First of all, the party must give up

Secondly, it should utilize its present

Thirdly, the party must maintain its

independent position, patiently explain-

ing its objectives to the workers, making

# What Is Happening in the Soviet Union

Behind the scenes of the Stalinist apparatus a deep-going process is at work undermining the "monolithism" of the leading group which is narrowing down ever more threatening to the personality of Stalin. The official party press naturally maintains a censor-bound silence on what is going on in actuality. The present letter will give our readers an insight into some of the significant events taking

(Continued from last issue)

To all sorts of critical remarks and demonstrations of Stalin's ideological insufficiency, the average Stalinist replied. "Yes, all that may be true, but he sure is a sly boots; you won't break your neck following him." Moreover the successes of industrialization and collectivization covered up all sins. The sharp about face came with the aggravation concerning the situation in necessities, general formulas do not suffice. The Vuz nuclei, which as you are aware, are, or are reputed to be, the most reliable, i. e., those in which they swear by Stalin in every other phrase. But here is quite a novel fact, very symptomatic in the preing." This insolent reply was taken up by the assembly with open sympathy. despite the presence of the members of the nucleus bureau, who pretended to be absent. The winged phrase, "You like Stalin, can see nothing", at once began to circulate about the town.

take on a passive and temporizing character. The average functionary adapts himself to the party mass in the sense that he denies Stalin the manifestations of enthusiasm. Many episodes on this subject are circulating. Each one in it- bureaucratic circles spoke a great deal self is not very important, but taken with significance after the conference, together they fill in the picture. I was "Stalin kept quiet because there is a divpersonally a witness to one of these incidents. On February 23, Stalin attend- gards the spheres of domestic and foreign ed the Bolshoy Theater. Such visits are, policies." The Japanese provocations of course, always prepared for, not only shook up the party and the working class. from the point of view of security (which Some decisive steps on the part of the is self-evident) but also as regards the Soviet government were awaited, but at proper "reception". In recent years the the same time there was doubt abroad plaudits of the clacque invariably called lest a provocation be instigated. All fically great with the party mass, and and their existence as recluses, their now compelled to somewhat change its it be so construed as to take into account and their existence as recluses, their now compelled to somewhat change its it be so construed as to take into account the course of the course of the working the course of the course forth the support of a considerabe num- awaited and sought for courses to take. among the number there are apparatus ber of the theater-bureaucrats. On Feb- But no instructions were forthcoming. retainers also. "Now, there are men!" ruary 23 Stalin's appearance was met, I personally heard in the course of a before my own eyes, with an icy silence, single day in several places the jocular Evidently the clacque itself, fearful of phrase, "We must ask L. D. to rush infalling through, did not give the signal structions post-haste." Such ironical for the plaudits. However, what is more formulas circulate very rapidly around significant, is what takes place in this Moscow, sometimes from above down, at Muralov arrived in Moscow, on personal Muralov arrived in Moscow, on personal Marxian and an agronomist, he very tions, including their leaderships, to the the unemployment problem in such a marxian and an agronomist, he very took to the opportunity of the control took it will strongthen the internaings, at festivals, conferences, etc. At certain sense the course was outlined and elections of honorary presidiums, or in received. The 25-26 number of the Bulsending of collective greetings Stalin's letin with the article, "Germany - the name appears obviously first. But while Key to the International Situation" untwo years ago the pronouncement of this doubtedly produced a restraining effect name was met with applause (the more upon the bureaucracy. References to violent, it is true, the more select, i. e., this article penetrated into the party the more official the character of the from different sides. If above, on the assembly) now on the contrary the roll question of the Far-East policies there call headed by Stalin's name calls forth were really disagreements, then they no "enthusiasm".

the entire situation and in the bitter ex- consider this to be entirely correct. perience. At present wide circles in the party and in the Soviets are becoming more and more convinced that what obtains "is a great master on little things". Of course, even three years ago those Communists who at least could put two the party now is such a closed corporaand two together took stock quite clearly tion as to almost prevent any penetra- the press. And at reduced prices. When by Henri Lacroix-What Is Trade Union phlets sell at two for five cents. of the fact that after he had consummated the organizational struggle against life into the layers beneath. And thereto Prussia reached us we sat down and the Left Opposition, Stalin then grabbed the inner fights take place not in official went over our figures carefully to see its platform as life-saving anchor. But institutions such as the Politbureau, the whether we could not reduce the price even this was not debited against him. C. E. C. etc., but within the four walls and thereby make possible a quicker and "Sly-boots"-that was the honorary epi- of the general secretariat, in the inner- wider sale. The result is the price anthet bestowed upon Stalin by the functionary, and it was often repeated after the functionary by the worker.

Among the academic youth, the auth- BULLETIN ority of Stalin as a "theoretician" has fallen greatly. Everyone knows how long and with what persistence he strove to assure his theoretical reputation. Various flunkeys, like Milonov, the former theoretician of the Workers' Opposition, have inscribed, it is true, Stalin among the "Marxian Classics" just as Schvernik enrolled him among the geniuses. But amidst our students and our Red professors, notwithstanding how this audience has been depraved by the Stalinist regime, there are still to be found not a few honest and clear young minds, and, in the last analysis, it is they who determine the unofficial public opinion of the proletarian students, and the cream of the working class in general. Stalin's far-famed report in the Society of Agronomists has cost him dearly. Trotsky's ing, of course, can interfere with those criticism has reached few directly, but indirectly, through intermediaries, it has the Bulletin in their heads. From them received orders for a few. We want to penetrated into rather wide circles. But, the ideas of the Bulletin circulate into remind our readers that our supply is indeed, we ourselves, "have grown beards too." There is no lack of people among to, the official press deems it necessary comrades who want a copy should order us who are well acquainted with the Marxian system. No matter how the scandalous Stalinist report was advertised in the press, (Pravda even celebrated in its time the anniversary of the world-historical report) the results obtained were the opposite: the more solid academicians in the apparatus refer to the report with restrained but significant smiles: within the circles of the most advanced youth, it has become the source of numerous jokes and anecdotes. STALIN'S DISCREET

### SILENCE

ence Stalin did not utter a word. His tween the lines. In nine cases out of in Danger. In Spanish we have the fol-

A Letter from Moscow

THE STATE OF THE S

thereto a fatal one. In the party, this

conference was awaited not without agitation. None, of course, presupposed that the assembly of functionaries could change or revive anything. But all were convinced, that at the conference, the tong-silent leader of the party, would speak out his thoughts on the contemporary situation. In the course of the winter, I happened more than once to listen in Moscow, as well as in a provincial industrial town, where I chanced to pass a few weeks, to discussions on the theme as to what Stalin thinks of the situation in Germany, of the worldwide crisis, and of the international position of the Soviet Union. "Why does he keep mum?" many asked each other. "Now is time that he should speak out in Hyitch's manner" . . . To this the of the situation in necessities. "Hunger more solid interlocuter would ordinarily is an aunt to none." In deliberations reply, "Just bide your time, he'll come out with it yet; why, the party conference takes place in a few weeks." Thus within the party and around it a firm conviction became established that Stalin was keeping a tight upper lip, in order. to speak out all at once at the party conference. The greater was the dissent atmosphere. In the nucleus of the enchantment that awaited the party. Af-Electro-Technical Institute, during a dis- ter each session, the delegates and visitcussion over the foodstuffs-situation, one ors were pestered by the query: And of the petty apparatus retainers made how about Stalin?-Nothing,-so far . . an attempt at an exposition to the effect How come? Don't know, perhaps he'll that "the situation was improving". Then speak out yet . . . the delegates replied and there one of the students threw in more and more wearily. Toward the reply, "You, like Stalin, can see noth- close of the conference, the delegates themselves began to become upset and began respectfully insisting that "the big-chief" make himself heard. But Stalin refused point blank. This really THE OPPOSITION IN was quite a shock to many. A few began to speak out, in their circles of The forms of declination from Stalin

Those more "informed" in the average ergence of opinion on top both as re- In another factory, the name of which I were solved obviously to the effect not The reason for this is to be found in to fall into Far-Eastern provocation. We

> Another disagreement among the heads touched evidently the question of restoring the domestic market. Molotov, it would seem, was against it. However, one must add that the upper crust of tion of information regarding its inner the news of the military dictatorship in most recesses of the inner circle.

### THE NEED FOR THE

Union a few hundred copies of each num- timely; it is priced low; it is the only er of the Bulletin, the situation in the Communist publication in this country party would take on another aspect. The on the present situation in Germany; it need of the critical elucidation of the is written by comrade Trotsky whose situation and of perspectives which was word is eagerly and attentively read by submerged in the period of "dizziness" the workers who have not been consuccesses, has now reasserted itself and vinced and never will be convinced that has taken on the character of a thirst. he is a counter revolutionist. And on But the Bulletin arrives in isolated and top of all this the book is offered free accidental copies. The bureaucratic as a premium with a sub to the Militant. tops, of course, read it. But the aver- Judging from the increase in sales of age party member gets a chance at a Germany-The Key to the International Bulletin only abroad. Seldom does any- Situation since the latest developments one decide to venture bringing in a new in Germany the new book could go very number in his pocket, for on this topic, fast. The thing to do is to hustle around as it is relayed to us, there have been and sell it. considerable unpleasantries even in the WHITHER ENGLAND? midst of highest dignitaries. But nothreturning from abroad of transporting England? by comrade Trotsky we have much wider circles. In addition there- limited (we received only thirty) and on all important problems to produce the it at once. slogan against "the counter-revolutionary GERMANY-THE KEY TO THE Trotskyism". In Pravda and in the Bolshevik, in the Leningrad Pravda, in the IN GREEK AND SPANISH provincial papers, in the Literary Gaz. ette, etc. one can always run across a and Spanish comrades that in our ancitation from the Buletin or a rehash of nouncement of comrade Trotsky's writone or another article. The Opposition- ings in foreign languages we omitted ists from this point of view, open a new mention of the fact that The Key can be number of the paper or cut the pages of had in these languages. new issue of a magazine with the thought uppermost, perhaps there is something copies of What Next? In Jewish we have about us there? The extracts, it is true, a supply of comrade Trotsky's open letare almost always twisted around, the ter to the C. E. C. of the U. S. S. R. on But even Stalin's purely political re- ideas are lied about, but after all these the subject of the deprivation of his putation has suffered exceedingly during years we have learned a great deal, and citizenship. In Italian we have a numthe last year. At the XVII party confer- among other things, how to read be- ber of copies of the Spanish Revolution

The letter which we publish here may be considered as entirely authoratative being written by a well-informed comrade in Moscow who is in a position to know what is taking place. The present issue of the Militant contains the conclusion of the letter and makes it possible for our readers to be oriented more intimately on such questions as the status of the collectivization movement, the internal party situation, etc.

tually have posed the question in the

Despite the unremitting organizational raids, the Left Opposition lives. Oppositionist units and groups are disseminated everywhere, and in many places considerable Oppositionist nests are uncovered. There was hardly ever in this world at any time or anywhere such difficulty for a genuine Marxist trend to carry on its work, in the technical sense, as there is for us at present in the Soviet Union. This is one of those vicious rate, it is better to serve as an honest functionary of the workers' state." But it appears that the Oppositionist idea finds its channels. As regards this sphere, I, of course, am compelled to be

### THE FACTORIES

ears of the rulers.

In the factory "AMO", during the comcourse, "Why doesn't he say anything? plications mentioned above, placards ap-Because he has nothing to say." It is peared inscribed, "Hands off the Working in such an atmosphere that the words Wage" and a portrait of comrade Trotof the student, "You like Stalin, can see! sky was hung up. The portrait was renothing" grew their wings with greatest moved by the administration. The import of this fact does not require commentaries. It is to the point to add that the factory "AMO" was not so long ago renamed after Stalin, but here too there is no crorespondence between found disquietude, the acute alarm of the official name and the actual content. prefer not to mentino, a portrait of Lenin was hung up, but drawn so that when approached from the sides it turn- both Christian Georgievitch and Alexaned into a portrait of Trotsky.

> The authority of those Oppositionists who neither bent nor broke is territrip was permitted in order to test his in particular. We shall miss very much ahead, initiating a mass movement. staunchness. One or two of the more indeed his judgments that were so serious and called forth nothing save praise, and join hands. "Atta boy, Muralich!" There were no Moscow.

interviews held. Muralov departed back In the beginning of March a search

was made in the house of V. D. Kasparova and her son; it seems that something found in the son's possession. Was it Lenin's testament perhaps? Or perhaps a copy of that letter written on his deathbed in which Lenin severed all comradely relations? Not a few "compromising" documents were left behind mise? K. E. Gruenstein and his wife much more presistency, pressing for a by Lenin. But whom do they comprowere also searched. They are in Saratoy. Stalin will not allow the old, irreproachable revolutionist Bolsheviks like Kasparova and the Gruenstein couple, etc., to draw a carefree breath precisely because he knows how great their authority is, and what respect their names

bear. It is good that such "old-timers" remain who were not rendered impotent and drained by three revolutions, decades of struggle, years in prison and hard labor, and who did not succumb to the bureaucratic milieu. But still the most the Oppositionist youth. In Sverdlovsk recently was discovered an organization jokes of history, on which the most ex- of 75 members, of them eight are already pert dialectician can break his teeth. The in isolation. Sverdlovsk is not an excepmore respectable part of the captulators tion. The arrests are almost unceasing, motivates its capitulation precisely in and serve as a gauge of the influx of this manner, "It is anyway impossible new forces to us. In the places of exile to carry on any illegal activities; at any are growing up ever newer and newer colonies of Bolshevik-Leninists.

#### RUMORS ABOUT RAKOVSKY

A few days, a rumor suddenly spread in Moscow about Rakovsky's death and exceedingly careful. I shal enumerate it produced a fearful impression, actutherefore only such facts as have already ally, oppressive. Is Rakovsky really received a certain publicity, or to put it dead? People asked one another with a more exactly, which have reached the kind of horror. It's impossible! In these words was expressed the thought that it cannot be that the crime committed by Stalin in relation to Rakovsky has become irreparable. Happily, the rumor was shortly proven unfounded. It is remarkable that three months ago the same kind of rumor was spread about L. S. Sosnovsky and produced approximately the same impression. The memory of Sosnovsky amidst the workers of Leningrad, Moscow and the Urals is very fresh and strong. It was a puzzle to me-whence do these rumors originate? I am of the opinion that they are born of the prothe wide circles of the party for the fate of their honored and loved comrades. incidentally, the last bulletin we have received from Barnaul is to the effect that dra Georgievna (Rakovsky's wife) suffer from heart fatigue, a great deal but demood is cheerful and optimistic.

---M. M. respect.

# Organizing the Jobless

ova and her son; it seems that something or other that was "compromising" was The Need for Change of Course in the Official Party Policy

Workers who have serious concern for the interests of their class cannot avoid the idea of a separate unemployment posing the timely question of what is to movement narrowed by artificial limitabecome of the unemployment movement. tions which demand that the party lead-With our advance toward the fourth ership and control be accepted in adcrisis winter it naturally enters with so vance. solution. No actual relief measures have as yet been obtained. The numbers of position of leadership in the Unemploythe unemployed army are mounting high- ment Councils to build a much broader er but the emergence of a serious move- unemployment movement. It should officially and genuinely propose to the trade ment is still lagging. Will anybody question the fact that unions, to the workers' unemployment

such a movement, to have real meaning, organizations of the various groupings should bring into its sphere of activity and to the Socialist party to join the unithe trade unions, the various existing un- ted front for unemployment relief. It employment organizations and the work- should particularly appeal to the workers ing class political parties. Or, to put it of all these organizations that they put more bluntly, the problem is to secure their leaders to the test by demanding the necessary unity of action of all of that their organizations join the united these working class sections to fight for front fighting for the needs of the unemconsoling fact is the new recruitment of actual relief measures and to advance the ployed. movement to a higher plane. This does not at all leave out of account the sharp differences of aims and objectives. Of course, these fundamentally opposing differences remain. There can be no common ground between the aims and objectives of revolution and those of reform. Nor can there be any community of interests whatever between the revolutionary party and the reactionary capitalist lieutenants now in control of the trade union official positions. Nevertheless the united action of the workers from all of these organizations remains the imperative need when obtaining unemployment relief is to be seriously contemplated.

#### The Various Relief Programs

In surveying these various organizations it is apparent that the pressure of working class need exerts itself everywhere. Hence there is a good deal of identity in the programs of immediate demands. While the objectives differ sharply the immediate needs stand out clearly. The various organizations demand immediate governmental relief. They demand unemployment insurance and the shorter workday. Reformists make these demands to obtain reforms within capitalism and to cater to the working class support, though when the support is obtained, they will without scruples betray their own reforms. The revolutionists advance the demands for the working class needs to obtain them and to advance the struggle toward its revolutionary conclusion.

Even the American Federation of Lamood is cheerful and optimistic. front. The Executive Council at its re-The report of Ryazanov's death, this cent meeting, in the swell resort of class as a whole and not only its senarsay even the antagonists. Others ex- time, unfortunately, was true. It shocked Atlantic City, instructed the meek Bap- ate sections. It must particularly harpress themselves even more directly, all his friends greatly, and they are not tist, Wm. Green, to draw up a program monize the needs and the objects of both "Real Bolsheviks!" Individuals like a few throughout the land. He was one for unemployment insurance. This rein-Radek evoke a genuine contempt, even of the firmest, purest and immutable of forces the foundation upon which the unite them into one common stream. within the bureaucracy. Recently, N. I. men, despite his grave illness. As a revolutionists must put these organiza- must recognize the international aspect of business, with the special permisson of attentively followed all the processes in actual test. It increases the opportun- way that it will strengthen the internathe authorities. It is possible that this rural economy and the collective farms ity for the revolutionary party to forge tional class solidarity and help to break

its tactics of the united front clear and constantly criticizing the reformist forces in the united front. The party has the duty of clarifying its revolutionary objectives by pushing the actual struggle for relief measures and demonstrating in practical experience that they can be only temporary measures, that the unemployment situation can find its final solution only through the proletarian revolu-In the Leninist party these elementary

requirements used to be accepted as the A B C of the movement. The fact that they have been forgotten, emasculated and pushed aside to give way to false policies makes necessary that they be re-stated again and again until accepted in practice. Mere lip service will not suffice, it is the actual practise which counts and it is the future life of the movement which is at stake.

We could well conceive of a structure for the movement in which the workers, employed and unemployed alike, are organized in the city block councils and centralized on a territorial or city wide basis into delegated bodies where the trade unions and other workers' organisations will send their representatives.

### On the Program of Demands

Naturally the program of immediate demands for a genuine united front movement will first of all reflect the pressing needs of the present situation. down the artifically erected national bar-If the party fails to do this it will riers. It must give articulate expression respectable capitulators were sicked and so well grounded both in theory and be on the penalty of the reformist forces to the community of interests of the onto Nikolai Tvanovitch. He replied, "If experience. So it is that life flows on, assuming uncontested leadership of the workers of the Soviet Republic and of you are all set to talk me over, there is bringing us sorrow and happiness, we re- unemployment movement which will then the capitalist countries. That is why no point to our meeting." This phrase main and some comrades are lost to us, develop without it and in spite of it. the Left Opposition has long since adimmediately made the rounds of Moscow and others, new and young, step forward It is therefore necessary that the party vanced the slogan of long-term credits without delay change its course in this to the Soviet Union. This has been rejected by the Stalinist leadership. But the continued failure to adopt this timely and correct slogan may easily play Revolution in Danger; The Last Peppery Unity?; What Are Shop Committees?; by into the hands of reformist demagogues Dish of the Cook, Stalin; The Five Year L. Fersen-What Is Trotskyism?; by Es. who may grasp it as an opportunity Plan; The Sparish Revolution; by An- teban Bilbao-Communist Unity; by Luis purely and simply to extend the capitalist market and endeavor to take it out of the realms of a working class issue. In all of this, it is necessary to em-

phasize again the importance of the demand for the Six Hour Workday Without Reduction of Pay. There could be no objections to its timeliness. Moreover, with the advance of the crisis and the permanency of unemployment, a serious movement for its attainment could above all draw into its orbit and unite in action the employed and the unemployed workers. This demand would become a potent weapon of the united front. It does not in the least, however, obviate nor conflict with the other demands. For example, unemployment insurance still remains as necessary and as pressing as ever. And suffice to add only the fact of the growing misery and destitution bringing to the fore more sharply the need for immediate governmental relief.

## The Party's Duty Is Clear

Illusions held of help coming from other sources outside of what the movement itself, by its pressure, can obtain, should soon be completely dispelled. The force of necessity will more positively propel the American working class into motion. The logic of coming developments will emphasize its community of interests and give it expression in the unemployment movement. From this point of view the position of the party assumes ever more importance which its leadership must not dare to fritter away.

Its duty should be clear. It is from the elementary needs and objectives that it must take its starting point. The genuine united front offers such a real starting point. It is a necessary prerequisite for the working class today without which it cannot hope to unify its forces for the greater revolutionary tasks. It is a necessary prerequisite for putting the misleaders of labor to the test and of finally separating them from their control and influence over large sections of the working class. It is the starting point to prevent their designs of sell-out and betrayals and to advance the class struggle to a higher level. The Left Opposition will fight with the party for these objectives.

-ARNE SWABECK.

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