

Alarm Signal! Danger Draws Closer in U.S.S.R.

By LEONTROTSKY

One would be a coward or purblind to minimize the extent of the danger—castastrophe looms over the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the ruling party of the first proletarian state. It can be prevented only by the self-sacrificing struggle of the advanced workers.

The situation is so pregnant with danger that to confine oneself to phrases and hints would mean to participate in the activities of the ruling faction that is sapping the October Revolution. Under the Stalinist regime, the class enemies are better informed of all that takes place or is about to be undertaken, than the working class. The possible attempts on the part of counter-revolutionists to make use of our outspoken criticism do not present one one-hundredth part of that danger which is borne by the malignant misinformation spread by the bureaucracy and by the enforced silence of the proletarian vanguard.

In a broad historical sense, the situation of the Soviet Union cannot be so hopeless as is the situation of world Capitalism which finds itself up against an absolute impasse. This general historical perspective not only completely justifies the October Revolution, insofar as it requires justification, but it also dooms beforehand an utterly reactionary all programs of the petty bourgeois democracy (Mensheviks, Social-Revolutionists, etc., etc.), which inevitably reduce themselves to the restoration of "democratic" capitalism. Even in the event of the victory of the counter-revolution, the Soviet hydra will grow a new head in place of each one that is chopped off. But this does not at all mean that one may with an easy conscience, permit the Stalinist bureaucracy to bring ruin upon the present, living Soviet regime. In the given case, the historical reckoning is a reckoning in terms of decades. Ultimately, the downfall of the Soviet State would express itself only as an historical episode. But should this happen, it would be one of the most horrible episodes in universal history. Our sole task lies in preventing it. Meanwhile the danger approaches closer and closer. Sound the alarm! We must sound the alarm!

BUREAUCRATIC SABOTAGE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION UNDER THE GUISE OF IN- FALLIBLE LEADERSHIP

By dint of unbelievable exertions on the part of the toilers, at the cost of innumerable privations and sacrifices there have been created grandiose technical values, there have been gained extraordinary productive victories. The October revolution has demonstrated to mankind the potentialities inherent in Socialism, by speaking in terms of steel, cement and kilowatts of electrical energy. But during this same period, the bureaucratic leadership, which is incapable of foreseeing and intolerant of criticism, which has been blinded by the mirage of socialism in one country, has brought national economy to the brink of absolute chaos. Industrial conquests and technical achievements are devoured by disproportions and gaps. No one so much as bothers to consult the opinion of workers and peasants upon the most fundamental question in the life of the nation—how much should be used, and how much put away for the future. The bureaucracy takes stock at a glance and proceeds to act, rejecting the objective criteria of achievements, recognizing no laws other than the laws it willfully wills, supplanting plans with commands and balance-sheets with coercion. The task that is most complex, the task that not only was never before solved but never even undertaken—to achieve by means of planned forecasting and regulation the mutual congruity between the branches of a growing economy of an enormous country; this task which by its very nature is insoluble without the daily experience of millions, without their critical checking over their own collective experience, without their openly expressing their needs and demands—this gigantic, all-embracing, nation-wide historical task is solved within official sanctums, in the secretariat of the OGC, all depending upon how the spirit moves it, and upon what this or the other spetz buzzes. What could be more monstrous?

Even if the Politbureau consisted of seven universal geniuses, of seven Marxes, or seven Lenins, it would have still been incapable all

on its own, with all its creative imagination, to command over the economy of 170 million souls. But that is precisely the gist of the matter, the Politbureau of Marxes or Lenins would have never even posed itself such a task. And on the other hand, the present Politbureau consists of second-rate bureaucrats who are drunk with the power they have wrested from the party, who have lost the ground from under their feet and who are most of all concerned with preserving their inflated personal prestige.

Is it so long since that these homunculi repeated their badly thought out formula of the alliance between workers and peasants, as the foundation of foundations? How long ago is it that they worshipped the middle peasant? How long ago did they ignore the very existence of the kulak? How many ages is it since they rejected the program of planned industrialization in the name of, presumably, preserving the "link" between the city and the village? Frightened by the consequences of their own

negligence, they threw themselves into the extremes of 100 percent collectivization. Twenty-five million of isolated peasant egos, who only the day before represented the motive power of rural economy—greedy, feeble as the moujik's nag, but prime movers nevertheless—these millions the bureaucracy attempted to supplant at a single blow by the administrative will of 200,000 Kolkhozi (collective farms) directorates which were without the necessary equipment, the necessary training, and which lacked the necessary support of the peasantry itself.

The excessive shift in the apportionment of national income—from the village to the city, from light industry to the heavy industry; the ominous disproportions within industry, light as well as heavy—has excessively lowered the efficient functioning of labor power and capital expenditures. The economic link (smychka) between the state industry and the peasantry turned out to have been broken prior to its having been achieved. The chervonmetz in the pocket of a

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HAS RAKOVSKY BEEN ASSASSINATED?

A March 16 Associated Press dispatch from Istanbul, Turkey, reports:

"Information from several sources has been received by Leon Trotsky, living in exile on Prinkipo Island, that Christian Rakovsky, former Soviet Ambassador to Paris and former President of the Ukraine Republic, has been returned to Moscow from exile and put to death."

A feeling of the deepest horror will grip the heart of every working class militant at the mere reading of this report. We know that Stalin, rude and disloyal, personally vengeful, has not hesitated in the past to send to their deaths such sterling revolutionaries as Heinrichsen, Butov, Silov, Rabinovitch, Blumkin, Zinzane and other Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union. We know that he has not hesitated to send to prison and to distant exile the flower of the old Bolshevik leadership, men and women with decades of revolutionary struggle behind them.

Has he now dared to assassinate Christian G. Rakovsky, the great champion of the revolutionary proletariat? Has he now dared to put to death, with a coward's blow in the dark of the

night, the noble internationalist whose two generations of militant Marxism constitutes a stainless record difficult to match in modern times? Has the man who proudly gained the enmity of every Balkan tyrant, who founded the Third International, who was first chief of the Ukrainian Soviets, who was driven from Paris by the French bourgeoisie, who was later driven from the party by the Thermidorian reaction—has he finally been deprived of life itself by the bureaucratic apparatus?

We demand an answer from the responsible head of the Russian party:

WHERE IS CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY?

HAS HE BEEN EXECUTED?

The revolutionary proletariat will hold to responsibility and a final accounting those who have dared lay murderous hands on the man whose life and struggles, whose unyielding intemperance, whose serene firmness under the hammer blows of reaction have been and remain an inexhaustible source of inspiration to every proletarian revolutionist!

Therefore, an open answer: WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY?

Stalinists Discredited at Mooney United Front Conference In N.Y.

The New York United Front Mooney Conference was no ordinary demonstration of the strength and weakness of the Stalinist machine. As it turned out the conference got out of control of the Stalinist steering committee. Bedlam broke loose. A riot was avoided only by summarily adjourning.

The conference, overwhelming Stalinist in its political complexion, was oriented on the party's half-turn on the united front. The contradiction between this political orientation and the attempt on the part of the party steering committee to run it in the well known Stalinist, closed-corporation manner is the key to an understanding of the tense political drama that was fought for eight hours on the floor of the conference.

The conference was opened by the reading of a message from Mooney. Following this Palmer of the Federated Press was elected temporary chairman. A motion to elect a credentials committee was carried and the following were elected: Sultan of the Freiheit; Nessim of the TUUC; Gubernick of the Huntington Branch of the S. P.; Mac Christian of the NWIU; Riner of the Brotherhood of Painters, Local 445; Penn of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; and Berman of the Left Opposition who was a regularly elected delegate from a Workmen's Circle Branch. Berman's election caused the party members no end of confusion. Comrade Berman is well known to party members as a member of the L. O. When it came to voting on Berman the party steering committee raise their hands. Half the party members followed suit. But

the other half were confused by the sight of their leaders voting for a counter-revolutionary Trotskyite and did not vote. The 140 votes Berman got were enough.

From this point on the confusion grew apace until the conclusion of this eventful gathering. Louis Scott, Mooney's personal representative made the report. He summarized some of the outstanding points in the legal aspect of the case. His perspective for the future of the fight was essentially a legal one. He laid down the tasks of the movement as follows: united front mass meetings and demonstrations; a delegation to Roph to demand the immediate and unconditional release of Mooney; a delegation to Roosevelt to get him to intercede with Roph for Mooney; a congressional investigation; and if all these measures fail, a general strike. The emphasis he gave the legal fight gave the impression that he regarded the mass movement as a somewhat helpful auxiliary; an ace-in-the-hole to be sprung on the capitalists if all else fails.

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A Notice To Our Readers

Just as the Militant was going to press, we received the highly important article of comrade Trotsky printed herewith. Coming at a time when events move with extraordinary speed and sharpness, the article bears all the greater significance. So much so that we have been forced at the last moment to eliminate a number of reports and comments on pressing local and national class struggle issues. These latter, as well as the rest of the article by comrade Trotsky will appear in the next issue of the Militant.

Cafeteria Strike On in N. Y.

Never before have the working conditions in the food industry been so bad as at the present time. The bosses, having taken advantage of the unemployment situation and the absence of a powerful workers' organization, have reduced the already miserable conditions to a point of slavery. Wages have been reduced to a starvation level, the working time lengthened to 14 and 15 hours a day.

The Politz-Fischer Cafeteria Company after having reduced the wages of their employees to the lowest possible level, on top of it, forces them to buy shares in the company, with a threat of losing their jobs. Under these conditions and with the persistent propaganda of the FWIU the workers realized the necessity of an organization as the only weapon against the attacks of the bosses.

As a first step they organized their shop committees. Through their stool-pigeons the bosses were able to find out who were in these committees, and with hypocritical excuses began firing them one at a time. The union immediately staged a demonstration in front of the company offices demanding the reinstatement of the disgraced workers. Although the company promised to comply with the demands of the union, a few days later they fired more bakers who were members of the union. Under these conditions a strike on the part of the union was not only inevitable but a necessity. The strikers and the organization are

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Two Framed Up by Peabody Coal Co.

Springfield, Ill.

Dewitt C. Webb, one of the outstanding leaders of the Bonus Army while in Washington, captain of the Bonus Army at Camp Neal in Springfield and honorary member of the Progressive Miners of America and his co-worker, John Wang, have been framed-up and railroaded to Vandalla State Prison for one year and eight months respectively and fined 300 dollars. The framed-up charges against them was that they carried concealed weapons while on the picket lines against the Peabody Coal Co. But the evidence in the case showed conclusively and without the shadow of a doubt that neither Webb nor Wang has any kind of weapon while on the picket lines. The evidence showed that Webb was beaten up by the State Highway police and then arrested and after that taken to jail and framed in the Sangamon County Jail. The evidence further showed that Chief Moody, of the State Highway Police and his Cossacks on the morning that Webb was beaten up had been told to "get" Webb and to "bring him in." Within a few minutes after a decision was rendered against Webb and Wang, they were rushed on to Vandalla State Prison.

Why all the haste? And what is the real reason for the framing-up and railroad of Webb and Wang to prison? Because the Progressive Miners of America is

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Crisis In Germany Manifesto of the Left Opposition

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
C. P. U. S. A.
TO ALL COMMUNIST WORKERS!

The onslaught of Fascism is sweeping over the German working class with breath-taking swiftness. The heavy blows already struck have served to raise the necessity of united front action as the immediate life-and-death question of the German proletariat. The cry for the united front is resounding from the ranks at a high pitch, spurred on by the whip of events.

Under this pressure from the proletarian mass, both the yellow social democracy as well as the Centrist Stalinist bureaucracy have been forced to give an immediate answer to the question of the practical formation of the united front. It is in this above all which accounts for the reported united front negotiations between the Second and the Third Internationals. It is in this light that the Left Opposition greets the reported negotiations as the incident fulfillment of a demand that the Bolshevik-Leninists have been fighting for from the beginning of the Fascist danger—as a confirmation of the correctness of its revolutionary forecast. If the reports are true, a desperately necessary step has been taken, if they are not true, a criminal and unforgivable hoax has been perpetrated on the whole international working class!

The Left Opposition has been fighting for the application of the Leninist united front tactic, for the establishment of the proletarian united front as the gateway to the revolutionary struggle against Hitlerism, to the working class solution of the German crisis, to the extension of the World October.

The Left Opposition says to the Communist workers: If the necessary turn of the Communist international in the united front policy is really to be carried out, if it is to be carried out in the revolutionary sense, the negotiations between the revolutionary and the reformist Internationals must be brought out into the broad daylight! No compromises behind the scenes but united struggle agreements concluded before the eyes of the Communist and social democratic workers! No covering up of mistakes, no silence on the past, but candid and frank explanations are necessary: Why the new turn, how is it to be carried out, on what basis?

To leave the confusion of "social Fascism", of the "united front from below" unexplained, to fail to bring clarity on these questions—that is the way to make the turn an empty, worthless maneuver, that is the way to undermine the progress which is essential. That

must not be. Clarity, above all else, is the need of the moment.

The Left Opposition, in America as well as elsewhere, has been in the forefront of the struggle against German Fascism because this struggle is the central task of proletarian internationalism, of the revolutionary working class in the present period. As the international vanguard of the working class, the Left Opposition has pointed out tirelessly that the fate of Germany—the weakest link in the chain of a decaying capitalism gripped by its deepest and most widespread crisis—concentrates within itself the fate of Europe, of the world. We have pointed out that there the solution will be given for years to come—on the road to the international extension of the October revolution or on the road to the triumph of world reaction and mortal danger to the existence of the Soviet Union.

A capitalist Germany—under Fascist rule—cannot exist without imperialist aggression against the USSR. A socialist Germany can only exist as a unit with the USSR in its extension to the Soviet United States of Europe. That is what the question of Fascism

or Communism means to the international working class.

Precious time has already been lost. Many unnecessary sacrifices have already been made. The Fascist consolidation in Germany has been going on apace. But the decisive battle has not yet been fought. The test of forces between the ranks of the united proletariat and the motley hordes of Hitler's Brown shirts has not yet come out into the open.

The united front of the proletariat is on the order of the day for practical arrangements. The treacherous half-way and half-hearted measures of the social democracy will stand exposed in their nakedness once the proletarian united front is established. The open struggle between Fascism and working class can only be a struggle to annihilation, to the bitter end. In such a struggle the masses of social democratic workers will surge far over the heads of their treacherous leaders. Their will to life, to power will merge with that of the proletarian vanguard, the ranks of Communism. The Fascist camp and the camp

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An Open Letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party

To the Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of the U. S. A. Comrades:

Events in Germany are moving with break-neck speed. There is very little time left. The German proletariat, facing the bloody avalanche of Fascism, stands in desperate need of international aid. In the first place, it needs the aid of the Communist international in guiding it to a correct policy. A tremendous responsibility rests on the Comintern in this fateful hour. As a section of the Comintern, the American party bears a full share of this great historic responsibility. The Left Opposition, which is a faction of the party and the Comintern, turns to you now once more with concrete proposals for a line of action which in our opinion must be followed without delay.

Our proposals are the following:

1. That the American party openly demand of the Comintern and the German C. P. that they adopt completely and unambiguously and carry out in practice the policy of the united front.
2. That the American Party demand the convening of the 7th

congress of the Comintern immediately, with the participation of the International Left Opposition, and that Trotsky and Rakovsky be especially summoned to Moscow to take part in the Congress.

3. That the German question be put as the most important question before the party, that systematic discussion on it be organized in every unit of the party from top to bottom, and that it be the first point on the agenda of the forthcoming party convention.

4. That the Left Opposition be readmitted to the party on the basis of party democracy; that the American C. P. support in the Comintern the readmission of the Left Opposition on an international scale, and the release and return of the imprisoned Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union.

5. That the party call for a united front conference of all workers organizations, including the socialist party and the A. F. of L., to formulate a concrete program for united front demonstrations in solidarity with the German workers. This action to begin on a national scale, and proceed from that to local actions along the same line.

For several years now, week in and week out, the Left Opposition has been warning of the very things that are happening now in Germany as the consequence of a false policy. It has predicted and its predictions are literally verified. The Left Opposition has pointed out the way and the events have confirmed its prognosis. It is time now to turn the helm. There is very little time left.

We hope you will realize it, and do your part to help the Comintern and the German party to realize it, before it is too late. The way to do this has been outlined above. The Left Opposition for its part stands ready, now as always, to help the party find its way on the path of international duty. Our agitation, our criticism, and our warnings are all directly loyal to this end. And in any actions which will be undertaken, to rouse the American working class and form a united front of international support the members of the Left Opposition with the German proletariat, all will put themselves at the disposal of the party for any service required of them.

With Communist Greetings,
NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)
J. P. CANNON, Secretary.

One thing is certain. American imperialism must liquidate the bulk to win in the international struggle for the dominating position and of its heavy internal debt. If it is to make the Dollar the basic international medium of exchange. The capitalists had to find some form of juggling the contradiction between the gold standard internationally and the need of liquidation of the internal debt nationally. The present move of the bankers is an

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THE PARIS COMMUNE

March-May 1871

Speaker:

Martin Abern

at the International Workers Hall, 126 East 16th St.
FRIDAY, MARCH 17, 1933, at 8 P. M. ADMISSION: 15c

MANHATTAN
MASS MEETING

The ALBANY CONFERENCE

And the Next Step in the Unemployment Movement

Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

Speaker:
JAMES P. CANNON
Delegate of the Left Opposition to
the Albany Conference

IRVING PLAZA
15th Street and Irving Place
SUNDAY, MARCH 19, 1933
ADMISSION 15c

The Soviet Union In Danger

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moujik fell into the same relation to commodities as a lottery ticket stands in relation to the prize. The new form of the link, which is so important in the perspectives of transforming the village, namely the productive link, which is realized by tractors and farming machinery, lost at once all its force of attraction in the eyes of the peasant, insofar as its actual fruits remain unrealized by him. Fifteen million peasant farms have been collectivized, and ten million private enterprises have been consciously placed under such conditions as not to permit the exposure of the superiority of barbaric small-scale economy over the purely bureaucratic collectivization. Thus by means of combined resources the bureaucracy succeeded in weakening if not in killing all stimulus for work within the peasantry. The harvest of crops, even previously extremely low, began to drop ominously. From quarter to quarter the supply of industry with raw materials and of cities with food-stuffs worsens catastrophically. The onerous conditions under which the workers live generate the turnover of labor within enterprises as well as lapses, careless work, damaging of machinery, high percentage of damaged products, and low quality in grade of production. The entire planned economy falls under the blow.

MONEY INFLATION

The bureaucracy has rid itself not only of political control on the part of the masses but also of the automatic control on the part of the chervonets. All the draft figures pertaining to the economic budget, to the quality of production, to basic costs and the productivity of labor—all these have been swirled away like so much dust when the inflation completely liquidated the stable unit of value. Bureaucratic supervision tried its hand in this case as well to supplant economic reality; the gospel of "Stalin's six conditions" was designated from then on to fulfill the function of a stable system of currency. This amounts to the same thing as feeding excerpts from a cook-book in place of proper food.

Money inflation means an ever increasing tax upon the living standards of the masses. By killing the interest of the worker in piece work wages, by fostering the indignation of the peasant against fixed prices for rural products, inflation sets a frenzied premium upon speculation and the speculation.

He lies who affirms that under socialist construction there would be nothing to fear from inflation. On the contrary, during the first steps of planned economy—and this covers a series of five year plans—inflation becomes especially dangerous, not to say ruinous. That is precisely how a plan checks itself by being compelled to make both ends meet without inflation. To proclaim that the very existence of a plan nullifies the danger of inflation is approximately the same thing as to insist that the presence of a compass on the ship eliminates the danger of an existing leak. Money inflation becomes the source of credit inflation. The gaps within the plan are stuffed with printed paper. Real criteria give way to fictitious criteria. Planned economy is ravaged from within. For the employees of the Planning Commission there should be hung signs within all offices where the contradictory specifications of the Political Bureau are translated into statistics, each sign with the warning: "Inflation is the syphilis of Planned Economy".

WHO WILL PREVAIL?

The costliness of premature rudimentary bureaucratic collective farms alongside of dislocation of the ties between rural economy and industry, leads to the paralysis of the peasants' will to economic activity. In order to partially return to the moujik the economic stimulus he has lost, the Stalinist leadership has legalized within well-known limits, free markets, screening them under the Jesuitical name of kolkhoz trade. The exclusion of traders—middlemen—under the legalization of private trade, signifies a monstrous crazy-quilt of prices in a speculation which is atomized and therefore more insane. The prices on the markets at once rose ten, fifteen and twenty times over the fixed government prices.

Naturally enough, the collectivized farmer sent bread and other products into those channels outside of the state. "This constitutes the negative side of kolkhoz trade," asserts Stalin, without, however, drawing any further conclusions. "Negative sides!" But this very fact—the fact that the collectivized moujik prefers the channels of private trade and speculation to the planned trade with the state—means nothing else but that the

economic link between the state and the peasantry has still not even been attained.

Free trade, by raising to the most excessive heights the column of mercury that gauges prices, has brought out into the open the malignant condition of the economic organism. The struggle against this disease demanded a radical re-examination of economic plans and a no less radical revision of the methods of management. Frightened by the facts recorded by the rise of the mercury, the bureaucracy, however, decided to direct its activities towards the thermometer itself. Molotov proclaimed the impending "regulation" of market prices. According to the signs, the economic centers have already taken to this course. As if it is possible to reduce the temperature of a sick organism by lowering the zero point on the scale of the thermometer! The economy must be cured. One must begin with an open acknowledgment that the question **Who Will Prevail?**, despite the official boasting, remains not only still unsolved even in the rough, but that the very conditions for its solution have excessively worsened as a result of the incessant and uncoordinated bureaucratic coercion of the living tissues of economy.

The piling up of fixed prices, those set conventionally and the prices in the free market; the transition from planned collection of raw material stock that is, the semblance of trade between the government and the peasantry, to grain, meat, and milk taxes; the struggle not for survival but against death itself, against the mass pillage of kolkhoz property, and against the mass concealment of pillage; the out and out military mobilization of the party for a struggle against kulak sabotage, after the "liquidation" of the kulak as a class; and simultaneously with all this: the undernourishment in the cities, the return to the card system and to the rations, and finally, the restoration of the passport system—what do all these measures mean, independently of the fact whether they are correct or no, if not the return of that cruel struggle between the capitalist and the socialist tendencies, which in 1932 revived a number of features of 1918-1919?

The bureaucracy leans harder and harder upon the administrative lever instead of pulling asunder the framework that restricts the personal interests of the peasants in conformance with the real condition of rural economy. It has been decided "to place Communists, who will obey the orders of the ruling center, in charge of the kolkhozi which ideally represent volunteer producing cooperatives. Simultaneously with this, the CEC testifies that the village Communists are becoming soaked with the spirit of peasant opposition and must undergo a mass purification. In the meantime, no less than one and a half million of kolkhoz Communists are required in order to fill the commanding kolkhoz positions by party members. Where will they come from?

To force upon the peasant collective, economic leadership in accordance with party tokens means to undermine not only the kolkhozi but also the authority of the party; it means to substitute a new dose of administrative coercion for the task of economic competition; it means not to go ahead of the Nep but to retrace one's steps back away from it, to "Military Communism", even if on a higher economic plane.

THE BALANCE SHEET OF THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN

The moment at which the first five year plan was concluded coincided with the extreme sharpening of economic difficulties which did not obtain since the period of civil war. But the bureaucracy leads a double life, one for display and the other—in reality. This duality it transfers everywhere, among others, into the sphere of economic statistics.

With a stop-watch in his hands, Stalin insists that if the plan is fulfilled only 93.7, and not 100 percent, it is only because the threat of Japanese intervention, which could not have been foreseen at the time the plan was formulated, had swallowed up 6.3 percent. In other words, the blueprints of the CEC have been confirmed to the dot by the fulfillment of a gigantic plan which constitutes the first experiment of mankind in that sphere, which encompasses from all sides the life of a nation with a 170,000,000 souls and which moreover, was drawn five full years beforehand! If nothing else, this astonishing precision in identity between the design and the realization must arouse the acutest distrust in the entire report on the part of anyone familiar with the A B C fundamentals of the question. It is sufficient to remark that, according to the casual admission of Molotov, the productivity of industry in 1932 grew only 8.5 percent against the 36 percent which was set by the yearly plan! Where has this grandiose lapse disappeared as well as the lapses of preceding years? Stalin can produce falsified figures, consciously misleading workers and peasants. The report is necessarily drawn in rubles. Within this simple implement of the report there is to be found the key to the secret of the astonishing coincidence between the initial and final figures. Thus, the tremendous over-expenditures in construction are set down as over-fulfillments of the plan, when as a matter of fact, the material results of the construction, despite the billions of over-expenditure, lag behind the plan several times ten per cent.

We are least of all inclined to look upon the fulfillment of the economic plan as a hit and miss affair and would have considered the fulfillment of the five year plan within six, seven or eight years a grandiose success, under the condition that, simultaneously, the proportions were mitigated and the standard of living of the masses was raised. But it is precisely upon these more important criteria that we have the most unfavorable evidence.

The composers of a plan proclaimed in their own time their task, "to lift up the country to a new and hitherto unseen, high level of material and cultural development". Even during the first two years the mitigation of the famine in commodities was to have been attained; the next two years were to have initiated the superabundance of goods. In the fifth year, the consumption of industrial products, should have increased, according to various categories, one and a half, two, and two and a half times. The increase in meat consumption was specified at 25 percent, in dairy products—50 percent, etc., etc. In actuality, the shortage in commodities has become unbearably acute, the supply of bread has sharply decreased, meat and dairy products have become rarities. But in return for this, there has been created the theory that socialism is not a consumers' organization of society. The consolation bears too close a resemblance to mockery! In the midst of newly erected fac-

terminal end of this problem they have been forced off the gold standard, even though they deny it as Japan denies it has a war on China. This enabled England to take a blow of the American imperialists that was very effective for the Pound. But the war-time powers which followed, the embargo on gold and the return of gold to the central banks and the process of consolidations—all this is enabling America to prepare a stronger internal base—not only for further onslaughts against the American workers but also against the other imperialists, especially England and France.

—RUGO OBHLEB.

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With a stop-watch in his hands, Stalin insists that if the plan is fulfilled only 93.7, and not 100 percent, it is only because the threat of Japanese intervention, which could not have been foreseen at the time the plan was formulated, had swallowed up 6.3 percent. In other words, the blueprints of the CEC have been confirmed to the dot by the fulfillment of a gigantic plan which constitutes the first experiment of mankind in that sphere, which encompasses from all sides the life of a nation with a 170,000,000 souls and which moreover, was drawn five full years beforehand! If nothing else, this astonishing precision in identity between the design and the realization must arouse the acutest distrust in the entire report on the part of anyone familiar with the A B C fundamentals of the question. It is sufficient to remark that, according to the casual admission of Molotov, the productivity of industry in 1932 grew only 8.5 percent against the 36 percent which was set by the yearly plan! Where has this grandiose lapse disappeared as well as the lapses of preceding years? Stalin can produce falsified figures, consciously misleading workers and peasants. The report is necessarily drawn in rubles. Within this simple implement of the report there is to be found the key to the secret of the astonishing coincidence between the initial and final figures. Thus, the tremendous over-expenditures in construction are set down as over-fulfillments of the plan, when as a matter of fact, the material results of the construction, despite the billions of over-expenditure, lag behind the plan several times ten per cent.

We are least of all inclined to look upon the fulfillment of the economic plan as a hit and miss affair and would have considered the fulfillment of the five year plan within six, seven or eight years a grandiose success, under the condition that, simultaneously, the proportions were mitigated and the standard of living of the masses was raised. But it is precisely upon these more important criteria that we have the most unfavorable evidence.

The composers of a plan proclaimed in their own time their task, "to lift up the country to a new and hitherto unseen, high level of material and cultural development". Even during the first two years the mitigation of the famine in commodities was to have been attained; the next two years were to have initiated the superabundance of goods. In the fifth year, the consumption of industrial products, should have increased, according to various categories, one and a half, two, and two and a half times. The increase in meat consumption was specified at 25 percent, in dairy products—50 percent, etc., etc. In actuality, the shortage in commodities has become unbearably acute, the supply of bread has sharply decreased, meat and dairy products have become rarities. But in return for this, there has been created the theory that socialism is not a consumers' organization of society. The consolation bears too close a resemblance to mockery! In the midst of newly erected fac-

* We shall consider in detail the question about the balance sheet of the first five year plan in a book on Soviet economy that is now in preparation.

Manifesto of the Left Opposition

(Continued from Page 1)

of world imperialism is well aware of what such a struggle will mean. It is their intention to transform this struggle into a crushing defeat of the national working class and into a war of destruction against the USSR. All the great-er therefore the task of the Communists, all the more important then the re-arming of the Communist International. Against the forces of Hitler and his imperialist backers must be rallied the international working class and its fatherland, the USSR. Against the Brown Shirt agents of world imperialism—the Red Army, the arm of the international working class, must be prepared to act!

Tremendous tasks are facing the international working class and its vanguard, the Communist International. These tasks can only be solved by the reestablishment within the ranks of world Communism, of the principles and the spirit of Marxist internationalism, by the

uprooting of the harmful and dangerous Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country", by the displacement of Stalinist national-Bolshevism. Only the re-arming of the party of the proletariat, only the displacement of national-Bolshevism by tried and tested Leninist internationalism, only the substitution of the Marxian perspective of the Permanent Revolution for the petty bourgeois utopia of "socialism in one country" can save the international working class from new defeats, free it from the possibility of new betrayals of the order of 1914, and guarantee the adequate defense of the USSR, the October revolution and its extension to the Soviet United States of Europe.

No time must be lost. The struggle must be organized. The Communist workers must be mobilized. The Communist workers must be armed to meet the imposing international tasks facing the working class.

Communist workers! Demand the calling of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International with the participation of the International Left Opposition!

Party members! Demand that the leaders of the Red October, that Trotsky, Rakovsky and their comrades be immediately restored to their posts of struggle.

Demand the readmission into the party of the Left Opposition!

Forward to mass international solidarity with the German working class!

Forward to the revolutionary defense of the USSR!

Down with the black regime of Hitlerism!

Long live the victory of the German and international working class!

—NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

ties' plants, mines, electric stations, collective and Soviet farms, the workers and peasants begin to feel more and more as if they are in the midst of gigantic phantoms, indifferent to the fate of living men. An acute feeling of disillusionment has possessed the masses. The populace, as consumers, can no longer understand to what end they are straining their forces as producers.

Had Stalin openly confessed, "the results obtained did not match our expectations because we had neglected much, over-estimated a great deal, and failed to fulfill a great deal more,"—then the toiling masses, of course, would not have fallen into ecstasy about the leadership; but the results have taken the confession into account; and, in all probability, would have extended the leaders an additional respite. But Stalin said the plan was marvelous, the leadership holds the heights, the design has been fulfilled to the slightest detail. In that case, what about the lamentable results? Stalin is imposing upon the masses the idea that it is not he, Stalin, who is rotten, but the very elements of the plan. The bureaucracy identifies its own blindness with socialism and, while saving the reputation of its own infallibility, vilifies socialism in the eyes of the workers and especially the peasants. It creates, it is a separate fund seriously striving to force the masses to find a way out other than socialism.

Continued in the next issue

Move to Unite Rail Unions In M'p'lis

Minneapolis.—On October 23rd, 1932, at a Union Meeting of the 21 Railroad Unions, the "Minneapolis Railroad Council" was organized. The aim and object of this Council, and Railroad Council in general, is to provide a medium whereby the railroad workers, now divided into 21 separate unions, may have an opportunity to meet together at each terminal occasionally to discuss and take action on any question in which they are all interested.

Since the Union Meeting, which gave it birth, the Minneapolis Railroad Council has held a number of council meetings at which new members were added from different local unions of the Brotherhoods. A letterhead and program has been drafted, discussed and printed. The program contains a brief outline of the Minneapolis Railroad Council and the aims and purposes of railroad councils in general together with nine proposals covering amalgamation, organization and other needed changes inside of the Railroad Brotherhoods. The program also proposes organized and united action for the six hour day without any reduction in pay as a counter-proposition to unemployment and wage cuts which flow automatically from the profit system and a growing productivity of labor. The Council program is being well received by railroad workers wherever it reaches them and although it is less than two months old it has already been read in a limited way from coast to coast. When the R. R. Council idea permeates the minds of the organized railroad workers we think it will become a National Movement inside of the Railroad Brotherhoods which will promote healthy and much needed changes and developments towards amalgamation and organization of transportation workers in general.

On Sunday, February 26th, the Minneapolis Railroad Council held its first Union Meeting of the 21 Railroad Brotherhoods on the following program with reference to the next wage move which is expected to shape itself shortly after June 15th, the expiration date agreed upon at the wage confab of December last. The question proposed for discussion and action was divided in two parts, as follows:

(a) "What position shall we take, and what should be our policy and procedure?"

(b) "Should the 21 Brotherhoods vote and act as a UNIT, or should each organization vote and act separately, and make separate settlement and agreements?"

Handbills advertising the meeting and the program were printed and circulated. Through its chairman, A. F. Whitney, the Railway Labor Executives Association was asked by letter, signed by five members from four different organizations, to furnish the meeting with the spokesman of the questions involved. Another letter, signed by three members from three of the Brotherhoods, was sent to about 20 General Chairmen located in the Twin Cities urging their attendance at the meeting to help the membership to decide on the best program and policy to pursue in the expected wage move after June 15th. No Grand Lodge Officer showed up at the meeting and their Chairman Whitney did not even reply to the letter sent him. No reply was received from any of the General Chairmen and only one of them attended the meeting.

He said he was for unity and amalgamation without telling the audience what he had done to promote those things.

100 members from 38 Lodges and 12 of the railroad unions attended this Union Meeting. The composition of the meeting was determined by register. The seven shop crafts had only 8 members at the meeting on account of the fact that most of the are still in the Company Unions where they have been left practically unmolested for over ten years by B. M. Jewel and the rest of the official drowns. The

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In response to our appeal for funds for paper for "The Only Road" comrade B. J. Field made us a loan of \$35 for this purpose. Work on the book is moving forward again. In a week it will be on the press. It will be a hundred page pamphlet and will sell for a quarter. All comrades are asked to help us rush the book to completion by ordering it now. Enclose five cents extra for postage.

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With comrade Field's loan the total raised in loans is \$129.50. Of this \$3 has already been paid back as it came due. The balance will be paid as it comes due.

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Once more we appeal to all our comrades and friends to lend us a helping hand. This is invaluable work we are doing. The literature we put out are the texts by which the cadres of the revolutionary movement will be educated. The work must be speeded up and its extent increased. Help it along with donations and loans—donations first and loans second.

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The Hitler Press & "Moscow"

The government press in Germany offers quite a picture of the strategy of the Fascist coalition after its rapid consolidations. Differences within the coalition itself are carefully suppressed and covered up; the working class must be made to feel that its counter-revolutionary opponents as a solid mass. Every rumor or report of the establishment of the proletarian United Front is quickly squashed and discredited. A consistent attack is made above all on the workers faith in proletarian internationalism. These are the lines along which the counter-revolution is exerting every effort to scatter, to demoralize, to pulverize the as yet passive hosts of the German working class.

One outstanding example: While in the past this rightist press has always been painfully engaged in "proving" the "hand of Moscow" in the most phantastic plots against the German nation, this same press, thundering against Marxism, calling for the ruthless extermination of the Communist party (utilizing such obvious frame-ups as the Reichstag fire) has the following to say about "Moscow" today:

IS RUSSIA NO LONGER INTERESTED IN THE C. P. G.?

"Moscow, Feb. 1.—The appointment of Adolf Hitler as Reich Chancellor was received quietly in the Russian official circles. There are reassuring explanations that Hitler does not represent any danger for the German-Russian trade relations. Insofar as the measures of the Hitler Cabinet against the C. P. G. are concerned, the official circles appear to be quite disinterested. The Soviet government is said to have only an academic interest in whatever happens to the Communists outside of Russia. That is the affair of the III Inter-

national, which has nothing to do with the government." (Der Tag, Feb. 2, 1933.)

Innumerable such samples could be cited. Their primary aim is of course to cast despair and discouragement into the ranks of the workers, to cut them off from that tower of strength, from the USSR—the fortress of the world October. And it must be said openly: By its silence, by its criminal abstention from official pronouncement, the Stalinist leadership is helping along this cunning game of the German counter-revolution. If the Stalinist leaders were in the slightest degree true to the internationalist colors of Communism, the purpose of the Fascists and their allies would quickly come to naught, the German working class would rapidly be awakened from its lethargy and impotence and Germany would soon present a different scene. The betrayal of proletarian internationalism which began with the establishment of the theory of "socialism in one country" is being posed in a sharp and concrete manner in Germany. Shall the German reactionaries be allowed to bank on this betrayal in their campaign of annihilation against the organized working class? Shall they thus be permitted to make the most adequate preparations in the longed for assault on the U. S. S. R.? Or will the Communist workers wake up and demand that the Communist International, that its Stalinist leadership speak up and give the counter-revolutionary strategists of Der Tag the answer of the Leninist Comintern? Let the Communist workers themselves sound the alarm. Let them put the Stalinist leadership to the test in the crucible of the tremendous events in Germany. —S. G.

The Left Opposition at Albany

The Conference was called by a Provisional Committee initiated by the official Party. It was hoped through the "united front" call to have as broad a representation of labor organizations as could be mustered within the "from below" policy of the initiators. The result was that the conference was confined to Party members and Opposition groups. Some of the more conscious Party members asked themselves, "How is it that 1933 finds the American proletariat still passive? When in 1927-28 the official policy was oriented around the mythical 'revolutionary upsurge of the American masses'?"

The Left Opposition participated wholeheartedly to state the Conference toward a genuine united front policy. Comrade Cannon, secretary of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition) delegation, minced no words in his address to the convention. He told the delegates that if they intended to put into action the purpose for which they were assembled, it was necessary to abandon the false and sterile "the united front from below." He drew a sharp line from the adventurist agitational slogan for a "general strike" proposed by Clarence Hathaway, member of the Provisional Committee and District Organizer for the C. P. At the conclusion of his remarks comrade Cannon received a round of applause, which testified that his speech had not fallen on deaf ears.

The steering committee pretended an approach at genuineness. They selected a member of the Left Opposition for the "Bills Committee", and at the same time to which committee he would be least effective on. It must be mentioned that the steering committee guaranteed their line a majority on

all committees.

The Communist League delegate on the Bills Committee objected to the seven-hour day drawn up for approval. Presenting to the committee the necessity and concrete reality of the six-hour day, five-day week without reduction in pay. During the discussion "the theoreticians" Overgaard and Alexander were called in; sustaining the seven-hour day as formulated by the majority of the committee. However while not allowing a minority report on this bill, the chairman agreed to mention the objection, whom raised by, and the organization he represented. This of course would have the same effect as a red flag to a bull. It however offered an opportunity to the Left Opposition to present its point of view on this important question. Concluding his remarks the delegate of the Opposition requested the conference to send the Bills Committee back into session and to come in with the proposals of the organization he represented—the six-hour day, five-day week without reductions in pay. Alexander, again took the floor for the seven-hour day, which was carried by the conference.

An important feature was the fraternizing spirit prevailing throughout the conference. Or as a ten percent bureaucrat mentioned, "You fellows ought not have any kick against workers' democracy. You're getting plenty of it here. We replied that it was no accident that the bombshells from the arsenal of the Left Opposition had thrown the bureaucrats into such a frenzy that in actuality they don't know what to do.

We marched on the capitol to present the bills we had drawn up but Lehman was too busy with the bankers to see labor delegates, so that all discussions over the insertion of a "whereas" or another "adjective" in this clause, all came to naught. This conveys to the Left Opposition at any rate that legalistic phraseology of "whereas" and "be it now resolved" will remain ineffective mediums to seek concessions from the Lehman and the Roosevelts. That the burning question is to the masses, and with the masses we will compel Roosevelt and Lehman to listen to us. The first prerequisite for this is the tactic of the genuine united front from top to bottom as proposed internationally by the Left Opposition.

—JACK CARMODY.

know of his incessant activities in building the Progressive Miners of America. They are proud to say of him that he has earned the most vicious hatred of the Lewis-Peabody machine.

Webb and Wang must not be left to rot away behind prison bars! Efforts are being made to appeal the Webb-Wang case to a higher court. Progressive Miners and other workers everywhere must demand the immediate release of Webb and Wang!

—J. ANGELO.

2 Illinois Miners Framed

(Continued from Page 1)

proving its resistance, refusing to remain in slavery, or to suffer violence and tyranny by the Peabody-Lewis machine in silence. Because just a few days ago the miners of Springfield poured into the streets and succeeded in closing the four Peabody mines and driving many scabs out of town. All this was a terrific blow against the Peabody-Lewis machine. And so, Al Greening, State Attorney of Sangamon County, acting as the bloodhound for the Peabody-Lewis machine is feverishly attempting to smash the Progressive Miners of America by railroadroading the militant leaders to prison.

State Attorney Greening stamped Capt. Webb as "Public Enemy No. 1 of Sangamon County" weeks before Webb came to trial. Who is Capt. Webb? He was one of that large army of youth that answered Woodrow Wilson's hollow call to save democracy. Since coming back from France he has found out through experience that the democracy he fought for was owned body and soul by Morgan bankers. He went to Washington with the Bonus Marchers and after being driven away from there by the "heroes of 1932" he came to Springfield and established Camp Neal, where a large group of world-war veterans have built themselves hovels from any thing they could pick up here and there.

From the very inception of the struggle against the Lewis-Walker machine, Capt. Webb and his group of veterans cast their lot with the Progressive Miners of America and wherever the fight was thickest, in Taylorville, West Frankfort or Springfield, the miners could always find Capt. Webb and his men in the front ranks. Because of Webb's organizing ability, and his militant speeches to the miners and because he fought courageously and spiritedly to build the Progressive Miners of America—that

Bankers Consolidate Control

(Continued from Page 1)

attempt to reconcile this ever-present contradiction.

With this, goes the problem of attempts to drive in an indirect wage cut by inflation and rising commodity prices. The liquidation of the internal debt helps certain sections of the other exploiters besides the imperialists who are in the final analysis responsible for the tightening up of the American productive force to enable them to compete more effectively on the world market and reduced costs at home, and to squeeze out the excess baggage of the lesser exploiters and "debt" upon the American industrial structure.

While they are busy with the in-

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The Three Sources and Three Constituent Parts of Marxism

By V. I. LENIN (On the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Death of
(KARL MARX March 14, 1883-March 14, 1933))

Throughout the whole civilized world Marxist teachings draw upon themselves the extreme hostility and hatred of all bourgeois science (both governmental and liberal). It sees in Marxism something in the nature of a harmful "sect". No other attitude could be expected, for an impartial social science is impossible in a society founded on class struggle. In one way or another every governmental and liberal science defends wage slavery, and Marxism has declared ruthless war against this slavery. To expect impartial science in a wage-slave society is rather stupidly naïve—like expecting owners to be impartial on the question whether to raise the workers' wages at the expense of the profits of capital.

But never mind that. The history of philosophy and the history of social science offer abundantly clear proof that Marxism has nothing similar to "sectarianism" in the sense of a shut-in, ossified doctrine standing apart from the main road of development of world civilization. On the contrary, the very genius of Marx lay in the fact that he gave the answer to those questions which the most advanced thought of humanity had already raised. His teachings arose as a direct and immediate continuation of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism.

The teaching of Marx is all-powerful because it is true. It is complete and symmetrical, offering an integrated view of the world, irreconcilable with any superstition, with any reactionism, or with any defense of bourgeois oppression. It is the legitimate inheritor of the best that humanity created in the 19th century in the form of German philosophy, English political economy French socialism.

Let us dwell briefly upon these three sources and therefore consti-

tuents parts of Marxism. The philosophy of Marxism is materialism. Throughout modern European history, and especially at the end of the 18th century in France, where a decisive battle was fought against all kinds of medieval rubbish, against serfdom in institutions and ideas, materialism proved to be the only consistent philosophy, true to all the teachings of the natural sciences, hostile to superstition, bigotry, etc. The enemies of democracy tried therefore with all their might to "refute", undermine and slander materialism, defending various forms of philosophic idealism, all of which come down one way or another to a defense or support of religion.

Marx and Engels defended philosophic materialism with the utmost determination, and many times explained the profound error of any departure from this foundation. Their views are expounded most clearly and in the greatest detail in the works of Engels, Ludwig Feuerbach and Anti-Duehring, works which, like the Communist Manifesto, are everyday books on the table of the class conscious worker.

But Marx did not rest on the materialism of the 18th century. He made an advance in philosophy. He enriched materialism with the acquisitions of the German classic philosophy, especially the system of Hegel which had led in its turn to the materialism of Feuerbach. The chief of these acquisitions is the dialectic—that is, the understanding of evolution in its fullest, deepest and most universal aspect, the understanding of the relativity of human knowledge, which gives us a reflection of eternally evolving matter. The most recent discoveries of natural science, radium, the electron, the transmutation of elements, have admirably confirmed

the dialectic materialism of Marx—all the teachings of the bourgeois philosophers, with their "new" ways of returning to an old and rotten idealism, to the contrary notwithstanding.

While deepening and developing philosophic materialism, Marx carried it through to the end, extending its mode of understanding nature to the understanding of human society. The historic materialism of Marx is one of the greatest achievements of scientific thought. The caprice and chaos reigning up to that time among opinions about history and politics were here replaced by a strikingly whole and symmetrical and scientific theory, showing how out of one set-up of social life, another higher one develops in consequence of a growth of the productive forces—capitalism for example out of feudalism.

Just exactly as a man's knowledge reflects a nature existing independently of him—matter, that is, in a state of development—so also the social understanding of man (that is, his various views and teachings, philosophical, religious, political, etc.) reflects the economic structure of society. Political institutions are a superstructure resting on an economic foundation. We see, for instance, how the various political forms of the contemporary European states serve as a reinforcement of the rulership of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

The philosophy of Marx is that finished philosophical materialism which has given humanity in general, and the working class in particular, the greatest of all instruments of understanding.

Having seen that the economic structure is the basis upon which

the political superstructure arises, Marx gave most of his attention to the study of this economic structure. His chief work Capital is devoted to a study of the economic structure of contemporary—that is, capitalist-society.

The classic political economy up to Marx's time had been formed in England, the most highly developed capitalist country. Adam and Smith and David Ricardo in their investigation of the economic structure had laid down the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx continued their work. He firmly established and consistently developed this theory. He showed that the value of any commodity is defined by the quantity of socially necessary labor time involved in its production.

Where the bourgeois economist had seen a relation between things (exchange of commodity for commodity) Marx discovered a relation between people. The exchange of goods expresses the connection formed between separate producers by means of the market. Money means that this connection is becoming closer, inseparably uniting in one unit the whole industrial life of the individual producers. Capital implies a further development of this connection. The labor power of man becomes a commodity. The wage worker sells his labor power to the owner of land, factories and the instruments of labor. One part of the working day he spends in order to meet the cost of supporting himself and his family (wages), but another part of the day he spends working for nothing, creating for the capitalist surplus value, the source of profits, the source of the wealth of the class of capitalists.

The doctrine of surplus value is the keystone of the economic theory of Marx.

Capital, created by the labor of the worker, oppresses the worker by undermining the small proprietor and creating an army of the unemployed. In industry the victory of large-scale production is obvious at once, but in agriculture too we see the same phenomenon. The superiority of big capitalist agriculture increases; there is a growing application of machines; the peasant economy falls into the noose of money capital, declines and collapses under the weight of a backward technique. In agriculture the decline of small-scale production takes special forms, but the decline itself is an indubitable fact.

In outstripping small-scale production, capital leads to an increase of the productivity of labor and the creation of monopolies through the union of the biggest capitalists. Production itself becomes more and more social—hundreds, thousands and millions of workers are brought together in a planned, economic, industrial organism—but the product of their general labor is appropriated by a handful of capitalists. Anarchy of production increases, crises multiply, and therewith the mad search for a market and insecurity of existence for the mass of the population.

In enlarging the dependence of the workers upon capital, the capitalist structure creates the mighty power of united labor.

From the first beginnings of commodity economy, from simple barter, Marx followed the development of capitalism to its highest terms, to large-scale production.

And the experience of all capitalist countries, both old and new,

proves clearly every year to a larger and larger number of workers the truth of this doctrine of Marx. Capitalism has conquered throughout the world, but its victory is only an earnest of the victory of labor over capital.

When serfdom was overthrown and the "free" capitalist society saw the light of day, it suddenly became clear that this freedom meant a new system of oppression and exploitation of the toilers. Various socialist doctrines began to emerge as a reflection of this oppression and a protest against it. But this original socialism was a utopian socialism. It criticized the capitalist society, condemned it, cursed it, dreamed of its destruction, drew fanciful pictures of a better structure, and tried to convince the rich of the immortality of exploitation.

But utopian socialism could not show a real way out. It was unable to explain the essence of wage labor under capitalism, to discover the laws of its development, or to find that social force capable of becoming the creator of a new society.

Meanwhile the tumultuous revolutions which accompanied the fall of feudalism, of serfdom—everywhere in Europe but especially in France—were making it more and more manifest that the foundation of the whole development and its motive force was the struggle of classes.

Not one single victory of political liberty over the feudal class was gained without overcoming a desperate resistance. Not one capitalist country has been formed on a more or less free democratic basis without a life-and-death struggle between the different classes of capitalist society.

The genius of Marx lay in the fact that he was able sooner than others to make and consistently carry out the inference to which the whole of world history leads. That

inference is the doctrine of class struggle.

People always have been and they always will be the stupid victims of deceit and self-deception in politics, until they learn behind every kind of moral, religious, political, social phrase, declaration and promise to seek out the interests of this or that class or classes. The partisans of reform and betterment will always be fooled by the defenders of the old regime, until they understand that every old institution, no matter how savage and rotten it may seem, is sustained by the forces of this or that dominant class or classes. And there is only one way to break the resistance of these classes: namely, to find in the very society surrounding us, to find and educate and organize for the struggle, those forces which can—and owing to their social situation must—form a power capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new.

Only the philosophic materialism of Marx has shown the proletariat a way out of that spiritual slavery in which up to now all oppressed classes have been sleeping. Only the economic theory of Marx has explained the actual situation of the proletariat in the general structure of capitalism.

Throughout the whole world, from America to Japan and from Sweden to South Africa, independent organizations of the proletariat are multiplying. The proletariat is educating and enlightening itself by waging its class struggle. In casting loose from the prejudices of bourgeois society, uniting more and more closely, learning to take the measure of its successes, it is tempering its powers and growing irresistible.

The foregoing article was written by Lenin in 1913 for a Russian magazine called "Education". The translation has been done by Max Eastman.—Ed.)

International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition Presents Thesis

Continued from last issue

On Party Democracy

The sections of the Left Opposition, originating out of small propaganda groups, gradually are transformed into workers' organizations. This transition puts into the foreground the tasks of party democracy: the kind of regime in which a few comrades who are closely connected and understand each other even with the most informal indications, making all their decisions in a casual manner, must finally give way to regular organizational relations.

The foundation of party democracy is a timely and complete information service, available to all members of the organization and covering all the important questions of their life and struggle. Discipline can be built only on a conscious assimilation of the policies of the organization by all its members and on confidence in its leadership. Such confidence can be won only gradually, in the course of common struggle and reciprocal influence. The iron discipline which is needed cannot be achieved by naked command. The revolutionary organization cannot do without the punishment of undisciplined and disorganizing elements; but such disciplinary measures can be applied only as the most extreme means, and moreover under the condition of solid support from the public opinion of the majority of the organization.

The frequent practical objections, based on the "loss of time" in keeping to democratic methods are short-sighted opportunism. The education and the consolidation of the organization is a most important task, for whose fulfillment neither time nor efforts should be spared. Moreover, Party democracy, as the only conceivable guarantee against unprincipled conflicts and unmotivated splits, in the last analysis does not increase the overhead costs of development, but reduces them.

Only through constant and conscientious keeping to the methods of democracy can the leadership undertake important steps on its own responsibility in truly emergency cases, without provoking disorganization or dissatisfaction thereby.

The pre-Conference charges the Secretariat to observe the carrying-out of the principles of Party democracy in content as well as in form, within each section as well as in the reciprocal relations between the Secretariat and the sections, particularly and above all in the question of the preparation for the International Conference.

The Left Opposition in Russia. The Austrian "Frey" group first entered the composition of our grouping, then left it, against attempt to enter, but refused to give information as to its internal condition and broke off negotiations on its own initiative. Through its actions it has shown that the tasks and aims of the Left Opposition are completely strange to it, and that it needs the international banner of the Bolshevik-Leninists only as a cover for its hopeless stagnation. The pre-Conference states openly that the International Left Opposition bears neither direct nor indirect responsibility for the Frey group.

In Austria the group "Left Opposition of the CPA (Bolshevik-Leninists)", originating as the result of a first regrouping of Oppositionist elements, placed itself on the ground of the principles and methods of the International Left Opposition and is engaged in laying the foundations for an organization of the Left Opposition.

In view of the sad experiences

of the past the International Secretariat had decided to set a probationary period of six months until the formal and final admission as a section of the International Left Opposition.

The pre-Conference approves this measure of the International Secretariat as a means of checking over the regrouping which has already taken place, in action, and it charges the International Secretariat to follow closely the development of the group "Left Opposition of the CPA (Bolshevik-Leninists)" and with the help of the German section to support its conversion into a real section of the International Left Opposition.

The Left Opposition in the Balkans

The disintegration of the capitalist regime in the Balkans has taken on an ever accelerated rhythm. Great social shock are being prepared. An epoch of great revolutionary struggles is opening. In the near future the burning problems of the strategy of the proletarian revolution will be forced to the surface in the Balkans in all their sharpness and scope.

The pre-Conference calls upon the sections as well as the I. S. to follow with the greatest attention the events in the Balkans and the life of the sections which exist there, and to make every effort to establish and consolidate connections with those countries in which no sections have been formed.

The pre-Conference regards it as especially necessary to devote more attention than the International Left Opposition and in its publications to the activity of our Greek section ("Archio-Marxists"); this organization, through its strength, its ideological level and its revolutionary consolidation represents the most advanced of our European sections.

After the experience of the participation for more than two years of the Greek Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists, — "Archio-Marxists") in the life of our international organization, the pre-Conference declares:

1. The Greek Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists, — "Archio-Marxists") is the only representative of the ideas of the International Left Opposition in Greece.

2. The International Left Opposition bears no responsibility, direct or indirect, for the other groups "Spartacos", "Fractionists", "Leninist Left Opposition", etc.), which in words accept the International Left Opposition.

3. The pre-Conference calls upon all honest workers to condemn the unprincipled struggle, contrary to the revolutionary spirit and now serving the interests of the Stalinist faction, now of the class enemy, which the above-mentioned groups have been carrying on against our Greek section.

4. The pre-Conference calls upon all honest members of these above-mentioned groups to break with the policy of the united front which the Left Opposition in Greece, and to support the latter in its ideological struggles and its every-day actions.

The Left Opposition in Czechoslovakia

The many-fold efforts of the ILO to achieve a permanent unification of the various Czechoslovakian groupings which claim to accept the ILO, in order to make possible their assimilation into the ILO, have not shown the results desired. The organization created by the Unification Conference of Easter 1932 has proven unable to exert an adequate and systematic activity. Not only did the condition of split-up groups and of insufficient consolidation with the International

Opposition continue: In addition, it placed the International Opposition before the accomplished fact of a new split. By this fact alone the existence of a genuine section of the ILO in Czechoslovakia has become illusory. It would be an inexcusable mistake to tolerate a fiction. We must say that which is: under the given conditions the International Opposition finds it impossible to make a final selection among the existing Oppositionist elements in Czechoslovakia. Therefore the pre-Conference regards it as necessary to declare all the groups in Czechoslovakia which count themselves in the Left Opposition to be sympathizing groups. The pre-Conference charges the Secretariat to follow for the next six months the activity of the Czechoslovakian groups, their evolution and their possible regrouping, in order to propose at an appropriate time a final selection.

It is taken for granted that the various groups must make every effort to arrive at a loyal agreement with regard to their public activities (publishing work, meetings, etc.), and in general to maintain a loyal attitude to each other, so as to avoid anything which might discredit the I. L. O. in the eyes of the Czechoslovak workers.

Continued in the next issue

Workers Letter to Slovene Stalinists

Dear Comrades,

In spite of the fact that the writer of these lines has been openly but unjustly attacked by you and your comrades from time to time; that he has been slandered by false charges; in spite of everything I turn to you once more because you claim that you are champions of the cause of the working proletariat. I turn to you, in these trying times when we meet at the crossroads, as a comrade and a worker.

I would like to call your attention to the following questions which demand a clear cut class standpoint:

1. The victory of German Fascism.

2. The stand of the C. P. of Germany.

3. The stand of the Communist International.

Comrades! Is it not time to re-investigate the position taken by the International Left Opposition? Don't you think that the Stalin-Bucharin theory of socialism and a classless society in a single, isolated country surrounded by capitalism is totally false?

Don't you think that this theory was concocted to revise Leninism and Marxism in the same way that Bernstein revised Marxism in the second International?

Don't you think that Bernsteinism misguiding the 2nd International into the swamp of reformism and parliamentarism and then to treason and complete failure in 1914?

Don't you think that Stalinism is leading the 3rd International to the same end?

Don't you think that the victory of German Fascism means the victory of world counter-revolution?

Comrades! In the name of our common proletarian international family I solemnly ask you to pay serious attention to this question. I sincerely hope that you will have space in your theoretical magazine for the clarification of these principles because this alone enables us to prepare and perform our historic mission and achieve victory over our class enemies.

Not Slavophilism against Germanophilism—but Communism against capitalism.

Comradely yours,
—K. C.

SCHOOL NOTES

Comrade Weber held the first session of his class in American Working Class History last Sunday. The first topic under discussion was the European Background of American History. We also outlined the method which we will follow, that of having each pupil report upon one topic that he has investigated after which we will have a discussion and summary by the instructor. There is still time for the comrades who have not signed up for the course to do so now. The next session will meet on Sunday, 4 P. M., March 19th and will deal with Colonization.

Comrade Shachtman has given two lectures in his course on the Principles and History of the International Left Opposition. The first lecture dealt with comrade Trotsky's "The New Course" his fight for internal party democracy; the second lecture covered the "Lessons of October". The third session dealt with the struggle for the industrialization program. The next session of the class will be held this coming Wednesday March 22, on the Opposition Bloc and the Struggle for Collectivization.

Comrade Martin Abern is continuing with his course on the Principles of Communism.

Comrade Cannon's class on American Labor Leaders has been postponed. Due to the German campaign, the Albany unemployed conference and other activities which conflicted with the Sunday date comrade Cannon's class had to be held over. It will begin at the first opportune date.

Pioneer Leader Is Expelled by YCL

I have been expelled by the Pioneer district as Pioneer leader of the Harry Elsmann troop.

For the past few months I have been warring and standing on the fringe of the Left Opposition. Only when the events in Germany took on such a critical aspect and tested before my eyes the Left Opposition, was I finally compelled as a Communist to take a definite stand. Questions like "socialism in one country", "bureaucratic Centrism", etc., are, so to speak, in the realm of theory. The Chinese revolution of 1925-27, the Anglo-Russian committee, the Spanish revolution of a year and half ago; these are in the realm of past history, flowing out of and testing the theories. These were convincing enough in themselves. But when the situation in Germany today, under our very noses, gives the most eloquent proof of the correctness of the Left Opposition and the rank degeneration, the vacillation, the stupidity of the Stalinist policy, then one must take a definite stand without reservation. The world proletariat is threatened!

At our last section council meeting (a meeting of Pioneer leaders) Vera Sanders, a member of the Communist party, came down to us to lead a discussion on Germany. She mouthed the same "united front from below" stuff as had Hathaway and Bedacht, even if not so expertly. In the true spirit of the new tradition she then launched into a campaign against the "counter-revolutionary renegade, Left social Fascist, agents of Wall St., the Trotskyists. Finally she wound up with a call pointing out to us the role of these

"Trotskyists". This inspired suggestion was deftly emphasized by our section director, Gerty Morgan. The leaders, after a puerile discussion which consisted in repeating what the party member said and trying to add a bit here and there, seemed to agree wholeheartedly. It was all so clear and simple to them. I spoke and explained that I would not put up a "Bogey man" of Trotsky before the Pioneers. I gave my views on Germany which are the views of the Left Opposition and was asked to report to the district office. There I was expelled.

I now take my place with the Left Opposition and urge all Pioneer leaders and members of the Y. C. L. and C. P. to seriously study the views of the Left Opposition, and particularly to bring up the question of the present German situation for discussion in their units.

(Signed) DAVID LEVITT.

New York German Meeting

The Newark branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has a year activity behind it. During this time it carried the flag of Leninism, struggled consciously and had more than one battle and victory over the Stalinist officials. But only on the Hungarian field. We addressed a crowd on May 1st, 1932 as the speaker of the Hungarian Home of Hillside, when they had the official representative of the Party also on the program. We compelled the district organizer of the Party more than once to come to our meetings and defend the Stalinist policy of the Party, which he did very unsuccessfully. That was the pioneer work we carried on last year.

Last Saturday, 11th of March, we held our first meeting in English and appealed directly to the American workers and followers of the Party. The German question, the burning problem of the international proletariat was the subject we discussed with an audience of about fifty people, mostly Party sympathizers and members. Comrade Cannon, our speaker, convinced the listeners that the standpoint of the Opposition is the only road to solve the German problem and lead the Party back to the Leninist line from which they departed by the destructive tactics of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The carefully constructed queries and the eagerness to clear up all the disputed questions are the most illuminated symptoms that comrade Cannon reached the goal for which the meeting was called.

Many of the Party members and sympathizers declared that they were misinformed by the teachings of the Party leaders and urged the branch to arrange more meetings to make known the platform and the tactics of the Opposition to show to the misled masses the only road on which the victory of the proletariat is possible. We decided to do so.

—LOUIS NAGY.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 8, 1879.

Published Weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York.

EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck
SUNDAY, MARCH 18, 1933
Vol. VI No. 19 (Whole No. 166)
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year.

Workers' Schools Confer on Fascism And Prepare for Demonstration

A conference of representatives of workers' schools and students organizations was held at the Rand School on Wednesday night, March 8, for the purpose of organizing an anti-Fascist demonstration in New York City. The initiative in calling for the demonstration was taken by the Rand School Students Association.

Schools Represented
The call was answered by the party workers' school, the International Workers' School affiliated with the Left Opposition, the New Workers' School of the Lovestone group, the National Students' League, the Brookwood Fellowship, several Yipsel educational centers and the Rand School.

Attitude of the Party Workers' School

If the action taken by the party Workers' School is in line with the present policy of the C. P., then in the course of a few days the party has made one of those sudden, unprepared, sharp turns reversing almost completely its previous stand on united front action. This would be in keeping with the reversal on part of the Comintern, forced upon it at this late hour by the violent blows aimed at the working class in Germany.

Comrade Betty Ganett of the Workers' School, after stating frankly that she was a member of the party, and after a lengthy talk in which she attacked the leaders of the social democracy, nevertheless accepted wholeheartedly the plan for a demonstration in front of the German consulate. Even though there was still plainly visible the false ideology of social Fascism and the concept of the united front "from below", comrade Ganett could not avoid taking the position that while a committee of the conference should arrange the banners and the slogans to be used as well as a special leaflet, all the organizations participating should have the right to issue in addition their own leaflets to their own organizations explaining their stand in the united front action against Hitler. The socialists present were opposed at first to the reservations as to the right to criticize, fearing that this meant disruption of the demonstration itself. But it was pointed out that the committee elected by the conference (one from each school) would arrange all the banners and slogans. The socialists then accepted a motion by comrade Ganett on this score.

Role of the Left Opposition

The tardiness of the C. P. in correcting its blunders permitted the initiative in this case to fall to the socialist worker-students. But the delegates of the International Workers' School upheld the banner of Communism by pointing out clearly that this conference, small and none-too-important as it was, represented in actuality a victory for the Left Opposition, a fraction of the C. P. We criticized both the socialists and the official party for their false united fronts "from below", we pointed out that on a broader scale the social democratic leaders could not initiate a real united front for action, that this was the role and duty of the Communists. We explained the specific nature of a united front movement, using comrade Trotsky's slogan "march separately, strike unitedly".

Results of the Conference

The conference accepted the idea of holding a demonstration, not in front of the small Fascist organization here, but in front of the German consulate. It was planned to appeal to the worker-student groups and to youth organizations as well to participate in a militant demonstration against Hitler, date to be announced later.

The party's stand (if it is the party) in this conference, coming so soon after the experience at the Socialist Unemployment Conference from which, owing to the disruptive policy of the official party, the Left wing was violently elected without a hearing, represents on a small scale, a form of capitulation. We must trust that the party has learned its lesson and that in the more important class struggles involving united front action it will not permit the initiative to fall to the socialists whose role is precisely that of forestalling the real united front by placing themselves in the lead.

—J. W.

Cafeteria Workers Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

determined to fight until the company submits to their demands. The victory of the Foltis-Fischer strike will signify a revival for organization among the unorganized workers in the industry who are watching the results of the strike with great interest. However militant the strikers and the members of the whole union may be, more efforts are needed to carry the strike to a victory. The real struggles are still to follow. The bosses have at their disposal the police, jails, gangsters, the judges with their injunctions to be used against the strikers. Our union is rich in such past experiences. The united front of all organized workers in the industry is necessary. This depends on the FIUW. The union must immediately propose a united front conference to all locals of the A. F. of L. and A. F. W. in support of the strike and discuss a program for the organization of the unorganized in the industry, which the union should explain, is a life-and-death question for all existing organizations.

At such a conference, if it materializes, the role of the fake leaders in this industry will be revealed. In their refusal to participate in a conference the FIUW will prove in practice to the workers in these unions the treacherous policies of their leaders. And its prestige will be strengthened among the members of the reformist organization. Away with the policy of the "united front below", which has proved to be a failure! Also away with a united front from above which means secret discussions in closed chambers with the officials. A genuine united front, open, in the presence of all workers, with articles and leaflets to explain to the workers the meaning of a united front from organization to organization. The A. F. W. must not delay such action. We must act immediately.

Also, the case of comrade Petras must not be repeated. Comrade Petras has offered his assistance to the union in its strike was chased out of the union office simply because he did not share the political views of the leadership.

Paragraph 3 in the new membership book reads as follows: "The FIUW stands for the united front of all food workers, regardless of political of trade union affiliation". But apparently not including Left Oppositionists. Before the ink was dry these fundamentals were violated by the leadership of the organization. Such action brings only harm to the organization. This must not be repeated.

—SEBASTIAN PAPPAS.

The Stalinists Distort Our Stand

"Trotskyites Retain Faith in Strength of Capitalism," with this headline the *Daily Worker*, March 11, 1933 carries an editorial which continues its campaign of confusing and miseducating the workers as to the principle differences between the Left Opposition and the centrist Stalinist and Right wing Lovestoneite groups. The viewpoint implied might be imputed to the latter; it is not and never has been that of the Left Opposition.

To bolster up its assertion, the *Daily Worker* brings two quotations, one from an article by Max Shachtman in the *Militant* of Dec. 14, 1929, and one from an article by the present writer in the *Militant* of March 6, 1933.

Comrade Shachtman's article is quoted as follows: "This (Stock exchange crash) does not point to a crisis—it but indicates a growing depression."

What he actually did say was that "This does not yet point to a crisis—it but indicates a growing depression." His very next sentence was, "And Hoover offers no way out for the workers for the simple reason that he cannot solve the multiplying contradictions of capitalism, American capitalism included." A fine defense of capitalism!

More than that—this correct Marxist estimation of the situation as it stood in early December 1929, was absolutely representative of the attitude of the *Militant* during that whole period, which corresponded to the facts of the developing crisis. In the previous issue, Dec. 7, 1929, the *Militant* said, "What Congress will do 'nothing' about—except to hand out soft soap—is the increasingly obvious tendency towards a deep economic depression which is cutting the ground from under the feet of the American workers." The issue before that, Nov. 30, 1929, under the heading, "Crash in the Stock Market," closes with the words, "The crash on the stock market is a harbinger of the coming catastrophe."

The isolated sentence quoted by the *Daily Worker*, wrenched out of its context and misquoted at that, is typical of the Stalinist method of falsifying the viewpoint of a political opponent.

The quotation from the article of March 6, 1933, is given as follows: "At the present moment in the United States, whether or not the turn in the crisis has already arrived, unquestionably most of the work of the crisis in violently and brutally solving, for the moment, the contradictions developed during the boom, has been accomplished."

The *Daily Worker* distorts this into the following comment, "In the present banking crisis the Trotskyites already see the solution of all the 'revils' which grew out of the 'boom' period, thus clearing the way for a new 'turn in the crisis', for a turn towards prosperity." And the moral, as the *Daily Worker* puts it, is that "Since the development of the crisis in 1929, in union with the capitalist economists, the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites denied the sharpening of the crisis in order to lull the growing readiness of the workers to struggle."

The *Militant* article of March 6, 1933, begins, "The present cyclical crisis began in 1929 with a financial crisis, in the form of a crash on the stock market; now, after nearly 3-1/2 years, it is marked by a nationwide banking crisis."

This clearly shows that the writer was talking about the specific cyclical movement that began in 1929, not about the general post-war crisis of capitalism. The "turn in the crisis" to which he referred was a cyclical turn, the kind of limited and temporary recovery which is possible within the framework of the general crisis of capitalism.

To deny the possibility of such a turn within the general crisis of capitalism, is to say that capitalism has no way out, that the collapse of capitalism is an immediate practical question, and this can mean only that the revolutionary crisis is "around the corner"; in the language of tactics it means that the proletariat should prepare for the seizure of power in the immediate future. It means that capitalism can fall of the weight of its own internal contradictions, when the decisive forces of the working class are not yet mobilized under the banner of Communism for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

This is not and never has been the language of Leninists. It is the language of pseudo-"Socialist" sectarians of the Socialist Labor Party type. Lenin proved at the

On Our "Faith in the Strength" of Capitalism

Second Congress of the Comintern that capitalism can always find a way out unless the revolutionary proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will block its ways of escape. The economic contradictions of capitalism, including its cyclical form, will come to an end only with its political destruction. They will not culminate in an automatic collapse, whether called "the end of capitalist civilization" as the Twelfth Plenum named it, or by any other name.

As long as there is capitalism there will be crises, that is, cyclical movements of economic activity; cycles have both an upward and a downward phase; a turn in the cyclical crisis from its downward to an upward phase by capitalist means, i. e., on the backs of the workers, will be impossible if the proletariat takes the power, and it will be delayed or rendered ineffective, organized resistance of the post-war general crisis to the extent that workers' organization and resistance is inadequate and ineffective. History has so far shown us no other instrument than a genuine Communist party which can organize the effective resistance of the workers.

To say that a turn in the crisis is possible because the resistance of the workers has been inadequate

is therefore a criticism of the Communist party, and is resented by the Stalinist ruling faction as such. Consequently they deny the facts: cover up the failure of the party to win the leadership of the class, a failure due in large part to the mistakes and crimes of bureaucratic centrism, and deny the possibility of the upturn, preferring instead to lull the workers themselves with "the end of capitalist civilization."

With this basic approach, they are unable to formulate a policy for either understanding or meeting the developing phases of the crisis. They accept the banking crisis as opening the collapse of capitalism, instead of seeing that, coming at the end of four years of crisis, which during capitalism has held on to the bases of its power, it must have a secondary rather than a fundamental importance.

With typical contempt for the intelligence of the worker, they tell him that the banks have not enough money left to pay off their deposits because their holdings have depreciated, while the fact is that no bank ever can pay off all its deposits at one time, no matter how sound it is. They explain that the banking crisis is due to the bankers' desire to exploit the workers still more, having found that wage cuts alone are not enough. They say that the U. S. is heading at the same kind of inflation, in Germany, sure the situation has gone beyond the possibility of control. They point out

that the dollar has already been depreciated till it is now worth only quarter, because with the new issue of notes there will be \$4 of paper currency to each \$1 of gold—by which reasoning the dollar was never worth a dollar, since there never was \$1 of gold for each \$1 of paper. They say that the 1907 scrip was finally redeemed at a big discount—historically untrue.

They draw the conclusion that the depositor must demand repayment at full value and the worker refuse to accept scrip, but must demand "full payment of wages in old currency values," which would mean an immediate increase of 300 percent, if it is true that the dollar is worth only a quarter now.

We on the other hand pose the principle that the conscious revolutionary action of the working class at the head of the broad masses will overthrow capitalism, not the automatic accumulation of its contradictions; that capitalism has been for many years in a general crisis, within which alternations of cyclical stabilization and crisis have taken place and will continue to take place; that a turn in the crisis toward the upward branch of the cycle at the expense of the working class is possible unless the working class prevents such super-exploitation as it should under the leadership of a real Communist party; that in the absence of such leadership, capitalism can find a way out of the crisis and that the banking crisis together with the rest of the cyclical crisis which has developed since 1929 is part of the machinery with which capitalism restores temporarily its equilibrium, and not the prelude to an automatic collapse.

—B. J. FIELD.

Sidelights On the Albany Conference

Albany—Between freight cars, via jail, and in the back of a fish truck—this is how the Spartacus Youth delegates arrived at the Albany Conference for Labor Legislation on Monday morning.

The first dominant impression in the hall was that almost all present were party members or from groups affiliated to the party.

The second thing (which struck us) was the fraternal spirit with which we were greeted. No word of "renegade" no dirty looks in our direction, no attempts to get us out, but instead a comradely interest and sympathy for the way the boss bulls treated us on the way up.

We translated the fine spirit which prevailed into open discussions on tactics and principle, all over the hall, and perhaps for the first time in years did the party comrades accept the resolution on Unemployment which we distributed in the hall, with a smile—as if to say, "We know you Left Oppositionists...well, let's see what you've got to say. What is your program?"

The big moments for us came when we received the New York *Times* with Duranty's article. We darted hither and hence to all the delegates we recognized from anywhere, pushing the article in their faces. Only a few, "So you agree with the bourgeois *Times*?" Most faltered hawed, hammed and hedged.

ed. "Comrades...First let us see what the *Daily Worker* says..." Others who were accustomed to get the line of the Stalinist faction first from Duranty and then from the Worker, did not dare to use this argument. Instead: "Where is the turn? Didn't we offer the socialist leaders a united front, and didn't they refuse, that's the proof you can't have a united front with the betrayers of the workers." After the discussion sessions we adjourned to the dining room where we served as waiters, not feeling it fair to feed at the delegates' expense without contributing anything.

A delegate from the National Students' League was the only youth speaker while we were there, although we asked for the floor. It was great to note the sh, sh... that went around the hall, and the close and interested attention devoted to the delegate from the Workers' League. Whereas the other opposition delegates (Lovestoneites-Weisbord) aroused a hubbub of protest and antagonism, comrade Cannon never suffered a single interruption for even a moment from the floor, and from the table only a tap with a gavel that his time was up; but he read the entire resolution on unemployment which he was bringing before the delegates, to a quiet, very attentive audience.

The return trip on the bus

with the comrades was extremely interesting. There weren't enough seats; the organizers rushed up and down seeking places; at last we were in one on the back of a fish truck. With all the comrades offering condolences in a wonderfully comradely manner for the uncomfortable position.

Came discussion...and far into the night we microscopically examined the united front from below. For hours we discussed the program and work of the Left Opposition. There was the inevitable question, "Why don't you do mass work, why don't you lead the masses in real strikes?" We could only point out that by their looking at only personal events and by disregarding the questions of principle and tactics they were led into a bog of empiricism. Then we have our comrades facing the guns of Illinois miners disgusted with Communism because of the incorrect tactics of the party which are post-facts self-criticized—that is, too late, the party says we are misleading the workers. We don't aim to set up rival organizations to that of the Party. We are a faction of the C. P. One delegate of the Labor Sports Union told of the troubles he was encountering in the development of the political life of the organization, and the proposals and comment we made were greeted by hand-clapping from a comrade at his side. In all—we feel that, the party comrades are taking a serious Communist attitude to the criticisms and proposals of the Left Opposition.

The Stalinists at the Mooney Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

In the discussion which took place later the party offered no line of its own nor any criticism of this essentially liberal-legalistic line. Why did the party maintain an opportunist silence? On the vital question of policy and line it must speak openly and clearly its silence contributes only confusion.

The credentials committee tried to carry out the pretence of a genuine united front. Nessin reported 539 delegates from 347 organizations. All attempts to obtain analysis of the report met with the stubborn resistance of the party steering committee which publicly prevented Nassin from giving the information asked for from the floor, 40 trade union organizations were reported but what they were was not revealed. 31 political organizations, 50 defense organizations, 22 unemployed organizations, 195 fraternal organizations were also listed but no analysis was given.

However, it is known that there were very few A. F. of L. locals. The CPLA was there as were Weisbord, the Lovestoneites, the League for Industrial Democracy. The New York district of the C. P. was represented. In front of us sat delegates from the YCL. It was said that some YPSL locals were present. The SP was represented by a lone individual, Gubernick of the Huntington, Long Island Branch. It was reported from the floor that the S. P. had instructed the locals of the ILWGU over which it has control, to stay away. Scott reported later that the City Central Committee of the S. P. had voted unanimously not to endorse the conference and not to attend. That is how the Socialist party answered Mooney's call. But it also testifies to the weakness of the united front policy of the C. P.

The fight to establish the composition of the conference on the floor was intense but short-lived and unavailing. The Stalinists were in complete control of the proceedings at this point. The matter was finally disposed of by Scott's personal promise to publish a detailed report within 48 hours! The report which has just arrived confirms our analysis of the composition of the conference.

But what the credentials committee report failed to establish, was made clear from the collection which together with pledges exceeded \$500. For some forty min-

utes a flood of donations and pledges was poured into the treasury of the conference by IWO branches, ILD Branches, Unemployed Councils, TUUL unions, the C. P. and Communist opposition groups. It was clear to all that this was a Stalinist conference.

The resolutions committee was carefully selected by the Stalinist steering committee. It was composed of "reliable" people: Becker, Benjamin, Gubernick (!) Corliss Lamont, etc. Its retirement to consider the resolutions of the conference created a vacuum in the proceedings which was filled by discussion.

The Stalinists intended, no doubt, to confine the discussion to the routine speeches by their leading comrades. The discussion that took place caught them completely unawares. Delegate after delegate spoke, and all the speeches centered around the united front.

In this discussion the Lovestone-

ites were jeered and howled down. Boos greeted other delegates who even timidly proposed that to draw the socialist workers into the conference it was necessary to suffer the presence of their leaders. Not all of these proposals were correct in their formation and content. But they were the gusts of a new wind.

The voice of the Left Opposition rang loudly and clearly for a genuine, Leninist united front. From beginning to end the speech of our delegate was accorded the closest attention. An attempt to heckle was squelched by the entire conference. At its conclusion there was not the faintest sign of hostility.

The blow the Opposition delivered to the Stalinist policy on the united front accounts for what happened afterward. Even the Stalinists were forced to take this into account. All their later attacks against the people who "re-

Albany: 3 Years of Party Policy

The Albany State Conference for Labor Legislation represented a culminating point in the endeavors of the party, over a period of nearly three and a half years of the crisis, to organize and develop a movement of the workers on the issue of unemployment. In all that time the heavy burdens of unemployment have been accumulating and growing more and more intolerable and the situation has thereby become increasingly favorable for the work of the revolutionary party. There has been no lack of effort—agitation, slogans, conferences, demonstrations and marches, organized and directed by the party in these past years, have centered chiefly at and the burning question of unemployment.

The Albany Conference itself was conceived and prepared as a major demonstration. It was preceded by months of preparatory work, including two conferences in New York City. On top of that—it should be added—the Albany Conference came after the recent half turn in the policy of the party, and provided a means of measuring its value. Socialist party branches and local unions of A. F. of L. were invited to participate—the well-known "united front from below."

Net Result of False Policy And what was the net result of three and a half years of the "third period" frenzy capped with the latest half-turn? Out of 348 delegates only seven local unions of A. F. of L.—and those all Left wing locals—and one branch of the Socialist party were represented from the entire state of New York! Crushing and irrefutable testimony to the utter falsity of the policy of the party leadership!

The shadow of this catastrophic failure to create even the semblance of a united front movement outside the sphere of direct party influence hung over the conference from the first day. The attempt of the leadership of the conference—Hathaway, Winters and lesser bureaucrats of the Stalinist apparatus—to compensate for the failure to attract the non-party workers who, according to their own thesis, are eager to struggle against unemployment, with windy soap-box agitation could not banish from the minds of the delegates the haunting question: why are these workers not represented here. A delegate from a bakers' local union gave a truer expression to the unspoken sentiment of the great majority than all the "official" speeches when he said: "I read in the *Daily Worker* that only seven A. F. of L. unions are represented here. As a trade union man I would like to see this hall packed with union delegates". But such delegates were not there. The questions of why they were absent and how to attract them in the future—to these questions, which were uppermost in the minds of those who want to see a broad class movement on the class issue of unemployment, the Hathaways had no answer. They could only put a cross over the bankruptcy of all their previous manoeuvres and leave the future blank.

To all that has gone before, to the great detriment of the move-

The Opposition's Criticism of Stalinist Bankruptcy

ment, the official leaders added new blunders and stupidities at Albany. The conference was obviously not a united front affair in any real sense of the word. It was a gathering of the vanguard—of the Communist party and its auxiliaries and sympathetic organizations. Besides that it had very little of a State-wide complexion. The roster of delegates could have served, with a few alterations, as a roll call of the second and third line functionaries of the party and Left wing organizations in New York City. Even such a representation, after a united front conference of workers' organizations in the whole of New York State had been aimed at, might have been turned to advantage. If the conference had been led by half-way competent politicians they would have sized up the situation, charged off the expenses of transportation to profit and loss, and devoted themselves to a discussion of ways and means of transforming the Albany conference of the vanguard into a conference of the class another time.

Instead of that, they tried to solve the contradiction by a characteristic exhibition of Stalinist self-deception. The thing that was became transformed—into their minds—into the thing that had been desired. The conference of party members and sympathizers was declared to be a united front conference of workers' organizations, political parties and trade unions. Their speeches to the conference were predicated on this fictitious assumption. The conference needed the concise, business-like elaboration of a program for changing the situation and uniting the vanguard with the masses—a single bullet aimed at a real target. It got from the official leaders, the thunder of agitation in the name of the masses who were not represented in the conference—blank cartridges fired in the air. Worse, they not only talked; the actions of the conference, under their control, were the same caricature. Comedy, in the speeches of the leaders, alternated with tragedy in the misguided "legislative" deliberations of the delegates.

The "Bills" Discussion

As sad and pitiful a spectacle as one could expect to see in the revolutionary movement was the session of the conference devoted to the report of the "bills committee". (This was the committee that had been charged with the task of drawing up legislative bills for presentation of the State legislature). As if transported to another world the delegates, Communists almost to a man, who had expressed their real sentiments shortly before in cheers for the overthrow of capitalism, were put through the ridiculous and futile business, for many wearisome hours, of discussing and debating, line by line, the legal phraseology of proposed legislative measures. What, for example, is the precise legal residence of a seaman under the terms of

the bill for unemployment insurance? And how shall the different rates of wages for various categories of labor employed on proposed public works at same future time be decided now in meticulous detail? With just such questions the conference of the workers' vanguard was occupied, solemnly and seriously, for hours on end. Pitiful!

Here was a picture of the double face of bureaucratic centrism. Poised on a half-turn in policy, under the pressure of events and of our criticism, the futile bureaucrats at the Albany Conference stood with one foot in the mud of ultra-Left sectarianism and the other foot in the mire of parliamentary cretinism. The conference was dedicated to a melange of both, and thus it was confused and muddled and demoralized.

Among all the "leaders" there was not one to explain to the worker delegates that the fight for a legislative program does not require and is in no way advanced by trying to transform a conference of several hundred workers delegates into so many amateur lawyers. The task of the vanguard workers is to formulate the program of demands clearly and concisely and then to mobilize the power of a mass movement behind the program. The task of the leaders is to show the vanguard the way to do this. As for the drafting of the "bills" for presentation to the Legislature—a small committee with the aid of a jack-leg lawyer is sufficient. It is a shame to lead conscientious worker militants through the rigamarole of solemn debate about the wording of legislative bills.

More than that, it is a crime, for it sows illusions as to the real nature of the struggle for labor legislation. This was to be noted already in the session of the conference devoted to this tragedy-comedy. The bold note of militancy in the remarks from the floor in the earlier sessions was muted down, became more "practical" and restrained. And, even more significant, a different type of delegate became conspicuous in the discussion. The militants imbued with the spirit of the class struggle gave place to the legal-minded elements who took the wording of "bills" very seriously and read them carefully lest a comma be out of place and the law fail on that point.

In both sides of the policy the Stalinist miseducators worked against a fruitful outcome of the conference. With their sectarian "Left" tactic they shunted the conference off the broad highway of the united front which could lead to a broader movement; with the vulgar opportunist comedy of the "bills" they put brakes on the further development of the narrow vanguard movement.

The hope for the emergence of a broad workers' front of struggle against unemployment was in Albany, in spite of all its limitations, just because the pick of the vanguard militants, the indispensable dynamic force for the creation of a broad class movement, were there. But the leaders, not all of whom are as stupid as the policy they expounded under orders, did they could to frustrate this hope. They gave no review and summary of the experiences of the movement in these years of the terrible crisis—for this would require the examination of missed opportunities and multiplied mistakes which have begun three years ago, despite all the powerful social forces propelling the movement forward. They laid out no perspectives and offered no real measures to get the vanguard movement out of the strait-jacket of isolation—because this would require a sharp turn in policy which they are not permitted to make.

The Left Opposition It remained for the delegates of the Left Opposition, a small minority in the conference, to analyze the situation realistically and to point out the way to improve it radically. We did this to the best of our ability within the short time allotted for speeches from the floor. In the formal sense of the word our views did not prevail. The Stalinists entrenched in the apparatus scored another victory which, like their old victories over the Marxist wing, was a defeat for the Party and for the whole movement.

But this victory had a certain Phryic quality filled with ominous forebodings for the victors. One fact stood out above all others at the Albany Conference: the delegates wanted to hear the Left Opposition. Our speeches were heard in a tense silence, without a single interruption from the floor, and received closer attention than any tributed to all the delegates without interference and was read attentively by them. The closest fraternization, between the Left Oppositionists and other delegates, comradely discussion with large groups of Party members and sympathizers, went on continuously throughout the conference.

While still remaining within the framework of the bureaucratic discipline and voting as they were legates nevertheless expressed in these actions a different attitude. In substance, after four and a half years of falsification, slander, incitement and violence against the Left Opposition the rank and file delegates, by their attitude, said to the bureaucrats: We don't believe it; we want to find out for ourselves!

Armed with the invincible ideas of Marxism that is all the Left Opposition needs. Given such a hearing, as was the case at Albany to a far greater extent than ever before, our eventual victory is assured.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

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Cornelia Davis

Cornelia Davis, a long-standing member of the New York Branch of the Left Opposition, died a few days ago in Utica, N. Y. Stricken by the full weight of the economic crisis, comrade Davis succumbed. It is with extreme sorrow that we report this untimely death of a very sincere and active comrade. The passing of comrade Davis is but another of the innumerable instances in which the murderer, capitalism, strikes with the weapons of hunger and privation one victim after another in the camp of the proletariat. We mourn the loss of this comrade whose services to the revolutionary movement might yet be manifold. We send our most fraternal salute to her husband, comrade Peter Hansen, who is likewise a long-standing member of the League and we promise to continue our relentless struggle against this system which robs us of our best fighters long before their time.