

# WORLD CONGRESS FOUNDS FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## Congress Climaxes 15 Years' Struggle

Fourth International Emerges From Fight  
Against Degeneration in the  
Third International

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Just as the main body of the Communist International came out of the Second International, so the roots of the Fourth International are to be traced to the beginnings of the crisis in the Third.

Fifteen years have elapsed since the movement now organized under the banner of the Fourth International first took shape. It arose in the form of the Opposition in the Russian Communist Party, variously called the "Moscow" or "1923" or "Trotskyist" Opposition. Uniting the best elements of the Old Guard and of the youth of the Party, and led by Leon Trotsky, it was the first to sound the alarm against the growing menace of degeneration in the ruling party and the revolution itself.

### Against Bureaucratism

Significantly enough, the first blows dealt the ruling clique by the Opposition centered around the struggle against bureaucratism and for party and proletarian democracy. These questions were, however, inseparably associated in the views of the Opposition, with the questions of the rhythm of industrialization of the country and the relationships to the Soviet peasantry, questions which were to play such an overwhelmingly decisive part in the further evolution of the Soviet Union.

The Opposition was supported by an unmistakable majority of the party and youth members in Moscow and numerous other important centers. But the almighty apparatus was in the hands of the notorious "triumvirate"—Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin. They proceeded to invent the bogeyman of "Trotskyism," to befuddle the minds of those they could not intimidate, and by the crassest manipulation of the party machinery they not only succeeded in voting down the Opposition but in accelerating the trend towards bureaucratic degeneration.

### Rallied to the Opposition

It is interesting to note that from the very beginning, many of the most solid and ablest elements in the Communist International took a position either outrightly in favor of the Trotskyist Opposition or conciliatory to it. The leadership of the Polish party protested vigorously against the disloyal and dishonest assaults against the Opposition; it was answered—the reply soon became standardized!—by having its leadership arbitrarily removed, its leader Domasky called to Moscow from which, years later, he was exiled, then imprisoned and, according to more recent reports, shot.

The founders and outstanding leaders of the French party took the position of the Trotskyists, and such figures as Rosmer, Loriot, Souvarine, Louzon, Dunois, Menatte, Chambelland, and among the younger elements, Thorez (yes, the present Thorez!) ranged themselves alongside the Opposition, with early expulsion from the Comintern as their reward.

The German party leadership of the time—Brandler-Thälheimer—only "dissociated" itself from the Russian Opposition under the most severe pressure and threats of retaliation. The leadership of the Italian party, headed by Bor-

diga, also solidarized itself substantially with the Russian Opposition, and met the usual fate at the hands of the Kremlin machine. Virtually the entire party leadership in Belgium was arbitrarily ousted for the same reason. The same occurred in varying degrees in all the parties of the International.

### Subsequent Struggles

In the course of the inner struggle which followed in the International, centering mainly around the question of the capitulation of the Stalinists to the British labor Bureaucracy, culminating in the fiasco of the 1926 General Strike and the notorious Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee; of the Chinese Revolution, in which Stalin reduced the communist, the working class and peasant movements to so many serfs of the perfidious national bourgeoisie; of the domestic policy of the Soviet Union, which brought the country to the brink of catastrophe by favoring the well-to-do kulak and the labor aristocrat as against a policy, advocated by the Opposition, of a broad industrialization plan and the collectivization of agriculture; and above all, of the generalized theoretical expression of Stalinist reaction contained in its nationalistic concept of "socialism in a single country"—the original Moscow Opposition gained new support in a second layer of adversaries of Stalin.

Led by Zinoviev, Kamenev, Krupskaya and other former opponents of an alleged "Trotskyism," the Leningrad party organization joined with the Moscow revolutionists to form, in 1926-1927, the United Opposition Bloc. It was crushed even more savagely by the Stalin-Bukharin bloc than the 1923 Opposition had been. But not before significant international repercussions were heard. A whole section of the Comintern leadership which had been forced into power by Zinoviev's appointment, broke away from the Stalinists and came closer to the Opposition.

### Other Breaks

These included the new German leadership of Maslow-Fischer-Urbans-Scholem; the French party leadership of Treint-Girault; the Neurath-Michalec group in Czechoslovakia; the Frey group in Austria. In the course of the next few years, new forces developed in the direction of the Opposition—Nin, Andrade and others in Spain, Chen Tu-hsiu in China, the Italian party leaders Perocci, Blasco and Santini, Spector and MacDonald in Canada, Diego Rivera in Mexico, Juan Antonio Mella in Cuba, Abern, Cannon and Shachtman in the United States and similar groups of active and leading militants, many of them founders of the International, in other lands.

Almost everywhere, their places were taken by unknown upstarts, young (and old) servile bureaucrats, people without ideas or character or principle, who were appointed today and as like as not demoted tomorrow as scapegoats for Stalin's catastrophic policies.

### Process of Selection

Not all those who associated themselves at one time or another

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## Ten Years of the Fight To Build A Revolutionary Party in the US

By JAMES P. CANNON

The foundation congress of the Fourth International coincided, within the span of a few weeks, with the tenth anniversary of our struggle for bolshevism in the United States. On October 27, 1928 we raised the banner of the Russian Opposition (the Bolshevik-Leninists) in the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Therewith we broke all ties with Stalinism and we never once looked back. These events—the formation of the American "Left Opposition" and the World Congress—mark two steps in one and the same uninterrupted struggle on an international as well as on a national scale. Their joint celebration in this issue of our paper is appropriate.

Our participation in the world congress which signaled the formal organization of the Fourth International was the logical outcome of our consistent adherence to the program we adopted as our own ten years ago. We have contributed something to the organization of the world movement. The Fourth International, in turn, now gives us a mighty impulse for further advances toward the American revolution.

### Ten Years Strong

We are profoundly convinced that our ten years' struggle has prepared us for great things in the future and we face it with confidence. We have gained steadily, if all too slowly, from year to year. The basic program of ten years ago remains unchanged. The leadership, with important individual accretions and no significant defections, has maintained a ten-year continuity. We never suffered a single serious

split; disruptive and unassimilable elements, who periodically threatened our unity, were isolated and crushed every time. Beginning as the tiniest and poorest and most derided of all the radical labor groupings outside the camp of Stalinism, we have outstripped them all. By timely and successful fusions with all the genuinely revolutionary groupings and by shouldering the pretenders aside, we have gained the central position in the radical labor field.

Outside the Stalinist Party, which has been completely transformed into a cynical agency of imperialism in the labor movement, there are no cadres, no press, that can be compared to ours. This is not boasting—we have never been braggarts, never

pretended to be more than we are—but a plain statement of fact, which we can permit ourselves on this glorious tenth anniversary. Our party, at the end of the ten years' fight, has come to represent the revolutionary political movement in the United States and to be synonymous with it. We are not yet a mass party but we will become such. The foundations have been laid deep and strong.

### Revolutionary Realities

In looking back through the ten-year period, which has been so rich in experience, we can easily distinguish three distinct stages in the development of our movement as the authentic successor of the once-revolutionary

(Continued on page 4)

### The Pioneer Contingent



Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, and Max Shachtman, pioneers in the Communist movement in the United States who were the first, ten years ago, to raise the banner of revolt against the degeneration of the Communist International and who today stand in the front ranks of the Fourth International.

## Thirty Delegates From Eleven Countries Raise New Banner

New International Created in Midst of European War  
Crisis Gives Voice to Revolutionary  
Opposition to Imperialist War

### YOUTH INTERNATIONAL FORMED

The Fourth International has been founded.

Meeting in the midst of the threatening war crisis in Europe, 30 delegates from eleven countries proclaimed the new World Party of the Socialist Revolution. A Youth International was simultaneously created.

The delegates represented organizations in the United States, France, Great Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union, Italy, Latin America, Poland, Belgium, Holland, and Greece.

Unable to send delegates because of conditions of distance, illegality, and other adverse factors, were organizations affiliated to the Fourth International in Spain, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Indo-China, China, French Morocco, the Union of South Africa, Canada, a number of Latin American countries, Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, Norway, Lithuania, Palestine, Rumania, and several other countries. These organizations had already signified in advance their adherence to the new banner.

The world congress that raised the new internationalist banner met in strictest illegality "somewhere in Switzerland" on September 3, 1938. Because of the extremely difficult conditions engendered by the war crisis, observers elected to the Congress by the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party of France and the P.O.U.M. of Spain were unable to attend the actual sessions of the Congress. A special commission met later with representatives of the former organization.

No conference of revolutionists ever met under circumstances more tense and ominous or faced tasks of such supreme historical gravity than did this one.

More than five years have passed since the nucleus at work for the reconstruction of the revolutionary International drew up a courageous balance sheet of the humiliating defeat of the German proletariat which brought in its train so many other murderous blows against the working class of the world, and of Europe in particular.

Following the wretched capitulation to fascism of the only party in Germany which laid official claims to the traditions of the Russian Revolution—the Communist Party—and the cynically wholehearted endorsement of this capitulation by the entire Stalinist International, the Bolshevik-Leninists of that time, organized as the International Left Opposition, boldly proclaimed the need of organizing a new, Fourth International, true heir and continuator of the great traditions of the Internationals that had preceded it and implacable foe of the official traducers of the working-class movement.

Joined in 1933 in the famous Pact of Four for the new International by the Socialist Workers Party of Germany, and the Independent Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, the Bolshevik-Leninists, the International Communist League gathering strength and influence in one country after another, alone and consistently remained loyal to the principles and promise enunciated in the Pact.

The best elements in the vanguard of the groups that had broken from the corrupt and incorrigible Third International, as well as the determined and serious elements from various centrist groups and even sections of the Second International, rallied to the movement for the Fourth International, despite the historically unprecedented hailstorm of abuse, misrepresentation, calumny and persecution to which it was subjected on all sides by its official adversaries.

The five years of unintermittent struggle for the ideas of the Fourth International enabled the movement representing these ideas to gather at its founding conference without having to face any serious claimant to the name or position of leadership of the revolutionary internationalist movement.

Our conference met at a moment of the most revolting self-

Just as significantly silent was

## NINE COUNTRIES REPRESENTED AT YOUTH CONGRESS

Delegates Gather  
Despite Many  
Obstacles

By NATHAN GOULD

In September 1938 the historic World Congress in Switzerland launched the Fourth International (World Party of the Socialist Revolution). One week later youth representatives from two continents gathered in the same city and convened the World Youth Conference of the Fourth International.

This conference culminated two months of intense preliminary work. Eight special commissions labored during these two months in the examination of facts regarding the situation of the world youth, investigated records, toured the national youth sections in Europe, drafted political documents and resolutions. Diligently, the commissions and the congress worked to meet the requirements of a great historical responsibility—to mobilize the youth of the world behind the Fourth International in the struggle for the Socialist emancipation of mankind.

### 19 Delegates Attend

Nineteen delegates, from our sections in Poland, Austria, Belgium, England, France, Holland, and the U. S. A. participated. In addition, delegates from Italy, the U. S. A. and Greece were present as representatives of the International Bureau of the Fourth International. Meeting at the height of the European war crisis accompanied as it was by a rising wave of nationalism in the countries of Europe, and by blatant social-patriotic utterances by all Communist and Social-Democratic parties, the very representation at the conference itself symbolized the internationalism of a movement of world revolution.

That both conferences (adult and youth) were held despite countless obstacles—hounded by

(Continued on page 3)

# Trotsky Will Speak

by electrical transcription to our GRAND CELEBRATION MASS MEETING, heralding the foundation of the Fourth International and the Tenth Anniversary of our struggle for a revolutionary workers party in this country. Hear JAMES P. CANNON, MAX SHACHTMAN, JAMES BURNHAM, ANTOINETTE KONIKOW, and others, at the Center Hotel, 108 West 43rd Street, New York City, Friday, October 28, 1938, at 8 P. M.



# From Left Socialism To Bolshevism

By ERNEST ERBER

National Chairman, Y.P.S.L.

The revolutionary party must be attracting to itself all the best in the movements around it. Lenin pointed out to the foreign communists at the time of the founding of the Communist International that Bolshevism did not only develop by disagreements and splits but that "Bolshevism had proved a unit, it had drawn to itself all that was best among the currents of socialist thought close to it."

The Bolshevik core that emerged from the corrupted body of the Communist Party of the U.S. to found the Left Opposition had its share of conflicts in the last ten years. Its break with "fellow-travellers" of the moment like Ludwig Lore and Louis Budenz and with die-hard sectarians like Oehler and Field are described elsewhere. But like a Bolshevik tendency that knows how to swim against the current without bowing its head, the "Trotskyite" movement drew "to itself all that was best in the current of socialist thought close to it."

## Merger with A.W.P.

The merger with the American Workers Party not only strengthened the movement by adding experienced cadres of militants who had proven their mettle in the struggle, but also gave the movement some valuable lessons in the realm of working with and assimilating elements who were approaching a revolutionary position through the experiences of life in another tendency. These lessons proved invaluable during the next great strategic turn undertaken by the movement.

This turn, the entry into the Socialist Party, was necessitated by the whole course of development that followed the bankruptcy of the Communist International under Stalin and the task of merging the principles of the small Bolshevik vanguard with the leftward moving Socialist militants around them.

That the appearance of a left wing in Social Democracy in the post-war era could only come as a result of the bankruptcy of the Communist parties was nowhere better illustrating than in the U. S. Beginning with 1919 and continuing until 1923, the Socialist Party passed through a series of splits that drew from it virtually every single member who stood to the left of Morris Hillquit, including 95 percent of the youth movement. The S.P. struggled along as a slightly-living corpse from 1924 until 1929. It consisted of grossly opportunistic municipal machines in Milwaukee and Reading, national language groups held together on a cultural and social, rather than a political basis, and the Jewish Daily Forward with a treasury and considerable influence in the New York labor movement.

## Move Left with Depression

The crisis that began in 1929 and the mass unemployment that spread over the country during the succeeding months, turned the attention of thousands, particularly young workers and students without a future under capitalism, toward the political movements on the left. The hysteria of "third period" Communism, with its almost daily adventurist demonstrations, its disruptive role in the mass organizations, its theory of social-fascism and "united front from below," repulsed thousands of sincere young rebels and forced them to look elsewhere for a means of expressing their revolt against the chaos and misery about them. Beginning with 1930 these young people began flowing into the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League in increasing numbers.

The "Old Guard" of Social Democracy first welcomed these new recruits, naively believing them to be material for a rebirth of a reformist Socialist Party. They soon discovered, however, that these people had not rejected revolutionary views when they passed up the C.P. but had merely turned to the S.P. as a momentarily more convenient vehicle for the free expression of these views.

## Conflict Takes Form

By 1932 the conflict had taken somewhat definite forms, dividing the party into two more or less amorphous groups that went under the name of "Old Guard" and "Militants." The "Militants" began, as their name indicates, as primarily opponents of the do-nothingism of the Old Guard rather than as political opponents. The conflict, however, soon found its proper channel. The development was given a great impetus when history, for the benefit of the new Socialist generation, once again exposed Social Democracy during the German events in all its revolting corruption, aggravated by senility. The Austrian revolt of 1934 accelerated the discussion on Marxist principles, particularly the discussion on the "road to power."

By the end of 1935 the "Militants" had gone a long way in political development. Only a fool could fail to see that their cohabitation under one roof with the "Old Guard" was no longer possible. Marxists were forced to ask themselves where this potentially revolutionary force in the S.P. would go. With the Seventh Congress of the C.I. in the summer of 1935 and the shedding of the "third period" idiocies, there was a possibility that the Stalinists would intervene in the revolutionary development of the S.P. and draw off the bulk of the left wing.

## Entry of Workers Party

The leadership of the Workers Party, sensitive to the changing currents about them, reacted to this new situation by proposing the entry of the "Trotskyites" into the Socialist Party. This bold step was taken in the spring of 1936 and, not accidentally, coincided with the departure of the "Old Guard" at the national convention in May.

Even before the final split with the "Old Guard," political differentiations were taking place in the "Militant" group. A right wing under Altman played the role of obscuring the political nature of the struggle and re-echoing the political line of the Stalinists, even to opposing the entry of the Workers Party. The group opposed to Altman was composed of Party groups in New York and Chicago and the majority of the Socialist Appeal in Chicago under the editorship of Albert Goldman resulted in a clarification among the left wing "Militants" and the beginning of a separation between those genuinely concerned with the building of a revolutionary party and the centrists who followed the leadership of Herbert Zam and Gus Tyler.

## Revolutionists Unite

As a result of the preparatory work of the Socialist Appeal, a revolutionary nucleus was developed that readily merged with the Bolshevik current from the former Workers Party. These "native" Socialists proved the link by means of which increasing numbers of left wing Socialists were drawn to the Fourth Internationalist current until the alarmed bureaucracy took steps to expel the revolutionists from the party. The dead bulk of the S.P. today is visual evidence of the ability of the Bolshevik current to draw the revolutionary elements to itself.

Common principles and common experiences have long ago obliterated all differences between former S.P.s, and the original "Trotskyite" core. Like the Bolshevik Party, we have cemented the revolutionary elements from diverse currents into one unit, prepared for ideological struggle against our enemies on a greater scale—the struggle for the leadership of the American working class.

## Y.P.S.L. Convention Greetings for \$1

Readers of the Socialist Appeal will be glad to learn that they can send \$1 personal greetings to the Tenth National Convention of the Young People's Socialist League, which is being held in Chicago during the Thanksgiving weekend. This convention, designed to transform the Y.P.S.L. into a fighting mass revolutionary youth organization, needs and deserves the support of the readers of the Socialist Appeal.

Our sole means of financing our Convention will be the magnificent two-color printed program book, dedicated to the heroic martyrs of the Fourth International (Klement, Sedoff, Wolf, Reiss, Moulin and the hundreds of others who have laid down their lives in the struggle for the socialist emancipation of mankind). The dedication article is written by Max Shachtman. Outstanding among the other features of the program book are greetings from Leon Trotsky, in the form of an article entitled, "The Role of Revolutionary Youth," and greetings from our various sections in Europe now engaged in the daily life-and-death struggle against fascism and imperialism war.

You will want to own a copy of our program book. You can guarantee yourself a copy and, at the same time, do your bit in assuring the success of our all-important Convention, by sending in your personal greetings NOW. We are still taking ads: full page, \$10; half page, \$5; quarter page, \$3. But we are making a drive for \$1 personal greetings, which will entitle you to a free copy of the program book and the inclusion of your name amongst the supporters of the revolutionary movement. Send all greetings to: National Convention Arrangements Committee, 160 N. Wells St., Rm. 308, Chicago, Illinois.

The National Convention Arrangement Committee.

# THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST PRESS

## Ten Year Record of Struggle and Progress

By MARTIN ABERN

On October 27, 1928, James P. Cannon, Martin Abern and Max Shachtman were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States, by the latter's Central Executive Committee at a Plenary Session, for espousing the platform of the then Russian Opposition led by L. D. Trotsky. Simultaneously, Maurice Spector was expelled by the Canadian C. P.

Anticipating the bureaucratic action of the Foster-Browder-Lovestone Communist Party leadership, we made swift preparations to present our case to the Communist Party ranks and to the working class, and two weeks later, on November 15, 1928, there appeared *The Militant*, published as the organ of the Opposition Group in the Communist Party. 5,000 copies were printed and distributed widely in New York and throughout the United States.

## Only a Handful

Hard labor, as never before or since, went into the publication of the semi-monthly *Militant*. There were at the beginning but a handful of comrades to publish, distribute and sell the paper. Resources were slim, but the comrades rallying to the Opposition Group in the various cities were intensely devoted to its cause.



MARTIN ABERN  
Business Mgr., New International

and displayed tremendous energy, and also pledged heavily of their financial resources to get out the paper. Communist Party gangsterism arose to prevent the sale and distribution of the *Militant*, but this did not stop the growth and spread of the paper.

In New York, Max Shachtman, Joe Carter, the present writer, and very soon more comrades, including Italian and Hungarian groups which joined us, distributed the paper to newsstands, sold them on the street corners and in front of the Daily Worker office and the "Coop" restaurant. *Militant* salesmen were slugged but sales went on just the same.

In Philadelphia, Chicago, Minneapolis, Boston and other points, comrades Leon Goodman, Sol Lankin, B. Morganstern, Arne Swaback, Albert Glotzer, Oscar Coover, Louis Roseland, C. Skoglund, V. Dunne, Charlotte Shechet, A. Konikow, L. Schlossberg and others there and elsewhere joined in the "Jimmie Higgins" labor, and *The Militant* went marching on, despite all obstacles.

## Circulation of 3,000

Circulation varied during the early months, but, if memory serves rightly, at least 3,000 copies were regularly printed. Since the printing was done by a commercial printer, the cost was very high; but the development of a pledge fund to sustain the *Militant* carried the paper through precarious weeks.

Our Press unquestionably has been the chief instrument, above any other human or physical medium, in the creation, maintenance and development of what is now the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International movement. It started as an expression of the left wing opposition movement in the official Communist Party and Communist International, but events dictated far-reaching and deep-going changes to the point today of irreconcilable opposition to all the political and organizational degeneration of the Stalinist Parties. The important and decisive shifts and changes in the labor and revolutionary movement are clearly and better indicated in our Press than in that of any other labor or revolutionary organ, and that applies from the period of Nov. 1928, the beginning of *The Militant*, to the present day, ten years later, in the Socialist Appeal and New International.

## In the Early Issues

The first number of *The Militant* contained the declaration, "For the Russian Opposition" by the three expelled comrades, around which declaration they called upon members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League to rally. But, as evidence, too, of our continuing close ties to the official Communist Party, we began the publication in *The Militant* of the thesis of the former Minority (Cannon-Foster bloc) in the Communist Party, entitled "The Crisis in the Communist Party of the United States," directed against the Lovestone-Wolfe majority.

But more important, *The Militant* began publication in serial form of the now famous and historic "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International" by L. D. Trotsky, a copy of which had been smuggled out of Russia after the Sixth Congress of the Communist International through Comrades Cannon and Spector.

With its publication, along with dissemination of the contents of the "Real Situation in Russia" (the program of the Bolshevik-Leninists in Russia and containing also the sections on the falsification of the history of the Russian Revolution) the eyes of members of the C.P. and Y.C.L. began to open and the Opposition Group made headway very slowly but steadily. Our forward march was also made easier by the publication of documents showing the extreme Right Swing the Russian Party was then making (rise of Kulak influences; slowing down of industrialization, etc.).

## Campaign for the Weekly

On February 15, 1929, *The Militant* published the newly-drafted Platform of the Opposition Group. Discussions began. On May 17-19, 1929, the Chicago convention of our forces convened, and the historic Communist League of America was formed—another great milestone of our progress. But with the organization of our forces nationally, there came greater ambitions and immediate goals. The semi-monthly *Militant* was being issued regularly, but was already proving insufficient for our needs. After thorough deliberation, especially a consideration of our small numerical forces and the financial strain it would mean, it was decided nevertheless to conduct a campaign to raise a fund for a weekly *Militant*. The sum set was \$1,500—an amount which would seem like a \$25,000 campaign now, considering the relative number of members and sympathizers then and today.

Moreover, the campaign for a weekly *Militant* was linked to the aim of purchasing our own printing equipment—first, a linotype—in order to ensure the weekly's appearance. Despite initial doubts and hesitation, the organization as a whole swung into the campaign with high morale and confidence. Six months later we had our linotype machine. On Nov. 30, 1929 the first issue of the weekly *Militant* appeared. Not long afterward we secured a printing press and with the devoted aid of comrades and sympathizers, the weekly continued to surmount repeated crises and to appear regularly.

## Pioneer Publishers

But the achievement of a weekly *Militant* and our own printing plant, small and crudely equipped as it was, both mechanically and in labor power, meant even more for our organization and movement. It made possible the publication of pamphlets and books, small and large, by the Communist League of America, and later Pioneer Publishers, which brought strength and prestige to the revolutionary movement in the United States and also throughout the world, particularly in the English-speaking nations.

A list of the pamphlets and books issued would fill a few pages alone. Suffice it that in this way the literature of the revolutionary wings in Russia, Europe, Asia and North America became widely known, which not all the machinations and

## SELLING THE SOCIALIST APPEAL



sulted in suspension of the New *Militant*; but soon the revolutionists found a press to express their views. Utilizing the *Socialist Appeal*, a printed organ issued in the S. P. by Albert Goldman, the left wing forces soon developed the *Appeal* into a monthly magazine. A year ago the *Appeal* was converted into a weekly newspaper and as the official organ of the S.W.P. it continues the revolutionary traditions of the *Militant* and New *Militant*.

## Events of a Decade

Our press has recorded through this historic decade of 1928-1938 all the significant events of the period and has truly offered guidance to the revolutionary forces and the labor movement generally in all fields. A few of these major events—which, by the way, also definitely record stages in development and attitude of our own organization—were: the decline of Bolshevism and the rise of Stalinism in Russia; the events in Germany—the development of German Fascism; the struggles in France; the rise and fall of Popular Frontism; the developments in Spain before and during the civil war; "prosperity" and the economic and social crisis in the United States; labor struggles; the C.I.O. movement; the growth and foundation of the Fourth International, and so forth at great length. All this forms part of the record of our press.

One must mention, too, if only in a word, that the youth movement managed to issue *Young Spartacus* and now the *Challenge*, thereby laying a sound foundation for the mass movement of youth which our Youth organization must and can build.

## Building the Press

It is not necessary to dilate in florid and many words the simple fact: The press is our major organizer. By now this should be ABC to every member of our organization, and each member should put as a first task the need to build and spread widely the circulation of all our press: *Socialist Appeal*, *The New International*, *Challenge*, *Pioneer Publishers* pamphlets and books.

In this connection it may be well to point out that on each occasion when a special effort was made with our press; when issues and emergencies of great significance arose and our movement endeavored to react in stronger and better organized fashion to them, our movement made big gains—in prestige, and politically and organizationally. On three occasions in past years the weekly *Militant* or *Appeal* was transformed for brief periods into a tri-weekly. These were on the occasions of the rise to power of Hitler; the time of the "hotel strike" in New York, and only a few weeks ago the events in Czechoslovakia.

Those achievements show the road the press must travel. For a permanent, larger and more frequent *Socialist Appeal*; for a greater New International. BUILD THE PRESS!

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before 6 o'clock Monday evening.

## NEW YORK, N. Y.

"VECHERINKA" Saturday, Oct. 29, 9 P.M., at the home of P. Nesson, 321 Second Ave., arranged by the "Friends of the Russian Bulletin." Antoinette Konikow of Boston will be the guest of the evening. We'll sing, dance, eat and drink. Bring your friends.

DEAR GERT: Meet me at the Upper West Side Party, Saturday, Oct. 22, 9 P.M., at 916 Ninth Ave. (59th St.). We have the latest recordings, the best drinks, and the most interesting games. Admission is only 25 cents—Joe.

Dear Joe: You bet I'll be there. —Gert.

BIG Y.P.S.L. CONVENTION affair sponsored by the Hunter, C.C.N.Y. Day and Washington Heights Circles. Admission 20 cents. Cards—Games—Refreshments—Dancing. Oct. 22, 9 P.M. Epstein, 63 Wadsworth Terrace Ave., B'way-7th Ave. to 191 St.

## SOCIAL AND DANCE with

Swing Band, this Sat. night, October 22, at 301 W. 29th St. (nr. 8th Ave.). Tendered by Local 4, Unemployed and Project Workers Union. Admission 15c.

## PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

MAX SHACHTMAN will speak on "Ten Years of the Left Opposition" and in commemoration of the October Revolution, on Friday, Nov. 11th at 1035 Spruce St., 8:30 P.M.

ON FRIDAY, Nov 5th, James P. Cannon will speak on "The Present Situation in Europe." Same address and time as above.

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featuring several important articles by Leon Trotsky. Single copy 20c; 1 year \$2. Subscriptions and single copies on sale at Labor Book Shop, 28 East 12th St., N.Y.C.

## WANT ADS

LARGE, NICELY furnished room. Two closets, radio, separate entrance. Use of good revolutionary library and good set of recordings. Brooklyn. See S. Stanley, Appeal office.

## ASK FOR THE APPEAL

AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

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MAX SHACHTMAN, Editor  
HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE  
Associate Editors  
S. STANLEY, Business Manager

# Appeal Army

## Best Issue of Appeal Yet!

From every viewpoint this issue of the *Appeal*, celebrating the 10th anniversary of our movement in America and the founding of the Fourth International, is the best we have published! In size, content and significance it surpasses all others and is something our movement will long be proud of. Thousands of extra copies were printed and are being circulated all over the country on the basis of orders sent in advance. We urge comrades and friends to send in their comments on this issue—we'll print a cross-section of these remarks next week and the week after.

One matter, however, having to do with the ever-present matter of finances. This issue was, it goes without saying, a heavy drain on our exchequer! Only the additional sacrifice of comrades in New York City enabled us to go through with it. At the end of this week, we are sending out to all branches and agents the regular financial statement of their debt to the *Appeal*. We must have especially quick replies this time! We're doing our share by providing you with numerous and excellent issues of the paper. Try to clear up the entire back bill, if possible, and we guarantee even greater successes in the very near future.

## Subscriptions:

The splendid pick-up in new and renewed subs lately has shown that it is really very easy to get subs for the *Appeal*. Look at New York City's record for the past few weeks! This has been done solely on the basis of following-up the special, anti-war issues and getting subs from interested readers. We'd like to be averaging about 50 per week within a short time and there is no reason why not. It's easy to get subs for the *Appeal*!

Here's the list of subs that came in last week:

NEW YORK CITY .... 18  
Massachusetts ..... 4  
Illinois ..... 3  
Ohio ..... 3  
Detroit ..... 3  
Pennsylvania ..... 2

Kansas ..... 2  
St. Louis ..... 2  
Chicago ..... 2  
Minneapolis ..... 2  
Washington, D. C. .... 1  
Texas ..... 1  
Connecticut ..... 1  
New York State ..... 1  
Newark ..... 1

Total ..... 46

We want to report that we're now getting a much higher percentage of renewals on subscriptions that have expired than ever before. Branches must be sure to use the lists that we send to them once a month.

Here's the list of new and increased bundle orders:

(1) Lyric News Shop, Indiana, Ind.—taking 5 per week.

(2) John Murphy of Los Angeles, who is increasing his order from week to week and really doing a splendid *Appeal* job is now taking 185 copies.

(3) T. Leonard of Boston is back in the running again and has added 10 to Boston's order.

(4) New Haven, Conn. is now taking 10 copies and promising to add many more in the near future.

(5) A new literature-agent out in Columbus, Ohio, Charles Raven, has trebled the former order and now taking 20 per week.

Send all contributions and subs to:

SOCIALIST APPEAL  
116 University Place  
New York, N. Y.

Because of the heavy costs incurred in printing this issue, we are forced to cancel the originally announced costs. ALL copies (including extras) will cost branches and literature-agents 30c per copy. This cancels the former price of 4c for regular bundle-order copies and 1c for extra copies. Remember! 30c each copy of the 12-page issue.

Send all contributions and subs to:

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## Proletarian Greetings

from the

## New York Downtown Branch

After ten years, forward with  
the Fourth International  
to the victory of Socialism!



# Fourth International Founded At World Congress

## Thirty Delegates From Eleven Countries Raise New Banner

## Nine Countries Represented At World Youth Conference

(Continued from page 1)

the "Communist International," self-avowed champion of the struggle for peace and against fascism—as silent as the Kremlin itself. Its French and British branches alone were active and vocal, chasing about in each country for agreements with the arch-nationalist bourgeois politicians and raising a furious clamor for a holy war against fascism to be directed by the notorious democrats of the English banks and the French steel trust—a clamor to which the working class fortunately paid not the slightest attention.

It was in this atmosphere created by the imperialists on the one side, and their servants in the official leadership of the labor movement on the other, that the conference of the Fourth International came together.

The G. P. U. kidnapping and brutal murder of comrade Rudolf Klement, noble and devoted militant who had served us so long and capably as administrative secretary of the Bureau for the Fourth International, had impressed every delegate with the extremely great responsibility he bore; and it will therefore be understood that our conference found itself compelled and well-advised to meet under such precautionary and illegal conditions as even made it impossible to conclude its sessions with the singing of the traditional battle hymn of the movement, "The International."

In spite of the difficulties created by our enemies—the bourgeois police and their allies of the G. P. U.—the sessions and the work of the conference were successfully and efficiently concluded in one full day, with the attendance of thirty delegates, representing eleven countries, the former International Secretariat, and a delegation from the Youth Bureau for the Fourth International.

In addition, the secretary was able to report that the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party of France, as well as the P. O. U. M. of Spain, had accepted our invitation to attend the conference as observers—a mandate which the exceptional physical conditions under which we met unfortunately prevented these two parties from exercising.

### Organizational Report

When it is borne in mind that few social movements in history have ever been subject to the fierce and all-sided persecutions and repressions which have been our lot, it will be understood how gratifying was the organizational report given to the conference. It showed that the banner of the Fourth International now flies on every continent of the globe. If the numerous sections of the International were not all represented at the conference, it was due either to conditions of illegality in some lands or to financial difficulties—we are not financed by bourgeois governments, like the French social democracy, or by the Stalinist bureaucracy, like the Comintern as a whole—or both.

The conference opened under two auspicious signs: the unification of the Bolshevik-Leninist groups in Great Britain into the Revolutionary Socialist League, embracing a new affiliate to our movement (the militant group of revolutionary Marxists of Scotland)—a unification already reported in detail in the Appeal—and the fusion of the two Fourth Internationalist groups in Greece, the one which had emerged from the former "Spartakos" group and the other from the former "Archio-Marxists". In both cases, delegations of the International Secretariat had contributed decisively to the accomplished results.

### Integration of Movement

These two steps symbolized for conference the growing integration of our international movement, made possible by our whole past course which was based not on the concept of superficial and temporary and deceptive advances but on the concept of the process of revolutionary selection which alone leads to the creation and victory of the tempered revolutionary party.

How our enemies and opponents sought to amuse themselves at our expense in the past by cavalier references to our alleged sectarianism and insignificance! As to the latter, they really dulle the edge of their cutting remarks by their permanent and increasing preoccupation with our existence, our criticisms and our activities. As to the small numbers in our movement which were the theme of so many feeble witticisms, the

social democratic bureaucrats have judiciously turned to other butts for their humor, especially since their policies contributed so demonstratively in one country after another towards the annihilation of their "big organizations" and their conversion into impotent emigre sects.

### Stalinist Impotence

As for the Communist "parties"—which are no longer parties, properly speaking, but mechanisms operated by the Soviet Foreign Office—their doom was long ago pronounced. It was another impressive symbol of our conference that we met immediately after Stalin had offered the ruling Polish Colonels another token of capitulation in the form of the official dissolution of the Communist Party of Poland. He could scarcely have underlined more strikingly the obsolescence of the Third International and the fact that our International is unchallenged inheritor of its heroic traditions.

Although the Stalinists planned to deliver a heavy blow at our conference by eliminating comrade Klement—and it was and remains a heavy blow—the delegates managed to dispose of all the points on the agenda in a business-like manner. Against a background of firmly acquired agreement in fundamental principle, the conference was able to adopt the thesis in the "Program of Transitional Demands" (printed elsewhere in this issue) with only few minor modifications. This was made easier by virtue of the fact that a widespread international discussion of this program had already taken place throughout the membership of the International, enabling the delegates to come before the conference with concrete opinions.

In many respects, the program of transitional demands of the Fourth International is the most important single document ever to be produced in the fifteen long years of the history of our movement. What a contrast it offers to the vague generalizations and deceptive abstractions which the official leaderships of the working class offer as guides to action in the present tumultuous world situation! It is not, or rather it is not so much, the basic program of the Fourth International, as its program of action for the immediate period in which we live.

Fruit of a quarter of a century of social history, it presents to every worker and peasant the concrete replies which the Fourth International gives to all the pressing, immediate problems facing the exploited and oppressed. It is not only a criticism of that which is, but a guide to what must be if the working class is not to be bestially annihilated by virulent reaction and modern civilization itself hurled back for generations to come.

Where the Bolshevik-Leninists have been armed in the past mainly with a profound analysis of the present social order and, in general, with the knowledge of the principles and methods by which the new society may be attained, they are now additionally equipped with the indispensable program of action which can enable them to defend not only the tomorrow of the proletariat, but also its today. The program of transitional demands contains the guiding lines for the day-to-day struggle. It is not merely the program for the convinced revolutionary worker, for the vanguard, but for the working class as a whole; not merely for the struggle against capitalism itself, but for the struggle against the daily effects of the gnawing capitalist crisis—permanent unemployment, fascism and the horrors of imperialist war.

It is not an exaggeration to say that now, more than ever before, there is not a single group or tendency in the working class to present an answer to the burning questions of the day in so complete, so realistic, so comprehensible and so concrete a manner as is done by the Fourth International in its program of transitional demands.

### On the Soviet Union

The debate at the conference occurred essentially over individual sections of the program. The conference thereupon endorsed the line of the program on the Soviet Union, often enough discussed in our ranks, and rejected the standpoint of the minority in some sections which affirmed the capitalist nature of the Soviet state. At the same time, on the request of the American Party committee, arrangements were made to permit

the continuation of discussion on the program's formulations with regard to the relationships between the resurgent Soviets and the Stalinist bureaucracy and labor aristocracy; the formulations were, however, adopted by the conference as the position of the International.

Discussion also occurred on the question of applying the line of the program with regard to factory occupation (sit-down strikes) and shop councils, to the concrete situation in the various countries, and also on the part of the program which deals with the question of pacifism and patriotism as manifested among the masses themselves. On the last-named point, an editorial reformulation of the program-draft was decided upon in order to eliminate all possibilities of misinterpretation or misunderstanding of the position of the Fourth International.

### On the International

The longest debate took place on the question of the so-called "proclamation" of the Fourth International, in which the delegates of the Polish section advocated that our movement continue as before under the name of movement "for the Fourth International." They argued that the labor movement was in a trough between two rising waves and that no large parties having yet declared for the new International our movement was still too small to call itself the International and assume the functions devolving upon it. The rest of the conference was, however, unanimously in favor of altering the equivocal name of our world movement, which had been adopted two years earlier on the grounds of facilitating possible collaboration with centrist groups then still moving in our direction.

It was pointed out that particularly in this critical period, it was imperative that the movement be centralized into a functioning world party capable of guiding the development of the only current which today stands for the Fourth International; that our movement was already generally referred to as the Fourth International without the now meaningless qualifying term "for."

After the vote, the Polish delegates presented a statement declaring their continued affiliation with the International in the name of the Polish section. In accordance with the new decision, statutes were adopted for the Fourth International, declaring its purpose, its organizational structure, providing for disciplined and centralized operation and international party democracy, and providing for a regularly functioning, representative International Executive Committee and International Secretariat, plus sub-secretariats which may be established under different circumstances and in different parts of the world.

The conference found time to discuss and decide upon the problems which had arisen in various national sections. Reference has already been made to the welcome progress achieved in the unification of the movement in Great Britain and Greece. In addition, there were reports of contacts already established or in the offing with significant revolutionary groups in the colonial countries and, for the first time, in Ireland. Resolutions also were adopted on the situation in the French Party, in connection with which a delegation of the International had been elected to deal with the letter of the Molinier group asking admission into the movement (the results of its negotiations are referred to elsewhere in this issue).

### Other Problems Considered

The situation in Poland, where the Bolshevik-Leninists have been working in the Bund and in the Socialist Party, was also treated in detail, especially in light of the vast prospects now opened to us by the dissolution of the Stalinist party. The resolution of the preliminary All-America Conference on the reorganization of the Mexican section was reviewed by the International Conference, which dealt with the appeal of the Galicia group, and the original decision was substantially endorsed.

Among the other important decisions of the conference, besides the Manifesto printed elsewhere on the burning issue of the war danger, the greetings to the revolutionary fighters against fascism in Spain, and the resolution on our fallen martyrs and class-war prisoners, was the adoption of a document outlining the necessity of an international defense and relief organization to

### Affiliated Sections of the Fourth International

Following is a list of the organizations throughout the world adhering to the Fourth International and of their official organs:

**UNITED STATES:** Socialist Workers Party. Official organs: The Socialist Appeal, The New International, Challenge of Youth.

**MEXICO:** Bolshevik-Leninists. Official organs: Cuarta Internacional, Clave.

**CUBA:** Partido Bolchevique Leninista. Official organ: Divisa.

**PUERTO RICO:** Partido Comunista Independiente. Official organ: Chispa.

**BRAZIL:** Partido Bolchevique Leninista. Illegal publications.

**COLOMBIA:** Bolshhevik-Leninists.

**ARGENTINA:** Bolshhevik-Leninists of the Argentine. Organs: Nuevo Curso, Inicial.

**URUGUAY:** Bolshhevik-Leninists. Organ: El Piquete.

**PERU:** Bolshhevik-Leninists. Espargaco. (Illegal organ).

**CHILE:** Revolutionary Workers Party. Official organ: Alianza Obrera.

**CHINA:** Communist League of China. Official organ: The Struggle.

**INDO-CHINA:** Bolshevik-Leninist group. Official organ: La Lutte.

**UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA:** Lenin Club. Workers Party of S. Africa. Official organ: The Spark.

**AUSTRALIA:** Communist League of Australia. Official organ: The Militant.

**GREAT BRITAIN:** Revolutionary Socialist League. Official organ: Workers Fight.

**FRANCE:** Internationalist Workers Party. Official organs: La Lutte Ouvriere, La Quatrieme Internationale, Die Rote Fahne (in Alsace Lorraine), Revolution (Youth).

**BELGIUM:** Revolutionary Socialist Party. Official organs: La Lutte Ouvriere, Revolution (Youth).

**HOLLAND:** Bolshhevik-Leninists of Holland. Official organ: De Enige Weg.

**SPAIN:** Bolshhevik-Leninists of Spain. Official organ: La Voz Leninista.

**GERMANY:** International Communists of Germany. Official organ: Unser Wort.

**NORWAY:** Marxist Workers Group. Official organ: Oktober.

**AUSTRIA:** Revolutionary Communists. Official organ: Juniusbriefe.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA:** Bolshevik-Leninist group (German-speaking). Official organ: Banner. Bolshevik-Leninist group (Czech-speaking). Official organ: Proletarske Noviny.

**DENMARK:** Leninistisk Arbejdsgruppe. Official organ: 4e Internationale.

**CANADA:** Bolshevik-Leninist group.

**POLAND:** Bolshevik-Leninists of Poland. Official organ: (illegal publications).

**SOVIET UNION:** Russian Bolshevik-Leninists. Official organ: Bulletin of the Opposition.

**SWITZERLAND:** Marxist Action group. Official review: (Jointly with Austrian and Sudeten groups): Der Einzige Weg.

In addition there are several smaller groups, some not yet established as regular sections, which, mainly because of reasons of illegality, are unable to publish a regular press: Lithuania, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Italy, New Zealand, Sweden, Ireland, Palestine, etc.

## World Congress Climaxes Fifteen Years of Struggle

(Continued from page 1)

with the Opposition, remained in its ranks. Far from it. Many of them, driven to extremes by the brutal provocations of Stalinism, went off on wild political tangents or retired from politics altogether. Others proved to have insufficient stamina and endurance, and capitulated under the terrific pressure of the Stalinist machine and the defeats and world-wide reaction it engendered. Still others were broken in character, and collapsed under bribes.

But in the course of fifteen years of struggle for the principles and methods of Bolshevism, of revolutionary internationalism, a process of selection was constantly at work. This process was enormously speeded up and assisted in a thousand ways by that most colossal of all of Stalin's factional blunders: the deportation to Turkey in 1929 of comrade Leon Trotsky.

### Trotsky's Role

The relative freedom he thereupon enjoyed, as compared with the isolation and almost insuperable restrictions imposed upon him in Stalinist exile at Alma-Ata, made it possible for the international oppositional movement to benefit for the first time on such a grand scale by the theoretical, literary and organizational activity of its keenest and boldest thinker. Thousands upon thousands of communist militants began to learn for the first

aid the fighters and refugees who have been left in the lurch by the Stalinist and social-democratic organizations, a resolution on the youth question which outlined the policy to be followed at the International Youth Conference that took place afterwards, and resolutions on the war in the Far East and on the position of American imperialism in the world today.

Before closing, the conference adopted a letter of cordial greetings to the absent—and yet not absent—leader of present-day revolutionary Marxian thought and action, Leon Trotsky.

Without bombast or fanfare, the international conference met and accomplished its task to the full. Basing itself on the rich experience of recent times and the unpostponable needs of the situation, standing firmly on the ground of internationalism, it launched the Fourth International, not without difficulties, not lightly, and not in the calmest social sea—but profoundly aware that it is sufficiently fortified by the past against whatever storms lie ahead, sufficiently confident in its chart, to go forward with the conviction that the final victory, the freeing of mankind from slavery, lies ahead and will be attained.

### History's Lessons

It is impossible in so brief a space to do more than indicate the great events and issues around which the International Left Opposition—established at the first world conference in Paris in 1930, on the initiative of our American organization—developed in the past nine or ten years, for that would require narrating the history of a decade of the class struggle.

Suffice it to remind the reader of the notorious "Third Period" policy of the Stalinists and the incessant struggle fought against it by our movement, "Social-Fascism" and allied dogmas of Stalinism have, it is true, given way to new but not better dogmas, yet not without leaving murderous scars not only upon the Third International but, alas, on the body of the world working class.

The lamentable tragedy of the German and then the Austrian, the Saar and the Czech proletariat can be traced to the criminal capitulation of Stalinism to Hitler in 1933, in which it outdid the long-ago bankrupt social democracy in cowardice and treachery. Under guise of the thrice-stupid policy of "united front only from below," the Stalinists condemned the German proletariat to a state of division through which fascism marched unopposed to power. The interests of the German proletariat were sacrificed by the Comintern for the sake of preserving the Soviet bureaucracy and its positions in a state of not very permanent tranquility during which it presumably a national-socialist utopia might be constructed in Russia unaffected by "disruptive" social clashes abroad.

### A Sharp Turn

The International Communist League, as our movement was then named, had pursued up to then a policy based upon reforming the Third International. The

(Continued from page 1)

the G.P.U. and by the bourgeois police, with delegates especially from the fascist and semi-fascist countries risking their lives to attend—is a further tribute to our movement and testifies to the unbounded vitality and determination of our International. Absent from the youth conference were only delegates from our Spanish, our Canadian, and several of our South American sections.

### Tribute to Heroes

The Youth Conference opened with a tribute to the fallen heroes of the Fourth International, many of them youth. To those who died fighting fascism in Spain, Germany, Austria and Italy, to the comrades murdered or imprisoned in the above countries and in Greece, Poland, Rumania, France, Belgium, Brazil, China and Indo-China, and throughout the capitalist world, to our victims of the G.P.U. terror in Russia and throughout the world—to these our comrades we paid the greatest revolutionary tribute as we saluted our martyrs and pledged to carry on their heroic work.

Following a report on the work of the world conference of the 4th International in which many of the youth delegates had also participated, a resolution was introduced and carried hailing the work of the International Conference (adult) and greeting its decision to launch the 4th International. The same resolution after full discussion, endorsed the program of the 4th International (Thesis on the Death Agony of Capitalism) which declares an uncompromising struggle against world capitalism in time of war or peace and points the way to proletarian victory.

### Pledged to Anti-War Struggle

The conference called upon the youth, the greatest victims in imperialist war to struggle under the revolutionary leadership of the 4th International against war, and in its manifesto to the youth of the world declared that the path to peace and to the defense of the Soviet Union lies only through the world revolution.

This call it implemented by a special resolution on anti-militarist work, a resolution which instructed all of our national sections to carry out work in the armed forces and outlined in concrete terms the methods of carrying out this work. A special sub-bureau was elected to organize, carry out and direct the anti-militarist work in our International.

The conference then affiliated to the 4th International, thereby becoming the official youth section of the 4th International—the political instrument of the 4th International among the youth. A resolution launching the Fourth Youth International was then adopted, followed by statutes establishing the purpose and function of the youth organization.

German catastrophe demonstrated the complete unfeasibility of continuing along that line. We therefore took the initiative in calling for the organization of new communist parties everywhere and a new communist, a Fourth, International.

In that period, while the Comintern remained virtually unmoved because of the bureaucratic vise in which it was held, there occurred unmistakable shifts to the left in the camp of the social democracy. In several countries therefore, almost coincident with the turn of the Stalinists to the fatal policy of "People's Frontism" and the formal abandonment of even a pretence to the basic revolutionary principles upon which the Comintern had been founded, the small revolutionary internationalist groups entered the sections of the Second International for the purpose of fusing into a solid Marxian bloc with the leftward-moving socialist workers. In countries like France, Belgium, England and the United States, this tactic yielded significant results, and brought new forces on to the road of the Fourth International.

In the same period, there occurred the decisive test of policies and strength between the genuine Marxists of the Fourth International, on the one side, and the ultra-left sectarians and the centrists on the other side. Of the sectarian currents, that of Sneevliet in Holland—more opportunistic than radical—came to its inevitable and inglorious end. Starting out with a "left" criticism of our movement, he has ended recently in a state of complete demoralization and disintegration as the tail end of the no less demoralized and disintegrating London Bureau. He did not even have the courage to appear on the tribune of our interna-

tional character, forms and methods of our national sections. Our National sections are to be converted into fighting, militant, youth organizations; spirited, bold and colorful. They are to become anti-fascist, anti-capitalist, fighting units—adapting themselves to the spirit of youth, and leading youth in their struggles.

### Elect Delegates

The resolution on relations between the youth and adult internationalists accepted the classical Leninist concept of these relations. The Youth International which accepts the program and leadership of its adult body is to be politically subordinated to and organizationally autonomous of the 4th International. Reciprocal representation is provided between youth and adult bodies from the highest international committees to the lowest units of both organizations. In the spirit of this resolution the congress elected (by request of the adult congress) two regular delegates to the International Bureau, one delegate to the International Secretariat, and one delegate to the Pan-American bureau of the 4th International. In turn the Bureau of the 4th International elected one delegate to the International Bureau and one delegate to the International Secretariat of the Youth International.

The resolution on the application of the Thesis of the 4th International to the world of youth analyzed the condition of world youth today. It observed the intensification of the exploitation of youth; the curtailment of educational, cultural, and general opportunities for youth; their exclusion from industry resulting not only in the tremendous growth of unemployment among youth but also from the denial of youth to participation in production and industry. The resolution observed that the development of capitalist technology had eliminated substantially the economic distinctions between youth and adult but had intensified the social distinctions; that capitalism had "locked youth out of industry" and was supplementing this crime by regimenting the youth.

### The Rights of Youth

Following this it outlined a series of demands for youth of the world flowing from and subordinated to the demands of the thesis on the Death Agony of Capitalism (Workers Control of Industry, etc.). These it listed under the titles: The right to work; the right to learn a trade; the right to education; the right to vote. The resolution also contained special sections on demands for young women, the farming and peasant youth and for colonial youth. The need for a special youth organization was established to meet these special problems as well as to meet the special psychological problems that distinguish youth from adult workers.

The resolution finally called for a reorientation in the organiza-

tional character, forms and methods of our national sections. Our National sections are to be converted into fighting, militant, youth organizations; spirited, bold and colorful. They are to become anti-fascist, anti-capitalist, fighting units—adapting themselves to the spirit of youth, and leading youth in their struggles.

### On National Sections

Resolutions on the national sections adopted are briefly summarized:

a) France: It hailed the heroic work of the J.S.R. (Revolutionary Socialist Youth) in its anti-militarist struggles. It took note of a growth in the organization, the improvement of its organizational efficiency, employed and unemployed and among students. The regular appearance of "Revolution" organ of the French youth organization despite repeated confiscation by the Dadaier police was especially greeted. Negotiations for the fusion of the J.S.R. and 200 members of the Alsine Youth Federation (split off from the Socialist Party) were in progress and the conference greeted this great step forward.

b) Belgium: The conference took cognizance of a slackening of the work of the Belgian youth organization and advised the immediate extension of youth work especially in the Borinage mining regions. The Belgians responded to this decision by laying plans to renew publication of "Revolution," the organ of the Belgian youth.

c) The Conference ordered the official constitution of a Youth section in England. This section will begin with a fairly large membership composed of members of the unified Revolutionary Socialist League, who were already engaged exclusively in youth work. The prospects of our English Youth section are remarkable.

d) To all other sections especially Germany, Poland, Spain and Austria, where our comrades have been working with unexampled heroism—the Conference extended greetings. It recorded special satisfaction with the progress of the American organization which sets the example for all our youth sections.

e) In countries where sections of the 4th International function and where youth sections do not exist, the conference recommended that special attention be given to youth work by these sections and that youth committees devoted to preparing the base for youth organizations be established.

### Grow While Reformists Decay

Comrade M. reporting on the past work of the Secretariat for the 4th Youth International brought to the attention of the delegates the fact that while progress (numerical and political) could be recorded for practically all sections of the 4th Youth International—the youth organizations of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals have suffered severe losses, especially their European sections. The Conference joined with the conference of the adults in condemning the treachery of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals and their youth sections and declaring the struggle against reformism and Stalinism.

The Conference established a commission to elaborate a resolution on the work in fascist countries, another commission to draft a program, and elected an International Bureau and an International Secretariat. The Conference adjourned with the will, the determination and the confidence, that the 4th International, which its historic sessions had launched, will win the youth of the world to the program and struggles of the 4th International which will usher in the world revolution and socialism.

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## Ten Years of Struggle For a Workers' Party

(Continued from page 1)

American section of the Third International. Aided by our international organization, with which we always maintained close ties, we went through these stages of development with a conscious understanding of the objective circumstances which made them unavoidable.

Our record is by no means free from mistakes and omissions in carrying out our tasks. But, by and large, we knew what the tasks of the moment were and allowed no one to swerve us from them. Most of the internal struggles, in which our cadres were unified and tempered, occurred around questions of this type. The individuals and cliques who left our ranks for oblivion came to grief in almost every case because of their refusal to recognize the political realities which dictated the tactics they opposed. Hermits may forsake the world of reality, revolutionary politicians never.

### A Tough Start

It would be hard to find anywhere in the history of the labor movement a struggle that began under more unfavorable auspices for immediate practical success than ours. The Communist International, representing and symbolizing the great Russian revolution in the public mind, dominated all radical labor thought and activity; and Stalinism, its real face not yet exposed in practice, reigned triumphant in the Comintern and all its sections. Moreover, the Comintern was then swinging into the frenzied radicalism of the "third period" and beating the drums for the first five-year plan and its dazzling records of industrial progress in the Soviet Union.

In these circumstances we had to begin our agitation about the theory of "socialism in one country" and the problem of the Chinese revolution. A more "impractical" venture could hardly be imagined. Nobody wanted to listen to the "hair-splitting." We appeared to be waging a Quixotic war about theoretical refinements and far-away places while the Stalinists were "doing things." We were cruelly isolated and appeared to be hermetically sealed in our isolation. Our ostracism was complete. Even social affairs, such as are common now for virtually every branch of our party, were impossible for us in those days. We had very few friends.

### The Power of Program

But we knew the truth and were never daunted. We had read Trotsky's "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern," and we knew that the program decides everything. We are often asked if we were taken by surprise by our expulsion from the party and the gangster campaign against us; and if we had not counted on a quick victory. No, we understood the situation pretty well and were prepared for a long struggle. This long view was instilled into the minds of all our comrades from the start. It was a decisive factor in their stubborn endurance which astounded all our enemies.

We never had a single capitulator in our leading cadre, and extremely few in the ranks when the enormous pressure put upon them is considered. Malkin turned rat after awhile and Gerry Alard, who is a professional capitulator, went back to the Stalinists after they had squeezed him a bit. That's about all; there may have been four or five others, but I cannot remember their names. Our ranks were never once shaken or disturbed by desertions. From this an important lesson may be derived: in order to hold out in a hard fight it is best to weigh everything and count the cost before you start.

### The First Persecution

It was a hard fight, especially in the first days. We had no money, no connections and very few members. At our first convention, about six months after the expulsions, about 100 comrades throughout the country were represented. We were also subjected to persecution by the Stalinists. The campaign of slander depicting us as "counter revolutionists," familiar to all now, was something rather new then and more effective. Organized bands of hoodlums were sent to break up our public meetings by force. Sometimes they succeeded and sometimes they got the worst of the fight. Comrades selling the "Militant" were attacked; individual comrades were waylaid and beaten up. Our homes were burglarized and, a few days later, stolen letters and "documents" were published in the Daily Worker. All this availed nothing.

We stood our ground and fought. We were armed with confidence in our program and its future; that is the best prescription for sustained courage in a political fight. The movement of unfalsified bolshevism grew, slowly and painfully, but it grew. The cadres became hardened in the struggle. The whole campaign against us—the slander, the hoodlum violence and the burglaries—



JAMES P. CANNON  
National Sec'y, S.W.P.

was all organized and directed in the first six months by Lovestone & Co., who controlled the C. P. at that time. Then they were also expelled and given a dose of their own medicine. That converted them to "democracy"; at least, so they said.

### Firm Line of Principle

During the first years of our struggle the reaction in the Comintern coincided with a general reaction and passivity in the American labor movement. The left wing of the workers' movement was completely dominated by Stalinism basking in the light of the first five-year plan. Under these conditions there was nothing to do but direct our message to the Stalinist workers, to maintain our position as a faction of the Comintern fighting for its reformation and to concentrate our extremely limited forces on fundamental critical and propagandistic work.

This was the task in hand, imposed upon us by all the circumstances. We tenaciously adhered to this line and repulsed every attempt to divert it in favor of rainbow-chasing expeditions. Super-radical people demanded "independence" from the Comintern and concentration on "mass work." That would simply have meant a futile exercise in trying to jump over our own heads. The tactics of a political grouping, its methods of work and the tasks it sets for itself at the moment, and even the form and conditions of its existence, must all be determined by time and circumstance. The fear of isolation and the attempt to circumvent it in periods of reaction by artificial means only brings a disintegration of the Marxist forces where it does not lead to their opportunistic diffusion. Such pundits as Welsford and Field, who attempted these miracles on their own account after we finished the debate with them, achieved a unique combination of these unhappy consequences.

It was necessary to carry out the struggle in the Comintern to the end, until the fallacy of its dogmas would be confirmed in great actions before the eyes of the masses. In the period of the greatest ideological confusion and demoralization it was necessary to concentrate on fundamental theoretical criticism, to reassemble the forces of the vanguard man by man, to rearm them with a correct program and thus prepare the future work among the masses. If we had not stuck resolutely to this conception at that time, if we had listened to the demagogues and "mass work" quacks, we would not be celebrating our tenth anniversary today. There would be nothing to celebrate.

### The German Events

The German catastrophe of 1933—the capitulation to fascism without a battle—signaled the downfall of the Comintern as a revolutionary factor and simultaneously induced a shake-up in all other workers' organizations. The left wing in the Socialist Party, especially in the youth movement, began to take shape. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action (C.P.L.A.), a heterogeneous body of trade unionists, began to crystallize out a militant political tendency. Within a year the upturn of the economic cycle in the United States and the introduction of the N.R.A. unleashed the first great wave of strikes. New times; new conditions. It became a life and death necessity for the Bolsheviks to reorient themselves, to seize upon the new possibilities to break out of their isolation and find the road to the masses.

Our organization reacted to the German events with magnificent energy like a tightly-coiled spring in release. The *Militant*, published three times a week during the acute crisis following Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, electrified the movement. Our influence began to grow visibly day by day. In common with our international movement we made a sharp and definitive break with the bankrupt Comintern and began to steer a course toward a new party and a new international. Contacts were established and negotiations initiated with various forces in other organizations looking toward unification in a

## Revolutionary Tasks and Work in the Trade Union Movement

By V. R. DUNNE

A Marxist understanding of the state and of the role of the revolutionary party as the vanguard of the class, without which the class cannot raise itself to power, results in our having a different attitude towards work in the trade unions than that held by any other organization claiming to represent the American workers.

Alone of all parties in the United States, the Socialist Workers Party advocates that only a Workers and Farmers government, basing itself upon nationwide councils of elected representatives of the workers and farmers, can solve the economic and social problems facing the masses. It flows from this concept that our party must extend its influence to all sections of the economic organizations of the workers and farmers—particularly of the workers, because it is the working class that will lead all the oppressed in the onslaught on capitalism and the fight for a socialist America and a socialist world.

### Our Task

The task of our party consists of gaining influence over the trade unions—more, of winning, through the trade unions, influence over the majority of the working class.

We can only succeed in this if the methods used by our party in the trade unions help to build the unions, to strengthen them, to increase their influence among the unemployed, the farmers, the oppressed minorities and the small people of the city. That the trade union work of our party, limited in scope as it has been up to now, has been based on a correct policy is verified by the truly remarkable way in which unions in which our members are active and influential have thrived.

Because the Socialist Labor Party and the I.W.W. answered "no" to the question: shall revolutionists work in reactionary trade unions? they doomed themselves to sterility.

Because the Socialist Party and the Lovestone group have degraded socialist politics to the level of trade union politics, their work in the mass movement has not resulted in diverting the labor movement from subservience to the capitalists.

The movement for the Fourth International took shape in America and throughout the world, not only in the fight against the

theories of "socialism in one country," of "social fascism," etc., but in the struggle against the theory of dual "red" unionism fostered by the Communist International until 1935. Lenin in 1920 had demonstrated theoretically, in his "Left Communism," that for communists to turn their backs on reactionary unions and invent new "revolutionary" unions was to render "the greatest service to the bourgeoisie."

The Reactionary Stalinists But the Communist Parties throughout the world had long since turned their backs on Leninism. When the "Communists" re-entered the trade unions following 1934 they continued to wear the leading strings of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia. With the drift to the right of Soviet policy,



VINCENT DUNNE  
Minnesota Organizer, S.W.P.

the trade union work of Browder's party has developed to the point where today this group is the most reactionary force in the labor movement. Whereas the fortunes of the Greens and the Hillmans are, after all, bound up with the fortunes of the movements which they head, the fortunes of the Stalinist unionists derive from Stalin and his clique.

Unlike the Communist Party, which up until the spring of 1937 favored the A. F. L. over the C. I. O., only to swing overnight to the other extreme, the Socialist Workers Party has no fetishism for either set of initials.

Mistakes of the C. I. O. The C. I. O. has accomplished

a great historic task in organizing the heavy industries, a task that the craft unions could never have accomplished. The new C. I. O. unions succeeded, not only because they were industrial in form but because they utilized militant and revolutionary tactics (sit-down strikes etc.) to gain their goal. Had the C. I. O. continued its original policy of organizing the unorganized, of concentrating on the basic industries, of avoiding raids on established A. F. L. unions, there is little doubt but that, despite the blows of the depression, it would today be in a far better position in the American labor movement.

Desperate for organizers, Lewis committed a tragic error in opening wide the doors to the Stalinists in return for their unconditional support.

Weakened by the defeat of "Little Steel" and the hammerblows of the new depression, the C. I. O. organism could not shake off the Stalinist poison. On the West Coast and elsewhere the Communist-controlled C. I. O. has followed a brutal and callous anti-working class policy of raiding the A. F. L., of violating the picket lines of unions under the control of the progressives. In Minneapolis, the Stalinized section of the C. I. O. has not hesitated to connive with the bosses against the A. F. L., even to appeal to the courts for an injunction against the latter.

On November 14 in Pittsburgh, the C. I. O. will hold its first national convention, at which will be decided the question of who is to control that body: the workers or the Stalinists in a bloc with Lewis or other C. I. O. leaders. It can be said bluntly that only to the extent to which the C. I. O. rids itself of Stalinism can it recover its lost ground and develop.

### The Strength of the A.F.L.

A phenomenon not sufficiently appreciated by the students of the labor movement—not by Stolberg and not even by certain of our own comrades—is the manner in which the A. F. L. has not only withstood the effects of the depression and the competition of the C. I. O., but has even managed to gain a million new members. The A. F. L., having an experienced organizing staff and great sums of money at its disposal, was better able than the C. I. O. to take advantage of the ground-swell of organization which swept across

sectarians who challenge us from the "left," they only succeed in combining an increase in the number of their organizations with a decrease in their total membership.

The Socialist Workers Party, having become the single rallying center of the revolutionary workers, can regard the preliminary task of reassembling the scattered forces of the vanguard as completed. It has no need of negotiations or maneuvers with the various pseudo-radical groups which offer no real competition. Our approach to the American Workers party and the left wing of the S.P. was a necessity. A similar approach to any or all of the sterile cliques mentioned above would be an absurdity. The American section of the Fourth International is the only revolutionary party. As a complete independent and self-sufficient organization of the vanguard, it can and must now concentrate its full energy on a direct approach to the workers' mass movement.

### The Party Re-Arms

The recent months have been devoted—along with daily work—to international adjustment for this gigantic enterprise. In the light of the rapidly advancing social crisis the party has successfully carried through a great work of reorientation and rearmament in preparation for revolutionary tasks which the social crisis poses before us. In the course of the party discussion seven thick internal bulletins have been published and a score of membership meetings have weighed and considered the new situation and the new proposals.

Our party has a real workers democracy, the like of which has never been seen before. Its membership collectively goes deeply into every new question, considers and discusses it over an ample period of time, and comes to a free decision. Just because of that the party can be firm in its discipline and ruthlessly intolerant of anything less than 100 percent loyalty on the part of each and every individual member.

On the tenth anniversary we can look back, not without pride, on the consistent struggle which will indubitably be recorded in history as the rebirth, the real new beginning, of American Bolshevism. It enabled us, in collaboration with our international movement, to forge the program of victory and to assemble the first basic cadres of the proletarian army which will achieve it.

## THE EARLY DAYS

By MAX SHACHTMAN

### THE "DOCUMENT"

There are very few examples of the power and influence that can be exerted on the movement by forceful ideas than the "document," as we called it ten years ago. I refer to comrade Trotsky's criticism of the draft program of the Communist International



MAX SHACHTMAN  
Editor, Socialist Appeal

written by Stalin and Bukharin for the Sixth Congress in Moscow in the summer of 1928.

In this country we had only a very faint idea of the fundamental issues involved in the struggle of the Trotskyist Opposition against the ruling clique in the Russian party and the Comintern—and that idea was a very carefully distorted and misrepresented one. Overwhelmingly preoccupied by what we thought were the all-important issues in the factional fight that raged incessantly in the American Communist Party, the comrades of what was then generally called the Cannon group paid very little attention to the truly world-shaking problems that were being debated in the Soviet Union.

Our one consolation was that we were always somewhat uneasy about the savage fury with which the organizer of the October Revolution and his comrades were assailed and the extreme measures that were taken against them; as a result, we allowed the Lovestonites and Fosterites, especially the former, to distinguish themselves in the notorious campaign of Trotsky-baiting, and we confined ourselves to a passive acceptance of what was being done without joining in, either in writing or in speeches, with the attacks upon our Russian comrades.

### How It Came to America

Our general dissatisfaction with the "American decisions" of the Comintern, which were, to us, so utterly and perversely wrong and "incomprehensible," formed the background for the attendance of our delegate, comrade Cannon, at the Sixth Congress. It was there that Trotsky's masterful criticism of the Stalin-Bukharin program, written in his Alma-Ata exile, was carefully circulated among picked delegates—members of the program commission and heads of the delegations. There is no doubt of the tremendous effect which the "document" had on all the delegates. But only Cannon, and Maurice Spector who was delegated from the Canadian party, decided to make the convictions which the unassailable logic of the criticism aroused in them, the basis for their future revolutionary activity. They decided to bring the "document" back to America and use it as the basis for organizing the struggle at home in solidarity with the Russian Bolshevik Opposition.

More easily said than done. For not only was each copy numbered, but the strictest instructions had been issued for the return of all copies to the Comintern Secretariat. What an eloquent commentary on the state of affairs in the Comintern as early as 1928 that responsible delegates to its Congress decided to steal and smuggle out of the country one of the most precious documents of Marxian thought! They found it necessary to purloin a document which, from any point of view, was rightfully theirs, and which they had a duty to communicate to those revolutionists in their own party (not to say all parties) who had delegated them to Moscow.

It was through these two comrades, aided by an old Bolshevik militant then resident in Moscow, that the first copy of Trotsky's magnificent critique was brought out of Russia and made available to the vanguard revolutionists who laid the first solid stones in this country of the movement now united in the Fourth International.

Apart from our general background in the principles of communism, and our repugnance for bureaucracy, chicanery and opportunism which we had up to then considered to be mainly a phenomenon of the American party, we had nothing to start

with save the "document." But it proved to be more than enough.

### The First Reaction

I was the first or second comrade in this country to have it presented to me to read—out of a hidden corner in one of Cannon's cupboards at home!—and I shall always remember the excitement with which I read it through for the first time, and then a second and third time, and the stunning effect with which all my preconceptions and prejudices were exploded out of my mind. And the shame I felt to think that in the five years of the dispute this was the only important writing of Trotsky that I had read. How frightfully provincial we had been all this time; how cruelly we had been victimized into ignorance, into going with the official line, by the Kremlin machine which was to accentuate its course in the years to come to the point of unprecedented monstrosity—a point which we simply could not conceive of ten years ago.

I cannot think of any single document that served its purpose better. Marty Aberg, Jim Cannon and I—members or alternates of the party Central Committee—and our first associates, Rose Karsner and the late Tom O'Flaherty, did not need many discussions among ourselves to decide, after a thorough reading of the "document" to carry on the fight for our newly-acquired convictions regardless of the immediate outcome. Of the final outcome we have never had any doubts.

### THE TRIAL

It was a serious enough affair, all things considered, but at the same time, if ever there was a funnier one, I have not heard of it. The Comintern delegation had hardly returned to the U.S., and we had scarcely begun our prudent agitation—we wanted to gain as much time as possible in order to reach our friends inside the party—than we were confronted with charges of conducting "Trotskyist agitation" in the party, with expulsion awaiting if we were found guilty. Our trial lasted for several days before an enlarged meeting of the Political Committee of the party.

The prosecutor-in-chief was none other than John Pepper, one of the hangers of the Hungarian revolution, aided by the then secretary of the party, Jay Lovestone. As nowadays, Earl Browder was the principal party nobody, with only this difference, that ten years ago he had not yet been appointed party Führer. Which doesn't mean that the Fosterites were in the least friendly. On the contrary, led by Bittelman they vied with the Lovestonites in driving for our expulsion. It was at once amusing and revolting to watch them, like hounds on a leash, waiting to jump in ahead of Pepper and Lovestone with a motion for our expulsion, so as to be able to cable Stalin the news of their zeal in servility.

### The Real Accusers

The stenographic record of the trial makes good reading even now, and some day it ought to be printed in full as a murderously telling portrait of our prosecutors and judges. We defendants, who perversely acted more like accusers, did not yet know too much about the great disputes; at all events, we did not know as much as we might or should have known. But we already knew a thousand times as much as our opponents in the Political Committee, who knew nothing but a few catch-phrases from the official filth in the "Inprecorr." We already knew enough and more than enough to answer the standardized slanders and falsehoods which served as arguments against the Opposition and its views.

Some of the questions put to us were exceeded in pricelessness only by some of the charges and "evidence" presented against us. The manager of the party bookshop was solemnly ushered in to testify that "only recently" I had come in to the shop to ask for some literature on China; and he added, giving deadly weight to every word, "everybody knows that China is a Trotskyist question!" To read books was bad enough, but to read books on China—a Trotskyist question—was pretty damning.

### The Great Heresy

Characteristic of that trial, and those which followed, was the dialogue between Lovestone and Ellis Sukkkanen, head of a group of Finnish party members who were tried for heresy after us:

"LOVESTONE: You are prepared to help the party to fight against Cannon?"

"SUKKANEN: I have to find out and study what Cannon has to say. What program he has and what information he has."

"LOVESTONE: But you are officially informed that Cannon, Aberg, and Shachtman were expelled from the party. Do you, as a party member, think that your first duty is to

(Continued on page 6)



# The First Trotskyist Group in New England

By ANTONIE F. AGNIKOW

Ten years ago in Boston in the first week of November, six of us decided to organize "The Independent Communist League." A month later we published the first and only number of the Bulletin of the Independent Communist League. While the Bulletin was already in the hands of the printer, a mimeographed copy of a statement made by Comrades Cannon, Shachtman and Abern reached us. We succeeded in placing a part of this document in our own Bulletin. The joy of receiving this statement of our New York comrades is difficult now to describe.

We had no connections with other cities; we did not know if any one else had taken up this fight against Stalinism in the Communist party. We felt absolutely alone, isolated; and suddenly we found prominent, well-known comrades with us. It seemed almost ridiculous that six rank and file workers should dare to throw down the gauntlet to the mighty organization—the Communist party.

## The First Comrades

The most energetic among us was comrade L. Schlossberg. His optimism and energy, no doubt, helped us go forward. Schlossberg is an old Bolshevik. He had participated in the 1905 Revolution in Russia and was so enthusiastic about Bolshevism that he had decided to return to Soviet Russia and remain there for good. He went to Soviet Russia in 1926, spent a year there and returned disillusioned and heart-sick. The ruling bureaucracy and the corrupt leaders made work there impossible. He was not readmitted into the party, which probably had been notified about his activities in Soviet Russia.

Comrade Chiplovitz and Weiner, prominent members of the needle trades Union, had noticed the wrong trend of the party long before. They left it in company with comrade Cooperstein, a prominent worker in the shoe industry. Comrade Shechet became our first new convert and proved to be an energetic, conscientious worker in the league. I was the only one who was still connected with the party. For years I had been under suspicion because of my frank criticism of Zinoviev. When I left for Russia at the same time as Schlossberg (1926) I had no sanction from the party, but got there through the personal influence of important comrades. This made it harder for me later to be too outspoken about my experiences in Soviet Russia because of the fear of exposing these comrades to persecution.

## Trip to Russia

I would like to sketch a few pictures from Soviet life—which impressed me deeply at the time

and threw a shadow of coming events. Letters of introduction and old pre-revolutionary ties threw many doors open to me. To one of the prominent comrades I posed leading questions like this: "With Zinoviev gone, will we have more democracy in Soviet Russia?" (We knew very little about Stalin then.) The comrade went on tip-toe to the door, opened it, looked right and left, then returned and with averted eyes said, "perhaps." The running to the door was repeated several times but the answers I received were utterly non-committal. This gave me the first idea of the fear of being spied upon prevalent even among prominent officials. I soon caught the infection myself and learned to look around and speak in a low voice.

"How much do you earn a week?" I asked a girl in a candy factory, which I was visiting with many other comrades. "Eighteen Roubles." "Per week, naturally," I inquired. "No, per month," she replied.

Soon I learned that girls walked miles to work or to meetings, as they could not afford carfare. Had wages increased since? Not real wages, for prices had gone way up.

"What shall I say to the delegates inspecting the factory?" asked the girl interpreter of the manager, in my presence. The manager looked angrily at her; he knew I was only a visitor. "Why, you know what to say."

Workers in the factory spoke about the party-managers with distrust. "Who are these men going through the factory?" one asked. "They say they are workers." "Oh, they are bluffing us; look how they are dressed. Workers could not dress like that."

Russian is my native language, so I could learn much more than others. While many accomplishments impressed me, while the sincerity and self sacrifice of workers with whom I came in contact was inspiring—the above and other incidents made me leave Soviet Russia perturbed and depressed.

## Prepares For Break

Their struggle between Stalin and Trotsky was not clear to me but I felt something was deeply wrong. Did I report this when I returned? No, I tried to defend these conditions by the reasoning that Russia was still in the transition state; and I knew too I would be expelled at once, if I were frank. So, I kept officially quiet and tried to find more facts and explanations to strengthen myself for the final break. I am sure hundreds of visitors to Russia acted the same way as I did. But I came at last to the right conclusion.

It took me two years 'til I

felt I could submit no longer. The occasion was the demand to vote for the expulsion of Comrade Trotsky. Lovestone addressed our Boston membership of 200 or more, for one-and-a-half hours, trying to prove that comrade Trotsky had forfeited the rights of membership in the party.

Several comrades had told me before the meeting they would never vote for Trotsky's expulsion. But I saw some of them grabbing hat and coat to leave the hall; one even spoke up against Lovestone but later voted with the crowd. In my ten-minute rebuttal, I pointed out that we never had a chance to read Trotsky's speeches or documents; that we could not come to correct conclusions without hearing the other side. About Comrade Trotsky's speech to the crowd going to the Red Square, which Lovestone stressed to be a special act of betrayal, I was glad I made the remark: "The speech of Comrade Trotsky, the man who was the right hand of Lenin, may well be considered by us as an S.O.S. to the comrades of the world warning of the great disaster Soviet Russia is facing."

Expelled from C.P. Soon I received a letter dictated by Lovestone ordering me to appear the next day in New York. I demanded that a local committee take up my case (later I found that the City Committee could not get a majority to expel me.) I refused to appear before the political committee. In a few days I had my expulsion notice.

I review the story of my growing into Trotskyism in detail to acquaint the comrades of today with our experiences ten years ago.

Our Bulletin was widely distributed and aroused consternation and savage anger. Our comrades were insulted and threatened with actual physical violence. Looking back to the years of our first steps, I realize that we were not well supplied with information, our forces were weak, but with all that I think there is no need to be ashamed of our little Bulletin which we worked out without documents or even adequate knowledge of our theories. We were going in the right direction. All six comrades are still with us. A lively crowd of young men and women joined us, so that we kept up headquarters, ran successful lectures and a small school.

The Stalinists, the "Twentieth Century Americans," had much larger meetings than we; so had the Democrats and Republicans. We were not afraid to start our work when there were only six isolated from everybody (as we thought)! We still swim against the current, but so did Lenin. Such is the pioneer work of all revolutionary forces.

# Progressives Merge With Fourth International

By JAMES BURNHAM

Co-Editor, New International

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action came together in 1928 primarily as the result of the then existing situation in the American labor movement. The trade unions, cramped in the corridors of the craft form and a passive and entrenched bureaucracy, were lethargic. No direction was being given to the growing millions of unemployed. The Communist Party, by its insane Red Union tactics dictated by the strategy of the "Third Period," had succeeded in isolating itself and the many militant workers under its influence from the main stream of the labor movement. The Communist League of America, not yet emerged from its stage of functioning as an opposition faction to the Communist International, was active only to a negligible degree in trade union situations.

There was thus no center for the development of progressive influence within the trade union movement itself. The conception of the founders of the C.P.L.A. was, at first, that of such a center: an organized group of militants who would promote progressive trade union policies, by propaganda, but in particular through direct participation in the mass action of the unions, in strikes, demonstrations, organizing campaigns, and in building up the organization of the unemployed.

## Not A Party

It was believed that for such a task no specific party formation and no specific party allegiance were necessary. The C.P.L.A. did not regard itself as a party. At the beginning its membership included a number of members of the Socialist Party, as well as many without any party affiliations. It was soon apparent, however, that its path led necessarily away from the existing parties, and within a brief time the Socialists had dropped out.

The task which the C.P.L.A. had set for itself was beyond its powers; but in spite of the smallness of its numbers and resources, its mark was definitely and in a number of instances splendidly felt within the American labor movement. The militant and determined work of its members in a series of notable strikes was climaxed at the great Auto-Lite strike of 1934 at Toledo. The National Unemployed Leagues, organized under its leadership, played no small part in forcing the federal government to accept some measure of responsibility for relief, and gave an example of class struggle methods which has not yet been equalled in the unemployed movement.

The experiences of the C.P.L.A. in the class struggle were not long in proving to its membership that the scope of its perspective would have to be ex-

panded. The problems posed day by day within the trade union and unemployed movements were seen to be, in the last analysis, political problems, and to demand precise and unequivocal political answers. The existing political parties not being able to give such answers, the issue presented was realized to be nothing else and nothing less than the building of a new political party of the working class.

This realization was expressed at and by the Convention held at the end of 1933. The resolutions adopted at the Convention stated the need for a new party of the workers, divorced from the Socialist and Communist Parties; declared the period of the C.P.L.A. finished; and elected a Provisional Organizing Committee for the American Workers Party.

Choice of the A. W. P. This great step, however, could not conclude the evolution of the C.P.L.A. Once having shaken loose of the social-democracy and of Stalinism, once having recognized and asserted the need for the new party, it was faced positively and inescapably with the central fact of the new epoch then beginning: with the Fourth International. The sole completion to its progressive evolution meant: fusion with the movement for the Fourth International. Failing this, the embryonic American Workers Party could only reverse direction, and fall back into the blind alleys of reformism of the 4th International movement altogether. This was the choice for the group as a whole and for every individual one of its members.

Fortunately, the greater part of the membership both of the A. W. P. and of the Communist League understood the need for the bringing together of all available forces into the movement for the new party. And fortunately, also, there were those in both organizations who saw clearly just what steps this need called for. Negotiations, discussions and united activities reached their fruitful conclusion in the fusion of the two groups in December, 1934, under the banner of the Fourth International.

## Obstacles Met

All was not of course, smooth sailing. Within the C. P. L. A.—A. W. P. there were those who were at heart bitter enemies of the new perspective, who made nominal declaration for a new party in 1933 only under the compulsion of events too strong for them to withstand; and there were others whose backbones, adequate for the earlier tasks, were not strong enough for the stern jobs that lay ahead.

Their resistance, treacherous and disloyal from some, confused or weak-kneed from others, could not alter the outcome. Their own fate—bought off for a few contemptible dollars by Stalinism, or sliding back to an evangelical God, or pulling up the stakes from the labor movement as a whole—points in its own way to that great lesson from the history of the A. W. P.: that today there is no neutral ground. There is only one way to cast off the dregs of reformism and Stalinism, of imperialism which finally these serve: by taking the road of the Fourth International.

## A Foreshadowing

The A. W. P. found the road. It was this that proved its own basic health and vitality. Its own accomplishments, and all that is finest in its traditions have become incorporated organically into the young but sturdily growing body of the new International.

Just how or by what stages the Fourth International will complete its development we cannot know in advance. The fusion of the A. W. P. is, however, in many essentials a correct foreshadowing. The Fourth International is projected into the historical arena as a political magnet. Its function and its destiny are to draw to itself all those, from whatever quarter, who resolve to break from the old world and its refuse, and who set for themselves the goal of the new world of international socialism.

# The Struggle for Marxism In the Socialist Party

By GLEN TRIMBLE

Member, Nat'l Comm., S.W.P.

On this the tenth anniversary of the organization of our movement in the United States, I have been asked to review the development of one of the tendencies now united in the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International. The tendency toward revolutionary Marxism within the American Socialist Party covered, for some of its members, a span of many years, but in organized form it dates from about 1931.

Throughout the post-war era of "prosperity" the Socialist Party existed only as a social club for a handful of aged social democratic reformists. Stripped of its revolutionary elements and especially of its youth by the 1919 turn to the Communist International, wrecked and demoralized by its own bankruptcy in the face of the Palmer terror, the S.P. played no role whatever in the decade that followed.

## New Elements

With the depression the organization took a new lease on life. A new and very different type of recruit began to turn to the Socialist Party. The crisis was forcing a leftward trend. The Communist Party was embarked on its third period adventure and was antagonizing many serious revolutionists in the process. Many of those who were without contact with the Left Opposition turned to the Socialist Party. For several years the membership steadily increased and in many sections the left wing elements predominated.

The almost total lack of discipline in the S.P., consequent on reformist anxiety to coddle labor-faker "members" who carried party cards and did as they pleased, made it possible for the left wing to maintain itself for a time within the "all-inclusive" boundaries. The Old Guard was by habit, inclination, and senility incapable of aggressive action. The work and a considerable part of the local leadership fell into the hands of the younger members.

## The "Militant" Group

But this left wing or "Militant" group was itself very nearly all inclusive. It embraced everyone 'agin' the Old Guard and, since the Old Guard simply proposed that the party be preserved as an inanimate memorial to Kautsky, that left a wide field for unprincipled "outs" that wanted to be "in," non-Marxist and openly anti-Marxist liberals who thought Norman Thomas a fine man, reformers and crackpots of every conceivable stripe, plants for the Stalinists and Lovestoneites, half-baked collegiate romanticists. Yet there was a core of serious, though inexperienced and sometimes muddled, revolutionists. The healthiest of these were the young worker elements repelled by the frenzied futility of the Stalinites, yet seeking a genuine class solution to their problems.

## Left Wing Development

As the crisis and the leftward trend within the S.P. continued more and more of such comrades joined. Their lives were a daily part of the class struggle and they brought into the conferences of the left wing a constant insistence on disciplined mass work. With this, inevitably, came a growing demand for a clear cut revolutionary program.

Unfortunately, all of us had to learn the hard way. We were almost totally cut off from the main streams of revolutionary experience. The greater part of Marxist literature was for most of us an unopened book. We had no "Old Bolsheviks" to provide living channels for class understanding and revolutionary foresight. We learned slowly and painfully by trial and error in the struggle itself. We shed illusions and acquired principled positions piece-meal along the road.

At first we were all too likely to value power above principles, and to rate "strategic maneuvers" ahead of a head-on attack on the

reformist position. Milwaukee, Detroit and Cleveland conventions wound up in shameful horse trading for National committee posts. Yet each time the results proved the emptiness of power without principle and more of us learned the lesson. The steady hammering of Al Goldman's Socialist Appeal had a very large share in the education of a revolutionary core in this period. The year 1936 saw this work culminate in the creation of a widespread organized group determined to fight for revolutionary principles.

## The Cleveland Convention

But following the Cleveland convention in the spring of that year, many of the "Militants" and their allies decided quite differently. The Old Guard was out. Thomas, who had spurred on the Militants and even broadcast a call to all "unattached radicals" to come in and help rid him of the Waldmanites, now hoped that they would "quietly disperse" and leave him in charge. The Wisconsin municipal "socialists" had reluctantly voted for the expulsion of their discredited political brothers on the assurance of Thomas, Altman and Co., that no "revolutionary embarrassments" would result for Wisconsin or the national party. The Cleveland resolutions bore them out on every important question, they marked a retreat from positions previously held. The Old Guard was dead, long live reformism!

## Entry of the W.P.

But the top leaders reckoned without the party. The "home grown" revolutionists were now strengthened, not only by their own experience, but by strong reinforcements from the Workers Party who brought with them the whole arsenal of Marxism. While the "Call" beat a retreat to the right, the Appeal and Labor Action rallied all the best worker elements to the revolutionary banner. Hoan and Altman joined, or rather, tail-ended, a well-financed Stalinist hue and cry for the expulsion of the "Trotskyites," that is to say, of course, of all revolutionary socialists.

By the 1937 Chicago convention, Norman Thomas had decided that "all-inclusiveness" was all right so long as it was to the right and not the left. Zam and Tyler who had never figured as national leaders in the left wing, had appointed themselves spokesmen for a "Clarity" caucus which preached peace while operating to separate the "native" sheep from the former W.P. goats. The

latter were to be slaughtered at once, the former in due time.

"Clarity" Delivers Again the party gave its answer. The convention delegates were so overwhelmingly against expulsion that the expulsionists from Tyler to Porter indignantly denied that they had ever thought of such a thing. The existence for the first time in a national convention of a large, clear cut and uncompromising revolutionary delegation forced the passage of resolutions which more than recovered the losses of Cleveland. But "Clarity" had fulfilled its role—the left wing was split. The center, as always in a crisis, combined with the right to elect a National Executive Committee for which Zam took "full responsibility" and of which Thomas and Hoan took full control.

Their task was the expulsion of the party in the name of the party. Convention resolutions were discarded for endorsements of Spanish Negrins and American LaGuardias. Protests were answered with "warnings," and appeals to democratic procedure by discarding the constitution along with the decisions of the convention. Since this swelled and broadened the protest, the infamous gag rule was passed in closed session. It ordered a moratorium on socialism within the Socialist Party on penalty of expulsion. That moratorium is still in force—as a tombstone on the grave of the "Socialist" party.

But it buries only the dead. The revolutionary membership refused to be gagged and continued its fight for socialism. There followed a series of "charges," "trials" and expulsions worthy of a Vishinsky. The Appeal group maintained unshakable solidarity and rallied hundreds of new supporters from the ranks of "Clarity," which had gone clearly and irrevocably reformist. The amalgam of "native" revolutionaries and of their comrades from the Workers Party was forged and solidified in joint battles for principle and in shoulder-to-shoulder cooperation in the field of mass action. It was given organizational expression in the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

Now on this tenth anniversary and with the tremendous impetus of the first World Congress of the Fourth International we march forward as a single, united movement dedicated to the revolutionary tasks that loom at the top of our world's agenda.

# A Life-or-Death Appeal!

## HERE'S YOUR CHANCE TO ACT

For the past two months the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees has been making arrangements to rescue three men and one woman, all anti-fascist militants, who have been under the surveillance of the Gestapo for their work in the labor movement in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Three are Germans, one a young Austrian worker. All have devoted their lives to the labor movement and have continued their work in emigration, under the most difficult and dangerous conditions. Their homes had been broken into and their belongings searched several times by agents of the German police.

While arrangements were being concluded for their transportation to another country, Hitler's troops marched into the Sudeten area and the Czech government, under Nazi influence, clamped down its dictatorship upon the rest of Czechoslovakia, proceeding to persecute all suspected foreigners within their realm. Newspapers report that the Czech police are holding all anti-Nazi refugees within the Sudeten region and handing many of them over to the Gestapo for their own territory.

Despite the enormous difficulties in reaching people in the Sudeten area, the American Fund has unexpectedly been presented with a mass of extricating these refugees from the clutches of the terror.

Every hour makes it increasingly difficult to do this. Every day the iron ring of reaction tightens around them. The avenues now open from us to them will probably be closed within the next few weeks, or even days. Not a moment must be lost. Any delay sentences these people to death. They can expect aid from no other quarter than from us in the United States.

A minimum of \$500 must be raised within one week. Show this appeal to your friends, your fellow trade unionists, your fellow students. Set yourself a quota to raise within one week.

IT IS A QUESTION OF OUR MONEY OR THEIR LIVES! Send all funds to the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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116 University Place, New York City

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B. J. Widick

An indispensable course for understanding the driving forces in the trade union movement today. An analysis of the rise of industrial unionism, the new techniques in strike strategy and the key question of C.I.O.-A.F. of L. unity. Labor politics—the Stalinist, Lovestone, S.P. lines; New Dealism, the A.L.P.; Labor and the White House.

Mondays, 7:00 P.M.—8:30 P.M. 6 lectures, \$1.00

### II. AFTER THE MUNICH CONFERENCE

Jack Weber

At Munich the representatives of four imperialist powers made far-reaching decisions upon which hinge not only Czechoslovakia's existence but the fate of the Soviet Union, all of Europe and modern civilization itself. What lies ahead? Why did collective security and the People's Fronts collapse? How long has war been postponed? Will Stalin turn to an alliance with Hitler? Will fascism overrun Europe or can the workers' revolution still save it? The lectures will provide a Marxist analysis of these vital questions.

Mondays, 8:45 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures, \$1.00

### III. LIVING MARXISM—A COURSE IN FIRST PRINCIPLES

John G. Wright

This course is intended to provide an elementary knowledge of Marxism. Following a discussion of the basic approach to history—the materialist interpretation of history—the lectures will cover a consideration of the material roots of society—productive forces and relations—continuing with the study of the role of the class struggle. The last two sessions will deal with the historic mission of the working class—the road to power.

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### IV. THE BRIDGE TO REVOLUTIONARY ACTION

James P. Cannon James P. Burnham  
Max Shachtman

The concrete application of revolutionary Marxism to our time. The crying contradiction of our epoch: a world economically ripe for Socialism—the masses disoriented

by illusions, false leadership and false policies. The problem of the practical revolutionist is how to bridge this gap. The Fourth International offers its solution—The Transition Program, a program of action for mobilizing the masses.

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### V. LABOR JOURNALISM

James Casey

A course in both theory and practice. Such matters as labor reporting, editorial writing, book reviewing, etc., will be considered. Students will be given practical assignments.

This course will be continued the next semester.

Wednesday, 7:00 P.M.—8:30 P.M. 4 sessions, \$0.75

### VI. THE THREE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS

George Novack

A study of American backgrounds. A Marxist interpretation of social forces in America analyzing the class struggle in this country from the colonial period, through the Civil War, to the present day.

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### VII. CAPITALIST ECONOMY IN CRISIS

David Cowles

These lectures will stress the underlying economic factors which determine present political practices in the United States. Among the topics to be covered are: the economics of the New Deal, the declining standard of living, the economics of war preparations, the struggle of the great monopolies for domination in contracting markets, the financial system and the depression, etc.

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## REGISTRATION

Registration may be made either at the school office, 116 University Place, N. Y. C., between 8 P. M. and 10 P. M., or at the Labor Bookshop, 28 E. 12th Street, N. Y. C., between 1 P. M. and 8 P. M. Registrations can also be made by mail or by calling Stuyvesant 9-0567. The school term will begin on November 9th.

# THE MARXIST SCHOOL

announces

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October 23rd—DEMOCRACY, FASCISM and WAR

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# Internationalism — Our Banner

By MAURICE SPECTOR  
Co-Editor, New Internationalist

If there was one pillar of the early Comintern that seemed more unshakable than Gibraltar, it was its intransigent internationalism, its basic policy of world revolution. The Communist International was conceived during the world war in the course of the revolutionary struggle against social patriotism.

The collapse of the Second International was due to its opportunistic adaptation to the capitalist legality of the national state. To pillory the social patriotism of the Social Democracy, to attack its policy of coalition government, to denounce its fetishistic support of bourgeois democracy, its voting of military credits, all this was part of everyday communist agitation and propaganda. Whenever the international situation sharpened, the air resounded with Comintern pledges to work for the transformation of any imperialist war into a civil war.

## Lenin's Teachings

Every communist knew that Lenin had drawn two decisive conclusions from the law of the irregularity of capitalist political and economic development: (1) that, contrary to the opinion of Kautsky, it was possible to begin the revolution in a single country, without waiting for the rest of the world, but (2) that it was impossible for a single country to achieve the victory of socialism without the advance of the frontiers of the revolution in the industrial West. There was no ambiguity about this.

Again and again he repeated that the existence of the Soviet republic alongside the imperialist states was in the long run impossible. One or the other would triumph. The big historical problem of the October revolution as he saw it, and as the entire Comintern appeared to agree, lay in resolving the international problem by means of stimulating and organizing the world revolution.

So long as the post-Leninist struggle inside the Russian Communist party proceeded on such apparently separate questions, as workers democracy, the lessons of the German communist failure of 1923, the experiences of the Anglo-Russian committee, and economic planning, many communists of the West, increasingly restive over the turn of events and the character of the Russian discussions, were still uncertain. In many cases it still seemed possible to reconcile the conflicting views within the framework of the same party and International. Loyalty to the Communist International permeated such militants to the core, and decisions would involve a rupture with what they had been accustomed to regard as "the General Staff of the World Revolution" were not taken lightly.

## The Final Straw

What shook their faith in the post-Leninist Moscow leadership to the point where "loyal" acceptance of the majority thesis was no longer possible, was the final emergence of the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country." The stand that the Russian Opposition made against this revision of Leninism proved to be a stand against the Stalinist counter-revolution. There were friends of the Opposition who thought that Trotsky was unduly magnifying the issue and allowing himself to be outmaneuvered. The Brandler-Thalheimer group attempted to minimize the issue as academic. Even close sympathizers of Trotsky, reading his Critique of the Draft Program of the Comintern during the Sixth Congress (1928) wondered if its author was not anticipating too much and too readily.

Experience itself has established that the official adoption of the theory of socialism in a single country, a product of the ebb of the revolution in Europe, and the defeats administered to the working class, has become the fully rounded out formula of Stalinist social-patriotism and the degeneration of the Comintern.

## Renunciation of Revolution

The tactics of the Leninist Comintern in a period of capitalist stabilization were necessarily different than in a period of stormy assault on the capitalist fortress during a revolutionary crisis. But the policy of Stalinist national socialism involved a renunciation of the proletarian revolution itself. Since the adoption of that policy the consequences for both the Soviet Union and the international proletariat have been increasingly tragic. What happened, objectively speaking, is that Stalin joined Hitler in crushing out the revolutionary spirit of the working class vanguard. Even their methods became indistinguishable.

With every retreat from the policy of world revolution, with every new improvisation of popular frontism, the advance of

fascism became more rapid and more powerful. Fascism is today on the offensive. The Munich pact signals the complete bankruptcy of the whole edifice of collective security. The Popular Front is a shambles.

The Stalinists sold out the interests of the French working class for the sake of "the defense of the Soviet Union." Their "realism" has left the Soviet Union in a position of the greatest isolation. After absorbing Czechoslovakia, as he had absorbed Germany before that, thanks to the cowardly passivity of the Comintern, Hitler is now proceeding with plans for the political and economic hegemony of Europe and the future partition of the Soviet Union.

## There Is No Substitute

It has been proved that the revolutionary aid of the Western workers cannot be replaced by imperialist alliances without catastrophic results for the October revolution. The Permanent Revolution, the special object of Stalinist hatred, has been replaced by permanent executions. National socialism in Russia has destroyed the Soviet super-structure, replacing it with a totalitarianism as complete as Hitler's. The "socialist accumulation" of the five-year plans under Stalin rivaled the infamies of early capitalist accumulation.

Twenty years after the October revolution and the "complete victory of socialism," Denny of the New York Times reports that the coming winter in the U.S.S.R. is expected to be one of the hardest. The old familiar queues stretch for blocks. Twenty years after, the masses still wait for a pair of boots, an overcoat, a dress, a bottle of milk, a pound of butter.

## Undermine the Only Force

The one force that could solve the Soviet Union's "international problem" was the working class and this is the force that the Soviet Union has consistently undermined. The policy of Soviet national socialism has been to use the workers abroad merely as diplomatic cannon fodder. Armaments are greater than ever, the power of Hitlerism has expanded, and the workers have been filled with the virus of social patriotism.

The masses deep down are against imperialist war. They are ready to struggle for peace. The task is to show them that peace is attainable only by a struggle for power. But the Stalinist parties join with the most extreme reactionaries and nationalists in their agitation and incitement for war.

The Stalinists, like Browder in the United States, no longer even talk of the "defense of the Soviet Union." They proclaim their readiness to go to the defense of their own capitalist "fatherlands." They urge their own capitalist classes to protect and further their investments in colonies and markets abroad, so that the "democracies" can checkmate the fascists in South America or China!

The sole repository of the revolutionary internationalism of the early Comintern is now the Fourth International. The small groups of the new International in all countries have courageously struggled against the current of social-patriotism and unpromisingly exposed the sources of Stalinist corruption. The Fourth International can have no illusions that it has the present strength to deter the imperialists in their war-provocations, or save the U.S.S.R. from inner degeneration or outside attack. This strength must come from the masses and the successful penetration of the masses by the revolutionary Marxists.

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# IN THEIR FOOTSTEPS



## First Youth Conference Was Held In Chicago In November, 1929

By ALBERT GATES

Our movement has traveled a great distance in the ten years that have passed since comrades Cannon, Abner and Shachtman presented their declaration to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States announcing adherence to the Russian Opposition. Prior to that, the great problems of the world movement and the sharp divisions inside the Stalinist never greatly concerned the C. P. Its decisions relating to these questions were formally taken in response to requests of the ruling bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. The struggle of the Russian Opposition was regarded as a "Russian affair" which was a bothersome interference with the inane and permanent factional disputes in the American C. P.

The Stalinist movement was struck with consternation to find that Trotskyism had found its way into the ranks of the Party. How could it be? It was already declared to have been irrevocably defeated and destroyed in a dozen different revolutions and in a dozen conferences, not least of which was the 6th World Congress. Yet, when the suppressed documents of the Russian Opposition and the writings of Leon Trotsky were made known to the revolutionary workers in the United States, the Left Opposition was born and began to attract around it a wide circle of sympathizers.

It became possible then to understand the reasons for the great defeats suffered by the Communist International, the stagnation of that once great body, the paralysis that invaded the whole international as a result of the stranglehold of the Stalin bureaucracy, and also, the nature of the factional impasse in the C. P. of the U. S.

## Nation-wide Expulsions

In all the leading centers of the C. P., organizers, functionaries, active rank-and-file communists, and above all, the youth, rallied around the banner of the International Left Opposition. Expulsions followed declarations of solidarity with the afore-mentioned three comrades. Physical violence, intellectual terrorism, political and moral bribery failed to stem the growth of our movement. The most heartening aspect in the whole situation was the manner in which the young revolutionaries resisted the pressure of the bureaucratic machine. The first public declaration of our youth appeared in the *MILITANT* of April 11, 1929. It was a document addressed to the Young Communist League and it recited the nature of the situa-

tion in the world movement. The degeneration of the Young Communist International was traced to the invasion of the Stalin bureaucracy which transformed the youth movement into a factional instrument in the spurious struggle against Trotskyism. It showed how the American youth organization was deteriorating as a result of conditions in the Party and closed with a ringing call for support of the Left Opposition. This first document was signed by three members of the National Executive Committee of the Y. C. L. and thirty leading youth functionaries, representing six districts. New layers of supporters arose and the expulsions continued from coast to coast.

At the first conference of the Left Opposition, held on May 17, 18, and 19, 1929, the Communist League of America was formed. The conference was held on the far west side of Chicago, a city which has given birth to so many workers organizations. It was the first time that many of the comrades had met each other. Of the thirty-one delegates and thirteen alternates present, a large proportion were youth. They came by automobile, rode the rods, and hitch-hiked to Chicago. They were tired, hungry and broke. But these difficulties in no way effected the spirit of enthusiasm of the comrades who understood that they were engaged in the great task of revitalizing and rebuilding the revolutionary movement.

The spirit of the young comrades was contagious to all the comrades who came from different parts of the country with a variety of experiences and with years of service in the movement. These young comrades took an active part in the conference deliberations and were destined to play a key role in the future development of our organization. The presence of a large number of youth delegates and alternates (in some cities our organization was composed entirely of youth) made necessary the holding of a sub-conference to discuss the tasks of the youth.

## The Youth Meet

Thus, our first youth conference was really in the nature of an adjunct gathering of the formation conference of the Communist League. We were concerned primarily with the manner in which youth work could be carried on under conditions where the main task was to firmly root the League and popularize the program and platform of the Left Opposition. At that time we still conducted ourselves as an expelled faction of the Communist Party, as a propaganda organization.

The youth conference, attended by about fifteen regular delegates and alternates, held a long and serious discussion of its tasks. We decided that our main task was the building of the Communist League. A separate youth organization was out of question. However, wherever forces permitted and the situation was favorable, the younger comrades were to conduct special activity among the Communist youth as well as detached and unorganized revolutionary youth.

Since that conference a good deal of progress has been recorded. Within a year, the question of a youth organization became a practical one. We began in New York with the organization of a Marxian Youth Club. Similar organizations were set up in other cities. In November, 1931, *YOUNG SPARTACUS*, the first Left Opposition youth paper, made its appearance. With the paper as a base our youth movement continued to grow and in 1932 the Spartacus Youth League was formed.

Looking back over the past years, it is extremely heartening and gratifying to note that, with but few exceptions, all the young comrades who participated in the first conference and who aided in the founding of *YOUNG SPARTACUS* and the Spartacus Youth League are still with us. They are no longer engaged in youth work. But they are active and leading Party workers. An entirely new layer of young revolutionaries have taken their place. Our early youth organization carried out its basic task. It trained politically and organizationally experienced revolutionaries for Party work. This fact alone testifies to the tremendous vitality of the revolutionary ideas of our movement.

Our youth movement of the present is fortunate in many ways. It enjoys the heritage of ten years of long struggle. It is a revitalized revolutionary theory, the theory of Marxism. The past two decades form a tremendous school of revolutionary experience which is theirs. And it is permeated with the glorious spirit of revolutionary internationalism.

But above all, our youth organization is fortunate in that it is associated with a Party which understands its problems and is prepared to lend genuine aid in their solution. The Y. P. S. L. can count upon the intimate comradeship of the Party and its leading cadre, so large a number of whom have themselves emerged from the revolutionary youth movement.

# Pages from the History of the Youth Movement

By NATHAN GOULD  
National Organizer, Y.P.S.L.

When the Communist League of America (Opposition) was formed, its membership was composed of a large number of youth expelled from the Young Communist League. Yet there were not sufficient forces in this small organization to permit the launching of a separate youth section. All forces were necessarily concentrated in the effort to build a strong Communist League organization.

Early in 1931 the National Committee of the C.L.A. took steps to prepare for the organization of a youth section. A sub-committee of the National Committee of the C.L.A. was elected. It was the National Youth Committee of the C.L.A. and was instructed to organize and conduct work in the youth field. The original committee was composed of the following comrades: Herbert Capellis, Joe Carter, George Clarke, Charles Curtiss, Al Glotzer, George Ray, Max Sterling, Hank Stone, and Martin Abner representing the National Committee of the C.L.A.

## Publish "Young Spartacus"

On the initiative of this committee "Young Spartacus" the organ of the National Youth Committee, was published as a monthly. The first issue of "Young Spartacus" appeared in December of 1931 under the direction of an editorial committee of Abner, Carter and Ray. The paper (chief work of the National Youth Committee in the first period) was published only through great sacrifices. Appearing first as a 4-page tabloid it was enlarged to an 8-pager in September, 1932, and remained so until the beginning of 1938 when the S.Y.L. entered the Young Peoples Socialist League.

Also, under the supervision of the National Youth Committee, youth committees of various branches of the C.L.A. were established with the object of carrying on youth work on a local scale.

It was not until November 8, 1931 that the efforts of these committees bore fruit in the actual launching of a youth organization in N. Y., the Marxian Youth Club. The Marxian Youth Club was however not officially a part of the Trotskyist movement although its sympathies were with it. On Feb. 7, 1932, the Marxian Youth Club changed its name to "Spartacus Youth Club," adopted "Young Spartacus" as its official organ and thereby became the first Trotskyist youth organization in America. This Club set as its tasks the education of its membership in the "teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky" and "to build a fraction in the official Young Communist League and win its ranks for the opposition."

## New Clubs Organize

The Second "Spartacus Youth Club" to be formed in America was organized in Chicago in August 1932. It was the product of months of effort on the part of comrades N. Satir, C. Curtiss and N. Gould. It began with a membership of 8, grew to 15 within 2 months and continued to flourish in activities and influence during the existence of the S.Y.L. The Chicago organization composed almost entirely of expelled Y.C.L.'ers, endorsed "Young Spartacus" as its official organ and affiliated to the Chicago local of the C.L.A. thus becoming its official youth section.

In the next two years (1933 and 1934) S.Y.L. clubs were formed in Minneapolis, Youngstown, Los Angeles, Newark, Kansas City, and San Francisco. These clubs however did not exist or function as a national organization. They were actually autonomous bodies or, more accurately, under the direction and guidance of the respective local branches of the C.L.A. The activities of these clubs were primarily educational, and fraction work in the Y.C.L. This naturally obtained from the perspective to reform the Y.C.L. The early period was devoted to laying the basis for a national organization by building "Clubs" in new territories and strengthening those that already existed. It was not until the summer of 1934 that the S.Y.C.'s were joined together into a National League and not until after their first national convention in December of 1934, that they really began to function as such.

## First Convention

By the time the First National Convention convened in N. Y. in December of 1934, the S.Y.L. had grown under the leadership of comrades Glotzer and Carter from the Marxian Youth Club of 30 members in N. Y. (1931) to an organization of about 150 members with branches in New York (5), Chicago (4), Newark, Youngstown and Los Angeles. The Convention marked a great step forward. It acted upon all important problems before the S.Y.L., adopted resolutions on the

Y.C.L. (no longer a revolutionary youth organization) and on the Y.P.S.L. It became the official youth section of the Workers Party, newly formed from a fusion of the C.L.A. and the American Workers Party. It endorsed a call for the formation of the Fourth International and the Fourth Youth International and it affiliated to the youth section of the Committee of Four calling for the Fourth International. It endorsed the decisions of the International Youth conference (Stockholm Youth Bureau) at Holland held in Feb. 1933, and the work of the representative of the National Youth Committee at that conference—comrade Glotzer.

The First National Convention of the S.Y.L. also adopted a vigorous plan of action aimed at increasing the membership of the organization and making the S.Y.L. a factor in the struggles of the American youth. The Convention elected comrade Gould National Secretary and comrade Garrett as editor of the "Young Spartacus." In addition it elected a national bureau composed of Reva Crane, Bill Streeter, Jane Ogden, M. Garrett and N. Gould.

## Organization Grows

The year following the convention was one of vigorous work and growth. There was a great deal of work in united fronts, in anti-fascist and anti-war work; work in the C.C.C. camps among the youth in the armed forces began very modestly. Mass meetings, tours, student and industrial work, defense work especially around the Scottsboro case, active participation in the International movement (The S.Y.L. was

the first to denounce the machinations of the centrist dominated Stockholm Youth Bureau and finally broke with it after its impotence as a force for a 4th youth international was exposed). The branches of the S.Y.L. were active in unemployed struggles and in strikes. For the first time members of the S.Y.L. led strikes of young workers in Chicago, in Philadelphia and in Southern Illinois. "New branches were formed in Boston, State College, Pa., Philadelphia, Columbus, New Haven, San Francisco, San Diego, Akron, Allentown, Minneapolis and Detroit. The Spartacus Youth League became a national organization.

## Merge with Revolutionary Y.P.S.L.

The Second National Convention of the S.Y.L. held in March 1936 decided to disband the S.Y.L. and to enter the Y.P.S.L., which was moving very rapidly to the left. Approximately 500 members of the S.Y.L. throughout the country entered the Y.P.S.L. in April of 1936. The Spartacus tendency in the Y.P.S.L. merged with the revolutionary left wing in that organization. Eighteen months after the entry of the S.Y.L. into the Y.P.S.L., the revolutionary elements by an overwhelming majority took over the convention and the organization of the Y.P.S.L. The "new" revolutionary Y.P.S.L. (endorsing the policy of the Socialist Appeal group in the S.P.) began its career after the September 1937 convention with approximately 1,000 members. In the Y.P.S.L. were embodied the spirit and the great revolutionary tradition of the old "Spartacus Youth League."

# The Early Days

(Continued from page 4)

find out or is not the mere fact that they were expelled unanimously by the Polcom sufficient for you as a guarantee to treat him as an enemy of the party today?

"SULKANEN: You put the question in a very incorrect way. One has to find out things before one can fight anybody."

Instructive dialogue! A few months later, Lovestone, himself expelled, was compelled to plead in vain with the party members "to find out" what he stood for before they decided to "treat him as an enemy of the party." In our case, the mere fact of our expulsion was considered enough, and God help any party member who, before condemning us, had the impudence to want to find out what we stood for. In the subsequent "trials," Lovestone-Foster and Co. did us many a good service by expelling out of hand any party member who wanted "to find out things," for in every case, once the expelled comrade did "find out," he entered enthusiastically into our ranks.

## "BURGLARY BOLSHEVISM"

Our present headquarters may not be very sumptuous, but they are certainly less modest than those we started with. For many months after our expulsion, our "office" was one of the rooms in Jim Cannon's home on East 19th Street, New York; then—progress!—one desk in a room of my home on the next street. On December 23, two months after our expulsion from the party, our "office" was raided in its occupants' absence, raided not by the police but by Messrs. Lovestone, Stachel... and the G.P.U.—a job just as thorough, we dare say, as the one recently accomplished on the private residence of the same Jay Lovestone, by the same G.P.U., in connection with the fight in the auto workers union. Times change...

Everything in sight was taken, once the door was jimmied open by the experts. Four days later, in Lovestone's *Daily Worker*, there began a really hair-raising exposure of the "American Trotskyists," in good Hearst style, based on what had been stolen from our "office." A subscription to our paper, *The Militant*, had been sent in for Amos Pinchot, showing, according to the *Daily Worker*, our connections with "out and out bourgeois individuals." The *Freiheit* embellished the story by writing of "a series of documents about the American Trotskyists which demonstrate that they are allied with big capitalists who give them money to carry on their propaganda against the Communist Party." (Among the *Daily Worker's* subscribers at that time were the National Association of Manufacturers, Warner Brothers and the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Fleet!)

No less damning was proof of our illicit relations with Max Eastman who, as Trotsky's translator, had given us a letter of introduction to the publishers of "The Real Situation in Russia" asking that we be allowed to see the press clippings. This purloined evidence of our cynical counter-revolutionary activity was duly reproduced in the *Daily Worker*.

Another reproduced letter revealed the existence of a Mr. Sard who seems to have been interested also in music, and director in this country of "Schubert Week," he had apparently visited President Coolidge in order, with the aid of the Vienna government, to facilitate putting over the commemoration of the great composer. The *Daily Worker* did its very best to argue that, barely started, we had already joined in a sinister plot with American imperialism and the Austrian government (but why the Austrian, or only the Austrian?) to overthrow the Soviet Union.

In a couple of days, the "sensational exposure" petered out. But we never got back our documents and letters; we never got back the petty cash and money orders that had been stolen; and Marty Abner never got back his five beautifully-bound volumes of the *Inprecor*, which probably repose to this day on the shelves of Mr. Jack Stachel, noted contemporary advocate of democracy and law and order.

## The Sequel

There is a very interesting sequel to this burglary, which inaugurated a large-scale campaign of meeting-disruption, gangsterism and violence against our movement first by Lovestone and the Stalinists, and then by the Stalinists. The sequel occurred some eight months later, shortly after the expulsion of Lovestone from the party. He was charged with having burglarized the National Office of the Party and lifting a lot of documents for his ousted faction. The moral indignation of the remaining party leaders may well be imagined. One of them, William Abrams, wrote a comment on the affair in the *Freiheit* of September 1, 1929, which merits perpetuation as a document:

"And it is to you, former comrades—again, not to those who ran after a Lore, a Salutsky and other pestilences—that I come with the question: Don't you think that the same tactic that is applied against Cannon is criminal when applied to the Communist Party? Don't you think that breaking into the offices of the Central Committee and of Section One, the taking away of documents and lists from there, is an act that must be condemned?"

These two plaintive sentences say everything that is necessary about Burglary-Bolshevism, about William Abrams, about the man he called his "former leader," Jay Lovestone, about the whole poisonous mire of Stalinism.