

# C.I. Retraces Steps in May Day Manifesto

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

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

### What Will Be the Consequences?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### What the Serious Communist Workers Will Say

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

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

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

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

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

—S. GORDON.

# Mooney Meet

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### THE MILITANT

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# Wage Cuts for Beet Workers

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

The Great Western Sugar Co. has printed two forms of labor contracts to be distributed to growers. One form contemplates the share basis, but the division of any balance, until the farmer gets his last returns from the company.

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

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

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

political international struggle within the framework of a peaceful conference, the conversations at Washington and the London conference are a further step toward a new world war. —B. J. FIELD.

# Washington Conversations Prepare the Ground for New World Conflicts

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

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

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

possible and thus breaking down the international price level. Basic Conflict: Anglo-American Interests

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

It is entirely probable that agreements of a technical character may be reached as to currency regulation, perhaps even as to certain details of trade restriction. These will minimize the conflict of imperialist interests, but on the contrary prepare the ground for it.

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

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

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

A United Front Now?

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

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

# The German Workers Will Rise Again; Stalinism Never!

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

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

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

# SHAW AND STALIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By B. J. FIELD,

# Gala Affair

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

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

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

chalk talk to illustrate his lecture.

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

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

Tickets are priced at 35 cents, 50 cents, 75 cents and \$1.00, but seats \$2.00, and are available at the International Workers School, 120 E. 16th Street, as well as the Town Hall box office.

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

# May Day Throughout the World

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

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

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

Both the strength and the weakness of the party were brought to light on May 1st. The May Day demonstration showed what reserves of sympathy are latent in the working class for Communism, but the inability of the party to mobilize these masses in its every day struggles, to rally them in the factories and the trade unions, to integrate them in the party is striking testimony to the blunderous and criminal course of Stalinism—proof of what a brake Bureaucratic Centrism is upon mass action and the growth of the Communist movement.

On the other hand, it took only the most elementary application of the united front tactic to bring huge masses into the streets and to begin a movement of the socialist workers away from the morass of reformism and towards the camp of Communism. The continued and correct application of this tactic can create a serious dent in the ranks of the social-democracy. The latest zig-zag of the C.I. (described in another part of this issue) if accepted and carried out will arrest this process and throw the party back into the isolation from which it is beginning to emerge.

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

A new era opens before the vanguard of the Communist movement! In Europe May Day passed under the sign of reaction, under the effects of the German defeat.

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

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

(To Be Continued)

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

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

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

The Argument of the "International Scale"

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

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

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

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