The New York Municipal Election Campaign
Herbert Zam

The municipal election campaign of the Communist Party in New York City was ushered in by the adoption of an opportunistic platform written by Weinsteine and forced thru the District Committee without even a discussion and without even the opportunity for making criticisms or amendment of. Despite the fact that under the barrage of the followers of the C.P.—Majority Group this platform was accepted unanimously by all, it gave the entire election campaign of the Party an opportunistic character.

The stage is set at a period of growing radicalization of the workers, as a climax to two years severe struggle in important industries (needle, food), the election campaign offered the Communist Party a splendid opportunity for mobilizing the workers in a political struggle against capitalism, a struggle which would pass the bounds of parochial legislation as such—such an achievement for the Party is of tremendous importance in its efforts to establish itself as the leader of the American workers in all their struggles. Through the Communist Party has already led thousands and even hundreds of thousands in many severe class battles, it is still confronted with the task of demonstrating to the workers its leadership in the political struggle against capitalism, including the election campaign. The municipal election campaign this year offered the Communist Party this opportunity at a time when the labor capitalist parties have openedly become expressions of finance capital centered in New York and the Socialist Party has openly become the party of the labor bureaucracy and of small capital, denying the class struggle and seeking to maintain the capitalist system. The fact is obvious to all that the situation is so complex that every movement of the workers for improvement of their conditions brings them face to face with the forces of the bourgeoisie, that the struggle of the workers is growing and are being directed more and more against the whole capitalist system.

These circumstances create the possibility for the Communist Party really placing itself at the head of the workers and demonstrating the realization of their conditions, developing these struggles and raising them to a higher level, till they are aimed at the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But in order to accomplish this task the Communist Party must have an opportunity and means for a correct platform to the workers. Unfortunately, the result of the election campaign of the Party, both of these conditions are lacking at the present time.

The Conduct of the Election Campaign

The election platform of the Communist Party is not a mere set of demands. It is not a collection of isolated promises. It is a program of action for a certain period, and as such must combine the immediate tasks of the Party with its final aim of overthrowing capitalism in such a way as to utilize the immediate struggles of the workers in order to develop the conscious struggle against capitalism. The election platform of the Communist Party must therefore be based on an indictment of capitalism; it must demonstrate to the workers that their grievances amount to nothing but the fundamental failure of the capitalist system; that all such immediate demands as will direct the struggles of the workers against the capitalist system. The election platform of Weinsteine lacks this essential prerequisite. It treats each evil, not as an expression of capitalism, but as something that can be done away with by such an analysis purely reformist. It separates the workers of New York and their struggles from the rest of the working class of the United States and the world, leading in such opposition. The platform fails to mention that the collapse of the Russian Revolution, the overthrow of the capitalist system, and the realization of the complete freedom of the workers to the defense of Gastonia workers. The platform fails to point out the necessity for the working class struggling against the Russian revolution and the overthrow of the capitalist system. All this is contained within the platform. It is all this which puts the workers to the test: to help to finish the revolution.

Thus, the election platform, far from serving as a means for rallying the Party membership and the revolutionary workers, and for directing and co-ordinating the activities of the working class along anti-capitalist channels, became a millstone around the neck of the Party, preventing it from carrying out on an election campaign and from utilizing the favorable objective situation for strengthening itself and winning thousands of workers for a revolutionary struggle.

The opportunism which produced such a platform cannot be expected to be less opportunist in the election campaign proper. While its empty revolutionary bombast converts every open-air meeting into a "demonstration," and every Party meeting into a "united front," the essential work of organization and mass work has been neglected, not as a result of publishing the workers. The struggle against the Socialist Party and social reformism has generally been completely abandoned, despite the fact that the American workers are in the most critical situation and are facing the worst form of their class struggle.

The instructions for the Party membership, printed in the Daily Worker, are of the internationally famous "Cockfowl is a bad bird" type. The Russian Revolution, the Chinese revolution, and the whole international revolutionary movement constitute a platform for revolutionary workers in any country as long as they are not bourgeois and not comrade in any way. The Party can and must win the workers to its program and its platform.

The resolution for presenting itself as the Party of the workers. No real effort has even been made to mobilize the mass organizations and to create an effective political machinery and to present itself as the Party of the workers. The Party has failed in all of these tasks, and has been too little to present itself as the Party of the workers. It has failed in all of these tasks, and has been too little to present itself as the Party of the workers.

The Fruits of Opportunism

This opportunism against the platform has its serious effect upon the conscious struggle of the workers, the Party in New York, not the most important of which will be the loss of votes in the elections. It has a tendency to direct the workers to developments which will undermine the struggle of the workers and lead to the overthrow of the Party. It creates a doubt in the minds of the workers as to whether the Party really is a Party of struggle. It has a tendency to weaken the whole of the Party and lead to the weakening of the Party. This, the opportunistic secession of the Party is utterly responsible. It is stifling the Party at the critical period of the membership (Continued on Page 14)

Twelve Years of the Soviet Union
By Jay Lovestone

Through the world the working masses are greeting with joy and pride the thirteenth year of the great victory of the international proletariat—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Twelve years have passed since the death blow was dealt to capitalism in Russia. Twelve years have passed since the triumph of the fabulous and significant years in world history, years that saw the collapse of the Romanoffs, the overthrow of the capitalism, and the establishment of the Republics. Twelve years have seen the destruction of the Dumas and the Tsars; the seizure of power by the Communist International; the giant strides forward in building Socialism! These are victories inscribed upon the crimson banner of the international working class unfurled by the first Soviet Republic.

The Meaning of October

The October Revolution was the first victorious proletarian revolution. True, it was not yet the world revolution—but it was more than merely a prelude to the world revolution. The October Revolution has always been and in the future will continue to be the base and center of the internal struggle for the emancipation of labor. The struggle of our victorious Russian brothers is inseparable from—is bound up with the closest historical ties with the struggles of the working masses all over the world. The strengthening and consolidation of the Soviet Union constitutes a most powerful force in the development of a victorious proletarian revolution in all countries. Likewise, the destruction of capitalism in a number of the more highly developed bourgeois countries will have a profound effect upon the Russian Revolution and will insure the final victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union.

It is clear that the victory of the October Revolution is characterized by extreme unevenness of development; it is full of violent changes and class conflicts, of ever-sharpening antagonisms among the imperialist powers leading to catastrophic clashes and world wars. It was precisely in such a period that the Russian Revolution was born. The October Revolution was the crowning act of the long struggle of the Russian proletariat and the working class, the long struggle which has been going on in Russia for the overthrow of the Russian Tsarist autocracy.

The U.S.S.R. exists as a socialist island in the midst of the world of capitalist countries. It is a haven for all workers and peasants throughout the world who wish to escape from capitalism. It is a refuge for all workers and all of the problems of the working class. The U.S.S.R. is the living proof of the possibility of the victory of Socialism.

The U.S.S.R. has been succeeded and is now succeeded by a new country in the world of proletariat and the working class. It is the beginning of the world of socialism, not the end of the world of capitalism. It is the beginning of the world of socialism, not the end of the world of capitalism. It is the beginning of the world of socialism, not the end of the world of capitalism.

The Main Lessons of October

The driving force, the inspiring genius of October was the great teacher and leader of the toiling masses—Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The great gift of October is—Leninism! The lessons of October are the lessons of Leninism! 1. October gave us the highest type of democracy—proletarian democracy: the proletarian dictatorship based upon the Soviet Power.
What Was the Cleveland TUUL Convention? By Ben Gitlow

Estimating the T.U.U.L. Convention recently held in Cleve-
ard, one must not attempt to work oneself up into a frenzy of religious excitement, as is often the custom. We should analyze the forces represented at the convention, how they were elected, the directives given before the convention, at the convention itself, and as the work of the convention itself. If we will take such an objective view then we will see more clearly how it operated, recognize its accomplishments as well as its shortcomings.

It is need for the establishment of a center for the new unions, the revolutionary and militant minorities in the ex-
isting A. F. of L. and independent unions, for the shop com-
mittees and organizing committees functioning in the unorgan-
ized industries? The answer must be emphatically: Yes! The organized of a genuine center of this kind which will really unite all the militant and revolutionary workers is absolutely necessary. But what actually took place?

The postponement of the Convention from May 30 to August 3, a period of three months after the elections of delegates to the May 30 convention had taken place in factories, mines, mills, shop committees and trade union organizations, was the first criminal act that helped wreck the possibility of the estab-
lishment of a genuine center with a broad mass base. This postponement which was prompted by factional considerations, emanating directly from Lovovsky and his clique in the R.U.U.U. and not by the needs of the workers, opened the convention to attack as an out-and-out Party affair, tended to narrow it down to the Party membership and a small fringe of the closest Party sympathizers.

The convention was further narrowed down by the one ad-
vertisement that the convention was to be held in the most powerful imperialist country, the very pole of the capitalist world. We too take our inspiration from the great traditions and achievements of the Russian Bolsheviks, from the great labors of the Soviet workers. We recognize that in our struggle for Communism in America we are marching along some of the same road. But the real power that the St. Petersburg Bolsheviks were, and is today, the Russian proletariat and peasant masses, supported by the toilers of the whole world.

Our Duty to the Soviet Union

The very great development of the Soviet Union, argues world capitalism to ever more bitter opposition and hostility. That is why the danger of imperialist war against the Soviet Union is constantly present. The workers, although fighting in the land of the most powerful imperialism, face this danger in an especi-
ally grave form, for in such a war the U.S. would play the most aggressive and decisive role. An especially responsible duty rests upon us, which grows heavier as the danger of war grows.

The Soviet Union is the only fatherland of the workers of the world. It is the bulwark, the fortress of the hopes and achievements of the international proletariat. The workers of the world must unite in a solid international front to fight against the imperialist war plans, to protect the peaceful Socialist growth of the U.S.S.R., to defend the Workers Re-

cord. With the coming of war, it becomes our sacred duty to strive with all our might for the defeat of American imperialism and for the victory of the Russian workers and peasants and for the final victory of American and world capitalism.

The United States remains the one big capitalist power that has not yet entered into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union; yet, at the same time, the sentiment in favor of the Soviet Union continues to grow, led by the growing among the proletariat and farmer masses and even among large sec-
tions of the petty bourgeoisie. This makes it a matter of the first order, shoulder to shoulder with this country to crystallize the sentiment for the recognition of the Soviet Union, to mobilize the masses for it and to link it up politically with the growing anti-fascist movement.

The Five Year Plan was first put forward by Comrade Rykov in his famous speech at the Comintern in the close of 1927. Since then every Plenum and every Conference of the C.P.R.U. has endorsed it unanimously. Whatever differ-
ences there may have occurred were only over the methods of the application of the industrialisation program and not over the Five Year Plan as such.

First, the Five Year Plan was declared to be the attainment and the surpassing of the "economic level of the advanced capitalist countries in the approaching his-
torical period, thus assuring the triumph of the Socialist econ-
omic system." This aim has been attacked in earnest and the economic progress of the U.S.S.R. in the last two years under the Five Year Plan has amazed the bourgeois world and has inspired the proletarian masses. Last year industrial produc-
tion rose to 24%; this year the rate of increase promises to be 31%. By 1933 83.9% of all production will be socialized; in industrial production the level of socialization will reach 54%-

Already in his report to the XV Congress Comrade Rykov pointed out that the Five Year Plan is connected with the overcoming of numerous obstacles and diffi-
culties." In this he was merely repeating the profound thought of Comrade Lenin:

"I must repeat here what I have said many times; it was easier for the Russians than for any of the advanced na-
tions to begin the great proletarian revolution, but they will experience greater difficulties in continuing it, in bringing it to a complete victory, i.e., in organizing Socialist society!"

But these difficulties of the Soviet Union are only the pains of birth, the difficulties of the construction of the highest social order the world has ever seen, in a country that still bears the marks of Caesarian, capitalism, war, civil war and inv-
vasion. The present must be overcome.

And the future will be the ultimate efforts and resources of the Russian proletariat and peasant masses, supported by the toilers of the whole world!

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FOUNDATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE
(Continued on Page 12)