN CUBA

The Cuban revolution, having suffered a serious setback in January 1934 when the Grau San Martin regime fell to make way for the reactionary Mendieta government, now gives strong evidence of preparing to take another leap forward.

Mendieta has had the unconditional support of American imperialism in return for the services he has rendered American interests in the island since overthrowing the weak-kneed petty bourgeois Grau government. Wall Street has tried to make things easy for him. The abrogation of the Platt Amendment and the Reciprocal Trade Treaty, were expressions of this solidarity. It was hoped in this way to pacify the rebellious mood of the masses, by lulling their vigilance with a few well gnawed bones and a sweet lullaby.

But in spite of sops and promises, the Cuban workers have learned that there is nothing for them but further misery and exploitation under the Mendieta regime which has come to differ but little from that of Machado. Furthermore, having once had a taste of their own power, during the revolutionary months from August 1933 to January 1934, they are determined to march forward to still greater conquests.

The present strike wave, while it indicates clearly the need for some sort of permanent united front organization, also shows that the masses who were able to overthrow the tyrant Machado through their mass action, having not forgotten the experience of that struggle. General strikes of revolutionary political significance have taken place in many cities and in many industries. The recent general strike in Santiago de Cuba was a model for solidarity and unanimity. Even the prisoners in the city jail declared a hunger strike in solidarity with the industrial and transportation workers.

In spite of the Stalinist policy not hitting too hard against American imperialism, the workers on numerous sugar plantations and transportation lines, are preparing for sharp battles, at the time of the coming zafra, or harvest.

REPRESSIONS IN COSTA RICA

As an aftermath of the heroic struggle of the Costa Rican banana workers, the government of that republic is carrying out a most brutal series of repression against all who were known to have participated in the leadership of the movement. The issue of Sept. 30 of Trabajo, organ of the Communist Party of Costa Rica, informs us that 58 workers are imprisoned in the port of Limon, in addition to others who are held in the capital. Armed bands of police and gangsters at the service of the United Fruit Company are hunting many other strike organizers in the mountains and jungles as if they were wild beasts to be trampled to their lairs and exterminated.

The History of the Frisco General Strike

By JIM OSBORN and DICK ETTLINGER

(Concluded in this issue)

The deciding factor that carried this motion was the threat that, if it did not carry, martial law would be declared throughout the city and the general strike committee would be arrested.

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