

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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ON THE SPOT

CRIME IS GAINING ALL THE TIME

A Mr. McGeoghegan of Chicago, prominent beer baron, was charged with the robbery of a bank to the tune of \$60,000. He beat the bank officials to it. Infuriated over their loss, the bankers identified him, and the eminent democrat was placed on trial. The identifiers learned that McGeoghegan was cleaning and oiling a machine gun for their benefit so they implored the state's attorney to dismiss the charges. Their request was complied with. Why not send McGeoghegan to restore law and order in Nicaragua?

REPS. AND DEMS. SEND RIVALS TO NUT WARD

Former Kluge Clark of the Ku Klux Klan, recently emerged from the nut ward and announced that he was going to restore prosperity through the medium of a new organization of morons, membership in which was contingent on the ability of the sucker to come across with a sum ranging from \$25 to \$500. "From each according to his ability; to me according to my needs" was Clark's slogan. Plans for bedsheets and night cap factories were drawn up and a corps of confidence salesman organized. But the bourgeoisie would not have it. These are hard times and the Republican and Democratic parties will have a tough job on their hands trying to hold the masses in their corral with promises of prosperity and full dinner pails after next November. So they grabbed Clark and lashed him to a cot in the psychopathic ward of the County Hospital in Chicago. The head of the nut clearing house declared that any man who claims he can liquidate the depression is as mad as a bed bug. If that is so, and we are inclined to agree, why not isolate the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties?

IS WILLIAM GREEN SEEING RED?

William Green, the pink-cheeked Baptist, president of the American Federation of Labor, who has waged a consistent fight against unemployment by holding the estimated number of jobless down to six millions recently took a wild leap to the left and startled the country by stating that the workless army is now over ten millions. Following this announcement from his headquarters came another, charging the Hoover administration with non-feasance on the unemployment question. Bill believes that the money handed to the banks by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation should be loaned by the banks to the business men who in turn would use it to exploit the unemployed, and to paraphrase the Pullman smoking room yarn "that's the fellow Green wants to help." Look out brother Green! Brother Doak may get you and deport you to where you came from unless you stop criticizing the government. Only the Reds do that kind of thing.

ONEAL AND THOMAS IN TIT FOR TAT GAME

The assistant editor of the *New Leader*, official organ of the Socialist Party, was removed from his post because of his support of the so-called militants in the S. P. The board of directors of the *New Leader* declared that he was dismissed because of his inability to work in harmony with Hillquit's editor, James O'Neal. Norman Thomas, the liberal leader of the S. P. who took the 'left' militants into his maw and is digesting them at his leisure, protested against the assistant editor's dismissal. O'Neal came back with the dirty crack that Thomas fired him (O'Neal) from the editorial staff of the *New York Call* after Thomas took it over, baptized it the *Leader* and abolished the class struggle. This is tit for tat if yuh git what I mean.

DAILY WORKER BARES DIABOLICAL PLOT

The *Daily Worker* viewed with alarm the proposal of the Human Betterment Foundation that 18,000,000 mental defectives be sterilized by a harmless process which is so popular with the experimenters that they write testimonials recommending the operation to others. It may be a modernization of the fable about the fox who lost his tail, but be that as it may, the *Daily Worker* suspects that it is a plan to sterilize the unemployed. The capitalists it is true, are dirty enough for anything but we fail to see what they could gain by enucleating the unemployed unless they intend to legalize the harem industry. It is well to know however that the *Daily Worker* is on guard and if the capitalists think they can pull off anything like that without the diabolical motive behind it being exposed, they are due for disillusionment.

—RIDEW.

Ryan Walker, well known labor cartoonist, died a short time ago in Moscow. His cartoons appeared in many papers. He first became known thru the *N. Y. Call*, and since that time his drawings have appeared in the *Illinois Miner* (Ameringer's paper), the *N. Y. Graphic*, and the *Daily Worker*. No one can say that he did not have a colorful career.

Lausanne Conference Near Collapse

German Reaction Aggressive

The entire Lausanne Conference, looked upon with the greatest anxiety by a European bourgeoisie caught in the throes of impending convulsions, has so far stood under the sign of the Hoover proposals on disarmament. The power of the American colossus is more in evidence than ever. The Germans see in it the hand of a magnanimous benefactor against the adamant French enemy. The French in so far as they are inclined to view with favorably, hold it up as a prop for the maintenance of their cherished Versailles Treaty. As is known, the Hoover plan proposes the reduction of armaments by one third pressing for a reduction in the arms output of the Gallic rival for European domination and at the same time restricting German war preparations to the present limit.

As was to be expected, the Conference has yielded no results. The only positive thing it has achieved, is the indefinite prolongation of the Hoover moratorium which was to end on June 30. The French are holding out, using the old lever of "security necessities" and holding fast to their refusal to consider cancellation of German reparations. In the struggle between the Amer D'orsay, the Von Papen delegation grasps a good opportunity to jockey for position, with an eye on the requirements of foreign aid from all quarters in the event of a Fascist seizure of power in Germany and the prospect of bitter and protracted civil war that this envisages.

While the German reactionaries are negotiating for the best possible conditions for future domestic and foreign imperialist aims—they talk of revision of the Eastern frontiers—steering a course that heads for a generally approved aggression against the country of the So-

Closer to the Proletarians of the 'Colored' Races!

To the International Secretariat: Copy to the National Committee of the American League:

I have received a copy of the letter of an organization of Negro comrades from Johannesburg, dated April 26th. This letter, it seems to me, has a tremendous symptomatic significance. The Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) can and should become the banner for the most oppressed sections of the world proletariat, and consequently, in the first place, for the Negro workers. Upon what do I base such an assumption?

The Left Opposition represents at present the most consistent and the most revolutionary current in the world. Its sharply critical relations to all and every form of bureaucratic conceit in the labor movement makes it possible for it to pay particular attention to the voice of the most oppressed sections of the working class and toilers in general.

The Left Opposition has to suffer the blows not only of all the bourgeois governments of the world, but also of the Stalinist apparatus. This fact, which, in spite of all the slanders, enters gradually into the consciousness of the masses, the government at home proceeds with drastic force against all opposition forces at home.

The protests of the local governments—Bavaria, Baden—against the lifting of the ban on the Nazi Storm Troops have been of no avail. The Von Papen cabinet is sticking to its guns. In the meantime, the Fascist forces are forging ahead with full speed and with the best wishes of the present rulers. Attacks upon workers, organizations continue unabated. The toll of proletarian victims of Hitlerite attacks is mounting skyward. The Brown Shirts' pressure upon affairs—domestic as well as foreign—goes on in all openness and with remarkable success.

(Continued on page 2)

es, will have to attract towards the Left Opposition the sympathies of the most oppressed sections of the international working class more and more. From this point of view, the letter to us from the South African comrades appears to be not at all accidental, but deeply symptomatic. In their letter, bearing 24 signatures (it further follows: "and others") the South African comrades expressed particular interest in the questions of the Chinese Revolution. This interest should be recognized as fully grounded. Precisely the working masses of the oppressed peoples who have to carry on the struggle for the elementary national rights and for human dignity, stand the greatest risk to suffer from the confused teachings of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the subject of the "democratic dictatorship". Under this false banner, the policy in the style of the Kuo Min Tang, that is, the complete deception and the unpunished crushing of the toiling masses by their own "national" bourgeoisie, may still do the greatest harm to the cause of liberating the toilers. The program of the permanent revolution based on the incontestable historic experience of a number of countries may and should assume the leading significance for the liberation movement of the Negro proletariat.

If the Johannesburg comrades did not as yet have the possibility to acquaint themselves closer with the views of the

Alexander Rosanoff

The sad news of a new victim is communicated in the latest correspondence received from Moscow. Comrade Alexander Rosanoff is dead in exile. Comrade Rosanoff, a party member since 1917, a heroic fighter in the famous Fifth Army (which crushed Kolchak), a militant Oppositionist since 1923, was arrested in 1928. Altho seriously ill with tuberculosis, running a fever of 105, he was thrown into Butirki prison together with common law criminals, and submitted to all kinds of torments. Then deported to Siberia, he was on the threshold of death. The Stalinist apparatus was obliged to transfer him to better climatic conditions. There condemned to death, he remained an intransigent Bolshevik revolutionist, combating Stalinism with all his power. After four years of exile comrade Rosanoff has perished, a victim of the Stalinist repression.

The same communication tells of the uninterrupted growth of the Left Opposition in the U. S. S. R.: Young Workers come to the Opposition from all new sections. The year 1931 unfolded under the sign of hundreds of new arrests and deportations of Bolshevik-Leninists. This year the same thing, the arrest and deportation, during March and April, of 80 oppositionists in Sverdlovsk (center of the Ural industrial region) 8 of whom were transferred to solitaires. This continual arrival of new elements has a decisive importance. It gives courage to the old militants. And above all, it gives assurance to the future of the Left Opposition, which has great historic tasks before it. And it is just this Stalin shows to the Left Opposition. The ideas of the Left Opposition, in spite of everything, are penetrating into all the sections of the working class and the Party, and in the entire Soviet Union.

Demand the release of the Bolshevik-Leninists in prison and exile, from the Stalinist bureaucrats.

Demand their readmission into the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Worker Communists must not allow the physical destruction of these stalwart revolutionists. Their place is in the front ranks of the world proletariat.

Persecution of our Spanish Comrades

BARCELONA, SPAIN.—

Our comrade Luis Curiel has been arrested in Valladolid. His arrest is just another arbitrary act of the "democratic" regime. No reason was given to explain this arrest, outside of the fact that Curiel is an outstanding Communist militant, the former regional secretary of the official party in Castille and the national secretary of International Labor Defense (Red Aid).

It appears that it is the aim of the police to systematically jail all the members of the Left Opposition in Spain. At Perales de Tajuna, on May 30, comrade Henri Lacroix was arrested with friends engaged in a conversation with friends on a street corner. The Civil Guards who perpetrated the arrest threatened our comrade at the point of a gun. They marched him through the streets with his hands up and warned that they had orders to act drastically upon any move on his part. Since there is no jail in that town they took him to a small jail-

aurant. Like a real bandit, never once withdrawing their gun points from the body of our comrade.

After passing the night there, they brought him to Madrid where he was later released.

—CORRESPONSAL.

As we go to press we receive the joyous news of the release of comrade Andres Nin and the other 20 comrades arrested with him on May 30. The last two issues of *El Soviet*, of which Nin is the editor and in the publication of which many of the arrested comrades had been engaged, were practically edited from the prison cells. Most of the articles bear the address of the Carcel Central, the prison in which the editorial board of *El Soviet* was detained.

Comrade Luis Rastrollo, after five months of prison in Badajoz, has also been released. He is a member of the National Committee of the Spanish Opposition and had been arrested for leading the peasant revolts in Llerena.

Arrest W. Z. Foster in Los Angeles

Released Although Charged with Criminal Syndicalism

William Z. Foster, Communist candidate for president of the U. S. who was arrested on July 28th. in Los Angeles, while attempting to speak in a protest demonstration, was released the next day on the grounds of lack of evidence to charge him with criminal syndicalism. The meeting at which Foster was arrested was called to protest the prohibition of a meeting where he was billed to speak and which was to protest the shooting of an unemployed worker by Captain Hynes police thugs. John R. Hynes, the notorious red baiter and persecutor of the Los Angeles workers, arrayed a little army of Legionnaires and bluecoats, armed with sub-machine guns, sawed off shotguns, blackjacks, etc., to see to it, that the meeting did not take place. When the workers demanded to hear Foster, the police and the thugs proceeded to show them what California democracy feels like—over their skulls. When Foster began to speak, he was thrown into jail "on suspicion of criminal syndicalism."

But this move was too brazen, too crude. Hynes, who arrests, imprisons and holds Communists on far less evidence, had to let Foster go for the reason that he wanted to "keep peace in the city." The real reason is of course, that it is not so easy to arrest presidential candidates even though they may happen to be Communists. The wave of resentment that would follow, would certainly make it too hot for Capt. Hynes' liking.

The first move to block the Communist election campaign has been successfully crushed.

On with the campaign! Vote for Foster and Ford!
Vote Communist!

Demagogues and Bankers Clash in Chicago

What Is Behind the Clique Fight at the Democrats' Meet

If the Republican party confab gave the appearance of a graveyard with a couple of hired noise makers, the democratic convention looks like a veritable madhouse with the inmates acting their natural selves. A casual reading of the proceedings of the convention now in session in Chicago, gives one the impression of a field day of a lunatic asylum. First things, a jig by the sedate William McAdoo, wild and idiotic cheering at the least mention of prohibition repeal, chorus girls applauding Jimmy Walker, and professional entertainers to fill in the dull moments, marked the highlights of the political convention of the "democracy."

The Republican convention insulted the intelligence of the people of these United States by putting up Herbert Hoover as the only nominee and candidate to squeeze some more profits out of the hides of the working class. But the Democrats are no pikers, they give us eight possibilities, all of whom have as much or less in common with the needs of the workers as the "great engineer".

Smith has the support of the Wall Street magnate, John J. Raskob. Newton D. Baker let go a couple of loose phrases about capitalist "internationalism", but his able service in sending American workers to the European slaughterhouse, to coin profits for the Morgan's Du Ponts, etc., makes him wholly acceptable to the big money bags. Ritchie is wholly innocuous since his only qualification and platform is his dampness. Even Garner won't be objectionable to the industrialists—he showed his caliber in trimming the petty-bourgeois by a huge levy of taxes foisted upon them. And Roosevelt the most likely nominee, can be counted upon in a pinch to do his bit for his master—in spite of his dishwasher liberalism.

But Franklin D. Roosevelt, while he has a majority of delegates behind him, has no path of roses to trod on to reach the nomination. The biggest obstacle that stands in his way is the displeasure that the Wall Street bankers have shown over his liberal demagoguery. The Morgans, Fords and Rockefeller are well satisfied with the service rendered by Herbert Hoover. But if it is necessary to have another candidate in the field, for the purpose of deception, they want the most harmless one they can lay hands on. This is not the time to play around.

Roosevelt pretends to be the representative of the petty bourgeoisie. Behind him stands the powerful chain of the Hearst papers, that make it a policy to play on the heart strings of the small business man and the small manufacturer. [But Tammany Hall stands in his way, because as presidential nominee he will of necessity, have to take drastic measures in his post of Governor of N. Y. against the Tammany crooks, to keep the South and West in line.

The Democratic party in its platform blames the unprecedented economic and

social distress on their blood brothers, the Republicans. It recommends, as a remedy "a drastic change in economic and governmental policies."

The most ignorant person should be able to observe that the tremendous overproduction of wealth and the glut of commodities, on the one hand, and the starvation and unemployment on the other, can be due to nothing else than the system that produces these things. The Democrats are heart and soul for the maintenance of the capitalist system. Their economic existence depends upon it. How then, can anyone hope for a change or a remedy to existent conditions by the election of the "democracy".

A sop is thrown to the unemployed. Federal relief to the states is a plank, provided "the diminishing resources of the states make it impossible for them to provide for the needy." Just how much money for relief is not stated. And just when the resources of the states are "diminishing", makes the whole business smell like another campaign promise that will be violated as soon as the Democrats assume office.

The Republicans have completely ignored unemployment insurance. Therefore, the Democrats, seeing a good vote-catching issue, declare for "unemployment and old-age insurance under state laws." But the very wording of this plank gives the lie to their "solemn promises". There are Democratic governors in several states, some of whom are now aspirants for the nomination. Has unemployment insurance been introduced in those states? No! Will there be such laws (unless it is given to mean, insurance) in the future? Most decidedly, no! Unless, again mass pressure is brought to bear by the working class.

As was to be expected, the main issue for the democrats is the repeal of the 18th Amendment. Raskob says that it is the "only economic issue of any importance in this election campaign". To a starving populace crying for bread these "representatives of the people" offer beer and alcohol. Where the money will come from to purchase these beverages, with industry prostrate, seems to be a grand mystery. Prohibition is, in reality, nothing more than a soap bubble issue. It will be exploded just as soon as the workers get wise to this smokescreen used, to cover up the burning problems.

This noisy, rambunctious convention can teach the American worker only one thing and one line of action. The capitalist system and all its representatives are rotten and bankrupt. The abolition and destruction of capitalism is their only hope. The piling up of a huge vote for the Communist candidates is their only course in this election.

—CLARKE.

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

The Pocketbook Makers Fight the Racketeers

NEW YORK, N. Y.
 One year ago, the S. P. Fakery and the Musteltes forced an agreement upon the Pocket Book Workers in N. Y. and conceded all the conditions of the employers without a fight. The employers did not live up to this rotten agreement, which they signed. They reduced wages constantly, sped up the workers, and violated the agreement every day during the year.

How is it possible that the employers could get away with not living up to the agreement when there is an impartial arbitration board. First the reorganization clause we've had since the last agreement was forced upon the workers by the betrayers. Under this reorganization clause, the employers have the right to discharge ten percent of the workers during the year, meaning five percent every six months. The bosses used this clause as a blackjack over the heads of the workers. It was possible for the manufacturers to speed up the workers, because each worker feared that he would be the one to be discharged when the reorganization came around at the end of the season.

Second, the present "Fraternal Club" administration gave the employers a free hand, collaborated with them to bring down wages and undermine the already poor conditions of the workers. Otherwise they would never permit the employers to violate the agreement.

Furthermore the officials not only helped to reduce wages but with the aid of the employers and some of their henchmen (the so-called shop chairman), they instituted a reign of terror in the union. At meetings workers were forced to vote according to the wishes of the administration. If a worker voted against the administration he had to face the threat of losing his job. This is called S. P. democracy in the union.

Why did the administration resort to such methods? The writer pointed out in *The Militant* of March 26 and May 28 that the "Fraternal Club" administration will force a new agreement on the Pocket Book Workers by hook or crook, with more wage cuts, reorganizations, readjustments, etc.

About two weeks ago, our manager, Lubliner, announced in the press that he had reached an agreement with the bosses' industrial council. The manager did not state the terms of the agreement. Let me enumerate the concessions the employers gained this time from our "practical" officials. (1) A twenty per cent reduction in wages for week workers. (2) Ten per cent for all piece workers. What have the workers won by the new agreement? The administration claims that the reorganization clause was modified from ten per cent twice a year to five per cent once a year. Unofficially, the employers will have the chance to readjust their business—which is just as rotten as reorganization, if not worse.

The "Fraternal Club" administration did not reckon with the wishes of the members and especially with those who are unemployed. They did not make any attempt to gain the forty hour week to relieve the unemployment situation. How they will be able to maintain conditions at a time when there are over two thousand workers unemployed, in an industry which employs only four thousand is a mystery to me. There are 175 non-union shops in New York. Nothing was done to organize these shops where some of the unemployed workers could be placed. The administration claims there is no money to do organization work. But what about the money for strong arm gangs?

Now let us analyze and see how the betrayers put over the agreement. When the manager reported the settlement to the joint council, the 14 "Rank and File" delegates voted against it. The 16 members of the "Fraternal Club" voted for it.

On June 20, a membership meeting was called at Stuyvesant High School to ratify the agreement. On the same day, the Rank and File Committee distributed leaflets in the union office, in which they urged the workers to come to the meeting and vote down the treacherous agreement. When one of the organizers, Wise, who has been charged with graft and corruption more than a dozen times, saw the girls handing out the leaflets, he became as wild as a bull. He ordered his gang to start a fight in the union office. This fight was not enough for the "Fraternal Club". So they sent their slugs out to start a fight on the street. Of course, the workers paid them in their own coin and they are hardly likely to forget it. As a result of the fight on 21st Street and Fifth Avenue, five Left wingers were held in jail for a few days. The gang was released immediately.

When the meeting took place at night, the "Fraternal" gang prepared themselves for it with the aid of the Gara or Curly gangs, numbering over fifty. Is it any wonder that the "Fraternal Club" administration put over the agreement? I would like to ask our misleaders how much they paid their gang? Is the gang working for "socialist" principles too? Who pays the gang that comes to our office to terrorize workers—your money or that of the workers?

In conclusion, I want to say that the "Rank and File" must close their ranks more firmly and rout the gangsters and slugs from our union. One corrupt administration was forced out of office a few years ago due to the fact that they could not give an accounting of more than \$250,000. We must make them understand that the time of dynasties is over. We will not pay bills for gunmen.

For every member that is beaten up, we will repay them eye for eye and tooth for tooth. This must be the answer to our "Fraternal Club" administration. Let our slogan be: a union for the workers, not for grafters and gangsters.

Abel Fine, one of the leading "Fraternal Club" slugs, who participated in the beating up of the Left wingers and who made the motion to accept the agreement, is scabbing in the Bienen shop, which has been on strike for the last few weeks!

—N. DAVIS.

The «Labor» Governor of Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—
 June 25, 1932
 True to the role of capitalist and reformist politicians, Floyd B. Olson, the Minnesota "Farmer-Labor" Governor is very busy nowadays in the usual campaign before election time to make himself popular, especially with the ruling class. His time is mostly taken up now in filling speaking engagements with various organizations and fraternal societies and in each case he naturally, from a politician's standpoint, wants to say something which is in harmony with the ideas of his listeners.

Speaking at a banquet of the Northern Pacific Ry. veterans at the Nicolet Hotel on June 23rd, Olson joined in with the railroad officials and such notorious open shoppers as A. A. D. Rahn, pleading for a square deal for the railroads. Quoting from the Minneapolis Journal of June 24th Charles Donnelly, president of the N. P., told those assembled at the banquet that, "The railroads of the United States ask only for equality of treatment from the taxing and regulating authorities in the transportation field".

Our "Farmer-Labor" Governor, instead of telling Donnelly and the rest of the outfit present, that the railroads together with all the other industries should be taken from the parasite owners without pay and be made public property and operated for use instead of for private profit, according to the same Journal stated as follows:

"We must have railroad transportation, especially for long haul and carload business. Much of the competition now forced upon the railroads is unfair competition. It is necessary for the government to so regulate the transportation business as to provide fair and equitable business for all forms."

Neither Donnelly the Railroad President nor Andy Rahn, who spoke for the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, could plead more eloquently for the cause of big business than did our "labor" Governor. The half million railroad "veterans" who have been robbed of their right to make a living by losing their jobs as victims of private own-

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ership of industry, were entirely forgotten by the "labor" Governor and the capitalist agents alike.

By the purely fictitious role which Farmer-Labor and all reformist politicians are playing, not only in Minnesota but everywhere else, it will be easier for the Communists to gain members and supporters for our party and program.

—O. M.

Among the Greek Workers in N. Y.

In the *Militant* of June 4th and in the *Communist* No. 5 we demanded from the Greek Stalinist bureaucrats to announce in heavy type the victory of the *Empros* over the Athens Trust Co., of New York City. The *Empros* kept an icy silence, concerning this question, for obvious reasons. Both parties agreed to reject the trial at the Special Sessions Court and accepted the motion of the District Attorney. What we are interested to know is what the terms were under which this mutual agreement took place.

The bureaucrats up to this day refused to print this agreement because it is certain that it contains terms that are very favorable for the bank and very compromising for the *Empros*. By shouting and boasting of exposures against banks and newspapers and then compromising behind the backs of the workers we achieve nothing more than a tremendous loss of prestige.

Three whole weeks before the motion of withdrawal took place, the *Empros* carried a two column campaign against the rival of the Athens Bank, the National Bank of N. Y., and not a word about the Athens Trust Co. This speaks for itself.

Trial of the National Herald
 Taking into consideration the dealings of the Greek Stalinists with the Athens Trust Company we venture to state that the same kind of dealings will take place with the National Herald next November when the workers will have forgotten all their fuss and unsincere eagerness to present themselves before the capitalist courts. Our prediction is substantiated by the fact that a certain member of the Board of Directors of the Athens Trust Co. happens to be also a member of the School Collection Fund that the National Herald carries.

Our Healthy Criticism
 That our criticism of the *Empros* is healthy and constructive is proven by the quick response it received among the honest elements in the ranks of Stalinism. The workers' indignation at the criminal attitude of their bureaucrats brought about a considerable pressure and it resulted in a certain change—at least temporarily. Comrade Tsironis, a party member serving a long term in the capitalist dungeons, protested from within the prison walls and demanded that the *Empros* occupy itself with the vital questions of the class struggle. His letters to other party members forced the bureaucrats to print in the *Empros* of June 4th a fragment of a letter which we translate below:

Dear Comrades of the Editorial Board:

Have received the *Empros* and with great eagerness. I see that you don't write anything on the march of the veterans for the bonus. The capitalist press does this very thing which attempts to diminish this question and this is to their interest, but the attitude of the *Empros*, I really do not know how to explain it.

With comradely greetings,
 JOH. TSIRONIS
 Answer of *Empros*:
 The Editorial Board accepts the above criticism of J. Tsironis, as proper and constructive. The Editorial Board and the Bureau take notice of this neglect, and also others, and we are sure that with a sincere constructive criticism will fill the gaps that the *Empros* until now presents.

—EDITORIAL BOARD.

In spite of all the above self criticism we notice a continuation of their former petty bourgeois attitude and their continuous preoccupation mainly with questions of such unworthy character for a Communist newspaper as for example: Attacks against the Greek Consul for his favoritism towards certain sharks of the Ticket Agencies and neglect for others, etc. In the *Communistes* we warned the comrades to be always vigilant because we know well that any honest individual that will not follow the criminal Stalinist line of blunders is, if not expelled immediately, at least removed from his post.

Spartacus Club & Labor Defense
 The Spartacus Club under Stalinist control became an organization where only those workers that accept beforehand the infallibility of Stalin are allowed to become members, any other is not allowed even to sit in the social hall. Comrade Alexandronakis, a former party member and at present a close Communist sympathizer, is not allowed even the privilege of the social hall of the club because he expressed his indignation at the attitude of the *Empros* towards the imprisoned Oppositionists. Comrade Alexandronakis succeeded in organizing an I. L. D. branch out of a reactionary fraternal organization of Cretians and very correctly maintains that every imprisoned Communist should be supported and assisted by the I. L. D., irrespective of his factional affiliations.

Hundreds of Greek Oppositionists are deported and imprisoned in Greece and whole branches of the Greek I. L. D. are expelled because they demand that the

Organization Notes

ORGANIZATION NOTES

During the days of June 10-13, both inclusive, our National Committee held a plenary meeting at the New York headquarters. Members and alternates were in attendance, coming from Chicago, Minneapolis, Philadelphia and Canada. The meeting became a fruitful one in many respects. The main issues discussed and acted upon were concerning differences of views in regard to developments within the sections of the International Left Opposition and our own internal developments. It is but natural that such issues should assume the importance of serious discussion particularly when we bear in mind that our main problem is still the one of selection and of consolidation of a nucleus of the future Communist movement.

These questions did not involve our principle position in the class struggle nor our attitude toward the Communist party as those are settled questions with us; nevertheless they did involve the problems of organizational growth here and abroad. The plenum ironed out in the main the differences of views that existed and arrived at unanimous conclusions in regard to the problems of our own development and in regard to our views of the European sections. These conclusions were embodied in resolutions which are now being submitted to our branches. This fact alone showed that the sessions were fruitful. It means that the decks are cleared for action, that a step has been taken forward to greater consolidation to better face the tasks of the future. Indications everywhere of developments in the revolutionary movement point to these tasks of the Left Opposition assuming greater proportion and particularly making possible that our organization will count more as a factor in direct intervention in the class struggle. One of the practical steps issuing out of the conclusions arrived at is the proposal to further broaden the National Committee, by adding

ing to its members, and, with that, the strengthening of the center and of its functioning staff. This action together with the general conclusions of the committee meeting is being submitted to the membership for their discussion and their vote.

The problems of development in Canada became a subject for special consideration. The Left Opposition there has been hit by the general persecution of the Communist movement. Its developments became further hampered by local difficulties of the Toronto membership but the basis has been laid to overcome these difficulties. The National Committee could also take up the perspective of an autonomous section in Canada in a more practical form than heretofore by agreeing that the first concrete steps in this direction, the establishment of a Canadian organ, should be taken as soon as the membership in Toronto has reached a point of greater stability. With the acquiescence of Jack MacDonald to the Left Opposition we have a good beginning toward strengthening the Left Opposition in Canada.

There were other questions before the National Committee meeting, tactical questions and organizational problems. The time of the meeting allowed only for a general basis to be arrived at but it was sufficiently concrete to allow the specific resolutions for guidance of our activities to be worked out subsequently. Amongst these questions the one of the unemployment crisis was, of course, the one of greatest importance.

National gatherings usually can be turned into account in more ways than one. That was the case in this instance, in addition to the problems being taken up directly confronting the meeting the comrades who came from other cities to the Center served to strengthen the contact with the membership. These comrades became more directly familiar with the practical problems of the National Office, and when coming here they reported the manner and method of activities as well as the difficulties facing the branches in their cities. Their return has already shown indications of a stimulus to the work of the organization. One of the best proofs is the following fact: since the National Committee meeting we were compelled to send a special message to all branches asking for their assistance to secure the existence of our press. It brought immediate response. Not only were funds sent over right away, but with it came reports of measures taken to extend and strengthen the press. Similarly the responses showed some signs that our aim of making the *Militant* reflect much more directly the work of the organization and to become more of a direct participant in the class struggle, is being taken much more seriously by the whole organization.

Lausanne and Germany

(Continued from page 1)
 The Communist press is already half-suppressed. The Nazis are demanding the suppression of the Communist party. But the onslaught of the black hundreds is wedging in on even the more moderate opposition. A late dispatch reports that the Federal authorities have demanded of the Prussian government the proscription of the Berlin *Vorwaerts*, the central organ of the German social democracy and—of the Rhineland organ of the Catholic Centre party, the *Koelnische Volkszeitung*.

These further indications of the dark intentions of the Von Papen regime make evident the need of haste in countering the action of the Fascist's scouts. Once more, it must be emphasized that a successful repulsion of the reaction—which is spreading its fangs towards the borders of the Russian Workers' State—depends only upon correct and timely united front action on the part of the German Communist Party and the Communist International.

The Communist International is maintaining an ominous silence. At a time, when black dangers face the European working class and the whole proletarian revolutionary movement of the world, the Communist International, the general staff of the revolutionary forces, finds it possible to do without a word of advice, without a word of direction to the international ranks that are behind it. Workers, Communists, demand in your organizations that the Stalinist leadership speak up. Demand that they tell you what they intend to do in this all too fateful situation!

—SAM GORDON.

THE TURN IN THE C. I. IS OUT OF PRINT, BUT IS AVAILABLE IN THE BOUND VOLUMES OF COMRADE TROTSKY'S PAMPHLETS.

MANY OF THE PAMPHLETS ADVERTISED ELSEWHERE IN THIS ISSUE CAN BE HAD IN JEWISH, SPANISH, RUSSIAN AND ITALIAN.

FOR INFORMATION WRITE TO
PIONEER PUBLISHERS,
 84 East 10th Street,
 New York City

MINNEAPOLIS WORKERS ATTENTION!

A PICNIC
 Sunday, July 10th, 1932
 at Glenwood Park Grounds, Plot 3
Speeches—Refreshments—Entertainment
 A Trotsky bust by Claire Sheridan will be raffled off for the benefit of the Left Opposition Press. Come and bring your friends.
Auspices: Minneapolis Branch, C. L. A. (Opposition)

Oppositionists should be supported. They refused to supply our deceased comrade, Pabacopoulos even with the necessary medicines.

Our comrade Alexopoulos led the struggles of the Greek war invalids and succeeded in forcing the Government to pay a million Drachmas as a bonus. The capitalist government, to get rid of his militant activities, arrested him and sentenced him to serve a long term in prison. The Stalinists hope to exterminate him by forming him out of the prison collective.

Comrade Alexandronakis two weeks ago placed his entire savings at the disposal of the I. L. D. to bail out a comrade detained at Ellis Island.

—EDITORIAL BOARD OF COMMUNISTES

YOUTH ACTIVITIES

NEW YORK

The activities of the Spartacus Youth Club have been picking up. Successful open air meetings were held a week ago Saturday at 7th Street and Ave. C. and last Saturday at Second Avenue, and 4th Street. Young Spartacus, Militants, and Germany pamphlets were sold. Several youth contacts were established.

At its regular Friday meeting, last week (June 24th) a good discussion on the War Danger and its Aspects, led by J. Carter was conducted, in which a number of comrades participated.

The Club has arranged for a picnic to be held July 10th at Tibbets Brook Park for the benefit of the Spanish Opposition Youth.

Watch the *Militant* for further announcements on the activities of the Club.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

The July issue of the *Young Spartacus* will be off the press in a few days. It will contain articles on the current questions of the day, on the developments in the Chicago Y. C. L., the Left Opposition youth in the European countries. Comrades should prepare for wide distributions of the issue.

CHICAGO, ILL.

The youth of the Chicago branch debated the representatives of the Young Peoples Socialist League on June 12th. For full report see the coming July issue of the *Young Spartacus*.

The statement printed below was written by an active young Communist of Chicago. A number of other Communist youth in the Y. C. L. have supported a similar view. Six comrades have already suffered the consequences: Expulsion or exclusion. The July issue of the *Young Spartacus* carries an article by comrade N. Gould explaining the latest developments in the Chicago Young Communist League.

Y. C. L'ERS DECLARES FOR LEFT OPPOSITION
 To all members of the Young Communist League:

To the District Bureau, District 8:
 In answer to the demand of the district secretariat for a statement of my views on the questions of (1) Fraternalism with expelled League members now adhering to the Left Opposition, (2) Characterization of "Trotskyism" I wish to submit the following statement.

The latest resolution of the Young Communist International, properly interpreted, agrees with the position held by comrades Satir, Gould, Andres, Sold, myself and others, on such important points as:

- (1) Rooting ourselves in the factories.
- (2) On the raising of the ideological level of the League.
- (3) Against bureaucracy.
- (4) Insufficient work among the children and sports movements, and numerous other points which are formulated in the Y. C. I. resolution and in joint statements of the expelled comrades.

(Continued from page 4)

The Bonus Marchers and the Press

The ex-servicemen's invasion of Washington was great news to the bourgeois press for the first several days. They headlined them on their front pages, and circulation was increasing. This spontaneous march of ex-soldiers aroused the intense interest of the whole country. In fact, the capitalist editors were just a little alarmed at the too great interest shown in these men thrown up by the class struggle. The repeated detailed descriptions of the filthy conditions under which the soldiers live, faced with starvation and disease might lead the workers of these states to a little thinking of their own. They might begin to ask questions that would make these editors just a little more uncomfortable than they already are.

The country might learn that this march of the soldiers, like the idleness and starvation of the millions of unemployed, is no accident; that, in fact, they are part of the proletarian march in addition to being put to the industrial machine and exploited like the rest of the workers, were put to the machinery of war and after being crippled and butchered for the profit of the ruling class, were cynically cast aside.

So the bourgeois editors acted in concert out of their class instinct and issued orders to their lackeys, "Retreat to the inside covers!"

And they all went under cover. The *Times*, the *Tribune*, the *Post* gave and are still giving miserable half-columns tucked away somewhere on the inside of the papers; or if it is more than that, it is about this financiers' scheme for the soldiers to go gold-digging in the Rockies, or something written by the president of a hobo society about the need of reviving the men's patriotism; or providing a rate of one cent for the men to go home, etc., etc.

This was to be expected. Our open enemies are not going to help the exploited workers, except by their greed, their blindness, their stupidity, which will lead to the revolutionary awakening of the masses.

But what of the journals that are not so open in their opposition to the workers? Take for example the N. Y. *Telegram* of which Heywood Brown, the political baboon, is a high light. The paper suddenly closed curtains on the scene of the B. E. F. Several issues (June 22 to the 25) hardly had a single line about the soldiers. Which goes to show that when any movement of the class struggle actually begins, the liberals become panicky and flee under cover.

Now the Socialist press. I have before me a copy of the June 17 issue of the *American Guardian* of Oklahoma City, and as it is a typical socialist party

paper, neither better nor worse than any of the others, let us examine it a little more closely. It is all the more necessary as the S. P. still camouflages itself as the workers' party.

Mr. Charles W. Erwin, eastern editor, has a long article on "The Army of Occupation". He describes the horrible conditions under which the soldiers live, the pest hole of a dump the soldiers occupy, the rottenness of the food, the filth, the stench, (and let us add to spice his description the homo-sexuality rampant in the camp).

We have no quarrel with his description. It is all damnably true.

But when we come to his reflections and conclusions—listen:

"Had the workers shown less patience they would not have been compelled to come to Washington," he writes.

"What would they have done if they had less patience? Organize with the other workers and proceed by a series of demands and actions to the overthrow of the power that threw them into that last war and is now throwing them into filthy disease-infested lots—No! heaven forbid!"

"They would have used their ballots—"

Here we have our old ballot salesman offering solution for every evil or what ails you.

"They would have used their ballots to throw out of office and therefore (sic) out of power, those who have basely betrayed the interests of the toiling masses of this country."

By the way, what happened to the six socialist Assemblymen duly elected by the citizens of New York in 1918? The assemblymen were not seated.

The bourgeoisie put the socialists in their place even when they did happen to get elected. We need go no further in this place to show the impotence of the ballot.

But as the soldiers didn't use the ballot and consequently were thrown into butchery and now into filth, Mr. Charles Erwin now turns to—to whom?—no less a personage than that of Herbert Clark Hoover!

"Had the president had the courage," writes courageous Charlie, "the courage that one has a right to demand of one holding his high office (Sign—Demand Courage of President), he would have come out to the White House gate and pledged the men to see that they were decently taken care of while here, and that the pitance which they were asking for would be given them in the near future."

What a victory it would have been to have had the president come to the White House gate! And what a triumph it would have been to have had him pledge himself!

—EX-SOLDIER

France Under the Regime of Herriot

The legislative elections of May 1 and 8 have resulted in the formation of a new government, composed almost exclusively of Radicals and secure in its overwhelming majority in parliament.

In the place of Tardieu, the open avowed representative of the **Comite des Forges** and the **Comite des Houlleres** (the two strongest business combines of French imperialism), we now have an outfit that represents above all, the export industries and several big commercial banks. The old majority has broken up in the face of this situation. On the one hand, the Marin group (the extreme Republican reactionaries) and part of the Tardieu group have declared themselves hostile to the group in power from the inception, chiefly because it includes within its majority the votes of the socialists. On the other hand, the rest of the Tardieu group, under Flandin—the former Minister of Finances expressing the interests of certain banking groups, are abstaining from independent action and leaving the field free for the Herriot government.

What is the latter going to do? What indication has it given in this respect, in the course of the first days of its existence? And what can it do?

The Lausanne Conference

In foreign policy, it is faced with great problems. It will have to deal with reparations and debts at the Lausanne Conference, with armaments at Geneva. Behind all sorts of vague formulations, it is becoming apparent that the orientation of the new government will not be much different, basically, from that of the former one. No matter which faction of the bourgeoisie controls the levers of the government, it will have to hold on to the maintenance of the Versailles Treaty in order to assure the general interests of the French bourgeoisie, and to its present military strength in order to preserve its political place in Europe in its struggle for hegemony.

In this struggle it will clash with the United States, whose interests in the matter are no secret. But what the Herriot government is driving at, is a modification of the form of the foreign policy which will make up for the lost time and pull France out of her isolation so that she will be able to present a more solid front against American imperialism. The Lausanne Conference ought to permit us to gauge correctly the present correlation of forces. In any event, the difficult position of French imperialism cannot be concealed.

Herriot's Internal Policy

In domestic policy, the declaration of the cabinet mentions with sufficient emphasis several measures in favor of the workers—amnesty for political prisoners, which has not yet been voted on; the prolongation of the period of unemployment aid to 180 days—but it keeps under the cover of equitable phrases, its well defined intentions of attacking the wages of the employees, so as to bring about an "equitable distribution of sacrifices", that is to say, to give the signal for a new, big offensive of the capitalists against wages in general and against the standards of living of the workers. The employees understand the threat involved and their trade union organizations—autonomous and reformist, both—have immediately reacted and with vigor. The government has beaten a retreat, but in such a fashion as makes it of an entirely provisional character.

No one doubts for a moment that it will reiterate its proposals at the first favorable opportunity.

Not even the slightest illusion can exist within the ranks of the Communists with regard to the Herriot government. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note two facts which from the day of its formation, show that it remains within the tradition of the Radical governments, towards in the face of the police, violent when it is a matter of fighting the workers. First, there is the retention of Chiappe in the prefecture of police at

Paris, Herriot or Chautemps will not have to fear any more disagreeable demonstrations from the side of the Royalists and the Patriotic Youth. Secondly, there is the intervention of the Garde Mobile (militia) in the dockers' strike at Port-de-Bouc. The bourgeoisie can rest assured that the rebels will not be allowed much leeway. And then, Jouhaux still represents France at Geneva.

We repeat: we must not be deceived about the significance of the retreat before the employees: it is and can only be provisional. There has already been some talk of difference on whether or not the moment is opportune for an attack. The present tendency is not to handle all the difficulties at the same time: to attempt, first, to obtain something at Geneva and Lausanne and then, to have a free hand to go over to the offensive against the working class by keeping an eye on the developments in the German situation.

The Struggle within the Working Class

Under these circumstances, the question is posed with particular acuteness: Who will prevail in the working class—reformism or Communism? Which, the C. P. or the socialist party, will be able to gain its confidence?

It must be admitted that the activity

of the C. P., its influence are at the present time altogether insignificant with regards to that of the socialist party.

The socialist party intends to exploit thoroughly its electoral successes. It is rallying forces about itself from the Right as well as from the Left through the whole gamut of its tendencies. In front of its petty bourgeois, peasant and radical voters, it shows itself as a partisan of participation in the government. It has proposed a daring governmental program, knowing full well that the bourgeoisie does not as yet need its participation. It has even given its votes to the Herriot government to prove its good "republicanism". In front of its Communist voters, the Left wing is allowed to push forward for workers' unity, for the struggle against capitalism.

In the face of this increased activity of the socialist party, the feeble political role played by the C. P. in the country is really deplorable. The accounts rendered in *l'Humanite* cannot conceal the insignificance of the Communist speeches in parliament because they are merely the expressions of a sick movement and not the expression of the desires and the actions of the broad working masses. The party is conducting a strug-

gle against war, the I. L. D. one for amnesty; the C. G. T. U. (Red Trade Union Center) one against wage cuts. But all this is very limited, it touches the self-same sections of sympathizers and does not unfold any substantial mass movement.

Change in Policy of C. P. is Needed

A complete and energetic change in the policy of the party is imposed by the events. After the democratic illusions, a certain repercussion is bound to be produced in the masses. To continue its policy would mean to continue to isolate itself, to exhaust itself. It must penetrate into the masses, to develop within them a clear program and issue concrete slogans. That is the prerequisite for an acquisition of new forces, for leading the masses into struggle, in order to take root in the masses, it is necessary first of all to abandon the entire policy which flows from the theory of "social Fascism".

In view of the threat that is hanging over the head of the employees and of the exploited, the party ought to propose to the reformist organizations the united front against the offensive of the government and the bosses. It must prove itself the most zealous champion of trade union unity. Only on this condition can we overcome the election defeat, a sacrifice made for an entirely false political course.

—LA VERITE.

Growth of Spanish Left

In a recent issue of the *Workers Age*, Lovestone prints a correspondence from Spain, hailing most probably from his National-Communist friends in the Maurin group (Workers and Peasants' Bloc). Among other things, the Spanish Left Opposition comes in for a share of slander and lies on the part of the correspondent. For one thing, he credits our Spanish section with 300 members, when its actual membership is much closer to 1500 and where its connections and influence stretch over a national scope that neither the official party nor the Bloquistas can hope to reach. To call the bluff of the Lovestone sheet and its Spanish petty bourgeois allies, we reprint the following account of the growth of the S. L. O from its central organ, *El Soviet*:

Bullejos—the leader of the Stalinists—and his camp followers, the "Bloquistas" and their clique are attempting to prove that we are a small sect. The Stalinists are employing the expression, which they consider especially droll: the Trotskyist can all be taken care of by one taxi. But realities show the contrary and the most eloquent proof for this is the fact that the "Bloquistas" as well as the Stalinists do not let a moment pass without preoccupying themselves with this fantastic taxi.

Therefore we will deal from time to time with our advances. We will only bring a few cases for the present. They are good examples.

In Maguilla—Our group in Maguilla—in Maguilla, neither the party nor the Bloc have sufficient members to fill a taxi—they haven't even a single member. In the month of April, our group had twenty comrades. Progress achieved in one month is very satisfactory. Our group has now more than fifty members with a big influence in the trade unions.

In Coruña—The organization of a group in Maninios—in Maninios the taxi of the official party and that of Maurin are positively vacant. Ours is almost bursting. A group of twelve comrades has been established, very enthusiastic, very active, with a big following and considerable influence in the trade unions.

Another group organized in Hombres—The official party and the Maurinists do not even know that there is a town by the name of Hombres in Spain. Therefore they haven't a single member there. The Communist Left Opposition, on the other hand, has recently organized a group of comrades who are carrying on an excellent struggle in defense of our viewpoint. This group already enjoys a considerable influence among the trade union organizations in the locality.

In Puentevedra—A month ago we had in this town only two comrades. The work which they have carried on since, has netted the fruitful results of a dozen comrades at this writing. The party and the Maurinists are conspicuous by their complete absence here.

In Tejares (Salamanca)—In Salamanca, the official party has tried its utmost to divide our comrades. But since they could not alienate our class conscious comrades they aligned themselves with really corrupt elements. In their ranks is one who during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was regally appointed to act for the dictatorship in an advisory capacity, and who was a member of the reactionary "Union Patriotica". It is no surprise for us when we know that the party has admitted into its ranks the traitor and renegade, Pumeraga (Editor of the Central party organ—a sort of Spanish H. M. Wicks—Ed.). It is well to us to notice with which elements the Stalinists are aligning themselves in their fight against the Opposition. It is natural that with these people the party cannot make any progress, since the workers do not care to have anything to do with such elements. Not only have they not won over any of our comrades: but when in Tejares (Salamanca) the party organized a group of forty workers, these same workers a short time later declared their unanimous adherence to the Left Opposition.

Prize Contest

We are sorry to say that not a single party member was able to win the prize. We are therefore forced to disclose the full truth about the quotation we brought last week. The author was none other than the Best Disciple himself, Joseph (Sosso) Stalin. It will be found in his monumental work, *The Theory and Practice of Leninism* (Published in 1924 by the Daily Worker Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill.), page 25.

Of course since then much water has flowed under the bridge and Stalin has after that—in 1926—dilettized this correct revolutionary position on "socialism in one country" in the well known Djugashvili manner.

Nevertheless, the fact that none of the party comrades responded in the contest is very alarming. The ideological level is being threatened. The comrades must fight for a course in the complete works of Stalin at the Workers' School to meet this grave situation.

We, for our part, are still ready to do our bit in support of the project of the vest pocket edition.

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Break in the Right-Center Bloc and the Left Zig-zag of Stalinism

The events which followed the Fifteenth Congress of the Russian party in December 1927, at which the whole Opposition was finally expelled, marked a decided turning point in the historical struggle we are reviewing. Up to that time, the Opposition had been assailed under the banner of Stalin's classic slogan: "Fire against the Left!" applauded by the international bourgeoisie and social democracy. Arrayed against the Left wing of the party was a solid bloc embracing not merely the present Stalin-faction but also the group of Bucharin-Tomsky-Rykov who took distinct shape as a faction at its Right flank.

On all questions of international and domestic policy, on all question of principle and tactics, these two sections of the ruling bloc had presented a common front for five years. They went hand in hand against "Trotskyism". Together they decapitated the Chinese revolution and ruined the immediate prospects of the British revolutionary movement. The theory of "socialism in one country"

Zurich Conference

(Continued from page 1)
millions of workers that will strain every nerve, in the development of events, to keep them prisoners of bourgeois rule. But what does the C. I., the vanguard of the proletariat, say? What is it doing? The contradictory needs of bourgeois society and the needs of the proletariat force the S. L. I. to speak. It remains for the C. I. to utilize this deceptive maneuver, made by the S. L. I. in the service of the bourgeoisie, for the interests of the proletariat. The merciless struggle against the Hitlerite advance, the struggle against the Japanese imperialist war, the struggle for the resolute defense of the conditions of the workers and the unemployed constitute three planks of a bold policy and a fertile field for a united front in action. Neither the "red days" of yesterday, nor the Romain Rolland—Henri Barbusse* congress of tomorrow can substitute for a realistic policy which will fortify the class positions of the proletariat and prepare its victory in the development of the crisis.

* An article on the Rolland-Barbusse anti-war congress will appear in the next issue.

the "two-class party" revision of Marxism and the deflection of the middle peasant and worker of their political cohabitation. Their unity was symbolized when the fundamental program of the Comintern was presented to the Sixth Congress in the name of Stalin and Bucharin.

But the unity of this granite "monolith" embracing the "incorruptible old Leninist guard" was less real than appeared. Those molecular processes of the class struggle which had fused it together and put it in the seats of power did not take long to create a crisis and disrupt the Right-Center bloc.

The End of the Ebb-Tide

At the end of 1927 the protracted ebb of the revolutionary wave was drawing to a close. The horizon was dotted with the first signs of a turning to the Left in the international working class, still vague, but unmistakable. In the Soviet Union itself, the proletariat lulled by the long "reconstruction period" was beginning to arise and perceive the growing menace of the capitalist elements in the country. The expulsion of the Left wing from the party could have only one result: the reactionary forces in the country felt emboldened. When Chamberlain in England advocated that Trotsky and Zinoviev be shot and MacDonald insisted upon stronger measures against the "apostles of world revolution", they were merely saying bluntly what the Russian Kulak, Nepman and hard-shell bureaucrat were thinking and feeling. These elements the vanguard of the capitalist restoration in Russia, looked upon the decapitation of the Left wing only as the first step in their program. The success they attained with their first demand encouraged them to an unprecedented audacity.

As against Trotsky, these counter-revolutionists were ardent adherents of Stalin and Co. With Trotsky out of the way, they shifted towards the party faction which championed their cause with greater ardor than was manifested by the blind, empirical, oscillating group of Stalin. They found these champions where the Opposition, in its Platform, had said they were to be found: at Rykov's, Tomsky, and Bucharin.

The latter in turn, now that inner-party resistance to their program was diminished by the Opposition's expulsion, began to unfold their standpoint

greater persistence and candor, to press upon Stalin to carry it out. But in their zealot optimism they overlooked a point of prime import:

The strength of the Right wing lay in the classes outside the party, whose influence on the inside was not at all commensurate with what they enjoyed in the country as a whole; whereas the strength of the Stalin faction lay in the tremendous party apparatus and in the fact that, with the outlawry of the Leninist Opposition, the proletarian mass would support even the unsatisfactory Stalin group as against the Thermidorian platform of the Right wing. This alone can explain the easy victory attained over the Bucharin faction by Stalin, in spite of the cowardice, half-heartedness, incompetence and bureaucratic intrigue which, as usual, distinguished the campaign conducted by the latter.

The Campaign against the Right

The famous Stalinist campaign against the Right began formally towards the end of 1928 and beginning of 1929. Actually it dates farther back. In sketching it briefly, let it always be borne in mind that both sides of this battle had for years past protested to all who would listen that there was no rift in the lute. No conference went by without Stalin and Bucharin engaging in mutual eulogies (and in view of their fundamental accord on principle, that was as it should be). But behind this melodious harmony could already be detected the discordant creaking of the Stalinist machine, grinding away at the foundation on which the Right wing stood. While their agreement on every point was being loudly protested, Stalin was engaged in completing the process, begun against the Left wing, of cutting down the party leadership until it embraced but one individual: Stalin himself.

At the very congress (December 1927) where the Left Opposition was so brutally and disloyally driven from the party by both Stalin and Bucharin, could already be seen the first signs of Stalin's onslaught upon the coming spokesman of the Right faction. Not by Stalin himself; no, he preferred to send out his scouts, Lomnadze and Schatzkin, who launched a furious polemic against Bucharin. And while the congress (Stalin included) formally endorsed Bucharin, the former was whetting the axe for the day when it could be swung openly. Even at the Sixth Congress, both Stalin and

Rykov solemnly reported to the foreign delegates, without, mind you, blinking an eye-lash, that the reports concerning differences within the Russian Political Bureau were sheer nonsense and simply Trotskyist, counter-revolutionary calumny. This was just as solemnly and unsmilingly repeated throughout the Comintern, at the very moment when the most furious battles were taking place within the monolithic leadership! Finally, as late as October 1929, when Stalin made his sensational Moscow speech against the "Right danger in the party", which he described as nothing short of the tendency towards a capitalist restoration in Russia, i. e., a counter-revolution, he took care to insist that there was no "Right danger" in the leadership, that it was not embodied in Bucharin or Rykov—but in the somewhat obscure official, Frumkin! And Bucharin? He was the man who wrote the official resolution of the Political Bureau against the Right danger!

However that may be, it was nevertheless by this contemptible game of hide-and-seek that Stalin succeeded in snatching away all the foreign parties from under Bucharin's nose in the "corridor congress" of the Sixth Congress in 1928, and all the organizational posts in the Russian party in 1929. Tomsky lamented bewilderedly to his friends: "We thought that after finishing with Trotsky we would be able to work in peace; now it turns out that they want to apply the same methods of struggle to us." Bucharin cried impotently (but in private!) about Stalin: "Who is he? An intrigant absolutely devoid of principles. He is concerned only with maintaining power and he subordinates everything to it. He changes his theory abruptly, according to who it is that he has to choke off at a given moment."

But while the heroes of the Right wing wept and wrung their hands, Stalin cut down, first, Frumkin, then the Right wing head of the Moscow organization, Uglanov, then every other second rank leader of the Right wing until he had torn the footing from under Bucharin and Co. Only when these typically Stalinist preliminaries had been accomplished did Stalin open up publicly against the "trio" who were by that time defeated in advance; only their signature to the prepared statement of capitulation was missing, and that was not long in coming. —MAX SHACHTMAN. (To be continued)

Organizational Progress of the German Left Opposition

GELSENKIRCHEN (Ruhr): We can say that in Gelsenkirchen the Left Opposition has the sympathy of 50 percent of the best elements in the Party, and besides that, it is attracting many comrades who up till now were indifferent. In the course of the last election struggle, we issued Left Opposition placards, with the inscription "However, say: Strengthen the Party". Moreover, even the comrades who agree with our viewpoint still fear the enormous power of the apparatus, its threats, slanders, isolation, etc.

After having carefully isolated the Oppositionists, and following all kinds of tricks and stratagems, the bureaucracy succeeded in expelling them "on the q. t.". Thereupon the expelled members sent a letter of protest to the District Leadership which they remitted at the same time to the party members in the form of an open letter. Several comrades declared themselves ready to sign this letter and to support our demands, especially to open the discussion. It is precisely this fact the sub-district leadership fears most. Before its intimidated, its threats to "immediately expel all those suspected of "Trotskyism", the comrades in the ranks withdrew, incapable of offering any effective resistance.

All this is, of course, temporary. The Left Opposition does not consider itself beaten. On the contrary the work of the Left Opposition is being organized

and is taking very deep roots among the numerous sympathetic comrades.

BERLIN: Excerpts from a letter by a young Communist of Berlin — "The various sub-sections called upon the Youth to form open air camps, during the Pentecost, to hold educational classes. The subject was the 'united front' and 'Fascism, social democracy, Communism'. In my group we discussed the difference between Fascism and the social democracy, but due to the false and well known point of view that the party develops in this question, the answers to our questions were always embarrassed and pitiful. We posed the following questions concretely: How do you describe the united front of the working class? (1) Do you consider the socialist party a prop of Fascism and is it because of that, you split the trade unions (R. T. U. O.)? (2) Do you consider the leaders of the socialist party as well as the rank and file, social fascists?"

In reply to the first question they said that it was first necessary to destroy the influence of the social democracy among the workers, and then to establish the real united front from below. There can be no question of splitting the trade unions, they told us. They declared for work in the Free Trade Unions, disavowing the R. T. U. O. (Red Trade Union Opposition)

In reply to the second question they said that it was necessary to retain the

theory of social Fascism, but that it was useless to employ the word "social Fascism" in discussions with the workers! In the course of the discussion with the political leaders of the sub-section on the subject of the so-called turn in the party, the former came to us and said, if we thought that the party was making a turn we were correct, but we would have to keep our silence and not argue these questions with them.

"It is interesting to note that an old unit organization with whom we had frequent discussions, participated in the discussion of another sub-section and defended the position of the Left Opposition."

SPANDAU AND STALINISM

At the meeting called by the C. P. G. O. (Brandler Opposition) our comrade Bauer took the floor Brandler replied with some nonsense about Trotsky, made uneasy by his latest pamphlet (*What Next?*) in which the pamphlet is shown to be enriching the arsenal of Stalinist falsification.

For Brandler, the German party, by the elimination of its old cadres, is destroyed. But if Trotsky and the Left Opposition make the same statement about Russia they are counter-revolutionists and Trotsky is to the "right of Otto Bauer". Brandler approved not only of the deportation of thousands of Oppositionists, but also of the assassination of Blumkin. In 1928 the Brand-

lerites protested against the deportations, and at the time of the assassination of Blumkin, their daily paper condemned this act. One could ascertain even then the development of the Brandlerites towards Stalinism. Here is Brandler's position towards "socialism in one country": "Textually he says that this theory is 'evangelically a stupidity as is usual when Stalin concerns himself with theoretical questions'. But for Russia this 'stupidity' is correct, because of the incontestable success of socialist construction." But Brandler is always speaking of possibilities of beginning construction, possibilities that no one even thinks of denying. But what we demand to know is this: if this construction can be victoriously achieved completely and without the aid of the European revolution.

UNITED FRONT ACHIEVED

IN BRESLAU

BRESLAU—As in all German cities, the Fascist terror has grown in Breslau since the fall of Bruening. The Nazi attack against the Reichsbanner local called forth a united front in 24 hours of all the workers in this city, ready to defend themselves against Fascism. The C. P. comrades united with members of the Socialist Labor Party (S. A. P.) and the Reichsbanner; and in two days the streets of the city presented a completely changed picture. It was no longer the Nazis that dominated them, but the proletariat.

Monday evening, there was a meeting of 5000 workers in one of the meeting halls of Breslau.

A member of the S. A. P. spoke in the name of the provisional committee. Eckstein spoke in the name of the Socialist Labor Party and Sandner for the C. P. All the speakers were almost unanimous on the analysis of the situation, but a discussion on the role of the parties took place. The representative of the C. P. approved the creation of common committees of struggle, without at the same time refusing the respective programs of each party, which should retain its complete independence for the future development of the struggle. That is correct! The meeting really expressed the desire of the masses to form a genuine united front of all the workers, 15000 workers, non-party, Communist, socialist youth, and members of the Reichsbanner

"True to his lack of principle, erected into a theory, Brandler adopts the slogan issued by comrade Trotsky in the beginning of 1930, which consists of the struggle against unemployment by systematic collaboration with the U. S. S. R. in connection with the control of production. But we fear that this slogan can

only be an alien substance in the system of his naturally limited ideas. Besides . . . so much anti-Bolshevik Trotskyism could spoil things for them with Stalin.

WILL THEY LIQUIDATE THE SPLITTING TRADE UNION TACTIC

THAELMANN

Thaelmann has spoken on the "turn" in the National Committee of the R. T. U. O. On this subject the June 7th wrote on the following: "In full agreement with the report of Thaelmann, the session of the National Committee emphasized the need of creating a broad and amplified opposition movement, besides the R. T. U. O., which by new methods and by a rapid strategic orientation toward the factories will no longer block the road toward the revolutionary class front with the socialist workers, the unorganized and the Christian workers, but which will facilitate on the contrary, its development; we will consecrate all the forces at our disposal for this task."

And in another paragraph: "It is necessary as rapidly as possible to do away with the policy of the so-called 'plans of attack' and 'programs of struggle'. However they do not wish completely to liquidate the R. T. U. O. That is why they state that 'The general line of the R. T. U. O. was and remains correct, but it is necessary to achieve an accelerated course, an audacious turn for its application; we must elaborate new methods after realizing in practise the correct general line'."

have enrolled to organize groups of self-defense in Breslau.

What does the C. P. leadership think of this tactic? Does it not immediately bear fruit?

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The Economic Crisis, the Unemployment Situation and the American Working Class

III.

The enormous accumulation of capital in the United States, the gigantic growth of industry and of the process of concentration of production and of intensity of production, has pushed it ever more onto the world market. The credit system, so highly developed here, vastly accelerated the material development of the forces of production. In the early stages of the capitalist mode of production the expansion of foreign trade became a great aid to its development. Now, however, it has become an integral part of this mode of production through its need for an ever expanding market. This is particularly aptly illustrated by the position of American capitalism in the world market.

The crisis broke first here, and its acuteness was undoubtedly to an extent due to the fact that this country gives the most credit to the world market and takes the least of it. The balance of payments, which had to be squared, was against it, even though the general balance of trade favored it.

It is estimated that the United States—today holds approximately \$28,000,000,000 worth of foreign paper—that cannot now be paid. These vast credits granted and the mass of capital loaned to and invested in foreign countries, of course, demand their continuous returns. But the returns, generally speaking, as far as American capitalism is concerned, are not desirable in the form of commodities; that much the adopted tariff regulation alone shows sufficiently. So the problem of the returns still remains a rather vexing one. We mention this only as a reminder of the fact that the very question of American capitalism issuing out of the crisis is quite closely bound up with the world market problems.

At this point, however, there enter such questions as: reparations, inter- Allied debts, retaliating tariffs, etc. But above all there are the questions of the political stability of the various capitalist nations, the increased antagonisms—national antagonisms and class antagonisms—and the growing danger of war. Politics and economics are here quite inseparably interwoven. Their texture forms the basis of the crafty diplomatic maneuvering at the numerous world conferences which are being held right along. Each imperialist power struggles to increase or at least to maintain its share in world economy. The sum and substance of these conflicts presents a problem not at all easy to solve, not even for American capitalism.

A considerable portion, an estimated seven to eight billion dollars, of the American capital sent abroad represents direct investments in enterprises of production. It was exported in order to be employed in other countries at a higher rate of profit. In that sense it was the surplus capital although it may appear paradoxical to speak of surplus capital in the face of industries operating at a low percentage of production capacity and millions of workers unemployed—an excess population. But it will soon be found that surplus capital and such surplus population, exist side by side, and that the existence of one is the condition for the other.

Exportation of surplus capital becomes a means of promotion of the exportation of goods and of the acquisition of super profits. The effort is made, of course, to thereby monopolize both the sale of goods in foreign trade and the supply of raw materials. The foreign trade, by virtue of the fact that it makes possible an expansion in the scale of production, in general, thereby tends to cheapen the elements of constant capital. By simultaneously raising the rate of surplus value it then also tends to raise the rate of profit. This is, of course, at the bottom of the very intense struggle among the imperialist powers for control of the world market. But the expansion of production, due to foreign trade, at the same time hastens the process of accumulation and hastens the growing disproportion of constant capital, (means of production) increasing more rapidly than variable capital (labor power and therefore again promotes its own contradiction, the fall in the rate of profit.

American foreign trade, however, has today hit the lowest record in twenty years. But just about so, or worse, is the condition of world trade in general. At present 41 percent of the 1929 level constitutes that record of the combined 25 leading capitalist countries doing a total of 80 percent of the world's trade. There is powerful testimony in this to the ravages of the world economic crisis. This, of course, is the picture of the capitalist countries only, and not at all of the Soviet Union.

According to the Department of Commerce the unit value of American ex-

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ports for the first quarter of 1932 fell 37 percent when compared to the same months of 1928. The decline in imports was 56 percent. The comparative figures for exports and imports taking only the first quarter of each year were as follows in millions of dollars):

Year (Jan.-March)	Exports	Imports
1932	459	398
1931	710	398
1930	1,129	893
1929	1,420	1,122
1928	1,203	1,069

The favorable balance of trade for this quarter (excess of exports over imports) was \$61,000,000, compared with \$111,000,000 in the preceding quarter and \$142,000,000 in the same period of 1931.

We can easily comprehend the immense obstacles in seriously contracted home market which meets the American government's "reconstruction" program to "break the backbone of the crisis"; but these obstacles become so much more strongly accentuated on the world market. While the sources of power of American imperialism are spread all over the world its contradictions accumulate ever more rapidly. Yet as far as the present situation is concerned it has been able not only to maintain the gold standard but even to strengthen the position of the dollar.

Since 1929 about \$2,250,000,000 in short term funds lodged in this country by foreign central banks have been repaid by gold withdrawals from this country. At the early period of these withdrawals the gold holdings here, due to the favorable trade balance, nevertheless continued to increase to a record high, on September 16, 1931 of \$5,015,000. But these foreign banks continued to convert their dollar holdings into gold, and since then up to the present time, the gold holdings here have decreased to about \$3,900,000,000. The Wall Street bankers call these withdrawals which they estimate as about having come to a close a disturbing element now removed from the financial situation. In their view the lack of confidence is being removed, the dollar is emerging stronger.

It has been correctly asserted in these columns before that a new ascendancy for the capitalist system as a whole is not possible. We have already entered the epoch of capitalist decline and proletarian revolutions. The existence of the Soviet Union, growing constantly stronger despite its difficulties, testifies eloquently to this fact. It is being further reinforced by the growing revolutionary movements within the capitalist countries. But it is just as important to also remember that in the imperialist stage of the unequal development of capitalism has become more pronounced. And the question of the ability of American capitalism to issue out of the crisis on the backs of its own working class and at the cost of the status of other capitalist powers in world economy still remains. It is being confirmed by the powerful role it plays in the constantly recurring conflicts on questions of the war reparations, international debts and moratorium. Each of the international conferences held on these questions increases the importance of participation by the United States—whether or not the participation takes the form of presence or absence of official delegates. These conferences, however, also increasingly show the ominous signs of sharpening imperialist conflicts and of imperialist maneuvers against the Soviet Union. This reflects the fact that the world economic crisis is becoming ever more bound up with the question of war. In that perspective we cannot fail to notice the increasingly aggressive role of American imperialism.

While we take due notice of the enormous contradictions developing and of the future furious conflicts implied in the efforts being made to "break the backbone of the crisis", it would not be correct to consider this crisis as a bottomless one. It would be wrong for us to assume that American capitalism, as a distinct national imperialist power, cannot issue out of it, or even that the present contracted mass of surplus value realized by it, by its exploitation of workers at home and abroad, will be the basis for "normalcy" in the future. It would still be too early to point to any such definite limitations to its future process of accumulation. What can be said definitely, however, is that in the next stage the conflict of the development of the forces of production with the existing property relations and the conditions of wage labor will sharpen manifold.

For the American working class, on the other hand, one part of the question of its perspective is already settled. That is the part which has relation to its future standard of living. The capitalist efforts to issue out of the crisis are entirely conditioned upon the saddling of its burden entirely onto the working class. In other words it will be at the price of a lower level for the working class. In the final analysis, therefore, the very question of American capitalism overcoming its crisis depends decisively upon the proletariat. And, on a world scale this is so much more the case.

Everywhere, within the capitalist nations, the crisis has unleashed tremendous forces. There is an army of permanently unemployed workers comprising many millions. The struggle to further reduce the working class standard of living will go on. The growth of the revolutionary movement is unmistakable. The future direction depends decisively upon the Communist forces.

—ARNE SWABECK.

An Open Letter to the Party District Committee

June 29th, 1932
District Executive Committee
New York District
50 East 13th Street
New York City, N. Y.
Comrades:

Last Saturday evening, June 25th, the open air meeting of our organization, the Communist League of America (Opposition), on the corner of Wilkins and Intervale, the Bronx, was broken up by a group of party members and sympathizers. As a workers' organization, as a Communist group we wish to strongly protest against such action.

The Communist in the United States who are in the forefront of the struggle for the interests of the working class, are the first to struggle for the elementary rights of free speech, press and assembly for the workers and their organizations. The master class and its state power, particularly during the present crisis is continually interfering and denying these rights of the workers. The Communist Party, our vanguard organization in this country, has correctly put forth as one of its demands in the coming elections the right of free speech, assembly, etc. for the workers.

The tactic of interfering with workers' meetings by members of the Communist Party, not only weakens this fight, but plays directly into the hands of the Socialist reformists and the reactionary parties. It leads to confusion of the workers who witness it, makes them lose faith in the sincerity of the Communist struggle, and means a loss of prestige of Communism, and in the first instance, of the Communist Party. Further, it brings the police and the capitalist government to "settle" the disputes which exist within the working class and Communist movement.

But even more than this. Since our organization, the Communist League, was founded we have supported the Communist Party in its daily activity, demonstrations and elections campaigns. Several weeks ago we sent you a letter in which we reiterated our support of the party in the coming elections and offered our services (platform, speakers, literature, etc.) in the work. We stated that we intend to actively participate in the campaign this year as before and bring the message of Communism to the working masses.

We received no reply to this letter. However, we have been carrying on our work in this direction. The meeting on Wilkins and Intervale, which was broken up last Saturday by party members and sympathizers, was called to discuss the problems of the workers and urge them to support the party in the coming elections as well as in the day to day struggle.

We repeat, comrades, the tactic of breaking up workers' meetings can only lead to the discredit of the Communist movement and party.

We intend continuing our open-air work despite all obstacles. We ask you the responsible district body of the party to publicly either denounce such tactics or assume responsibility for them. We sincerely suggest that you take the former course, issue a statement in the *Daily Worker* denouncing such tactics and informing the Party members and the Left wing sympathizers of the disastrous consequences that may result from them.

We await an early reply to this letter.

Fraternally yours,
H. CAPELIS,
Secretary
New York Branch
Communist League of America
(Opposition)

CORRECTION

A Mistake Crept Into Our Previous Issue
We advertised a free copy of the "Problems of the Chinese Revolution" with a one year subscription to the *Militant*. This should be:
One copy of "Problems of the Chinese Revolution", paper cover \$1.
One year subscription to *The Militant* \$2.00
Obtainable During the Summer Months for the Sum of \$2.50

A Political Biography of Stalin . . .

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

10. We give here a story by Shliapnikov ("The Seventeenth Year", 1925, V. 2) about the change wrought by Stalin and Kamenev joined together at that time by the unity of their positions.

"The day of the appearance of the first issue of the 'changed' *Pravda*—the Fifteenth of March—was a day of rejoicing for the defenders. The whole Tauride Palace, from the men of affairs in the committees of the Duma to the very heart of the revolutionary democracy—the Executive Committee—was filled with the news: the victory of the moderate common-sense Bolsheviks over the extremists. In the very Executive Committee we were met with poisonous smiles. This was the first and only time that *Pravda* won the approval even of the stout defenders of liberal sense. When this issue of *Pravda* was received at the factories it caused complete perplexity among the members of our party and our sympathizers and malicious pleasure among our opponents.

"To the Petersburg committee, to the bureau of the C. C. and to the editorial board of *Pravda* came inquiries: what is the matter, why did our paper renounce the Bolshevik line of Lenin and go over to the line of the defenders? And the Petersburg committee like the whole organization was caught unawares by this turn and therefore was deeply indignant and blamed the bureau of the C. C. The indignation in the sections was colossal, and when the proletarians found out that *Pravda* had been seized by the three former editors of *Pravda* who had arrived from Siberia, they demanded their expulsion from the party." (The third was the former deputy Muranov).

To this must be added the following: (a) Shliapnikov's exposition was worked over and extremely softened under the pressure of Stalin and Kamenev in 1925 (at that time the "three" still dominated!); (b) no denials of Shliapnikov's story have appeared in the official press. And how can it be denied? Those issues of *Pravda* still exist.

11. The relation of Stalin to the problem of revolutionary power is expressed in a speech at a party conference (session of March 29, 1917): "The provisional government, in fact, took the role of strengthening the conquest of the revolutionary people. The Soviet power and the social democracy mobilize forces, control, but the provisional government—persisting blundering takes the role of strengthening those conquests of the people, which in fact are already accomplished by them. Such a situation has negative, but also positive sides: it is not to our advantage now to force events, to quicken the process of the split-off of the bourgeois strata which later must unavoidably go away from us."

Stalin is afraid "to push away the bourgeoisie"—the fundamental argument of the Mensheviks beginning with the year 1904.

"In so far as the provisional government supports the steps of the revolution, so far as it is to be supported; and in so far as it is counter-revolutionary, support to the provisional government is unacceptable."

Just so Dan spoke. In other words, it is possible to defend the bourgeois government before the revolutionary masses? The record further proclaims: "Comrade Stalin publishes the resolution about the provisional government adopted by the bureau of the C. C., but says that he does not fully agree with it, and rather concurs with the resolution of the Krasnoyarsk Soviet."

We cite the most important points of the Krasnoyarsk resolution: "To make clear in full that the only source of power and authority of the provisional government is the will of the people who accomplished this overturn and whom the provisional government is obliged to obey completely—

"To support the provisional government in its activity in so far as it marches along the road of satisfying the demands of the working class and the revolutionary peasantry in the developing revolution."

Such is the position of Stalin on the question of power.

12. The date, March 29, must be specially underlined. In this manner, more than a month after the beginning

of the revolution, Stalin still talks of Millukov as an ally: the Soviet conquers, the provisional government strengthens. It is difficult to believe that these words could be uttered by a reporter to the Bolshevik conference at the end of March 1917! Even Martov would not have put the question this way. This is the theory of Dan in its most vulgar expression: the democratic revolution as an abstraction within the confines of which participate the more "moderate" and the more "determined" forces; who divide the work among themselves: one conquers, who divide the work among themselves: one conquers, the other strengthens. And nevertheless, Stalin's speech is not accidental. We have in it the schema of the whole Stalinist policy in China in the years 1924-28.

With what passionate indignation, notwithstanding all his reserve, Lenin, who succeeded in coming to the last session of that same conference lashed Stalin's position: "Even our Bolsheviks," he said, "manifest trust in the government. This can be explained only by the fumes of the revolution. This spells the wreck of socialism. You comrades trust the government. If so, our way part. I will rather remain in the minority. One Liebknecht is dearer than a hundred and ten defenders of the Steklov and Cheidze type. If you sympathize with Liebknecht and stretch even one finger to the 'defenders' this will be a betrayal of international socialism." (March party conference, 1917. Session of April 4. "Report of comrade Lenin", page 44).

It must not be forgotten that Lenin's speech and the reports in their entirety have been concealed from the party up till now.

13. How did Stalin pose the question of war? Exactly like Kamenev. It is necessary to awaken the European workers and meanwhile to fulfill one's duty in relation to the "revolution". But how are the European workers to be awakened? Stalin gives the answer in an article on March 17: ". . . we have shown already one of the most serious methods of doing it. It consists in compelling our own government to express itself not only against any plans of conquest, but to formulate openly the will of the Russian people to begin immediately negotiations for a general peace on conditions of renunciation by both sides of any conquests, and the right of nations to self determination."

In this manner the pacifism of Millukov-Guchkov was to serve as a means of awakening the European proletariat.

On April 4, on the second day of his arrival, Lenin declared with indignation at the party conference: "*Pravda* demands from the government that it should renounce annexation. To demand from capitalist governments that they renounce annexations—is nonsense, a crying mockery." (The March conference of the party in 1917. Session of April 4. "Report of comrade Lenin." Page 44.)

These words were aimed entirely at Stalin.

14. March 14, the Menshevik-Social Revolutionary Soviet issued a manifesto about the war to the toilers of all countries. The manifesto was a hypocritical pseudo-pacifist document in the political spirit of the Mensheviks and S. R.'s who were persuading the workers of other countries to rise against their own bourgeoisie and themselves were going along in the same harness with the imperialists of Russia and the whole entente.

How did Stalin appraise this manifesto? "First of all, undoubtedly the bare slogan 'down with war' is unsuitable as a practical road—One can't help welcoming yesterday's appeal of the Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies in Petrograd to the nations of the whole world to compel their own governments to stop the slaughter. This appeal, if it reaches the broad masses, will undoubtedly return hundreds and thousands of workers to the forgotten slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

How did Lenin appraise the appeal of the defenders? In the already cited speech of April 4th he said: "The appeal of the Soviet of workers' deputies—there is not a word permeated with class consciousness. There is nothing in it but lifeless phrases." (The party conference of 1917. Session of April 4. "Report of comrade Lenin." Page 43.) These words of Lenin are aimed entirely at

Stalin. Therefore the reports of the March conference are concealed from the party.

15. Conducting, in relation to the provisional government and the war, the policy of the Left Mensheviks, Stalin had no ground on which to refuse to unite with the Mensheviks. Here is how he expressed himself on this question at the same March conference of 1917. We cite the report literally.

"On the order of the day—Tseretelli's proposal for unity."

"Stalin: We have to go. It is absolutely necessary to define our proposal on the line of unity. Unity is possible on the line of Zimmerwald-Kienthal."

Even Molotov, it is true, expressed doubts, though not very articulately. Stalin retorts: "To run ahead and to anticipate disagreements is not necessary. Without disagreements there is no party life. Inside the party we'll get rid of insignificant disagreements." (March party conference. Session of April 1st. Page 32).

These few words say more than whole volumes. They show those thoughts on which Stalin was feeding in the years of the war and bear witness with judicial exactness that the Zimmerwaldism of Stalin was of the same stamp as the Zimmerwaldism of Tseretelli. Here again there is not a hint of the ideological irreconcilability, the false mask of which Stalin, in the interests of the apparatus struggle, put on a few days later.

On the contrary, Menshevism and Bolshevism represent themselves to Stalin at the end of March 1917 as shades of thought that can live in harmony in one party. Disagreements with Tseretelli, Stalin calls "insignificant disagreements" which can be got rid of inside one party. We see here how it becomes Stalin to expose the conciliatorist relations of Trotsky with the Left Mensheviks—in 1913.

16. In such a position Stalin naturally couldn't seriously oppose anything to the S. R.'s and Mensheviks in the Executive Committee where he entered as a representative of the party after his arrival. There is not to be found in the records or in the press one proposition, one statement, one protest in which Stalin in some measure clearly counterposed the Bolshevik point of view to the lackeyism of the "revolutionary democracy" before the bourgeois. One of the recorders of events of that period, a non-partisan half-defender, Sukhanov, the author of the above mentioned manifesto to the toilers of the whole world, says in *Notes of the Revolution*: "For the Bolsheviks at this time, beside Kamenev, there appeared in the Executive Committee, Stalin—during his modest activity in the Executive Committee (he) produced—not only on me—the impression of a gray spot, that sometimes glimmered dully and traceless. More about him there is nothing to say (*Notes of the Revolution*, Book, pages 285-286). (To be Continued)

Youth Notes

(Continued from page 2)

Time has wholly proven the correctness of the stand of the other comrades and myself.

The present politically impotent leadership has fallen miserably in all its plans. In fear of being removed from their positions because of this they terrorized by expulsion or threats of expulsion all those who raised their voices in protest and criticism. Singled out were those who insisted on fraternizing with the expelled comrades.

Unable to meet the criticism of these expelled comrades, and failing to convince myself and others of the correctness of the line of the leadership in spite of lies, flinging dirt and slander, such as these comrades being counter-revolutionary enemies of the working class who have sneaked into the Y. C. L. the bureaucrats resorted to threats of expulsion to all who fraternized. Accusations without facts prove nothing. I am fully aware that these comrades are revolutionaries of high rank. I have continued to fraternize.

I agree with the Left Opposition on the following questions, which I have studied.

- (1) Germany; the necessity of a workers anti-Fascist united front.
- (2) The incorrectness of the idea of completing Socialism in one country, this theory is the basis of many errors.
- (3) Against bureaucracy.
- (4) The Leninist united front tactic.

I will continue to further study the question.

I believe the Left Opposition is a revolutionary group and therefore should be re-admitted into the Communist party. The only political revolutionary organization of the proletariat.

I protest violently against the head-chopping of all comrades who dare think for themselves on a Marxist line.

I urge all comrades to study the position of the Left Opposition!

Protest against any expulsions of comrades for fraternization or Communist criticism!

—IRVING BERN.
N. Y. PICNIC
For the benefit of the Spanish Opposition Youth Press
SUNDAY, JULY 10th, 1932
TIBBETTS BROOK PARK—PLOT 8
Take Woodlawn-erome Train to Woodlawn Station. Then trolley to Tibbetts Brook Park.
Amusements: Spartacus Youth Club

NOW READY!

Problems of the Chinese Revolution
by LEON TROTSKY

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