The "New Turn" and the Crisis in the C. I.

By Will Herberg



THE WORLD UNITE

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WORKERS CLASH WITH FASCISTS IN GERMANY

Stalin Criticizes Wrong Views of Five-Year Plan

Against Exaggeration

German Red Unions Win Victories

(Wireless By Inprecorr)

BERLIN, March 3.—On Saturday there were collisions between fascists and police and masses of workers before the Liebknecht House, headquarters of the Communist Party, in connection with the funeral procession of a fascist who had been killed. The police cordon was broken and the fascists and workers came to grips. There were small collisions between police and workers with numerous shots fired, and this continued till late at night.

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STALIN WARNS AGAINST WRONG POLICY.

(Wireless By Inprecorr)

MOSCOW, March 3.—Yesterday's "Pravda" carries an article by Josef Stalin, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Union, entitled "Succ... Our Head," which ... dency to und... of the ... gra...

IN an article published in *Pravda* and in the whole Soviet press on March 2, Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the CPSU, launches an attack upon the belief that "a Communist utopia can be established in the villages by burocratic ordinances." He warns against the danger of producing a "rupture between the Communist Party and the masses." He urged "caution" and "care" in dealing with the carrying thru of the Five-Year Plan, in the problems of industrialization and collectivization! And Walter Duranty, (the *Times* correspondent) who a few months ago hailed Stalin as greater than Lenin because of his "return to uncompromising Communism" now hails Stalin as "on a level with Lenin himself" because "he knows when and how to compromise!"

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The "new turn" in the policy of the CPSU, as signalized in the declaration of Stalin, is of a piece with the "new turn" in the Comintern that was made public in the now famous speech of Comrade Manuilsky at the recent Plenum of the E C YCI. The character of this "new turn," the factors that have brought it about, as well as the manner in which it was brought about, expose very clearly the real depth of the crisis in the Communist International and show that only a radical change in the entire method of leadership and a complete right-about-face in the tactical line can lead the Comintern out of the blind alley into which it is heading!

How is the "new turn" in the line of the CPSU brought about? Does Comrade Stalin as leader of the Bolshevik Party exercise the much talked about self-criticism? Does Comrade Stalin declare that at least *some* mistakes were made in the line of the CPSU and tha now some revision of the line is necessary? Does Comrade Stalin admit that there were once elements in the CPSU who urged "caution" and "care," who warned against the "rupture between the Party and the masses," etc. in almost the same terms as does Comrade Stalin today but *before* and not *after* the events? Does Comrade Stalin have anything to say about the fact that merely to raise these questions a few months ago would have been to invite expulsion from the Party —and worse? Does Comrade Stalin explain why *now* the "new turn" is necessary? No! Nothing of the kind! Comrade Stalin actually declares that it is not any *shortcomings* in the policy of the CPSU that makes any new turn necessary; on the contrary he maintains it is the very *correctness* of the line that leads to its revision! Stalin was right then—Stalin is right now—Stalin will always be right!

What are the factors that have brought about the "new turn" in the CPSU? Not a real recognition of the demands of the objective situation in the Soviet Union but far more the actual requirements of the inner-Party situation in the CPSU. In order to smash Bukharin and his friends Stalin found it necessary to heighten the tempo of the building of Socialism and to resort to methods of struggle without regard to the objective situation and the relation of class forces. Now with Bukharin (as an organized opposition) smashed, Stalin executes a "strategic retreat." But it is necessary for the Communists and workers to realize that *neither the original course nor the present "new turn" was dictated by or based upon the demands of the objective situation but far more by the question of factional advantage or disadvantage in the CPSU and internationally.* On such a basis any turn and twists—no matter in what direction—can bring no real benefit or good to the CPSU or the CI; all they can do is to heighten the crisis and to intensify and aggravate the false method of leadership to which the crisis is due.

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The "new turn" in the Comintern is of the same character. Introduced partly as a reflection of the inner-Party relations in the CPSU and partly because it was no longer possible to avoid "doing something" about the crisis, how has this "new turn" been executed? By suddenly beginning a mock war against the "left" without explanation or discussion! By finding here and there a scapegoat (Shatzkin, Reimann, Fried) on whom to unload the entire responsibility for the disastrous situation in the Comintern! But never an honest reexamination of the line of the Ecci! Never a question as to the correctness of the line that has led to isolation, chaos, and disintegration! And not a word about the fact that the "new turn" merely repeats in halting, confused and partial form what the Communist Oppositions have been declaring for many months and for what they were expelled for declaring! In the Comintern also the "new turn" is not based upon a change of line as a result of the examination of objective conditions; here also it is dictated by questions of factional advantage and burocratic necessity!

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In America too there is a "new turn"—just beginning. At the recent New York TUUL conference Comrade Johnstone discovered that it is necessary to do Communist work in the reactionary unions! Is it not curious that he discovered this novel fact at precisely this time? But did Comrade Johnstone exercise a little self-criticism and reexamine the ultra-sectarian Party line of the last year and more? Did Comrade Johnstone have anything to say about the fact that the comrades of the CP-Majority Group were expelled as "opportunists" and "renegades" precisely because they insisted on the necessity of Communist work in the mass organizations? Is this "new turn" of Comrade Johnstone dictated by the necessities of the American class struggle? Nothing of the kind! It is dictated by the principle of "factional symmetry"—the Manuilsky manouver must be transferred to the USA! Such new turns can bring nothing but further harm to our Party!

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What is the real content of the "new turn?" Is it not significant that precisely at the time when the mock battle against the "ultra-left" waxes hottest, the ultra-left line of the Ecci and the American Party is carried to the most extravagant limits? Is it not characteristic that Manuilsky, the champion against the ultra-left, declares that the dictatorship of the proletariat is on the order of business in a whole series of European counties? Is it not significant that those in the American Party leadership who are now learning to repeat some phrases about mass work, are raising the isolationist line of the Party into a whole system (as, e.g., in the unemployment campaign) and are deliberately replacing the class action of the workers by the isolated action of a handful of Party members? The fact is: *all the twists and turns that may be executed cannot change the basically ultra-left course of the Ecci because this ultra-left course is a direct result of the failure to bridge the gap between the rapid growth of Socialism in the USSR and the retarded pace of the revolution in the capitalist countries by the development of a real international collective leadership for the Comintern,* a leadership really reflecting the world revolutionary movement. Until this is done all "new turns" and diplomatic manouverings will change nothing for the better; they will only aggravate the dangerous crisis in the Comintern!

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The present situation offers great opportunities to the Communist Oppositions all over the world. The unexplained twists and turns of the official leadership are opening the eyes of large numbers of Party members and revolutionary workers to the real situation. Many workers are beginning to say: *For what Manuilsky is saying now in a hesitating and confused manner the Opposition was expelled for saying in a determined and clear manner at a time when the warning was timely!* The Party officialdom are absolutely unable to meet this situation. They are thrown into confusion and desperation! The *Daily Worker* of March 4 hides the highly significant declaration of Stalin in between two utterly insignificant items about Germany! Not even a one column headline is vouchsafed to Comrade Stalin's "new turn;" all it gets is a small sub-head. This is not accidental.

It is the task of the Communist Opposition to see to it that the awakening of the revolutionary workers that is certain to arise out of the new era of twists and turns is led into constructive channels in the direction of restoring the Comintern and the Party to the line of Leninism. We must make it clear that the solution of the crisis in the Comintern cannot be brought about by any diplomatic "half-turns" dictated by the external necessities of the factional situation in the CPSU or by burocratic attempts to hide the crisis in the Comintern. The crisis can only be overcome by removing its source: by changing the entire method of leadership, by establishing a broad international collective leadership for the Comintern, by returning to the tactical principles of Leninism!

The Mexican Worke

by D. R.

ONE of the most serious probles in the South of this country is that of the Mexican workers who come in enormous numbers from the other side of the Rio Grande. They leave the "country of eternal spring" as they affectionately call Mexico and enter the "land of the Dollar" to undergo a new experience in the economic, political and social conditions of the most powerful imperialist country of the earth.

In the state of Texas we have approximately 500,000 Mexicans concentrated in the towns where there seems to be most possibility of making a living and where factories and industries hold out the greatest promise of livelihood to them. Thus, in the principal towns, such as Houston, Ft. Worth, Dallas, Galveston and San Antonio, we find the greatest number of Mexican workers. Next to these cities are the immense Texan plains where cotton is cultivated over which are scattered great numbers of Mexican workers. All these indeed are victims of the present capitalist system—especially so because in the South wages are extremely low.

In addition to the low wages there is race prejudice which does not permit equal social conditions to those who come from the other side of the Rio Grande. Frequently there are conflicts due to race hatred.

We will limit ourselves to San Antonio. Here—there are 70,000 Mexicans making up about one-third of the population. In addition to the fact that the city is not very industrialized, there is great unemployment for the Mexican population and the wages are tremendously low for Mexican women in factories and domestic employments and for hand-work, sewing and embroidery. A large number of Mexican women workers work in the laundries which do not pay anything like a living wage to these unorganized workers. The wages of these women are from $5 to $6 a week and there are thousands who even work for $3.00. They work long hours, as many as 12 and 14 daily.

The Mexican male workers have almost the same conditions and the great majority of them face the problem of unemployment and the problem of maintaining families that are in want. The wages of these workers is from $2.00 to $2.50 a day and their work is almost always temporary. We suffer also from