

L. D. Trotsky

What is the Meaning of Rakovsky's Surrender?

Rakovsky's declaration making known his intention, in view of the acute sharpening of international reaction, to submerge his differences with the "Party" and to submit completely to "discipline" came to many as a bolt from the blue. And no wonder! In the course of the years of his exile the old fighter was transformed from a human figure to a symbol, not only for the I. L. O. but for wide strata of the working class in general.

The average reader's reaction to Rakovsky's surrender is that it is a victory for the bureaucracy, or—if this strata be given its personal pseudonym—a great victory for Stalin! True, Rakovsky did not declare his views false nor sing Byzantine psalms of praise to the bureaucratic leadership, but in any case by his declaration he acknowledged that in the struggle against international reaction, cessation of the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy is necessary. If from the purely individual point of view his declaration contains nothing of the revolting and shameful self-abasement and self-degradation which have become now indispensable conditions for "Bolshevik" party loyalty, it appears at first glance all the more important from the political point of view.

It would, however, be absolutely false to dwell only on the immediate impressions and purely psychological effects of events. It is the bounden duty of every Marxist to appraise Rakovsky's case not as a case in itself but as a political symptom, that is, to bring it in relation with the deeper processes of development.

Center Shifted to West
Already more than half a year ago, we wrote:

"The extremely difficult conditions under which the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists work exclude them from the possibility of playing the leading role on the international scale. More than this; the Left Opposition group in the U. S. S. R. can develop into a new party only as a result of the successful formation and growth of the new international. The revolutionary center of gravity has shifted definitely to the West where the immediate possibilities of building parties are immeasurably greater." (The Soviet Union and the Fourth International, page 28).

These lines were no chance remark but summed up rather the whole experience of the last decade. The Russian Left Opposition which set itself the direct aim of reconstituting the Bolshevik party and of shunting its policy back on the rails of the international revolution, succumbed in the struggle. One may suffer a defeat because one pursues a fundamentally false policy. But also with a correct policy one may fall victim to an unfavorable relation of forces. Engels repeatedly pointed out that a decisive historic defeat is inevitably reduced to nought organizationally. At first glance it would seem that the fate of the Bolshevik party which, despite the defeat of 1905, twelve years later achieved the greatest revolutionary victory in world history contradicts this. But on closer scrutiny this example only strengthens Engel's statement. As a mass organization the Bolshevik party disappeared from the scene during the years 1907-1911. There remained only a few scattered, for the most part vacillating cadres, there remained a tradition, there remained above all the emigrant staff with Lenin at the head. The rising tide of 1912-1914 brought a new revolutionary generation to its feet, roused a part of the old Bolsheviks out of their lethargy and thus created a new party organization, which was historically—but in no way organizationally—the continuator of the old Bolshevik party. This example by no means exhausts the question with which we are concerned but offers certain points of support for its understanding.

The Struggle for Industrialization
The Left Opposition began with the struggle for the industrialization and agrarian collectivization of the Soviet Union. This fight it won in a certain sense—namely in that, beginning with 1928, the whole policy of the Soviet government represents a bureaucratically distorted application of the principles of the Left Opposition. Without this the Soviet Union would not be in existence any longer. But the economic questions of the U. S. S. R. formed only one part, and a subordinate one at that, of our program whose center of gravity rested in the sphere of international revolution. And in this sphere we have during the last eleven years, together with the whole world proletariat, suffered nothing but defeats: in 1924 in Bulgaria and Germany, in 1924 in Estonia, 1925-27 in China, 1926 in England and Poland, 1928-32 the progressive bureaucratic degeneration of the Comintern, 1933 the

Nazi victory in Germany, 1934 the Austrian catastrophe. In all these events and processes the analyses and prognoses of the Left Opposition have been strikingly confirmed, unfortunately negatively confirmed. One may read carefully for instance the two novels of the French writer Malraux: "Les Conquerants" and "La Condition Humaine". Without fully realizing the political interrelations and consequences, the author presents here an annihilating indictment against the Comintern's policy in China and strengthens in a most striking manner through his images and figures all that the Left Opposition had already laid down in its theses and formulae before the events themselves. No one can dispute these invaluable theoretical triumphs of the Marxist method! But just so in the year 1905 not the Marxist method but the Bolshevik party was defeated. Later, after a period of years the methods proved victoriously correct. Right after the defeat, however, 99% of the cadres—including the members of the Central Committee—quit the party, turned into peaceful citizens, sometimes even into philistines.

Defeats of the Proletariat
It is not by chance that national reaction triumphed in the U. S. S. R. on the basis of the social achievements of the proletarian revolution. The proletariat of the West and the oppressed peoples of the East exhibit nothing but defeats. Instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat the dictatorship of fascism spreads. Irrespective of what the reasons for this may be, since the Revolution itself proved inadequate, the idea of the international revolution was bound to suffer discredit. The Left Opposition above all, as the representative of the principles of the International Revolution, experienced a loss of confidence in the eyes of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union. This is the real reason for the growth of the apparatus of the bureaucratic apparatus in the Soviet Union and of its national-conservative degeneration.

Every Russian worker feels now too with his whole heart his solidarity with the proletariat of the rest of the world and hopes that it be finally victorious, but the international revolution as a practical

factor has gradually disappeared from the field of vision of the Russian masses. They pin their hopes on the economic successes of the Soviet Union, they discuss passionately the problems of food and shelter, they grow optimistic on the basis of a good crop—but what concerns the international working class movement has become the profession of Manuilsky-Kaunisten-Losovsky, whom no one in the country takes seriously.

The Example of Kirov
As to the spiritual make-up of the ruling upper crust of the Soviet Union, one example is highly illuminating—how Kirov expressed himself at the last party congress. "How beautiful it is to live now it is almost impossible to express". Kirov is no chance figure, he is a member of the political bureau and the political governor general of Leningrad; he occupies that post within the party which Zinoviev held at the pinnacle of his influence. That Kirov rejoices over the technical successes and the mitigation of the food scarcity is quite understandable. There is not an honest worker in the whole world who does not rejoice over this. The frightful part of it consists in that Kirov sees only these national partial successes but leaves out of sight the whole field of the international workers' movement. Military dictatorship rules in neighboring Poland, blackest reaction in all other neighboring states. Moscow is forced to preserve "friendship" with Mussolini and the Italian proletariat remains after twelve years of fascism still completely powerless and dispersed. The Chinese revolution was wrecked; Japan rules in Manchuria; the Soviet Union sees itself forced to deliver to Japan the Chinese Eastern Railway, the most important strategic institution of the revolution in the East. In Germany the Nazis have scored a victory without a fight and no bureaucratic cheat or trickster will dare any longer to pass this victory off for the "acceleration" of the proletarian revolution. In Austria the chained and bleeding proletariat lies prostrate on the ground. The Comintern is compromised, bereft of redemption, it has become a brake on the revolution. Despite its crimes the social democracy becomes anew the strongest party of

America vs Japan in Latin America

The key to many of the policies of American imperialism, both in relation to Latin America and to Japan, may be found in the following facts and figures, the latter taken from a Panama newspaper.

A veritable flood of goods from Japan is reaching the Latin American market which, for the last 15 years, has been considered reserved for the U. S. While the amount of goods bearing the tale "Made in U. S. A." is diminishing, the goods bearing the words "Made in Japan" are increasing in number, relatively to the amount of imports from other countries and absolutely in relation to the figures of each preceding year.

Silks; cambrics; food-stuffs; paper goods; articles of porcelain, crockery, glassware, and china; drug, medical and toilet articles, leather goods; bamboo; canvas shoes; rubber articles; toys; celluloid—these are the chief articles of import.

Japanese Exports

The value of the imports from Japan to Paraguay in pesos de oro:	
1924	140,231
1925	223,078
1926	242,073
1927	276,944
1928	308,597

To Peru, in Japanese yen:

1928	1,758,651
1929	2,601,545
1930	2,234,774
1931	729,205
1932	840,574
1933	1,857,807

(first six months only)

In Panama, where three years ago Japanese goods were unknown, they now hold second place. The figures given are in Panamanian dollars, and for the months cited only.

Before May, 1931, there was a monthly import of less than \$15,000.

May, 1931	\$ 29,180
Nov., 1931	40,308
July, 1933	94,025
Aug., 1933	109,745

Tendency Alarms U. S.
These are but examples of a general tendency that is causing, to say the least, a great deal of anxiety in the U. S. These figures are not large, but the fact that Japan's exports to the Latin American markets can gain, as in Brazil, 1926 in England and Poland, 1928-32 the increase was 113%, to Cuba, a relatively changing position, a

173%, and to Peru, where the increase was 322%, is symptomatic of process that in the final analysis can only be changed by imperialist war.

In this time of crisis every shred, scrap and crumb of foreign market assumes a great importance. A teaspoonful of water to a man dying of thirst is much more important than a well of water in a region where there is plenty. These two facts—of Japan's increasing foreign trade in Latin America and the great demand for every dollar's worth of market by the U. S.—must be taken careful account of when reading the reports of international conferences.

U. S. Exports to South America
Part of the meaning behind the Pan-American congresses, treaties, etc., can be found in these figures of U. S. exports to South America. These figures are taken from the World Year Book:

1928	\$480,814,000
1929	539,309,000
1930	337,508,000
1931	158,891,000
1932	97,132,000

These figures for 1932 are less than 20% of those for 1929. The same process is at work on a world scale as the following figures for the world export of the U. S. show:

1928	\$5,128,356,000
1929	5,240,995,000
1930	3,843,181,000
1931	2,424,289,000
1932	1,611,016,000

Do the Figures Spell War?
Japanese exports in these years decreased also, but nowhere near the degree of the other powers.

In Yen	
1928	1,971,955,000
1929	2,148,618,000
1930	1,469,852,000
1931	1,146,981,000
1932	1,409,992,000

While in 1932 U. S. exports dropped to 31% of the 1929 figures, Japanese exports only dropped, at the end of the year 1932, to 67%. Does this inequality mean war in which the American and Japanese wage slaves will, among other things, fight to determine whether Japanese or North American goods shall be found in the bazaars of India, the fairs of South America and the market places generally of the world?

—C. C.

the working class and in all "democratic" countries prepares the way for Fascist slavery. In France Thaelman's policy is being carried on by Thorez. While in Germany the elite of the proletariat languishes in concentration camps and prisons, the Comintern bureaucracy works indistinguishably as though an accomplice of the social democracy, to make the whole of Europe, yes, and the whole world, into one fascist concentration camp. And Kirov, a member of the leading body of the first workers' state in the world, admits that he lacks words to express the joy of living today. Can this be simple stupidity? No, the man is not stupid; moreover he gives expression not only to his own feelings. His winged word is repeated and praised by the entire Soviet press. Speakers and listeners alike simply forget the whole world: they act, think, feel only Russian and even in this frame only bureaucratically.

Effects of Isolation
The capitulation statements of Sosnovski and Preobrajenski reflect the same spirit. They close their eyes to the world proletariat. That alone makes it possible for them to reconcile themselves to the national perspectives of the Soviet bureaucracy. And if they seek reconciliation, they need it because they see no point of support, no lever, no great historic possibility in the storms of proletarian catastrophes in the West, following one on the heels of the other.

After Hitler's victory which brought the pre-history of the Fourth International ("Left Opposition") to an end, it was not easy for us in Germany as well as in Europe in general—that is the law of inertia that rules in all fields—to realize that now we must build new proletarian parties in relentless struggle with the old. Had we however not taken this road in time the Left Opposition would not only not have emerged from its pre-history into its own history proper but would have disappeared from the political scene altogether. How much more difficult, however, it is for the old cadres of the Left Opposition in the U. S. S. R., dispersed, isolated, disorientated, or what is worse, systematically misinformed, to embark on the new road. Rakovsky is a great revolutionary temperament, a personality, a lucid mind. But no one should be deluded. Rakovsky too is only a man and, having been for years separated from the great historic perspectives which inspire the cadres of the Fourth International, the "human" in him won the upperhand. By this we do not at all mean to justify Rakovsky. For fighters to explain does not mean to forgive, it means only to strengthen one's revolutionary certainty.

The "Gleichschaltung" (co-ordination) proceeded downwards for years from revolutionary internationalism to national reformism, from Lenin to Kirov. Thus the victory over Rakovsky is only the most glaring symptom of the degradation and wreckage of Marxism in the country which became a workers' state due to Marxism. A remarkable dialectic, a bitter dialectic, but it is actually here and cannot be evaded by mental acrobatics.

Hitler Aided Stalin
Rakovsky's declaration is the expression of a subjective impasse and of pessimism. Without exaggerating by a hair's breadth we can say that Stalin got Rakovsky with the aid of Hitler. That means, however, that Rakovsky's road leads to a political nowhere. His example can carry away a dozen or more young comrades. In the scope of the international politics of the proletariat it will change nothing. In Rakovsky we mourn a lost political friend. We do not feel ourselves weakened by his elimination from the struggle, since it strengthens, although tragically from the personal point of view but politically unshakably, our fundamental principles. As a revolutionary factor the Comintern is dead. From the Moscow leadership the world proletariat can expect only obstructions, difficulties and sabotage. The situation is difficult to an unheard-of degree but by no means hopeless since our difficulties are only the difficulties of world capitalism transformed through both bureaucracies. Two processes run alongside of each other, into and through each other: on the one hand the decomposition of the old structure, the renunciation of old beliefs, capitulations before Hitler and, as a shadow thereof, capitulations before Stalin; on the other hand, however, the awakening of criticism, a feverish search for the broad revolutionary road, the gathering of the cadres of the Fourth International.

Light Will Come From West
The Leninist current in the Soviet Union can from now on only be revived by great revolutionary successes in the West. Those Russian Bolsheviks who remain true to our cause under the unheard-of pressure of national reaction—and there are more of them than we suspect—will be recompensed by the further course of development. But now the light will come not from the East but from the West. Even the shamelessly betrayed Chinese revolution waits for a new impulse on the part of the world proletariat.

Cuban Revolution

Stalinism Kneels to American Imperialism

Editor's Note—The following article on the shameful role of Stalinism in the Cuban revolution was written especially for the Militant by comrade M. Garcia Villareal, one of the leaders of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba, section of the International Communist League.)

The present stage in the development of the Cuban revolution is marked on the one hand by a gradual regression toward plans of defensive struggle, and on the other by an accentuation of the acute contradictions of the existing political and social regime. Following the great struggles carried out by the working class from September to December 1933, the ascending conjuncture of the revolution has ceased, to make way for an offensive of the old ruling classes, under the pressure and control of Yankee diplomacy.

The governmental crisis of the early morning of January 18th, when president Grau San Martin was forced to resign by the "peaceful uprising" of the army, did not in any sense signify a simple political-ministerial crisis, but rather the tragic passage from the offensive to the defensive. Once more the working class had been defeated by its class adversaries. Upon fleeing from the political power which it had held during four months, the petty bourgeoisie, by logic of the historic process, should have stepped aside under pressure of the only progressive class in modern society: the proletariat. The fall of Grau San Martin should have signified the victory of the working class. But, far from this, it came to mean a return to the domination of the old political factions, and to imperialist rule in Cuba.

Reasons for the Defeat
Why is it that the Cuban revolution, objectively mature, did not develop forward, breaking the resistance of the reactionary nuclei, and, once the possibilities of paralyzing the functioning of the state were at hand, to a complete dismantling of the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie?

No workers' party has ever had a greater historical responsibility than that which falls directly on the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Caribbean secretariat, and of the Communist Party of Cuba. Not only in a historical sense, but also in the daily and immediate application of revolutionary policy, Cuban Stalinism has been converted into the most negative factor within the process of the revolutionary development. The whole blame for the proletarian defeat, falls on the shoulders of Stalinism, without any limitations. Its present cowardice before problems that demand energetic and decisive action, constitutes the last requiem to its existence as a vanguard party of the great exploited masses.

The labor movement of Cuba, considerably backward in its political conceptions, grew in a serious progressive manner, from the time of the fall of Machado's infamous dictatorship. Reformism offered no obstacle to the revolutionary development of the masses, because of the lack of a political and organic tradition and because the soil of Cuba is unfavorable to it due to the sharpness of the economic contradictions. Within the labor movement, two parties alone, struggled for supremacy: Stalinism, with its international resources, and the Bolshevik-Leninists, organizationally small but ideologically sound.

Road to Emancipation Opened
The impetus of the masses who, for the first time in history, found the road to their emancipation open before them, was turned loose in the most impressive wave of strikes and combats the country had ever seen. The proletariat passing from victory to victory, was taking the offensive along the whole front; building its cadres; creating its own militia; preparing the assault

greatest armament race since the World War. It is no longer a question of disarmament but efforts of the rival countries to restrain each other in the mad feverish marathon. The statesmen know the hour of war is nearer than ever. The N. Y. Times writer in the same article says: "The governments of neighboring powers may solemnly proclaim at every opportunity that war is furthest from their thoughts, but their general staffs proceed upon the assumption that it is an imminent possibility."

The international agencies for peace are as useful in preventing war as were their pre-1914 prototypes in preventing the World War. What did the Hague conventions of 1899 and 1907 providing for the pacific settlement of international disputes mean on the days of August 1914? The answer is equal to zero.

Bankruptcy of "Peace" Agencies
Such institutions as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Foreign Policy Association in recent reports utter doleful notes about the agencies for preserving peace. Every foot of the earth is covered by one peace pact or another, they inform us. However all these mutual pledges are not working satisfactorily. Dr. James Brown Scott of the Carnegie endowment questions the good faith of the powers who signed the treaties. He has a suspicion the signatories have no intention of observing the pledges. How else, he asks, can it be possible for nations to negotiate and sign one treaty guaranteeing world peace, then violate it, and then sign another identical treaty?

Peace Pacts—and Wars
There is a contradiction between what is signed and what is done, the Carnegie report shows: The Kellogg-Briand pact renounced war. But there has been no reduction in land armaments. All the nations of the Western Hemisphere signed anti-war pacts. But Paraguay and Bolivia have been at war for the last two years. The nine power treaty signed at Washington in 1922 guaranteed the integrity of China. But Japan invaded China in 1931 and has remained there since.

If the student or anyone else does not relish the prospect of being slaughtered in another capitalist war, he had better reject the advice of the New York Times. Instead let him turn his eyes toward the working class movement, and particularly toward the revolutionary section of the working class. For only in the destruction of capitalism, the cause and breeder of wars, and the victory of the workers, lies the certainty of the disappearance of war.

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policy had been utilized; if our material resources had not been so limited, it would not be infantile to affirm clearly, that the working class would at this moment, be waging the preliminary combats for the conquest of power.

But, having grown and fortified its influence, Stalinism, by its narrow political outlook, isolated the working class, pushing it onto the road of adventures; violent zigzags; abrupt withdrawals. Far from understanding the rhythm of the development of the revolution, it classed the petty bourgeois government of San Martin as a "bourgeois-fundamental government, lacking of imperialism". Such a gross theory had a practical application to match. All efforts were directed towards the overthrow of the Grau government, in behalf, not of the working class, but of imperialist reaction which was once more preparing its return to power over the state apparatus.

Confusing the Masses
Without distinguishing essential or purely formal political differences, it confused all of its adversaries in one solid mass. Internal discords among the class enemies, instead of being utilized in the interests of the workers, were considered unimportant by Stalinism. The Leninist insurrectionary formula "to confuse the dominating classes" was interpreted by the functionaries of official Stalinism in a most peculiar manner: "To confuse the dominated classes". Thus when the proletariat found itself forced to fight, it was already too late: for Carlos Mendieta had been raised to government power on the athletic shoulders of the American marines.

Historically, the coming to power of Mendieta is a defeat for the proletariat. Only by preparing the defensive energetically and consciously, reaching out to all of the mass organizations for the creation of the united front; building the fighting equipment of the proletariat which will guard the retreat and prepare tomorrow's offensive, is it possible to check the disintegration of the workers' ranks which are falling back under the blows of reaction.

A Treasonable Capitulation
But Stalinism does not understand this question either. Stunned by unbridled reaction—the road to which Stalinism prepared in a criminal manner—it has done nothing but yield cynically and openly before the dictates of the plutocracy. Its last resolutions, emanating from the bureaucratic and "chantagist" Caribbean Secretariat, complete its infamous treason; Stalinism has ordered that in case of a revolution the property of the imperialist feudal holdings are to be respected, because imperialism is an "infinitely superior enemy".

This shameful capitulation has not even caused the most simple party militant to blush. The corruption of the C. C. of Cuba, has already reached such a state that not only is a resurgence impossible, but not even a protest can be hoped for. The Litvinoff-Roosevelt pact, denounced in time by the International Communists, has already borne its most delicate fruit: respect for the domination of Yankee finance capital.

This prostration of the Stalinist functionaries at the feet of imperialism will go down as the most open and cynical betrayal, made by the Communist International in the last ten years.

New Revolutionary Explosion Impending

Today the Cuban revolution retreats before the onslaught of the opponent and the demoralization of the proletariat sold out by its bureaucratic leadership. In the near future however, a new revolutionary explosion, which will penetrate deeply into the popular masses of the nation, is inevitable. It is necessary to organize in the midst of the struggle a capable political leadership in order to lead the next assault on the enemy positions. If this leadership fails, if it is unable to mold itself in the course of the present battles, then the revolution will recede for a long time to come.

But the abnegation, vigor and tenacity demonstrated by the Bolshevik-Leninists in the recent months; their whole-hearted consecration to the proletarian cause, make it possible to predict that we shall be able with the aid, especially, of the proletariat of North and South America, to guide the broad Cuban masses, correctly and surely, towards the conquest of political power.

The coming upturn must find the Cuban proletariat in condition to fight and win, because leadership is tempered in struggle and each day finds it better prepared. For only in the destruction of capitalism, the cause and breeder of wars, and the victory of the workers, lies the certainty of the disappearance of war.

—M. GARCIA VILLAREAL.
Havana, April 12, 1934