

EDITORIAL

Stalinism in an Impasse - -

IN another column appears a report of united front development in Belgium, where one of the slogans of the Socialist Young Guard and the "Trotskyite" youth is "for the defense of Comrade Leon Trotsky against capitalist persecution".

In the same report, Browder discusses the C.P. attitude toward the Musteltes (who, in other recent official C.P. utterances, have been called left social-fascists, social-fascists and even fascists!).

The Stalinist bureaucracy has seen the handwriting on the wall! Every day it becomes more difficult for them to isolate from the class as a whole the genuine revolutionary groupings, and when the banner of a new party, a Marxist party, has been flung to the breezes there will rise questions and situations which not even the oracles of 13th Street will be able to explain away.

All this bodes well for the new party movement, but it should not lull comrades into happy dreams. The Stalinist bureaucracy, with its relatively powerful material resources, remains a force capable of tremendous destructive and disruptive work.

We shall, however, as in the past, know how to give a good account of ourselves.

About Some Contemporaries - -

LAST week's New Leader attacked sharply the editors of the Nation and New Republic, calling them "swivel-chair revolutionists", and condemning those who, contributing nothing to the workers' fight, assume a critical attitude toward "labor leaders".

The official organ of New York Socialism applauds the actions of Green, McMahon, Gorman and Co., calling the settlement a strategic retreat. Much is made of the threat to the strike lying in the lack of relief funds.

"The union was saved," boasts the New Leader. The leaders' faces were saved . . . but is the union saved with those Southern workers who are paying for their first trade union action by the loss of their jobs?

In helping whitewash the U.T.W. bureaucrats, the New Leader shows itself unregenerate. The position of the Socialist "militants" is here put to a real test. Not by revolutionary phrases alone can they seriously differentiate themselves from the Old Guard.

As for the Nation and New Republic, there is ground enough for serious complaint. Their criticism of the textile settlement is, unhappily, justified. But more than once they have attacked labor leaders improperly.

Last spring, for example, Louis Adamic in the Nation criticized the leaders of the steel union. Good enough; nobody is more critical of Mike Tighe than we "Trotskyites".

And more than once these liberal papers have thus reflected Stalinist ideology in their appraisals and indiscriminate criticism of the trade union movement. And this at the very moment when the liberal editors are labeling Roosevelt's newest National Run Around wrinkle "an interesting innovation".

The Communist League has often suffered at the hands of these same liberal editors. Any bit of decayed Stalinist slander or baloney, if perfumed enough by the devils Louis Fischer or the specious Joe Freeman, can find its way into their papers.

You say you reject the policies of Green, McMahon, Gorman and Co. Well, what is to be done? Stop wise-cracking, and give us your program for the American trade union movement.

Of course, if you have a program, that makes it more difficult. But the Communist League of America has, and it is on the basis of its trade union program that the League criticizes the labor bureaucrats.

On this question, the Militant is prepared to debate not only with the liberal editors, but with the New Leader as well.

Crocodile Tears - -

THE latest Labor Action, A.W.P. organ, publishes an "authoritative" report of developments in the International Communist League, especially in France. The author bemoans the "tragedy" of the "disintegration" of the I.C.L. This meaning is as premature as the hortillings of the Stalinists over our oft-reported death.

This French "Trotskyite" fraction, which has entered the French S. P. openly advocating a Fourth International based upon the revolutionary principles of Marx and Lenin, is, after a few short weeks, larger than it was when it entered the billowing sea that now rolls where once all was stagnant swamp.

The Labor Action article is not only wrong as to facts. It is a work of questionable sincerity.

The author speaks of "tragedy", but his tears seem to be made in Hollywood. True, the French League split, and it is always to be regretted when not everybody does the right thing.

Anti-Fascists Demonstrate

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The demonstrators arriving at the Yankee Stadium found a meeting of the Stalinists, numbering about 500, going on. They assembled their forces about 150 feet from them. Lifting their banners, they started marching along Girard Ave., passing the assembled Stalinists with the slogan "We Will Fight Fascism to Death" emblazoned on an enormous banner.

It would be presumptuous at the present moment, and from a distance, with faulty and insufficient information on the present state of affairs, to predict what the morrow may bring. However, we can and do affirm that there is still a way out and that the Spanish workers may yet smash Fascism before it is able to consolidate itself.

From both sides came shouts of: let's unite! And so committees for both demonstrations met to see if the united front already in the streets could not somehow be realized. It could not. Why? Because the Stalinists would not have it. Because the Stalinists reiterated their anti-working class and reactionary demand that they would unite only—ONLY—if the "Trotskyites" and "Lovestonites" were excluded.

Most, a member of the Y.P.S.L., then went over to the Stalinist demonstration asking for the platform as a rank and file young Socialist. He utilized the platform mainly to point out the reasons why common action could not be consummated between the anti-fascist united front demonstration and the Stalinists.

In helping whitewash the U.T.W. bureaucrats, the New Leader shows itself unregenerate. The position of the Socialist "militants" is here put to a real test. Not by revolutionary phrases alone can they seriously differentiate themselves from the Old Guard.

The demonstration before the Yankee Stadium (it never really came too close to the Stadium because of the formidable array of cops) dispersed about 4:30 in the afternoon. The demonstrators marched in orderly fashion to the nearest subway station.

the French "Trotskyites" do, if only they will disappear. But they will not, never fear.

Although the editors of Labor Action, and in another article A. J. Muste individually, dissociate themselves from the tendency of the "authoritative" report, the piece can but confuse A.W.P. members. We can, however, hardly quarrel with the following statements concerning the French development in Muste's own article, and we commend them to the attention of his comrades:

"We are firmly convinced that this and similar tendencies must not be superficially accepted or dismissed, but very carefully evaluated. . . . We do not pretend to be able to predict in advance just how in every detail the revolutionary vanguard of the working class will be gathered into the new party. . . . These questions we are at all times ready to discuss. Once again we say: There is no time to be lost. We must get on the right road, the road of the New Party, and press forward!"

To this let us add that the National Committee of the Communist League of America, as well as some of the branches (others are now discussing the question), has considered the French comrades' action in a far from superficial manner. Because of the imminence of the decisive hour in France, because of the existing united front and the prospective organic unity of the Socialists and Stalinists of that country, because the French League had been barred from the united front, and because the French S. P. is in a state of flux with a leftward drift sufficiently powerful already to have expelled the right wing led by Renaudel, Deat and Marquet (an action still beyond the force or courage of the American S. P.), we consider our French comrades' action to be the best step they can make at this moment toward the concentration of revolutionary elements who will eventually become the backbone of the French section of a Fourth International.

True, this could not have been predicted six months ago, and Muste is correct when he remarks that we cannot predict every detail of the process of establishing a new party.

In this country, however, next steps are clear. We have every hope that the joint committee of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. will soon have produced a satisfactory programmatic declaration, and that we may go on to organizational steps. As the first organization in this country to raise the question of a new international and party in a revolutionary and realistic manner, we welcome Comrade Muste's statement: "There is no time to be lost."

Spanish Workers Fight Reaction

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where the Workers Alliances were functioning, that the general strike and the insurrectionary movement were most successful. Asturias is the clearest demonstration of this fact. This is the only province where every single force in the labor movement participated in the united front and it is precisely here that the struggle was best organized, and most tenaciously carried forward.

The present struggle is demonstrating in action that not one of the traditional tendencies of the Spanish labor movement can, as at present constituted, lead the workers to victory. The Socialist Party has shown itself to be a heterogeneous combination of reformist and revolutionary elements which by its composition is incapacitated to lead a successful revolution.

These experiences acquired in the crucible of the present civil war, will be assimilated and understood by the workers during the weeks and months to come, will be invaluable in laying the basis for future steps to be taken. With their heroic traditions and rich experiences, a breathing space, even with the minimum of civil guarantees, would give an opportunity for further development of the National Workers Alliance. This task must now take precedence over all others, and in the struggle to create the future organs of power of the Spanish working class, the new Communist Party, necessary for final victory, will be forged.

stadium, the proceedings of which could be observed from the elevated platform and began shoving and pushing those assembled on the platform into the first subway train that came along. But the subway cars couldn't get full enough for the cops and so they pushed, elbowed, squeezed and kicked people into them. This very naturally aroused the feelings of the workers. A few young workers protested against this and were immediately set upon by the cops and one young girl, a Yipsel, was attacked by literally ten cops in an effort to "quiet" her protests at being kicked into a subway car. At least two or three other young workers were severely beaten up.

BROWNSVILLE SOCIAL Fall Frolic and Dance

The 3 volumes of History of Russian Revolution will be offered as a prize. Music - Dancing - Entertainment Refreshments. Saturday, October 20, 8 P.M. Admission 20c

Out in Russian WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL 15c per copy. 10c in bundles of 5 or more. Branches Order Your Copies Now!

BROWNSVILLE LECTURE "The Road Towards a New Revolutionary Workers Party"

Speaker: A. J. MUSTE Friday, October 19, 8:30 P.M. 1776 Pitkin Avenue, near Stone St. Auspices: Communist League of America, Brownsville Branch

BRONX OPEN FORUM Reform of the 2nd International or A Fourth International

Speaker: ARNE SWABECK Friday, October 26, 8 P.M. 1739 Boston Road, Bronx Auspices: Bronx Branch C. L. A.

BORO PARK BRANCH ATTENTION! Comrades and sympathizers of Boro Park, Bensonhurst and Bay Ridge are asked to note the address of the Headquarters. Forums are held every Friday night. Spartacus forums Thursdays. Affairs on Saturdays. Open every night. 1281 49th Street. West End train to 50th St. Station.

COSTUME DANCE Saturday, October 20 at 8 P.M. 144 Second Avenue Refreshments - Drinks - Dancing. Prizes for best costumes. Admission: 15c with costume 20c without costume Music by Fred Barren's Jazzmaniacs Proceeds to The New International. Auspices: Downtown Branch.

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Vote for New Party!

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a vote away. Neither of these parties bear the banner of the struggle for a proletarian dictatorship. They are remnants of the past, carrying on only to the detriment of the working class.

For the New Revolutionary Party

A new working class revolutionary party must be and will be built. It will fill a vital need. The fusion between the American Workers Party and the Communist League is a milestone in this direction. We are working hard towards this end, and are confident that our efforts will come to early fruition.

The Communist League of America, in the election campaigns now taking place throughout the United States, will not support the candidates of any existing political party. In the past, when we were a faction of the Third International endeavoring to reform that body, we generally supported the candidates of Stalinism. Since the German debacle, and the failure of the C.I. to react, the hope of reforming the Third International has become as utopian as the hope of reforming the Second International. Neither of these internationals being a possible instrument to overthrow capitalism, we have made a turn toward the establishment of the Fourth International and jointly with all forces moving to the left, to the building of new revolutionary parties in every country.

In the United States we are in a transition stage from our existence as a faction of the Third International to our role as a political party. Organic unity between the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party upon a Marxist programmatic declaration is an immediate objective. In this transition period before a new revolutionary party is formed, we are conducting a campaign for candidates under the banner of the Communist League of America. We will write in the names of our candidates, and a sticker campaign will be conducted wherever possible. Members will receive information from district and city committees.

The immediate demands of the workers in their struggle against the further lowering of the standard of living is the burning issue of the day. But this struggle cannot be led to victory by reformist or centrist policies, such as those of the Socialists, Stalinists or Farmer Laborites. The most important immediate task is, consequently, the building of a new revolutionary party in the United States. To further this end the C.L.A. will nominate its own candidates in the coming elections.

We point all this out not to say "we told you so", but as a mere introduction to a vital problem: what are the next steps in the Scottsboro case?

In its discussion in 1933, the Militant showed that opportunism toward Liebowitz was combined with fierce sectarianism toward the working class. The line of the Stalinists was "Social-Fascism" and "united front from below" Like the Mooney Congress, Scottsboro united fronts included only the I. L. D. and other Stalinist "front" organizations. Indeed, the cringing before Liebowitz was Earl Browder's idea of how to surmount the I.L.D.'s financial and organizational bankruptcy without going into a real united front.

Today, as then, the Militant advocates an inclusive, militant, organizational united front on behalf of all class war prisoners, most immediately the Scottsboro boys. This united front should arouse the masses, so that, having observed them in action, the country's rulers shall know that millions of workers are passionately devoted to the proposition that the Scottsboro boys shall not die. This does not mean sending a dozen workers to be clubbed on the steps of the Supreme Court the day after (or the day before) the Justices decision is crystallized on the printed page of the court record. It means bringing into great meetings, and onto the streets, scores of thousands of workers during the whole period which intervenes before the Supreme Court acts.

The slogan of the day is, above all others, For a New Scottsboro Mass Movement! And by this we do not mean a "united front" of the I.L.D. with the N.C.D.P.P., the C.P., the W.I.R., the T.U.U.L., the I.C.O.R. and the Bronx Housewives League. We mean an entirely new movement which will be able to draw in all the conscious elements of the working class and broad strata of the Negro masses. Our organization is prepared to take its place in such a movement. Our present mass contacts are small—but what they are, we are ready to use them in the interests of the Scottsboro boys. Such a movement should also hope immediately to draw in the Socialist Party, Negro mass organizations still passive in this struggle, A. F. of L. locals, and many other organized groups.

The Militant calls to the attention of members of such bodies, the historic Scottsboro case. We will realize how you feel about the I.L.D., which derided your sincerity and insulted your intelligence. Do not, however, succumb to the temptation to "leave the I.L.D. out on a limb". The workers' task is to save the nine boys, whatever happens to the I.L.D.

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Scottsboro Boys In Danger In New Turn of Case

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known to everybody who recalls the McNamara boys; after 22 years they still sit in San Quentin prison, because the judge did not keep his part of the deal when the defendants threw themselves on his mercy.

It is to be hoped that the treacherous Liebowitz will not get hold of the court-room aspect of the case. And in any case, the problem of the boys lives and the problem of the principles involved, remain to be solved. The latest developments in the Scottsboro struggle, which leave the prisoners open to the treacherous attacks of an unscrupulous gangster's lawyer who regards them as "niggers" as pawns in his play for personal gain, are not simply a vindictive, months ago by the Militant. They are a terrible blow to the prisoners and, of prime importance, to the principles and methods of "struggle which the prisoners' cause has come to symbolize. The principles are those of the rights of the Negro masses, of the war against lynching and Jim Crow. The methods are those of militant mass struggle. For, unhappily, large sections of workers (as well as the whole bourgeois press) thinks that the I.L.D.'s occasional adventurist stunts (designed to obscure the rotten opportunism of its deal with Liebowitz) constitute "mass pressure!"

Yes, the new developments are a blow to the cause of Negro freedom, to the tactic of mass pressure, as well as to the boys, and this is the greatest crime of the I.L.D. The Negro masses, the working class, the true militant defender of democratic rights against Bourbon reaction and tyranny, will have to foot this bill run up by the I.L.D. before we can wipe the slate clean. Those who talk "fight" on all possible and many impossible occasions, have, by their complacent association with a double-dealing scoundrel, jeopardized the interests of the whole Negro masses and the whole working class and of every enemy of lynch justice. The mud which the bourgeoisie, through Sam Liebowitz and his clerical body-servants, will now sling upon the I.L.D., will also fall upon our banners, however undeserving. It must not be allowed to stick!

Ordinary human beings, after having perpetrated such a mess as the I.L.D. now drops into the laps of the Negro masses and the working class, might be expected at least to maintain a momentary silence while others voice their views! But we do not expect that even their latest debacle will germinate humility in the stony chests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

To the members of the I.L.D., we say this: make your leaders abandon their horseplay and their sabotage of the Scottsboro united front; compel the Stalinist bureaucrats to take a serious class attitude before it is too late. For a new Scottsboro mass movement!

For the united front on behalf of the Scottsboro boys!

Sectarianism Bred Opportunism

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Raise this question in your organization and let your officials know you are deeply concerned, that you want your organization in the fight. There is no excuse, not even the I.L.D.'s record, for any organization claiming to represent the interests of democracy, the Negro masses or the workers, staying out of this great battle. Too much is at stake for quibbling.

The I.L.D. pretense to be a militant class organization fools nobody. It is but the defense organization of a sect, the Stalinists. More than that: it is too late to try to remake the I.L.D. into a non-partisan defense arm of the working class. We have, consequently, put on our program the task of building a really militant and really non-partisan defense organization. The Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which advocates the formation of such a body to fill the need of the class, has our hearty support.

Consequently, any advice we give the I.L.D. is not for the purpose of saying that decaying relic of a once useful institution. But advice we must give, for the sake of the principles at stake and the Scottsboro boys themselves, and here, leaders of the I.L.D., here it is:

Do not impede those who try to bring the masses into the fight!

Today the Y.P.S.L. in New York is ready to enter united fronts with the Stalinists, but not to the exclusion of the Communist League, which is what the Stalinists demand of the Y.P.S.L. The League will do its utmost to create the broadest possible united front. And the League will not withdraw from it at Browder's behest or anyone else's. It will not remove from the struggle the one force which has consistently advocated a correct policy in the Scottsboro case.

We warn the leaders of the I.L.D.: The Scottsboro struggle is approaching another crisis; the masses are not actively interested; the danger is grave. If because of your hatred of the "Trotskyites", or for any other reason, you hamper the development of a militant united front movement, the working class will hold you to account!

Ordinary human beings, after having perpetrated such a mess as the I.L.D. now drops into the laps of the Negro masses and the working class, might be expected at least to maintain a momentary silence while others voice their views! But we do not expect that even their latest debacle will germinate humility in the stony chests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

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