

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT

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## Nothing for Workers in Roosevelt Message

### President's Demagoguery at Congress Opening Hides Ruling Class Plans

With millions listening on the radio, President Roosevelt opened the regular session of the Seventy-third Congress Wednesday with the keynote that the fundamental features of the "New Deal" are permanent features of American reconstruction. Old methods had to be replaced by a "permanent readjustment" of many of our ways of thinking and therefore of many of our social and economic arrangements.

The tasks facing Congress, Roosevelt contended, are as great as those which faced the Congress of 1789. The problem is "to build on the ruins of the past a new structure designed better to meet the present problems of modern civilization. He felt well satisfied with the cooperation of Congress in meeting this situation.

In typical demagogic style, he then proceeded to enumerate the accomplishments of the NRA. Forgetting his ballyhoo about the need for increased purchasing power of the masses, Roosevelt claims a decrease in unemployment of several millions, uniform standards of hours and wages, adequate pay and reasonable profits as achievements of the NRA.

#### Increase of Unemployment

The increase of industrial unemployment of over one-half million in the month of November, the decrease in real wages or purchasing power of the masses due to increased prices, the use of the NRA boards against the unions, the organization of company unions under the NRA—all these facts which fly in the face of Roosevelt's optimism, were carefully omitted.

Like Wilson, his liberal Democratic forerunner, Franklin D. Roosevelt thrives on promises, more promises and still more promises. With Wilsonian solemnity, he speaks of "the protection which the State can give against exploitation by their fellow-men" or by combination of their fellow-men. Radical language, but meaningless phrases. By exploitation Roosevelt means misusing the workers to a point where they revolt or are no longer of value to the bosses. "Reasonable profits" is the aim of Roosevelt. The fact that millions are dependent on a few for their livelihood—this is not slavery, this is not exploitation. It is inherent in modern civilization and American institutions!

#### "Balancing Production and Consumption"

In face of the farmers' revolt Roosevelt consoles Congress and the American people that "the experiment of seeking a balance between production and consumption is succeeding." Why then the farmers' revolts? Not a word from the spokesmen of the American bosses—for to even mention the revolt is to shatter his entire hokum about the aid given to the masses of farmers.

Instead of an analysis of what Roosevelt offers more promises. He envisages for the not distant future a national plan (his emphasis) under which annual appropriations for public works will be covered by current revenue. What an empty boast! On the one hand we are told that there exists an unnecessary expansion of productive facilities. On the other hand, Roosevelt proposes to reconstruct American economy by increasing these facilities. The fact that the existing productive capacity cannot be utilized because of the impoverishment of the masses; their existence as wage slaves; that real, permanent readjustment is only possible by a social change, a social revolution through which the masses can own the mines, mills and factories—this simple fact runs against Roosevelt's class logic.

#### The Joker in the Peace Policy

This clever representative of American big business understands that one possible way out of the crisis is at the expense of other capitalist

## Court Threat to Labor Witness

Preparations are being made by the Terzani Defense Committee and its attorneys to defend Samuel Z. Wein, ex-Khaki Shirt member who testified in behalf of Athos Terzani, anti-Fascist, and who faces a perjury charge because of his admission that he gave false testimony before the grand jury.

All workers and working-class organizations are urged in a current appeal by Herbert Mahler, treasurer of the defense committee, to rally to Wein's aid. "Our fight is not yet ended," says Mahler. "Wein took the stand to save Terzani, knew he was in danger of prosecution, but did not flinch. He admitted that he told the grand jury Anthony Plerro was killed by a man in a brown suit, such as Terzani wore, but swore he did this because his life had been threatened by Commander Art Smith of the Khaki Shirts.

All who have collected money for Terzani's defense, not yet turned in, are asked to send it at once to the committee at 94 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The committee, which includes delegates from the American Civil Liberties Union, will remain intact until Wein is clear.

## Phila. Food Workers Strike

### Fight Against Heavy Odds to Organize Industry

Philadelphia.—During the last couple of weeks a wave of strikes has been sweeping Philadelphia. We had the Taxicab strike, the strike at E. G. Budd Wheel Company and a number of minor labor affairs. Comrade Goodman mentioned the above strikes in the issue of the Militant of December 30. But he failed to mention the strike which hit the food industry. During the last four weeks the recently organized Transit clerks union, which is in the A. F. of L., has been putting up a militant fight to organize this industry. Up until now it has not been touched by organized labor.

The Fruit Clerks Union has been putting up a magnificent battle against odds. The Penn Fruit Company, which this union has been fighting for union recognition has the backing of the Retail Fruit Dealers association in its fight to smash the union. They are spending thousands of dollars, telling the workers the union is a racket, etc. Also they have tried to frame the leader of the strike, in particular the organizer, Eddie Greene, who is the real backbone of the strike.

Four weeks ago before they went on strike the Fruit Clerks union came to the meeting of the Philadelphia Meat Cutters association, also a newly organized union, independent of the A. F. of L., and asked their support of the strike. The organizer made a speech to the effect that since the meat cutters, who also worked for this concern,

would in the future also have to fight the Penn Fruit Company for recognition, where the fruit clerks walked out the meat men should also walk out. After the fruit men left the hall the fakers at the head of the meat union said: "Why do we have to go and back them up? We are the strongest union, all they want is to use us for a front."

#### Federation of Unions

After the strike had gone four weeks they finally came to some agreement. Last week the fruit clerks, the grocery and delicatessen clerks, and also the truckers all came out for a federated union. This was last Wednesday. The Teamsters Union's business agent said that they had their agreement before Mr. Sam Cooke the head of Penn Fruit for the last month and he promised the fruit men that the next day, Thursday, his men would not deliver to the stores which the union was battling and that when they signed they would sign for three.

The meat cutters who worked for Penn Fruit now took a vote as to whether they should go on strike. Unanimous to strike. Thursday, out of 30 men in the union, four walked out from the store at 62 Market St. The other men refused to come out. Pickets were posted at all the six Penn Fruit stores.

## CIVIL WORKS AND THE NRA

Throughout the crisis mass unemployment has been one of the most complex problems of capitalism. As the crisis passed from months into years the ruling class followed every phase of the problem of the unemployed and endeavored to check this rising tide from finding an outlet into the class struggle.

At first they denied its existence. Then the exploiters claimed it was a temporary phenomenon. Next they denied its magnitude. Only after a long period of months, with resistance every inch of the way, did the capitalists admit that charity and local state relief must be replaced by a national policy to cope with the "emergency". They continue to fight against considering unemployment as a social problem and oppose social insurance. Many far-sighted exploiters, it is true, now realize that unemployment is a permanent problem. The majority, however—and they dominate the government policy—continue to try every form of emergency relief possible in order to avoid facing the issue of unemployment insurance.

Title Two of the Recovery Act provided for a public works program and the expenditure of over three billion dollars. The method of handling the problem of unemployment under the NRA was coordinated into a two-fold policy. On the one hand the public works program was to take millions of hours was to put more millions back to work at reduced real wages. The government had to admit at a very early date that the public works program failed to accomplish this purpose. It did, as we stated before, enable a goodly number of exploiters to get in on the pork barrel. All but a half billion of the fund has been allotted and it has failed as a factor to cause re-employment.

When this phase of the NRA cracked wide open the administration inaugurated the Civil Works Program designed to give jobs, in place of relief, to four million. Stripped of its high-sounding pretensions and its publicity tricks, the Civil Works Program was an abundant supply of cheap labor power. This is the dominating measure of all unemployment measures of the capitalists.

The Civil Works Program will face its death crisis in the spring as the public works program of the NRA confronted it in the fall. The ruling exploiters look forward to warm weather and the hoped-for revival. If the revival does not take place they will drive through another "emergency measure".

The extension of the original Public Works Program to the Civil Works Program has solved nothing fundamentally. It has only postponed the showdown. It has, in a negative way, further educated the unemployed as to what kind of a government and what kind of a crazy economic system we have.

#### The Downfall of Wilson

The capitalist class wanted none of his peace of Versailles. They lined up the country solidly and hostilely against him. The pacifism of Wilson, that had led America into the war and had prosecuted it successfully, was now outlived. American imperialism had other interests. Congress repudiated Wilson and he was showered with a storm of abuse by the press which called him a "hopeless visionary".

Wilson died a broken man, but pacifism did not die with him. The clouds of a new imperialist war for a new division of the world's territory and a further annihilation of the flower of the working class, hang heavily as if there had never been a "war to end all wars". Pacifism stands at the helm again. Another Wilson, many Wilsons will be on hand to lead us into a war, with other slogans perhaps but with fundamentally the same aims—profits, profits and more profits.

Be wary of pacifists and pacifism! This is our message, our condemnation of the late Woodrow Wilson.

## Free Yakima Defendants

All 32 I. W. W. orchard strike pickets who had been jailed in Yakima, Washington, since August on a charge of assaulting a mob of 300 vigilante farmers who had beaten them with pick handles, have been released without trial, according to information received by the American Civil Liberties Union. The prosecution agreed to drop the case on the eve of trial when it learned that the defense was ready to put scores of witnesses on the stand in behalf of the accused.

Prosecutor Sandvig found himself in a tight place as the trial date approached. Because of the great number of persons involved, and the many witnesses which would need to be called on both sides, it was obvious that the proceedings would cost Yakima County several thousand dollars. There was widespread complaint from the taxpayers about this.

A few days before the scheduled trial date the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, of which the defendants were members, held a protest meeting in Yakima attended by 500 workers, at which the clear to the community. This appears to have been an important factor in revealing the flimsiness of the prosecution's case.

## On the N. Y. Waterfront

### Seamen Subjected to Vicious Treatment

The unemployed seamen of New York are subjected to severe ill treatment and abuse down in the Seamen's Institute.

If a seaman comes ashore and applies for a cheap bed at the Institute's dormitory, the first question asked there by the clerk is: "Have you got money?" Then he is grilled about his credentials as a bona fide seaman, when and where born, citizen or not, mother's maiden name, religion, what companies sailed on and, finally, the clerk takes a deep smell of the applicant's breath.

Before closing the deal he does not forget to inform the seaman, if he sniffed some of the recent salt on his clothes, that they have a bar, lunch-room and a cigar stand on top of it.

It surely is depressing to see able seamen living here like prisoners, after they have slaved away ten or twenty years of their lives aboard the stinking hulls—thrown ashore and into this dump, often with no more than soles shoes, ragged pants and a shirt on their bodies, and taking all the insults and abuse on top of it.

The shipping agencies are very particular nowadays in picking the operating staff (crew). One must be a young, husky, and good looking O. S. to get a job as able seaman. Next in order are the licensed men—former officers; and the work-ways are also considered before an A. B. has a chance. The latter are despised mainly for the reason that they are too wise to the tricks of the old man and his mates and refuse to do things not ordinarily expected from a sailor.

## Increase in Lynchings Reported for 1933

### Bourbon South Leads in Mob Murder; Sheriffs Assist Gangs

The ghastly practice of lynching has increased 130 per cent over the number in 1932, according to the annual review made public by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Translated into actual figures this means that 28 men were the victims of the sadistic fury of barbaric murder mobs in 1933, compared to 10 lynchings last year.

Highly significant is this alarming jump in lynching in face of the fact that the fourth year of the shattering economic crisis has set the nerves of large sections of the population on edge, with the American individualistic type of pogrom—lynching—as the outlet.

The protectors of the public morality, the guardians of law-and-order have been silent or active partners in this gruesome sport, practiced by the degenerated dregs of society. Legal actions of democracy and the due-process-of-the-law have been ripped to shreds by the tacit and not-so-tacit support given to the lynch mobs by sheriffs

and their sworn-in-deputies and the ardent endorsement by the Governor of California of the murderers of the two alleged kidnapers. "The honors" in the mob murder competition for the year 1933 go to the state of Alabama which leads the country with five lynchings to its credit. The bestial ruling class of Alabama, it will be remembered, has earned special recognition by the death verdict it awarded the Scottsboro boys. It is quite adept at supplementing legal lynching with the extrajudicial activities of the mob. Georgia and Louisiana follow a close second with four each. Six human beings, doubtless negroes, and possibly share-croppers were lynched in South Carolina and Tennessee respectively. California and Mississippi lynched two each. Florida, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina and Texas bring up the rear in the 1933 roster of lynchings with one each. The Bourbon South, it will be seen from these reports, still holds front rank.

The N. A. A. P. reports that the lynch mobs spent the outgoing year in a very humane manner: "Thirteen of the lynch victims were shot to death and two of the bodies burned. . . . Eight were hanged and two of their bodies burned. Three were beaten to death, two were hanged and shot, one was beaten and shot and one was beaten, shot and strangled."

According to press reports the lynch mobs are beginning the New Year in the right way. Ernest McGhee, Johnny Jones and Isaac Howard, all young negroes are reported to have confessed in Memphis, Tennessee to "attacking a 17-year-old Mississippi girl". The same old gag for the rope-and-taggot gangs to get to work.

A negro, Johnny Wade, has been "spirited" away by the sheriff in Angleton, Texas. He is accused of an ax-slaying and the sheriff has taken action presumably to "avoid" lynching.

A young man, Walter R. Reppin, has been sentenced to die by Colorado's new lethal gas method. The governor has been warned by Spencer Penrose, Colorado Springs business man and mining magnate who sent a telegram to the latter "in behalf of the people of El Paso County" that if he grant clemency to Reppin "there may be a danger of a lynching. . . ."

#### Unemployment Increase

According to the A. F. of L. figures made public by William Green on December 30, over a half million workers were thrown out of employment during the month of November. "The worst lay-offs," said the report, "were in manufacturing, where over 330,000 lost their jobs. These factory lay-offs are much larger than in any normal year for which we have records; larger also than in any year since depression."

These factory lay-offs, the report continues, represent over half the increase in unemployment from October to November, which was in all about 580,000.

## How Pacifism Led Us into War

Franklin D. Roosevelt recently paid a glowing tribute to the memory of his predecessor, Woodrow Wilson on the anniversary of his birth. The greatest virtue of this late president was his "pacifist" method of handling international disputes, the earnest endeavor to settle them without recourse to arms. This method, which Roosevelt claims he is attempting to perpetuate, was tested in the crucible of events. How did it work? What were the results of pacifism when espoused by the chief officer holder of the United States?

Pacifism is a gospel consecrated to the abolition of war. It abhors the slaughter of man by man. Believing as it does that armed conflict between nations is a reversion of man to barbarism, an inflammation of his savage instincts caused by a lack of adequate education, originated in the environs of imperialistic big business. His life is a confirmed advocate of peace, conferences, disarmament, non-aggression pacts, etc., as the sure method of making the Christmas spirit everlasting. The war president, Woodrow Wilson, espoused these ideas.

#### "He Kept Us Out of War"

This college professor, erudite, a lover of the Jeffersonian rhetoric as employed by the slave owning aristocracy in whose territory and tradition he passed the greater part of his life, was elected to his second term as the man who kept us out of the war" then raging on the European continent. Fact and life later disproved this campaign slogan. In all truth, however, Wilson was quite sincere in his "neutrality" policy towards the European conflict. At a time he had not been elected to the center of imperialistic big business. His life was associated with the middle class, the southern planters included, whose economic interests at the time were wound up more in the domestic than in the foreign market. Cold reality and the center of economic gravity proved stronger than Wilson's empty phrases and pacifistic flourishes, as we shall see.

Wilson, the Dove of Peace. The outbreak of the mad scram-

ble for spoils in Europe found America in a peculiarly advantageous position, which permitted Wilson to be the dove of peace and the thermometer of the unwarlike sentiments then current in this country. The pacifists were satisfied that it was a "foreign" war in which the U. S. had no reason to be entangled. The bankers were content to finance food and commodity exports to both the Allies and the Entente. The munition makers sold death dealing weapons to all the belligerent powers. The people did not want war and paid no particular attention to the atrocity stories emanating from English or German sources.

Even the militarist Theodore Roosevelt could support the policy of neutrality. He expressed the prevailing sentiment when he said in an article in the New Outlook for September 23, 1914, the "very probably nothing that we could have done would have helped Belgium. We have not the smallest responsibility for what has befallen her." Wilson was in his element. No decision was required of him and, rightly or indignantly, he could reprimand the "mad dogs" that were making a shambles out of Europe.

#### Pacifism Leading Into War

The workers and the people in general were lulled into a false security. They had sopped up the propaganda of Wilson's publicity agent, George Creel, who warned in the 1916 presidential campaign that: "Reputation of Woodrow Wilson involves reputation of the policy of neutrality and a return to the evil days, when armed force was the only method of adjusting disputes. But even as the people were thinking that their intellectual president headed none of the inspired war stories, and documentary evidence seems to bear that out, events were at work that knocked Wilson off the fence.

The British government barred all shipments to Germany of war materials and to make this certain the British navy blockaded the North Sea, intervening all vessels with Germany or Central power ports as destination declaring their cargoes "contraband". Despite all of Wil-

son's ardent protestations, this field for imperialist investment and commodity export was definitely and irrevocably closed. The bankers were not so naive. They were keenly aware of the fact that the tide of the war was turning in favor of German imperialism, thereby jeopardizing Wall Street profits and the return on their huge loans to the Allies. . . .

#### "To Make the World Safe for Democracy"

The president, who not long before had boasted that America was "too proud to fight", plunged into the job of the "successful prosecution of the war" "to make the world safe for democracy." (This was no deterrent to the administration

in imprisoning Eugene V. Debs and hundreds of others for insisting on democracy in Wilson's country). While the Princeton University president was sending hundreds of American workers across the seas to kill and be killed for the "humanitarianism" of Wall Street's profits, his pacifism continued unabated.

Prussian militarism was defeated, Wilson went to Paris full of hope for his idealistic solution of the conflict only to find that the victorious bandits of allied imperialism scorned his pacifism, demanding their share of the spoils they had won. Wilson capitulated. He signed the ignominious Treaty of Versailles, which perpetuated and deepened all the imperialist wounds of the war, receiving in return ironic concessions, like the League of Imperialist Brigades at Geneva, self determination of several nations which were meant for France and Great Britain, etc.

Wilson was hailed in Europe as the evangel of peace. The social demagogue went wild over the great American demagogue. He was acclaimed as a godsend, literally. Then he returned to America. . . .

## Chaco Imperialist Battleground

Having raged for two years the war between the South American republics, Bolivia and Paraguay, for the possession of the Gran Chaco region continues almost without interruption. The complicated interests involved, the existence of various "peace" agencies interfering with each other's activities, and the extreme difficulty of military operations in the region, are the principal reasons why this war has dragged on for so long a time without any solution.

The Seventh Pan-American Congress which met recently in Montevideo was unable to do anything to settle the Chaco dispute. In part this failure was due to the fact that while U. S. imperialism dominated at the congress it was British imperialism's protégé Paraguay, who appeared to have the upper hand in the war during the period of the Congress. While American imperialism emerged from the Pan American Congress with some gains, imperialist rival, Great Britain, is still far from defeated. The recent successes of the Paraguayan army indicate this, although the growing influence of Wall St. in Argentina may yet defeat their plans. Argentina, while formally working for peace in the region, has in reality given moral and material support to Paraguay. In this the Argentine government has only served the interests of British imperialism. If Secretary Hull's ef-

orts to win support in Argentina are successful, the Paraguayan generals are due for a major surprise. British and American Oil Interests

The Chaco region which for years has been a bone of contention between Bolivia and Paraguay, is made up of an extensive grassy plain, an area of thorn forest and the swampy jungle bottoms lands along the Pilcomayo River. Both of the disputants have outside of the Chaco great undeveloped areas, and their real interest in the Chaco is not for their own use but rather for the interests of British and American oil companies.

The Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey has a virtual monopoly over the immense oil deposits of Bolivia proper, although these have been as yet very little developed. The Bolivian deposits are at the eastern base of the Andes and the plying of the oil over a mountain range more than 11,000 feet high is too expensive to be a practical undertaking. The natural outlet for Bolivian oil therefore is by pipe line to some point on the Paraguay River, accessible to ocean steamers.

There is reputed to be some oil in the Chaco itself but this is a matter of secondary importance, as are also the other natural resources of the Chaco, such as hardwoods, grazing land, etc. The Royal Dutch Shell Oil Company is sparing no pains to block the interests of Standard Oil. In this of course the

### OPEN FORUM

WAR DANGER IN THE FAR EAST  
WILL JAPAN ATTACK THE SOVIET UNION IN THE SPRING OF 1934?  
What Will Be the Effect of Recognition of the Soviet Union in the Conflict Between America and Japan?  
Speaker: JACK WEBER  
Sunday, January 14, 8 P. M.  
International Workers School  
126 East 16th Street  
New York City

# The Recovery Program of the Socialist Party

The Socialist Party has issued a five-point program for recovery from the crisis: reduction of interest on all indebtedness; reduction of the capital structure of all business and utilities affected with a public interest; a capital levy; a steep increase in inheritance taxes; the issuance of currency to finance the public works program.

It is clear at one glance that this program offers no threat to the capitalist system. On the contrary, it is designed as its name indicates, to HELP THE CAPITALISTS RECOVER FROM THE CRISIS. That is also the aim of the official political parties of the capitalist class, and of all the government agencies including the vast network of the governmental agencies including the vast network of the recovery administrations.

Let us take a closer look at the program. Point one calls for a reduction on all indebtedness including farm mortgages to 2 or 2 1/2%. Whom will this benefit? According to the December bulletin of the National City Bank—"the chief debtors are governments, corporations and credit institutions." It is plain from the figures of the Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., that the overwhelming bulk of the debts are owed by corporations or by persons falling within the rich or well-to-do income groups, and not by the poor. The Socialist Party recovery program would cut down the interest the banks pay on workers' savings, afford them some relief in connection with mortgages and lift a tremendous load from the shoulders of the capitalist class.

Point four calls for "a steep increase in inheritance taxes." What does the Socialist Party recovery program propose to do with this money? Use it for unemployment insurance? No. "The proceeds" would be used for the retirement of government bonds.

Point five calls for the issuance of currency to finance the Public Works program. Inasmuch as this runs into billions of dollars, point five is tantamount to outright, unlimited currency inflation. What this means for workers is well known—drastic cuts in real wages through soaring prices.

The Socialist Party has the brass to say in its statement accompanying its recovery program that it is against currency inflation. It explains the contradiction on the all-too-familiar philosophy of the lesser evil. To finance its Public Works program the government issues bonds on which it has to pay interest. The Socialist Party wants to save the capitalist government about four million dollars in interest. Instead of selling bonds, says the S. P., run the printing presses. It is true this is inflation but it is justified by "other inflationary measures already undertaken."

Not only is the S. P. recovery program designed to help the capi-

## Toronto Mass Meeting on Russian Recognition

Toronto.—On Tuesday, December 19th, the Toronto branch held a mass meeting on recognition of the Soviet Union by the U. S. A., with comrade MacDonald as speaker and comrade Spector in the chair. This meeting was one of the best attended we have held here, there being fully 700 jammed into the assembly hall of the Labor Lyceum. The seats were filled and workers were standing around the back and sides of the hall.

The Stalinists turned out in full force to this meeting, making their presence known by frequent and noisy attempts to disrupt the meeting. The questions of the Stalinists reflected the extremely low ideological level which prevails among them but the discussion period revealed their complete bankruptcy even more plainly. Only one young comrade, a member of the Y. C. L. attempted openly to defend the agreement, in three or four short sentences, on the grounds that the Russian workers have the task of building socialism while the workers in the capitalist countries have the task of fighting capitalism. Apparently the two have nothing to do with each other. A "Friend of the Soviet Union" who carefully denied that he is a Stalinist made a feeble attempt to justify the agreement. After this no one could be persuaded to take the floor. The Stalinists, vociferous enough when comrade MacDonald was speaking, could not as much as get up on the feet to defend their case, if they have one, in discussion.

This meeting was a decided gain for us. Our case found wide support in the audience. The Toronto branch is experimenting in a forum in one of the suburban districts, Mt. Dennis. We have held two meetings already and judging by these there seems every possibility of carrying it through.

There may be one thing that Joe will have a hard time explaining to his students. And that is why despite his howling at the Shachtman-Dasch meeting, when the time passed from slander, bravado and hooliganism to action—he was seen slinking down the stairs accompanied by another disciple—Gilbert nee Joseph Simonoff (expelled from the Workers Party) alias Simmons (expelled from the Communist Party).

It will be a good trick if Joe can do it—we hope to be permitted to be a member of the class when he tries it.

# MOVIE REVIEW

Like Cavalcade, which heads the list, George Cukor's and Kenneth Macgowan's pictorialization of Louisa May Alcott's famous novel, *Little Women*, is considered by writers in the capitalist press as one of the ten best pictures of 1933. We have not seen all the pictures put out in the past year and we cannot presume to offer a list of the best pictures. But we are positive that this picture should not be included in any list save one which aims to name the worst pictures.

The picture is well cast and well acted. Nice words can be said about the direction and photography. But what would you emphasize still more the utter triviality of its content. As most of our readers know from having read the book it is a story of four girls who grow up in a prim New England home. Their feelings for one another and their love for their parents and, later their husbands, forms the theme of this story. Great art can be woven out of this stuff. But for that it is necessary to illuminate profoundly the human soul.

The picture does not begin to do that. It says nothing original or profound about the well springs of the mind and heart. It reeks from beginning to end with sickening sentimentality. All the people in this story, without exception, be they of high station or low, are kindly souls. Generosity flows without intermission from opening to close. Verily, it is Pollyanna's paradise.

But from the social point of view the picture is even worse. Its action takes place in the period of the Civil War and, presumably, the years following. The time element is so badly handled that its passage is not clearly indicated. The horrible suffering which the war and the reconstruction period brought in their wake sweeps by this family to leave them untouched except for a temporary but not too serious poverty and the wounding of the girls' father, also not too seriously. It almost never enters their conversation and it has almost no influence on their actions.

The inflation of 1861-65 increased the cost of living to more than double what it was in 1860 and ruined thousands of workers' and petty bourgeois families. But you would never guess it from this picture. On the other hand a mysterious invalidism, a result of an attack of scarlet fever contracted in a charitable visit to a neighbor, carries off one of the girls.

It is no good to argue that these shafts are aimed at the book for the defects of which the picture makers are not responsible. If the function of art is to illuminate life—and the cinema is an art form—then it becomes the duty of every artist, whether he be actor, producer or director, to strive with his whole soul to tell the truth about life.

The players in this picture did the best they could within the limits of the scenario. But the producers have fashioned a false picture of life in general and of life during the Civil War in particular. For our part we do not expect anything much better from the talent which sells itself body and soul to the capitalist propaganda machine. Before a man can tell the truth in art he must own his soul. Cukor and Macgowan apparently do not.

—KINO.

**FREE TORGLER, DIMITROFF, POPOFF AND TANEFF**  
The N. Y. Herald-Tribune for Jan. 2, apprizes us of the fact that the Nazi murderers who failed to frame-up the Reichstag fire defendants are looking for a country willing to grant asylum to the three Bulgarians. Nothing is said of Torgler. Nor is anything mentioned concerning the outcome of this "search."

Meanwhile all four of the innocent Communists remain imprisoned in the Fascist dungeons. The request of the Committee to aid the victims of the Hitler "Terror" to safely escort the exonerated prisoners over the German Border has been denied.

It is quite obvious that Hitler's Brown Beasts are not at all disposed to liberate Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneff. Their salvation, as before, with the international working class.

—AL DASCH.

# The Railroad Brotherhoods Ritualistic Mummery at Meetings

IV.  
We think it can be truthfully said that our reactionary arrangements of today were at one time progressive forces in human development. It was only as they outlived their usefulness that they became gradually reactionary and therefore oppressive to the people. This same law of development applies to the secret work in our Lodge and Division meetings.

**Pioneer Needed Secrecy**  
When the Brotherhood pioneers first started to organize the railroad unions they did so at the risk of losing their jobs and were often fired and blacklisted against getting another job. It was therefore quite natural for them to act in secret and to throw all kinds of protection around their meetings against the bosses' stool-pigeons and informers. Pass words, signs and counter signs, grips and other ceremonies, well known to the ordinary brotherhood member, were useful and therefore progressive.

Today all ritualistic and secret work has long since outlived its usefulness and is therefore a reactionary force and serves just the opposite purpose to that which was originally intended. Originally the secret work was intended to protect the organized labor movement against its enemies. Today the secret work protects the enemies of the labor movement by serving as a gag-law and as an obstruction against the spreading of ideas.

**Secret Work Now Isolates the Unions**  
The secret work as it acts today serves to isolate each local lodge from the others. It also keeps them separated from one another, and

**Discussion Article**  
**On the Youth Resolution**

The draft resolution of the National Youth Commission states that it bases itself "in all essentials" upon the youth thesis of the second national conference. The predominant note of the 1931 thesis was to stress the educational and cultural character of youth work and at the same time to follow dutifully the line of the Y. C. L. in the participation in the economic struggles of the working class.

In 1931 our thesis declared that "in textile, coal, automobile, radio, etc., the youth should be organized into the revolutionary unions or leagues." Our 1933 resolution—in the face of the triumph of Fascism in Germany, the collapse of the 2nd International and the need of building a 4th International and a new Communist party in America—not only fails to correct this fundamentally erroneous trade union policy but slurs over the tasks of the young Communists in the trade union field, which are intimately linked up with the new tasks before us—the building of a new party and its youth section. These outlines in general and of life during the Civil War in particular. For our part we do not expect anything much better from the talent which sells itself body and soul to the capitalist propaganda machine. Before a man can tell the truth in art he must own his soul. Cukor and Macgowan apparently do not.

**The Policy of 1921**  
In 1921 when Muenzenberg was the spokesman for the policies laid down by Lenin and Trotsky and not the Stalinist mouthpiece of today he wrote that the first and foremost duty of the young Communists "consists in collecting the millions of young workers of all countries into young Communist organizations, to train and teach them in these organizations and bring them into the Communist parties as trained, capable, and tried revolutionaries and Communist fighters. This means of gaining millions of young Communists is above all an economic struggle." (Communist Review, October 1921, No. 6).

When Muenzenberg wrote these words the problem was the same that we face today, the development of mass Communist parties. The 2nd C. L. A. thesis states "It is only the power of organization of the Communists that enables the advanced guard of the working class to be the leader of the whole party." At this moment it is of utmost importance to stress these fundamental aspects of our work

**Political Leadership**  
In connection with educating and training young workers to become Communists, it is of primary importance to stress that this can be achieved only through the political subordination of the Spartacus Youth Clubs to the C. L. A. This political subordination, however, is not a mechanical process. Our relationship to the C. L. A. must be viewed in the same manner as expressed by comrade Trotsky in the "New Course." "It is wholly inadequate that the youth should repeat over formulas, it is necessary that the youth should take our revolutionary formulas fighting, transfer them into flesh and blood, work out for themselves their own opinion with that courage that comes from sincere conviction and independence of character."

**Tasks of Immediate Period**  
For the immediate period before us, the success or failure of our work depends upon the degree of our participation in the main task that faces the C. L. A.—the building of a revolutionary party of which the youth section must be an integral part. It is not enough to say that "the strategy and tactics of the Party (C. L. A.) are the strategy and tactics of the League (S. Y. C.);" it is also necessary to lay down a concrete program of action whereby we may, together with the C. L. A., and under its guidance enter upon new fields of the economic struggles of the American workers. Only in this way can we recruit fresh and healthy reserves and build a firm foundation for a Communist youth organization that will serve its revolutionary function in the class struggle.

—DAVE LEVITT.

# Pioneer Publishers

We are starting a drive to build up the Pioneer Publishers. It is superfluous to explain to you the need of a Marxian publishing house in America in these critical times for the working class. Reaction is marshaling its forces on an unprecedented scale as a result of the betrayals by the Social Democracy and the bankruptcy of Stalinism. Never before was there a greater need to make the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky accessible to American workers than today; never before was the American proletariat more ready to digest the great experiences of the October revolution and the lessons of the ten years relentless fight of the Left Opposition under the leadership of comrade Leon Trotsky.

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We are glad to announce that we have a few more copies of *Labor and Internationalism* by Louis L. Lordwin. The supply on hand is limited. All those who want to obtain this 100 page book should rush their orders immediately. It is only \$1.50 postpaid.

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**CORRECTION**  
Comrade Trotsky's article that appeared last week (Hitler the Fascist) was made from the French text and contained a number of errors.

The following corrections should be made:

In the first paragraph instead of "No more consoling is the fact, etc." read, "All the more consoling is the fact, etc." And in the same paragraph the last sentence instead of "But Ossietzki is imprisoned for the very reason that he is able, etc." read, "But Ossietzki is imprisoned for the very reason that he should not be able, etc."

In the third paragraph instead of "It is very difficult to dispel their doubts," read, "It is not very easy to dispel their doubts."

The fourth paragraph is a hodge-podge because several lines were left out. Beginning with, "And the Leipzig trial shows" the next should go on to read as follows: "that the medico-legal expert testimony of the Nazis merits unbounded confidence. If in this world there existed only sincerity and love of peace, life would probably be made an eternal delight, etc."

In the sixth paragraph instead of "His nervous system at all times had succeeded, etc." read "His nervous system by that time should have succeeded, etc." And further down instead of "the light avenger von Papen" read "the light-minded avenger von Papen."

In the seventh paragraph (first sentence) instead of "Hitler still inclined in those days, etc." read "Hitler was still forced in those days, etc." And in the very next sentence instead of "... from its whole inclination France can come to an agreement only on the basis of a change, etc." read "... on its own inclination France cannot come to an agreement on the basis of a change, etc." And in the same long sentence (at the close) instead of "the Germans must re-arm at once" read "the Germans must rearm beforehand."

In the ninth paragraph instead of "... or, to use a better known expression, a passport" read: "... or, to use a more precise expression, a

# Roosevelt's Speech on Latin America

Roosevelt's speech at the Wilson Dinner is heralded by the press as a new policy of "cooperation" in the western hemisphere based on the renunciation of armed intervention and the desire for world peace. In reality, behind this speech lurks a new stage in the rivalry of the imperialist powers for hegemony over Latin America. The speech comes on the heels of American imperialist work at Montevideo. Behind the talk of non-intervention, armament reduction and peace is cloaked America's bitter struggle with England for the domination of Latin America.

The Roosevelt-Hull talk of non-intervention in Latin America is an attempt to line up a South American bloc and to keep Europe out of Wall Street's "backyard." The talk of intervention has about as much real weight as the talk of peace and arms reduction. Hull's position at Montevideo on this question is a joker that only fools and puppet delegates could accept.

The Argentine representative endeavored to save Hull's face by suggesting that the subject of non-intervention be referred to an International committee for definition. Hull supported this move, but it was impossible to jam it through the convention; and when the final vote was taken Hull was forced to retreat and vote for the resolution with reservations that make the proposal meaningless and an insult to Latin America. Roosevelt said as if there were not several other forms of intervention which, under certain conditions, are more effective. The Roosevelt-Hull non-intervention talk coincides with the most subtle form of intervention in Cuba and other Latin American countries.

The position of Roosevelt on the League of Nations, is just a polite way of saying that America intends to continue her role of dominating 'observer' at the League Council. There the struggle of the U. S. against Europe takes on special forms. The meaningless gesture of non-intervention in Latin America, a sop to the Western Hemisphere, must be supplemented by a more intense struggle against Europe. The aim is to retain the dominating position in Latin America by preventing England, Germany and others from absorbing the markets.

The talk of world peace and armament reduction is only a maneuver to cover up the mad race of America in the competition for armaments. The basic antagonism of the imperialist powers for control of Latin America is that between the United States and England. Roosevelt's speech is a warning of a new onslaught. Competition from Fascist Germany comes second and America will fight on this front also. But it must be kept in mind that trade in Latin America revolves around the pound and the dollar, not the mark and the yen.

The economic position of America in relation to Latin America is the key to the policies at Montevideo and what has followed. Before the war America held a secondary position in the economic life of Latin America; after the war America dominated. Exports to Latin America grew 270% from 1910 to 1929 while imports increased 125% in the same period. Capital investments increased from one and a

master-key, etc." And further on, instead of "Despite all the respect we have for the two sympathetic journalists, etc." read: "With all due respect to the testimony of the two deeply-moved journalists, etc."

In the next paragraph instead of "It is not at all the intention of the present article to give counsel to those, whoever they may be, who decide the fate of Europe; they truly know themselves what they have to do" read, "Least of all is it the intention of the present article to give any counsel whatever to those who decide the fate of Europe—surely they themselves know what they have to do."

And in the last paragraph instead of "Paris would rather have a knife" read "Paris vaut bien une messe!" (Paris is well worth a mass!). And finally, instead of "Hitler must patiently avoid a preventive war, etc." read: "Hitler must painstakingly avoid a preventive war, etc."

Thus the C.P. of the U. S. A., and presumably the C. I. which gives it its line, have made another turn and, as usual when the turn is in the right direction, it is a turn to the line laid down by the Left Opposition, which the Stalinists first persistently rejected and ignored. Of course, you can't expect them to thank you for the idea. What you can do is to try to bring the idea off paper and force the Stalinists not simply to talk about a transportation boycott, but to do something about it. Can't you call a united front conference on the matter?

Sincerely,  
—HARRY STRANG.

# A Letter on the Hitler Boycott

December 30, 1933  
Some months ago the International Left Opposition and the Communist League of America came out in favor of a militant transportation boycott of Hitler Germany. At the time you published an editorial on this question, I was moved, although not a member of your group, to write you endorsing your stand. I still feel that the consumers' boycott for Jewish relief is no substitute for a labor struggle on behalf of labor. Only by international labor action, the refusal to transport goods in and out of Germany, until certain demands are granted (release of political prisoners, restoration of right to organize workers independently, publish labor papers, etc.), can a smashing blow be dealt to Hitlerism.

**The Old Position of Comintern**  
As I pointed out in my letter some weeks ago, a similar view was taken of similar problems years ago by the Comintern under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. At the time of the Hungarian White Terror and the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in Spain, for example, the C. I. sent out ringing calls for international action by all workers to smash these reactionaries by means of a transportation boycott. When the idea was first brought up with respect to Hitler, however, the Comintern under the leadership of Stalin's office boys, turned a cold shoulder to it. They found it to be ineffective, unrevolutionary because it would divert some trade from Germany to other countries and thereby benefit other capitalists, etc., etc. The C. I. denounced the proposal in the *Rundschau* (Basel) and elsewhere.

But the validity of the idea could not be obliterated. Spontaneously, workers in France, Belgium, Spain, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere began to put the transportation boycott into effect. The chief struggle was by longshoremen who repeatedly refused to unload ships displaying the Nazi flag. On one occasion even, Scandinavian members of a Red Trade Union refused to load Soviet naphtha on a German boat flying the Hakenkreuz. Efforts made by the International Left Opposition and other organizations to spread the idea of a united front transportation boycott for joint, immediate demands have not been entirely fruitless; important labor organizations of various political tendencies in half a dozen countries have endorsed the idea.

**A Typical Stalinist "Turn"**  
After attacking the idea, the Comintern and its sections shut up on the matter like a school of clams. But now they have quietly executed a change; the *Daily Worker* of December 30, attacking Bill Green for his sure-enough rotten piece of fakery on the consumers' boycott, comes out in favor of "the formation of united front committees to be set up for effective action to stop the import and transportation of German goods." It even contrives to find a quotation from Bela Kun: "The revolutionary workers must see clearly that the merchandise boycott of German fascism is a deception if isolated from the general anti-Fascist struggle, if conducted without a transportation boycott."

Thus the C.P. of the U. S. A., and presumably the C. I. which gives it its line, have made another turn and, as usual when the turn is in the right direction, it is a turn to the line laid down by the Left Opposition, which the Stalinists first persistently rejected and ignored. Of course, you can't expect them to thank you for the idea. What you can do is to try to bring the idea off paper and force the Stalinists not simply to talk about a transportation boycott, but to do something about it. Can't you call a united front conference on the matter?

Sincerely,  
—HARRY STRANG.

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# THE SOVIET UNION & THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL

## How the Question is Posed

The break with the Communist International and the orientation toward the New International have posed anew the question of the social character of the U. S. S. R. Doesn't the collapse of the Communist International also mean at the same time the collapse of that state which emerged from the October Revolution? Here, indeed, in both instances one and the same ruling organization is concerned: the Stalinist apparatus. It had applied identical methods within the U. S. S. R. as in the international arena. We, Marxists, were never patrons of the double bookkeeping system of the Brandlerites according to which the policies of the Stalinists are impeccable in the U. S. S. R. but ruinous outside the boundaries of U. S. S. R.\* It is our conviction that they are equally ruinous in both instances. If so, isn't it then necessary to recognize the simultaneous collapse of the Communist International and the liquidation of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R.?

At first sight such reasoning appears to be irrefutable. But it is erroneous. While the methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy are homogeneous in all spheres, the objective results of these methods depend upon external conditions, or to use the language of mechanics, the resistivity of the material. The Communist International represented an instrument that was intended for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet government represents an instrument for the preservation of conquests of an already accomplished overturn. The Communist parties of the West have no inherited capital. Their strength (in reality, their weakness) lies within themselves and only within themselves. Nineteenth of the strength of the Stalinist apparatus lies not in itself but in the social changes wrought by the victorious revolution. Still, this consideration alone does not decide the question: but it does bear a great methodological significance. It shows us how and why the Stalinist apparatus could completely squander its meaning as the international revolutionary factor, and yet preserve a part of its progressive meaning as the gate-keeper of the social conquests of the proletarian revolution. This dual position—we may add—represents in itself one of the manifestations of the unevenness of historical development.

The correct policies of a workers' state are not reducible solely to national economic construction. If the revolution does not expand on the international arena along the proletarian spiral, it must immutably begin to contract along the bureaucratic spiral within the national framework. If the dictatorship of the proletariat does not become European and world-wide, it must head towards its own collapse. All this is entirely incontestable on a wide historical perspective. But everything revolves around the concrete historical periods. Can one say that the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy have led already to the liquidation of the workers' state? That is the question now.

Against the assertion that the workers' state is apparently already liquidated there arises first and foremost the important methodological position of Marxism. The dictatorship of the proletariat was established by means of a political overturn and a civil war of three years. The class theory of society and historical experience both equally testify to the impossibility of the victory of the proletariat through peaceful methods, that is, without grandiose class battles, weapons in hand. How, in that case, is the imperceptible, "gradual", bourgeois counter-revolution conceivable? Until now, in any case, feudal as well as bourgeois counter-revolutions have never taken place "organically" but they have invariably required the intervention of military surgery. In the last analysis the theories of reformism, in so far as reformism generally has attained to theory, are always based upon the inability to understand that class antagonisms are profound and irreconcilable; hence, the perspective of a peaceful transformation of capitalism into socialism. The Marxian thesis relating to the catastrophic character of the transfer of power from the hands of one class into the hands of another applies not only to revolutionary periods, when history madly sweeps ahead, but also to the periods of counter-revolution when society rolls backwards. He who asserts that the Soviet government has been

\* Sage American Brandlerite (the Lovestone group) complicate the question; the economic policy of the Stalinists, if you please, is impeccable, but the political regime in the U. S. S. R. is bad; there is no democracy. It does not occur to these theoreticians to ask themselves why then does Stalin liquidate democracy when his economic policies are correct and successful? Isn't it out of fear that if proletarian democracy obtained, the party and the working class would express much too restlessly and violently their enthusiasm over his economic policies?

## The Class Nature of the Soviet State - by Leon Trotsky

gradually changed from proletarian to bourgeois is only, so to speak, running backwards the film of reformism.

Our opponents may gainsay, this is a general methodological proposition and that no matter how important in itself it is nevertheless too abstract to solve the question. Truth is always concrete. The thesis of the irreconcilability of class contradictions should and must direct us in our analysis but cannot replace its results. One must probe deeply into the material content of the historical process itself.

We reply, it is true, a methodological argument does not exhaust the problem. But in any case it transfers the burden of proof to the opposing side. Critics, who consider themselves Marxists, must demonstrate in what manner the bourgeoisie that had lost power in a three years' struggle could resume this power without any battles. However, since our opponents make no attempt to invest their appraisal of the Soviet state with any sort of serious theoretical expression we shall try to perform this labor for them here.

### "The Dictatorship over the Proletariat"

The most widespread, popular and at first sight irrefutable argument in favor of the non-proletarian character of the present Soviet state is based upon the reference to the strangulation of the liberties of proletarian organizations and to the almightiness of the bureaucracy. Is it really possible to identify the dictatorship of an apparatus, which has led to the dictatorship of a single person, with the dictatorship of the proletariat as a class? Isn't it clear that the dictatorship of the proletariat is excluded by the dictatorship over the proletariat?

Such enticing reasoning is constructed not upon a materialistic analysis of the process as it develops in reality but upon pure idealistic schemas, upon the Kantian norms. Certain noble "friends" of the revolution have provided themselves with a very radiant conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and they are completely prostrated in the face of the fact that the real dictatorship with all its heritage of class barbarism, with all its internal contradictions, with the mistakes and crimes of the leadership fails entirely to resemble that sleek image which they have provided. Disillusioned in their most beautiful emotions they turn their backs to the Soviet Union.

Where and in what books can one find a faultless prescription for a proletarian dictatorship? The dictatorship of a class does not mean by a long shot that its entire mass always participates in the management of the state. This we have seen, first of all, in the case of the propertied classes. The nobility ruled through the monarchy before which the noble stood on his knees. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie took on comparatively developed democratic forms only under the conditions of capitalist upswing when the ruling class had nothing to fear. Before our own eyes, democracy has been supplanted in Germany by Hitler's autocracy, with all the traditional bourgeois parties smashed to smithereens. Today, the German bourgeoisie does not rule directly, politically it is placed under complete subjection to Hitler and his bands. Nevertheless, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie remains inviolate in Germany, because all the conditions of its social hegemony have been preserved and strengthened. By expropriating the bourgeoisie politically Hitler saved it, even if temporarily, from economic expropriation. The fact that the bourgeoisie was compelled to resort to the Fascist regime testifies to the fact that its hegemony was endangered but not at all that it had fallen.

Anticipating our subsequent arguments, our opponents will hasten to refute: although the bourgeoisie, as an exploiting minority can also preserve its hegemony by means of a Fascist dictatorship, the proletariat building a socialist society must manage its government itself, directly drawing ever wider masses of the people into the task of government. In its general form, this argument is undebatable, but in the given case it merely means that the present Soviet dictatorship is a sick dictatorship. The frightful difficulties of Socialist construction in an isolated and backward country coupled with the false policies of the leadership—which in the last analysis also reflects the pressure of backwardness and isolation—have led to the result that the bureaucracy has expropriated the proletariat politically in order to guard its social conquests with its own methods. The anatomy of society is determined by its economic relation. So long as the forms of property that have been created by the October revolution are not overthrown, the proletariat remains the ruling class.

Dissertations upon "the dictatorship of the bureaucracy over the proletariat" without a much deeper analysis, that is, without a clear explanation of the social roots and the class limits of bureaucratic domination, boil down merely to high-faluting democratic phrases so extremely popular among the Mensheviks. One need not doubt that the overwhelming majority of Soviet workers are dissatisfied with the bureaucracy and that a considerable section, by no means the worst, hates it. However, it is not only due to repressions that this dissatisfaction does not assume violent mass forms: the workers fear that they will clear the field for the class enemy, if they overthrow the bureaucracy. The inter-relationships between the bureaucracy and the class are really much more complex than they appear to be to the frothy "democrats". The Soviet workers would have settled accounts with the despotism of the apparatus had other perspectives opened before them, had the Western horizon flamed not with the brown color of Fascism but with the red of revolution. So long as this does not happen, the proletariat with clenched teeth bears ("tolerates") the bureaucracy, and in this sense recognizes it as the bearer of the proletarian dictatorship in a heart to heart conversation, no Soviet worker would be sparing of strong words addressed to the Stalinist bureaucracy. But not a single one of them would allow that the counter-revolution has already taken place. The proletariat is the spine of the Soviet state. But in so far as the function of governing is concentrated in the hands of an irresponsible bureaucracy we have before us an obviously sick state. Can it be cured? Will not further attempts at cures mean a fruitless expenditure of precious time? The question is badly put. By cures we understand not all sorts of artificial measures separate and apart from the world revolutionary movement but a further struggle under the banner of Marxism. Merciless criticism of the Stalinist bureaucracy, training the cadres of the New International, resurrecting the fighting capacity of the world proletarian vanguard—this is the essence of the "cure". It coincides with the fundamental direction of historical progress.

During the last few years—appropriately enough—our opponents have told us more than once that we "are losing time in vain" by occupying ourselves with curing the Comintern. We never promised anybody that we would cure the Comintern. We only refused, until the decisive test, to pronounce the sick as dead, or hopelessly ill. In any case, we did not waste a single day "curing" it. We formed revolutionary cadres, and what is no less important, we prepared the fundamental theoretical and programmatic positions of the new International.

### The Dictatorship of the Proletariat as an Idealistic Norm

Messrs. "Kantian" sociologists (we apologize to the shade of Kant) often reach the conclusion that a "real" dictatorship, that is one which conforms to their ideal norms existed only in the days of the Paris Commune, or during the first period of the October revolution, up to the Brest-Litovsk peace or, at best, up to the NEP. This is indeed sharpshooting: aim a finger at the sky and hit the bull's eye! If Marx and Engels called the Paris Commune "the dictatorship of the proletariat" it was only because of the force of the possibilities lodged in it. But by itself the Commune was not yet the dictatorship of the proletariat. Having seized power, it hardly knew how to use it; instead of assuming the offensive, it waited; it remained isolated within the circle of Paris; it dared not touch the state bank; it did not and indeed could not put through the overturn in property relations because it did not wield power on a national scale. To this must be added Blanquist one-sidedness and Proudhonist prejudices which prevented even the leaders of the movement from completely understanding the Commune as the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The reference to the first period of the October revolution is not any more fortunate. Not only up to the Brest-Litovsk peace but even up to autumn of 1918, the social content of the revolution was restricted to a petty-bourgeois agrarian overturn and workers' control over production. This means that the revolution in its actions had not yet passed the boundaries of bourgeois society. During this first period soldiers' soviets ruled side by side with workers' soviets, and often elbowed them aside. Only toward the autumn of 1918, did the petty bourgeois soldier agrarian elemental wave recede a little to its shores and the workers went forward with the nationalization of the means of production. Only from this time can one speak of the in-

ception of a real dictatorship of the proletariat. But even here it is necessary to make certain large reservations. During those initial years the dictatorship was geographically confined to the old Moscow principality and was compelled to wage a three years' war along all the radii from Moscow to the periphery. This means that up to 1921, precisely up to the NEP that is, what went on was still the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat upon the national scale. And since, in the opinion of the pseudo-Marxist philistines, the dictatorship had disappeared with the beginning of the NEP, then it means that, in general, it had never existed. To these gentlemen the dictatorship of the proletariat is simply an imponderable concept, an ideal norm not to be realized upon our sinful planet. Small wonder that "theoreticians" of this stripe, insofar as they do not renounce altogether the very word dictatorship, strive to smear over the irreconcilable contradiction between the latter and bourgeois democracy.

Extremely characteristic, from the laboratory and not the political point of view, is the Parisian sect of "Communist-democrats" (Souvaine & Co.). The very name already implies a break with Marxism. In the critique of the Gotha program, Marx rejected the name social democracy in view of the fact that it places the revolutionary socialist struggle under the formal control of democracy. It is quite obvious that there is no difference in principle between "Communist democrats" and "socialist democrats", social democrats that is. There is no ahrd and fast partition between socialism and communism. Transgression begins only when socialism and communism as a movement or as a state is subordinated not to the actual course of the class struggle, not to the material conditions of the historical process but to the supra-social and supra-historical abstraction, "democracy" which in reality is a weapon of self-defense serving the bourgeoisie against the proletarian dictatorship. If during the epoch of the Gotha Program it was still possible to see in the word social democracy only an incorrect and non-scientific name for a proletarian party, whose spirit was healthy, then the entire subsequent history of bourgeois and "social" democracy turns the banner of "democratic communism (?) into the banner of an outright class betrayal".

### Bonapartism

An opponent of the Urbahns type will say that there has been really no restoration of the bourgeois regime as yet but also there is no longer a workers' state; the present soviet regime is a supra-class or an inter-class Bonapartist government. In its own time we settled our accounts with this theory. Historically, Bonapartism was and remains the government of the bourgeoisie during periods of crises in bourgeois society. It is possible and it is necessary to distinguish between the "progressive" Bonapartism that consolidates the purely capitalistic conquests of bourgeois revolution and the Bonapartism of the decay of capitalist society, the convulsive Bonapartism of our epoch (von Papen—Schleicher, Dolfuss, and the candidate for Dutch Bonapartism, Colijn, etc.) Bonapartism always implies political veering between classes; but under Bonapartism in all its historical transmigrations there is preserved the one and the same social base; bourgeois property. Nothing is more absurd than to draw the conclusion of the classless character of the Bonapartist state from the Bonapartist wagging between classes or from the "supra-class" position of the Bonapartist gang. Monstrous nonsense! Bonapartism is only one of the varieties of capitalist hegemony.

If Urbahns wants to extend the concept of Bonapartism to include also the present soviet regime then we are ready to accept such a widened interpretation—under one condition: if the social content of the soviet "Bonapartism" will be defined with the requisite clarity. It is absolutely correct that the self-rule of the Soviet bureaucracy was built upon the soil of veering between class forces both internal as well as international. Insofar as the bureaucratic veering has been crowned by the personal plebiscitary regime of Stalin, it is possible to speak of soviet Bonapartism. But while the Bonapartism of both Bonapartes as well as their present pitiful followers has developed and is developing on the basis of a bourgeois regime, the Bonapartism of soviet bureaucracy has under it the soil of a soviet regime. Terminological innovations or historical analogies can serve as conveniences in one manner or another for analysis but they cannot change the social nature of the soviet state.

\* Those who are interested, if there are such, may become acquainted with the "platform" of "communist (!) democrats" themselves. From the viewpoint of the fundamentals of Marxism it is difficult to conceive of a more charlatanic document.

(To be continued)

## Discussion Articles

### The NRA and the Corporate State

The NRA cannot be separated from Roosevelt's Administration, nor from his other "Acts" such as the economy bill, the banking laws, the revaluation of the dollar. Let us turn through the pages of history to find a similar bourgeois regime. We need to go back to the days when the Communist Manifesto was written. Bourgeois Revolution had shaken Europe. The "spectre of Communism" had shown itself to a victorious bourgeoisie in France. A cruel, cynical "reformism" to meet "social evils" was put forward by the ruling bourgeois clique, National workshops, public work armies, thieving economies, and tactical financial reorganizations and moves, subsidies to the peasantry, etc., were the elements of a state policy designed to segregate the lower classes and to strike additional blows at the defeated monarchy. Utopian Socialists, liberals, industrialists and financiers were each given "their part to do." The Second Republic of France raised itself up, on the gulf of the nation's proletariat, artisans, and peasants. The two former classes, being social-minded, were demanding a Social republic! The capitalist met this new stage of its revolution that was promising to be socialist in character by its "own" reformism. The Roosevelt regime which has been swept into power upon the paper ballots of the lower classes who in a practical American manner are demanding precisely those things which only a Workers' Government can give (cheap government, a social dollar, government ownership of banks and trust in-

dustry, social insurance of all kinds, etc.) is meeting this popular awakening with a similar program of "Reforms". In France the particular regime that applied this policy beat back the plebeian revolt for the "Social Republic" in 1851 with the strength it had gained from its policy only, in turn to waste itself and fall to the "Third Empire" of counter-revolution.

Example of 1851 Insurrection. Trotsky has pointed out that the insurrection of the Parisian proletariat in 1851, an outburst of anger against the fraud, deceit, and cruelty of the Bourgeois reform government represented in the dynamics of the social revolution, the "July Days" which were a necessary prerequisite for the Paris Commune. Between these steps for power came the successful Kornilovad the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. This was because, in the specific gravity of the social classes of France at that period, this form of reactionary state rule (or the property classes came to the surface first. How will it fare for the Roosevelt regime and the social camp for whom he holds the staff of power!

When the avalanche of paper ballots (as against the Frenchmen's guns) swept Hoover under it carried with him whole sections of the political system by which Finance Capital rules. The brunt of the shock was taken off the dominant class by the fact that the traditional two party system allowed it to use its blackest, oldest, most reactionary Democratic Party as a "liberal" shock-absorber. This re-

serve of American capitalism is now being put in the most precarious position not by voluntary choice but by necessity, for the crisis is still in its left-ward food (counter-currents not withstanding). The contradictions of Roosevelt regime. French capitalism could aid the organization of its artisans and lumpen-proletariat, and could counter-balance them with a far more numerous peasantry subsidized by taxes upon its land gentry and nobility. Roosevelt had no such million war veterans and government employees; he had to subsidize a mass of farmers by taxes upon the rations of subsistence wages and doles of the working class; he has to shift as much as possible the burden of feeding the unemployed from over-bonded cities and counties to equally debt-ridden small and middle trade and industry in order to protect the bigger banks. He has to organize not artisans in sparsely scattered cities but a highly industrial, socially powerful proletariat of forty millions in order to perpetrate a fraud, a breach of trust of enormous dimensions upon a recklessly moving nation.

Money manipulations will not bring the necessary breaks from the declining world market; not when England and France have such huge stakes in the offerings. Latin American jolts the administration with its contributions to the Permanent Revolution (Cuba). The extreme right sabotages—the Republican Machine of the Forde, Mellons, the merchant and sections of industrialists, the landlords and reactionary church—thus giving the Roosevelt administration elements of bonapartism. Truly it is a government of transition.

The NRA can have only a great effect upon the working class political development in America, which shall stand above and include all other effects upon the social-consciousness of the proletariat, and that is the inevitable "outburst of anger"; a crisis similar to the July

Days, patterned to the present American situation, which will be the dress rehearsal for the "American October", providing the internationalist revolutionists are there, in essence, clarity in leadership and retreat. Without this condition this revolt of desperation will be but another '77 '86, '93, for the American working class, a decisive defeat with the resulting reaction.

II. State Capitalism and the Corporate State. The NRA has been accredited by every brand of social reformism as having elements of "state capitalism". From Stalinist to Liberal and back again, the question as to the exact amount of "state capitalism" has been handled about, as though the American proletariat, which has in the main no misgivings for ordinary capitalism, is going to prick-up its ears and take notice of the new kind of capitalism he is being faced with. Since no Marxian theoretician has yet conceded that there can be an economy that is "pure" state capitalism, why should the Marxists use this term at all to describe a phenomenon in social-economic organizations that is occurring ever more frequently under imperialism, the final stage of Capitalism.

Imperialism is the rule of Financial Capital in the national economy and its state for the purpose of perpetuating and extending its particular power and influence over the world. Finance Capital stands in the position of power in the state due to the dominant position it holds in the economy of a nation. The nation is dependent upon its enormous wealth and continued expansion in the rest of the world. The ordinary operation of the laws of economic development of capitalism leads from crisis to crisis to the greater concentration of wealth and economic power in Finance Capital at the expense of small and independent capitalist, farmers, and proletariat—with all

the ensuing difficulties and political consequences to its rule over the nation. This condition reflects itself in the state under stress of internal contradictions. Function of Imperialist State. The Imperialist State begins to function from this manner of thought: the interests of the nation are the interests of Finance Capital, therefore the requirements of our international bankers (a bigger slice of the world market) demand that this and that internal contradiction, which will work itself out if given enough time, need to be solved now in the immediate future, in order that we can set our house in order for our next stab at the competitor powers. The small inefficient workshops, antiquated small industry and trade. The remedy is a plan similar to the NRA, which will establish a law of "fair practice" by which the stronger, more efficient plants will quickly ruin and eliminate the small inefficient workshops. This will speed-up the natural process of elimination, and make the nation's economic power stronger more quickly.

Or the case may be the exigencies of Imperialist War in which the whole nation's (that is its Finance Capital's) future is at stake. The remedy is to monopolize the banks, the railroads, the public utilities, and the munitions works, by establishing government ownership of some enterprises, government control of others, in order to regulate the national investment, to government money everywhere necessary. All warring powers applied some of these measures of "state capitalism" in the World War. Or the case may be that of a Capitalist nation caught in the crisis of depression, when the exploited classes can no longer be held in leash by bribes or concessions and when the internal contradictions are augmented by external barriers to expansion. The Nation (finance capital) is in a state of "siege".

Only a complete unification of the national economy under the hegemony of finance capital can suffice for the continuation of capitalism. Then the "corporate state" of Fascism is needed to stabilize the rule of finance capital on a basis that is consistent with all tenets of its life, as was the case of Italy, Germany, etc. "State Capitalism" is practiced under Fascism to the extent that its internal and external requirements demand certain measures of this kind for the continuation of the life of Finance capital and capitalism itself.

### State Form of Finance Capital

From the above it can be seen that "State Capitalism" is nothing but the reflection of the concentrated economic power of finance capital of a nation in the political superstructure of the capitalist state. The "Corporate State" of Fascism is the consistent state form for the rule of finance capital. Under it all the economic forces of the nation are at the disposal of Imperialism. But let us not over-estimate the strength of this state form for capitalist rule. Fascism is the product of the decay and weakness of a national capitalist economy, which seeks to avoid with "national madness" the international inter-dependence of each separate national unit to continue to live.

A Fascist state at the same time packs within the shell of national boundaries in the most concentrated form the basic, most highly explosive contradiction of capitalist economy—social production and individual appropriation—by intense practising what is known as state capitalism. This becomes a mortal contradiction when jarred by the Permanent Revolution from within and within, for the latter seeks to solve, by social revolution through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to World Socialism, the contradiction between the "advanced" tech-

nique of world economy and the "outlived" modes of production and social superstructure. Here in America at that time we can afford to speak less of "State Capitalism" and more of Finance Capital, that is, Wall Street. Concretely, we must show the source and inspirers of each measure that deprives the petty bourgeoisie, the farmers and workers of their freedom, their "democracy" and their "rights" (that is, their money) to be the Imperialist Bankers. —CLEM FORSEN.

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**IS THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM BRINGING RECOVERY?**  
Speaker: WILLIAM KITT  
January 21st, at 3 P. M.  
**LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING**  
Speaker: O. COOVER  
Held at: 1530 Franklin Avenue  
Auspicis: Minneapolis Branch, Communist League of America.

**BROWNSVILLE OPEN FORUM THE WORKERS AND FARMERS IN THE COMING STRUGGLES**  
Speaker: JACK WEBER  
Friday evening, Jan. 15th, 8 P. M. at Millant Hall  
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Auspicis: Brooklyn Branch, International Workers School

**"RESOLVED THAT A POLITICAL PARTY IS NECESSARY FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS"**  
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Negative: S. WEINER of the I. W. W.  
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EDITORIAL

Shoe Workers Amalgamation

AMALGAMATION of the independent unions of shoe workers into a single organization, decided by the Boston convention, is a real step forward. It promises much for the development of unionism in the shoe and leather trades and should encourage the militant and progressive forces everywhere. The fact that it was pushed forward at every step over a period lasting a year in the face of every kind of obstruction and opposition from the conservative officials of the various unions, the virtually unanimous support which the proposal received in the referendum and, finally, the resolute decision of the convention to drive through to the goal—these facts give ground for confidence that the last-minute attempts of disgruntled officials to sabotage the unification will be frustrated.

There is a mighty sweep of rank and file determination behind the amalgamation movement of the shoe workers. The success with which it asserted itself in all the unions and came to fruition in a united convention is a striking illustration of the power of a mass movement to break through antiquated forms. Many difficulties yet remain, but it is clear that the movement is going ahead under full steam and gaining strength along the way. Progressive elements in other unions, working for amalgamation, can well take heart from the splendid achievement of the shoe workers.

One of the most important aspects of the fusion of the independent shoe unions, overshadowing even the tangible gains of the moment, is the rich prospect it opens up for a rapid expansion of the new united organization. It is not merely that approximately 70,000 workers have found their way toward a single union in place of a number of separate unions weakened by mutual competition and isolation. That in itself, to be sure, is a great accomplishment. But the unification also creates the conditions for a broad campaign to organize the unorganized and bring the power of a national movement to bear for a general improvement of conditions.

There is an attractive power in the idea, and especially in the fact of unity. The coming together of the independents at Boston may well be the starting point for the development of unionism in the shoe and leather trades on a scale unknown before. A decisive move in this direction will be the most effective means of consolidating the accomplishments of the convention and flattening out attempts at obstruction from any quarter.

Trade unions, that is, real trade unions, are elementary organizations of the masses, not artificial creations cut to pattern. In their programs and, what is more important, in their practices, they reflect, by and large, the stage of development attained by the membership in the struggle against capital. Those who aspire to shape this development in a revolutionary direction, to bring the element of consciousness into the movement, can begin to be effective only when they learn to take the unions as they find them and work among them. Their development can be seriously influenced only from within and in the process of struggle. It cannot be imposed from the outside through any special form of organization. The new union of shoe and leather workers has masses in its ranks. That is the first requirement of a union without which the best program in the world amounts to nothing. Despite all its defects the mass basis of the new union entitles it to the support of the workers in the industry, and the "recognition" of every other legitimate union.

As an independent organization, forged by the workers in struggle against the employers and the black traitors of the A. F. of L. "Boot and Shoe" union, the new amalgamated union may be regarded as a symptomatic expression of the line of development which will become more general. As a living example of the vitality of such a trend it must be attentively heeded by those who want to synchronize their conceptions with the actual development of the movement. The cut and dried idea that affiliation to the A. F. of L. is the only badge of legitimacy for a labor organization has no more foundation than the grotesque theory of the Stalinists that new unions must be organized everywhere according to one uniform blueprint, with their "control" assured in advance. The first is implicit with treachery as the second is a prescription for sectarianism, isolation and sterility. Both of these arbitrary "theories" have been dealt a heavy blow by the actual course of development in the shoe unions.

In firmly rejecting any idea of affiliation, either with the A. F. of L. or the Trade Union Unity League, the amalgamation convention took the only course possible under the circumstances. Independence is the necessary condition for the effective functioning and growth of the amalgamated union in the next period. The new organization came into existence and acquired a mass basis in the course of a long series of revolts against the monstrous betrayals of the A. F. of L. "Boot and Shoe" organization. The fight for a genuine union in the industry is a continued fight against the "Boot and Shoe". An approach to the A. F. of L. on the part of the amalgamated union would be the greatest folly imaginable.

able as long as it involves the idea of a reconciliation with its corrupt affiliate in the shoe industry. There could be no better way to demoralize the movement.

The future maneuvers of the Lovestonites to steer the new union into this treacherous channel made no headway at the convention. In rejecting these suggestions the shoe workers have shown a greater sense of reality than the A. F. of L. fetishists. "Independence", of course, is no principle. As a general formula the argument for the federation of separate unions into a general labor movement is unassailable. But the complex nature of the American trade union movement, now at the beginning of a new and probably variegated development, excludes any patent, universal formula. A. F. of L. fetishism—the theory that every union not affiliated to it has to be condemned as "dual unionism"—is the most false and dangerous of all the arbitrary "theories". In the last analysis this "theory" converts its protagonists into field agents for the labor fakers and closes the door to a real participation in the coming labor struggles "outlawed" by them.

If the test of trade union policy is the way it works out in practice—and we know of no other—then the Stalinist dogma of a uniform movement of "Red Unions", with program and leadership provided for beforehand, was completely discredited once again by the debacle in the shoe industry. Not only did the convention refuse to hear any suggestion of affiliating to the T. U. U. L., but the Stalinist union in New York was required to sever relations with this body as a condition for its inclusion in the amalgamation. The independent unions came together into a single organization, but it does not fit into the Stalinist pattern. It didn't go to the T. U. U. L. On the contrary the T. U. U. L. union had to go to it. The leaders of the Stalinist union tried in every way to sabotage the amalgamation movement and to set itself up as the real union against all the others. It ended by capitulating to the amalgamation movement and giving up its own affiliation and separate identity.

This was surely the correct thing to do. But the Stalinists are not entitled to the credit. The wisdom was not theirs. The pressure of their own membership on the one side and the adamant hostility of the workers in the other unions to the T. U. U. L. left them no other choice. The Boston convention demonstrates that the independent union movement has real vitality in certain fields. And it demonstrates no less convincingly that this movement does not flow in the artificial channel cut for it by the T. U. U. L., but, on the contrary, takes its own course outside the T. U. U. L. and against it. Clear-headed militants will shed no tears over this fact. For them the real movement is important, not the arbitrary schemes. This real movement of independent action can only gain by the elimination of the false theories and disruptive practices represented by the T. U. U. L.

Independent unions, which come into existence as a result of special conditions in certain industries, do not, by that fact alone, become revolutionary or radical. They offer, as a rule, a freer field for the work of the militants and their development on the path of class struggle is less hampered by the interference of the skilled professional labor agents of the capitalists who dominate the A. F. of L. But if they are mass organizations they reflect the composite mental attitude of the mass. That is not revolutionary today. It can become so only in the course of struggles and with the aid of the Communists who root themselves deeply in the unions and take part in the struggles. The greatest mistake is to consider an independent union synonymous with a revolutionary policy or to think such a policy can be imposed in advance.

The amalgamated union of the shoe and leather workers is by no means a "Red" union. It is a fluid movement, filled with contradictions and not a little confusion, as any real mass organization of American workers today is apt to be. The convention condemned the NRA in one resolution and praised Father Coughlin in another.

In this contradiction there is nothing fatal for the new union. The union will have its existence in the class struggle and will be influenced and shaped by it. The workers represented at the Boston convention and their prototypes in other trades will make up the bulk of the new labor movement. They have many illusions and are due for some hard bumps. The most important thing for the Communists is to recognize the real movement when they see it, take part in it no matter what its form may be and help the workers to assimilate the lessons of the struggles.

The shoe workers movement is a real one and its form, under the circumstances, is the one best adapted to facilitate a radical development. The fact of the amalgamation, which strengthens the confidence of the workers, will undoubtedly lead to conflicts on a bigger scale and work to the same end. The amalgamation convention at Boston, despite the confusion and contradictions which marked some of its actions, will most likely represent the starting point of movement which lifts the struggles of the shoe workers to greater heights and clearer aims. The whole movement of insurgent labor will be the gainer by it.

NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

After the Norwegian Labor Party had rejected the proposal to elaborate a joint platform, the problem of this party among others was discussed more or less haphazardly by our German comrades and the S. A. P. In this way the question of the Norwegian Labor Party (N. A. P.) has come to the fore. This international question is extremely interesting to a large circle of people.

What does this N. A. P. represent? With 200,000 members (undoubtedly, as in the British Labor Party, the largest part of this is collective membership it represents like the Austrian Socialist party the political party of the Norwegian proletariat. It is strikingly similar to the Austrian Socialist party in another way. The strong Leftist currents among the members (who have up to now not dared to join the Second International) who form a Left wing, use a vaguely radical phraseology, are basically reformist and are deplorably reformistic and vulgar in practice, that is pursue a policy of toleration which precipitates layers of the middle classes into the arms of Fascism.

It is true that the party has gained of recent date (like other reformist parties) great election successes, as in the New Rotterdam, the second for the II-2, the third for the IIIrd, the fourth for the IVth, etc. Better yet the simultaneous alliance of two of the signees of the Declaration of the Four with a completely reformist party must compromise the conception of the IVth International, not only in the eyes of some bureaucrats but before many thinking revolutionary workers.

The S. A. P. argues about the results of its alliance with the N. A. P. in a very confused and unwise way. It does not help Trammell because he treats the alliance very disdainfully. Tactical exigencies demand this alliance. Yes, this element which is worthy of eulogies, still demands the entrance of the League of Communist Internationalists in the London Bureau, that is to abandon our declaration of Four for an optional and cordial union with Trammell. One should not fear compromises, etc....

Conversely the demand of the League of Communist Internationalists is called "sectarianism" in the largest degree (?). At every step they discover the original sin. In that they make use of Lenin's meth-

od (Dear friends, study once again in what circumstances, with what methods, and with what results Lenin marched in 1915 towards the construction of the III International! How he condemned every equivocal union containing traces of opportunism, which was precisely the reason that led to the collapse of the IInd International) in order to accuse others as sectarian so that they can appear "correct".

But we ask our opponents: Is there another method of building a revolutionary organization, no matter how, on the national and international scale? What are the results of other methods, of the silent concessions, of the "flexible" maneuvers, of hesitations (of course we speak of the building of the new party and the new international, not of the struggle for concrete economic and political ends in which a united front is possible "even with the devil and his grandmothers").

Our opponents can look into the long history of the revolutionary movement as much as they want, but they will not find any other workable method. Every concession to opportunism and centrism, however small or great, has ended in a 4th of August. Only Leninist intransigence has brought results. The Road of the IVth International

Only on this road is the building of a IVth International possible, the political level already acquired. On this road they do not abandon. They would do much better, not in the N. A. P., not in the Independent Communist Party of Sweden, if they brought others to their point of view by means of decisive struggle.

An example. The leaders of the S. A. P. believe that they possess a sufficiently important historical experience to create a new strategy and a new tactic on the basis of this experience; their own results in winning over the S. A. P. As is known the present leadership was formerly Brandierite. It entered the S. A. P. with 800 members in the spring of 1932. At that time the S. A. P. numbered 24,000 members according to some and 50,000 according to others. A year later Seydewitz capitulated to the social democracy, Rosenfeld to the Communist party and the present leadership found itself at the head of a party which had about 14,000 members.

In the meanwhile illegality has naturally reduced this number in extraordinary proportions as it has in all organizations.

The Result of the "New" Methods We proposed to the comrades now in the leadership, on their entry into the S. A. P., that they carry on an open struggle in the party against Seydewitz-Rosenfeld on the basis of a platform. They did not want to do this. They applied their own tactic and perhaps, despite themselves, conquered around a third of the party. Most of those remaining went to the social democracy; a small section to the Stalinist party where they are continuing their evolution towards the Brandierites and to us; the majority have sunk into inferences. Do you call that the triumph of the "old" Leninist method over the "new"?

"Gentlemen, consider the outcome!", it is said in old German history. We believe that the historic study of the S. A. P. should be deepened and amplified. It is not written that they would not have obtained this result with the "old" method. They would possibly have obtained a better result. Today the transient homogeneity of the S. A. P. is the product of the external oppression of Hitler. But the political homogeneity of the S. A. P. ... At a public meeting where three members of the S. A. P. spoke, one of them said that there was no proletarian state in the U. S. S. R., the other said that there was one, and the third said something quite unique: bureaucratic socialism.

The Picture This is broadly the picture of a truly revolutionary party. And that leads us to believe that the final results of the "new method" will be quite different than the leaders of the S. A. P. today think they will, if they generalize and immortalize these methods instead of recognizing their accomplishments in order to correct them. That is why we prefer the "old" methods by means of which the Bolsheviks built their party.

We see that the question of the N. A. P. has not only a particular and actual significance, but that on its correct solution depends in large part the further development of the IVth International. It leads us also to the principles of building a party and a revolutionary international. Their immediate clarification is decisive for future development.

Sweden (the latter has broken with the Brandier international) which are evolving to the left. The principal task of all the participants in the Declaration of the Four should be the strengthening of relations with these parties. Therefore it can continue openly with the N. A. P. only in the face of the growing development of opposition.

The N. A. P. and Sweden It conducts itself in a similar manner with the Independent Communist party of Sweden. As long as the N. A. P. deems it advisable to have relations with the latter, it will exert a bad influence on it and will arrest its development. These facts are so striking that every member of the S. A. P. should take them into consideration.

But in Norway itself such passivity can only lead to disgust in the N. A. P. No Left wing can develop without criticism. On the other hand an appeal to international allies permits Trammell to play the revolutionist in his own party.

After the Declaration of the Four the London Bureau has lost its significance. It is even unable to explain how it happens that each of its participants follows a different aim. One holds for the IInd, the second for the II-2, the third for the IIIrd, the fourth for the IVth, etc. Better yet the simultaneous alliance of two of the signees of the Declaration of the Four with a completely reformist party must compromise the conception of the IVth International, not only in the eyes of some bureaucrats but before many thinking revolutionary workers.

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