

**WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE**

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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For a Communist Campaign in the Elections

The Communist Party of the U. S. A. has just held its Nominating Convention in Chicago. As evidence of intense and large scale preparation for the election struggle, the Nominating Convention marks a big step forward for the party in the field of parliamentary activity. It speaks well for a real attempt to put the Communist party on the political map, to place it as the official symbol of Communism before the eyes of the whole country. At the present juncture of events, this is doubly significant and important.

For nearly three years, the economic crisis, initiated by the Wall Street crash of October 1929, has held this country and the rest of the world with it, completely under its sway. The allurements of "prosperity", of the "full dinner pail", have been gradually worn off. The main burden of the depression has been constantly shifted to the backs of the workers, wage cut following upon wage cut and unemployment gripping hundreds of thousands and millions of proletarian families. All the fake solutions pointing to prosperity around the corner, all the public works ruses of the capitalist class have come to naught. Awed by the prospect of a discontented mass slowly moving into action, the bourgeois politicians have even gone so far as to mumble something about federal relief, about the "dole" hitherto held taboo by the masters.

The Central Issue: Unemployment
The central problem created by the economic crisis, the problem of unemployment looms up as the main, the only real issue of the current election campaign. The plank writers and the key-noters of the bourgeois parties are all busy hatching plans of how best to cover up the issue by lip service to relief measures that will not cost their class very much. Wagner, Roosevelt, Garner, Young and even some of the Republican batsmen have included clauses dealing with this question in their speeches and proposals. It is their aim to strew enough sand in the eyes of the American workers to keep them from finding the way to their class leader, to the Communist Party.

The efforts of the capitalists to find a way out of the crisis have smashed up against the contradictions inherent within their system. Their Reconstruction Finance Corporation, their public works panaceas have left the depression just as grave as ever. They have not contributed one whit to procure jobs for the workers, to ease the situation of the toiling masses. The profit system, the system of accumulating capital for the benefit of a restricted few brings with it anarchy in the sphere of production. Goods, commodities are produced without consideration or respect to the needs of society. Factories are built up to make machinery in quantities for which there are not sufficient markets. Products are manufactured which the underpaid and unemployed wage slaves are unable to purchase. Still, wages continue to be cut, still the backward countries that furnish the markets are hogged by the various imperialist nations. Capitalism is stifled by its own laws of production and distribution, by its profit greed.

All attempts at national "solutions" buck up against the international trade barriers. The markets, the colonial countries, the fields of imperialist exploitation have long ago been divided up among the robber capitalist nations. War, war for markets and profits faces the crisis-ridden capitalist world.

The Communist Task in the Elections
These are the conditions under which the party of the working class is entering the election fight. Although we greet the serious attempt of the Nominating Convention to draw the Communist party as a real factor into the political life of the country, we cannot but disagree with the general methods with which the party leadership is proceeding to do this. In the first place, the Stalinist leadership struggles for immediate demands, or as the platform puts it, to gain "concessions now from the capitalist parties". We reject this conception as thoroughly opportunist. For Bolsheviks, for revolutionaries, the election struggle is in the main a means of educating the workers of the country on the Communist program and its final aim. Immediate demands are for us by-products of the struggle, they are important only in so far as they constitute stepping stones to the ultimate ends of our fight, only in so far as they demonstrate our readiness to fight together with the rest of the working class at each step in its political development.

In utilizing the election campaign for revolutionary ends, it is absolutely essential to put forward the slogan of the Soviet United States of America, the slogan of the Proletarian Dictatorship. The propaganda of the party, its main task in the campaign, must revolve around an explanation of this slogan, giving it concrete content which the workers way out of the crisis which the Communists oppose to the solution of the capitalists—increased wage cuts and

exploitation, redoubled oppression of the working class organization, war.

For Internationalism in the Struggle
During the election struggle, taking place at this period of deepest crisis, the class party of the proletariat has the very best opportunity of contrasting the socialist system of production to the anarchic system of the capitalists, of contrasting the internationalist solidarity of the working class to the nationalist war aims of the bourgeoisie. This is the time to concretely pose the interests of the world revolution—which has for its purpose the establishment of socialist planning of labor—as the workers' solution of the crisis and the war danger it brings with it.

The capitalists and their political representatives do everything in their power to discredit the living symbol of world revolution, of socialist construction—the Soviet Union. They are plotting war against the workers' state. In the course of the election campaign the Communists have an excellent opportunity of holding up the example of the Soviet Union in its true light, of contrasting the successes of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. with the miserable conditions capitalism furnishes for the workers in the U. S. A. This can be done all the more successfully by linking up the defense of the Soviet Union, its example of successful socialist construction, with the central problem of unemployment right here in the country.

The Demand for Long Term Credits
By putting forward the demand of recognition and long term credits to the Soviet Union, the party can teach the workers of America their community of interests with the workers of Russia. The Soviet Union, occupied in the tremendous task of building up its industry, needs credits from the U. S. government with which to buy machinery produced in American factories. Orders from Soviet Russia means work for hundreds and thousands of unemployed American workers. The slogan of long term credits to the Soviets as a measure of relief for unemployment which allows for excellent opportunities to make the Communist program vivid before the masses. It is a slogan that must find a prominent place in the Communist election campaign, together with the demands for workers' unemployment insurance and relief, and for the six hour day.

The platform put forward by the Stalinist leadership of the party is full of

Mr. Seabury «Exposes» Tammany-Walker

The city of New York, the metropolis of the world, is engaged in one of its very regular scandals in which muck-raking, corruption, righteous indignation and outright cynicism are all mixed up in a bottle labelled—Tammany. After many months, in which time "the lion of reform", Sam Seabury, has been occupied in cleaning up the shady places in the city government, and unearthing the "tin boxes" where the custodians of city affairs deposit their somewhat doubtful earnings, last week the dapper night club member of beer parade fame was put on the witness stand to answer for some peculiar items on his bank account.

Nobody was very much startled by Seabury's revelations concerning the bribes and "gifts" received by Walker in the course of his glamorous tenure of office. The population of New York seems to have grown apathetic to the dealings and undings of Tammany. The prevailing sentiment can be summed up in the following words: "If Jimmy is smart enough to get the hoodle, more power to him. If I were in his place I'd do the same". Nevertheless, with all the recent talk about balancing the budget, efficient government, city planning, etc., it is interesting to recount some of the adventures of James J. Walker.

We all remember the regal style in which Walker cruised the Atlantic, comfortably ensconced in the imperial suite of the S. S. Berengaria. For trips to Europe other sources of income than the meagre \$40,000 per annum, which is the Mayor's salary, are required. But the resourceful Jimmy had no trouble in finding these. It appears that the Equitable Coach Company wanted a franchise to run buses on the streets of New York. Jimmy wanted a trip to Europe—two and two makes four. On August 9, 1927 Walker signed the bill for the franchise. On August 10, he left for Europe with a \$10,000 letter of credit made out in his name and backed up with the cash supplied by J. Allen Smith, political contact man for the Equitable. The hustle and bustle of New York, as can be seen, allows no time for procrastination.

The exploits of our good Mayor, however, do not end with his European voyage. It appears that a certain Mr. Sisto, a taxi cab financier, presented Walker with a small "gift" of \$28,535 worth of bonds. Why? Because his interests

Scottsboro Boys' Execution Stayed

Compelled by mass working class pressure, the United States Supreme Court has granted the appeal of the I. L. D. for a review of the case of the seven Scottsboro boys framed on the fake charge of rape and sentence to death by electrocution.

This automatically stays the legal lynching set for June 24, to November 10, when the Supreme Court reconvenes. Never before has the lie been thrown so effectively into the faces of the reformists and legalists, who have minimized the effect and importance of the organized mass protest of the workers on behalf of their imprisoned class comrades.

Workers, not only in America, but in every country and on every continent on the globe: in Australia, Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America showed their solidarity with the nine Negro boys, whom American capitalists singled out to lynch legally in the boss courts of the South.

The partial victory of the workers in this case should serve as a lesson to the entire working class of America and particularly the Negro workers, that it is only the Communists who will lead them in their struggles and fight their fights. It should also serve as a lesson to the class conscious Negro workers of America that no abstract struggle for Negro rights will solve their problems in the South or any other place. The reformist and legalist betrayals of the colored gentlemen of the N. A. A. C. P.'s offer the oppressed Negro masses nothing but exploitation.

The struggle is not yet over. This partial victory must be the harbinger of greater victories to come. The fight is not yet over. There must be no let-down in the demonstrations and protests that are to be carried on until the nine Negro boys are unconditionally released to join us in the ranks of the workers fighting for the final emancipation—the emancipation of the black and white workers as a class.

..... shortcomings typical of their centrist character. We shall yet have occasion to point them out and to offer our corrections of them. Nevertheless, the Left Opposition will campaign for the ticket of the Communist party, for Foster and Ford, with all the forces at its disposal. It will support the workers' party against the parties of the bourgeoisie by working for, and by conducting, a genuine Communist election struggle.

Andres Nin Arrested in Barcelona

In the wave of arrests that is sweeping Spain to-day, comrade Andres Nin, leader of the Spanish Left Opposition and well known Communist has been arrested along with twenty other Oppositionists in a raid the police made on the offices of El Soviet, our official organ in Spain. With strikes spreading like wildfire throughout the length and breadth of Spain the government wants to recapture the movement by terrorizing its most conscious spearhead—which to the surprise and dismay of the Stalinists turns out to be the Left Opposition.

Once more we receive the news from Madrid that our comrade Henri Lacroix, an indefatigable fighter, has been arrested again on May 9, together with comrades Alberto and Eugenio Fernandez of the Civil Guards of Messrs. Caballero and Prieto.

Our comrades were arrested while posting bills announcing the reappearance of the weekly newspaper of the Spanish Opposition El Soviet. The Spanish bourgeoisie is not deceived or misled by the odious calumnies of the Stalinists in Spain and elsewhere. The Spanish Left Communists are in the first line trenches of the struggle for the unity of the Communist party against the bourgeoisie; the "democratic" reaction is trying to crush its action by arresting its militants in order to prevent the appearance of its paper etc. It will not succeed.

Although our comrades were seriously ill, they were detained for three days in a very damp dungeon, held incommunicado without lights, no beds, no food. Eugenio Fernandez had a fever of 104 degrees. Despite our comrades' demand for a visit by a physician none came. Not the least protection was given them against the bitter cold. Afterwards, our comrades were isolated and separated. In actuality they are held in prison without even being indicted. This is the treatment the bourgeoisie hands out to the counter revolutionary Trotskyites. And what is the International Red Aid doing? Nothing! In insulting Opposi-

Bruening Government Falls!

German Working Class Faced with Immediate Fascist Onslaught

Outstanding in the week's news for the working class is the powerful new push to the Right in German politics. The Bruening cabinet, the cabinet of bourgeois uncertainty, whose main support was the "toleration" of the reformist mass organizations, the Free Trade Unions and the social democratic party, has collapsed.

The downfall has come about as a result of the refusal of the industrial bourgeoisie and the landowners to comply with the plans of the Clerical Centrist chancellor, namely, to balance the budget with new taxes and to ally the unrest of the evergrowing unemployed army with the scheme of a back-to-the-farm movement which involves the breaking up of the big estates of the East Prussian Junkers.

The bourgeoisie is determined not to cede a single step more, to go the full length of its fight for self-preservation by a ruthless life and death struggle against the proletariat.

According to well informed bourgeois press circles, the dismissal of the cabinet was plotted by military cliques with an understanding reaching out to the Hitler forces. The new cabinet, headed by the notorious Hohenzollern militarist Lieutenant Colonel Von Papen, is a typical army-Junker combine of the purest reactionary stripe. It has not the slightest basis of parliamentary support and appears to be what is generally termed a stop-gap government personally selected by the Prussian Field Marshall, President Von Hindenburg. It is generally conceded that it is a temporary set-up destined to a short-lived existence. But even this temporary existence is conditioned by toleration on the part of the Nazis in the Reichstag, which body is to be convoked shortly. The "toleration" of the Fascists is openly avowed to be based upon three conditions. First, that it call for new Reichstag elections within the shortest possible time. Secondly, that it raise the ban on the Nazi Storm Troops, recently proscribed by ex-Minister of the Interior, Groener. Thirdly, that it will impose no new taxes and no new emergency decrees which might hinder the broad propaganda activities of the Hitlerites. It is indisputable that all these conditions will be fulfilled.

The call for new elections is inevitable, since, with the elimination of Bruening and the Centre party from power, no government with parliamentary support can be found. That the second demand will be complied with is evident already from the ruling of the Reich's Supreme Court on the evidence submitted by the Prussian Ministry of Interior, gathered in its March raids on the Nazi headquarters. The ruling exonerates the Hitler party completely of "illegal or subversive" activities and in this manner prepares the lifting of the ban on the Storm Troops.

The Von Papen cabinet will easily agree to the third condition as well, which is apparent from its composition and from the necessity to present a united Right wing front before the foreign powers at the Lausanne conference. The Junker government is, therefore, the direct harbinger of Fascist rule in Germany. It is the government not merely of the preparation, but of the most immediate organization of the National Socialist seizure of power. The Nazis are jubilant everywhere. Forgotten are the bitter hostilities between their chief and the old Field Marshall in the recent presidential elections. Cries of "Hail, Hindenburg!" mix with cries of "Hail Hitler!" in their demonstrations. Der Angriff, the Berlin organ of the Brown

Shirts greets the action of Hindenburg as a banner day for National Socialism. The new move, which makes the Fascist overtun an imminent danger, has cut the ground entirely from under the feet of the reformists. The talk of the "lesser evil" is exploded by facts. The social democratic leaders have arrived at an impasse just as the full blast of the Fascist overwhelming majority of the workers are under their sway. The masses are as yet to be found in the organizations of the betrayers, whose line of class collaboration, of kowtowing to the masters, has prepared the road for the Fascist reaction.

The bankrupt social democracy must be pushed against the wall and forced to show its full face to all the workers, if the catastrophe is to be averted, if the Fascist onslaught is to be repulsed by the German working class. There is only one way in which this can be done. That is: by an offer of the party of the working class, the Communist party, to the social democratic and trade union organizations for the immediate formation of the proletarian united front of direct struggle.

There can be no doubt that the workers in the social democratic organization honestly want to fight together with the Communists against the Fascists, against wage reductions, for the workers' demands in the shops. If their honest desire is to be transformed into forceful action, the test must be put to the leaders whom they have given their mandate. Whether the S. P. leaders accept or reject a sincere united front appeal from the Communists is immaterial. In any case, the workers in their following will be drawn closer to their natural leader, to the Communist party in the course of common action. Therein alone lies the solution for the workers in the present situation.

The decisive hour is very close. No time is to be lost. Not only the fate of the German proletariat, the fate of the fortress of the world revolution—the Soviet Union—the fate of the international working class is at stake. We warn again: the reaction engendered by the coming into power of Hitler will not confine itself to the boundaries of Germany. It is the task of every Communist to strike with might and main that this should not come about.

"While we are in sharpest struggle against the government of Braun-Sveering, against the policy of emergency measures dictatorship and their clearing the road for Hitler, we Communists stand as mortal enemies of Hitler Fascism. We will do everything with the help of proletarian class forces in order to block its way to government power, in order to break its terror and through a new red advance of the working class to give it a decisive blow"

The party leadership has pledged itself to do everything, then, to block the way of Fascism to government power. It has declared its willingness to join with all organizations who honestly want to fight for this end. If the turn is in any way to be sincere and fruitful for the party, it must draw it to its logical conclusion and pose the question of common struggle before the reformist leaders as well as before the organizations.

The German party has been prevented from taking this step all along by the stupid Stalinist theory of "social Fascism", by its isolationist, ultimatum policy of the "Red United Front under the leadership of the Communist Party". The disastrous experiences of the recent elections have, however, awakened broad sections of the membership to the isolation and self-obstruction resulting from the Stalinist policies. A half-turn in the direction of the policy proposed by comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition has been forced upon the Thaelmann leadership, as we reported in the last issue of *The Militant*. Rote Fahne, the central organ of the C. P. G. wrote editorially on April 28, after the Prussian elections:

"The main thing now is to assemble all the class forces of the proletariat and the working masses in the red united front and again go into an offensive against the capitalist dictatorship and defeat Fascism."

"We publish today at the head of our newspaper the appeal of the C. C. and the R. T. U. O.-Committee in which the party and the R. T. U. O. express their willingness to join with all lower union functionaries and shop-committee mem-

The C.P. Nominating Convention at Chicago

The Communist Party nomination convention, held at Chicago, May 28-30, met with a response which again testifies to the power of penetration of the ideas of Communism. 1,200 delegates, of whom more than 120 were Negroes assembled at the People's Auditorium and confirmed the party nomination of Foster and Ford and adopted the proposed platform without any change and without any serious discussion of what a Communist election platform should be. Under the manner of procedure pursued nothing else could be expected.

Yet the unexpected fact advancing to the forefront, by virtue of the convention held, is that Communism is becoming an ever growing challenge to capitalism even within its own stronghold. The sentiment of the delegates therefore runs naturally and unanimously in the direction of building this challenge in to a real power.

But otherwise the pressure of the economic crisis and its mass unemploy-

ment reflected itself so much upon the delegation that the speeches, from the keynote down to the humblest rant and flier sounded one main tenor—"hunger, hunger, hunger". It thereby appeared more like just a gathering of unemployed than a convention to take up seriously the tasks of a Communist party in a parliamentary election. Neither the party leaders present, nor the platform presented, made any exception to this procedure. While the latter—to which we shall return later—does expose the proposed capitalist way out of the crisis and summons the working class to fight against the capitalist offensive and its war preparations, it failed to lay the fundamental connecting link in the struggle for the immediate demands contained and the inevitable revolutionary objective which the Communist party must set out clearly both during and after election campaigns.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that about the only criticism and concrete proposals made at the convention were, one advanced by the spokesman of the war veterans for incorporation into the platform of the questionable demand for the soldiers bonus, and another advanced by delegate Alexander of New York proposing to incorporate into the platform the demand for expulsion of the Japanese imperialist agent (the ambassador) from this country. The latter proposal brought down the house in applause, but it did not—thank the Lord—find its way into the platform. Neither did the former proposal, but it nevertheless became embodied into a special resolution and thus remained an official act of the convention.

It is not at all strange either that practically every convention speaker should repeat, following the example of the keynote, that the Communist election campaign must have as its basis the united front of all workers. This, however, is an aside down approach to the question. A working class united front, to be serious, can mean only unity of various workers organizations, regardless of political or ideological influence by which they may be dominated, for certain specific objects, at first of necessity elementary in character. A Communist election campaign, on the other hand, must be conducted specifically under the banner of the Communist party asking the working class support to advance the objects of Communism.

After the temporary lull which has followed upon the turbulent events in (Continued on page 3)

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—SAM GORDON.

Government Repression in Spain Hits Left Opposition

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LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

Street Carmen Facing Strike in St. Louis, MO.

More than six months ago, when the carmen of the St. Louis Public Service Company decided to go on strike against the proposed ten per cent wage-cut they were persuaded by their leaders to submit to arbitration. The deciding vote in this arbitration rested with the "impartial" capitalist politician, President of the Board of Aldermen, Neun. The result was to be foreseen. After the bluff of "examining" the claims of both sides, he decided in favor of the street car company. Capitalist politicians do not receive the campaign funds and the graft which always goes with an important political position, for nothing.

From Negro Comrades in South Africa

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA.—The letter which we are printing below we have received from a group of Negro comrades in Johannesburg, South Africa. This is the first contact we have had with them and we are, therefore, not able to say anything as yet about the history and development of this group, but the letter as such speaks for itself. It is but one more evidence of the fact that the ideas of the Left Opposition make their way into the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat.—Ed. "Secretary "Communist League of America "Dear Comrade: "At our last meeting, held on April 22, 1932, all the undersigned Negro comrades decided to apply for membership in your league. In regard to your appeal for literature agents it was agreed that we request you to send us 8 dozen copies of The Militant per week, which we hope to sell and return you the money. We are particularly anxious to introduce The Militant amongst the African Negro workers, and in order to handle it effectively, a committee consisting of twelve of our members has already been selected. Send us also 2 dozen copies of your constitution. Send us 12 copies of advertising posters, if you consider such necessary, and send us from time to time propaganda material, leaflets, etc., if you have any. "The first copy of The Militant that came to our notice was Vol. 5, whole number 97, dated January 2nd, 1932. It contained an article entitled "Stalin and the Chinese Revolution." But we were disappointed for not having been able to obtain the previous copies. Is the issue in question, which we believe contains the first part of that article, available? If so, will you send us in the next mail two copies of that issue which we desire to keep on our file. "Comrades! Do not worry over seeing all these applicants being Negroes, and think that we are purposely refusing to unite with the European comrades. No, we are not. It is only about two months ago that we have been considering joining your league. Although it is difficult for a Negro comrade to organize a European worker, we hope that later on white militants will follow our lead. The color question makes organization difficult. Negro workers are generally being considered inferior even on such matters as revolutionary organization, and usually European workers are being considered superior. We have been functioning under the name of Communist Party of Africa. "The undersigned Negro comrades pledge themselves to accept your instructions and to see that they are carried out, for the building of the revolutionary movement, for the complete overthrow of capitalism for the establishment of Communism in Africa." "We are": (Signatures of the comrades follow)

Mr. Seabury «Exposes» Tammany-Walker

(Continued from page 1) statements on the subject. However, we are led to believe, through knowledge of his connections, that Ungerleider was a just a little concerned over the fate of the securities of the Parmelee Taxi Cab Corporation. A veritable furor of genuine indignation was stirred up over Walker receiving money he never worked for. Paul Block, newspaper publisher and "salesman" of titles to the city subway contractors, started a joint brokerage account with the mayor, from which Jimmy received \$246,692, between February 1927 and August 1929. And the mayor never invested a cent in this venture. Why that's real exploitation! Just think of the poor hard-working Mr. Block who had to clip all the coupons by himself, the mayor not contributing a stitch of his own "labor" and then receiving over \$200,000. What a farce these bootblacks of the capitalist class, reformers and corruptions alike, make of the tragic lot of the working class under capitalism. Investment of money is considered hard honest labor, but profits and dividends where no investment is made, is branded as ill-begotten lucre. We have no reason to and we are not undertaking the defense of Jimmy Walker. We will leave that to the apologists of Capitalism, of which he is a typical product. The point is, however, that to us it is irrelevant as to how the master class divides, its profits derived from the blood and bones of the toiling masses. Does it make a particle of difference to the working class whether Mr. Block and his ilk squander their profits for their purposes or divide it among their political henchmen and state servants. It does, however, demonstrate the very close connection the master class has with the leading government officials, vindicating over again the contention of Karl Marx, that the "state is nothing short of the executive committee of the ruling class." With the dent the economic crisis has made in the standard of living of the working class, with wage cuts and starvation rampant in the country, with the experience of the strike against coalie conditions in Kentucky still fresh in our minds, it is quite instructive to read of the doings of the capitalist class and their officers. The working class, which has been told by these same capitalist hirelings to "learn to live on less", to accept wage cuts as a "patriotic duty", to forget about unemployment insurance because the budget has to be "balanced", should take note of this outright and flagrant hypocrisy that the master class practices, without the slightest fear of "exposure". The liberals, the preachers, and the

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Highlights of Socialist National Convention A Report of the Reformist Meet in Milwaukee

MILWAUKEE, WIS. Anyone who wanted final and conclusive proof of the utter hopelessness of the socialist party as a party of the working class would have done well to attend the socialist convention in Milwaukee. There, he could get proof in great abundance. It was an assemblage of well dressed, well groomed and well fed shop keepers, doctors and lawyers, from which the working class could expect little—least of all "Socialism in our time." It is not that radical phrases were lacking; on the contrary, phrases were thrown around quite profusely. Nor was it that peace and harmony prevailed in the discussion and adoption of rank opportunist policies; the members of the various factions were constantly hurling eloquent orations against each other. But in spite of this and in spite of the presence of the "Militants" who had issued quite a "radical" program before the convention, the socialist party emerged from this convention the same old party as it had been in the past—a party which has turned its back on revolutionary Marxism and had therefore become a party that does not and cannot represent the interests of the working class. Policy on Soviet Union But this convention did find it necessary to adopt certain measures that would save its face before the awakening working class on the one hand and the section of belligerent party members on the other. Hence the adoption of a resolution on the Soviet Union. After the existence of the S. U. for some 14 years during which time the S. P. had never lost an opportunity of slandering it in the most vicious manner, this convention suddenly adopted a resolution calling for the recognition of the U. S. S. R. But their demand for recognition was so coupled with other demands and policies that it adds very little credit to the S. P. The resolution also calls for the release of "political prisoners" (they mean the counter-revolutionary mensheviks) and the freedom of press and agitation for socialists. Even this reactionary resolution met with the resistance of the Hillquit Right wing. But for the "Militants" also the understanding remained that the Monroe Doctrine was to remain for Russia—that is the revolution may have been all right for barbaric Russia but in America the transition towards Socialism would be accomplished by respectable democratic means. One of the highlights of the convention was the fiery discussion over an amendment made by Busick of California that the word "condiscate" be substituted for the word "transfer" in the clause pertaining to the passing of the "principal industries of the country to social ownership". This amendment was greeted by with stormy applause particularly from the galleries. But the right wing lost no time in squelching the "hot-heads". All the big guns of the S. P., including Thomas, Hillquit and others discharged their best oratorical missiles in an attempt to defeat this. The arguments were quite typical. The insertion of the word confiscate would certainly not get the vote of the "average citizen who would be afraid of the confiscation of his car, his home and his savings"—the average citizen! Many other gems were presented against the idea of confiscation. The final remark of the embittered Busick did not go far off the mark when he shouted that those who were so much opposed to confiscation took that stand because they themselves had much to lose by confiscation. The vote showed a majority against confiscation. Fight over National Chairman The really big fight at the convention was over a matter which involved no principle but around which a principle later developed. This was the time when a split was much talked about by both factions. It was the election of the Party chairman which created this situation. The delegates of the West and middle West had determined to defeat Hillquit and elect one who would build up a real "American Socialist Party" as the nominator of Mayor Hoan put it. The fight that followed lasted a whole afternoon. The followers of Hillquit took immediate issue with the backers of Hoan over the question of the "real American Party". They counterposed Hillquit to Hoan as the Marxian international socialist versus the national

Socialist. A sense of humor was essential in such a situation. After spending all their oratory, the vote was taken and Hillquit, the "international socialist" emerged the victor, though his majority was not big enough to his liking. The old stand of the S. P. on the League of Nations was reiterated. The S. P. still regards the League of Nations as an instrument of peace and goodwill. Similarly the past stand of the S. P. on its Trade Union policy was reiterated. This means continued betrayals and support of betrayals. Comic Incident on Floor Humorous episodes were not lacking at this convention. Indeed one has to stop and choose the best ones to recount. But perhaps the funniest sight was that of the socialist Sheriff of Milwaukee—Benson bewailing the fact that the Communists are interfering with the execution of his civic duties in case of evictions, by organizing demonstrations in front of the houses where the evictions were to take place. His lament seemed to meet with much sympathy from the assembled delegates. Later in the day, Mrs. Sheriff Benson graciously invited all the ladies present to come and inspect the socialist jail. It is in this jail that many of our comrades have spent weeks and months for their class struggle activity. It is in the same jail that the writer of this report spent five days for the heinous crime of distributing a leaflet before a shop. And the ladies present after displaying mock shivers of horror went to inspect the triumphs of socialism in jail. As to the "Militants", they cut a most sorry figure at the convention. Having no consistent revolutionary policy to fight for, they made a feeble stand here and there but vacillated and temporized most of the way and thus revealed themselves in all their impotence. The crass opportunism that triumphed, proved beyond all doubt that the S. P. can be as much reformed into a revolutionary party as the proverbial sow's ear can be turned into a silk purse. Whether this fact is clear to the "Militants" is very doubtful. The adoption of quite a "radical" election platform by the S. P. places a greater obstacle in the way of the Communist party. Indeed the fact that the S. P. adopted such demands as the 6 hour day and 5 day week whereas the C. P. still clings to the 7 hour day slogan as well as the fact that the C. P. failed to connect its 6 cardinal immediate demands with the ultimate aim of the overthrow of capitalism and establishment of Socialism, will tend to confuse the American worker, and render his choice of the

MILITANT BUILDERS

With the close of the drive we are able to give the names of the comrades who won the prizes we announced in the May 7th issue of The Militant. No one has qualified for the History of the Russian Revolution offered to the comrades, who during the final months of the drive raised \$15 in subs and donations. Only one comrade qualified for the copy of What Next? offered to each comrade who fell short of \$15 but raised \$10. This is comrade Sacharow of Chicago. Just as soon as the book is off the press comrade Sacharow will receive her copy. To the comrade who brought in the largest number of subs during the period of the entire drive we offered a bound volume of The Militant. This goes to comrade Hedlund of Minneapolis. We also offered a copy of comrade Trotsky's Problems of the Chinese Revolution to the comrade who brought in the second largest number of subs during the drive. This goes to comrade Sacharow of Chicago. She will get her copies as soon as it comes from the binder. To all the comrades and to all our readers and sympathizers who worked for the maintenance of our press we want to express our gratification at the way they came to the support of their press. But we are not yet out of the woods. The situation is still critical. We must continue our efforts to get subs and donations. There must be no let up. As announced elsewhere in this issue we have bound nine of the recent pamphlets of comrade Trotsky into volumes. We have put aside 10 of these bound volumes. We offer them as premiums to the comrades who from June 1 on, raise \$10 in subs and donations. Our records begin with every sub and donation received on June 1. The record so far follows: The figures quoted are in dollars. M. Koehler 3 A. Basky 2 1-2 M. Basin 2 P. Vomas 2 J. Eichman 2 T. Halligan 1-4 The record by cities is as follows: Pittsburgh 4 Youngstown 3 New York 2 3-4 Philadelphia 2 Once more we want to remind our readers and comrades that, while the drive is over the need for rounding up subs and donations is as great as it ever was at any time during the drive. After them, comrades! NEW YORK MEETINGS The New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has been conducting street meetings for several weeks now as a part of its general summer activities. On several corners in the Bronx and Manhattan our meetings have met with considerable success. The next meetings will be held on 125th Street and 5th Ave., on Thursday and Saturday nights. In the Bronx on 165th Street and Prospect Ave. on the same nights. All workers are urged to attend. Pioneer Publishers Notes Our annual inventory reveals some interesting things about our literature. We are completely out of The Draft Program in the paper cover edition and have only nineteen copies left in the cloth cover. A word to the wise is sufficient. No one has to be agitated about the importance of this fundamental document. We expect that these nineteen copies will be sold before the week is out. Another historic document has run out of print. This one is Max Eastman's Since Lenin Died. Only four copies of this work are left. The inventory unexpectedly showed that we have about ten copies on hand of The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany. This is a rare opportunity for a few comrades and readers to get a copy of this searching analysis of the Comintern's mistakes under Stalinist leadership in the German question. Another fact which our inventory established is that our supply of the new pamphlet on Germany, The Key to the International Situation, is running low. It would be well for all our propagandists to lay in a supply for future distribution. With the swift pace of the developing revolution in Germany interest in it and in comrade Trotsky's writings on it are continually increasing. Another historic document is rapidly running out of print. There are only forty-six copies left of The Real Situation in Russia. As almost everyone knows The Real Situation in Russia contains the Platform of the Russian Opposition, Lenin's Testament, and A. Joffe's letter to comrade Trotsky in which he explains why and how the Stalinist bureaucracy drove him to take his life. The book on China is progressing and should be ready for shipment within ten days. Work is also going on on What Next? extracts from which are appearing in The Militant. We would like our readers and sympathizers to send us the names and addresses of stores which they think will carry and can sell our literature. Upon receipt of this information we will undertake to sell them through the mail. Our comrades should also make efforts to place our literature in the public libraries. It has been our experience in Cleveland, St. Louis, Youngstown and elsewhere that the libraries are willing to buy our literature. By this arrangement we can place our literature at the disposal of workers unable to buy it.

The Party's Nominating Convention

(Continued from page 1) In several state and city nominating conventions held by the party, to which the Left Opposition sent its delegates to support the Communist election campaign, this support was scornfully rejected by the bureaucrats in control. The glibly proclaimed united front has become a farce by that fact alone. But nevertheless it will not succeed in preventing the Left Opposition from taking its part in the election campaign, modest though, as that will be through force of circumstances. We will do all in our power, to utilize the opportunities which an election campaign offers, to advance the ideas of Communism. CHICAGO DEBATE On Sunday, June 12, at 8:00 P. M. at 3036 W. Roosevelt Rd., Chicago, the Left Opposition youth comrades will debate the Young Peoples' Socialist League of that city. Comrades Nathan Gould and Norman Satir will take the negative of the question: Can the Socialist party play a revolutionary role in America. S. Larks and G. Smerka will support the affirmative. BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MILITANT FOR SALE Only six bound volumes of The Militant are left. Comrades who want this indispensable, historical record should hurry with their orders. Orders are being filled in the order in which they are being received. In each case a check or money order must accompany the order. The bound volumes include the seventy one issue from Volume 1, Number 1 to the last issue of the old format, Volume 4, Number 12, June 15, 1931. We have on hand a number of incomplete files, unbound. We are waiting for comrades to send in the missing numbers to bind them. What we need most are the following issues: Volume 1, Number 1, and Volume 2, Number 4. Upon receipt of these issues we will be able to make up a number of additional files and offer them for sale. THE MILITANT Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th St., N. Y. EDITORIAL BOARD Martin ABERN James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swaback Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1932 Vol. 4, No. 23 (Whole No. 119) Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; for single \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 8 cents per copy.

The Results of Our Press Drive

	Quotas	Results
New York	\$ 325	\$ 140.75
Minneapolis	200	40
Chicago	100	44.70
Toronto	70	1.05
Cleveland	40	9
Philadelphia	40	5
Boston	40	5
Newark	35	7.25
Kansas City	30	2.00
St. Louis	25	6
Los Angeles	20	6
Youngstown	10	8.25
New Haven	10	6
Montreal	10	
Duluth	10	
Springfield, Ill.	10	
W. Frankfort, Ill.	10	
Pittsburgh	10	10
Trenton	5	
Miscellaneous		5.50
Total	\$ 1,000	\$ 290.50

—G. ROBERTS.

—CLARKE.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The Party and the French Elections

Right Wing Renegades Exploit the Mistakes of the Stalinist Bureaucrats

The first and second ballots of the elections constitute important moments of the political life in France, creating a new situation, throwing light upon the strength of the various parties participating and upon the tendencies in the broad masses in view of the crisis and the consequences flowing from it for them.

The elections showed most clearly the movement of the masses toward the conditions, to cast off the burden the "left", that is, their desire to better their state has imposed upon them through the tremendous military and police apparatus; their wish to do away with the danger of war which is very prominent in their eyes. All these deep-seated aspirations of the masses led to the victory of the so-called "left" parties, the Radical-Socialists and the socialists, over the Tardieu government, which represented in the view of the masses those forces to which they were opposed.

What will the new majority bring about? A coalition government or a bloc? A coalition of the democratic parties revolving about the Radical party and excluding the Marin group (nationalists) and the socialists or a bloc of the United Left in power following in the footsteps of the bloc in the electoral campaign? In general, it may be said that French capitalism, and among its political formations, the Radicals in the first place, would prefer the first solution.

Far from becoming ameliorated, the perspectives are growing more sombre, the crisis is continuing to deepen. In order to make the proletariat and the laboring masses bear the burden, the bourgeoisie feels the need of broadening the base of the government and the coalition would correspond to this necessity. On the other hand, the socialist leaders are not very enthusiastic about participating in the power at the present moment, when there are great difficulties. The unanimous election of the new President bears witness to this orientation of French capitalism toward the coalition. It has showed in a clear fashion who will be the master by deciding on a man who has no qualifications other than that of being the representative of the Committee des Forges (the powerful syndicate of French industrial imperialism) ever since he has been in politics. However, sharp contradictions clash with each other within the bourgeois camp and the wave which has brought victory at the same time to both the Radicals and the socialists is so strong that it is not improbable that for a short lapse of time a government bloc may be in power.

But no matter which of these solutions will be adopted, the essence of the elections results consists in this: that the masses, today deluded by the left parties, will shortly be disillusioned with regard to the false promises the latter have made them. This opens up great perspectives for the Communist party, provided that within the months which separate us from this break, it assures its attachment to the masses by an appropriate policy. If this does not come about, the bourgeois Right wing will give an opportunity to exploit the disillusionment of the masses, in the first place to the disadvantage of the proletariat and its class party. Within the party, there exists the belief that when the masses will be disillusioned they will automatically come to us. That is an infantile conception; it suffices to look at the example of Germany and Great Britain, where the party has been unable to benefit from the reformist impotence on the one hand, and from their treachery, on the other.

The present relations of the Communist party to the classes working are disclosed by the elections. First of all, it must be said without embellishments that the party met with one defeat in the first ballot and with another in the second ballot.

The first ballot reveals a decline of 300,000 votes over 1928. In L'Humanite of May 3, the party leadership attempts to play this up as a victory. "We believe, on the other hand, that the results of last Sunday testify to a fine victory for our party." How? Because we are supposed to have made gains in some industrial centers and because—this is said in all seriousness—if the elections had taken place a year ago or two years ago, we would have suffered an even greater decline due to the workings of the "Barbe group".

First of all, it is not true in general that we have made gains in the industrial regions. That is true only for a very small number of wards in the Pas-de-Calais, in Douaisis, and in other isolated sections. But as a whole, we have suffered losses. Losses in the Parisian region, in Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing, in the Seine Inferieure region, in Alsace, in the Aube, in Lyons, etc., etc. This is a decline that must be taken into account.

As to the second argument, it is simply contemptible. There were attempts

* See the article "Political Banditry in the French Communist Party", in THE MILITANT of December 5, 1931—Ed.

made to use this argument about the "Barbe group" last year, they did not dare brandmark it until the party congress. Do they think they will have better success today?

But if the party is just about to overcome its decline, then this should have been expressed in the second ballot on May 8. The Communist workers and sympathizers should have showed that they understand and approve of its policy. Was this the case? The day following the first ballot, L'Humanite stated peremptorily: "300,000 voters deeply convinced of the correctness of our policy and our class against class tactic" (May 3). But the second ballot disproved this assertion. The tactic of "class against class", that is, the retention of the party candidates in every case on the second ballot, even where the socialist candidate had received the majority of the workers' votes, was not followed by about 50 percent of those who voted Communist on the first ballot. In some cases, the losses are relatively small, in others they reach 70 and even 80 percent. Let us add that the same phenomenon can also be observed with regard to the Radical candidates. Consequently, experience proves superabundantly and even better than in 1928 that the so-called "class against class" tactic is not accepted by the mass of the Communist voters. It is not at all astonishing, moreover, that it arouses the reformist workers against us.

There are more things to be taken into account. First of all, the success of the P. U. P. (Parti d'Unité Proletarienne—the party of Sellier and Co., the Right wing expelled from the French C. P.), particularly in the Parisian region. This fact alone, more than the loss of votes, constitutes a defeat for the party. Here are people who have no other program than that of struggle against the C. P. which originally boosted them and elected them to office. They merely conducted a campaign of disgusting slanders against the party. As a result, they have been elected. To be sure the bourgeoisie has aided them, but it is indisputable that workers gave their vote to them, who only yesterday voted for the party. It is an insult to the proletariat to claim that personal favors have sufficed to assure these successes. Personal favors have assured Sellier and others a local apparatus but if they have obtained workers' votes then because the party has not been able to unmask them because the party did not explain them on a political basis clearly understood by the workers, because it has restricted itself to shouting and has not been able to convince the workers. In order to realize the difference in methods and policies of the party today from that of ten years ago, it suffices to recall that a Frossard, when he was expelled, was forced to seek a seat in a distant provincial constituency, whereas a Gélis can today get himself elected in the 13th, arrondissement in Paris (an old Communist stronghold.)

Another thing that must be taken into account, is the fact that most of the elected candidates of the party were elected with the support of socialist voters. It must be admitted that the slogans of the socialist party, declining either in favor of the Radical party or the Communist party, were followed by the very great majority of the socialist voters. And it is therein that we find the successes of the socialists, perhaps even more than in the number of votes they received. The socialists did not, by the way, refrain from giving their motives for withdrawing in favor of the Communist candidates; not because of their sympathy, or affinity is to the case with the Radicals, but in order to be able to win over the workers at present under Communist influence, to their side. What a fine lesson for our centrists! The socialists do not fear to compromise themselves by favoring our party by voting for some of our candidates on the second ballot. They hope, in this manner, to take away another big layer of the working class from the party. This will not remain a hope for them if our party persists in the path which it is taking at present.

Everybody expected the defeats of the party. When it conducts a policy which isolates the party from the masses, which weakens its positions in the trade unions and the workers' organizations, it is inevitable that losses should follow in the elections. This is once more, payment for all the past mistakes, for the "third period", for the "red days", for the "political mass strikes", for "unity within the C. G. T. U." etc. All these mistakes, the enemies of the party have been able to exploit with signal successes. The elections have showed what we have contended day for day, that it is not enough to cry about the reformist betrayals to convince the workers; it is also necessary to show them that we are better capable than the reformists of fighting for their immediate demands, if the latter are not to retrain their influence among the workers. There is the example of Roubaix-Tourcoing (the scene of last year's textile strikes) where the reformists have gained votes, there is the example of Vienne, where the party in addition made the mistake of putting up

a bureaucrat, a certain Richetta, for election, instead of a worker victim of the bosses reprisals following the strikes. But the number of votes received proves that the methods of the C. G. T. U. leadership have been condemned by the workers, who in their disgust fall under the influence of the reformists.

The lesson to be drawn, is the necessity of a radical change of policy. And above all, no half-measures, no ruses.

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Anglo-Russian Committee and the British General Strike

The crushing defeats suffered by the German proletariat in October 1923, by the Bulgarians in September of the same year, and by the Estonians early in 1924, were dealt with by the delegates and the leaders of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern like so many transient episodes. Far from attempting to analyze the new situation that had developed as a result of these defeats, the leaders of the Fifth Congress, who had failed to see the revolutionary situation in Germany when it was rising before their very noses, now proclaimed that the armed struggle was only just ahead. After the German defeat had disclosed the beginning of a new and different situation, the Comintern leaders declared that "Europe is entering into the stage of decisive events . . . Germany is apparently approaching a sharpened civil war" (Zinoviev, February 2, 1924) or "It is false that the decisive struggles have already been fought, that the proletariat has suffered a defeat in these struggles and the bourgeoisie has grown stronger as a result" (Stalin, September 20, 1924). The fact that a "democratic pacifist period" had begun, that the bourgeoisie had succeeded (on the basis of the Comintern's defeats) in achieving a temporary "stabilization", was vigorously denied by the Comintern spokesmen, and was only acknowledged by them a year and a half afterward, when the facts were already matters of indisputable record, and when the situation was again turning in a new direction.

The Swing to the Right

But in the process of calling a non-revolutionary period a revolutionary period, the apparatus people were compelled to hunt high and low for the faintest revolutionary manifestation, to exaggerate it all out of proportions, or even to manufacture revolutionary phenomena where they really did not exist. By inventions and exaggerations, they sought a justification for their prognosis which the actual course of the class struggle did not provide. That is, consequently, the period in which the most fantastic "victories" of the Comintern were heralded to the world, serving to deceive and bewilder the masses in general and the Communists in particular, and to lay the basis for the long swerve to the Right which marked the Comintern's policy until 1928. It was during this period that the shrewd bourgeois politician, Raditch of Yugo-Slavia, was hailed in Moscow and abroad as the great peasants' leader. This was the period in which every demagogue and scoundrel who required some rosy coloring in order to preserve his leadership over the masses, could get it without difficulty by applying to the Comintern apparatus. Raditch was not the only one. The kulak farmers of the American Northwest were hailed in Moscow as the next thing to Communists, as the inestimable partner in the notorious Farmer-Labor party movement. Macia, the head of the Catalan petty bourgeoisie, was transported to Moscow for negotiations. Delegates from the Kuo Min Tang participated officially in the deliberations of the Communist International. They were prominent figures, together with the ragtag and bobtail of petty bourgeois politicians from India to London and back, in the famous "Anti-Imperialist League." The so-called "Peasants' International" was formed at that time, to embrace every political exploiter of the peasantry who needed the protection of "Moscow", and to advance the unique slogan: "The emancipation of the peasantry is the work of the peasantry itself!"

Not the least prominent of the figures who made their pilgrimage to Moscow in those days were the leaders of the British trade unions, Purcell and Co., who visited the Soviet Union at the end of 1924 as an official delegation. The offensive of the British bourgeoisie against the workers' standard of living was producing radical changes in the ranks of the proletariat, a more militant mood was already visible among them, they were moving towards the Left, and this process was reflected in the trade union leadership by the development of a "Left" wing, Purcell, Hicks, Swales, Cook and others, who found it easier to maintain their reactionary leadership over the masses by reacting along to the Left with them.

Out of this visit to Russia, the favorable report which the delegation published, the impression made by the Russian trade union delegation to England, was born the Anglo-Russian Committee, representing the Councils of the two trade union centrals. Its original ob-

ject, according to its founders, was the agitation for the establishment of world trade union unity in the struggle against the capitalist offensive. It did not take long before the Committee went far afield from this original object.

The Standpoint of the Opposition

In the course of the disputes that developed subsequently around the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee, the Stalinists, to cover up their own crimes and blunders, ascribed to the Left Opposition a number of fantastic views which it never held. Some of these deliberate falsehoods are repeated against the Opposition which was accused of wanting to split the British trade unions, of advocating that the Communists should not work within the reactionary trade unions, of opposing the united front, and of being opposed "in principle" to any negotiations with reformist leaders or to the formation of temporary blocs. All these absolutely unfounded accusations were made by the apparatus supporters in order to cover up their own capitulation to the British trade union fakery. As late as 1927, however, in their amendment to the resolution on the situation in England proposed to the Eighth Plenum of the E. C. C. I., comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch wrote: "The creation of the Anglo-Russian Committee was, at a certain moment, a thoroughly correct step. Under the influence of the Leftward development of the working masses, the liberal labor politicians, just like the bourgeois liberals at the commencement of a revolutionary movement, took a step towards the Left in order to retain their influence in the masses. To hold them here was entirely correct."

But the formation of a temporary bloc with reformists moving to the Left, and the establishment of clearly limited objects and tasks for such a bloc—explained plainly to the masses its true nature and limitations and preserving intact the freedom and independence of the Communists—is one thing. What the Right-Centrist leadership of Stalin-Bucharin actually did was quite another.

The original basis for the Anglo-Russian Committee was its existence as a "purely trade union bloc" for the achievement of international trade union unity. This aim was hardly set down in the Comintern than it was extended far beyond its original framework. To it, and to its reformist side in particular, were immediately attributed virtues and capacities that could lead not only to confounding the advanced workers throughout the world, but to the downright catastrophe which the British revolutionary movement and the Soviet Union actually suffered before very long.

Entirely forgetting the fact that the British labor leaders represented another class, that they were its staunchest pillars (pushed momentarily to the Left by the discontentment of the masses), the Comintern apparatus commenced an international campaign in behalf of Purcell and Co., which brought the latter infinitely more prestige and profit than it did the Soviet Union or the Comintern. With the initiative and aid of the C. I., Purcell was toured throughout the world as the great apostle of proletarian unity in the struggle against capitalism. When he came to the United States, the Communist party and the T. U. E. L. were transformed into advertising agencies for a Purcell tour. Our press heaped unbounded praise upon his undeserving head, his name was shouted from the Communist houseposts, his report on the Soviet Union was hailed as a revolutionary classic. After his appearance at the A. F. of L. convention, he was depicted as the St. George of the international class struggle fighting valiantly against the dragon of Comperian reaction in the labor movement. To be sure, the American party leaders were only aping their confederates in the other parties, who, in turn, merely took orders from Stalin and Bucharin—but this did not make matters any better. And about whom were these eulogies sung? About a man who, though one of the founders of the English Communist Party, deserted it for the flesh-pots of bureaucratic trade union comfort, who sat in the General Council, a renegade Communist shrewd enough to go so far as to wave a red flag once in a while if it would help him retain control over the British working class. If that was not clear then—and the warnings of the Opposition made it clear if nothing else did—it should have become clear a short time afterwards.

The Stalinists and the A. R. C.

Purcell only typified the English half of the A. R. C.; he was even its most

The I. L. P. and British Communism

In the last few months, the question of the attitude of the party towards the Independent Labor Party has occupied the attention of the party and the C. I. The absence of a clear policy on this matter has led to frequent disasters: the bloc with the 'Left' reformists from 1925-1927, the support of the Maxton, Cook movement of 1928, and the confusion on this question as recent as last Autumn, all these blunders are due to the essential weaknesses in the policy of the leadership of the C. I. and the British Party. Today, after they burned their fingers

many times, the party declares on order from the C. I. that between it and the I. L. P. there is "war to the death". A very noisy resolution signifying absolutely nothing.

The resolution issued by the C. I. and accepted by the party leadership last January declares that during the struggle of last September one could only notice the slightest difference between the party and the I. L. P. This fact, which is due to the "Left" reformist policy pursued by the party in the time prior to and during last year's crisis, was pointed out by party members among whom this viewpoint was stifled and denounced. Now that one can perceive it, what is the remedy? As for the party leadership, it is "war to the death". But such an attitude reflects only a weak revolutionary policy, whereas a clear demarcation between the policy of the C. P. and that of the I. L. P. makes such declarations superfluous. The difference is clear in itself. The revolutionary party has a special role to fulfill and between it and "left" reformism there is a great difference, but the leadership of the party is afraid of repeating its past errors and lumps together the leaders of the Labor Party, those of the I. L. P. and at the same time, those workers in the ranks of the I. L. P. who are orientating themselves towards a revolutionary policy, and calls them all "social fascists"

What Is the I. L. P.

The I. L. P. occupies a rather important position in the British working class movement, not because it has a formidable following, but because the impotence of the party that has fortified the idea among the workers that it is becoming a real center of opposition against the Labor Party. On the other hand it has a large number of individual adherents, and especially of late, it is attracting those young workers who are entering the movement for the first time.

Until now the I. L. P. has always been a reform party. It has grown with the neo-trade unionism of the unskilled workers and has played a big role in pushing large masses of workers towards an independent workers' policy. The social democratic federation which characterized itself as Marxian but which Engels repudiated as sectarian, failed in this task; the I. L. P. was infected by the doctrines of radical liberalism and based its socialism on ethical conceptions and not on Marxism. Consequently it grew as a reformist party organized on this basis and it never has been other than a reformist party. During the war it adopted the pacifist point of view, and after the war it continued to support the Labor Party and the leadership of MacDonald who up to several months ago was a member of the I. L. P. Its differences with the Labor Party began in actuality to manifest themselves during the last Labor Government. But these were always differences in words only; behind all the criticism was always to be found the implied support of the Labor Government.

But in the ranks of the I. L. P. the criticism had an effect which tended to carry it beyond the realm of words, and toward the struggle for a break with reformism. The young members criticized the Labor Party leaders more and more and had little inclination to be satisfied with parliamentary maneuvers. This year we have seen the growth of unofficial committees constituted to bring about a repudiation of the reformist doctrines and to work for the adoption of a revolutionary policy by the I. L. P. The I. L. P. leaders immediately transformed this movement into one for a formal break with the Labor party and the principal discussion has been for or against the breaking off of relations with the Labor Party. The leaders of the I. L. P. asked for the right to vote in the communes according to the dictates of their conscience. The Labor party refuses this right and on such a question these revolutionary leaders spend hours of babbling, filling the columns of newspapers and holding record-breaking meetings!

The Party must struggle against such leaders but it should distinguish between them and the members who are trying to point the way toward a revolutionary policy. Nevertheless the party adopts an attitude which signifies in reality "all those outside our ranks are enemies of the working class" an attitude which makes it impossible for the Party to win over the most militant sections within the reformist ranks.

The British Left Opposition group is fighting against this policy; it demands that the party while showing the weaknesses of the policy advanced by the unofficial committees; for example, their inability to give clear expression to the relation between the present struggles of the workers and the struggle for power, their lack of understanding of the role of a revolutionary party in the daily struggles and in the struggle for power, their equivocal statements on the subjects of civil war; should be ready to struggle with them against the I. L. P. leaders and on questions of the daily struggle. Already some progress has been made in this direction and several I. L. P. militants have been won over to the support of the viewpoint of the Left Opposition.

On this question as on others members of the Left Opposition in England will carry on a consistent struggle against the false policy of Stalinism.

—ANGLICUS,

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Strikes and Repression in Spain

(Continued from page 1)

Spain a strike movement has broken out with renewed vigor. In the city of Seville a general strike is in progress. According to the latest press reports it seems to be mounting in militancy. Police and Civil Guards are at hand in full force Governor of Seville states, threatens to "burn the 202 churches of Seville." We learn from the incomplete reports in the capitalist newspapers that there has been an almost complete shutdown of the industries of Seville. And its effectiveness in keeping out strikebreakers is attested to, in one instance, by the fact that soldiers had to man the bakeries.

EDITORIAL NOTES

The Right Wing in a Blind Alley

The secret unity negotiations between the Party bureaucrats and Lovestone revealed once more the unprincipledness and the cynicism which the disciples of Stalin bring to all important questions, including the question of unity. On this point we have commented before, in connection with the reports of the negotiations which first appeared in the MILITANT. But this affair—our reports of which have been fully confirmed in all essential particulars, no less by the denials of the Stalinists than by the explanations of Gitlow—has another important aspect. By it, with a more compelling logic than ever before, the hopeless position of the Right wing is acknowledged.

If the unfinished horse trade stamps the rabid campaign of the Stalinists against the Right "renegades" with insincerity—and thereby serves to discredit it—the effect on the position of the Lovestones is still more annihilating. One has only to read the material on the latest unity maneuvers all together—the letters in the MILITANT, the self-refuting denials of the Stalinists and the long-winded apologies of the Workers' Age—to understand that Lovestone is seeking a favorable basis for "capitulation".

The collapse of the Right wing on an international scale is undoubtedly the chief reason for this move to give up the separate organization in America. A small item in the recent issue of the Workers' Age, announcing a session of the International Bureau of the Brandler "International", gives the most convincing evidence of this disintegration. It is stated there that a session of the Bureau would be meaningless without the participation of the American section. Swallowing the flattery, which contains not the least nourishment, the Lovestone politicians could not help asking themselves: "If the international organization of the Right wing depends on us, what good is it?"

A man who is unable to swim himself cannot help another who is drowning by jumping into the water after him. Besides, Lovestone was never a follower, of Christ, of whom it was said: "He saved others, himself he could not save". His motto is more modern and more American: "Look out for number one."

This philosophy can draw no comfort from the catastrophic situation of the International Right wing. Bucharin in the Russian party capitulated to Stalin. A number of the most prominent Brandlerists in Germany have gone over to the new Socialist Labor Party, while Brandler and Thalheimer knock patiently at the door of Stalin. The leader of the Czechoslovakian Brandlerists—Neurath—is breaking away in the direction of the Left Opposition. Everywhere is stagnation and break-up. No progress, no internal consolidation, no firm ideology, no perspectives.

The hopelessness, the futility, of the Brandler "International" becomes clearer day by day. No wonder that the Lovestone leaders, foreseeing the inevitable end—which, it must be admitted, required no special political acumen—prepare to desert the lost cause for another venture in the ranks of Stalinism.

The Case of J. T. Murphy

The sensational resignation of J. T. Murphy from the Communist Party of England, coinciding with a furious campaign against him in the official press is a striking illustration of the fearful instability of the Centrist regime. Just think: Murphy was one of the founders of the Party, and an outstanding member of the Central Committee. He was a wheel-horse of Stalin, not only in the British Party, but in the Comintern as well, and won many decorations for his part in the war against "Trotskyism". He preached the "monolithic unity" of the Stalinist appointees, and with his colleagues of similar kidney, he symbolized it. Now, out of a clear sky, this same Murphy is cast out of the Party. And those same epithets which he bandied about so handily—"counter-revolutionist", "renegade", etc.—are falling on his own head.

The case of Murphy also illustrates how irresistibly, over what apparently contradictory roads and even through the instrumentality of the most hostile persons, a correct political idea will make its way. Murphy lived politically, he maintained his position in the leading staff for years, by virtue of his readiness to repeat every slander against Trotsky, to condemn every idea of the Opposition as counter-revolutionary. And then, such is the cruel logic of politics, he finds himself outside the Party because he can no longer condemn the Opposition slogan of "credits for the Soviet Union"! What irony! And what powerful testimony to the force of that slogan of the Left Opposition!

Murphy has not become a supporter of the platform of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Far from it. Not in a day, nor even in a year, can a man cleanse his mind of the accumulated filth and poison deposited through nine years of servile acquiescence to the epigones' reaction. But not even a Murphy, it seems, could remain wholly indifferent to the havoc that Stalinism has wrought in the British Party. He ventured, after a very long stupor, to resort to independent thought about the problems of the British working class and their relation to socialist construction in the Soviet Union. And—

Lo and Behold!—the first idea that came to him was one that had been elaborated long ago by those whom he had expelled and slandered: the idea of economic collaboration with the Soviet Union and long term credits.

Was Murphy ignorant of the source and origin of the idea that brought his downfall in the Party? It is not impossible. The denunciation of the Opposition became such a routine matter for the funkeys of Stalin that many of them found it unnecessary to read what they condemned. Here again the epigones elucidate the Bolshevik method reversely. If the revolutionary Marxists carefully study the works of all their opponents and report them conscientiously in order to refute them as they really stand with the greater precision, the Stalinists, for whom Marxism is nothing but a false-face, require an unheeding ignorance of every viewpoint except the official one. An objective study of what others say without official authorization, and above all a careless repetition of an unofficial thought, unfits a man for the Stalin machine. Murphy violated one of these conditions, if not both. Hence his excommunication.

Murphy has issued a statement on the affair, a copy of which appears in the British New Leader for May 20. In this statement he throws some light on the method of "ideological mobilization" which he did a full share to bring to full bloom in the Party, and which is now brought into play against him.

He says: "Within a few hours of the appearance of the Daily Worker article (the statement of the Political Bureau against him—Ed.) resolutions equally denunciatory began to pour in without a single person asking if I had anything to say, and before it was possible to become acquainted with the issues which had been raised. (This) is an indication of the automatic, unthinking way in which the Party machine operates and churns out its approval of resolutions."

Yes, that is the way it is done,—the automatic, unthinking way. It has been going on for a long time now, and it is not without reason and explanation. The Prussianization of the Party—enforced by those who abuse the good faith of the members and their confidence in the Comintern—was necessitated by the reactionary struggle against those who truly represent the ideas and the tradition of the Russian revolution. They could not wage this struggle successfully any other way. But the structure based on these methods cannot stand. One crack after another appears in the foundation. The case of Murphy signifies another of these ominous cracks, and a very significant one too.

Trotsky on the Disarmament Conference

In view of the serious political changes in Europe during the last few weeks, such as the elections in France and the fall of the Bruening government, the Lausanne conference, which is scheduled to be held in the middle of June, takes on special importance. In this light, the following remarks by comrade Trotsky, made in an interview he granted the Chicago Daily News at the time of the current Geneva conference, are of particular interest for Communists and for all revolutionary workers.

In Reply to Questions Posed by the Chicago Daily News

(1) The fundamental cause of the crisis may be defined by a single word: capitalism. The specific character of this crisis is explained by another concept: imperialism, that is to say, monopoly capitalism which is beginning to purrify within its own insoluble contradictions. The rise and fall of Ivar Kreuger symbolizes all of capitalism today. The official moralists are hurling their thunder against the match king after the event. But he could have replied to them: why have you permitted me to dispose, according to my own wishes, of the productive forces, which under the direction of a humane society, ought to serve society itself?

Will the capitalist world order survive the present crisis? The reply depends upon what is understood under the term crisis. Variations in the conjuncture accompany the entire history of capitalism. In the past periods, the curve of capitalism rose throughout all the variations of the conjuncture. Today, it is declining. This does not exclude variations of the conjuncture in the future. On the contrary, these are inevitable. But the present acute crisis can only be so attenuated that it will culminate into a higher paroxysm in the next immediate stage. This whole tragic process can only end in the transformation of the whole social system.

(2) Have I any hope of success at the disarmament conference? Not the least. But in this, I am not an exception. The French project is sufficiently characterized by the fact that it has been presented by the Tardieu government. At the same time that France supports the bloody work of Japan in the Far East, Japan gratefully supports the pacifist initiative of France at Geneva. An incomparable lesson for all peoples! The project of France provides for the creation, under the mantle of the League of Nations, of a new entente with the one aim of stabilizing the hegemony of French finance capital with the aid of an "international" army.

But the American project also does not open any perspective. Present day

N. Y. Opposition Offers Cooperation in Elections to the Communist Party

District Party Election Campaign Committee. Dear Comrades:

The New York branch of the Communist League of America endorses the Presidential election campaign of the Communist Party, its national and local candidates. Despite the fact that our delegates were not seated at the New York District Conference, we continue to endorse and will support the candidates with all the forces at our command.

Last year, our delegates were also refused participation in the Conference. Nevertheless, we conducted a series of open air meetings all during the local campaign, in which we called upon the workers to vote for the candidates of the Communist Party. Through our press and other means, we continued to speak on the same line.

No formal ousting will ever suffice to stop our activities for our Party, of which we are still a faction and in which we work as such.

We will undertake all assignments given to us—which we hope to receive by return mail. If none are officially given, we will again carry out activities as we did last year and before.

Comradely yours,
HERBERT CAPELIS,
New York Branch of the Secretary
Communist League of America (Opposition)

BOUND VOLUMES OF PAMPHLETS FOR SALE

Bound Volumes of the following pamphlets by comrade Trotsky are now ready for sale: The Draft Program, Strategy of the World Revolution, World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan, Problems of the Development of the U. S. S. R., The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany, Germany—the Key to the International Situation, The Spanish Revolution, The Spanish Revolution in Danger, and Communism and Syndicalism. All these are bound in one volume.

The volumes are attractively bound in colored covers. The pamphlets are arranged in the above order. Three of the pamphlets in the volume are out of print and cannot be had except by buying the bound volumes. These are the Draft Program, World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan, and The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany.

The number of bound volumes is limited to ninety. Orders will be filled in the order in which they are received. Checks or money orders must accompany the orders. Comrades who want a copy of these bound volumes should order them at once. The price is \$2.00.

wars are not conducted with the arms which the warring peoples possess on the eve of war, but with those which they manufacture in the course of the war itself. The United States has, from this point of view, given a lesson to the entire world and to Germany in particular. The outcome of the future war will be determined by the technical capacity of the belligerent countries. The more advanced the industrial development of a country the more interested is the country in a provisional "limitation" of armaments; for in such a case it will really be easier for it to provide its army with the necessities.

In the best case, the conference will be terminated with hollow phrases. The failure of the Geneva conference will constitute a new impulsion for the course toward armaments and will amplify the war danger.

The Franco-Japanese policy, its bellicose as well as its "pacifist" side, is being orientated ever more openly, not only against China, but also against the Soviet Union. That Litvinoff, at the Geneva conference, expresses the honest desire of the U. S. S. R. not to enter the war, cannot be doubted by any attentive observer. But I wish the Soviet delegation had devoted a moment to pass over from the technical peace proposals, which even from an educational point of view do not bear any great importance, to a more active policy, that is, to say openly before the conference that which is, and in this manner to warn the peoples of the danger facing them. For if there is any force on our planet capable of "limiting" armaments on land and sea, it is the desire of the masses of the people.

(3) The rumors in the press about my return in the near future, to the U. S. S. R. do not rest upon any serious information whatsoever. It is much rather a matter of inventions caused by the highly charged general situation. It is needless to say that the faction to which I belong will put itself entirely and completely at the disposal of the Soviet government. As a precedent, we can point out that in the period of the civil war of 1918-1920, Stalin, Voroshilov and others were in sharp opposition to the methods of conducting the war that I pursued in full agreement with Lenin. This did not at all prevent the oppositionists of that time from taking an active part in the struggles.

What is going on in Spain? Will Fascism succeed in Germany? These and other international events are reported regularly in the columns of THE MILITANT by correspondents on the scene. READ and SUBSCRIBE to THE MILITANT!

Centrism «in General» and the Centrism of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

In the meantime this same functionary bears the least resemblance to an incorporeal spirit. He eats and guzzles and procreates and grows himself a respectable pot-belly. He lays down the law with a sonorous voice, handpicks from below people faithful to him, remains himself faithful to his superiors, prohibits others from criticizing himself and sees in all this the gist of the general line. Of such functionaries there are a few million. A few million! Their number is greater than the number of industrial workers in the period of the October revolution. The majority of these functionaries never participated in the class struggle which is bound up with sacrifices, self-denials and dangers. These people in their overwhelming mass were politically born already in the qualification of a ruling caste. They are backed by the state power. It assures them their livelihood and raises them considerably above the surrounding masses. They know nothing of the dangers of unemployment, if they are gifted with the capacity to stand at attention. The grossest errors are forgiven them as long as they are ready to fulfill the rôle of the sacrificial scape-goat at the required moment, and thus remove the responsibility from the shoulders of their nearest superiors. Well, then, has this ruling stratum of many millions any social weight and political influence in the life of a country? Yes or no?

DANGERS OF WORKERS' BUREAUCRACY

We know from older books that workers' bureaucracy and workers' aristocracy is the social foundation for opportunism. In Russia this phenomenon has taken on new forms. On the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat—in a backward country—surrounded by capitalism—for the first time a powerful bureaucratic apparatus has been created from among the upper layers of the workers, that is raised above the masses, that lays down the law to them, that has at its disposal colossal resources, that is bound together by an inner mutual responsibility and that intrudes into the policies of a workers' government its own interests, methods and regulations.

We are not anarchists. We understand the necessity of a workers' government and therefore the historical inevitability of a bureaucracy during a transitional period. But we likewise understand the dangers that are inherent in this fact, particularly for a backward and an isolated country. The idealization of Soviet bureaucracy is the most shameful mistake that can be made by a Marxist. Lenin strived with all his might to raise the party as a self-acting vanguard of the working class above the governmental apparatus in order to control, check, direct, and, purge it, placing the historical interests of the proletariat—international, not only national—above the interests of the ruling bureaucracy. As the first condition of the party control over the government Lenin put the control of the party mass over the party apparatus. Read over attentively his articles, speeches and letters during the Soviet period, particularly for the last two years of his life—and you will remark with what alarm his mind turned time and again to this burning question.

THE FUNCTIONARY REPLACES THE BOLSHEVIK

But what has happened in the subsequent period? The entire leading stratum of the party and of the government that was at the helm during the revolution and the civil war has been replaced, removed and crushed. Their place has been taken by an anonymous functionary. At the same time the struggle against bureaucratism which was so acute in character during Lenin's lifetime, when the bureaucracy was not yet out of its diapers, has ceased entirely now when the apparatus has grown sky high.

And indeed, who is there capable of carrying on this struggle? The party as a self-controlling vanguard of the proletariat no longer exists now. The party apparatus has been fused with the administrative. The most important instrument of the general line within the party is the G. P. U. The bureaucracy not only prohibits the criticism of the top from below but it prohibits its theoreticians from even talking about it and from noticing it. The mad hatred of the Left Opposition is aroused first of all by the fact that the Opposition talks openly about the bureaucracy, about its particular rôle, and its interests, thus revealing the secret that the general line is inseparable from the flesh and blood of the new nationalistic ruling stratum, which is not at all identical with the proletariat.

From the proletarian character of the government, the bureaucracy deduces its right of primogeniture to infallibility: how can the bureaucracy of a workers' state degenerate! The state and the bureaucracy are thereby taken not as historical processes but as eternal categories: how can the holy church and its god-inspired priests sin! Yet, if a workers' bureaucracy which raised itself over the proletariat, waging battle in a capitalist society, could degenerate into the party of Noske, Scheidemann, Ebert and Wels, why can't it degenerate after raising itself over the victorious proletariat?

The ruling and uncontrolled position of the Soviet bureaucracy is conducive to a psychology which in many ways is directly contradictory to the psychology of a proletarian revolutionist. Its own aims and combinations in local politics as well as in international politics are placed by the bureaucracy above the tasks of the revolutionary education of the masses and without any connection with the tasks of international revolution.

In the course of a number of years the Stalinist faction demonstrated that the interests and the psychology of a "strong peasant", engineer, administrator, Chinese bourgeois intellectual and British trade union functionary were much closer and more comprehensive to it than the psychology and the needs of the unskilled laborer, the peasant poor, the uprising Chinese national masses, the English strikers, etc.

But why, in that case, didn't the Stalinist faction lead to the very end its line of national opportunism? Because it is the bureaucracy of a workers' state. While the international social democracy defends the foundations of the bourgeois sovereignty, the Soviet bureaucracy, not having achieved a governmental overturn, is compelled to adapt itself to the social foundations laid down by the October revolution. Hence is derived the dual psychology and policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Centrism, but centrism on the foundation of a workers' state, is the sole possible expression for this duality.

Whereas in capitalist countries, the centrist groupings are most often temporary or transitional in character, reflecting the evolution of certain workers' strata to the right or to the left, under the conditions of the Soviet republic, centrism is equipped with a much more solid and organized base in the shape of a multimillioned bureaucracy. Representing in itself a natural environment for opportunist and nationalist tendencies, it is compelled, however, to maintain the foundations of its hegemony in the struggle with the kulak and at the same time to bother about its "Bolshevik" prestige in the world-wide movement. Following its attempted chase after the Kuo Min Tang and the Amsterdam bureaucracy, which in many ways is close to it spiritually, the Soviet bureaucracy each time entered into sharp conflict with the social democracy which reflects the enmity of the world bourgeoisie to the Soviet state. Such are the sources of the present Left zig-zags.

The eccentricity of the situation arises not from the supposed and special immunity of the Soviet bureaucracy to opportunism and nationalism but from the fact that, being unable to occupy a thoroughgoing national-reformist position, it is compelled to describe zig-zag between Marxism and national reformism. The oscillations of this bureaucratic centrism, in conformity with its power, its resources and the acute contradictions in its position, have attained an altogether unheard of sweep: from ultra-Left adventurism in Bulgaria and Estonia to the alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek, Radich and Purcell; and from the shameful fraternization with British strike breakers to a complete renunciation of the policy of the United Front with mass organizations.

These breakneck zig-zags would have been impossible, were it not for the fact that within all Communist sections a self-sufficient bureaucracy—i. e., independent of the party—had been formed. Here is the root of all evil!

WHEREIN LIES THE STRENGTH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The strength of a revolutionary party consists in the independence of its vanguard which checks and selects its cadres and while educating its leaders, gradually elevates them by its confidence. This creates an unbroken connection between the cadres and the mass, between the leader and the cadres and it induces in the entire leadership an inward confidence in themselves. There is nothing of the kind in the contemporary Communist parties! The leaders are appointed. They handpick their aides. The rank and file of the masses is forced to accept the appointed leaders, around whom there is built up the artificial atmosphere of advertisement. The cadres depend upon the upper crust and not upon the underlying masses. Consequently, to a considerable degree they seek for the source of their influence as well as for the source of their livelihood outside of the masses. They draw their political slogans not from the experience in the struggle, but by telegraph. And in the meantime Stalin's files secrete incriminating documents against possible emergency. Each leader knows that at any moment he can be blown away like a feather.

COARSENESS AND DISLOYALTY CHARACTERIZE THE BUREAUCRAT

Thus, throughout the entire Comintern a closed bureaucratic stratum is being created which represents in itself a culture broth for the bacilli of centrism. While organizationally it is very stable and solid, for it is backed by the bureaucracy of the Soviet state, the centrism of the Thaelmanns, Remmes and Co., is distinguished by extreme instability in political relations. Bereft of assurance, which can be derived only from an organic jointure with the masses, the infallible C. E. C. suffices only for monstrous zig-zags. The less it is prepared for a serious ideological battle, the more proficient it is in profanity, insinuations, and calumnies. Stalin's portrait, "coarse" and "disloyal", as described by Lenin, is the personification of this layer.

The characterization of bureaucratic centrism given above determines the attitude of the Left Opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy: a complete and unqualified support in so far as the bureaucracy defends the boundaries of the Soviet republic and the foundations of the October revolution; an outspoken criticism in so far as the bureaucracy hinders by its administrative zig-zags the defense of the revolution and of socialist construction; a merciless resistance in so far as it disorganizes by its bureaucratic overlordship the struggle of the international proletariat.

—L. TROTSKY.
(From WHAT NEXT—Vital Questions for the German proletariat)