EDITORIAL

Radek for a New Party?....

ARL Radek, editor of Izvestia, is the chief ballyhoo artist for Stalin's foreign policy. In an interview with Fred C. Kelly, reported in the New York Post on Oct. 29. Radek is quoted as expressing a certainty that there will be no revolution in the United States for a long time, and that "the United States will be the last country to give up capitalism." Radek, ignoring the misery of the American workers which has become so intense during the last five years, states that "life is still too comfortable in the U.S. for a real revolt to occur". Overriding all Stalin's older "theories" of the "third period" and the "deepgoing radicalization of the workers". Radek opines that the American workers "are more conservative than the farmers". Lending support to A. F. of L. officials who claim that a policy of rotten compromise has the freely-expressed support of the rank-and-file (the textile strike committee, for example). Radek charges that American workers are always willing to settle strikes "whenever employers make even slight concessions.

Thus much of Radek's comment, all transparently false, deals with what Marxists call the "objective situation", even the state of mind of the working class, its class consciousness, which he rates so low, being gether with many pamphlets. In "objective" to the revolutionary vanguard. Aware that he has made a poor case for his prophesy and that the capitalist class may not be able to comfort itself very much from these analyses, Radek turns to a consideration of the subjective factor. "No country," he is quoted as saying, "ever has a revolution until there is a class-conscious group capable of carrying on the revolution. It must be led by zealots who believe in it so thoroughly they are willing to make great sacrifices for it." It is the absence of such a "group", or party as we call it, which Radek sees as the decisive factor making for the permanence of capitalism in the

It is not surprising to see Karl Radek throw brickbats at the American Stalinists. Years ago he expressed over the tea-cups the opinion that the American C. P. was the a----e of the international movement. Looking at its record after the five years of world-shaking crisis which have ensued, he naturally holds an even lower opinion of the Browderian horde than ever before. Quite flatly, in his view, these specimens are not "capable of carrying on the revolution".

Now, comrades, don't go off the deep end. True, Karl Radek was once a member of the Russian Left Opposition. True, too, Louis Waldman, in rejecting the application of Ben Gitlow for admission to the S. P. informs us that "once a Bolshevik always a Bolshevik". True, again, he recognizes the permanent untitness of himself and his organization to carry forward the banner of the proletarian revolution. But is it true that Radek, after capitulating to Stellin, has begun to smuggle Trotskyism into the Comintern? Is he, in his dotage, bitten by conscience, slyly setting that banner in a corner and walking off in the hope that someone else will pick it up? Is he painfully and in this round-about way sending us greetings? Is he making an analysis and begging us to draw the conclusions?

Are we to read between the lines of Radek's statement the Macedonian ery: "For God's sake, somebody start a new revolutionary party?" In a pig's eye we are. We know that in Radek we have the official representative of the Political Bureau of the Russian C. P. and of Joseph

All the logic of Radek's analysis, viewed by a Marxist, points inevitably to the need for a new party. But Stalin's monthpiece means something different. What this is becomes clear from some of his other re-

"Augur", a well-informed reactionary London journalist, cables to the New York Times (Oct. 30), an interview with "the greatest living British diplomatic expert", concerning an "event of historical importance", the presence at the functul of the King of Yugoslavia of 150 members of the Turkish President Kemal's bodyguard. "Thus", comments Augur's friend, the diplomat, "we discover the Soviet Government in the quite unexpected part of a triend of the existing order. We who follow political developments in the Balkans know that the influence of the Soviets in that part of the world is a conservative one."

A slanderous remark, you ask? And Augur's informant answers: Some time ago in Berlin, just before the Hitler revolution, a small company had met in a private house to meet the well-known Communist journalist, Karl Radek, whose real name is Sobelson. The conversation came to the interesting topic of the gradual change in Soviet foreign policy, which from being Marxist and international is gradually acquiring bourgeois and nationalist traits.

"Radek replied to the critics that it is all very well to find fault with Soviet policies, but he defied anybody to live five or six years in the Kremlin without beginning to think that, after all, there was a great deal to be said for the principles of Peter the Great and other Russian autocrats."

More slanderous remarks you ask? Then turn back to the Moscow cables on the assassination of Barthou, and read how Radek, in Izvestia, ually silent streets.) called him "the man of peace". Or turn to the cable on the tenth anniversary of French recognition of the U.S.S.R. and read Radek's raptures over the rapproachment between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist bour- attempting to obscure the meaning geois (but perhaps, unlike the Trotskyists, "revolutionary bourgeois") French government. There Radek expresses "full confidence" that Laval, the new French foreign minister in the Bonapartist Doumergue Cabinet, will carry out the pledges of the beloved martyr Barthon, "the that the Organizer, weekly organ man of peace"!

No, Radek's conclusion from the failure of the C.P.U.S.A. is not that we should found a new party. He is not giving us contraband wishes of sympathy. His conclusion-not to go into the question of whether the hen or the egg came first-is for the U.S.S.R. to rely upon alliances with capitalist governments and to abandon the international revolutionary ILANTE RAIDS". The Organizer movement. And his "prophesies" are mere promises to the American

bourgeoisie that the Stalinist C. I. will "behave". We shall have to go forward, as we have these many years, withou Karl Radek and all the little Radeks who capitulated with him. We will build a new revolutionary party and teach Radek and his anxious allies, the bourgeois foreign ministers who demand and get constant re- the next day the trade union halls. assurance from him, that the tide of the class struggle cannot be halted If they think they can get away by any Canute, not even if he cries his commands from the Kremlin with it, these vigilantes would like itself.

There is no revolutionary party-in this we are at one with Radek. liberal minded person in the city." We add only the rallying cry:

Forward to the founding of the revolutionary party!

The Times and Fascism....

SUNDAY'S New York Times really contained an eyeful.
We recall how a year and a line

We recall how, a year and a half ago when Hitler came to power and heads rolled in the sand, the Times talked about Fascist brutality. ItI was, of course, particularly agitated because of Hitler's anti-Semitic workers will. STOP THE VIGI- a few other numbers. But the most measures taken to keep his pledge made to get the German petty-bourgeoisie some gravy by squeezing the largely middle-class Jewish element of Germany. So excited was the Times by the so-called anti-Semitic drive, which for a moment or two threatened to go so far as the expropriation of some Jewish capitalists-a crime even in the eyes of those aristocratic capitalists who will not let a Jew into their home-that it even mentioned some of Hitler's crimes against workers, their

property, leaders and organizations. Similarly, years ago, the Times carried some news about Mussolini's

On Sunday, however, the Times, which cannot find space for a brief communication from the Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee force sufficiently formidable and seeking to correct misrepresentations in a Times report of the Committee's activities, gave two columns to a Brooklyn capitalist, B. H. Namm, to come out with the right slogan to extol Mussolini truthfully for saving capitalism, and to extol him | Such a force is Local 574. falsely as a benefactor of the people of Italy.

And in the same issue appeared an article by a Hitler propagandist on the beauties of the Fascist labor camps. These are portrayed as a sort of combination rest-cure, physical culture resort and summer camp; there are the usual pictures of men reading books, listening to radios and whatnot. "The healthy work, the sunshine, and above all the cheerfulness . . . seemed to me to be powerful arguments for the sys-

We cannot here give space to refute every lie and misrepresentation in the Times article on the Hitler slave-camps. Suffice it to say that in staved off the danger of revolutionary unity in the working class and them are herded workers for whom employment cannot be found in thereby saved capitalism for another period of exploitation the decaying economy of German capitalism, and here they are given slop, blows, hard labor and military training. They all smile-and if

they ever stop smiling they are beaten over the heels with steel rods. brutalities of the Hitler regime. It printed some truths for a while interests against a rising workers movement. The Times is pro-Fascist because it could not avoid doing so, and because its owners resented at heart, and the center of gravity of the anti-Fascist movement is and Hitler's anti-Semitism which, if carried out without restraint against can be only in the working class. To this class must all honest antithe rich Jewish bankers of Germany as well as against the poor Jews, Fascists ally themselves by joining its immediate struggles. One of the might both weaken the structure of German capitalism and set a precedent that the rich Jewish owners of the Times would not like

"ORGANIZER" RAPS VIGILANTES League Expels Goldman

(By Mid-West Correspondent)

On Tuesday, Oct. 16, sometime al carloads of night riders drove (Stalinist) on Third Street, be-

The vigilantes smashed the glass in the door, entered the shop and

Hundreds of pamphlets were torn up and scattered on the floor. Book were overthrown their patriotic ardor, the 100 per centers were not above stealing they gleefully drove off, the raiders stuck a large sign in the window:

"modern Boston Tea Party NO REDS Wanted in Minneapolis"

The vigilantes then drove out Wayzata Boulveard a few miles ed by the bosses. from town and made a boufire of their plunder. In the morning you could stir among the ashes and Heel". Blackly floating over the some darned good books by Jack Conroy, Dos Passos, etc., not to speak of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

At this site also, the vigilantes left signs:

"First Warning to Communists",

"This is what we do to

Communist Literature". That day the boss press headmass sentiment for a continuation of such admirable activity.

"Irate citizens," said the Minneapolis Journal, "anged by activity of revolutionary forces in Minneapolis, smashed their way into the Workers Book Store . . . early to-

Cops-Deaf, Dumb, and Blind

condemnation for the unlawful and this point is understandable. down-town Minneapolis after midnight, when the sidewalks have been rolled up, knows that it would be a physical impossibility for the police to be unaware of the vigilantes. The noises of breaking glass and splintering furniture must have shricked through the us-

The Tribune and the Star followed the led of the Journal in of the raid to the working class. But another paper was published the day after the raid-it happens of Union 574, makes its appearance

on Tuesday afternoon. "Organizer" Denounces Raids Headlined on the front page of this paper was: "STOP THE VIGwarned the Minneapolis workers not to permit such actions to go unchallenged, because "today they will strike at the Communists-tomorrow it will be the Socialiststo terrorize every worker, every

of the vigilantes, and exposing the THE ORGANIZER. part played by conniving police, the

LANTES!" It is unnecessary to say that Union 574's paper took exactly the correct line on the vigilantes. Against such a tactic of the bosses as this, the workers must present a united front, standing shoulder to shoulder to repel the raiders. An injury to one is the concern of all! Minneapolis labor movement a sufficiently alert to raise the alarm,

Remember "Deputies Run"!

If the bosses in Minneapolis want o fight it out with their lawless JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

gangs against the united workers, militant union. Worse, they at-Minneapolis .- The supporters of we will give them a fight. We gave tempted to split the union right Law and Order here have recently them a fight once before, on a cer- while it was in a life-and-death made a test thrust at the working tain Tuesday morning in the Mark- struggle with its mortal enemy, the

We must show the workers that between midnight and dawn, sever- it is foolish to look to the police tween Hennepin and Nicollet. This workers to present a united front version of all he taught. little shop is located in the heart against the bosses, to stop the vigilantes!

This raid is but a fore-taste of what may become increasingly frequent as the struggle becomes tenser, and it is in such a light that the raid must be seen by every worker, by every workers' organizsmashed. Over a hundred books ation. We must begin now to orwere carried out to the cars, to ganize to beat back the thrusts of vigilante fascism.

A few days after the raid, the Stalinists issued a leaflet calling the small supply of cash in the for three meetings at which the store: about five bucks. Before raid will be discussed. The Communist League, Minneapolis branch, is holding an open discussion meeting on Sunday afternoon, October 28, at which the raid will be discussed, and concrete proposals raised as to the best methods of combatting these plunderers direct-

Who Are the Vigilantes?

Present-day vigilantes are invariably the instruments of the boss pick out part of a title page of an class for extra-legal use against Upton Sinclair novel, the charred the workers. They are used for cover of Jack London's "The Iron purposes for which the police themselves cannot be utilized without countryside were what was left of giving away the entire shell-game of capitalist "democracy".

The bosses wish to stamp out the workers-in short, at the Communist Party. They gather together a band of thugs, of the "sports" among themselves, and of those elements among the workers and the middle-class foolish enough to ined the raid, hoping to build up fall for their propaganda, call themselves "irate citizens" - and

proceed with their dirty work. Stalinists Bewlider Workers

The hardest task we face in Minneapolis is to make the workers understand why they are to come to the support of the victims of the recent night-raid; the Communist party in Minneapolis. The bewil-"Irate citizens!" Not a word of derment of the local workers over

cowardly actions of the vigilantes. For so many workers say that Not a hint as to who the raiders the Communist party committed an were. Not a question raised as to unpardonable crime against the just what the police were doing working class during the recent while ther aid was on. (Anybody 574 strikes. They attempted to who has been on the streets of split a union, a powerful union, a

Mpls. «Organizers» On Sale

Through diligence and concerted efforts, we have been successful in gathering together a limited number of incomplete files of the Minneapolis Organizer which we are now offering for sale, at \$1 and \$1.50 per file, depending upon the is a victim of boss exploitation, be-

number of issues missing. The Organizer, as our readers know, was issued daily during the, great Minneapolis truck drivers strike, and was the official daily organ of Local 574. Its contribution to American strike strategy is

invaluable. If you want to know how the Minneapolis Truck drivers won their right to unionization in a period when this elemental right is of the Forgotten Men, the response group: but we never accepted the first real signal of actual un ficaa fighting issue in all strikes; if of the unemployed, particularly the purely trade unionist criterion tion of revolutionary forces to stand you want to know how these work- ruined petty shopkcepers, has which measures in terms of bare henceforth unitedly on a principled ers fought off Governor Olson's frightened their erstwhile cham- numbers. The catastrophic defeats revolutionary platform and by that militia; if you want to know how pions. these men out-maneuvered the Citizen's Alliance plot of a Rank and lowing, which may muster close to only too closely reveal the falsity developments in the S.P. and pre-File opposition; if you want to a million votes, represents revolt of such criteria. Numerically pow-After calling on every worker to learn how the women helped in this against the do-nothing policy of erful working class parties went work within which they can find

Organizer wound up with a call not to be had anywhere. We have policy of the Republicans. Revolt, these defeats that the inescapable for action: "If the police will not only 5 files which contain these moreover, coming just at the time conclusion arises: to create the new stop the plundering of the workers two numbers. The remaining files when Roosevelt had settled mat- instrument which can prepare for by these lawless vultures, the all miss these numbers as well as ters so peaceably with the bankers, the triumph of Marxism on a new important material is included. We clair is best known. If, by any also have a number of single copies chance, he should be elected, he to constitute the new party? An on hand. Those wishing samples may be trusted to achieve the important factor in its development of the Organizer can get them crowning exposure of all-the ex- will undoubtedly be constituted out singly at 5c a copy.

BORO PARK OPEN FORUM "Does the American Working Class Fortunately, there exists in the Need a New Revolutionary Party?"

> Speaker: AL DASCH Sunday, Nov. 4 at 8 P.M. 1281 49th Street, Brooklyn

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

But now the Times has definitely gone over to propagandizing for Hitler, as well as for Mussolini. Its Jewish owners and the Jewish editor of its Sunday Magazine, which published the pro-Hitler article. are delighted with the effects of Hitlerism "on the whole". At least it

Clearly, the workers of America, all the exploited, all the minorities the Jewish workers and poor of America included—can expect no honest aid from the Times or similar democrati " institutions, should The Times has definitely abandoned printing the truth about the American capitalism ever take the road of Fascism to defend its class tasks of the new party will be to launch a serious, militant, broad anti-

bosses. Not once, but three or four times, did the local Communist

The workers are quite right in neither understanding nor forgiving this peculiar brand of commuto the Citizens Alliance, the bosses Committee. were certainly ungrateful in turntheir bookshop. The truth of the ational relations, but desert it also reactionary municipal socialists led matter seems to be that the raiders did not injure those whom they thought they were hurting.

Insurance for Defeat

If the bosses were really smart of course, they would not have raided this book store. On the conand seen to it that these were distributed gratis among the Minneawould be.

But make no mistake. As woerank-and-file Stalinists are nevertheless sincere and militant fighters for our class.

If the bosses-and their vigilan tes-believe for one moment that they can ruthlessly attack and ways. terrorize one section of our class, mercilessly the growing spirit of they will not pause. Their attacks ing class. Very well, they strike first onslaught goes unchallenged, has the least mass support among against us. And, section by section, we will be smashed back and broken: Socialists, Social-Laborites, Fourth Internationalists, trade unthe left-wing Farmer - Laborites will not go unscathed.

if they think they can get away with it, and if they thought it necessary, the bosses would like to in jamming outo the workers in lutionary movement itself. Italy and Germany. The name for this rule is fascism; and fascism is the complete crushing of an independent working class and all working class organizations by

Organize Against Vigilantes To permit such a movement to gain a foothold in the United States last week's raid was a forerunner, must be crushed at its inception. It is not enough to expose it.

It is the duty of every worker in Minneapolis to band together with his fellow workers and present a united front to the bosses and their vigilantes. Every man and woman States. In pursuing this aim we mer revolutionary position and who works for wage or salary, who have adhered to the principle of without a banner can lead only to longs in this united front.

An injury to one is the concern of all!

Form workers vigilance commit tees!

If necessary, raid the raiders!

(Continued from Page 1)

come to the support of the victims historic fight-GET A FILE OF the Democratic regime, just as the down to disaster because of the ab- their future revolutionary expres-Democratic victory represented sence of a revolutionary policy. And sion. Nos. 1 and 2 of this paper are the revolt against the do-nothing it is by absorbing the lessons of It is for his exposures that Sin- historical scale. posure of himself.

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THE MILITANT

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Bundle rates two cents per copy.

For Capitulation to S.P.

party attempt this. It does not of Chicago because of his openly the working class, new currents for protection against these plun- take a professional revolutionist to declared intention to disregard the have arisen within it. By a very show that it is necessary for the tomb at such an outrageous per- join the Socialist party as an indi- part of its membership participatafter Goldman had availed himself ried the declaration of principlesposition before the Chicago mem-

> trary, they would have purchased have adopted for the creation of a and will yield further to social rehopeless confusion in the ranks of Communists where his abilities had definite leftward current will arise: those whom they wish to crush. been useful but where his political but its true revolutionary expres-Damned sound insurance that weakness was most clearly demon- sion it will be able to find only in our principled platform and banner the Fourth International. fully misguided as they are, the in return for a place in the S. P., to which he comes as a humble those who have rallied around him capitulator. Toward capitulators to enter the Socialist Party flies in

Goldman also violated elementary rebellion in the Minneapolis work- will increase and spread. If their discipline of the League by sub- revolutionize it and to build it as first of all at that segment which they will but redouble their efforts members, including members of the emancipation." In reference to the ionists, unorganized workers-even matter under the circumstances. the socialist party and to build it establish in this country the same mere incident: it affects the very organic unity-naity between the rule that their class has succeeded life and development of the revo-

> active role in this process; but our without a principled position. point of departure is the creation of the historic instrument, the cre ation of a revolutionary force em- the Gitlow position; and the objecbuilding a cadre of conscious rev- the acceptance of the S. P. as the historical objective and not toler- to false illusions and new defeats. may follow opposite courses.

suffered by the international work-Unquestionably, the Sinclair fol- ing class movement in recent times

Where will the forces come from of the regroupments and new leftward currents within the existing parties and particularly through the radicalization of the proletarian kernel in the Socialist parties. But it is inconceivable that the Socialist parties will play the role of revolutionary leadership of the working class or serve as instru-International on which they stand. The roots of the Second International are deeply imbedded in reformism. Its leading bureaucracy is still one of the props of the bourgeoisie and it is waging a telentless struggle against the leftward currents arising within the affiliated parties. Those who capitulate from a former revolutionary position and go over to the Socialist party without a banner inevit-SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1934 ably start out from the false concept that this party as such can become the revolutionary force. That is clearly revealed even in

the United States. The American Socialist party is feeling some of the repercussions Subscription rate: \$1.00 per copy. from the European events and from 50c per half year — Canada and the sharpened class struggle in the Foreign: \$1.50 per year; 75c for United States. Although, in con- listed elsewhere in this issue.

The National Committee of the tradistinction to some of the Eu-Communist League of America has ropean parties, it is not at all repdecided to expel Albert Goldman resentative of the main stream of up before the Workers Book Store derers, these vigilantes. We must see that Lenin would turn in his course pursued by the League and small majority and by only a small vidual. This action was taken ing in the referendum it has carof the opportunity to explain his the declaration of militant pacifism —of the Detroit convention. The nism. For such valuable services bership and before the National "militants", representing the main body of the diluted centrism which Goldman was ready to desert the has so far carried the day and caring on their allies and raiding League, not only severing organiz- ried it with the assistance of the politically. Despite his assertion by Hoan, made their first political that he stands on the same politi- retreats already at the Detroit concal platform as before and is mere- vention. Facing the pressure of ly changing the form of his alle- the Old Guard, which is in control giance, the objective logic of his of the strongest party institutions step, taken as an individual and and the strongest state apparatus. flying in the face of the course we the "militants" have yielded since several tons of pamphlets by Stalin new party and a new international, formism. It is true that out of is tantamount to capitulation. By this combination of the pressure this action, Goldman ends his brief from the Old Guard and the yieldpolis workers, thus bringing about sojourn with the International ing of ground by the "militants", a strated by his readiness to discard the struggle for the new party and

The statement of GitIow and

we have only one attitude, clearly the face of these actual conditions. established a long time ago. It Not only do these people say that means a definite parting of the they have no intention whatever of functioning as a separate faction In taking the position stated inside the Socialist party, they foser the illusion that it is possible "to mitting his views to non-League an instrument for working class Socialist party, before thrashing adoption of the socalled declaration them out in his own organization. of principles they say, "it now Important though this aspect of his makes it possible to unite the revcase is, we consider it a subsidiary olutionary forces of the country in The real issue is the political ques- up as a powerful revolutionary tion involved - the question of force, rooted in the soil of the which course to pursue toward the country and responsive to the needs creation of the new party and the of the workers." This position innew International. That is not a cludes the planting of the germ of Socialist party of militant pacifism and the Stalinist centrist party to-In its essence, the issue is drawn gether with all who verbally adhere between revolutionary Marxism on to revolutionary socialism. Such an the one hand and social reformism organic unity by the false illusions and centrism on the other. Cen it creates of the possibility unity trism appears today both in its between Communsm and Socialism gangsters and vigilantes, fattened the diluted form of militant paci- in the working class road toward bureaucratic Stalinist form and in could mean only a further barrier to immense proportions. It is gaug-fism now characterizing the S. P. emancipation and a combination of since the adoption of the new dewhole-hearted approval, and to the claration of principles which seeks more effectively to hinder the provainly to establish an independent cess of regroupments, at least for course between revolutionary Marx- a time, and so much more effectiveism and the reactionary brand of by to wield the power of the apparsocial reformism represented by the atus against the developing truly would be an unspeakable tragedy Old Guard. This issue still stands leftward currents. These proposals for all mankind for generations to in the center of the present histor- cater to the worst feature of the ical processes. The League has centrist concepts of a party of unity played and will continue to play an in general, loosely connected and Goldman, in his entry into the

Socialist party cannot but accept erging now in its initial stage as tive logic of all who enter in this the Workers Party of the United manner as capitulators from a forolutionists, welded together by an future revolutionary force and thus ating a situation where members Our road lies in the opposite direction. We are setting out now to In the position we have taken build a revolutionary force, to during the period of existence we build the new party. It is, as our have represented the connection be- readers know, to be launched very tween the October revolution and soon. It begins on the basis of uni-Epic Plan Is Losing the international revolution. It im- fication of two groups, the Commuposed upon us for a time the iso- uist League of American and the lated existence of a propagandist American Workers Party. It is the very fact alone become a powerful factor in stimulating the leftward paring the ground and the frame-

> ---National Committee, Communist League of America

Revolutionary Trends in Europe

Speaker: JAMES P. CANNON (Just returned from Europe)

SUNDAY, NOV. 11, at 8 P.M. IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place & 15th Street Auspices: Communist I eague of America.

ments for the reform of the Second INCREASE IN MILITANT PRICE

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