

## L. O. Scores at Chicago Mooney Congress

LEON TROTSKY

### The Collapse of the C.P.G. and the Opposition's Tasks

The question of the fate of German Communism stands now at the center of attention of all our sections. So far as can be judged, the majority of comrades are inclined to the belief that in Germany the question of Communism is a question of a new party. There are others, however, who consider such a formulation of the question as incorrect and maintain that the old slogan of a "reform" of the party along Leninist lines should be retained. This is the position, for instance, of two Spanish comrades, of two German comrades, who speak in the name of whole groups and of one Russian comrade. I do not doubt that their objections reflect the mood of quite a considerable part of the Opposition. It would be unnatural if the need for such a serious turn did not produce in our midst different shadings and disagreements. It would be unworthy of the Opposition if we were incapable of discussing in a comradely, yet matter of fact, fashion the disagreements which have arisen. Such a discussion can result only in the further growth of the Opposition and in the strengthening of inner democracy. In what concerns the essence of the objections themselves, I cannot agree with them, although psychologically I can understand them. The mistake of the above-mentioned comrades consists in that they proceed from the formulas of yesterday and not from the facts of today. We must learn how to correct and replace the formulas in the light of new events.

During the last three years our calculations have been based on the ability of the German Communist Party to make a timely change in policy under the pressure of the masses. If our prognosis of yesterday were defined more sharply, it would be expressed as follows: "We cannot know as yet to what degree the German working class is weakened by past mistakes, zigzags and defeats and to what degree the sabotage of the Stalinist bureaucracy in combination with the capitulation of the social-democracy, have paralyzed the energies of the proletariat." We have frequently expressed the hope that the very approach of the Fascist danger would close the ranks of the proletariat and give rise to a power of resistance which would

not allow Hitler to capture all positions at once. And every delay in the advance of Hitler, even though he be already in power, would inevitably release a greater flow of confidence among the workers. The beginning of Civil War in its turn should have engendered a decomposition in the government camp and in the Fascist army itself. Vacillations in the camp of the enemy, should have again, in their turn, heightened the offensive force of the proletariat, etc., etc. Such was the dialectic perspective which we considered probable; at any rate, not excluded. And because of that, we had to, it was our duty to, exhaust all possibilities contained in the situation of yesterday.

However, now it would be insane to be ruled by an old perspective which has been cast aside by events. The Spanish comrades ask: "Is it possible that these few weeks (Continued on Page 2)"

### SOLVE THE CONTRADICTION!

Our appeal to save the MILITANT has met with an immediate and fine response. A comrade in Cleveland shot in fifteen dollars. Comrade Wright in New York saved our linotype from the sheriff's clutches by paying the overdue notes. And Comrade A. Konikow in Boston took over the payment of the monthly notes, thus insuring its future use to us. Comrade Karsner dug up a loan of fifty dollars to pay our electric and gas bills. Comrades Gordon and Clarke raised a donation of thirty dollars. Our comrades in Boston put their heads together and raised eight and a half dollars which they applied to their MILITANT account. Excellent!

But good as was this response it enabled us to get out only a two-pager! And it, by no means, solves the problem. Next week's issue is still hanging in the balance. Only the same continued prompt response will enable us to get back to a more "normal" basis.

**SOLVE THE CONTRADICTION!** This situation, this financial sword of Damocles, which threatens every issue, is not a symptom of decline. Far from it! All the evidence points in the opposite direction. Take the Chicago Mooney Congress! Our delegation represented forty-five thousand workers! Among our delegates were the representatives of the fifteen thousand left-wing miners of the P.M.A., the most advanced section of the American working class. Through the influence of the P.M.A. in the Congress, comrade Cannon was elected to the Resolutions Committee; and upon the insistence of the miners' delegation, to the Permanent National Committee. Without a doubt the Chicago Mooney Congress is so far, the high watermark of the influence of the Left Opposition in the United States.

Who does not know what an indispensable part the MILITANT played in the hard years of preparation for this signal advance? It is a long record of great sacrifices in the struggle to overcome apparently insuperable difficulties. As our horizons widen the role that the MILITANT must play becomes even greater. Great tasks face us. We must not fail in a single one of them. Least of all can we afford to let the MILITANT stagger under the burden.

But therein is the danger. The MILITANT is encircled by a ring of debt.

The financial crisis of the MILITANT stands in the sharpest contradiction to our work as well as that! Its failure to appear regularly and in full size hampers the work in the field. When the "main organizer" falters the whole movement is affected.

This contradiction cannot be tolerated. It must be overcome. Smash the circle of debt!

Act quickly! Next week's MILITANT must appear on time and in full size. Important material is being held over. The Manifesto of the International Left Opposition to the World Anti-Fascist Congress; material on the Four Power Pact, translated from Unser Wort, the illegal organ of the German Left Opposition; and many other important features cannot see the light because of the pressure of space.

Solve the contradiction! No more two-pagers! And every issue out on time! Air mail! Wire funds! To the MILITANT, 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

39 Delegates Representing 45,000 Workers in Solid Left Opposition Bloc. Makes Pressure Felt on Policy and Resolutions. Cannon Elected on Permanent National Com.

### Progressive Miners Decisive Mass Support of Marxist Wing

Because of lack of space we are printing only a sketchy news report of the Chicago Mooney Congress in this issue. A full report by comrade Grotzer, an analysis of the great battle fought by the Left Opposition on the floor of the Congress by comrade Cannon, a series of illuminating paragraphs by comrade Oehler and the resolutions adopted at the Congress will appear in the next issue.

The outstanding mass organization present was far and away the Progressive Miners of America whose delegation was headed by comrade Allard. These delegates represented the crystallizing left wing in the P.M.A., that is to say, the most advanced section of the American trade unions. Their influence counted heavily against the ever-weaker attempts of the Stalinists to sew up the united front conference with their routine, machine control, directed, in the first instance, against the Left Opposition. The P.M.A. delegation threw its weight into the scale against the Stalinists to elect comrade Cannon to the Resolutions Committee. And upon its demand comrade Cannon was elected to the Permanent National Committee.

The patient work which the Left Opposition has been doing for years in the Mooney movement from coast to coast finally bore fruit at the National Free Mooney Chicago Congress. The Congress was the largest, and in many respects, the most significant united front conference since the "third period" turn to ultra-leftism and its bastard, the united front from below, doomed the Communist movement to sectarian isolation. It appears that there were more than 1500 delegates present from all over the United States. They came from the Unemployed League of Los Angeles, the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania, the coal areas of Kentucky, from Minneapolis and St. Louis and Chicago and New York and Philadelphia and Boston and scores of other places.

Politically the Congress was no less broad. The Communist Party sent Hathaway from its C.E.C.; there were delegates from Socialist Party locals, the entire Chicago Yipsel movement was represented, the Proletarian Party, the United Workers Party, the League for Industrial Democracy, the C.P.L.A., its next of kin, the Lovestonites; and the Left Opposition were represented. There were numerous delegates from A.F. of L. locals, independent unions and the Progressive Miners of America. The I.W.W., farmers' organizations and Anarchists were also represented. Defense organizations were there, too: the I.L.D., the Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, the A.C.L.U., General Defense Committee.

The delegation of the Left Opposition numbered 39. Included in from the St. Louis Mooney United Front Conference (Payer, Secretary), St. Louis Mooney Molders Defense Committee (McMillen), Chicago Italian Spartacus Workers Club, Chicago United Front Anti-Fascist Committee, Chicago League of Struggle for Negro Rights, Chicago I.L.D., Minneapolis Teamsters Union, Minneapolis Mooney Molders Defense Committee, the Unemployed League of Los Angeles (Curtis by proxy), the Progressive Miners of America, the Progressive Miners Ladies Auxiliary, the Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee (Gillespie Conference). There were delegates from the St. Louis, Chicago, Minneapolis, Springfield, Illinois and New York Branches, the Minneapolis, Chicago and New York Spartacus Youth Clubs, the Chicago Unemployed Club, the Chicago North and South Side Friends of the Militant Clubs, the Chicago International Workers School.

But it was not in the number of delegates that the significance of our delegation lay. And not entirely in the number of organizations represented although that, too, speaks volumes for the work done in local conferences and organizations for years to root ourselves in the movement. What stands out, what "thunders in the index", what points the way to the future is the fact that our 39 delegates represented 45,000 workers, therein is the measure of our strength and influence!

The roll call, from St. Louis—representatives of 3,000 in the local united front Mooney conference; from Minneapolis—representatives of 5,000 workers in the Teamsters Union; from Los Angeles—a representative of 5,000 workers in the Los Angeles Unemployed League; and, of course, the representatives from the Gillespie Trade Union Conference and Progressive Miners of America—30,000 workers.

As the Congress proceeded the decisive weight of our delegation made itself felt. Other forces were attracted to our banner. Left Socialist, Yipsel, United Workers Party, I.W.W. and other P.M.A. delegates voted with us on various questions. On our minority-report amendment to the main resolution we mustered the largest minority vote of the Congress.

The Stalinist steering committee attempted once again to reel off a hollow masquerade for a united front. Once more the Marxist wing of the movement raised its voice for a serious consideration of policy and program. Fighting tooth and nail we carried the day. We quote from comrade Oehler's notes: "Until the afternoon of the third day the conference was, in the main, just one long mass meeting. In fact, the Stalinists intended to call off the third day's session to enable them to carry on two days of mass meetings, to wind up with the big May Day Stadium mass meeting and end up the conference by passing a manifesto bursting with propaganda, but void of a concrete program of action. At the end of the first day the mass protest of the delegates prevented the change in plans, caused the Stalinists to retreat and continue with the three-day session. On the second day they forced the election of a Resolutions Committee, a committee the party 'forgot about' while they kept everybody entertained with propaganda speeches but nothing substantial on policy and program."

We can sum up our participation (Continued on Page 2)

## The C.I. Retraces Steps 'New Deal' Diplomacy

May 1 Manifesto Returns to "United Front From Below" Washington Parleys Prepare New World Conflict

There is no end to the crimes of Stalinism. Those serious Communist workers who have hoped that the heavy blows of Fascism in Germany might have served to give conclusive warning to the Comintern bureaucracy and to bring about a fundamental change of line, must have been overcome with dizziness by the newest crime of Stalinism. We refer to the entirely unexpected and breathtaking reversion to the infamous "united front from below" in the manifesto issued by the Communist International on the occasion of May Day and printed in a special Sunday edition of the *Daily Worker* on April 30.

Only six weeks before, the Communist International had issued a resolution, first published in *Phonon* of Paris on March 6, instructing the various parties to approach the Central Committees of the socialist parties and trade union centers in their respective countries, for united front negotiations and at that, to refrain from attacking the latter in the course of the united front activities.

The practical change of line that

resulted brought a swing to the ultra-right which necessitated a warning on the part of the Left Opposition against new opportunist excesses on the style of the disgraceful bloc with Chiang-Kai-Shek and the Anglo-Russian Committee. In the United States too, this turn toward opportunism became increasingly evident and at the various Mooney-Scottsboro and May Day conferences and committee meetings, the representatives of the Left Opposition had as their main task, the struggle against opportunist distortions of the united front by the Stalinists. That was before April 30.

"Now . . . Not Negotiations" On April 30, the C. I. May Day manifesto, printed in the *Daily Worker*, not only has no word to say any longer about approaching the Central Committees of the reformists or against attacking them. It tells us in so many words: "Now we need United Front from below, not negotiations with top leaders!"

The reason? "For the leaders of the Second International, negotiations with officials on top is merely a method of delaying, hindering, and disrupting the united front of the working class."

The worker in the street cannot help being amazed by this lightning-quick swerve to the former, ruinous policy. The Communist worker can hardly believe his eyes. For years he had been breathing and talking "united front from below". On March 6, his International leaders tell him, now we must approach the top leaders (the Central Committees). A little bit confused, but as a disciplined comrade, the Communist functionary approaches the Central Committees of the S.P. and the A.F. of L.

Some go even so far as to let socialist speakers go unrefuted, without distinguishing themselves from their reformist jabbering. Some go to the extent of even distributing the socialist press from Communist platforms. (Witness (Continued on Page 2))

The series of conversations in Washington, intended to prepare for the international economic conference in London on June 12, between Roosevelt and MacDonald, Herriot, Jung, Bennett and others, were supposed to lay the foundations for an international understanding based on good-will and mutual cooperation. The avowed purpose was to prepare for the abolition or reduction of tariff barriers and other hindrances to international trade, to stabilize the currencies of the world, and to raise the level of international prices. There was even a suggestion of extending the "new deal" of peace and brotherliness to include the preparation for a real disarmament conference.

All these illusions were shattered even before the first of the conferences, MacDonald, set foot on dry land. The decision of Roosevelt to impose a gold embargo, precipitated a sudden depreciation of the dollar in the foreign exchange market, strengthening the ability of American capital to compete on foreign markets in the export of goods, at the same time as it weakened the ability of American finance capital to finance the export of capital. It amounted virtually to a declaration of financial war against Great Britain and France, by the ruthless assertion of the right of American capitalism to deal with its problems in its own way without regard to the pretense of an international understanding.

The British counter-attack was not long in coming. Two blows were struck — a trade agreement with Argentina which favored the export of British goods in competition with those of the United States, and the announcement that the British fund, for the manipulation of foreign exchange against the manipulations of Roosevelt, would be doubled.

The insincerity of the official declarations of the purposes of the conferences had, of course, been made clear long before this by the

fact that Soviet Russia, one of the largest buyers and sellers of goods on the earth, had not been invited to participate.

But if the Washington conferences and the international conference to be held in London have not the purpose which they are officially supposed to have, that is far from meaning that they have no purpose at all.

On the contrary, the terrific pressure of the crisis has forced the antagonisms between and among the imperialist powers into a more critical stage. Capitalism, organized nationally, cannot solve its contradictions peacefully on the international scale.

It was proposed, for instance, by some bourgeois economists to pool the world's central banking gold reserves in one place, such as the Bank for International Settlements in Basle, and issue an international currency against it. This immediately raises the question of who would protect the gold. There is no political organization corresponding to such an economic task.

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### The «Daily Worker» and the Defense of the Russian Bolshevik Leninists

Due to technical difficulties, we had to hold up the publication of the following letter till the present issue. It is a reply to the *Daily Worker's* slanderous attack upon the American Committee of Help to the Russian Bolsheviks (Left Opposition), sent to the press by its secretary.—Ed.

April 26, 1933.

To the Editor of the *Daily Worker*: Comrade Editor,

The *Daily Worker* of April 25th, under the heading "Norman Thomas Sympathizes with British Spies", carries an editorial describing our committee and characterizing its efforts. It describes this committee as "a group of renegades and adventurers who set up a special organization, the career of which is dedicated to calumniating the Soviet Union", and as "the American branch of an international organization headed by Trotsky who in all his actions lives up to the characterization of Comrade Stalin as the leader of the advance-guard of counter-revolution". The rest of the article is mostly taken up with a vicious and slanderous attack on Sidney Hook, and other members of the committee. Nowhere, of course, is there the slightest attempt to show any connection with either Norman Thomas or the British spies.

We consider it necessary, first, to state our own position, and second, to expose the two fundamentally false statements quoted above: that the tried and tested Bolsheviks whom we are trying to save from hunger and privation are a gang of counter-revolutionaries, and that we are calumniating the Soviet Union by pointing to the harsh conditions of life in all strata of the population, aggravated by the internal crisis in the Soviet Union, and particularly harsh for the imprisoned and deported Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition.

We are not conducting a general humanitarian appeal for men in distress, nor on the other hand are we appealing only to those who ac-

cept the principles of the Left Opposition. Most of the members of our committee are not members of the Left Opposition. We appeal to all friends of the October Revolution to help save from actual physical extermination, a group of fighters who have been in the forefront of the revolution in the Bolshevik camp, for the sake of what they have done and what they can do for the revolution. We have received unimpeachable evidence of the frightful conditions under which these men are suffering, and the recent removal of Rakovsky to a distant point in northern Siberia, the deaths of D. B. Riazanov and of V. Smirnov in exile, confirm our fears that the physical existence of these men is in danger. We have a right to ask that all friends of the October Revolution, for the sake of the revolution, help us keep these men alive.

And in fact, so far most of our contributions have come from members and sympathizers of the Communist Party.

It is charged that these men are counter-revolutionaries. Will anyone who claims to be a Marxist come forward with one single Marxist reason why hundreds and thousands of revolutionary fighters, who have gone through the Czarist terror, through exile and prison, through the civil war and the famine, should have gone over to the counter-revolution precisely when the socialist revolution is achieving great triumphs, in spite of all mistakes and difficulties? It is not a question of one individual or a handful, but of thousands, of an essential part of the cadres of the revolution. Is any Marxist satisfied with such a vulgar bourgeois "psychological" explanation as the reason why thousands of the Russian Bolshevik cadres of yesterday were transformed into counter-revolutionaries? And on top of tremendous victories and successes of the dictatorship, at that?

That these victories and suc-

(Continued on Page 2)

### ★ GALA BENEFIT PROGRAM ★

**Maria Theresa**  
of the original Isadora Duncan group, in a series of dance interpretations

**Maria Winetskaja**  
star of the operatic and concert stage, in a program of folk songs

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And -- For the First Time in America!

**Diego Rivera**  
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**Saturday Evening, May 13, at 8.15 p.m.**  
**TOWN HALL, 43rd St. and 6th Ave.**  
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Now on sale at International Workers School, 126 East 16th St., and at Town Hall box office

**Auspices: International Workers School**



## C.I. Retraces Steps in May Day Manifesto

(Continued from Page 1)

the case of the demonstration against the Hitler-Birthday Celebration in Teutonia Hall, New York. See the *Militant* of April 29).

Now, in the May Day manifesto, the International leaders once more tell him: "Now we need United Front from below, not negotiations with top leaders!" Can the Communist worker help being bewildered? Can this latest step do anything but increase the confusion in the Communist ranks? Can such people, who change their policies with the weather, expect to maintain their authority or even to be taken seriously at all?

**What Will Be the Consequences?** The revolutionary movement is not a game of leap frog and no matter how deeply the disease of bureaucratic centrism, of unexplained commands from above may have penetrated into the ranks of the Communist party, the Communist worker cannot go on switching his line of march with such fierce twists indefinitely. The laws of friction have their function in politics as well. And any one of these numerous Stalinist turns-about-face, without explanation and without previous preparation, must finally serve as the straw that breaks the camel's back.

The bureaucratic reversion to the "united front from below"—if, in its aim to cover up the bankruptcy of the whole previous Stalinist line, it does not stop with the mere mouthing of phrases in manifestos—is bound to call forth a violent reaction within the ranks of the party. Many responsible and serious comrades breathed a breath of relief when the March 6, C.I. resolution cleared the road for actual progress in mass united front actions.

The Leninist united front tactic applied to the American socialists in the Mooney and May Day conferences and actions has thrown the reformist party into convulsions and brought about successful and concrete results.

The question of the united front has sharpened the internal conflict within the S.P. tremendously and the treacherous, die-hard stand of the Hillquit faction has served to increase the Left wing trend within it.

The whole Chicago district of the S.P. and other numerous Y.P.S.L. locals have been expelled by the Hillquit clique on the very issue of the united front with the Communists, which the former have carried through in several localities.

The powerful May Day demonstrations and the healthy reactions of the socialist workers to them were in themselves the best vindication for the Leninist united front tactic. And all this has taken place within the brief period of the six weeks, in which the C.I. has given up the blunders of the "united front from below".

The responsible party comrade could not have overlooked all these developments and could not have missed their significance. The Stalinist bureaucrat will have a difficult time explaining to him what it is that prevented the leaders of the Second International from using "negotiations with officials on top" as "merely a method of delaying, hindering and disrupting the united front" on March 6 and why this suddenly becomes a fact only on April 30.

The serious Communist workers will reply to the bureaucrats and say to them: We know very well that the socialist leaders will attempt to delay, hinder and disrupt the united front of the working class. They always have.

### What the Serious Communist Workers Will Say

We also know that the masses of reformist workers do want united actions. They have shown it on May Day, they have shown it by their struggle against the disrupting leaders inside their own ranks.

We can see, furthermore, the process of swift disintegration that is overtaking the Second International after the collapse of the German social democracy and the impending debacle of Austro-Marxism. The reformist fakery have already begun to be alarmed and it is to be expected that in the future they will especially exert themselves with shouting for working class unity and for united action in the future.

The socialist masses are moving to the Left and the socialist misleaders will use every possible "Left" ruse to maintain their control of them. The task of exposing the reformist betrayers and of loosening their control of the masses that follow them is all the more urgent in this especially favorable situation.

The Leninist united front tactic, therefore, holds all its force as the only method of fulfilling the revolutionary task of the moment. It is our duty to apply it. We have no interest in replenishing the shattering prestige of the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy. Our interests coincide with the needs of the revolutionary working class.

The Left Opposition will continue its work of explanation and clarification and find common ground with Communist workers on this basis. Together with them and in merciless struggle against criminal Stalinism, it will help in re-establishing the Marxist party of the international proletariat.

—S. GORDON.

## Mooney Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

tion in the Congress in the words of Cannon: "—the greatest-by-far-advance we have yet made in establishing our identity and prestige in the united front movement." The Left Opposition will not rest with that. Mooney is still in jail. Much remains to be done. The movement must rise to greater heights. And with it will rise the star of the Left Opposition.

The Congress was a smashing reply to the sabotage and disruption of the Socialist Party leadership. It is true that they held large sections of the workers from participation in the Congress. But the Congress itself is an excellent take-off to overcome the division of the workers and unite the ranks for Mooney's release.

That depends on the further application of the correct united front tactic. We are striving with might and main to hold the party to the correct line. The Stalinists are swinging far to the right. The policy they pursue will be a resultant between their opportunism and the correct Leninist policy of the L. O.

### THE MILITANT

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It will be an uneven policy. Here it will be weak, there strong, depending on the strength of the Left Opposition.

The May Day Manifesto of the C. I. can affect this struggle only adversely. If the party attempts to revert to the united front, from below as the C.I. demands, the good work done so far in the Mooney movement — and not only in the Mooney movement — will be wrecked.

This must not happen. We do not believe that the party rank and file which has seen with its own eyes how fruitful the united front tactic can be for the movement and Communism will permit the C.I. bureaucrats and their cablegram appointees to ram this down their throats. The party members must take a definite stand against this new "turn" and press hard to retain what we have won at such great cost.

The Left Opposition will continue to fight for a correct united front tactic. Only with the use of this instrument can we build the movement to free Tom Mooney.

## Wage Cuts for Beet Workers

The sugar beet workers of the Mountain States are to be paid this year according to the income from the crop, that is, they are to be paid on a share basis.

The Great Western Sugar Co. has printed two forms of labor contracts to be distributed to growers. One form contemplates the share basis, but the division of the crop is left in blank, to be filled by each grower and his labor

contractor. The other form provides a flat payment. The growers' association, egged on by the bankers, are bent on the share basis, however, and propose that throughout the months of May, June, July, August, September and October not more than 75 cents per acre per month be paid the field workers. They have to wait for the balance, if there is any balance, until the farmer gets his last returns from the company.

The company looks after its interests at the present time with the aid of the Beet Growers' Association, but in years past in defiance of this association, opposing it. This association, according to the report of its Sterling district director, as written up in the *Sterling Advocate* of Sterling, Colo., March 24, 1933, looks after the farmers' interests by pushing the burden of the hardships onto the agrarian proletariat. The paper states the following: "Representatives of the growers were agreed, Mr. Smith said, (Smith is the Sterling district director) that with the company's contract indefinite as to payment to growers, the growers cannot bind themselves to a hard and fast wage agreement for compensation to field workers."

All that is left for the agricultural workers, there, is to oppose this combination of bourgeois and petty bourgeois enemies with a union of their own. Last year they manifested a tremendous will to organize and fight but lacked experience in functioning in organized manner and lacked able leaders. Due to the fact that most of them are Mexicans, Spanish speaking comrades should be sent into the field there now as so to organize an effective strike to begin with the beginning of the thinning season.

Better wages for them, if it is possible to win them at all, can be wrested from their enemies if they hit them during the thinning season as workers have it within their power during this season to make it impossible that there be a crop. —GEORGE J. SAUL.

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## SHAW AND STALIN

George Bernard Shaw, the patron saint of Russia and the man who read Marx before Lenin, is no ordinary person. No indeed! Without attempting to analyze the peculiarities of the Fabian mind, it is illuminating to point out the tendentious similarity of ideas which exists between one of the authors of Shavian Socialism and the theoretical exponent of socialism in one country.

In his speech a few weeks ago, Shaw, emphasizing the inadmissibility of applying Marx's doctrines to England or Russia (he didn't say whether they were all right for Germany or any country) extolled the virtues of Stalin because he had deleted Marx. Shaw mentioned that at the time the Labor party was organized in England they knew about Marx and German Socialism, but when it was brought before the English public there was not a single word about Marx in it. He simply forgot to mention the fact that Marx, in studying the development of capitalism, used not Germany for his experimental work but England. His monumental achievement, *Das Kapital*, con-

cerns itself chiefly with the growth of capitalism in England. Why then did the leaders of the Labor party find it inadmissible to apply Marx's conclusions to the very country from which they were drawn? The shameful betrayals of the English proletariat are no accidents. They are only the by-products of a consistent policy laid down at the very outset.

Yet this best disciple of Marx finds his counterpart in the best disciples of Lenin. Stalin is a great leader, he says, because he is a nationalist. All the mistakes made by the other Communists (presumably he means Lenin and Trotsky, although no names are mentioned) were due primarily to a Marxian policy. From this line of reasoning it follows that the October revolution was a mistake, a defeat; while the nationalist policy of Stalin which brought ruin to the Chinese and German revolutions was no mistake but a great victory. It is only necessary to ask, for whom? The Stalinists, long before Shaw discovered them also knew how to call a defeat a victory. The infallibility of the leadership is preserved, even with the aid of Bernard Shaw. This mountebank has the temerity to say that Stalin has been successful in his policies.

As for America, Shaw advises us to scrap our constitution. But how? Not a word about this. Unquestionably he would prefer to have us throw overboard not a lifeline but an anchor, since it makes no difference to him whether we use Marxism or Stalinism. However, in this all important matter the Left Opposition will eventually prove to the American working class, as well as the world proletariat, that this can only be done under the banner of Marxism. —D. BELLOWS.

## The «Daily Worker» and the Defense of the Russian Bolshevik Leninists

(Continued from Page 1)

cesses are incomplete and in part even contradictory, must not be admitted but emphasized, in considering the situation of the imprisoned and deported Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition. Where do we get the idea that there is a goods in food and manufactured goods in the Soviet Union, that the production of many branches is unsatisfactory in quality and quantity, that many areas which had been prepared for sowing this spring are suffering from a shortage of seed? From the official publications of the Soviet Government, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and of its organizations—*Pravda*, *Isvestia*, *Economic Life* and the rest! Do these facts constitute counter-revolutionary calumny when *Pravda* and *Isvestia* print them, or only when someone else prints them, accepts them, or draws the necessary conclusions from them?

The *Daily Worker*, in the same issue as it denounces our committee for "calumniating the Soviet Union," writes in the same tone and in part using the same figures as the optimistic article of the "ignorant" and "misleading" bourgeois correspondent of the *New York Times*, Walter Duranty (see *Daily Worker* of May 3), on the increased area of spring sowing. It has consistently concealed the difficulties and dangers of the economic situation in the Soviet Union from the American workers. Is that supposed to be Leninist policy? Has the *Daily Worker* any excuse for denouncing the appeal of this committee as "calumny of the Soviet

Union" merely on the ground that it points to the real difficulties and dangers of the present crisis in the Soviet Union, as affecting the situation of the deported and imprisoned Left Oppositionists.

Evidently the childish argument is implied, that whoever tells an "unfavorable" truth about the Soviet Union is "objectively" aiding the counter-revolution. And *Pravda*? and *Isvestia*? Does anyone think that the real counter-revolutionists are not fully informed of the real situation in the Soviet Union, its strength as well as its weakness, and have to wait for us to tell them about it?

No—it is obvious that the whole editorial is nothing but a piece of political blackmail and ideological terrorization, intended to turn away support from our appeal by threatening open attack and veiled insinuations against those who realize, as we do, the urgent necessity of preserving the physical existence of thousands of tested revolutionaries who collectively constitute an enormous reservoir of revolutionary energy and experience. Such writing is a disgrace and a scandal to the Communist movement. Our answer is to redouble our efforts to relieve the desperate situation of the imprisoned and deported Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union, and to call on all friends of the October Revolution to assist us.

With revolutionary greetings,  
The American Committee of the International Commission for Help to the Imprisoned and Deported Bolsheviks (Left Opposition).

By B. J. FIELD.

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## Gala Affair

An exceptional evening of artistic entertainment has been arranged by the International Workers School for its gala benefit program to be held next Saturday evening, May 13, at 8:15 p.m. at the Town Hall, 43rd Street and 6th Avenue.

Maria Theresa, of the original Isadora Duncan group, will appear in three groups of dance numbers to music by Chopin. Her style represents the most authentic interpretation of the classical dance with which she has been associated for years by all lovers of the dance.

Diego Rivera is not only the greatest mural artist of this generation, but has won a unique position as a speaker on art from the proletarian viewpoint. To the interest always aroused by his appearance as a speaker is added the fact that his subject will be the work which he is now in process of completing at Radio City, which has aroused such wide-spread discussion; to top it all, for the first time in America he will deliver a

chalk talk to illustrate his lecture.

Maria Winetskaja has an established reputation both in the operas of this country and abroad, and as a singer of folk songs. Her rich and powerful voice and her sympathetic understanding will contribute to make the evening one to be long remembered.

Albert Meiff taught violin playing, in association with Efrem Zimbalist, at one of the premier musical conservatories of the world, the Curtis Institute of Music, for five years. His playing is both brilliant and solid, and will have a sure appeal for all music-lovers.

Tickets are priced at 35 cents, 50 cents, 75 cents and \$1.00, box seats \$2.00, and are available at the International Workers School, 126 E. 16th Street, as well as the Town Hall box office.

In view of its extraordinarily high level and diversity, as well as the cause which it represents, this entertainment program not only deserves but will richly reward the fullest support.

## May Day Throughout the World

May 1st was a red letter day for the revolutionary working class of New York. With a militant spirit running high, with the determined slogans of Free Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro Boys from the capitalist frame-up dungeons, and jeers and boos for the bloody rule of Hitler rising loud above the din of New York traffic, more than 100,000 working men and women marched and demonstrated under the red banner of proletarian revolt. This demonstration marks a

milestone in the proletarian struggle for emancipation. It was one of the largest and most enthusiastic turnouts seen on the streets of New York for years.

The efforts of the leaders of the S.P. to break the unity of the revolutionary forces on May Day and their shameful collusion with the police did not succeed in dampening the ardor of the demonstrators nor stopping the powerful impulsion towards a common front of struggle on May Day. The salutary and perspicacious act of Carl Winters in calling upon the Socialist workers not to leave the Square after their demonstration had concluded, but to wait for the United Front demonstration that was beginning to march in, and the cheers that greeted him in face of the provocation of the police proved again the dynamic power of the Leninist united front policy and the innate possibilities inherent in it.

Both the strength and the weakness of the party were brought to light on May 1st. The May Day demonstration showed what reserves of sympathy are latent in the working class for Communism, but the inability of the party to mobilize these masses in its every day struggles, to rally them in the factories and the trade unions, to integrate them in the party is striking testimony to the blunderous and criminal course of Stalinism—proof of what a brake Bureaucratic Centrism is upon mass action and the growth of the Communist movement. On the other hand, it took only the most elementary application of the united front tactic to bring huge masses into the streets and to begin a movement of the socialist workers away from the morass of reformism and towards the camp of Communism. The continued and correct application of this tactic can create a serious dent in the ranks of the social-democracy. The latest zig-zag of the C.I. (described in another part of this issue) if accepted and carried out will arrest this process and throw the party back into the isolation from which it is beginning to emerge.

The Left Opposition, whose tactics and policies were vindicated again on May 1st, marched in the United Front parade under its own banners and slogans. More than 150 members and sympathizers of the N. Y. Branch of the Communist League (Opposition) formed one of the most militant contingents of the demonstration. From its ranks echoed the only real international slogans of the entire parade. Thousands of workers heard our shouts of "Long live the International of Lenin and Trotsky," and as we marched into Union Square, hundreds and thousands of party members and sympathizers cheered and applauded this slogan for the regeneration of the proletarian international. A great step forward for the Left Opposition! A new era opens before the vanguard of the Communist movement!

In Europe May Day passed under the sign of reaction, under the effects of the German defeat. May 1st in Paris, once the home of the Commune, was observed by picnics! No disorders and demonstrations, says the capitalist press. In Berlin the hideous swastika replaced the hammer and sickle, the plans of Hitler for a conscript, enslaved German working class, were masters of the day. The proletarian banner lay furled in the torture chambers and concentration camps of the bestial Brown shirts. Vienna was silent as the grave as 8,000 troops guarded the streets. In this city, where practically every inhabitant is a member or sympathizer of the Socialist party, no demonstration took place. The bankruptcy of Stalinism and the treachery of social reformism is graphically illustrated by the pitiful showing made in the capitals of Europe, once the citadels of proletarian revolt.

Soviet Russia was the only bright spot amid these heavy clouds of reaction. The cries of solidarity of the Russian working class for their German brothers in the toils of Fascism should have been heard long ago but even these shouts transformed into concrete action can once again herald the dawn of a new day for the upsurge of the international proletariat. A new rise of internationalism means the doom of Stalinism but the upsurge of a Soviet Europe and a Soviet world.

## Washington Conversations Prepare the Ground for New World Conflicts

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On the contrary, as the nation, the political expression of imperialism, has assumed increasingly heavy tasks (deeper intervention into economic affairs, tariffs, subsidies, government financing of private corporations, etc.) the international political organization of capital, the League of Nations, has increasingly proved its impotence (note especially the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in relation to the policy of the League of Nations).

The struggle for world markets, carried to a higher point by the force of the crisis, is being met with a series of proposals, constituting the program of the economic conference of London, which amount to a restoration of the "free market" of the Manchester liberals. At the same time it is proposed by government action, that is, by the negotiation of the free market, to stabilize currencies and raise world prices.

Nor are these aims separate and distinct. The contradiction cannot be solved even by attacking it part by part, one problem at a time. The connection of currency stabilization with the struggle for markets has been amply shown by Roosevelt's action on the gold embargo and by Great Britain's counter-attack. The connection between the international price level and the international movement of commodities is equally close; the purpose of the manipulation of trade barriers and wage levels has been to maintain as high a level of prices internally as possible, while at the same time exporting competitively as much as

possible and thus breaking down the international price level.

Basic Conflict: Anglo-American Interests

The forthcoming economic conference, prepared for by the conversations at Washington, will therefore be a battleground of conflicting imperialist interests. The basic conflict between the United States and Great Britain, which has already blazed out in the preliminary skirmishes centering around the gold standard and the Argentine market, will be moved to another international arena. Appropriately enough, after Washington comes London.

It is entirely probable that agreements of a technical character may be reached as to currency regulation, perhaps even as to certain details of trade restriction. These will not minimize the conflict of imperialist interests, but on the contrary prepare the ground for it.

Monopoly capital will not voluntarily abdicate, through international agreement, the specific advantages which it derives from its control of the national State. Nor will it create any international political authority which can decide from above on such questions of life or death as the struggle for markets. The only kind of international agreement which is possible is that which is imposed by a victorious nation, or bloc of nations, on a defeated enemy bloc; in other words, the Treaty of Versailles on a still further enlarged scale. By exhausting the alternative possibilities or rather impossibilities of peaceful agreement, as well as by opening up the direct economic and

## The Collapse of the C.P.G. and the Left Opposition

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can replace the perspective of long months or civil war?" Of course, they have replaced it. A few weeks, even days have destroyed completely the possibility of that more favorable variant on which we counted. Hitler seized the material apparatus of power. He routed without the least resistance the apparatus of the Communist party, deprived the German workers of the press, forced the reformists to break with the Second International and to submit to the Fascist regime.

### A United Front Now?

The sharp change in the situation is clearly revealed in the question of the united front. To propose a united front in Germany between the two parties now would be doctrinaire stupidity. There was a period when the social democratic apparatus found itself under the yoke of advancing Fascism on one side and the pressure of its own masses on the other—that time should have been utilized. Now, after the defeat, the social democracy licks the boots of Hitler and sees in that the only means for its salvation. If two years ago Breitscheid considered it necessary to scare the bourgeoisie by a bloc with Communists, now Wels and Co. are interested in recoiling demonstratively not only from the Communists but from the Second International itself.

The proposal of a united front now would only place the Communist C. E. C. in a ridiculous position and would be of service to the social democratic party administration. Politics knows no absolute formulas. Its slogans are concrete, that is, timed to definite circumstances. (What has been said above does not, of course, exclude, even today,

## The German Workers Will Rise Again; Stalinism Never!

agreements between the Communist and the social democratic organizations in the enterprises, in the districts, etc., as well as agreements with other Left wing groups which will inevitably break off from the official social democracy).

The average German worker as well as the average Communist feels like a traveller who has suffered shipwreck. His organizations, press, his hopes for a better future—all are drowned in the waves of Fascism. The thoughts of the shipwrecked are directed not toward building a new ship but toward getting shelter and a piece of bread. A depressed spirit and political indifference are the inevitable consequences of such gigantic catastrophes. But the political awakening of the more enduring, of the firm and courageous will inevitably be tied up with the thought of a new ship.

As characterizing the present situation in which the deepest layers of the German proletariat find themselves, I consider most important the report that in the majority of enterprises the old shop committees have been ousted and replaced by cells of Nazis. This "reform" passed so quietly that the foreign press did not even reflect it. But this is not a matter of the editorial board of a newspaper, or of the Liebknecht House, or even of a parliamentary faction, that is, it is not a matter of distant heights, but of the very base in production of the proletariat—the shop. The lack of resistance against the ousting of shop committees denotes an acute paralysis of the will of the masses under the influence of treachery and sabotage

at the top.

The Isolation of the Apparatus

The Communist party has gathered during the last years up to six million votes. Into the struggle it did not draw even one hundred thousand. Even the members of the party did not respond to the appeals of the C. E. C. This fact alone indicates the frightful isolation of the apparatus. With each day this isolation will grow. The masses are not interested in shadings and trifles. They take events in toto. The masses will inevitably turn their back to the party which quieted their anxiety with empty formulas, with boasts of the victories of tomorrow and led headlong to a catastrophe.

The situation of the German Communist Party changed so radically within the two or three weeks of March as in "normal", "peaceful" times it could not have changed in two decades. The imperialist epoch in general, is an epoch of sharp turns. One must learn to follow them attentively so as not to trip and crack one's head. We must not delude ourselves, we must give ourselves a full account of the extent of the catastrophe—of course, not to become tearfully downcast, but to start according to a new plan, the long and stubborn work required, on a new historic base.

Nearly all those opposing, object to the comparison of August 4th, 1914 with March 5th, 1933: the social democrats, you see, betrayed the proletariat consciously and by that came nearer to the seats of power; the Stalinists, however, "did not know" how to defend the proletariat and landed in jails. This difference is, of course, very essential and not accidental. But we don't have to exaggerate its political significance. In the first place, the majority of the social democracy even in 1914

## C.I. at Crossroads -- International Proletarian Revolution or Extinction

wanted, not to carve out a career, but to "save" the proletarian organizations, just as the leaders of the German Communist Party, blind obedient to the commands of the Moscow bureaucracy, think first of all of their apparatus. Secondly, if in 1914 the social democracy came nearer to the seats of power, yet in 1933, despite all its baseness and degradation, it came nearer to jails. We need not doubt that in the end it will be crushed and will yet have its Matteotti; but does this change our general estimate of reformist policy?

We condemn the apparatus of the German Communist Party not for "stupidity" or "inability" (as certain comrades express themselves absolutely incorrectly) but for bureaucratic centrism. It is a matter of a certain political current, which bases itself on a definite social strata, first of all in the USSR, and adopts its policy to the needs of this strata. Until the latest events, the question of what factor would win out in the German Communist Party: the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy, or the logic of the class struggle, remained open. Now the question is completely answered. If events of such gigantic import could not correct the policy of the German Communist Party, it means that bureaucratic centrism is absolutely hopeless. And from this follows the need of a new party.

### The Argument of the "International Scale"

But the question is solved on an international scale, object the opponents who turn a correct historic

thought into a super historic abstraction. The question of the victory of the proletariat—and not only of its defeat—is also solved on an international scale. This does not prevent the proletariat of Russia, which attained its victory in 1917 from still waiting for the victory in other countries. And the opposite process can also develop unevenly: while the official German Communist Party is liquidated politically, in other countries, and primarily in the USSR, the party has not yet been subjected to a decisive test. Historic events unfold themselves, irrespective of the chess board of the Comintern.

But the Comintern bears the responsibility for the German defeat. Absolutely true in the court of history, however, just as in an ordinary bourgeois court, not the one who bears the principal responsibility is found liable, but the one who has been caught. Now, alas, the apparatus of the German Communist Party has been caught between the tongs of history. The distribution of punishment is really "unjust". But justice in general is not an attribute of the historic process. And there is no appeal from it.

However, let us not slander the court of history: it is much more serious than the bourgeois court. The liquidation of the German Communist Party is only a stage. It will not stop there. If other sections of the Comintern will learn the German lesson, they may rightfully deserve leniency of history. Otherwise they are doomed. In this way, the march of history gives to the other sections still some additional time to reconsider. We, the Left Opposition, are only the historic interpreters of the march of development. That is why we do not break with the Third International. (To Be Continued)