The Right Wing in a Blind Alley

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

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

The collapse of the Right wing on an international scale is undoubtedly the chief reason for this move to give up the brought into play against him. separate organization in America. A small item in the recent issue of the Workers' Age, announcing a session of the International Bureau of the Brandler "International", gives the most convincing evidence of this disintegration. It is stated there that a session of the Bureau would be meaningless without the participation of the American section. Swallowing the flattery, which contains not the least nourishment, the Lovestone politicians could not help asking themselves: "If the international organization of the Right wing depends on us what good is it?" A man who is unable to swim himself cannot help another who is drowning by jumping into the water after him. Besides, Lovestone was never a follower, of Christ, of whom it was said: "He saved others, himself he could not save". His motto is more modern and more American: "Look out for number one."

This philosophy can draw no comfort from the catastrophic situation of the International Right wing. Bucharin in Russian party capitulated to Stalin A number of the most prominent Brandlerists in Germany have gone over to the new Socialist Labor Party, while these ominous cracks, and a very signi- of these bound volumes should order Brandler and Thalheimer knock patiently at the door of Stalin. The leader of the Czechoslovakian Brandlerists—Neurath is breaking away in the direction of the tion and break-up. No progress, no internal consolidation, no firm ideology, no

The hopelessness, the futility, of the Brandler "International" becomes clearer day by day. No wonder that the Lovestone leaders, foreseeing the inevitable end-which, it must be admitted, prepare to desert the lost cause for an- Trotsky, made in an interview he grant- will be determined by the technical capother venture in the ranks of Stalinism.

The Case of J. T. Murphy

The sensational resignation of J. T. Murphy from the Communist Party of England, coinciding with a furious campaign against him in the official press is a striking illustraton of the fearful instability of the Centrist regime. Just think: Murphy was one of the founders of the Party, and an outstanding member of the Central Committee. He was poly capitalism which is beginning to pua wheel-horse of Stalin, not only in the trify within its own insoluble contradic-British Party, but in the Comintern as well, and won many decorations for his the Stalinist appointees, and with his colleagues of similar kidney, he symbolized it. Now, out of a clear sky, this died about so handily-"counter-revolutionist", "renegade", etc.-are falling on his own head.

how irresistibly, over what apparently company the entire history of capitalism. contradictory roads and even through the In the past periods, the curve of capital- ples of the danger facing them. For it instrumentality of the most hostile per- ism rose throughout all the variations of there is any force on our planet capable sons, a correct political idea will make the conjuncture. Today, it is declining. of "limiting" armaments on land and its way. Murphy lived politically, he This does not exclude variations of the sea, it is the desire of the masses of maintained his position in the leading staff for years, by virtue of his readiness to repeat every slander against Trotsky, to condemn every idea of the Opposition as counter-revolutionary. And then, such is the cruel logic of politics, he finds himself outside the Party because he can no longer condemn the Opposition slogan whole social system. of "credits for the Soviet Union"! What! irony! And what powerful testimony to the disarmament conference? Not the and completely at the disposal of the the force of that slogan of the Left Op- least. But in this, I am not an excep- Soviet government. As a precedent, we

acquiescence to the epigones' reaction. parable lesson for all peoples! The pro- tive part in the struggles. But not even a Murphy, it seems, could ject of France provides for the creation. remain wholly indifferent to the havoc under the mantle of the League of Nathat Stalinism has wrought in the British tions, of a new entente with the one Party. He ventured, after a very long aim of stabilizing the hegemony of stupor, to resort to independent thought French finance capital with the aid of an are reported regularly in the columns of about the problems of the British work- "international" army. ing class and their relation to socialist But the American project also does construction in the Soviet Union. And- not open any perspective. Present day THE MILITANT!

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

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

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

"Within a few hours of the appearance of the Daily Worker article (the statement of the Political Bureau against him -Ed.) resolutions equally denunciatory began to pour in without a single perbefore it was possible to become acquainted with the issues which had been

its approval of resolutions." Yes, that is the way it is done,--"the automatic, unthinking way". It has been going on for a long time now, and it is not without reason and explanation. The Prussianization of the Party-enforced the members and their confidence in the Comintern-was necessitated by the reactionary struggle against those who truly the Russian revolution. They could not and the Situation in Germany. wage this struggle successfully any these methods cannot stand. One crack the order in which they are received. after another appears in the foundation. Checks or money orders must accompany The case of Murphy signifies another of the orders. Comrades who want a copy ficant one too.

Cooperation in Elections to the Communist Party

District Party Election Campaign Committee.

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

Last year, our delegates were also refused participation in the Conference. Nevertheless, we conducted a series of open air meetings all during the local campaign, in which we called upon the workers to vote for the candidates of to refute them as they really stand with the Communist Party. Through our press and other means, we continued to

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

given to us-which we hope to receive by return mail. If none are officially given, we will again carry out activities as we did last year and before. Comradely yours,

> HERBERT CAPELIS. New York Branch of the Secretary Communist League of America

(Opposition)

BOUND VOLUMES OF PAMPHLETS FOR SALE

Bound Volumes of the following pamphlets by comrade Trotsky are now ready for sale: The Draft Program, Strategy of the World Revolution, World Unemson asking if I had anything to say, and ployment and the Five Year Plan, Problems of the Development of the U.S. S. R., The Turn in the C. I. and the raised. (This) is an indication of the Situation in Germany, Germany—the Key automatic, unthinking way in which the to the International Situation, The Span-Party machine operates and churns out ish Revolution, The Spanish Revolution in Danger, and Communism and Syndicalism. All these are bound in one vol-

ranged in the above order. Three of the by those who abuse the good faith of pamphlets in the volume are out of print and cannot be had except by buying the gram, World Unemployment and the Five represent the ideas nd the tradition of Year Plan, and The Turn in the C. I.

The number of bound volumes is limitthem at once. The price is \$2.00.

Left Opposition. Everywhere is stagna. Trotsky on the Disarmament Conference

required no special political acumen- light, the following remarks by comrade cular. The outcome of the future war tion. for all revolutionary workers.

In Reply to Questions Posed by the Chicago Daily News

(1) The fundamental cause of the crisis may be defined by a single word: be terminated with hollow phrases. The capitalism. The specific character of failure of the Geneva conference will this crisis is explained by another concept: imperialism, that is to say, monotions. The rise and fall of Ivar Kreuger serve society itself?

upon what is understood under the term to a more active policy, that is, to say The case of Murphy also illustrates crisis. Variations in the conjuncture ac- openly before the conference that which conjuncture in the future. On the con- the people. trary, these are inevitable. But the only end in the transformation of the the highly charged general situation. It

In view of the serious political wars are not conducted with the arms changes in Europe during the last few which the warfaring peoples possess on weeks, such as the elections in France the eve of war, but with those which and the fall of the Bruening government, they manufacture in the course of the the Lausanne conference, which is sched- war itself. The United States has, from uled to be held in the middle of June, this point of view, given a lesson to the takes on special importance. In this entire world and to Germany in partied the Chicago Daily News at the time acity of the belligerant countries. The of the current Geneva conference, are of more advanced the industrial developparticular interest for Communists and ment of a country the more interested is the country in a provisional "limitation" of armaments; for in such a case it will really be easier for it to provide its army with the necessities.

In the best case, the conference will constitute a new impulsion for course toward armaments and will amplify the war danger.

The Franco-Japanese policy, its bellicose as well as its "pacifist" side, is besymbolyzes all of capitalism today. The ing orientated ever more openly, not only official moralists are hurling their thun- against China, but also against the So-He preached the "monolithic unity" of der against the match king after the viet Union. That Litvinoff, at the Genevent. But he could have replied to eva conference, expresses the honest dethem: why have you permitted me to sire of the U. S. S. R. not to enter the dispose, according to my own wishes, of war, cannot be doubted by any attentive the productive forces, which under the observer. But I wish the Soviet dele-And those same epithets which he ban- direction of a humane society, ought to gation had devoted a moment to pass over from the technical peace proposals, Will the capitalist world order survive which even from an educational point the present crisis? The reply depends of view do not bear any great importance, is, and in this manner to warn the peo-

(3) The rumors in the press about present acute crisis can only be so at- my return in the near future, to the U tenuated that it will culminate into a S. S. R. do not rest upon any serious higher paroxism in the next immediate information whatsoever. It is much rastage. This whole tragic process can ther a matter of inventions caused by is needless to say that the faction to (2) Have I any hope of success at which I belong will put itself entirely tion. The French project is sufficiently can point out that in the period of the Murphy has not become a supporter characterized by the fact that it has been civil war of 1918-1920, Stalin, Voroshilov ists. Far from it. Not in a day, nor the same time that France supports the the methods of conducting the war that letariat? even in a year, can a man cleanse his bloody work of Japan in the Far East, I pursued in full agreement with Lenin. mind of the accumulated filth and poison Japan gratefully supports the pacifist in. This did not at all prevent the opposideposited through nine years of servile itiative of France at Geneva. An incom- tionists of that time from taking an ac-

> What is going on in Spain? Will Fascism succeed in Germany? These and other international events THE MILITANT by correspondents on the scene. READ and SUBSCRIBE to

N. Y. Opposition Offers Centrism «in General» and the Centrism of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from lait issue)

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

DANGERS OF WORKERS' BUREAUCRACY

We know from older books that workers' bureaucracy and workers' aristocracy is the social foundation the same time to bother about its "Bolshevik" prestige for opportunism. In Russia this phenomenon has taken on new forms. On the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat-in a backward countrysurrounded by capitalism-for the first time a powerful bureaucratic apparatus has been created from among the upper layers of the workers, that is raised above the masses, that lays down the law to them, that Such are the sources of the present Left zig-zags. has at its disposal collossal resources, that is bound The volumes are attractively bound in together by an inner mutual responsibility and that colored covers. The pamphlets are ar- intrudes into the policies of a workers' government its own interests, methods and regulations.

bound volumes. These are the Draft Pro- sity of a workers' government and therefore the his- zig-zag between Marxism and national reformism. The torical inevitability of a bureaucracy during a transi- oscillations of this bureaucratic centrism, in conformtional period. But we likewise understand the dangers ity with its power, its resources and the acute contrathat are inherent in this fact, particularly for a back- dictions in its position, have attained an altogether other way. But the structure based on ed to ninety. Orders will be filled in ward and an isolated country. The idealization of unheard of sweep: from ultra-Left adventurism in Soviet bureaucracy is the most shameful mistake that Bulgaria and Esthonia to the alliance with Chiang can be made by a Marxist. Lenin strived with all his Kai-Shek, Radich and Purcell; and from the shameful might to raise the party as a self-acting vanguard of fraternization with British strike breakers to a comthe working class above the governmental apparatus plete renunciation of the policy of the United Front in order to control, check, direct, and, purge it, plac- with mass organizations. ing the historical interests of the proletariat—international, not only national-above the interests of the ble, were it not for the fact that within all Communruling bureaucracy. As the first condition of the ist sections a self-sufficient bureaucracy-i. e., indeparty control over the government Lenin put the con-; pendent of the party-had been formed. Here is the trol of the party mass over the party apparatus. Read root of all evil! over attentively his articles, speeches and letters during the Soviet period, particularly for the last two years of his life—and you will remark with what alarm his mind turned time and again to this burning ques-

THE FUNCTIONARY REPLACES THE BOLSHEVIK

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

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

the bureaucracy deduces its right of primogeniture to from an organic jointure with the masses, the infalliinfallibility: how can the bureaucracy of a workers' state degenerate! The state and the bureaucracy are less it is prepared for a serious ideological battle, the thereby taken not as historical processes but as eter- more proficient it is in profanity, insinuations, and nal categories: how can the holy church and its god- calumnies. Stalin's portrait, "coarse" and "disloyal", inspired priests sin! Yet, if a workers' bureaucracy which raised itself over the proletariat, waging battle layer. in a capitalist society, could degenerate into the party of Noske, Scheidemann, Ebert and Wels, why can't it of the platform of the Bolshevik-Lenin- presented by the Tardieu government. At and others were in sharp opposition to degenerate after raising itself over the victorious pro-

> bureaucracy is conducive to a psychology which in so far as the bureaucracy hinders by its administramany ways is directly contradictory to the pschology tive zig-zags the defense of the revolution and of soof a proletarian revolutionist. Its own aims and combinations in local politics as well as in international as it disorganizes by its bureaucratic overlordship the politics are placed by the bureaucracy above the tasks of the revolutionary education of the masses and without any connection with the tasks of international rev-

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

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

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

The eccentricity of the situation arises not from the supposed and special immunity of the Soviet bureaucracy to opportunism and nationalism but from the fact that, being unable to occupy a thoroughgoing We are not anarchists. We understand the neces- national-reformist position, it is compelled to describe

These breakneck zig-zags would have been impossi-

WHEREIN LIES THE STRENGTH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

COARSENESS AND DISLOYALTY CHARACTERIZE THE BUREAUCRAT

Thus, throughout the entire Comintern a closed bureaucratic stratum is being created which represents distinguished by extreme instability in political rela-From the proletarian character of the government, tions. Bereft of assurance, which can be derived only ble C. E. C. suffices only for monstrous zig-zags. The as described by Lenin, is the personification of this

The characterization of bureaucratic centrism given above determines the attitude of the Left Opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy: a complete and unqualified support in so far as the bureaucracy defends the boundaries of the Soviet republic and the foundations The ruling and uncontrolled position of the Soviet of the October revolution; an outspoken criticism in cialist construction; a merciless resistance in so far struggle of the international proletariat.

> -L. TROTSKY. (From WHAT NEXT-Vital Questions for the