## EDITORIAL NOTES

CENTRIST-RIGHT WING UNITY?

may be somewhat surprised to learn about the secret unity negotiations between the Party C. E. C. and thes same "renegades", which have been going on now for some time. The letters printed on another page of this issue of The Militant from two sources, give the essential facts about these negotiations. Behind a barrage of official denunciation of the Lovestoneites on the one side, and accentuated protests against the "ulra-Left course" on the other, the chiefs of the Centrist and Right wing factions are calmly talking business together. This much is clearly established. Of course the Party members, who-so to speak-have an interest in the matter, were neither consulted nor informed about the negotiations. It has been a long time since the bureaucrats of Stalinism found it necessary to take the Communist workers into their confidence or to seek their approval before an ac-

There is nothing really surprising, from a political standpoint, in the fraternal conferences of the Right wing and Centrist factions. Neither is there any principle barrier to an actual consummation of the unity between them, although this does not appear the most probable outcome at the moment. The theoretical of socialism in one country. Lovestone's "exceptionalism" for the United States is only an American translation of Stalin's exceptionalism for Russia. Revolutionary internationalism is a dead letter for both. Stalin doesn't care a fig for the policy of the American party as long as its support for his regime in the Russian party is assured. Lovestone will vote for anything in Russia, China, Germany, and all the rest of the world as long as he can have the American party to play with. In this mutual accomodation of special interests there is the basis for a bargain. It happened before. Why can't it happen again? Such are the real thoughts in the minds of the horse-traders as they sit down quietly together to talk over terms.

Lovestone would prefer to wait for further developments in the American movement before taking any decisive steps one way or another. But he is not allowed to forget for a moment the fearlid on a steaming kettle. The debacle of the Right wing on an international scale could not fail to have powerful repercussions within the Lovestone group which includes not a few workers de The reaction of these workers against the orientation toward Muste and the S. P. "militants" convinced Lovestone that a decisive step in that direction could not be made without great internal difficulties. The shuttling back and forth between the Left-reformist groups and the Partywhich characterizes the Lovestone politics reflects the contradictions within the membership which have already resulted in numerous defections and small

The Stalinists are not restrained from another deal with Lovestone and Co. by scruples over principle, since they have 10 principles; or, to put it more precisely and correctly, no principles of their own Their entire equipment in this respect consists of ideas furnished to them by the Right wing and those borrowed in the Left Opposition and misapplied. They have not been by the method of routine denunciation. state, Heyle, and reported widely by the when capitalism rapidly developed to- ist movement.

In the trade union field, and especially The Party members who have taken in the strategically important sector of Hoyle, they stored the dynamite for the the official fulminations against the the needle trades, the Lovestoneites, Lovestoneite "renegades" in good faith, feeding on the crude errors of the Party and adapting themselves to the pseudoprogressive wing of the bureaucracy, Stalinists confronted with a collapse of berg after he had been arrested, never have strengthened their position. The Stanmats controlled with a compase of published his expulsion and why Love-teaching, the significance of which we present epoch. seeking a way out by means of maneuvers and deals. Why not a bargain with Lovestone, which includes-it must be

remembered—Zimmerman? Who is there to object to such a proposition in the leading circles of the Party, and for what reason? Certainly not those who shared the responsibility for the whole perfiidious course of Lovestone over a period of years and only left him at the last moment, under comprinciple grounds can hardly come from Foster who, we are informed in a re- no more standing there than the houndlieves in the "third period" trade union policy as much as we believe in reincar-

and is incapable of formulating one, to attempt to "put the finger" on the Loveappropriate, in whole or in part, the stone group. The thing, like a policeizational defeat. The "defeat" of Buch- bord, who published this rotten provocaarin and his retention in the Party was tion, advertises himself as a Communist; followed by a swing to the right. Let more than that, as a leader of Communthe revolutionary workers in the Party ism; and still more, as an "adherent look out for such a "defeat" and "capi- of the International Left Opposition". tulation" of Lovestone and his group.

## WEISBORD BLOWS THE WHISTLE There are more ways of judging lead-

ers and would-be leaders of the revolutheir programs and theses, just as there horns. Sometimes a little act is more revealing as to the real character of a a hundred promises. A few weeks ago we mentioned Weisbord's action in taking his erstwhile comrades to court in has offered to us on the art of "leaderspection. Now the same Weisbord, in order perhaps to throw a clearer light on the merits of his messianic claims, has demonstrated, by another action, his conception of how to wage the revolutionary struggle against the class enemy. For those who haven't read the theses, it

Struggle we read the following remark- Workers' Club, the Lithuanian Workers' able summary of the marine workers' Club, the Jack London Club and the trial, in which Weisbord, starting in Newark Branch of the Communist League where the State's Attorney left off, in- of America (Opposition) were the orvokes the testimony of the police stool- ganizations represented at the meeting. books were eagerly bought by the workpigeon, Hoyle, against the Lovestone The speeches were delivered by comrades ers who are getting ever more interested

press, that when he went for the dynamite with Sodeberg he went from 'A Communist hall on East 27th Street' (which could be none other than Lovestone's headquarters) with several girls and in a car driven by a certain doctor. When the dynamite had been procured and they had returned, according to night and part of the next day at the same headquarters.

"If this evidence is correct, then we see why Lovestone who expelled Soderstone . . . later entered the defense can begin to perceive today, but which himself. Did he feel they were all in reImains to be fully recorded only by the same boat?" (Our emphasis).

Let us rub our eyes and read this over court of working class opinion. It has onward to higher goals. class verdict of the jury.

It is just the possibility that some unoffer two words of comment.

Right wing on principle grounds with the method of political argument ad- sumed life and blood during the first dressed to the workers; Weisbord blows stormy period of the capitalist cycle, the whistle for the cops. Between these when capitalism rapidly developed totwo methods there is a chasm that no ward a position of mastery. It had as

May 5 is one of the notable days in tion and the industrial revolution in the annals of working class history. That England. It therefore took form essendate, in 1818, inaugurated a period which tially as a summing-up of the developclosed with March 14, 1883, and em- ing conditions. The Marxian system, braced the life-span of the greatest which, of course, takes into account the party. From the founding of the Comthinker of our epoch, and for that mat- discoveries of certain preceding thinkter of all times, the life-span of Karl ers, is a logical conception of the main Marx. It became a life-span of profound social and economic phenomena of the

future generations. Karl Marx belongs to the revolutionagain. Hoyle, whom Weisbord gives the ary proletariat. It alone can properly letariat emerged definitely as a class, but 1875 in the criticism of the Gotha proeuphemistic title of "witness for the appreciate him and his life's work. It state", is the stool pigeon and provoca- alone can carry forward the great heritteur whose "evidence" sent the three age which he has left it and which today main events must be mentioned in the Marx was occasioned by the program marine workers to prison for long terms. enables it to stand erect, conscious of first instance: The revolutions and coundraft for the fusion congress of the two Everything he said on the witness stand its growing maturity and of its true posiwas denied by the three workers in the tion as the life-beating pulse of mankind. ent, the organization of the First In- and the Eisenachers. Marx subjected dock, and by that fact the testimony It is that heritage which lends the dir- ternational and the Paris Commune. Each that compromise program draft to a

cent article by Minor, is now "the fore- ing demagogy of the district attorney, realms of thought and action, was a pro- to the proletariat and with scorching Here we have, through a whole chain most leader of the Party". Foster be- the biased rulings of the judge or the duct of his age. His birth almost coin- criticism virtually burning up the adver- of events and activities, conclusions comcided with the stormy ushering in of saries. He attained to mastery of each pressed into a theoretical system, each But Weisbord is not satisfied merely the capitalist stage of society. His life situation and drew the fundamental lesnation after death. Foster once proposed to put Hoyle on the witness stand again became dedicated to the elaboration of sons which became the future guide for The essence of Marxism stands out toa bloc with Sigman. Why should he in the columns of his filthy sheet, and the theoretical system which bears his the proletarian revolutionists. Today we day as incontrovertibly as when progulp over a bargain with Lovestone and to dress up the stool-pigeon as a dig- name. A system built entirely upon the can follow that counsel and trace its claimed in the final paragraph of the nified "witness for the state". He has dynamics of the material world and it- logical development; how it shaped and Communist Manifesto: The whole affair is a shocking reve- to bring out some of his testimony more self throwing new life-giving fermenta- took form and was put to the test in lation of the hollowness and futility of clearly and to give it new implications tion into human society and setting new the fire of these important events of the their views and aims. They openly dethe official Party campaign against the against others in addition to those al- forces into motion. A system which has class struggle. Right wing. Those who were deceived ready sent to prison. To Hoyle's refer- stood the test in storm and in stress, by this "left turn"-which was calculated ence to "A Communist hall on East 27th which has been assailed by its critics, tions in the same—the reactionary theory to disorientate the proletarian elements Street", he finds it necessary to add in calumniated by its enemies and cunningin the Party and arrest their development parenthesis: "Which could be none other ly revised by the sleek soldiers of forin the direction of the Left Opposition—than Lovestone's headquarters". And tune who picked the proletarian movemay begin to come to life again and re- then he sharpens up the police-tip with ment as a fruitful hunting ground. But examine all that has transpired. There the observation that "if this evidence is after each assault, after each effort to are signs of this. A unity with the Right correct" (when was the evidence of a blunt its edge, it emerged again, bolder wing even though it takes the form of stool-pigeon ever "correct"?) it shows in conception and more clearly underan organizational capitulation, as in that "they were all in the same boat", stood. This is because it is not consti-Russia-will not be without a serious There is very litle need for a revolu- tuted of scholastic or dead formulas, political effect. It is the method of tionist, or for an ordinary militant work- each one to be applied separately, be-Stalinism, which has no independent line er for that matter, to comment on this cause it is a live theoretical system covering the whole range of the social and revolutionary sciences. A theoretiplatform of opponents after their organ- man's badge, speaks for itself. But Weis- cal system which cannot be understood when viewed merely in its separate parts, but only when viewed as a whole, as a solid structure from its foundation stone to the roof.

> system it is necessary first of all to in collaboration with Engels-the Comsuspecting worker might take these pre- learn to approach its study with the munist Manifesto. tensions at face value that impels us to Marxian method of viewing all material things in motion. The purely static, or The Left Opposition is opposed to the scholastic approach will get us hopelessly

—J. P. C. its immediate background the two im-

Oppositionist Speaks at Party United Front Meet Society and two one-act play were ren-

dered by the young comrades of the Jack London Club, the one entitled "Scottsboro" making an especially great imone who had read his "theses", this per- May Day Committee. The Communist pression upon the audience. A revoluformance will help to explain them; for Party, the Unemployed Council, the Hun- tionary poem was recited by comrade garian Sick Benefit Oragnization, the Matilda Nagy (of the Opposition) and there were musical numbers on the pro-

A large number of Militants was sold and distributed by the comrades of our Newark branch and our pamphlets and West and Freeman of the Party and in the great principle questions raised "It was stated by the witness for the comrade Louis Basky of the Left Op- by the Left Opposition in the Commun-

portant events, the great French revolu-

Karl Marx, a towering giant in the vening with clear and decisive counsel sence of his concepts.

cialism and made himself acquainted world to win." with the ideas of the utopians. He We recall that many have been the become converted to his views. It openthe February revolution of 1848 in France To understand properly the Marxian it accepted the program written by Marx.

conflict with the anarchist schools of can still attempt to distort. thought-from the purely petty bourge- tionists will have nothing in deed of Bakunin, and finally with the and in its real essence. anti-authoritarians—forms some of the most strenuous chapters of Marx's life.

While Marx had nothing but disdain and scorn for the vulgar economists of his time he set to work patiently at the herculean task of unraveling the economic laws of the various stages of society. For the study of these laws he lebert in France and ends with Ricardo gle restored to its proper basis. in England and Sismondi in France. He This is the significance of the debate stripped this material of its idealist veil to be held at the New York Labor Temof the capitalist economic laws being ple, 14th Street and Second Avenue, on

laws dictated by historical relations of production corresponding to a given degree of development of the material forces of production. What had so much puzzled this school of economy Marx discovered and embodied in his concept

But above all Marx participated in building the revolutionary proletarian Communist Manifesto, there is a continuous thread of building and teaching. It next appears in the lessons drawn from the fateful events of 1848-50. Again, The tumultous events of the class in the theoretical and practical work struggle during the active, mature life within the First Infernational, beginning of Mark became the great historical with 1864, in the serious lessons drawn laboratory, from which not only the pro- from the Paris Commune and finally, in which also helped to work out and to gram. This criticism which can perhaps mand of Stalin. A serious objection on of Hoyle is completely discredited in the ective force to a working class moving step of development Marx followed, not merciless criticism in which he again as a mere onlooker, but actively inter- summed up in brief sentences the es-

"The Communists disdain to conceal clare that their ends can be attained only Marx kept in intimate contact with by the forcible overthrow of all existand studied the social and economic con- ing social conditions. Let the ruling cepts and movements which had pre- classes tremble at a Communist revoluceeded him and of his time. He had tion. The proletarians have nothing to early become influenced by Freuch so- lose but their chains. They have a

utilized what was progressive in them attempts to construct a new system and but quickly settled account with their invest it with the name of Marx by tearabstract "eternal truths" and "pure ing out of their context some casual rereason". He assumed the leadership of marks made by Marx on episodic questhe first international revolutionary or- tions in order to destroy the real essence ganization of proletarians, the Commun- of the system itself. As a part of the ist League, which, when transformed general foul revisionism, we know, it from the Federation of the Just, had brought disastrous results to the proletarian movement of the Second Interly proclaimed itself a Communist organi- national. Most outstanding were the atzation, and finally settled with its old \*empts to distort, to cover up and to remystical concepts, when shortly before pudiate the concept of the proletarian dictatorship and to substitute for it the peaceful democratic means at all costs. Often, in accomplishing this, was recourse, and for that matter still is being, taken to the observation made by Marx studied the conspirative prole- Marx in the seventies on the possibility tarian organizations of France, and else- of peaceful revolution in England and in where, which were mainly influenced America, leaving out, of course, Marx's ers and would-be leaders of the revolu-tionary labor movement than to read Right wing group of Lovestone; and Weis-tionary labor movement than to read hard as the above created testimony going projectories impulse and revolutionbord, as the above-quoted testimony going proletarian impulse and revolutionful insecurity of his groups position. their programs and theses, just as there would indicate, is not at present friend- ary spirit penetrate every fibre of our of minority, conspirative action of could indicate these two countries as there is shaking under the pressure of the length of their by to it. But there the similarity of posiare more ways of judging Texas steers by to it. But there the similarity of posi-material and mental make-up. That Blanqui. He soon concluded that these possessing certain exceptional characteristics; and it is from actual conditions, The Marxian system took form and as- had witnessed the development, both of from the specific stage of capitalist rethe pure and simple trade unionism in lations that Marxian strategy and tactics England as well as that of the Chartist proceed in each instance. The conditions movement, which, during the brief per- of these certain exceptional characteriod of its existence, embodied, in an istics no longer exist today. That gives abbroviated picture, the whole course of the episodic character to such an obserthe proletarian struggle. The vehement vation which only reformist snivellers ois idealist, to the more revolutionary with that but will endeavor to comprebut narrowly futile propagandists of the hend the Marxian system in its totality

> -ARNE SWABECK. Another article on "Marx and Marxism" is to follow next week

made use of the discoveries already munism has been compromised by the made by the classical school of bour- ignorance of the official Stalinists and geois economy; which generally begins their abusive hooligan methods. This with William Petty in England, Boisguil- damage must be repaired and the strug-

"natural laws", and presented them as Saturday, May 14th, at 8 P. M.

## position. Revolutionary songs were sung by the Hungarian Workers Singing May Day was celebrated by the

HILLSIDE, N. J.—

workers of Hillside, N. J. Sunday afternoon in the Workers' Home of Hillside under the auspices of the United Front will make a study of them superfluous. Hungarian Workers' Singing Society, In the April 20th issue of the Class the Slavish Int. Lab. Defense, the Polish

## Stalinist Zig-zags on the Question of the «United Front» by LEON TROTSKY

Duesseldorf), who has come over to the Communist erations have matured who must recapitulate the exparty, spoke in the name of the party, in mid-January, perience of older generations, even though within a in Frankfort. In her official report, she said, "The greatly diminished scope. "The whole point of the leaders of the social democracy are sufficiently ex- matter is", Lenin coached the ultra-Leftists, "that we posed, and it would be only a waste of energy to con- must not assume whatever is obsolete for us to be tinue our efforts in this direction, with cooperation obsolete for the class, for the masses." from above." We quote from a Frankfort Commun- Moreover, even the older generation that did pass ist newspaper which lauds the report highly. "The through the experience of 18 years hasn't at all leaders of the social democracy are sufficiently ex- broken with the leaders. On the contrary, it is just posed." Sufficiently-so far as the spokeslady her- the social democracy that still retains many "old-timself is concerned, who came over from the social dem- ers", who are bound to the pary by loting standing ocracy to the Communists (which, of course, does her traditions. It's sad, sure enough, that the masses honor); but insufficiently-so far as those millions of learn so slowly. But in a goodly measure to blame workers are concerned who vote for the social dem- for this are the Communist "pedagogues" who have ocrats and who put up with the reformist bureaucracy been unable to disclose palpably the criminal nature of the trade unions.

report. In the latest proclamation to reach me, DIE attention of the masses is strained to its highest pitch ROTE FARNE (January 28, 1932) argues once again by mortal danger, to subject the reformists to a new that the United Front can be established only against and perhaps, for the nonce, a really decisive test. the social democratic leaders, and without them. Proof: "None will believe them who has lived through ion, of the social democratic leaders, we may and we vitally concerned in interfering with the growth in and has experienced the handiwork of these 'leaders' must say to the social democratic workers, "Since, on influence and power of this wing of German Fascism." for the last 18 years." And what, may we ask, is to the one hand, you are willing to fight together with If Hitler's party is "the most reactionary and most be done about those who have participated in politics us; and since, on the other, you are still unwilling to bestial" wing, then Bruening's régime is, at least, less

The former female social democrat Torhorst (from | Since the outbreak of the war, several political gen-

of reformism. The least that can be done now is to It is hardly necessary, however, to cite an isolated utilize the situation; and at the same time when the

Without so much as hiding or mitigating our opin-

Force your leaders to join us in a common struggle stealthily flirting with the theory of the "lesser evil". manner; as for us, we, Communists, are ready." Can anything be more plain, more palpable, more con-

In precisely this sense I wrote—with the conscious intention of arousing the sincere horror of blockheads and the fake indignation of charlatans—that in the war against Fascism we were ready to conclude practical military alliances with the devil and his granddam, even with Noske and Zoergiebel.

The official party, itself, violates its stillborn policy at every step. In its appeals for the "Red United Front" (with its own self), it invariably puts forward the demand for "the unconditional freedom of the proletarian press and the right to demonstrate, meet, and organize." This slogan is clear cut through and through. But whereby the Communist party speaks through all the layers of both parties and of the massof proletarian and not only of Communist papers, meetings, etc., it thereby, in fact, puts forward the slogan of the United Front with that very social democracy that publishes workers' papers, calls meetings, etc. To put forward political slogans, which in themselves include the idea of the United Front with the social democracy, and to reject the making of practical agreements to fight for these slogans-that is the height of absurdity.

Muenzenburg, whose practical horse sense occasionmany; and that all true left circles (!) are most less than 18 years, and even less than 18 months? break with your leaders, here is what we suggest: bestial and less reactionary. Muenzenberg, here, is man Proletariat)

for such and such practical aims, in such and such a To preserve a semblance of piety, he goes on to differentiate between different kinds of Fascism: mild, medium, and strong, as if it was a question of Turkish tobacco. However, if all "the left circles" (and have they no names?) are interested in the victory over Fascism, then isn't it imperative to put these "left circles" to a practical test?

> Isn't it self-evident that Breitscheid's diplomatic and equivocal offer should have been grabbed with both hands; and that from one's own side, one should have submitted a concrete, carefully detailed and practical program for a joint struggle against Fascism; and have demanded joint sessions of the executives of both parties, with the participation of the executives of independent trade unions? Simultaneously, one should have carried energetically this same program down

es. The negotiations should have been carried on openly in the eyes of the entire nation: daily accounts should have appeared in the press without distortions and absurd fabrications. Such an agitation by its directness and incisiveness would tell with far greater effect on the worker than the incessant din on the subject of "social Fascism". Under such conditions, the social democracy could not hide for a single day

behind the pasteboard pageant of "the Iron Front". \* The French periodical Cahiers du Bolchevisme, the most ally falls foul of "the general line", wrote in November preposterous and illiterate of all Stalinist publications, pounced greedily upon this reference to the devil's grand-(DER ROTE AUFBAU), "It's true that Natianol Socialism am, never suspecting of course, that she has a long standis the most reactionary, the most chauvinistic and the ing history in the Marxist press. The hour is not distant, most bestial wing of the Fascist movement in Ger- we hope, when the revolutionary workers will send their ignorant and unscrupulous teachers to serve their apprenticeship with the above-mentioned granddam.

-L. TROTSKY.

(To be Continued)

(From What Next?-Vital Questions for the Ger-