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Alarm Signal! A Notice To Our Readers Crisis In Germany Danger Draws Closer in U.S.S.R.

One would be a coward or purblind to minimize the extent of By LEONTROTSKY negligence, they threw themselves into the extremes of 100 percent danger-castastrophe looms over the Communist Party of the on its own, with all its creative lion of isolated peasant egos, who Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the imagination, to command over the only the day before represented ruling party of the first proletarian economy of 170 million souls. But the motive power of rural economy by the self-sacrificing struggle of matter, the Politbureau of Marxes nag, but prime movers neverthethe advanced workers.

Stalinist regime, the class enemies takes place or is about to be undertaken, than the working class. The possible attempts on the part of counter-revolutionists to make thought out formula of the alliance industry to the heavy industry; the use of our outspoken criticism do between workers and peasants, as ominous disproportions within innot present one one-hundredth part the foundation of foundations? How dustry, light as well as heavy—has of that danger which is borne by long ago is it that they worshipped excessively lowered the efficient the malignant misinformation the middle peasant? How dong functioning of labor power and

finds itself up against an absolute by the consequences of their own impasse. This general historical perspective not only completely justifies the October Revolution, insofar as it requires justification, but it also dooms beforehand as 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 re-ckoning in terms of decades. Ulti-mately, 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

BUREAUCRATIC SABOTAGE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION UNDER THE GUISE OF IN-FALLIRLE 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 self-sufficient and irresponsible, 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 plans with commands and balancesheets with coercion. The task that is most complex, the task that not only was never before solved but never even undertaken tual congruity between the branch-temporary chairman. A motion to by its very nature is insolvable elected: Sultan of the Freiheit millions, without their critical the Huntington Branch of the S checking over their own collective P.; Mac Christian of the NWIU; expressing their needs and demands ers, Local 445; Penn of the Brother -this gigantiq, all-embracing, nawithin official sanctums, in the sec-

Even if the Politbureau consist-L. O. When it came to voting on ed of seven universal geniuses, of seven Marxes, or seven Lenins, it mittee raise their hands. Half the would have still been incapable all party members followed suit. But

MANHATTAN

MASS MEETING

upon what this or the other spetz

ruling faction that is sapping the power they have wrested from the without the necessary equipment are better informed of all that most of all concerned with preserv- peasantry itself. ing their inflated personal prestige.

spread by the bureaucracy and by the enforced silence of the proletarian vanguard.

the initial peasant: Frow Frong Tunctioning of labor power and ago did they ignore the very existence of the kulak? How many ages is it since they rejected the industry and the peasant tunctioning of labor power and ago did they ignore the very existence of the kulak? How many ages is it since they rejected the industry and the peasant representation of the proletary tunned industry and the peasant representation of the proletary tunned industrial labor power and ago did they ignore the very existence of the proletary tunned industrial labor power and ago did they ignore the very existence of the kulak? How many ages is it since they rejected the industry and the peasant. In a broad historical sense, the program of planned industrializasituation of the Soviet Union can- tion in the name of, presumably, its having been achieved. The not be so hopeless as is the situa- preserving the "link" between the chervonmetz in the pocket of a tion of world Capitalism which city and the village? Frightened

collectivization. Twenty-five mil-It can be prevented only that is precisely the gist of the -greedy, feeble as the moujik's or Lenins would have never even less these millions the bureau-The situation is so pregnant with danger that to confine oneself phrases and hints would mean to participate in the activities of the reaucrats who are drunk with the farms) directorates which were October Revolution. Under the stalinist regime, the class enemies from under their feet and who are

The excessive shift in the apport Is it so long since that these tionment of national income-from out to have been broken prior to

(Continued on Page 2)

HAS RAKOVSKY BEENASSASSINATED!

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

"Information from several sources has been receive 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 revolutiontionists as Heinrichsen, Butov, Silov, Rabinovitch, Blumkin, Zinzaze 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 revolutiontionary 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 prived of life itself by the bureacratic apparatus?

We demand an answer from the responsible head of the Rus-WHERE IS CHRISTIAN RAK-

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 intransigeance whose serene firmness under the hammer blows of reaction have heen and remain an inxhaustible source of inspiration to proletarian revolutionist!

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY?

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

The New York United Front the other half were confused by Mooney Conference was no ordin-ary demonstration of the strength for a counter-revolutionary Trotand weakness of the Satlinist mach- skyite and did not vote. The 140 ine. As it turned out the confer- votes Berman got were enough. ence got out of control of the Stalinist steering committee. Bedlam broke loose. A riot was avoided this only by summarily adjourning.

floor of the conference.

The conference was opened by the reading of a message from to achieve by means of planned Mooney. Following this Palmer forecasting and regulation the mu- of the Federated Press was elected es of a growing economy of an elect a credentials committee was enormous country; this task which carried and the following were without the daily experience of Nessin of the TUUC; Gubernick of experience, without their openly Riner of the Brotherhood of Paint hood of Railroad Trainmen; and tion-wide historical task is solved Berman of the Left Opposition who was a regularly elected delegate retariat of the CEC, all depending from a Workmen's Circle Branch upon how the spirit moves it, and Berman's election caused the party members no end of confusion. Combuzzes. What could be more mon- rade Berman is well known to party members as a member of the

From this point on the confusion grew apace until the conclusion of eventful gathering. Louis Scott, Mooney's personal represen-The conference, overwhelming tative made the report. He sum-weapon while on the picket lines. Stalinist in its political commarized some of the outstanding. The evidence showed that Webb threw the country into the bank-their "rightful" place under the plexion, was oriented on the party's points in the legal aspect of the was beaten up by the State Highhelf-turn on the united front. The case. His perspective for the fuway police and then arrested and sive action of the imperialists, entirely inadequate. The banking contradiction between this political ture of the fight was essentially a after that taken to jail and framed against the other sections of the crisis in this sense represents a orientation and the attempt on legal one. He laid down the tasks in the Sangamon County Jail. The exploiters and the working class, the part of the party steering com- of the movement as follows: united evidence further showed that Chief enabled them to turn an unfavormittee to run it in the well known front mass meetings and demon- Moody, of the State Highway Pol- able situation into a successful following the period of overproduction and liquidation. Roosevelt's laws it willfully wills, supplanting ner is the key to an understanding demand the immediate and unconing that Webb was beaten up had of the tense political drama that ditional release of Mooney; a delewas fought for eight hours on the gation to Roosevelt to get him to "bring him in." Within a few intercede with Roph for Mooney; a minutes after a decision was ren-congressional investigation; and if dered against Webb and Wang, they all these measures fail, a general were rushed on to Vandalia State sales and causing ruin. The bank tion of the middle class run paralstrike. The emphasis he gave the Prison. 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.

(Continued on Page 4)

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 greater significance. So the much so that we have been forced at the last moment to elimnnate 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.

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

The Foltis-Fischer Cafeteria Company after having reduced the wages of their employees to the owest possible level, on top of t, 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 is really to be carried out, if it is staged a demonstration in front of to be carried out in the revoluthe company offices demanding the reinstatement of the discrarged 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 (Continued on Page 3)

Two Framed Up by Peabody Coal Co. from below" unexplained, to fail and the German C. P. that they adopt completely and unambigu-

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 Vendalia State Prison for one year and eight months respectively and fined 300 dollars. The framed-up charges against them

Wang to prison? Because the Progressive Miners of America is There (Continued on Page 2)

Manifesto of the Left Opposition

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE C. P. U. S. A.! TO ALL COMMUNIST WORK-ERS!

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 tionary 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 "so-cial Fascism", of the "united front that is the way to make the turn an empty, worthless maneuver, that is the way to undermine the progress which is essential. That

else, is the need of the moment. | national working class.

The Left Opposition, in America The onslaught of Fascism is the forefront of the struggle against have already been made. The Fascsweeping over the German work- German Fascism because this strug- ist consolidation in Germany has ing class with breath-taking swift- gle is the central task of prole- been going on apace. But the deness. 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 protecariat. The ton of the German protecariat. The cry for the united front is resounded out tirelessly that the fate of into the open. 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 this above all which accounts for the reported united front negotians. for the reported united front negotiations between the Second and the

of its revolutionary foresight. It is what the question of Fascism

Precious time has already been as well as elsewhere, has been in lost. Many unnecessary sacrifices

(Continued on Page 2)

congress of the Comintern imme-

diately, with the participation

of the International Left Opposi-

tion, and that Trotsky and Ruk-

ovsky be especially summoned

to Moscow to take part in the

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

4. That the Left Oppositon be

readmitted to the party on the

basis of party democracy; that

the American C. P. support in

the Commern the readmission of

the Lett Opposition on an inter-

national scale, and the release

and return of the imprisoned Bol-

snevik-Leninists in the Soviet

5. That the party call for a

An Open Letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party

Congress.

Union.

To the Central Executive Com-

mittee, 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.

That the American party openly demand of the Comintern ously and carry out in practise the policy of the united front. 2. That the American Party demand the convening of the 7th

Our proposals are the following:

united front conference of all the socialist party and the A. F. of L., to formulate a concrete program for united front demonstrations in somearity 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 or the very things that are happening now in Germany as the consequence of a faise poincy. It has predicted and its predictions are literally verified. Inc Left Opposition has pointed out the way and the events have confirmed its prognosis. It is time now to turn the neim. There is very fittie time iett.

We nope 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 Lett 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 loyally 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 Opposiwith the German proletariat, all tion 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 strug-"rigid" control from above where gle for the dominating position and much stronger by the process of tween the gold standard internasqueezing out the small banks and consolidating the banking structure and its capital in the hands of a smaller grows at the small banks and the need of liquidation of the internal debt nationally. The (Continued on Page 2)

Bankers Utilize Situation In Order To Strengthen Hold on Whole System

The banking crisis has within it capped" on the world market by the further consolidation of the the most antiquated and cumberwas that they carried concealed financial capitalists over American some banking apparatus in the weapons while on the picket lines economy. It was a condition that world of imperiatist nations. The against the Peabody Coal Co. But could not be avoided in the pro- Federal Reserve System and the the evidence in the case showed cess of reorganizing the American moves toward the further developconclusively and without the structure for a more favorable posi- ment of branch banking are steps shadow of a doubt that neither tion in the intensified competition forward for the American imper-Webb nor Wang has any kind of for world markets. More than one lalists in this respect. But if the

The rural middle class had its "New Deal" was started off with "Farmers Holiday" movement in a bang in the interests of the Amorder to fight against the falling erican imperialists. This was facilworld price level that was increasing their debts, reducing their ers came along and by declaring Why all the haste? And what a "Bankers Holiday" turned an unis the real reason for the framing- favorable situation into a lever for up and railroading of Webb and further consolidation over the other

American imperialists are "handi-

crisis in the stage of reorganization rather than a stage immediately "New Deal" was started off with itate by the fact that the immediate surface interests of a large seclel with the interest of the big to serve the "people". The middle class wants inflation

to eliminate the debtors' burden There is no question that the with "cheap money", Roosevelt first got their support by letting them think he would open the gates for unlimited local scrip. Then he closed the gates to local scrip by

concentrating the issuing of two billions in currency through "rigid" control from above—where they hope to control the process of inflation, thereby eliminating the inflation, thereby eliminating the cycloiters the cycloiters. lower sections of the exploiters tional medium of exchange. The from the benefits. In addition, the leading financiers will come out tween the gold standard interna-

Speaker:

smaller group at the top.

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

IRVING PLAZA 15th Street and Irving Place SUNDAY, MARCH 19, 1938

ADMISSION 15e

THE PARIS COMMUNE March-May 1871

Martin Abern

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

The ALBANY CONFERENCE

And the Next Step in the Unemployment Movement Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

heSovietUnionInDanger

(Continued from Page 1)

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 peas ant, 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 smallscale 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 foodstuffs 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 chervonetz. All the draft figures pertaining to the economic budget, stable unit of value. Bureaucratic case as well to supplant economic piace of proper food.

dards of the masses. By killing the interest of the worker in piecework wages, by fostering the indignation of the peasant against tive lever instead of pulling asunfixed prices for rural products, inflation sets a frenzied premium upon speculation and the specula-

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 sent volunteer producing cooperathis 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 than one and a half million of various categories, one and a half, 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 but also the authority of the party; omy 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 rudimental 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 turn to the moujik the economic stimulus he has lost, the Stalinist of world imperialism is well aware gerous Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country", by the disciplination of what such a struggle will mean. leadership has legalized within It is their intention to transform placement of Stalinist national-Bolwell-known limits, free markets, screening them under the jesuitical name of kolkhoz trade. The exclusion of traders—middlemon under the jesuitical and into a war of destruction to transform this struggle into a crushing destruction to transform shevism. Only the re-arming of the party of the protection of traders—middlemon under the jesuitical and into a war of destruction to transform shevism. Only the re-arming of the party of the protection to transform this struggle into a crushing destruction to transform the jesuitical feat of the national working class and into a war of destruction to transform the party of the protection the party of the sion of traders—middlemen—under against the USSR. All the greatthe legalization of private trade, er therefore the task of the Comist internationalism, only the sub signifies a monstrous crazy-quilt of munists, all the more important stitution of the Marxian perspec prices in a speculation which is then the re-arming of the Community tive of the Permanent Revolution atomized and therefore more in ist International. Against the forces for the petty bourgeois utopia of sane. The prices on the markets of Hitler and his imperialist backat once rose ten, fifteen and twenty ers must be rallied the internationtimes over the fixed government al working class and its fatherland,

the USSR. Against Naturally enough, the collectiviz- Shirt agents of world imperialism ed farmer sent bread and other products into those channels outinternational working class, must side of the state. "This constitutes be prepare to act! 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 tional. These tasks can only be solved by the reestablishment withmoujik prefers the channels of in the ranks of world Communism, private trade and speculation to the planned trade with the state of the principles and the spirit of -means nothing else but that the Marxist internationalism, by the

economic link between the state | cided with the extreme sharpening | tories' plants, mines, electric staand the peasantry has still not even of economic difficulties which did tions, been attained.

Free trade, by raising to the most excessive heights the column ignant condition of the economic organism. The struggle against this disease demanded a radical reexamination 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. Acording 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; 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, to the quality of production, to and against the mass concealment basic costs and the productivity of of pillage; the out and out mililabor-all these have been swirled tary mobilization of the party for away like so much dust when the a struggle against kulak sabotage, inflation completely liquidated the after the "liquidation" of the kulak as a class; and simultaneously supervision tried its hand in this with all this: the undernourish ment in the cities, the return to reality; the gospel of "Stalin's six the card system and to the rations, conditions" was designated from and finally, the restoration of the then on to fulfill the function of passport system—what do all these a stable system of currency. This measures mean, independently of amounts to the same thing as feed- the fact whether they are correct ing excerpts from a cook-book in or no, if not the return of that cruel struggle between the capital-Money inflation means an ever list and the socialist tendencies increasing tax upon the living stan- which in 1932 revived a number of features of 1918-1919?

> The bureaucracy leans harder der the framework that restricts we have the most unfavorable evidthe personal interests of the peasants in conformance with the real condition of rural economy. It noz positions by party members.

Where will they come from? To force upon the peasant collecives, economic leadership in accordance with party tokens means acute, the supply of bread criteria. Planned econ- it means to substitute a new dose in return for this, there has been of administrative coercion for the created the theory that socialism but to retrace one's steps back close a resemblance to mockery!
away from it, to "Military Com- In the midst of newly erected facmunism", 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 coin- in preparation.

(Continued from Page 1)

-the Red Army, the arm of the

Tremendous tasks are facing the

international working class and its

vanguard, the Communist Interna-

war. But the bureaucracy leads a others, into the sphere of economic statistics.

With a stop-watch in his hands, Stalin insists that if the plan is to what end they are straining flfilled only 93.7, and not 100 per- their forces as producers cent, it is only because the threa of Japanese intervention, which could not have been forseen 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 experi ment 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 pre cision in identity between the de sign and the realization must arouse the acutest distrust in the entire report on the part of anyone familiar with the A B C rudiments of the question. It is to the casual admission of Molotov. 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 supple implement of the report there is to be found the key to the secret of the astonishing coincid dence 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 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 af- meet together at each terminal oc- furnish the meeting with something a grandiose success, under the condition that, simultaneously, the disproportions were mitigated and the standard of living of the masses was raised. But it is precisely upon these more important criteria that

The composers of a plan pro kolkhoz Communists are required in two, and two and a half times. order to fill the commanding kolk- The increase in meat consumption was specified at 25 percent, in dairy products-50 percent, etc. means not to go ahead of the Nep society. The consolation bears too

> We shall consider in detail the question about the balance shee of the first five year plan in book on Soviet economy that is now

uprooting of the harmful and dan

Manifesto of the Left Opposition

the Brown

collective and not obtain since the period of civil farms, the workers and peasants begin to feel more and more as if double life, one for display and they are in the midst of gigantic ward again. In a week it will be of mercury that gauges prices, has the other—in reality. This dual-brought out into the open the mality it transfers everywhere, among of living men. An acute feeling page pamphlet and will sell for a of disillusionment has possessed the masses. The populace, as con-

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 eestacy about the leadership; but they would 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 the cadres of the revolutionary to say about "Moscow" today: that it is not he. Stalin, who is plan. The bureaucracy identifies the productivity of industry in 1932 its own blindness with socialism with donations and loans—donaand, while saving the reputation of its own infallibility, villifies sosciously striving to force the mass- and is not mortgaged by es to find a way out other than so-

sumers, can no longer understand

Continued in the next issue

cialism.

Pioneer Publishing Fund

THE ONLY ROAD

Soviet

In response to our appeal 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 forpage 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.

THE PUBLISHING FUND

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work we are doing. The literature movement will be educated. The extent increased. Help it along tions first and loans second.

Remember that every penny donobligations. Send all funds imme-

Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th St. New York City, N. Y.

As was anticipated, the Grand

wage question or any other ques-

TheHitlerPress &"Moscow

strategy of the Fascist coalition after its rapid consolidations. Differences within the coalition itself revolutionary opponents as a solid ers, to cut them off from the establishment of the proletarian

IS RUSSIA NO LONGER

other relations. Insofar as the measures its Stalinist leadership speak up of the Hitler Cabinet against the and give the counter-revolutionary C. P. G. are concerned, the official strategists of Der Tag the answer circles appear to be quite Hisin- of the Leninist Comintern? Let terested. The Soviet government the Communist workers themselves is said to have only an academic sound the alarm. Let them put interest in whatever happens to the Stalinist leadership to the test the Communists outside of Russia. in the crucible of the tremendous That is the affair of the III Inter- events in Germany.

The government press in Ger- national, which has nothing to do many offers quite a picture of the with the government." (Der Tag,

Innumerable such samples could are carefully suppressed and cov- be cited. Their primary aim is of ered up: the working class must course to cast despair and discourbe made to feel that its counter- agement into the ranks of the workmass. Every rumor or report of tower of strength, from the USSR -the fortress of the world Octo-United Front is quickly squashed ebr. And it must be said openly: and discredited. A consistant at By its silence, by its criminal abstack is made above all on the work-ers faith in proletarian interna-ment, the Stalinist leadership is total raised in loans is \$129.50. Of tionalism. These are the lines helping along this cunning game of along which the counter-revolution the German counter-revolution. If is exerting every effort to scatter, the Stalinist leaders were in the to demoralize, to pulverize the as slightest degree true to the internationalist colors of Communism, the purpose of the Fascists and One outstanding example: While their allies would quickly come to in the past this Rightist press has naught, the German working class always been painfully engaged in would rapidly be awakened from its "proving" the "hand of Moscow" lethargy and impotence and Gerin the most phantastic plots against many would soon present a differthe German nation, this same press, ent scene. The betrayal of prole-Once more we appeal to all our thundering against Marxism, call- tarian internationalism which becomrades and friends to lend us a ing for the ruthless extermination gan with the establishment of the helping hand. This is invaluable of the Communist party (utilizing theory of "socialism in one counsuch obvious frame-ups as the try" is being posed in a sharp and we put out are the texts by which Reichstag fire) has the following concrete manner in Germany. Shall the German reactionaries be allowed to bank on this betraal in their sufficient to remark that, according rotten, but the very elements of the work must be speeded up and its INTERESTED IN THE C. P. G.? campaign of annihilation against "Moscow, Feb. 1.—The appoint- the organized working class? Shall ment of Adolf iHtler as Reichs they thus be permitted to make Chancellor was received quietly in the most adequate preparations in the Russian official circles. There the longed-for assault on the U. cialism in the eyes of the work- ated and lent is used exclusively are reassuring explanations that S. S. R.? Or will the Communist er's and especially the peasants. It for the purpose of getting out lit. Hitler does not represent any dan. workers wake up and demand that seems as if the bureaucracy is con- erature. It is a separate fund ger for the German-Russian trade the Communist International, that

The Left Opposition at Albany

The Conference was called by a all committees. Provisional Committee initiated by The Commun position groups. Some of the more conscious Party members asked passive? When in 1927-28 the official policy was oriented around the mythical 'revolutionary upsurge of the American masses'

The Left Opposition participated Council program is being well re- used for the 21 unions to vote and the adventuristic agitational slogan ever it reaches them and although cussion on the Council resolution Clarence Hathaway, member of the

The steering committee pretended an approach at genuineness, accident that the bombshells from 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 men-Minneapolis Railroad Council held late activity and needed changes in tioned that the steering committee -J. M. | guaranteed their line a majority on

2 Illinois Miners Framed is the real reason Al Greening, "the majestic impartial" State Attorney of Sangamon County has stamped Capt. Webb, "Public Enemy No. 1 of Sangamon County?

> To Mr. Greening every worker that fights against oppression and slavery and a larger piece of bread emy". But to Mr. Greening, men like John L. Lewis, the world's greatest racketeer, Lewis' thugs lars a pay-ah-all these gentlemen, are respectable and honarable citizens of the community. up against bigger obstacles than the miners of Sangamon have been know of his incessant activities in Al Greening and have won, just as they have won against Lewis and America. They are proud to say are winning against the Peabody Coal Company. The miners of most vicious hatres Springfield will fight to the finish Peabody machine. to bring Webb back into the ranks of the P. M. A.

> The miners of Illinois who know Webb, and there are thousands of the Webb-Wang case to a higher them, admire him because of his tested devotion to the class-strugtested devotion to the class-strug-gle. They have found in him one the immediate release of Webb and Wang! tionary-racketeering elements. They

The Communist League delegate the official Party. It was hoped on the Bills Committee objected through the "united front" call to to the seven-hour day drawn up for have as broad a representation of approval. Presenting to the comlabor organizations as could be mittee the necessity and concrete mustered within the "from below" reality of the six-hour day, five-day fulfillment of the five year plan within six, seven or eight years are all interested.

casionally to discuss and take actiney did not have, namely, a corpolicy of the initiators. The result week without reduction in pay.

was that the conference was con
During the discussion "the theorfined to Party members and Op- eticans" Overgaard and Alexander were called in; sustaining the seven-hour day as formulated by themselves, "How is it that 1933 the majority of the committee. finds the American proletariat still 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 road workers we think it will be- erhoods, sponsored by the Minnea- speech had not fallen on deaf ears. ocracy. You're getting plenty of it the arsenal of the Left Opposition had thrown the bureaucrats into such a frenzy that in actuality they

> 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 Lehmans and for his children is a "Public En- the Roosevelts. That the burning question is to the masses, and with the masses we will compel Roosevelt and Lehman to listen to us. and gunmen recruited from the The first prerequisite for this is four corners of the earth, the Pea- the tactic of the genuine united body Coal Company who hand out front from top to bottom as proguns to their scabs at three dol- posed internationally by the Left Opposition.

> > -JACK CARMODY.

building the Progressive Miners of of him that he has earned the most vicious hatred of the Lewis-

Webb and Wang must not be left to rot away behind prison bars! Efforts are being made to appeal

-J. ANGELO.

Move to Unite Rail Unions In M'p'lis Minneapolis.—On October 23rd, | Firemen, Engineers, Trainmen,

1932, at a Union Meeting of the 21 Railroad Unions, the "Minnes- furnished the bulk of attendance. polis Railroad Council" was organized. The aim and object of this Lodge Officers and General Chairconstruction, despite the billions of Council, and Railroad Councils in men failed to furnish the meeting general, is to provide a medium with either plan or policy for the whereby the railroad workers, coming wage question. And that now divided into 21 separate units just precisely why they stayed ions, may have an opportunity to away because they were asked to fair and would have considered the casionally to discuss and take act they did not have, namely, a cor-Since the Union Meeting, which tion. This being the case, the Rail-

gave it birth, the Minneapolis Rail- road Council submitted a program road Council has held a number of in the shape of a resolution which council meetings at which new first criticized the Brotherhood members were added from different leadership for their failure to amlocal unions of the Brotherhoods. algamate the dwindling railroad A letterhead and program has been crafts, and their failure to reordrafted, discussed and printed. The ganize the 7 shop crafts which program contains a brief outline of have been left in company unions claimed in their own time as their the Minneapolis Railroad Council, for over ten years. Also for their has been decided "to place" Com- task, "to lift up the country to a and the aim and purpose of rail- failure to organize the motor transmunists, who will obey the orders new and hitherto unseen, high level road councils in general together port workers and for the poor and ference toward a genuine united of the ruling center, in charge of of material and cultural develop- with nine proposals covering am- independent way in which the offi- front policy. Comrade Cannon the kolkhozi which ideally repre-ment". Even during the first two algamation, organization and other cials conducted the last two wage secretary of the Communist League years the mitigation of the famine needed changes inside of the Rail- movements. The resolution then of America (Left Opposition) deletives. Simultaneously with this, in commodities was to have been road Brotherhoods. The program provided for amalgamation and or- gation, minced no words in his adthe CEC testifies that the village attained; the next two years were also proposes organized and united ganization of rail, motor, water dress to the convention. He told Communists are becoming soaked to have initiated the superabund action for the six hour day without and air transport into four indust the delegates that if they intended with the spirit of peasant opposi- ance of goods. In the fifth year, the any reduction in pay as a counter- trial unions and coordinate their to put into action the purpose for tion and must undergo a mass puri- consumption of industrial products, proposition to unemployment and efforts, and called for united ac- which they were assembled, it was fication. In the meantime, no less should have increased, according to wage cuts which flow automatically tion by all railroad crafts in the necessary to abandon the false and from the profit system and the coming wage issue and that if a sterile "the united from begrowing productivity of labor. The vote is taken that one ballot be low." He drew a sharp line from ceived by railroad workers where act as a UNIT. After a full dis- for a "general strike" proposed by etc. In actuality, the shortage in it is less than two months old it a secret vote was taken on its ad- Provisional Committee and District commodities has become unbearably has already been read in a limit-option or rejection with only 5 Organizer for the C. P. At the throughout the conference. Or as cordance with party tokens means acute, the supply of bread has ed way from coast to coast. When to undermine not only the kolkhozi sharply decreased, meat and dairy the R. R. Council idea permeates the authority of the party. On the whole, the first union the whole, the first union meeting of the 21 Railroad Broth-plause, which testified that his any kick against workers' designation. come a National Movement inside polis Railroad Council, was a huge task of economic competition; it is not a consumers' organization of of the Railroad Brotherhoods which success and is but a forerunner will promote healthy and much to greater meetings yet to come. needed changes and developments towards amalgamation and organi- that the railroad workers zation of transportation workers welcome the Railroad Council in general.

its first Union Meeting of the 21 structure and policy. 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,

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

"Should the 21 Brotherhoods vote and act as a zation vote and act separately, and make separate settlement and agreements?"

f-om new defeats, free it from the possibility of new betrayals of the and circulated. Through its chairadequate defense of the USSR, the Labor Executives Association was asked by letter, signed by five memtions, to furnish the meeting with before Webb came to trial No time must be lost. The strug- its spokesman on the questions in- is Capt. Webb? He was one No reply was received from any one of them attended the meeting. He said he was for unity and amalgamation without telling the audience what he had done to pro-

> ed this Union Meeting. The composition of the meeting was deter. Taylorville, West Frankfort

mote those things.

We have every reason to feel will Movement inside of the Railroad On Sunday. February 26th. the Brotherhoods as a means to stimu-

(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 UNIT, or should each organi- 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 Handbills advertising the meeting and the program were printed to smash the Progressive Miners

tant leaders to prison. State Attorney Greening stamped Capt. Webb as "Public Enemy bers from four different organiza- No. 1 of Sangamon County" weeks Who volved. Another letter, signed by that large army of youth that ansthree members from three of the wered Woodrow Wilson's hollow The Communist workers must be Brotherhoods, was sent to about 20 call to save democracy. Since armed to meet the imposing inter- General Chairman located in the coming back from France he has Twin Cities urging their attend- found out through experience that ance at the meeting to help the the democracy he fought for was membership to decide on the best owned body and soul by Morgan the calling of the Seventh Congress program and policy to pursue in bankers. He went to Washington the expected wage move after June with the Bonus Marchers and afwith the participation of the International Left Opposition!

Party members! Demand that the Chairman Whitney did not to Springfield and established Camp even reply to the letter sent him. Neal, where a large group of worldwar veterans have built themselves of the General Chairmen and only 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 100 members from 38 Lodges and of veterans cast their lot with the 12 of the railroad unions attend- Progressive Miners of America and wherever the fight was thickest, in mined by register. The seven shop Springfield, the miners could alcrafts had only 8 members at the ways find Capt. Webb and his men man and international working class!

Long live the victory of the German account of the fact in the front ranks. Because of the are still in the class! Webb's organizing ability, and his Company Unions where they have militant speeches to the miners been left practically unmolested for and because he fought courageousover ten years by B. M. Jewel and ly and spiritedly to build the Pro-AMERICA (OPPOSITION) the rest of the official drones. The gressive Miners of America—that

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Bankers Consolidate Control

(Continued from Page 1)

attempt to reconcile this ever-press-

ing contradiction. With this, goes the problem of attempts to drive in an indirect take a blow of the American imperwage cut by inflation and rising lake a blow of the American commodity prices. The liquidation the Pound. But the war-time poof the internal debt helps certain wers of the President and the meassections of the other exploiters beures which followed, the embargo sides the imperialists who are in on gold and the return of gold to the final analysis responsible for the central banks and the process the fightening up of the American productive force to enable them to abling America to prepare a special control of the contro compete more effectively on the stronger internal base not only worl market and reduced costs at for further onslaughts against the home, and to squeeze out the ex- American workers but also against cess baggage of the lesser exploiters and "debt" upon the American England and France.

industrial structure. While they are busy with the in-

ternal end of this problem have been forced off the gold standard, even though they deny it as Japan denies it has a war on the other imperialists, especially

-RUGO OBHLEB.

October revolution and its extension to the Soviet United States of Europe. gle must be organized. The Communist workers must be mobilized. national tasks facing the working Communist workers! Demand

"socialism in one country" can save

the international working class

of the Communist International 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 mas international solidarity with the German working Forward to the revolutionary de-

fense of the USSR! Down with the black regime of Hitlerism!

> -NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF

he Three Sources and Three Constituent Parts of Throughout the whole civilized tuent parts of Marxism. world Marxist teachings draw upon The philosophy of M

world Marxist teachings draw upon themselves the extreme hostility materialism. Throughout modern and hatred of all bourgeois science European history, and especially at (both governmental and liberal). the end of the 18th century in the dialectic materialism of Marx— the political superstructure arises. The doctrine of surplus value is all the teachings of the bourgeois Marx gave most of his attention to the keystone of the economic the nature of a harmful "sect". was fought against all kinds of philosophers, with their "new" the study of this economic structure. When the control of the study of this economic structure. Was fought against serfdom ways of returning to an old and ture. His chief work Capital is decapital, created for an impartial social science is in institutions and ideas, material-impossible in a society founded on ism proved to be the only consist-with the worker with standing. class struggle. In one way or an- ent philosophy, true to all the other every governmental and liberal science defends wage slavery. and Marxim has declared ruthless The enemies of democracy tried war against this slavery. To ex- therefore with all their might to nect impartial science in a wageslave society is rather stupidly naive-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 thought of humanity had already raised. His teachings arose as direct and immediate continuation of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism.

The teaching of Marx is 'allcal economy French socialism.

teachings of the natural sciences, hostile to superstition, bigotry, etc.

most determination, and many tiffic theory, showing how out of times explained the profound error one set-up of social life, another necessary labor time involved in of any departure from this founda-tion. Their views are expounded ence of a growth of the produc-Where the h most clearly and in the greatest detive forces—capitalism for example main road of development of world tail in the works of Engels, Ludwig out of feudalism.

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 The teaching of Marx is 'all-philosophy, especially the system powerful because it is true. It is of Hegel which had led in its turn complete and symmetrical, offering to the materialism of Feuerbach. an integrated view of the world, The chief of these acquisitions is irreconcilable with any supersti- the dialectic-that is, the undertion, with any reactionism, or with standing of evolution in its fullest, any defense of bourgeois oppres- deepest and most universal aspect sion. It is the legitimate inheritor the understanding of the relativity ies of natural science, radium, the struments of understanding. Let us dwell briefly upon these electron, the transmutation of ele-three sources and therefore consti-ments, have admirably confirmed structure is the basis upon which of the class of capitalists.

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

While deepening and developing capitalist-society. philosophic materialism, Marx car-

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 be-

come illusory. It would be an in-

propriate time a final selection.

of the Czechoslovak workers.

Continued in the next issue

Slovene Stalinists

In spite of the fact that the

worker.

Germany.

talism is totally false?

tory of world counter-revolution?

Comradely yours,

-K. C-o.

The classic political economy up

had seen a relation between things of the productivity of labor and main road of development of world tail in the works of Engels, Ludwig out of reugalism.

civilization. On the contrary, the F uerbach and Anti-Duehring, Very genius of Marx lay in the fact works which, like the Communist that he gave the answer to those Manifesto, are everyday books on dependently of him—matter, that of development—so the table of the class conscious is, in a state of development—so formed between separate producers thousands and millions of workers also the social understanding of by means of the market. Money man (that is, his various views and means that this connection is beteachings, philosophical, religious, political, etc.) reflects the economic in one unit the whole industrial labor is appropriated by a handful structure of society. Political institutions are a superstructure Capital implies a further developresting on an economic foundation. The labor and therewith the mad search for ment of this connection. The labor and therewith the mad search for ment of this connection. We see, for instance, how the various political forms of the contemity. The wage worker sells his porary European states serve as labor power to the owner of land, a reinforcement of the rulership of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

Ity. The wage worker sens has labor power to the owner of land, factories and the instruments of labor. One part of the working labor. One part of the working power of united labor. The philosophy of Marx is that day he spends in order to meet finished philosophical materialism the cost of spporting himself and From the first beginnings of comof the best that humanity created of human knowledge, which gives which has given humanity in gen- his family (wages), but another modity economy, from simple barin the 19th century in the form of German philosophy, English politi- matter. The most recent discover- graticular, the greatest of all in- ing for nothing, creating for the of capitalism to its highest terms, in part of the day he spends work- ter, Marx followed the development capitalist surplus value, the source to large-scale production. Having seen that the economic of profits, the source of the wealth

Capital, created by the labor of or and creating an army of the unemployed. In industry the victory ried it through to the end, extend- to Marx's time had been formed in of large-scale production is obvious ing its mode of understanding na- England, the most highly developed at once, but in agriculture too we materialism, defending various forms of philosophic idealism, all of which come down and standard of the greatmaterialism, defending various forms of philosophic idealism, all laids of Marx is one of the greatiest of which come down one way or another to a defense or support of religion.

Marx and Engels defended philosophic idealism, all laids of Marx is one of the greatiest of scientific thought. The caprice and chaos thought in a philosophic idealism, all laids of Marx is one of the greatiest again of the economic structure again of the economic structure increases; there is a grow-laid down the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed their work. He firmly esponsible the principle of the conomic structure increases; there is a grow-laid down the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed their work. He firmly esponsible the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed their work. He firmly esponsible the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value where the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value where the principle of the labor theory of value where the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value where the principle of the labor theory of value. Marx contributed the principle of the labor theory of value where the principle of the labor theory of value where the principle of the labor theory of value where Marx and Engels defended philwere here replaced by a strikingly ed this theory. He showed that whole and symmetrical and scienture the value of any commodity is de-

> In outstripping small-scale pro-Where the bourgeois economist duction, capital leads to an increase

ist countries, both old and new, whole of world history leads. That Hastman .- Ed.)

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 sion of his class in American Work- there, seemed to agree whole hearttion. We must say that which is; ing Class History last Sunday. The edly. It was all so clear and simunder the given conditions the In-first topic under discussion was ple to them. I spoke and explain-ternational Opposition finds it im-the European Background of Amer-ed that I would not put up a "Bogey I was expelled.

I now take my place with the Left Opposition and urge all Pion-The pre-Conference charges the the course to do so now. The next eer leaders and members of the Y. C. L. and C. P. to seriously study six months the activity of the P. M., March 19th and will deal the views of the Left Opposition,

(Signed) DAVID LEVITT.

Meeting

which the meeting was called.

Under the act of March 8, 1879.

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EDITORIAL BOARD

Arne Swabeck

SUNDAY, MARCH 18, 1933

Vol. VI No. 19 (Whole No. 166)

-LOUIS NAGY.

ing, in order to propose at an ap-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 meet activities (publishing work meet) ment with regard to their public Trotsky's "The New Course" his 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 Workers Letter to collectivization.

writer of these lines has been openly but unjustly attacked by you

Pioneer Leader Is and appealed directly to the American workers and followers of the banners and the slogans to be used the A. F. of I and Expelled by YCL

I have been expelled by the about fifty people, mostly Party ganizations explaining their stand in the united front action against the Harry Risman troop. I have been expelled by the 1. The victory of German Fasc-2. The stand of the C. P. of

For the past few months I have ed the listeners that the standbeen wavering and standing on the point of the Opposition is the only as to the right to criticize, fearing 3. The stand of the Communist when the events in Germany took International.

Comrades! Is it not time to reinvestigate the position taken by the International Left Opposition.

Don't you think that the Stalin-Don't you think that the Stalin- in one country", "bureaucratic Bucharin theory of socialism and Centrism", etc., are, so to speak, illuminated symptoms that coma classless society in a single, iso in the realm of theory. The Chilated country surrounded by capi- nese revolution of 1925-27, the Don't you think that this theory

Anglo-Russian committee, the Spanish revolution of a year and into the swamp of reformism and the most eloquent proof of the cor-Don't you think that Stalinism is tion, the stupidity of the Stalinist leading the 3rd International to the same end?

policy, then one must take a desame end?

ing (a meeting of Pioneer leaders) Comrades! In the name of our common proletarian international Vera Sanders, a member of the The many-fold efforts of the ILO family I solemnly ask you to pay Communist party, came down to to achieve a permanent unification serious attention to this question. us to lead a discussion on Gerof the various Czechoslovakian I sincerely hope that you will have many. She mouthed the same grounings which claim to accept the space in your theoretical magazine "united from below" stuff ILO, in order to make possible for the clarification of these prin- and the phrases of "social-Fascism" their assimilation into the ILO, ciples because this alone enables as had Hathaway and Bedacht, have not shown the results desired. us to prepare and perform our his- even if not so expertly. In the The organization created by the toric mission and achieve victory true spirit of the new tradition she Martin Abern Unification Conference of Easter over our class enemies. then launched into a campaign Max Shachtman against the "counter-revolutionary renegade, Left social Fascist, agents of Wall St., the Trotskyists. pointing out to us the role of these

tory of labor over capital. and the "free" capitalist society promise to seek out the interests saw the light of day, it suddenly of this or that class or classes. became clear that this freedom The partisans of reform and bet-

has

Capitalism

and exploitation of the toilers. ity of exploitation.

labor under capitalism, to discover

Meanwhile the tumultous revolu-

in Europe but especially in France -were making it more and more force was the struggle of classes. es of capitalist society.

The genius of Marx lay in the

proves clearly every year to a larg- inference is the doctrine of class er and larger number of workers struggle.

the truth of this doctrine of Marx. People always have been and conquered they always will be the stupid victhroughout the world, but its vic- tims of deceit and self-deception tory is only an earnest of the vic- in politics, until they learn behind every kind of moral, religious, poli-When serfdom was overthrown tical, social phrase, declaration and meant a new system of oppression | terment will always be fooled by the defnders of the old regime, un-Various socialist doctrines began to til they understand that every old emerge as a reflection of this op- institution, no matter how savage pression and a protest against it. and rotten it may seem, is sus-But this original socialism was a tained by the forces of this or utopian socialism. It criticized that dominant class or classes. the capitalist society, condemned And there is only one way to break it, cursed it, dreamed of its determined the resistance of these classes: struction, drew fanciful pictures of namely, to find in the very society a better structure, and tried to surrounding us, to find and educate convince the rich of the immortal- and organize for the struggle, those forces which can-and owing But utopian socialism could not to their social situation mustshow a real way out. It was un- form a power capable of sweeping able to explain the essence of wage away the old and creating the new. Only the philosophic materialism

the laws of its development, or to of Marx has shown the projectariat find that social force capable of a way out of that spirtual slavery becoming the creator of a new so- in which up to now all oppressed classes have been sleeping. Only the economic theory of Marx has tions which accompanied the fall of explained the actual situation of feudalism, of serfdom-everywhere the proletariat in the general structure of capitalism.

Throughout the whole world, manifest that the foundation of the from America to Japan and from whole development and its motive Sweden to South Africa, independent organizations of the proletariat Not one single victory of political are multiplying. The proletariat liberty over the feudal class was is educating and enlightening itself gained without overcoming a des- by waging its class struggle. In perate resistance. Not one capital casting loose from the prejudices ist country has been formed on of bourgeois society, uniting more a more or less free democratic and more closely, learning to take basis without a life-and-death the measure of its successes, it is struggle between the different class- tempering its powers and growing irresistible.

The foregoing article was writfact that he was able sooner than ten by Lenin in 1913 for a Russian others to make and consistently magazine called "Education". The And the experience of all capital- carry out the inference to which the translation has been done by Max

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 Left Opposition. the foreground the tasks of party Secretariat as a means of checking as neces ary to declare all the after which we will have a discusdemocracy: the kind of regime in over the regrouping which has al- groups in Czechoslovakia which sion and summary by the instructwhich a few comrades who are closely connected and understand charges the International Secretar- position to be sympathizing groups. Ison and summary by the instructcount themselves in the Left Opor. There is still time for the comcharges the International Secretarposition to be sympathizing groups. each other even with the most in- iat to follow closely the developformal indications, making all their ment of the group "Left Opposition Secretariat to follow for the next decisions in a casual manner, must of the CPA (Bolshevik-Leninists)" finally give way to regular organi- and with the help of the German zational relations.

is a timely and complete information service, available to all mem bers of the organization and cover ing all the important questions of their life and struggle. Discipline can be built up only on a con scious assimilation of the policies of the organization by all its members and on confidence in its leadership. Such confidence can be won future the burning problems of the only gradually, in the course of only gradually, in the course of strategy of the proletarian revolu-common struggle and reciprocal tion will be forced to the surface influence. The iron discipline in the Balkans in all their sharpwhich is needed cannot be achieved ness and scope. 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 there, and to make every effort to Dear Comrades, 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 section ("Archio-Marxists"); this pions of the cause of the world the organization is a most important task, for whose fulfillment its ideological level and its revolutiving times when we meet at the neither time nor efforts should be tionary consolidation represents the crossroads, as a comrade and a spared. Moreover, Party democracy, most advanced of our European secas the only conceivable guarantee tions. against unprincipled conflicts and unmotivated splits, in the last an- ticipation for more than two years alysis does not increase the overhead costs of development, but re-

Only through constant and con-tional organization, the pre-Conscientious keeping to the methods ference declares: of democracy can the leadership undertake important steps on its own (Bolshevik-Leninists - "Archioresponsibility in truly emergency Marxists") is the only representacases, without provoking disorgani- tive of the ideas of the Internation-

The pre-Conference charges the 2. The International Left Op-Secretariat to observe the carrying- position bears no responsibility, out of the principles of Party dem- direct or indirect, for the other ocracy in content as well as in groups "Spartacos", "Fraction-form, within each section as well ists", "Leninist Left Opposition", as in the reciprocal relations be- etc.), which in words accept the tween the Secretariat and the sec- International Left Opposition. tions, particularly and above all 3. The pre-Conference calls upon in the question of the preparation all honest workers to condemn the for the International Conference.

entered the composition of our ist fraction, now of the class engrouping, then left it, against at emy, which the above-mentioned tempt to enter, but refused to give groups have been carrying on information as to its internal con- against our Greek section. dition and broke off negotiations on its own initiative. Through its all honest members of these above son and complete failure in 1914?

4. The pre-Conference calls upon parliamentarism and then to treather the swamp of rectness of the Left Opposition and son and complete failure in 1914? actions it has shown that the tasks and aims of the Left Opposi- policy of the united front which tion are completely strange to it, and that it needs the international to support the latter in its ideolobanner 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, places 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.

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

section to support its conversion lution and their possible regroup-The foundaton of party democracy 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

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 establish and consolidate connections with those countries in which no sections have been formed.

The pre-Conference regards it as and your comrades from time to especially necessary to devote more time; that he has been slandered attention within the International by false charges; in spite of every-Left Opposition and in its publica- thing I turn to you once more betions to the activity of our Greek cause you claim that you are chamorganization, through its strength, proletariat. I turn to you, in these

After the experience of the parof the Greek Left Opposition (Bol-standpoint: shevik-Leninists, - "Archio-Marxists"), in the life of our interna-

1. The Greek Left Opposition zation or dissatisfaction thereby. | al Left Opposition in Greece.

unprincipled struggle, contrary to was concocted to revise Leninism half ago; these are in the realm

mentioned groups to break with the the Left Opposition in Greece, and same end? gical struggles and its every-day

The Left Opposition in Czecho-Slovakia

1932 has proven unable to exert an Not Slavophilism against Geradequate and systematic activity. manophilism — but Communism Not only did the condition of split- against capitalism. up groups and of insufficient con-In view of the sad experiences solidation with the International

SCHOOL

Comrade Weber held the first sesexcusable mistake to tolerate a ficrades who have not signed up for session will meet on Sunday, 4 Czechoslovakian groups, their evowith Colonization.

> Comrade Shachtman has given two lectures in his course on the Principles and History of the International Left Opposition. The fight for internal party democracy; the second lecture covered the "The Lessons of October". The third session dealt with the struggle for the industrialization pro-

Comrade Martin Abern is con- But only on the Hungarian field.

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

Don't you think that the victory The world proletariat is threat THE MILITANT of German Fascism means the vic- ened! At our last section council meet-

Workers' Schools Confer on Fascism And Prepare for Demonstration

Schools Represented

tional Workers School affiliated action it will not permit the initiawith the Left Opposition, the New tive to fall to the socialists whose and particularly to bring up the Workers' School of the Lovestone role is precisely that of forestalling question of the present German sit-grou,p the National Students' Lea- the real united front by placing uation for discussion in their units. gue, the Brookwood Fellowship, themselves in the lead. 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 has made one of those sudden, unprepared, sharp turns reversing algle for the industrialization program. The next session of the next session of the class will be held this coming Wednesday March 22, on the Opposition Bloc and the Struggle for Collectivization.

The Newark branch of the Commost completely its previous stand on united front action. This would be in keeping with the reversal on part of the Committen, forced upon it at this late hour by the violent organization among the unorganized The Newark branch of the Comand had more than one battle and blows aimed at the working class workers in the industry who are victory over the Stalinist officials. in Germany.

> rade Cannon, our speaker, convincroad to solve the German problem that this meant disruption of the and lead the Party back to the demonstration itself. But it was vealed. In their refusal to particicarefully constructed queries and banners and slogans. The socialthe eagerness to clear up all the ists then accepted a motion by comdisputed questions are the most rade Ganett on this score.

Role of the Left Opposition rade Cannon reached the goal for The tardiness of the C P in correcting its blunders permitted the has proved to be a failure! Also Many of the Party members and initiative in this case to fall to away with a united front from sympathizers declared that they the socialist worker-students. But above which means secret discussions above which means secret discussions in closed chambers with the were misinformed by the teachings of the Party leaders and urged the Workers' School upheld the banner with the officials. A genuine united front, breach to arrespond the socialist worker-students. But sions in closed chambers with the workers with the workers' school upheld the banner with the workers of all workers. The Left Opposition in Russia.

The Austrian "Frey" group first need the composition of our rouping, then left it, against at rouping and Marxism in the same way that the revolutionary spirit and now serving the interests of the Stalin-Bernstein revised Marxism in the same way that testing the theories. These were the serving the interests of the Stalin-Bernstein revised Marxism in the same way that testing the theories. These were to make known the platform and the fact of the Opposition to the situation in Germany today. Under our very noses, gives to the misled masses the only of a united front from organization of a united front from organization. show to the misled masses the only road on which the victory of the road on which the victory of the Left Opposition, a fraction proletariat is possible. We deof the C. P. We criticized both the not delay such action. We must socialists and the official party for act immediately. their false united fronts "from below", we pointed out that on a must not be repeated. Comrade broader scale the social democratic Petras has offered his assistance Entered as a second class mail leaders could not initiate a real to the union office simply beleaders could not initiate a real to the union in its strike was chased matter November 28, 1928, at the was the role and duty of the Com-Post Office at New York, N. Y. munists. We explained the specific views of the leadership. nature of a united front movement,

Results of the Conference of holding a demonstration, not in front of the small Fascist organi- Oppositionists. Before the ink James P. Cannon zation here, but in front of the was dry these fundamentals were Maurice Spector German consulate. It was planned violated by the leadership of the to appeal to the worker-student organization. Such action brings groups and to youth organizations only harm to the organization. This Finally she wound up with a call Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year, demonstration against Hitler, date must not be repeated. to be announced later.

A conference of representatives The party's stand (if it is the of workers' schools and students party) in this conference, coming organizations was held at the Rand so soon after the experience at the Schol on Wednesday night, March Socialist Unemployment Conferpossible to make a final selection ican History. We also outlined the man" of Trotsky before the Pion- 8, for the purpose of organizing ence from which, owing to the disamong the existing Oppositionist method which we will follow, that many which are the views on Ger- an anti-Fascist demonstration in ruptive policy of the official party, paganda groups, gradually are pagand report to the district office. There taken by the Rand School Students on a small scale, a form of capitulation. We must trust that the party has learned its lesson and The call was answered by the that in the more important class party workers' school, the Interna- struggles involving united front

Cafeteria present policy of the C. P., then in the course of a few days the party has made one of those sudden un-

(Continued from Page 1) workers in the industry who are Comrade Betty Ganett of the with great interst. However mili-Comrade Martin Abern is con-tinuing with his course on the Prin-ciples of Communism.

We addressed a crowd on May 1st, Workers' School, after stating tant the strikers and the members frankly that she was a member of the whole nion may be, more watching the results of the strike Comrade Cannon's class on American Labor Leaders has been post-poned. Due to the German campaign, the Albany unemployed contraction to our meetings and defend the ference and other activities which ference and other activities which to our meetings and detection of the German consultation of the German consultation their injunctions to be used against Even though there was still plainly the strikers. Our union is rich in front of the German consulate. Jans, gangeters, their injunctions to be used against their injunctions to be used against conflicted with the Sunday date comrade Cannon's class had to be he did very unsuccessfully. That held over. It will begin at the first was the pioneer work we carried on last year.

Even though there was sun planny visible the false ideology of social such past experiences. The united front of all organized workers in the first that the first was the pioneer work we carried on last year. Last Saturday, 11th of March, we Ganett could not avoid taking the held our first meeting in English position that while a committee of must immediately propose a united must immediately propose a united of must immediately propose a ican workers and followers of the banners and the slogans to be used the A F of L and AFW in support Party. The German question, the burning problem of the international proletariat was the subject to the right to issue in addition and the subject to their own or the conditional proletariat was the subject to their own or the subject to th we discussed with an audience of their own leaflets to their own or the union should explain, is a lifeand-death question for all existing organizations.

> At such a conference, if it materializes, the role of the fake leaders in this industry will be represtige will be strengthened among the members of the reformist organization. Away with the policy of the "united front below", which of a united front from organization to organization. The AFWU can-

Also, the case of comrade Petras

using comrade Trotsky's slogan ship book reads as follows: "The Paragraph 3 in the new member-"march separately, strike unitedly". FWIU stands for the united front The conference accepted the idea political of trade union affiliation". But apparently not including Left

-SEBASTIAN PAPPAS.

Stalinists Distort Our Stand

"Trotskyites Retain Faith 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 point implied might be imputed to the latter; it is not and never has been that of the Left Opposi-

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 pression".

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 inciuded". A fine defense of capitalism!

More than that—this correct Marxian estimation of the situation as it stood in early December 1929, was absolutely representative of the attitude of the Mintant during that whole period, which corresponded to the facts of the developing crisis. In the previous is sue, Dec. 7, 1929, the mintant said 'What Congress will do "nothing" about-except to hand out sort stop—is the increasingly obvious tenuency 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 crasn on the stock market is a harbinger of the coming catastro-

The isolated sentece quoted bq the Daily Worker, wrenched out of its context and misquoted at that, which we were greeted. No word ed to the dining rom where we is typical of the Stainist method of of "renegae" no dirty looks in served as waiters, not feeling it

The quotation from the article of March 6, 1933, is given as follows: the boss bulls treated us on the "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 confirst time in years did the party tradictions developed during the boom, has been accomplished".

The Daily Worker distorts this into the following comment, "In the present banking crisis the Trot- tionists...well, let's see skyites already see the solution of all the "evils" which grew out of program?" the "boom" period, thus clearing the way for a new "turn in the crisis", for a turn towards pro- when we received the New York sperity". And the moral, as the Times with Duranty's article. Daily Worker puts it, is that "Since | darted hither and hence to all the the development of the crisis in delegates we recognized from any-1929, in unison with the capitalist where, pushing the article in their economists, the Trotskyites and faces. Only a few, "So you agree Lovestones denied the sharpening with the bourgeois Times?". Most of the crisis in order to lull the faltered hawed, hammed and hedggrowing 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 nation-wide banking crisis".

cyclical movement that began in an opportunist silence? On the 1929, not about the general postwar crisis of capitalism. The it must speak openly and clearly "turn in the crisis" to which he referred was a cyclical turn, the kind of limited and temporary recovery which is possible within the frame work of the general crisis of capitalism.

To deny the possibility of such a turn within the general crisis of analysis of the report met with 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 floor. 49 trade union organizations is "around the corner"; in the lan- were reported but what they were guage of tactics, it means that the proletariat should prepare for the ganizations, 50 defense organizaate future. It means that capital- tions, 195 fraternal organizations ism can fall of the weight of its were also listed but no analysis own internal contradictions, when the decisive forces of the working class are not yet mobilized under the banner of Communism for the bourgeoisie.

the language of pseudo-"Socialist" sectarians of the Socialist Labor Party type. Lenin proved at the

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 succumbed. It is with extreme is how the Socialist party answersorrow 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 priva- and unavailing. The Stalinists were tion one victim after another in the camp of the proletariat. We ings at this point. The matter was mourn the loss of this comrade finally disposed of by Scott's perwhose services to the revolution- sonal promise to publish a detailed ary movement might yet be manicondolences, to her husband, comfold. We send our most fraternal firms our analysis of the composirade Peter Hansen, who is likewise tion of the conference. a long-standing member of the League and we promise to continue tee report failed to establish, was our relentless struggle against this made clear from the collection system which robs us of our best which together with pledges exfighters long before their time. | ceeded \$500 For some forty min-

On Our "Faith in the Strength" of Capitalism

Seocnd 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 stabilization" 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 activ ity; 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 delayed or rendered improbable to the extent of the effective, organized resistance of the post-war general crisis to the extent that workers' organization and resistance is inadequate and effective. History has so far shown us no other instrument than a genuine Communist party which can organize the effective resistance of

is possible because the resistance uation has gone beyond the possi- automatic collapse. of the workers has been inadequ- bility of control. They point out

lation on Monday morning.

The first dominant impression in

the hall was that almost all pre-

sent were party members or from

We translated the fine spirit

which prevailed into open discus-

sions on tactics and principle, all

over the hall, and perhaps for the

comrades accept the resolution on

Unemployment which we distributed

in the hall, with a smile—as if to

say, "We know you Left Opposi-

The big moments for us came

groups affiliated to the party.

the workers.

way up.

ate is therefore a criticism 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

selves with "the end of capitalist stabilization. With this basic approach, they are unable to formulate a policy for either understanding or meeting the developing phases of the of crisis, which during capitalism has held on to the bases of its power, it must have a secondary

instead to lull the workers them-

With typical contempt for the inworkers still more, having found rest of the cyclical crisis which has that wage cuts alone are not developed since 1929 is part of the To say that a turn in the crisis inflation, in Germany, sinre the sit- brium, andnot the prelude to an

Worker, did not dare to use this

argument. Instead: "Where is the

turn? Didn't we offer the socialist

can't have a united front ith the

A delegate from the National Stu-

lents' League was the only youth

It was great to note the sh

sh....that went around the hall,

speaker while we were there, al-

though we asked for the floor.

us) was the fraternal spirit with the discussion sessions we adjourn-

Wei

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 goldby the Stalinist ruling faction as never was \$1 of gold for each \$1 culminating point in the endeavors

crisis as opening the collapse of class at the head of the broad mass-capitalism, instead of seeing that, es will overthrow capitalism not chiefly ar und the burning question of the party and capitalism. es will overthrow capitalism, not chiefly ar und the burning question coming at the end of four years the automatic accumulation of its of unemployment. contradictions: that capitalism has rather than a fundamental importtelligence of the worker, they tell crisis toward the upward branch should be added the Albany Concompetent politicians they would him that the banks have not enough of the cycle at the expense of the ference came after the recent half have sized up the situation, chargmoney left to pay off their de working class is possible unless the turn in the policy of the party, ed off the expenses of transportaposits because their holdings have working class prevents such super- and provided a means of measur tion to profit and loss, and dedepreciated, while the fact is that exploitation as it should under the ing its value, Socialist party voted themselves to a discussion of no bank ever can pay off all its leadership of a real Communist branches and local unions of A. ways and means of transforming deposits at one time, no matter party; that in the absence of such F. of L. were invited to particihow sound it is. They explain leadership, capitalism can find a pate—the well-known "united front guard into a conference of the that the banking crisis is due to way out of the crisis and that the the bankers' desire to exploit the banking crisis together with the

-B. J. FIELD.

Sidelights On the Albany Conference with the comrades was extremely interesting. :There weren't enough the organizer rushed up and with the comrades was extremely seats; the organizers rushed up and down seeking places; at last we Albany—Between freight cars, ed. "Comrades....First let us via jail, and in the back of a fish see what the Daily Worker says.." were in, one of us sitting on a pile of Hunger Fighters, with all the truck—this is how the Spartacus Others who were accustomed to get Youth delegates arrived at the the line of the Stalinist faction first Albany Conference for Labor Legis- from Duranty and then from the the uncomfortable position.

Came discussion....and far into the night we microscopically examleaders a united front, and didn't ined the united from below. they refuse, that's the proof you For hours we discussed the program and work of the Left Opposi-The second thing (which struck betrayers of the workers." After tion. There was the inevitable question, "Why don't you do mass work; why don't you lead the massand the close and interested atten- late, the party says we are misleadtion devoted to the delegate from ing the workers. We don't aim to hall packed with union delegates". drawing up legislative bills for prethe Communist League. Whereas set up rival organizations to that
the other correction delegates were not there. the other opposition delegates of the Party. We are a faction The questions of why they were As if transported to another world (Lovestoneites-Weisbord) aroused of the C. P. One delegate of the absent and how to attract them in the delegates, Communists almost a hubbub of protest and antagon- Labor Sports Union told of the the future—to these questions, to a man, who had expressed their a hubbub of protest and antagon-ism, comrade Cannon never suffer-ed a single interruption for even a development of the political life of the future—to these questions, to a man, who had expressed their which were uppermost in the minds real sentiments shortly before in development of the political life of those who want to see a broad cheers for the overthrow of capi-bany, in spite of all its limitaed a single interruption for even a development of the political lie of those who want to see a proad the organization, and the proposals the table only a tap with a gavel and comment we made were greet
of those who want to see a proad the overland of the organization, and the proposals and comment we made were greetof unemployment, the Hathaways culous and futile business, for vanguard military in spite of all its limitations, just because the pick of the organization, and the proposals and comment we made were greetof unemployment, the Hathaways culous and futile business, for vanguard military in spite of all its limitations, just because the pick of the organization, and the proposals and comment we made were greetof unemployment, the Hathaways culous and futile business, for vanguard military in the organization and the proposals and comment we made were greetof unemployment, the Hathaways culous and futile business, for vanguard military in the organization and the proposals and comment we made were greetof unemployment, the Hathaways culous and futile business, for vanguard military in the organization and the proposals and comment we made were greetof unemployment, the indispensable development of the organization, and the proposals and comment we made were greetof unemployment, the college of the organization and the proposals and comment we made were greetof unemployment of the organization and the proposals and comment we made were greetof unemployment of the organization and the proposals and comment we made were greetof unemployment of the organization and the proposals and comment we made were greetof unemployment of the organization and the proposals are proposals and the proposals and the proposals and the proposals and the that his time was up; but he read ed by hand-clapping from a com- had no answer. They could only many wearisome hours, of discussthe entire resolution on unemploy- rade at his side. In all—we feel put a cross over the bankruptcy of ing and debating, line by line, the met which he was bringing before that, the party comrades are takthe delegates, to a quiet, very at- ing a serious Communist attitude leave the future blank. to the criticisms and proposals of The return trip on the bus the Left Opposition.

Consequently they deny the of paper. They say that the 1907 of the party, over a period of near facts: cover up the failure of the scrip was finally redeemed at a ly three and a half years of the big discount-historically untrue. | crisis, to organize and develop a They draw the conclusion that movement of the workers on the the depositor must demand repay- issue of unemployment. In all that Albany. The conference was obment at full value and the worker time the heavy burdens of unempossibility of the upturn, preferring refuse to accept scrip, but must de-ployment have been accumulating any real sense of the word. It

old currency values", which would erable, and the situation has thereprinciple that the conscious revelences demonstrations and marches

The Albany Confernce itself was from below"

Net Result of False Policy And what was the net result of entire state of New York! Crushparty leadership!

garding the questions of principle sented here. A delegate from a of the delegates. and tactics they were led into a bakers' local union gave a truer bog of empiricism. Then we have expression to the unspoken sentiour comrades facing the guns of ment of the great majority than as one could expect to see in the Illinois miners disgusted with Com-all the "official" speeches when he munism because of the incorrect said: "I read in the Daily Worker session of the conference devoted to tactics of the party which are post-that only seven A. F. of L. unions the report of the "bills committee". facts self-criticized—that is, too are represented here. As a trade (This was the committee that had

present tendencies but no masses" | delegate from the Left Opposition. were careful to avoid any reference utes a flood of donations and ites were jeered and howled down. limpression made on the party members of order, questions and protest.

The chair was deluged with moving tions, points of order, questions are pledges was poured into the treasury of the conference by IWO even timidly proposed that to draw tion in Germany made them eager ed Councils, TUUL unions, the C. ference it was necessary to suffer the Mooney question and especially legate from the Left Opposition

> Under the hammering the Stalinists were losing control of the content. But they were the gusts of ference. Their feeble attempts to counter the political attack with The voice of the Left Opposition parliamentary procedure alienated ang loudly and clearly for a genuthe chairman who publicly rebuked party steering committee. They turned loose their heavest artillery. The speeches were the same as yesterday's but the difference was clear. Heretofore there were violent incitements to violence. Sunday they were last line defenses.

Politically they were a denial of the Comintern's invitation to the Second International for a united front. Alexander strained himself to prove that we couldn't have any traffic with Green and Well, Hill quit and Thomas. If the Stalinists did not dare to say it openly they made the implication clear: no uni ted front with the leaders.

and class war prisoners. solution on Mooney set May Day as the conference was adjourned. a day of united struggle for his release. It proposes a united demonstration of the socialist and Communist workers and includes the A. F. of L, Formally the pro- cialist and A. F. of L. workers the conference and the content with sides of the conference are which the Stalinists fill their united front propsals make it doubtful ginnings of workers' democracy whether this will be realized.

The final blow which accomplish-

ed the rout of the Stalinists came with the nomination of a permanent committee of 25. Nessin reporting make it a genuine united front. for the credentials committee which had been instructed to make the nomination read only 24 names. Comrade Berman protested from the floor, pointing out that the name of the delegate from the Left Opposition who had been agreed on by the committee had been omitted. The chair asked Nessin to explain. He attempted to lay the blame on Berman. Berman's contention was supported by another member of the credentials committee. The already heated atmophere was beginning to simmer. The chair appealed to Scott for his explanation of the incident. Scott came forward and supported Berman. Nessin was left standing on the platform, in view of the entire conference, caught red-handed in a clumsy attempt to remove the

of Stalinist Bankruptcy

ment, the official leaders added new blunders and stupidities at mand "full payment of wages in and growing more and more intol- was a gathering of the vanguardof the Communist party and its mean an immediate increase of 300 by become increasingly favorable auxiliaries and sympathetic organipercent if it is true that the dol-lar is worth only a quarter now. for the work of the revolutionary party. There has been no lack of little of a State-wide complexion. We on the other hand pose the effort—agitation, slogans, confer- The roster of delegates could have served, with a few alterations, for Left wing organizations in New York City. Even such a representation, after a united front conbeen for many years in a general conceived and prepared as a major ference of workers' organizations crisis, within which alternations demonstration. It was preceded by in the whole of New York State of cyclical stabilization and crisis months of preparatory work, in- had been aimed at, might have been have taken place and will continue cluding two conferences in New turned to advantage. If the conto take place; that a turn in the York City. On top of that—it ference had been led by half-way

class another time.

Instead of that, they tried solve the contradiction by a characthree and a half years of the "third teristic exhibition of Stalinist selfenough. They say that the U. S. machinery with which capitalism period" frenzy capped with the latideception. The thing that was is heading at the same kind of restores temporarily its equiliest half-turn? Out of 348 delegates only seven local unions of A. F. of minds—into the thing that had been L-and those all Left wing locals desired. The conference of party and one branch of the Socialist members and sympathizers was departy were represented from the clared to be a united front conference of workers' organizations, ing and irrefutable testimony to the political parties and trade unions. utter falsity of the policy of the Their speeches to the conference were predicated on this fictitious The shadow of this catastrophic assumption. The conference needed failure to create even the semblance the concise, business-like elaboracomrades offering condolences in a of a united front movement outside tion of a program for changing the wonderfully comrades manner for the sphere of direct party influence situation and uniting the vanguard hung over the conference from the with the masses—a single bullet remarks from the floor in the earlierst day. The attempt of the lead-aimed at a real target. It got, ers of the conference—Hathaway. from the official leaders, the thuncame more "practical" and restrain-Winters and lesser bureaucrats of der of agitation in the name of the the Stalinist apparatus—to compenion masses who were not represented different type of delegate became sate for the failure to attract the in the conference—blank cartridges non-party workers who, according fired in the air. Worse, they not militants imbued with the spirit to their own thesis, are eager to only talked; the actions of the of the class struggle gave place with windy soap-box agitation could were the same caricature. Comedy, took the wording of "bills" very es in rent strikes". We could only not banish from the minds of the in the speeches of the leaders, alis typical of the Stainnist method of of "renegae" no unity looks in served as waters, not become a polifical opponent.

Served as waters, not become a polifical opponent of a polifical opponent.

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Served as waters, not because it is the delegates of th

> The "Bills" Discussion As sad and pitiful a spectacle all their previous manoeuvers and legal phraseology of proposed legis-leave the future blank. lative measures. What, for exam-whom are as stunid as the relieve

This incident aroused a furious to the Left Opposition. It was storm of indignation and protest. protests. The Stalinists made a to hear what we had to say on desperate attempt to unseat the defrom the permament committee. Ballham made a motion to replace our delegate by a delegate from the Amalgamated Food Workers. This brought forth a roar of protest from the delegate from that union. He said that the union would willingly serve on the committee but not at the expense of unseating any other organization. The motion was defeated. Two additional delegates were added. The proposals to provide spaces on the permanent commitee for all political tendencies represented were defeated. Notwithstanding, Ballham read a statement welcoming all Socialist and A. F. of L. workers as the sentiment of the conference. It carried.

By this time delegates were standing on seats speaking at the tops of their voices as was the the Party and for the whole movechairman. Not a word anyone said ment. could be heard. Above the roar the IWW announced that they were The resolutions were abstract withdrawing from the conference. expressions on the Mooney question Half the conference was on its feet. The re- A riot was imminent, To avoid it

The Stalinists have succeeded in wrecking another conference. Noth- in a tense silence, without a sining fruitful came out of Sunday's gle interruption from the floor, and session. The approach to the Soposal is correct, But the line of is still incorrect. The positive size and enthusiasm, and the beaccorded to the Left Opposition. The Left Opposition will use its position on the permanent committee to broaden the conference and

-T. STAMM.

What Next

Vital Questions for the German Proletariat. by LEON TROTSKY

pentrating Marxist analysis of the class dynamics and forces at work in the present situation. A burning indictment of the treacheries of the social democracy and the criminal blunders of the Stalinists. A work no Left wing worker and Communist can afford to neglect. One of the texts of the future. 192 Pages Cloth .65 Paper .35 Postage: .06 per copy extra

Albany: 3 Years of Party Policy ate is therefore a criticism of the communist party, and is resented by which reasoning the dollar was never worth a dollar, since there Labor Legislation represented by the Stalinist ruling faction as 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" 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 mas 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 Legislative — 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 tragi-comedy. The bold note of militancy in the ier sessions was muted down, beed. And, even more significant, a conspicuous in the discussion. The to the legal-minded elements who seriously and, read them carefully lest a comma be out of place and the law fail on that account.

In both sides of their 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 are represented here. As a trade (this was the committee that a proader movement; with the union man I would like to see this been charged with the task of vulgar opportunist comedy of the "bills" they put brakes on the further development of the narrow vanguard movement.

The hope for the emergence of able dynamic force for the creation of a broad class movement, were whom are as stupid as the policy. To all that has gone before, to ple, is the precise legal residence they expounded under orders, did the great detriment of the move- of a seaman under the terms of 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 and multiplied mistakes which have left the movement weaker than it began three years ago, despite all the powerful social forces propelling the movement forward. laid out no perspectives and offered no real measures to get the vanguard movement out of the straitjacket 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 alloted to 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

But this victory had a certain Phyrric quality filled with ominous forebodings for the victors. One fact stood out above all others at the Albany Conference: the delegates wanteo to hear the Left Opposition. Our speches were heard received closer attention than any others. Our statement was distributed to all the delegates withits out interference and was read attentively by them. The closest fraternization between the 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 ramework of the bureaucratic discipline and voting as they were required to vote, the conference delegates nevertheless expressed in all 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 hearing, as was the case at Albany to a far greater extent than ever before, our eventual victory is assured.

-JAMES P. CANNON.

The Stalinists at the Mooney Conterence

tentive audience.

(Continued from Page 1)

In the discussion which took place later the party offered no line of its own nor any criticism of This clearly shows that the writ-er was talking about the specific line. Why did the party maintain vital question of policy and line

sion. The credentials committee trie to carry out the pretence of a gen nine united front. Nessin reported 599 delegates from 347 organizations. All attempts to obtain an the stubborn resistance of the party steering committee which publicly prevented Nassin from giving the information asked for from the was not revealed. 31 political orseizure of power in the immedi-tions, 22 unemployed organiza-

was given. However, it is known that there were very few A. F. of L. locals. The CPLA was there as were Weisrevolutionary overthrow of the bord, the Lovestoneites, the League for Industrial Democracy. This is not and never has been New York district of the C P was the language of Leninists. It is represented. In front of us sat delegates from the YCL. It was said that some YPSL locals were present. The SP was represented by 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 ed 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 in complete control of the proceedreport within 48 hoursfl The report which has just arrived con-

But what the credentials commit-

branches, ILD Branches, Unemploythis was a Stalinist conference.

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

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

the socialist workers into the con-P. and Communist opposition the presence of their leaders. Not on the united front. groups. It was clear to all that all of these proposals were correct in their formulation and cona new wind.

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 hostil-

The blow the Opposition deliver ed to the Stalinist policy on the took place caught them completely united front accounts for what happened afterward. Even Stalinists were forced to take this into account. All their later at In this discussion the Lovestone tacks against the people who "re

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