

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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L. O. Scores at Chicago Mooney Congress

LEON TROTSKY

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

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

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

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

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

April 26, 1933.
To the Editor of the «Daily Worker»,
Comrade Editor,

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

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

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

SOLVE THE CONTRADICTION!

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

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

SOLVE THE CONTRADICTION!
This situation, this financial sword of Damocles, which threatens every issue, is not a symptom of decline. Far from it! All the evidence points in the opposite direction.

Take the Chicago Mooney Congress! Our delegation represented forty-five thousand workers! Among our delegates were the representatives of the fifteen thousand left-wing miners of the P.M.A., the most advanced section of the American working class. Through the influence of the P.M.A. in the Congress, comrade Cannon was elected to the Resolutions Committee; and upon the insistence of the miners' delegation, to the Permanent National Committee. Without a doubt the Chicago Mooney Congress is, so far, the high watermark of the influence of the Left Opposition in the United States.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The C.I. Retraces Steps 'New Deal' Diplomacy May 1 Manifesto Returns to «United Front From Below» Washington Parleys Prepare New World Conflict

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

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

The practical change of line that

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Martial Law Reigns in Farm Area; Prepare for National Grain Strike

Fifteen hundred farmers, assembled at a convention of the National Holiday Association in Des Moines, Iowa, have voted immediately to relieve their misery and to stave off the attack of the bankers and the government in their much-fought and highly deceptive "reorganization" schemes. Taking place directly under the shadow of the stirring anti-foreclosure battles at Lemars, Denison and other centers of the farm fight area, the convention went way above the head of the hen-livered organizers and leaders in the militant sentiment expressed.

A. C. Townley, the National Partisan League organizer, warned the farmers that they were being forced into "bloody revolution." "Let her come," somebody shouted and the shout was greeted with loud cheers. The convention adopted the proposal for a grain strike to be begun May 13 and to sweep over no less than thirteen of the decisive agricultural states.

Several days before, 600 farmers, protesting against attempts of insurance companies and banks to foreclose mortgages, dragged Judge C. C. Bradley from his courtroom in Lemars, Iowa, when he refused to swear he would sign no more mortgage foreclosures. The judge was released only after he had been roughly handled by the enraged men. In Denison, the farmers, 800 strong, battled a sheriff and 40 deputies and prevented them from selling the farm of J. F. Shields. More than 13 counties in northern Iowa are affected by this wave of struggle.

The financiers, the American Legion, the pulpits have all risen en masse against the embattled farmers and the national guard has been sent into action. Martial law has been proclaimed by Governor Clyde Herring in Plymouth County where the farmers are most active. The civil courts in the same county have been suspended and court martial substituted. It is reported that

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

Progressive Miners Decisive Mass Support of Marxist Wing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Stalinist steering committee attempted once again to reel off a hollow masquerade for a united front. Once more the Marxist wing of the movement raised its voice for a serious consideration of policy and program. Fighting tooth and nail we carried the day. We quote from comrade Oehler's notes:

"Until the afternoon of the third day the conference was, in the main, just one long mass meeting. In fact, the Stalinists intended to call off the third day's session to enable them to carry on two days of mass meetings, to wind up with the big May Day Stadium mass meeting and end up the conference by passing a manifesto bursting with propaganda, but void of a concrete program of action. At the end of the first day the mass protest of the delegates prevented the change in plans, caused the Stalinists to retreat and continue with the three-day session. On the second day they forced the election of a Resolutions Committee, a committee they party 'forgot about' while the kept everybody entertained with propaganda speeches but nothing substantial on policy and program."

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

GALA BENEFIT PROGRAM

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

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

Albert Meiff violin virtuoso, formerly of the Curtis Institute of Music

And -- For the First Time in America!

Diego Rivera in a chalk-talk, on his widely-discussed frescoes in Radio City

Saturday Evening, May 13, at 8.15 p.m. TOWN HALL, 43rd St. and 6th Ave.

Tickets: 35 cents, 50 cents, 75 cents and \$1.00; Boxes \$2.00. Now on sale at International Workers School, 126 East 16th St., and at Town Hall box office

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