

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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ON THE SPOT

IT'S THE WORKER WHO ALWAYS PAYS

The B. M. T. (Brooklyn-Manhattan-Transit Corporation) to out of town customers) decided to save five million dollars so dividends could be paid to the serving stockholders, as well as to bolster the price of B. M. T. shares on the stock market. Displaying an originality that is nothing short of amazing, the corporation's directors hit upon the bright idea of taking the five millions out of the paltry wages of the corporation's employees. They simply cut their wages ten per cent and called it a day.

THE ELEPHANT NEVER FORGETS

The national convention of the Republican Party renominated Herbert Hoover, the stalwart Briton and Charlie Curtis, his American expression. Wall Street wanted Hoover. Nobody except Mrs. Dolly Gann seemed to want Curtis. Hoover has an excellent record. He plundered his way to wealth and position. He was at home in any land where profits could be coined out of the sweat and blood of the masses. He served himself and his masters in Australia, China and in Siberia. He was a bit late in Siberia, for the Bolsheviks took over the country in the name of the working class and directed all exploiters to the sign which read: "This way out." Which partly explains Hoover's anti-Soviet phobia. The G. O. P. is grateful to Hoover for his services while an inmate of the White House. It does not forget its loyal servants.

BOLTER BORAH CANNOT SWALLOW BOOZE PLANK

Senator Borah, the eminent bolter from the almost uninhabited state of Idaho again threatens to bolt the Republican Party in the election campaign. He does not like the hermaphrodite plank on the liquor question which was framed with the object of holding the dregs in line, and giving encouragement to the beerocrats who want their beer at a dime a stein instead of two bits. It's a two-way plank and Borah is a natural. We predict that the senator will be sitting behind the elephant's ears before November with Rajah Hoover in the howdah.

WHAT MAKES THE JACKASS WILD?

The Democrats are expected to put on a livelier show in Chicago than the one staged by the Republicans. The G. O. P. menagerie contains a better collection of animals than the Democrat zoo. The G. O. P. is more responsible to the Wall Street trainer and is the keeper's favorite. But sometimes the customers like a change and the jackass replaces the elephant in the White House cage. They both serve the capitalists, though the Democrats are a bit wilder and woolier, many of them hailing from the hills. The class-conscious worker will call down a plague on both parties and vote the Communist ticket. It makes no difference to the worker or the workless whether he is plundered and reduced to starvation by the Republican confidence man or the Democratic highwayman.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY ALSO RUNS

After several years of comparative inner peace the Socialist Party enters an election campaign with a factional fight on its hands. The fight is over the question of Americanization, which means that Morris Hillquit's job is not considered an asset in a vote-catching campaign. Anyhow, a fight over the physiognomy of the party chairman proves that the S. P. is still alive.

THEN THEY'LL HAVE NO BRAINS AT ALL

The Human Betterment Foundation of Pasadena, California proposed to the summer session of the American Association for the Advancement of Science that approximately one-sixth of the population of this country is mentally defective and should be sterilized to prevent race degeneration. We learn that the enlightened state of California, home of Hoover and Jailer of Mooney and Billings, has had considerable experience in this race-preserving experiment. We also learn that six out of seven operated on are quite satisfied and regret they can be cut only once like the patriot who wished he had two lives to give to his country. Eighteen million mental defectives out of a population of 120,000,000 may seem an exaggerated figure but when one considers that thirty or forty or perhaps fifty millions of workers and their dependents are starving in the midst of plenty, the estimate is rather low.

While they are at it they might sterilize the mental detectives who looked for the Lindbergh baby.

Not to speak of those who believe the repeal of the 18th Amendment will liquidate the depression.

—RIDE.

A New History Making Trotsky Book

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, by Leon Trotsky.

With an introduction by Max Shachtman. 448 pages. Pioneer Publishers, New York. Paper, \$1.00; cloth \$1.50. The Eighth Plenum of the Communist International in May 1927 occupies a unique place in the annals of our movement, if only because formally speaking it occupies practically no place at all. Confronted as it was with problems more acute than those which faced some of the preceding international gatherings, there has yet to come out of it a record of the proceedings. The Plenum took place at a time when the Chinese revolution was approaching its highest point, with sufficient material at hand to draw the most instructive conclusions. In it were argued out the fundamental questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics. Opposing the official course were the two outstanding leaders of the Executive Committee—Trotsky and Zinoviev, as well as the secretary of the Young Communist International, Vuyovitch. What was decided there deeply affected the whole future of the world revolutionary movement. But to this day you will look in vain through all the voluminous accounts of the Congresses and Plenums of the Communist International for a definite report of the Eighth Plenum, for the documents presented to it and the speeches delivered.

Suppressing the Documents

In a word, Stalin and Bucharin suppressed all but the most meager account of this Plenum. The theses and articles of Trotsky and Zinoviev were put on the index expurgatorius as counter-revolutionary literature, punishable under the Soviet penal code; Stalin even suppressed one of his own speeches a week after it was delivered! This little detail in the mechanism of the inner-party struggle did not prevent Stalin from demanding that the whole membership of the International vote to condemn the Opposition's standpoint in the Chinese question. And—let us remember it with a deep and bitter shame—such a vote was obtained without much difficulty. Just as the pre-war social democracy knew that its voyage towards opportunism would be facilitated by the suppression of Marx's biting criticisms of their course, so Stalin kept the revolutionary criticism concealed from the parties so that Menshevism in China might the more easily get the stamp of approval from its principal foe, the Communist International.

But even when you have at your disposal what the social democrats did not have—a proletarian state apparatus—it does not suffice for all time. Little by little, sometimes only in fragments, the works of Trotsky have virtually been stolen out of the underground bureaucratic vaults and smuggled beyond the frontiers. These are the only terms that can be used to describe the conditions under which the basic documents of Bolshevism have seen the light of day in recent years under the Stalin dispensation.

We have such a document, or more properly a series of documents, in the present work. Here is no fragment, but a closely-knit study of the problems of the Chinese revolution in the last seven years which will furnish us to the next generation with the fundamental exposition and critique of the most vivid chap-

ter of the great epoch in which we are fortunate enough to be living.

The Value of Marxism

This bulky volume by comrade Trotsky is a most striking proof of the unequalled "practical" value of Marxism. For the professors, with and without diploma, Marxism is a dry closet philosophy. For the proletarian revolutionists, it is a searchlight whose batteries are the distilled essence of past experience, enabling us to throw a piercing light into tomorrow so that the course of the revolution may be properly guided. It is his mastery of Marxism that enabled the leader of the Opposition, as is shown by the contents of this book, to analyze each stage of the Chinese revolution, predict its next stage with accuracy and present the policy best calculated to meet

(Continued on page 3)

Leninist Turn Imperative in Germany!

United Mass Action - Not Parliamentary Opportunism - Will Defeat Fascism

The lifting of the ban on the Nazi Storm Troops has already led to a big spurt in the number of armed and bloody clashes with working men all over the German Reich. In Hamburg, in Altona, in Kiel, in Essen, in Berlin. In Frankfurt, the street battles between the Hitlerites and the workers have resulted in about a dozen deaths and in scores of wounded during the last week alone.

Meantime the Minister of the Interior of the reactionary Junker government, Baron Von Gayl, is bringing pressure upon all the state governments to hasten the lifting of the Brown Shirt ban locally, where it has met with some opposition. Every day, the plans of the Von Papen government—as the government of the organization of the Fascist coup

d'Etat—are becoming clearer. With the tremendous growth in the number of armed conflicts, the danger of the Hitler coup becomes a matter of days.

How does the Stalinist leadership of the German Communist Party react to this highly tense and foreboding situation? It must be said openly: It reacts with measures of despair, it displays a feeling of utter helplessness. At a time when only the broadest and most centralized mass action on part of the whole working class can be effective, at a time when Hitler's hordes are at the gates, it resorts to petty parliamentary politics which only prove its complete bankruptcy.

In the Daily Worker of Wednesday, June 22, we read:

"With a view of preventing the final election of a Fascist president in the Prussian Diet, the Communist party proposes to refrain from filing its own candidates and to vote for candidates of the Catholics and socialists, providing these accept two conditions, namely, the restoration of freedom of assembly, of press and radio with the Communist right to speak and agree to reject the Papen emergency decrees for Prussia."

Unannounced, unexplained, restricted to the parliamentary field alone, this form of the "united front" can only bring further confusion into the minds of the Communist workers. As a first step, this sort of "united front"—limited to parliament—smells of the worst sort of opportunism, the opportunism of the Brandler type of 1923. As such it must be decisively rejected by all serious Communist workers.

What is needed now is first of all, a frank and sincere avowal of the ultra-Leftist mistakes by the leadership of the C. P. G. If a turn in policy is to be carried out, it can only be done effectively in the Bolshevik manner, in the manner of Lenin—before the eyes of the whole working class. The entire policy of bureaucratic ultimatums, of the "red United Front", of social Fascism must be honestly and thoroughly brushed aside. The confidence of the working class in the seriousness of the Communist leadership must be regained.

The action of the C. P. G. in the Prussian Diet is a rotten caricature of the "united front". Only desperate bureaucrats, only people who are at the end of their rope can believe that the Fascist menace can be warded off by an agreement to vote for the candidates of our political enemies—the Catholics and the social democrats. The whole affair is a distortion, a travesty on the Leninist United Front.

The aim of the Leninist United Front is to set the masses in motion, to prepare them for Communist leadership by proving to them in action that only the Communist program is adequate to their needs. That is why the Left Opposition must discard this step of the Stalinists which is merely a headless zig-zag from the "united front only from below" to the "united front" with the top pure and simple.

The Communists must approach the social democrats and the reformist leaders with an eye directed to their followers. This requires that a concrete and realistic program of action be proposed as the basis of the united front. Such a program is the program of mass united front action proposed by our brother section, the German Left Opposition.

The German Bolshevik-Leninists propose the following as a basis:

"1. Military Defense Against Fascism. The formation of Red Hundreds in factories and unemployment registries, in the working class quarters, to beat back Fascist attacks and punitive expeditions.

"2. Against wage and unemployment relief reduction. The formation of cartels locally, in the factories, and finally in the whole Reich, consisting of factory councils and committees of the unemployed, to counter wage and relief reduction with strikes, with the seizure of closed down factories and by of controlling production through these organs. Execution of a plan of economic collaboration between Germany and the U. S. R.

"3. Struggle against war. Prevention of war production and munition transports by strikes.

"4. The National Congress of these cartels is to make preparations to meet Hitler's terrorists acts and his seizure of power locally and nationally and will elect a national Cartel of factory and Unemployed Councils.

"5. As the first common action of the Communist Party of Germany, the Socialist Party of Germany and the Free Trade Unions, demonstrations under the following slogans.

"Against the dictatorship of the Generals and against Fascism.

"Against all wage and unemployment relief reduction.

"For Control of Production.

"For the National Cartel of Factory and Unemployed Councils.

"For the Defense of the Soviet Union."

We must say candidly and sharply: There is a crisis in the leadership of the German Communist Party which breeds disaster. Only the immediate and determined aid of the Communist workers all over the world can prevent the baleful consequences of this crisis.

Worker Communists, members of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.! Raise your voices before it is too late. Pass resolutions in your units and forward them to the Communist Party of Germany. Demand an open and sincere turn to a Leninist United Front policy that will defeat Fascism before it seizes power. Push the C. P. G. into action! For the revolutionary working class of the world, the key to the situation lies in the hands of the Communist Party of Germany.

—THE MILITANT.

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A First Hand Account of Events on the «Bonus Battle Front»

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Fifteen minutes from Union Station by trolley is the suburb of Anacostia, situated on the Potomac, and at the edge of one of the filthiest parts of the river is the camp of the "Bonus Expeditionary Forces". Through a long dusty gully off the B. & O. Railroad freight tracks, one comes down to the circle of the large flat field, about four city blocks in diameter, clumped with half-wilted grass; the least rain turns the ground to a miry, mosquito-infested swamp. From a distance, the camp looks like so many sticks of wood, rusty tins, dirty blankets, rags, heaped up pell-mell like garbage, or like the very excrement of the ground. And here, as a matter of fact, away from official, monumental Washington, the government has dumped in this one camp alone the bodies of six or seven thousand ex-servicemen who, as the slogan of one of their dilapidated trucks proclaims,

are not "bums but the flower of 1917." Alas, the flower is sadly wilted.

The several rows of shacks, put up out of sticks, tins, lousy blankets, and rags ferreted out of lots and wrecks of former houses nearby, are no more than three feet high. The once "proud Expeditionary Forces" now creep into these worse-than-dog-kennel holes for sleep or for shelter from the scorching sun; they're useless in time of rain, when the men, as one of them put it, "look like so many rats huddled together." But the men are patiently trying to improve these dumps by such means as, for example, mowing the grass down to use it for thatching and bedding or by using the all-too-few shingles for roofing. A good number of "our heroes" have no blankets and are forced to sleep on the damp ground. Like the camps, the men are as bedagged, worn and dirty, a lot as you see on the Bowery. They try to

put up a brave show of keeping themselves clean, but it's a sorry show. As one of the soldiers expressed it, "It's tough to keep yourself clean with one shirt and one pair of underwear which you have to wash in the dirty Potomac."

The unsanitary conditions and the poor food (scraps of frankfurters, half-dried spuds, etc., contributed by local restaurants) are putting the men under a severe strain.

Diseases Rampant

It's difficult to ascertain the number taken sick, but it must be considerable. The morning I arrived about forty men were taken to the hospital, suffering from exposure, malnutrition and pneumonia. Almost all of one contingent from Ohio—about sixty men, arrived in Washington sick from exposure. They took a freight train at Canton, O., where railroad officials promised them a fast

(Continued on page 4)

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

The American government is proceeding full blast in developing its "reconstruction" program to "break the backbone of the depression". It solicits the support of bankers and industrialists. The program is epitomized by the national policy of credit expansion aiming at releasing hundreds of millions of dollars in credits to start the wheels of industry turning.

So far two main measures have been taken; (1) the loans advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and (2) the release of funds by open market buying of government securities by the Federal Reserve Banks. About \$1,000,000,000 in financial resources has been mobilized and set in circulation by these measures. But, as one financier laconically remarked: "Nevertheless, credit has not gone into productive channels, loans advanced by the member banks are showing marked declines."

Credit System During Crisis

It is well to stop at this point for a moment to pose the essential question: How does the credit system operate during a crisis?

When the process of reproduction flows "normally" credits are stable and continually expand. When a stoppage in this flow occurs, due to delayed returns and overstocking of markets, there is a superabundance of capital, of productive capital available; but, in a form in which it cannot perform its function. It is a mass of commodity capital which is unsaleable because of its very superabundance. It is a mass of fixed capital which remains unused because the very process of reproduction is at a standstill. Witness today the enormous pro-

duction capacity of American industry, now not utilized, and with it the millions strong army of unemployed workers. In such a situation credit is contracted for good and sufficient reasons. Firstly, because this capital remains unemployed. Secondly, because the confidence in the continuity of the process of reproduction is shaken and thirdly, because the demand for this kind of commercial credits decreases. Those manufacturers who curtail, or cease production because they have lots of unsold goods on hand, or at least lack demand for their goods, do not need to buy on credit.

It is not a case of there being no need of loan capital. There is such a need. But loan capital performs one distinct function during the upward curve of the production cycle, and an entirely different one during the crisis. During the upward curve, loan capital is in demand for the purpose of being transformed into productive capital. During the upward curve, loan capital is in demand for the purpose of being transformed into productive capital. During the crisis bills of exchange continue to press for conversion into cash. But the majority of the bills represent actual sales and purchases, which, to make matters worse, have been extended far beyond the demands of society.

Operation of Loan Capital

In times of crisis the demand for loan capital reaches its maximum. But the borrowing is done for the purpose of paying in order to settle previously contracted obligations. In this manner, the

loan capital wanders right back to the banks in settlement of interests and maturities. The rate of profit, and with it, the demand for industrial capital have almost reached the vanishing point.

It is therefore no wonder that the loans advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to the tune of more than one half billion dollars today, with but two small exceptions, all went to meet obligations of principal or interest. The two exceptions were a \$27,500,000 to the Pennsylvania Railroad, and a \$4,399,000 loan to New York Central Railroad, both of which are claimed to be for purposes of reconstruction. From the other category of loans we will mention only one instance, that of \$32,500,000 to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, advanced solely for the meeting of outstanding obligations of the company.

Credit and Industry

Surely, the credit expansion policy is developing full blast. The bankers and industrialists are being taken care of. For the latter the maturing bills are being met and for the former the bills of exchange are being converted into cash. But—the wheels of industry are not turning.

Will the "ingenious" proposal offered by the Young Committee of bankers and industrialists have better prospects of success? We recall that much ado was made out of the creation of this committee and its prospective aid in the "reconstruction" program. By its make up, the committee alone was said to represent aggregate capital resources of about \$18,000,000,000. Now the committee has labored; and here is what it proposes: There are so many hundreds

of thousands of small home owners who have mortgage obligations which, during these hard times, it becomes doubly hard to meet. And that is the grand idea of the committee, to facilitate the advancing of loans for such purposes. It is not so much to make sure that the small home owner keeps his home. No, the bankers do not want to have too much real-estate on their hands. But meeting these mortgage obligations enables the banks to keep their dividends in shape. Of course,—this will not start the wheels of industry turning either.

How do matters then stand with the second measure of the credit expansion scheme? During the period of accelerated buying, or taking over, of government securities by the Federal Reserve Banks, between April 13 and May 18, a total of \$480,000,000 were released. This operation is now said to have "arrested the catastrophic decline in bank credits in progress since last July." But loans and investments made by all the member banks throughout the country continue to lag nevertheless.

Where are the Markets

With these huge funds made available, the problem still remained one of finding ways and means for putting them to work. The dilemma is, what to do with the credits available—with the expanded credits. Where are the markets for profitable investments? This is the question asked by the perturbed financiers; and the cruel answer is: The market for which capitalism produces has become severely contracted!

The National City Bank of New York in its monthly letter of June bewails the

(Continued on page 4)

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

Oppositionist Seated at Philly Conference

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The Philadelphia "United Front Anti-Terror Conference" called by the International Labor Defense met on June 16 at Friends Meeting House. The meeting opened at nine o'clock with thirty people, delegates and visitors, present. After the chairman, the secretary and a joint credentials committee were elected, the I. L. D. organizer reported. He told the purpose of the meeting and depicted the current police terror against the workers and the curbing of the well-known "constitutional guarantees". A prepared organizational report was presented. Mimeographed copies were given to the delegates. It called for the ordinary methods of organization and propaganda work, dealt with a demonstration on July 4 and a petition campaign against the state Sedition Act.

The floor was opened for discussion of the report. Leon Goodman was the delegate of the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and began the discussion. The capitalist terror is not unexpected to Communists. The vanguard bears the brunt of attack now. This is a prelude to a broadened attack on the whole class. It is impelled by sheer necessity to defend itself. By defending every single case, the workers protect their own interests. Thus the case of Mooney symbolizes labor's enslavement.

To reach and organize the workers we must take advantage of every avenue of "democracy" open to us under this capitalist system. The plan for a demonstration of July 4 is most fitting. Whatever legality the movement has must be defended. We should learn the lessons of the recent Canadian experience. After a false start, the I. L. D. there adopted the united front policy as the only means to defend the movement. The conference there changed its name to "conference for the repeal of section 98" and approached the A. F. of L. unions and other organizations with some success. But a full and whole-hearted, consistent approach is needed.

Goodman proposed that since the meeting was not really a conference at all, it constitute itself a preliminary conference to call a real united front conference of all working class organizations to meet shortly before July 4—which should mobilize further for the demonstration and the other work outlined. Further—that the name "Anti-Terror Conference" is not the best, it did not fit in with the elementary duty of the conference, and should be changed since it is misleading. He proposed to take the name "United Front Conference to Defend Workers' Free Speech". Then it will be clear to all that we will be defending the rights of workers to meet, to speak and to organize. The defense of these rights will necessarily be a defense against capitalist terror. Goodman told the meeting that in all the work outlined by the conference, his organization, the Communist League (Opposition) would give its whole-hearted support.

When he had finished and another delegate had spoken, the chairman announced that there was an original proposal of the committee to call another conference June 30. He then left the room to meet with the committee. No one knew what for? There was little discussion. Comrade Holmes denied the advisability of changing the name of the conference. He said in substance that the struggle for free speech, etc., was not as broad and inclusive as the term anti-terror; add that the main work of the conference would in any case be for the defense of workers' free speech. He called attention to the fact that two of the three slogans dealt directly with workers rights. No more was said by any of the other delegates.

The credentials and resolution committee reported that there were represented 54 delegates of 35 organizations with a total membership of 7,500 workers. Twelve I. L. D. branches, two A. F. L. locals, three T. U. U. L. unions, three political organizations and fifteen fraternal bodies.

Goodman rose at once to ask what were the names of the "political organizations". The information was stubbornly refused. The committee in charge, old Lovestonite bureaucrats, adept at "hiding the name of the party", were here trying to hide the name of Communist League (O.), in order later to say—no delegate was present. Goodman asked that the names of the organizations be read. A vote was taken, 22 for, 7 against.

The 7 votes surprised the bureaucrats, and after some delegates had taken the floor again on this, the chairman, Bill Lawrence, made a turn about face—gave his stamp to it and took a vote again. This time 23 voted to read the names. The names surprised no one. The usual list—Lithuanian Chorus, Jewish Workers Club, etc., Unions—2, A. F. L. locals, 3 T. U. U. L. The Communist party, the Y. C. L. and, reluctantly, the name Communist League (O.), were drawn from the list. No delegate took the hint of the chairman, for any objections to any organization, and all delegates were declared seated.

Resolutions against the Dies Bill, against the Flynn Sedition Act and for the release of Lawrence, Roth and Adams, etc., were unanimously passed; as were various other telegrams of protest to the mayor and the governor. A resolution and motion Goodman introduced based on his proposals was defeated. The chairman warned him not to "bulldoze" the meeting when he insisted on a vote on his resolution.

—J. G.

Party's N. Y. State Nominating Convention

BUFFALO, N. Y.

We have just returned from the party's state nominating convention at Schenectady. It must be said that we left the convention with very little inspiration. One can't continue to get enthusiastic over omnipresent monolithism. And that was just how dead this gathering was. For all the concrete things achieved there, the convention might just as well have been held in Astrakhan or for that matter, in Oshkosh.

There were about 400 delegates, hermetically sealed Stalinists "representing" the International Workers Order, the I. L. D. and other kosher mass organizations. Prominent among the big shots were the old goose master, I. Amter, Wobbling William Weinstone, etc., who are filling the higher places in the party market.

Things dragged along in the usual manner with the same soap box speeches and the same sectarian narrowness. No local issues were raised, in spite of all the theses and resolutions about "linking up". No concrete tasks were outlined. The "leaders" seemed to be intent to restrict themselves to implanting illusions in the delegates concerning the possible election successes. The burning international situation, the crystal-clear Fascist danger in Germany, did not receive even a moment of attention.

Instead, all the picaresque and petty gestures were employed to illustrate the general line. Thus, for instance, the rigid insistence on the nomination of negro candidates by white comrades and vice versa. This seems to be the best way the Stalinists know of applying a correct tactic toward the Negro question. Many comrades are frankly disgusted with this comedy. They realize that it is first of all necessary to have a serious attitude to approach the problem of the unity of the white and the black workers. Some remarked about the sterile, schematic way in which the party treats this problem and mumbled something—in jest—about the "dialectic" capacities of the leadership.

But the spice of the program was Amter's proposal to put forward the slogan "to postpone the war so as to give the Russian comrades an opportunity to entrench socialism". We have become so accustomed to Amter's phantasies that even this gem got by without a ripple. A comrade told us that if Amter brings this slogan out into the open, he would fight it to the last ditch. This is just about the limit of absurdity. No serious party comrade is going to swallow such a ridiculously pacifist slogan. And it would not at all be surprising if a fight around this slogan will evoke a sort of a general denouement of the theory of socialism in one country.

Another Stalinist convention—another peg in the coffin of Stalinism. The impasse of the bureaucratic leadership is becoming more and more apparent. Rest assured, the ranks will not remain quiet. The Left Opposition even is due for

The Recent Beet Strike in Colorado

The strike of 18,000 beet workers in Colorado is something new in that branch of agriculture! We have seen before the united efforts of beet farmers, seeking better contracts with the Great Western Sugar Co., which were hailed by A. F. of L. bureaucrats as efforts in unionism. We have seen before politicians and child welfare societies agitating against (?) the enslavement and exploitation of five and six year old children in the beet fields of Colorado. We have seen the fruit of their demagoguery, the federal law against child labor, unconstitutionalized by the Supreme Court of the U. S. We have presented before us for the first time in the history of this branch of agriculture what we have dreamed and yearned for and advocated—the rising of the slaves themselves!

The strike was not a well organized one, it is true. Shortcomings in defense and relief work were numerous. Certainly the strategy of the strike appeared not to have been planned at all. But what was important and new and vital was that it was not a petty bourgeois farmer nor a self-seeking politician proposition in this instance: it was a strike of the proletarians themselves, the unskilled, "backward", highly exploited sugar beet workers!

There can be no doubt that had the strike been well planned and prepared and quickly enough and sufficiently supported by other working class organizations it would have constituted a far greater impetus to further class action not only in this, but also in other branches of agriculture in the irrigated districts of the southwest; but the working class organizations by and large neither understood its importance nor, to this day, realize its place in the building of the new unions.

The Trade Union Unity League, which led the strike, puzzled and confused from zig-zagging on the industrial field, neither grasped nor conveyed this meaning from analyses of the whole situation or from the living logic that brought onion workers in the same district into strike activity at the same time.

All of which makes it necessary that the reasons why this strike is their rest to page in a whole chapter of new unionism and strike struggle, especially in the southwest, be made known.

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some surprises—and not at all unpleasant ones at that.

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The Drug Clerks and the Class Struggle

II.
It is obvious, that the principal task of the leadership of the Drug Clerks Union consists primarily in dispelling the illusion of professionalism, which is so greatly hampering the development and orientation of the drug clerk toward unionism, and raise him to the level of a class conscious worker. But, to perform this colossal task, the present leadership is particularly incapable.

The executive board, in order to cover up the tremendous gap between its position as a leader and its inability to lead, garbs itself in a cloak of secrecy. When a rank and file asked the secretary, at the last membership meeting, to state the reasons for not reading the minutes of the executive meetings, she answered that, "certain methods of organization were discussed, which cannot be divulged at present." Of course an organization at times must recognize the right of a leading body to deal with matters confidentially. At present, the truth is, the same manner as a cover serves an empty container in a window-display: to convey an impression of genuine merchandise. The minds of the executive members are not only bare of any "secret methods" but are perfect vacuums, as far as methods of building a union are concerned. "When a secret is kept too long it becomes no secret," say the old folks. The executive has been secretive too long and has, naturally, aroused the suspicion of the membership as to the real motive behind the secrecy. Disillusionment followed; and their confidence in the leadership has been badly shaken. Hence the present state of apathy among the members.

The elementary method to dispense the suffocating illusion of professionalism among the drug clerks consists, quite obviously, in holding membership and educational meetings as often as possible, in order to present an opportunity to an ever greater number of members and non-members to express their views on matters pertaining to the existence and growth of the union. And in this manner attract their interest, arouse their enthusiasm, and direct this nascent enthusiasm into chambers of organizational activities, which will serve as motive power for the further progress and growth of the organization. The executive, however, has done the exact reverse. It has called meetings in an arbitrary manner; it is only at the last membership meeting that a motion was passed to hold membership meetings regularly, once a month. Until then, meetings were held whenever the executive needed the official sanction of the membership on some matter. For instance, the last membership meeting was called to ratify a certain "collective agreement", about which I shall write at another opportunity.

It must be quite obvious that the first stage of organizational activities of the union, i. e., the transition from its amorphous state into an organized, unified and compact body, is far from being completed. As a matter of fact, it has not yet begun. To skip this stage and pass over to its second stage, i. e., to establish the union as a bona fide workers body and demand recognition from their bosses, is an adventurous move that is sure to meet disaster on its way.

The present so-called strike is an attempt by the executive board to skip the first stage of organizational activities and plunge into the second stage which may prove fatal to the feeble structure of the union.

The ushering in of the second stage of organizational activities of a developing union on a yet unorganized industrial field is usually signalled by the clarion call of a general strike. However, a general strike of drug clerks, in times of an ever sharpening crisis and under conditions of a declining drug industry, presupposes not only the rallying of a decisive majority of licensed and junior clerks under the banner of the union but also the unqualified, organized support of the soda-fountain and luncheonette workers, who operate an important branch of the drug store business today. It goes without saying, that a capable revolutionary leadership is an unconditional prerequisite for its possible success.

A well organized minority of drug clerks, however, can and should develop a real struggle AGAINST WAGE CUTS AND LONG HOURS in one or two stores. Such a struggle will necessarily draw the membership into the activities of the strike: picketing, distributing circulars, organizing "open-air" meetings, etc., which will teach them a valuable lesson in the class struggle and free their minds from the fetters of professionalism—the greatest obstacle on their road toward consciousness.

Moreover, such a strike will touch a sore spot in the hearts of the unorganized clerks, arouse their sympathy and cause them to gravitate toward unionism. In this manner, the union will augment its forces and give greater assurance to the success of the strike and its spreading to other establishments. Even in case of failure, which might result from the crushing pressure of the brutal law of the club and the injunction, it will disillusion them only with the "democracies" of capitalism rather than with the feasibility of organized resistance. It will only give rise to new methods of struggle.

However, to attempt to "throw a plecter at the door", in order to compel the bosses to recognize the union and the clerks, "to join it up", is a method of organization entirely inimical to working class organization strategy. This "make 'em join" strategy was originated and has been used by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy; it is the incarnation of its utter contempt for the working masses, and

its manner of subordinating the membership to its despotic rule by alienating them from the activities of the union and cowering them into submissiveness.

In a period of industrial rebirth, the conditions for a "successful" application of this reactionary, purely A. F. of L. "make 'em join" strategy are often favorable. The history of many a local of the A. F. of L. has been written under its pressure. But in a period of an ever deepening crisis, the margin for its success is rather a precarious one.

However, the eminent failure of this "make 'em join" method of organization, as it is being applied by the budding bureaucracy of the Drug Clerks' Union, is not only due to the crisis and the ever increasing unemployment but largely to the anti-working class contents of the strategy itself. For it is utterly devoid of any elements of appeal, which may arouse the personal interest and class solidarity of the drug clerks and thus result in their ever expanding union.

On the contrary, this "make 'em join" strategy is apt to precipitate confusion within the ranks, arouse the antagonism of the unorganized and in this manner result in an ever narrowing union of the drug clerks.

"What can we gain by this struggle? At the utmost—a few new members of a rather doubtful quality and the unionization of a store where union conditions will never be enforced," says one clerk to another disenchantedly.

"You cannot force me into the union—there are no jobs anyway," cries defiantly the unorganized clerk . . .

Yes, fellow drug clerks! The success of such an attempt can only gain prestige for the bureaucracy and temporarily strengthen its position—but not one minim of benefit for you! Its failure, however, might cause the disintegration of the union movement among the drug clerks and set it back for a long period to come.

The executive board of the Drug Clerks' Union, as I have already pointed out, is incapable of giving independent leadership and is, therefore, obliged to take advice and direction from "foreign" sources. Its most brilliant ideas usually emanate from Louis Sherman, head of the HOUSE OF SHERMAN that practically controls the activities of the union.

The members of this notorious house are as follows: (a) Louis Sherman, organizer of the Drug Clerks' Union. This individual has never had any connections with the drug industry and has never organized any kind of a union. He succeeded, however, in impressing a group of drug clerks as being an "old hand" in organizing unions; his services were accepted and paid for. Now, since the union has become a local of the A. F. of L. outfit, he "severed" his relations with the union and became organizer of the so-called "Federation of Retail Drug-gists", using the union as a tool to further his own interests.

(b) Mrs. Frances Gargle, Sherman's sister, is secretary-treasurer of the union. Mrs. Gargle is a pharmacist but has long ago abandoned the profession of pharmacy in favor of matrimony. Her awakened interest in pharmacy in gener-

al and in the union in particular is rather questionable.

(c) Mr. George Sherman, brother of Mr. Louis Sherman, is a leading member of the Executive Board and parades under the name of Gerson. He is not a Pharmacist, but a petty swindler, pure and simple. These facts, MUST AND WILL BE EXPOSED before the membership at the coming meeting, which will undoubtedly lead to the downfall of the Sherman dynasty. However, the consequences of the upheaval cannot yet be foreseen.

I. DREYER.

MILITANT BUILDERS

With Problems of the Chinese Revolution as a premium with a year's sub to the Militant it should be fairly simple to get subs. Every Militant Builder on his toes! It's touch and go from now on! We expect to clean out the whole edition in eight weeks, the bulk of it in six weeks, or just about the time What Next? comes off the press. After that the book will be unavailable.

What sympathizer of ours can resist such an offer? And what serious Left wing worker can fail to consider it? It is entirely up to us to produce results. And for that all that is needed now is a little energy. We speak from experience. It is really astonishingly easy.

52 issues of the Militant and 450 pages of comrade Trotsky at his best on the Chinese question! A good percentage of the population of Minneapolis should fall under the sustained attack that they are planning up there. And in New York—we will let the result speak for themselves. From Youngstown, from Cleveland, from all over come signs that with the book as a lever we will increase the circulation of the Militant.

Some time ago we became committed to the idea that we were going forward with building the circulation of the Militant. That is we set ourselves the necessary task going forward steadily without downward curves in the graph of our progress. Thus far we can record a steady, if slow, rise. The growing staff and its record prove that:

O. Coover	5
M. Beardslee	5
C. R. Hedlund	5
M. Koehler	3
A. Basky	2 1-2
J. SCOTT	2
M. Basin	2
P. Vomyas	2
J. Elchna	2
C. Curtis	2
A. Ehrlich	2
M. Reint	2
J. Keller	2
W. Klitt	2
M. Geldman	1

The record by branches is as follows:

New York	13 1-4
Minneapolis	9
Cleveland	5
Pittsburgh	4
Chicago	3
Youngstown	3
St. Louis	2
Kansas City	2
Philadelphia	2
Miscellaneous	2

Wage Cut for Federal Gov't Workers

The salaries of the Federal civil service employees have come under the knife. As part of the general wage cutting drive and the campaign for cheaper government, \$12,000,000 has been slashed from the wages of the federal workers at one fell stroke by the U. S. Congress. After weeks of anxious deliberation the legislators summoned up enough courage to put through the wage cut, under the trick name of the "furlough bill." Like the bonus veterans the civil service workers crowded every space in the chambers and galleries of the senate to watch their trusted representatives apply the axe to their payroll.

They were watching a little show which is the first act of unseating the government employees from their throne of privilege. The strongholds of the labor aristocracy are being broken down with unrelenting consistency. First the skilled workers who managed to escape the ruthless advance of the new machine inventions, were caught in the wage cut drive that was the reward for their docility, class collaborationism, and business union ventures during the period of "prosperity". And now civil service workers are getting their compensation for their patient service to the capitalist government in the form of slashes in their envelope. The road is being cleared for a unified and homogeneous working class movement that will cut across all the traditional prejudices and strata of the proletariat.

While the current economic crisis means no good for the workers in a material way it is a veritable boon for the capitalist masters. The ruling class not only takes advantage of the huge unemployed army to scale down the standard of living but to put the screws to their henchmen who run the government for them. They want cheaper and more efficient government. The time is over, they say, when they can afford to squander money on their lackeys. The leading imperialist government of the world, with a battle on its hands for markets and colonies and a discontented working class which must be held in check, needs a bureaucracy which will do its work efficiently—on rations. During the last few years preceding the crisis the expenditures and corruption of the federal gov't ran the treasury into a deficit of several hundreds of millions of dollars. This must be made up somehow. Certainly, the Wall Street mag-

nates do not intend to pay for this out of their own profits. After squeezing the petty bourgeoisie dry in the stock crash they milked what remained of their rapidly vanishing wealth by the imposition of a heavy load of new taxes. But this is not enough. Consequently the white collar slaves came in for a well rounded trimming.

The bill reducing the wages of the government employees is an interesting commentary on the hypocrisy the capitalist lickspittles, of the republican and democratic parties alike, peddle off in the name of philanthropy. The very name of the bill is indisputable proof of this.

It is called the "Furlough Plan". This means that instead of an outright and brazen wage cut, the federal employees are given a month's vacation during the year—without pay, of course. It is reasoned, we suppose, that since all the workers, nowadays are on a more or less permanent holiday there is no ground to discriminate against the Washington office workers. The bill is so calculated as to put all those earning slightly more than \$1,000 per annum on the five day week with a corresponding reduction of pay, and on enough vacations to bring their salaries down to the one thousand mark. The bill even reaches out to the country-side to hit the rural mail carriers for an 8 1-3% cut and a one-eighth cut on their allowance for vehicles. This measure will no doubt, do its bit to remove these people from the "idiotcy of rural life." It will help to make this backward section of the working class more class conscious.

Another hypocritical gesture of the bill is the 15 percent reduction made in the huge salary of the vice-president (evidently the value of Curtis's sleeping performances have declined in the crisis deflation), and the 10 percent cut in the \$10,000 salaries of the congressmen. Who can say our legislators are not self-sacrificing?

The unmistakable identity of the republicans and democrats is shown by their attitude towards the civil service workers. Only the republicans were more "radical" in this instance. The democrats wanted an outright cut in wages while the G. O. P. preferred to camouflage the cut with the "furlough plan". The republicans were the stronger, so the democrats compromised and helped the former trim the office workers.

—CLARKE.

REVIEW OF CHINA BOOK

(Continued from page 1)

the situation. That the Chinese revolution of 1925-1927 proved to be a tragedy can in no sense be ascribed to the Opposition. There was no excuse for the catastrophe from which the Chinese proletariat has not yet emerged, for the Opposition sounded the tocsin at every point. As you read the book, you are impressed by the fact that at no time did the Opposition make its criticism post factum, when it is not so difficult to be wise and see clearly.

The book deals with the revolution in a semi-colonial country, in which the young bourgeoisie and the proletariat and peasantry fought for a time on the same side of the barricades. There is nothing fundamentally new in this relationship of forces. Virtually every bourgeois revolution in which the proletariat had the possibility of marching a big step farther towards establishing its own power, has offered a somewhat similar spectacle. We find it in the bourgeois revolutions of the last century, where the rising capitalist class fought together with the artisans and nascent proletariat against feudalism and absolutism. The policy of the bourgeoisie was: we make use of the people as troops, keep them subordinated to us in the name of the "united front against the dying order" or the foreign enemy; and as soon as our victory is assured, we crush the "counter-revolution at the Left", that is, smash the allies of yesterday. As Marx said, the proletariat which has followed the bourgeois watchwords of "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality" is rapidly confronted with new slogans of a now triumphant bourgeoisie: "Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry."

It was with this in mind that Marx, drawing the lessons of the uprisings of 1848, wrote to the Communist League in 1850 his brilliant strategic outline of the permanent revolution, the theory that the proletariat, even in embryonic form, does not come to a halt with the victory of its "ally", the bourgeoisie, but strides forward from the bourgeois revolution against feudalism to the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie. The whole policy of the Left Opposition in the Chinese revolution was animated by the same idea which, while it was no absolute guarantee against defeat, was nevertheless the only possible road to victory.

China and Russia

With this in mind, it is a happy coincidence that comrade Trotsky's work on China appears at the same time as his history of the Russian revolution. Place the two side by side and you have a staggering contrast between the policies of Bolshevism and Menshevism in the acutest moments of the two outstanding post-war revolutionary movements.

After the February revolution in Russia, the workers were urged by Chernov and Tseretelli (and, let us add, by Stalin) to support the national bourgeoisie "in so far as" it fought against the foreign enemy. In China, Stalin and Bucharin commanded the Communists to bear in mind that the "outstanding feature" of the revolution was its "anti-imperialist character", which allegedly required that the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang be supported. In Russia, the Mensheviks sought to liquidate the class struggle by their "contact commission". In China, the Stalinists sought to do the same with their support to the arbitration commissions. In Russia, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists curbed the agrarian revolution, sought to emasculate the Soviets in the villages, told the peasants to wait for land—until the provisional government was firmly established and the threat of war had subsided. In China, Stalin telegraphed instructions that the agrarian movement be stopped, he argued that Soviets must not be formed, that the bourgeoisie must not be alienated "prematurely". In Russia, the Marxian conception of the class nature of the state was replaced by the Tseretellis with the mystical idea of the "government of the revolutionary democracy" (the "democratic dictatorship!"), which is what the socialists are doing in Spain at the present moment. In China, the Stalinists shattered this cornerstone of Marxism by championing the government and the bloc "of the four classes".

But while in Russia this miserable Menshevik burlesque of Marxism was swept off the stage of events by the wisdom and authority of Lenin, the Russian revolution and the Comintern, authority usurped and violated by the present ruling clique. The essential difference between the two revolutions is that in Russia, the brief farce of Menshevism was played by the Menshevik party leaders, whereas in China their role was assumed with calamitous consequences by Stalin and Bucharin, the official spokesmen for Bolshevism! What sardonic satisfaction it must have given the ghost of Martov to see himself so well impersonated, with his worst features and to the bitter end, in the events of the Chinese revolution!

Not even the most elaborate review—and much less a brief one—can do justice to the present volume. For that, you must read and study the book itself. In the literature of Stalinism, there is very little to be read about the Chinese revolution. That is comprehensible, for the bureaucrats must feel that the less said about this question the better for them. The opportunists hate to be confronted with their own recent past; they thrive on the forgetfulness or ignorance of the masses.

But that is only an additional reason

Industrialization and the Collectivization of Agriculture in the U. S. S. R.

At the present time, when even the bourgeois world, harassed by its deep crisis, is grudgingly conceding the advantages of plan in economy and the entire Communist world has come to accept it with enthusiasm as an incontrovertible idea, it is difficult to realize the stubborn resistance encountered by the proposals for planned industrialization and the collectivization of Russian agriculture when they were first put forward. The Communist worker whose head has been systematically pumped full of lies and who has been taught a history of the past ten years which never took place, frequently answers the criticisms of the Oppositionist with a general reference to the undoubted successes of the Five Year Plan. In nine cases out of ten, however, he is not aware of the fact that it took a five year struggle (1923-1928) of the Left Opposition merely to have a Five Year plan adopted by the party leadership, that the first proposals of the Opposition were dismissed with ridicule and abuse, that the first Plan proposed by the leadership and submitted to a withering criticism from the Left was finally thrown on the dust-heap by the leadership itself; and, finally, that every important step in changing the Plan has had to be made under the criticism of the Opposition and in its general direction.

The Origins of the Struggle

The introduction of plan into Soviet economy can be traced as far back as July 1920. The whole railroad and transportation system was wrecked. All attempts at progress were shattered against this obstacle. The party put comrade Trotsky in charge of rehabilitating the transportation system and on the date mentioned the famous "Order No. 1042" was issued as the first of a series of systematic measures which finally brought order and regularity where chaos and collapse had prevailed before. The attempts made subsequently to discredit this tremendously successful job and its principal author cannot hide the fact that in its time it was enthusiastically saluted by Dzerzhinsky, Zinoviev, and others, and particularly by comrade Lenin, who spoke of it as an example of what had to be done in the other branches of industry. The report made by Trotsky to the eighth congress of the Soviets, based on this experience, and the thesis he prepared together with Emsharov, were warmly defended by Lenin against the "skeptics who say: 'What good is it to make forecasts for many years ahead?'" In those days too were to be found people to argue against the plan to eliminate the prevailing system of working from hand to mouth, from day to day; but in Lenin's time they were not the leaders of the party!

The question of long-term planned economy was raised more sharply in 1923 by comrade Trotsky. Unaided this time by a Lenin who had already been compelled to withdraw from the party councils, Trotsky laid before the party his arguments for the elaboration of plan in economy in order to carry out successfully an industrialization of the country and a collectivization of its backward,

for the publication and distribution of comrade Trotsky's book. It does not deal with the past alone but with the present as well. Starting with the principal thesis submitted by Trotsky to the Eighth Plenum, with some articles written at the same time on current Chinese events, the reader is taken through all the stages of the movement to the present time. The Canton insurrection of December 1927 is dealt with extensively; so is the whole question as it was posed after the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. There will be found Trotsky's later polemics against Zinoviev, Manuilsky and Mairaux, the French apostate for Stalinism. The period of ultra-Leftist adventurism in China is brought up to date, and capped with a thoroughly documented study called "Stalin and the Chinese Revolution", a compendium of the blunders and worse of the present regime.

In the appendix will be found Zinoviev's thesis in May 1927 which, while not identical with Trotsky's position, is filled with important facts. The suppressed speech of Vuyovitch at the Eighth Plenum is also among the appendices, showing how the Opposition gave its warnings in time and all the time. The last appendix is the famous "Letter of Three Comrades", Stalinist supporters in China who, independently, corroborated all the contentions put forward against the party line in Moscow by the Opposition leaders. A convenient glossary of names and terms completes the book.

This work of some 450 pages, well printed and bound, sells at the exceedingly low price of \$1.00 in paper and \$1.50 in cloth, prices not only more than in accord with the times but also with the need of distributing it as widely and speedily as possible. With all respects to pamphleteering and if we are not to be misunderstood, this is not simply a transient pamphlet. It is the most fundamental study of the Chinese revolution to appear in the camp of the Marxians. We may well be proud of having produced it in English when most of it has yet to appear in other modern languages. It is a tremendous weapon in our hands, an instrument for opening up closed minds, for educating even those who are educated. . . . It is a permanent contribution, in the same sense as were Marx's and Lenin's studies of the defeats suffered by the proletariat in other epochs. Like them, it will clear the road to the victory. —S.

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

scattered, individualistic agriculture. The critics of the Opposition, he it said in passing, never stopped to explain the "contradiction" (created by themselves) in their claim, first, that Trotsky was opposed to building socialism in Russia, and secondly, that he was too extreme in his proposals for industrializing the country and particularly its agriculture. People who are not over-scrupulous in crushing an opponent apparently do not concern themselves with such trifles!

From 1923 on, the Opposition pointed out, as Lenin said, that the only material foundation for socialism is large machine industry capable of reorganizing agriculture as well. Russia's backwardness made the speedy development of such an industry especially imperative in view of the retardation of the international revolution. In addition, the Left wing showed, the vast mass of the peasantry was undergoing a process of differentiation in which the rich peasant (the Kulak) was growing stronger and making dangerous advances which only the organization of the poor peasants and their systematic introduction to collective farming would be able to impede. The Opposition demanded an industrial program that would be able to dominate and reorganize agriculture, satisfy the needs of the peasantry on a cheap basis, and provide the economic basis for abolishing the petty bourgeois strata of the village population.

First Reactions of the Bureaucracy

How did the bureaucracy reply? These "practical people" who would not allow themselves to be taken in by "fantastic ideas" about planning for years in advance, launched a furious assault upon Trotsky. The brochure in which he developed his ideas, "The New Course", was virtually suppressed in the party; outside of Russia it remains to this day a rarely-seen and never translated (except into French) document. The fragments which made their way out were inundated beneath a flood of misrepresentation and calumny. Rykov hastened to report to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern that Trotsky's proposals were a petty bourgeois deviation from Leninism, that the Russian party leadership was doing all it could do and all that could be expected of it in the field of industry and agriculture. Stalin sneeringly replied to the Opposition's arguments with the comment that it wasn't a plan that the peasant needed, but a good rain for his crops! The danger of a growing Kulak strength was derided (just as Stalin a few years later derided the idea that there was any danger to the revolution from Chiang Kai-Shek, and Tomsky saluted the treacherous British labor leaders with a fraternal embrace).

But the Kulak was growing in strength and beginning to dominate not only the country-side but was also beginning to permeate the party—a whole section of it—with his ideology. The first two years of struggle of the Opposition finally bore fruit in the revolt of the revolutionary Leningrad proletariat in 1925, which compelled its leaders, men like Zinoviev who had fathered the campaign against "Trotskyism", to combine in a bloc with the 1923 Opposition. The alarm felt by the Leningrad proletarians at the inroads being made by the Kulak and his urban associate, the Nepman, was not, however, shared by the crust-hardened bureaucracy. Instead of adopting the proposals for a plan in economy, for a systematic industrialization of the country, the Stalin-Bucharin leadership steered a course towards that same Kulak whom, later on, when they had taken fright at his growth, they sought to "liquidate" at one fell swoop, by ukase.

The Slogan: "Enrich Yourself"

To the already well-to-do peasant Bucharin cried out the advice: Enrich yourselves! Kalinin made speeches denouncing the poor peasants as lazy good-for-nothings because they did not accumulate and praising the diligence and industry of the "economically powerful peasant", that is, of the Kulak. Pravda (in April 1925) urged that the "economic possibilities of the well-to-do peasant, the economic possibilities of the Kulaks, must be unfettered". The Commissariat for Agriculture of the Georgian Soviets, in harmony with the prevailing atmosphere in the ruling strata of the party, elaborated a project for the denationalization of the land. In the Ukraine, the supporters of the Stalin-Bucharin ap-

paratus gave birth to the highly ingenious idea that if "the worst comes to the worst", the Soviets could "withdraw" to the position of the "Old Bolshevik" slogan of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry! In 1926, the Kulak course of Stalinism was pushed so far that—although it was later repealed under Opposition pressure—the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets granted the vote to exploiting peasants, again, to the Kulak. In all this period, the belated present-day upholders of the Five Year Plan "as against Trotsky", not only had industrialization and collectivization furthermost from their minds, were not only its staunchest opponents, but actually steered a directly opposite course.

In 1925, that is, even before the 1927 platform of the Opposition bloc, comrade Trotsky once more wrote in detail about the tremendous possibilities which the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a proletarian dictatorship offered for the progress of socialism, even on the basis of an isolated workers' state. In "Wither Russia?" he advanced the idea that even with an independent reproduction based on socialist accumulation, the Soviet republic could show a speed of industrial progress unknown and impossible under capitalism. His prediction of a possible 20 percent annual growth (and six years later this was proved to be an entirely moderate figure, entirely attainable), was the subject for great merriment among the functionaries assembled at one of the party congresses, caused by the "ironical" ridicule which Stalin showered upon the prediction. The official position was instead, expressed by Bucharin who put forward the perspective that Russia would build socialism "with the speed of a tortoise", at a snail's pace!

The Platform of 1927

The 1927 platform of the Opposition was the most elaborate and definite proposal it had presented to the party, and this was undoubtedly one of the reasons why it was so rabidly attacked. It was officially suppressed by the bureaucracy, which refused to print it. Its circulation in mimeographed form was made a crime punishable by imprisonment for exile, and numerous are those in Siberia today for having distributed the ideas which Stalin was himself compelled to adopt in large measure two years later. In the Platform, the Opposition demanded a categorical condemnation of the first Five-Year Plan elaborated by Rykov and Krzhizhanovsky, and adopted by the party leaders. This timid, worthless plan proposed an annual growth of 9 percent for the first year and a decreasing percentage subsequently until it would reach a 4 percent growth at the end of the plan. The bolder proposals submitted by the Opposition, which later was proved to be infinitely more realistic and applicable, met with just as strong a condemnation from the Stalinists. On all sides the Opposition spokesmen were taunted by the bureaucrats with the question: Where will you get the means?—although the expenditures for industrial development proposed at first by the Opposition were greatly exceeded when the current Plan finally got under way. And when the Opposition presented its proposals for raising the means by a forced loan from the Kulaks, by a lowering of prices based on cutting overhead and the bureaucratic apparatus, by a skillful utilization of the foreign trade monopoly, etc., the bureaucrats raised a loud hue and cry against the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists".

In the days of the French revolution, it will be remembered, the reaction sought to overthrow the rule of the city artisans and revolutionary petty bourgeoisie by inciting the peasants against them, by arousing every one of the backward, reactionary prejudices of the French peasants against the "predatory capitalist." Such a course is a distinguishing feature of anti-revolutionism. And true to themselves, the bureaucracy which had come to the top on the basis of the post-1923 reaction, made use of the same methods. Stalin, Rykov and Kuybyshev signed a manifesto to the whole Russian people announcing to the peasants that the Opposition proposed "to rob the peasantry". The lesser bureaucrats carried on an even more reactionary propaganda

THE ARESTS IN SPAIN

BARCELONA, SPAIN.—

The arrests of May 30 are one of the most scandalous cases ever registered in the history of arbitrary action under the Spanish "democracy".

The publication of *El Soviet* is legally authorized and according to the law, our weekly has, like all other papers, an official headquarters for the editorial staff and the administration. Comrades generally come to the editorial office to take up questions related to the work on the paper, to speak with one of the editors, to get copies of the paper, to submit subs, etc. But unexpectedly, the police raids the headquarters and arbitrarily arrests all present there on one matter or another.

The inspector who directs this raid, is somewhat embarrassed to find that the biggest group in the offices does not constitute more than 11 persons, so that he actually has no motive to launch the accusation of a secret meeting. (According to the law, 18 or more people constitute a meeting.) But what difference does the law make in this most democratic of republics! All present—to the number of 21—are arrested. They are brought to the police prefecture and then they are jailed in Modelo Prison in Madrid, indicted for holding a "clandestine gathering".

It is true that secret meetings have been made into a custom and that they do not even observe formalities to give a legal appearance to the arrests. Every day, the press brings notices that secret meetings of 9, 7 and even 3 individuals have been raided, while the "law" considers a secret gathering a meeting of at least 18 individuals.

The "illegality" of these arrests is manifest. In our case, the most evident proof that the indictment lacks absolutely any base whatsoever is seen by the fact that none of the prisoners was interrogated by the judge. They were put at the disposal of Cesares Quiroga (the Police Minister) and are to remain in jail as long as he will keep them there.

Naturally, to us the arbitrary actions of the bourgeois republic are not surprising. We predicted and announced it when all the anarchists were misled by democratic illusions. But we demand to be told clearly whether we have the right to maintain our headquarters, to edit our paper and if we are answered in the affirmative, if we are to enjoy the privileges that all papers enjoy—or whether the authorities are determined to stamp out the influence of the Left Opposition.

Here is the list of the arrested comrades: Andres Nin, Paulino Roig, Jose Metge, Enrique Fernandez, Andres Sanchez, Emilio Hehrnan, Francisco Gomez, Ramon Galfre, Maximo Carricero, Diego Pastor, Juan Rubio, Narcise Molins, Carlotta Duran.

By our CORRESPONDENT.

Prize Contest

We offer a full set of the collected works of J. Stalin—vest pocket edition—to any party comrade who will identify the author of the following lines. As a special prize to Lenin School students we offer—the full Stalin interview as given to Emil Ludwig.

"But to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and establish that of the proletariat in a single country is still not to assure the complete victory of socialism. The chief task the organization of socialist production, is still to be accomplished. Can we succeed and secure the definitive victory of socialism in one country without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? Most certainly not. The efforts of a single country are enough to overthrow the bourgeoisie: this is what the history of our revolution (the October revolution—Ed.) proves. But for the definite triumph of socialism, the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country alone are not enough, particularly of an essentially rural country like Russia; the efforts of the proletarians of several countries are needed. So the victorious revolution in one country has for its essential task to develop and support the revolution in others".

Watch for the right answer in next week's Militant.

Pamphlets Wanted

If comrades throughout the country will send us their spare copies of *The Draft Program, World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan and The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany* we will be able to make up an additional number of Bound Volumes of the pamphlets. To the comrades who send them in, we will give credit against their copies of the Bound Volumes. *Problems of the Chinese Revolution, What Next?* or any of the other works by comrade Trotsky.

PICNIC! PICNIC!

For the Benefit of the Spanish Youth Opposition Paper The Spanish Opposition Youth, growing daily, have reached the point where they are ready to publish their own youth organ, *Joven Espartaco*. They depend upon us for financial aid. Let us show our solidarity with them! Let us make this picnic a grand success! Proceeds to be forwarded to *Joven Espartaco*. Under the auspices of Spartacus Youth Club. Remember the date: SUNDAY, JULY 10th, at 10:00 A. M. Place: TIBBETTS BROOK PARK

A FREE COPY of PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION with A YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE MILITANT

For the period of the summer months only we are offering to the subscriber a free paper bound copy of the *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* with a year's sub to *The Militant*. As the edition is limited to 1200 copies we may be forced to withdraw this offer before the summer is over. Comrades who want to take advantage of this offer must act quickly.

Enclosed please find check.....money order..... for \$2, for which send me *The Militant* for one year beginning with the next issue, and a free paper bound copy of the *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*. Name Address City State

THE MILITANT

84 EAST 10th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

The next article will deal with the breaking up of the Right-center (Bucharin-Stalin) bloc and the ultra-Left zig-zags of Stalinism.

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

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The Slogan of the Defense of the U.S.S.R.

The sharpening world economic crisis has already passed over to a semi-open conflict between the imperialist powers, first in South America and then in Asia, and has now drawn into this orbit the fate of the Soviet Union, through the German situation, the Manchurian developments and the internal economic effects flowing from the contradictions. In such a trying period the defense of the Soviet Union must be of first consideration for every Communist. The Communist party has rightly considered it its duty to lead the struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union. But the leaders have left unanswered the question of how to defend the Soviet Union.

Since Stalinism has gained control of the C. I., and the Soviet Union the slogan of the Defense of the Soviet Union has been thrown around fast and furious. Day in and day out, in America, the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union" rings in our ears. One would think, as if by magic, this slogan will throw a spell over the world and create an iron ring around the Soviet Union. But one only needs to remember: "We" can build socialism in one country "if" we can prevent intervention, and then we can understand why this slogan is used in such large doses. On the false basis of the theory of socialism in one country sprouted the misuse of the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union."

Propose of Slogans

Slogans are not abstractions above the ebbs and flows of the class struggle. To issue slogans for the establishing of Soviets after the revolution has turned its back or to issue slogans for the Soviet to seize power before the vanguard and the class are prepared, is to make a mockery of revolutionary slogans. Centrism and the Right wing have used this slogan year in and year out—because there is danger of intervention. In this same period the Soviet officials, including Stalin, have informed us that world Capitalism and the Soviet Union can exist peacefully side by side. The contradictory position of the C. I. and the Soviet officials flows logically from the wrong theory of socialism in one country.

Capitalism will never cease its struggle against the Soviet Union. The form of the struggle changes from time to time. In periods of economic war between the two systems, the constant use of the slogan converts it into so many hollow words, transforming sections of the C. I., from fighting units for the overthrow of their own capitalists, to auxiliaries to prevent intervention against the Soviet Union. In times when economic war is being transformed into open military war against the Soviet Union, the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union" has meaning. Even then it will have to be concretized. Centrism has converted this slogan into a meaningless phrase.

To defend the Soviet Union one must know HOW to defend our fatherland. We all agree it cannot be accomplished the "socialist" way. The "socialists" issue the slogan, "Hands off the Soviet Union" and then the Second International's representatives in the capitalist governments render full aid to the imperialists in their struggles against the Soviets.

Right & Centre Misuse Slogan

We must also realize, on the other hand, the Right and Centre wing of Communism in using the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union", and then turning around and advocating, opportunist or adventurist policies in China, in Spain, in Germany and the rest of the world are in words, but not in action, defending the Soviet Union.

Marxism is not distinguished from opportunism merely by abstract slogans. Slogans must have revolutionary content and be issued to fit the concrete situation. How could the Chinese workers and peasants defend the Soviet Union in 1926-27? How could the E. C. of the C. I. defend the Soviet Union in the Chinese Revolution? How could the world proletariat defend the Soviet Union in the Chinese Revolution? Not by repeating in prayer-like fashion the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union". The only way the Communists could defend the Soviet Union and all that goes with it was by pounding out and executing a Marxist policy in the Chinese revolution. The Right-Centre bloc failed in this task and persecuted and expelled the Left Opposition for advocating the only policy that could materially defend the Soviet Union and the World Revolution.

Scare Headlines on Manchuria

For over a half year the Daily Worker has presented scare headlines on the Manchurian situation with countless columns of news but not one Marxist analysis of its relation to the world situation. In the last two months the Japanese army has been advancing toward the borders of the Soviet Union. The danger from the side of Japanese imperialism has grown in the last two months. But the way the Daily Worker has handled this problem, the Communist followers' consciousness has been dulled rather than sharpened.

An analysis of the process of Japanese consolidation in Manchuria, a necessary base for an attack on the Soviet Union; the relations of the East to the European allies and the events in Germany would keep the world proletariat informed at each step, enabling us to take the proper steps to defend the Soviet Union.

The defense of the Soviet Union cannot be satisfied by the slogan of "Defend the Soviet Union." To defend the Soviet Union one must concretize slogans for each situation. For this purpose, one must approach the problem, not from the position of building socialism in one country, but from the position of the world revolution, from the standpoint of the Permanent Revolution, which also

makes necessary the industrialization of the Soviet Union as rapidly as possible. A Chinese revolution, a Manchurian invasion, a Spanish revolution and a struggle for power with the Fascists in Germany calls for different methods, forms and slogans in order to defend the Soviet Union.

Civil War in Germany

When Civil War threatens Germany, when the C. I. policies in Germany need a complete overhauling when a Fascist victory in Germany will mean a direct threat of death hanging over the Soviet Union—the world-wide use of the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union", without a word or analysis, without pointing out the road to struggle is the best way how not to defend the Soviet Union, how to make a joke out of the slogan.

The Communist League of America, the Left Opposition stands in the forefront in the struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union by standing in the forefront of the international class battles, analyzing, pointing out and leading the way in the struggle for a correct Marxist line, within the Soviet Union and throughout the world.

—H. O.

Bonus Battle

(Continued from page 1)

passenger train from Cumberland on. Instead, the freight cars were stranded somewhere in one of the damp cold Allegheny valleys. All night long the hungry men shivered with cold. The next morning, the cars were taken through Cumberland where the men protested the double crossing of railroad officials. (Other contingents had similar experiences.) They demanded they be put on a passenger train, as promised. The petty officials passed the buck, one to the others. Finally the men were again put on a freighter for Washington and for the hospital.

Under those conditions, the government officials fear an epidemic will break out, which of course is likely. But the prescription of the government doctors is not that the government should provide sanitary camps, cots and decent food, but that the men should disband.

What these experts really fear is an "epidemic" of protests demands and militant action. These chivvies, these bureaucratic Canutes are trying to stem the gathering revolutionary tide. They are working day and night to intimidate the soldiers, to break them up and keep them isolated from the twelve million unemployed and the organized working class, with whom, and only with whom they can solve the question of bread, work and freedom. They can solve it only by the overthrow of the capitalist system that threw them into the butchery of the last war, and is now cynically throwing them on the scrapheap, like so much useless machinery.

Vets in Militant Mood

"Did the United States ever have ragged soldiers?—Not until today," reads one slogan. "Millions for war—not a cent for the hungry." "We need cash—not a tombstone"—these are typical slogans across the rusty dilapidated autos about the camp. "What are you going to do, Uncle Sam?", asks another.

During the day I was there, there were several rallies. The men were addressed by some pious congressmen, who promised to work for the passing of the Bonus Bill. They cheered him loud and strong every time he assured them they'd win their demand. The sergeant who was beside the congressman conducted the cheering, as though the men were at a schoolboys' rally. Toward the end of the proceedings, this sergeant was handed a telegram from Father Coughlin promising a \$5,000 contribution—on one condition—that it would not be used for the benefit of the reds and other radicals. (These Christian fathers!)

"Just imagine who it is from," spoke the sergeant who grins with every congressman and secret-serviceman, "Just imagine, from Father Coughlin!—Hip, hip, boys, now three cheers!"

After the cheering he continues, "If you'll fight clean, if you'll fight upright and stay away from these communists, we'll get more contributions and nobody will go hungry."

While he was speaking, a "regimental commander", a fat pug, flanked by two "bulls", was going through the crowd, stopping to speak to small groups. "Look here boys, if any of the Communists open their mouth, go bluff—right in the mouth!" He thrust his fist out to show them how. The sergeant on the speakers' stand was shouting, "Fight clean, fight upright, stay away from these Communist people. All here who are against the Communists say: Aye! Hip, hip!"

Now, the first cheer was loud, but only at the outer portions of the crowd. The second was distinctly muffled. The third cheer fell almost dead; the soldiers refused to raise their voices and although you did not hear it, you felt the muttering and rumbling of the men.

The secret-servicemen and the "regimental commanders", as I've said, are doing everything to prevent the issues from being brought before the soldiers. Openly and secretly they are intimidating the men. Of course they can't liquidate the one demand for cash in the palm of their hand—which is their one strength. And it may be this demand, now that the bill is defeated, that will be the piercing point that will cut a path to the other sections of the organized working class. Meanwhile they are isolated—soldiers of fortune. They are like a mass of dangling roots in mid-

Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

present situation in the following terms: "Never has there been a clearer demonstration of the part that the accumulation of capital . . . plays in normal business activity. Every promise of sustained improvement in the industries making goods for personal consumption has failed of realization because supporting improvements in the 'capital goods' industries has not occurred."

Yes, the capital goods production—production of means of production—failed to improve. And quite naturally so. Just remember the enormous production capacity now unused. This is the constant part of capital which in the process of accumulation increases much more rapidly than variable capital (labor power). In other words there is already such a huge overproduction of capital—of means of production—to the extent that they serve as capital.

One can get a glance from another angle of the capital investment problem by merely taking a look at the figures of new capital emissions. According to Otto P. Schwarzschild, president of the National Statistical Service Inc., the total new financing in the United States (stocks and bonds, but not including municipal bond issues) for the first five months of this year aggregated \$229,078,000. This compares with a total for the first five months of last year of \$1,600,697,000; and for the same period of 1930, of a total of \$2,869,090,000. From this first crisis year till today there is a drop of 92 percent in capital emissions.

These figures illustrate but once again the fact that during times of crisis the demand for industrial capital seriously diminishes. And yet the "wise" capitalist rulers speak of the expansion of credits to start the wheels of industry turning! For them, however, the question still remains: how are they going to "break the backbone of the crisis?"

The Government's Part

"The government must first bring its house in order", insists the Wall Street bankers. "The budget must be balanced", was their demand. Now it is balanced—at least, it is a sort of a balance. Provisions are made for supporting the policy of credit expansion. But this credit expansion, instead of turning the wheels of industry, goes into loan capital to pay previously contracted obligations. So, in other words, the government becomes a more active guarantor for these loans advanced to pay interests and principal to the marauding brigands of Wall St. The budget balancing has extended taxation to make up for the expense; and, of course, the excursion into the field of indirect taxation met with some success. The sales tax schemes were finally, in the main, put over, leaving the collections for payment of the bills a broader field, embracing all who are still in a position to buy.

Apparently the so-called relief bills pending before Congress are also making progress. The ideas of those senators and representatives, who champion the interests of the petty bourgeoisie, to secure large appropriations for public works, are rather violently frowned upon. That would be too much like a dole. The Wagner bill now before the Senate meets the favor of those representing the higher brackets of present society. It provides for \$300,000,000 in loans to the states—a drop in the bucket even as charity for the millions of unemployed. It provides for \$500,000,000 for public works—to be spread over a long period of time. It provides for \$1,500,000,000 in debenture for loans to what is called self liquidating enterprises, this to be administered by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The Problems Still Remain

The government is surely putting its house in order and following closely the most hopeful designs of the Wall Street pirates. Further enormous sums in credit expansion are to be made available with the hope that the wished for business expansion will result. But there is still a long way to go and that depends entirely on different factors. To recapitulate some of these factors are: (1) Restoration of confidence, within capitalism, in the continuity of the process of reproduction. This is not a mere abstract problem; it involves such questions as markets, profit rate, etc. (2) Raising of the present level of commodity prices. This in other words will mean, at least, a degree of inflation which is practically on the way. (3) Checking the fall in the rate of profit by further increase of capital and thus increasing the mass of profit. This is the crux of the problem. It spells an increase in the intensity of exploitation and further depression of the wage level.

In this we consider only the home front; there still remains for consideration such questions as prospects in the world market. But these indications alone bear witness to the coming higher composition of capital and with it the greater intensity of competition and of class conflicts. They indicate the enormous contradictions in preparation for the next stage.

—ARNE SWABECK.

(Another article in this series will follow next week, dealing especially with the world markets and some prospects—Ed.)

air, and lest they shrivel and die, it is extremely necessary to carry them over to the soil of the revolutionary proletariat.

The soldiers are ready to listen to us. We must win them over. Concentrate your work on Washington.

—EX-SOLDIER.

A Political Biography of Stalin . . .

by LEON TROTSKY

Editor's Note

The Daily Worker last week published Stalin's interview with Emil Ludwig, in which the infallible, the best disciple of Lenin spouts freely the wisdom of latter-day Bolshevism. Among other things, he hurls another of his notorious stink-bombs against comrade Trotsky. It suffices to characterize the Best Disciple by reprinting the following lines from "Materials for a Political Biography of Stalin", written some time ago by our comrade—Ed.

Eight years of struggle since Lenin; eight years of struggle against Trotsky; eight years of the regime of the epigones, first the "three", then the "seven", and finally the "one"—this entire significant period of the decline of the revolution, of its ebbing on an international scale, of the lowering of its theoretical level; brought us to a, in the highest degree, critical point. In the bureaucratic triumph of Stalin a great historical period is culminated and, at the same time the inevitability of its defeat in the near future is indicated. The culmination of bureaucracy foretells its crisis. It may be very much swifter than its growth and rise. The regime of national socialism and its hero come under the blows not only of inner contradictions, but also of the international revolutionary movement. The world crisis will give the latter a series of new impulses. The vanguard of the proletariat will not be able and willing to suffocate in the clutches of a Molotovist leadership. The personal responsibility of Stalin is fully involved. Doubts and anxiety have entered the souls of even the most trained ones. And Stalin cannot give more than he has. He is threatened with a descent which may prove to be swifter in proportion to the artificial character of his ascent.

In any case Stalin is the central figure in the present unstable period. The characteristics of Stalin have a great political interest in connection with the course of the sixteenth congress. The present issue of the Bulletin is devoted to a considerable extent to a characterization of the chief of the apparatus, as a political worker and as a theoretician.

In the following lines we want to contribute some material to the political biography of Stalin. Our material is extremely incomplete. We choose the most essential from what we have in our archives. But in our archives, as yet, many essential, maybe the most important material and documents are temporarily missing. From the archives of the police department which intercepted and copied in the course of decades the letters of revolutionaries, documents, etc., Stalin in the course of the last years has meticulously collected material with the help of which he was able on the one hand to maintain a hold on insufficiently reliable friends, throw a shadow on opponents, and, primarily, protect himself and his adherents against the publication of these or other excerpts or episodes which would damage the false monolithism artificially created by their

Back Numbers of Militant Wanted

Some time ago we issued an appeal for missing back numbers of The Militant. As a result of this appeal comrades in different parts of the country sent in what they had and we made up a number of files which are now on sale. We are sure that comrades still have in their possession extra copies of the numbers we need. If they will send them in at once we will be able to make up an additional number of files. We need not emphasize the financial importance of the sale of these files to us. It is obvious.

The numbers we need are: Vol. 1, No. 1, November 15, 1928; Vol. 2, No. 4, February 13, 1929; Vol. 3, No. 31, October 1, 1930; Vol. 4, No. 2, January 15, 1931; Vol. 4, No. 10, May 15, 1931.

We need all of these numbers, but at the moment we need the last one a little more than the others. A little more than a year ago we made up a number of files of The Militant from Vol. 1, No. 1 to the last issue of 1930. Comrades who bought these files have been waiting for bound files of the subsequent issues.

We need about thirty of the missing issues for 1931. Comrades, don't wait. Send in all of these issues that you have at once.

What Next?

On August 1 What Next? will be off the press. Work is going forward on it steadily and rapidly. We would like to get it off sooner because of the swift pace of the developments in the German situation. Whether we can do it depends to a large extent on the response to the China book and to the number of paid advance orders that our comrades can get NOW. Every advance paid order moves the date up a little.

The book will be approximately 150 pages. It will be put up in paper covers at 50 cents each, and in cloth at \$1. The usual reduced rates for bundle orders will apply.

Now comrades it is up to you! If you want to see WHAT NEXT? out sooner than August 1 help us by pushing the China book and by getting paid advance orders for WHAT NEXT?—NOW.

biographies. These documents we do not have. The extreme inadequacy of our information must be kept in view, in appraising the following material.

• • • • •

1. On December 23, 1925 the following police information was published in the party organ, *Zaria Vostoka*, by Stalin's closest friends: "From the information received by me again from the agency, Djugavshvili was known in the organization by the nicknames, Soso and Koba; worked from 1902 in the social democratic party organization first as a menshevik and then as a bolshevik, as a propagandist and leader of the first district (railroad)." In reference to this police information about Stalin published by his adherents no refutation has appeared anywhere, as far as we know. From this information it transpires that Stalin began his work as a menshevik.

2. In 1905 Stalin belonged to the bolsheviks and was taking an active part in the struggle. What were his views on the character and perspectives of the revolution? As far as we know there are no documents in circulation on this account. No articles, speeches, or resolutions by Stalin have been reprinted. Why? Obviously because the republication of Stalin's articles or letters for that period could only damage his political biography. There is no explanation of the stubborn forgetfulness of the "chief's" past.

3. In 1907 Stalin took part in the expropriation of the bank of Tiflis. The mensheviks following the bourgeois philistines expressed indignation against the "conspiratorial" methods of bolshevism and its "anarcho-Bianquisism". We can have only one attitude toward this indignation: contempt. The fact of taking part in a resolute, tho only partial blow at the enemy can add only honor to the revolutionary resoluteness of Stalin. It is astonishing, however, that this fact has been removed in cowardly manner from all the official biographies of Stalin? Is it in the name of bureaucratic respectability? After all we think not. It is more likely for political reasons. For, if participation in expropriation in itself cannot compromise a revolutionist in the eyes of revolutionists, the false political appraisal of that situation compromises Stalin as a politician. Separate blows at the institutions of the enemy, including "treasuries", are compatible only with the revolutionary offensive of the masses; i. e., with the ascent of the revolution. When the masses are retreating, partial, separate, partisan blows unavoidably degenerate into adventures and lead to demoralization of the party. In 1907 the revolution was receding and the expropriations degenerated into adventures. Stalin, at any rate, showed in that period that he was unable to distinguish between high and low tides. He will disclose in the future more than once (Rethonia, Bulgaria, Canton, the third period) incapability of political orientation on a broad scale.

4. Stalin, from the time of the first revolution leads the life of a professional revolutionist. Prisons, exiles, escapes. But during the entire period of the reaction (1907-11) we do not find a single document—article, letter, resolution—in which Stalin formulated his own appraisal of the situation and its perspectives. It is impossible that such documents do not exist. It is impossible that they are not preserved, if only in the archives of the police department. Why don't they appear in the press? It is perfectly obvious why: they are unable to strengthen the absurd characterization of the theoretical and political infallibility that the apparatus, which means Stalin himself—creates for itself.

5. Only one letter of that period, due to oversight, got into the press and it entirely confirms our hypothesis.

On the 24 of January, 1911 Stalin wrote to his friends from exile. This letter was intercepted by the police department, was reprinted on December 23, 1925 still by the same more servile than wise editorship of the *Zaria Vostoka* (Dawn of the East). This is what Stalin wrote: "You have certainly heard about the 'tempest in a teapot' abroad; blocs—Lenin and Plechanov on one side, and Trotsky-Martov-Bogdanov on the other. The relation of the workers to the first bloc, as far as I know, is favorable. But in general the workers are beginning to look with contempt on the work abroad; let them climb on the wall to their hearts' content; in our estimation those should work to whom the interests of the movement are dear, and the rest will happen." This, in my estimation, is for the best."

This is not the place to consider how correctly Stalin defines the composition of the blocs. The question is not in this. Lenin led a fierce struggle against legalizers, liquidators, and opportunists, for the perspectives of the second revolution. This struggle determined fundamentally all the groupings abroad. But how does the Bolsheviki Stalin appraise these battles? As the most helpless empiricist and unprincipled practicalist: "a tempest in a teapot; let them, so to say, climb on the wall; work, and all will be well." Stalin welcomes the frame of mind of theoretical indifference and the unimaginative superiority of the near-sighted practicalists over the revolutionary theoreticians. "In my estimation, this is for the best", he writes, addressing those moods that were characteristic of the period of reaction and downfall. We have in this manner in the person of the Bolsheviki Stalin not even a political

conciliationism, for conciliationism was an ideological current which strove to create a principled platform.—We have a blind empiricism which entirely disdains the principle problems of the revolution.

It isn't difficult to imagine what a castigation the editorship of the *Zaria Vostoka* got for publishing this letter, and what measures were taken on a general governmental scale to prevent such letters from appearing in the future.

6. In his report at the seventh plenum of the E. C. I. (1926) Stalin characterized the party's past in the following manner: ". . . the history of our party if taken from the moment of its birth in the form of a Bolsheviki group in 1903, and traced through its subsequent stages up to our time; can be said without exaggeration, to be a history of the struggle of contradictions inside the party—there is not and cannot be a 'middle' line in questions of a principle character—". These imposing words are aimed against ideological "conciliationism"; in relation to those against whom Stalin led a struggle. But these absolute formulas of ideological irreconcilability are entirely contradictory to the political physiognomy and political past of Stalin himself. He was, as an empiricist, an organic conciliator, but particularly as an empiricist he did not give his conciliationism a principled expression.

7. In 1912 Stalin contributed to the legal paper of the Bolsheviki, *Zvezda* (The Star). The Petersburg editorial board in direct struggle with Lenin, issued this paper at first as a conciliationist organ. Here is what Stalin wrote in the programmatic editorial: ". . . we will be satisfied if the paper, not falling into the political infatuations of the different fractions, will successfully defend the spiritual treasures of the democracy, on which at present obvious enemies and false friends are boldly encroaching" (Revolution and C. P. S. U. (B) in "Materials and Documents", Vol. 5, page 101-102).

The phrase about political infatuations of different (!) fractions is aimed wholly at Lenin, at his "tempests in teapots", at his eternal readiness to "climb on the wall", out of some "political infatuations."

Stalin's article, in this manner, entirely coincides with the vulgar-conciliationist tendency of the above quoted letter of 1911, and wholly contradicts his later announcement of the impermissibility of a middle line in questions of a principle character.

8. One of the official biographies of Stalin proclaims: "In 1913 he was again exiled to Turuchansk, where he remained until 1917." The Stalin jubilee number of *Pravda* expresses itself in the same way: "The years of 1913-14-15-16 Stalin spent in exile in Turuchansk" (*Pravda*, December 21, 1929). And not a word more. These were the years of the world war, the collapse of the Second International, of Zimmerwald, Kienthal, of the deepest ideological struggle in socialism. What part did Stalin take in this struggle? Four years of exile should have been years of intensive mental work. The exiles in such circumstances keep diaries, write tracts, work out theses, platforms, exchange polemical letters, etc. It is impossible that Stalin in four years of exile did not write anything on the fundamental problems of the war, the International, and revolution. But it would be futile for us to look for some traces of Stalin's mental work during these astounding four years. In what manner could this occur? It is perfectly obvious that if only one single line could be found where Stalin formulated the idea of defeatism or announced the necessity of a new International, this line would have been published long ago photographed and translated into all languages, and enriched with learned commentaries by all the academies and institutions. No such line was found. Does this mean that Stalin did not write at all? No, it does not mean this. This would be entirely incredible. But this means that among all the material written during these four years there was nothing, absolutely nothing, which can be used to-day for the strengthening of his reputation. In this manner the years of war, when the ideas and slogans of the Russian revolution and Third International were forged, proved an empty space in the ideological biography of Stalin. It is very probable that at that time he spoke and wrote: "Let them climb on the wall there and arrange storms in a glass of water."

9. Stalin arrives in Petrograd with Kamenev about the middle of March, 1917. *Pravda*, directed by Molotov and Shlapnikov, had a vague, primitive, but nevertheless "left" character directed against the provisional government. Stalin and Kamenev put aside the old editorship as too left and took up a thoroughly opportunist position in the spirit of the left mensheviks: (a) support of the provisional government as far as; (b) military defense of the revolution (i. e., the bourgeois republic); (c) a union with the mensheviks of the Tseretelli type. The position of *Pravda* in those days presents indeed a scandalous page in the history of the party and in the biography of Stalin. His March articles which were the revolutionary result of his meditations in exile explain perfectly why not a line from Stalin's works from the war epoch have appeared up till now.

(To Be Continued)