

The Expulsion of Zinoviev

(Continued from page 1)

apt himself to the intellectual, cultural middle class and bureaucratic milieu. Stalin's role in this struggle bore a much more organic character. The spirit of petty-bourgeois provincialism, the absence of theoretical preparation, narrowness of vision—that is what characterizes Stalin, notwithstanding his Bolshevism. His enmity toward "Trotskyism" had roots much deeper than that of Zinoviev and Kamenev, and for a long time previously it had sought for its political expression. Incapable himself of theoretical generalizations, Stalin urged on in turn Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukharin and picked out from their speeches and articles whatever seemed to him most appropriate for his own aims.

The struggle of the majority of the Politbureau against Trotsky, which began, to a considerable degree, as a personal conspiracy disclosed all too quickly its political content. It was neither simple nor homogeneous. The Left Opposition included within itself, around its authoritative Bolshevik kernel, many of the organizers of the October overturn, militant participants of the Civil War, and a considerable stratum of Marxists from out of the student youth. But in the wake of this vanguard, during the first stages, there dragged along the tail-end of all sorts of dissatisfied, ill-equipped and even chagrined careerists. Only the arduous development of the subsequent struggles liberated the Opposition from its accidental and uninvited fellow way-farers.

Under the banner of the "troika"—Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin—were united many "old Bolsheviks" particularly those who, as Lenin advised as early as April 1917, should have been relegated to the archives; but there also were many serious underground members, strong party organizers who sincerely believed that there was impending the danger of Leninism being displaced by Trotskyism. However, the further matters progressed the more solidly and cohesively, the growing and intertwining bureaucracy rose up against "the permanent revolution". And it was this that subsequently guaranteed Stalin's preponderance over Zinoviev and Kamenev.

The fight within the "Troika", beginning in a considerable measure also as a personal fight—politics are made by people and through people, and nothing that is human is foreign to politics—soon, in its own turn, disclosed its content of principle. Zinoviev, the chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, and Kamenev, chairman of the Moscow Soviet, sought the support of the workers of the two capitals. Stalin's chief support was in the provinces and in the apparatus; in the backward province: the apparatus became all-powerful sooner than in the capitals. Zinoviev, chairman of the Comintern, cherished his international position. Stalin looked down with contempt upon the Communist parties of the West. He found the formula for his nationalistic limitations in 1924; socialism in one country. Zinoviev and Kamenev counterposed against him their doubts and refutations. But as it turned out, it was sufficient for Stalin to depend upon those forces which were mobilized by the "troika" against Trotskyism in order automatically to overwhelm Zinoviev and Kamenev.

Zinoviev's and Kamenev's past, the years of their joint work with Lenin, the international school of emigration—all this must needs have counterposed them inimically to that wave of self-dependency that threatened, in the last analysis, to sweep away the October revolution. The result of the new fight on top came to many as absolutely astounding; two of the most violent instigators of the hue and cry against "Trotskyism", ended up in the camp of the "Trotskyists".

In order to facilitate the bloc, the Left Opposition—against the objections and warnings of the author of these lines—modulated isolated formulations of their platform, and temporarily refrained from making official replies to the most acute theoretical questions. This was hardly correct. But the Left Opposition of 1923 still did not take

to the path of making concessions in essence. We remained true to ourselves. Zinoviev and Kamenev came to us. There is no need to recapitulate the degree to which the coming over to the side of the Opposition of 1923, of the sworn enemies of yesterday strengthened the assurance of our ranks and our conviction in our historical correctness.

However, Zinoviev and Kamenev, on this occasion as well, did not foresee all the political consequences of their step. In 1923 they had hoped, by means of a few agitational campaigns and organizational maneuvers, to free the party from the "hegemony of Trotsky", pushing all other things aside, and now it seemed to them that, allied with the Opposition of 1923, they would quickly cope with the apparatus and reestablish both their own personal positions, and the Leninist course of the party.

Once again they were mistaken. Personal antagonisms and groupings within the party had already become completely the tools of anonymous social forces, strata and classes. There was its own inner lawfulness in the reaction against the October overturn, and it was impossible to skip over its ponderous rhythm by means of combinations and maneuvers.

Sharpening from day to day, the struggle between the Opposition bloc and the bureaucracy reached its final limits.

Mill as a Stalinist Agent

The Left Opposition is placed, from an organizational point of view, in unusually difficult circumstances; not a single revolutionary party has ever before had to work under such persecution. Apart from the reprisals of the capitalist police of all countries, the Left Opposition is exposed to the blows of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which shrinks from nothing. We repeat, from nothing.

Naturally, the Russian section has the greatest difficulties. Everybody remembers that Blumkin, who tried to establish a connection between Trotsky and his adherents in Soviet Russia, was shot to death. To find a Russian Bolshevik-Leninist abroad, even to fulfill only technical functions, is extremely difficult.

Thus and only thus is the fact to be explained that Mill was for a time in the Administrative Secretariat of the Left Opposition: a man was needed who knew the Russian language and was capable of carrying out the duties of a secretary. Mill had been at one time a member of the official party and in this sense could claim a degree of confidence.

His work in the Secretariat, however, soon revealed his utter practical incompetence, not to speak of the lack of any political schooling. In the latter respect Mill incidentally was a typical represen-

tative of the great and small bureaucracy formed by Stalin.

With these qualities were associated certain negative traits of a personal, or more correctly, of a moral character. After having reached, in the absence of a wide choice, a responsible even if technical post, Mill felt himself to occupy the role of a "leader". With respect to a number of French comrades who are ten heads greater in stature than himself, he began to assert ridiculous claims. Under the mask of the offended Stalinist who had passed himself off as an "Oppositionist" appeared the personality of a little petty bourgeois from a distant small town of old Czarist Russia. Mill quickly went into opposition with the Parisian comrades, who in his opinion did not manifest sufficient respect to him and—this must be added—allegedly did not "attend" sufficiently to his welfare. These offenses were enough for the little Philistine to try to enter into a bloc with Rosmer and others, against whom he had—literally—only the day before carried on a bitter "principled" struggle. This unworthy, personally-motivated political turn, led to Mill's removal from the Administrative Secretariat. The sections, above all the Russian, corrected the mistake which had been committed.

The matter now, no longer concerned discussion, even if under the whip, but a break with the official Soviet apparatus, i. e., the perspective of an arduous struggle for a number of years—a struggle surrounded by great dangers and the issue of which could not be foretold.

Zinoviev and Kamenev recoiled. As in 1917, on the eve of October, they had become frightened at a break with the petty bourgeois democracy, so ten years later they became frightened of a break with the Soviet bureaucracy. And this was all the more "not accidental" since the Soviet bureaucracy was three-quarters composed of those same elements which in 1917 scared the Bolsheviks with the inevitable flop of the October "adventure".

The capitulation of Zinoviev and Kamenev, before the XVth congress, at the moment of the organized extirpation of Bolshevik-Leninists, was accepted by the Left Opposition as an act of monstrous perfidy. Such it was in its essence. Still, even in this capitulation there was its measure of lawfulness, not only psychological, but political. On a series of fundamental questions of Marxism—the proletarian and the peasantry, "democratic dictatorship", permanent revolution)—Zinoviev and Kamenev stood between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Left Opposition. Theoretical amorphousness avenged itself inexorably, as it always does, in practice.

(To be Continued)

Prinkipo, October 1932.

—L. TROTSKY.

which they had had forced on them to a great extent, as said before, by difficult objective conditions. In the course of the last nine months Mill stood entirely outside of the ranks of the Left Opposition.

But this was by no means the end of his career. As the irritation over inadequate support had driven him to Rosmer, so his removal from the Secretariat led to his negotiations with the Stalinists: he handed in an official application for employment in Charkov, where his relatives live.

In the course of these tempting negotiations, Mill proposed his services to the Left Opposition, evidently already in the course of his new political functions. Now Mill is preparing to "unmask" the Left Opposition: that will in fact actually constitute his employment in Charkov or Moscow.

There is no reason to fear that the little Philistine, who was expelled from the midst of the Bolshevik-Leninists with a discourteous shove, will play any role in the fight against the Left Opposition. The truth is not dangerous for us. And in the field of lying, the Stalinists have broken all and sundry records before Mill.

In one respect we can say the situation is becoming normal again: the Stalinist, somehow irritated by the other Stalinists, who temporarily fastened himself to the Left Opposition and was expelled from its ranks, comes back to the Stalinists. There he will be quite in his place.

—G. G.

Marx-Lenin School Opens in Chicago

Following the establishment in New York of the International Workers School, the Chicago branch of the Communist League has opened up the Marx-Lenin School, with headquarters at 2011 W. North Avenue, and a series of three courses which have already begun their enrollments.

The first course, which opened on October 26, and continues every Wednesday night, is instructed by comrade John Edwards on "Fundamentals of Marxism". There will be eight sessions, beginning with "The Capitalist System of Society" and ending with "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat".

A more advanced class began on October 27, and runs for ten sessions every Thursday night. It is a course on "Imperialism and the Proletarian Revolution", instructor comrade Albert Glotzer.

Glotzer will also conduct a course every Monday night, beginning November 20, on "The History of the International Youth Movement", of special importance and interest to the young militants.

The fee for any of the three courses is only \$1.50 and all workers interested are urged to get in touch with the director of the School at the address given above.

MILITANT BUILDERS

Our Club Plan

THE WINNER

As our comrades will remember, we offered a copy of the "Proletarian Revolution in Russia" by Lenin and Trotsky to the **Militant Builder** who stood highest in the staff in our anniversary issue. We are very happy to announce that the comrade is a newcomer in these lists. He hails from the Smoky City. Together with other local comrades and comrade Gordon who has gone there from New York he has been scouring the city for **Militant** subs. The comrade is P. Vomas.

Not far behind him are comrades Morgenstern from the down-town city, Philadelphia; and Dunne from Minneapolis. And right on their heels, stepping fast are two comrades from across the line, H. Nash from Montreal and W. Krehm from Toronto. The other comrades and the records of all are listed below. It's a very good performance.

KEEP UP THE RACE

Now suppose we keep right on with this race. We've got a flying start and it shouldn't be difficult to step it up considerably. Suppose we set the first of the year as the next lap of the race. We'll keep right on with these records. And to the leader at the first of the year we'll give a copy of "My Life" by comrade Trotsky.

MINNEAPOLIS IN FIRST PLACE

If Pittsburgh gave us Vomas, Minneapolis still stands at the head of the list of cities. And Chicago and Pittsburgh are in a tie for second place. Boston and Toronto are tied for fourth place with Philadelphia in sixth place. We are sure that before we reach the first of the year all of our branches will have entered their names in this list and New York which got away to a slow start will move up toward the head of the list.

MINERS' SUBS

We hope you haven't forgotten about our campaign for subs for the miners. We're still pushing it with results. This past week comrade Ross of Minneapolis sent in two dollars with a club plan blank with just one name on it. He asked us to fill in the names of three miners. We did with the result that a miner in Springfield, one in Taylorville and one in Hillsboro will receive the **Militant** regularly now for twenty-six weeks.

Comrade Carmody who has just returned from the Illinois coal fields tells us that the **Militant** is very well received there. He says that as soon as the miners get some work many of them will subscribe. But, he adds, they need help now; political guidance and a friendly word. This is our opportunity to sink roots among the miners. Here, if anywhere, redeem the prestige of Communism so far as we are able. One way to do it, and not the least, is to get subs for the miners. Use the club plan. Collect two dollars for four half-year subs. Or do what comrade Ross did. Get only one, or get two names, or even three. Send them in with two dollars and we will bring the names up to four from our list of miners who are awaiting for the paper. Step lively.

THE STAFF

V. Vomas	12
B. Morgenstern	8
V. R. Dunne	8
H. Nash	7
W. Krehm	6
H. A.	4
J. Hamilton	4
W. Konikow	4
O. Coover	4
S. Lessin	4
J. Sifakis	4
A. Joel	4
E. McMillen	4
A. Miller	4
J. Weber	4
J. Ross	4
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	4
C. Shechet	2

Notice the frequency of names from Minneapolis. They don't depend on one man up there for their subs. Everybody

goes after them. That's the way to do it. And notice the name of McMillen of St. Louis. If the past means anything here is a hustler come to life. Look out for Mac. Those who know say that when he gets started you can't see him for dust. We're waiting to see.

THE RECORD BY CITIES

Minneapolis	20
Pittsburgh	16
Chicago	16
Toronto	10
Boston	10
Philadelphia	8
Montreal	7
St. Louis	4
New York	4

New York is in the cellar but it won't be for long. On your toes everybody. We're coming up.

Next week the second phase of the club plan.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

REVOLUTIONARY LESSONS

We are just now in receipt of another shipment from England of that invaluable pamphlet by Lenin, "Revolutionary Lessons." Our comrades in England inform us that it is very difficult to get and they may not be able to get your copy if you don't get it now. The price stands at which it was \$25. There is no discount.

LENIN'S SPEECHES

In the same shipment we got eight copies of a cloth bound volume of speeches made by Lenin in 1917, 1918 and 1921. They include: We Must Have Peace. The Land to the Tillers of the Soil. The Nationalization of the Banks. The Dispersion of the Constituent Assembly. The Causes of the World War. From Nep to Socialist Russia, and—but we have whetted your appetite.

Remember that there are only eight and it will be first come, first served. The price is \$50 plus postage.

TWO NEW PAMPHLETS

In a week or so we are going to start work on two new pamphlets. One deals with the unemployment question and is written by comrade Arne Swabeck; and the other deals with the question of the nature and role of the Left Opposition. Both are much needed pamphlets. They will sell for very little, five or ten cents at the most. We will print them in large quantities. In the next issue we will be able to give more and accurate details. Watch for it.

LEON TROTSKY

Problems of the Development of the U.S.S.R.

Just as timely now as when first written. This is the thesis of the International Left Opposition on the Russian question drafted by our comrades and adopted by the League as its position at its second national conference a little more than a year ago.

The pamphlet deals with the Economic Contradictions of the Transition Period. The Party in the System of the Dictatorship, Dangers and Possibilities of a Counter Revolutionary Upeaval. The Left Opposition and the U. S. S. R.

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Nine Years of Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Burning Question of Thermidor and Bonapartism

(Continued from previous issue)

The systematic crushing of the leading party of the proletariat, without which the dictatorship cannot be exercised in a revolutionary sense, not only accentuates the danger of Thermidor in the Soviet Union but, at a given point, also the threat of Bonapartism. On the road of degeneration which leads to the counter-revolutionary triumph, Thermidor and Bonapartism do not present stages differing in their class foundation. In the Great French revolution, Bonapartism swiftly succeeded the 9th of Thermidor and the Directory. But this succession is as little ordained and inevitable as is the certainty of counter-revolution altogether; a fusion of the two stages, a modification of one or the other under the conditions of a new social epoch—these and many other possibilities are quite conceivable. Throughout the early years, Lenin kept reminding the party of the lessons of the French revolution and strove to overcome the forces which threatened the Russian revolution with a similar fate. Even more so today it is necessary to arouse the vigilance of the revolutionary movement so that it may perceive in time, distinguish the dangers at every stage and adopt the measures necessary to cope with them.

It has been pointed out that the Right wing in the Russian party had its strength essentially in the classes and not in the ranks, more specifically, not in the apparatus, of the party. The Right

wing was so easily crushed on a party scale because it was not prepared to make an open appeal for support to the class interests it represented: the kulak, and the Nepman dependent upon him. The victory by the Stalinist center over the Right wing triumvirate halted, for the time being, the advance of the Thermidorian forces, of those dark and backward agrarian interests which had been whipped up and nurtured in the reactionary years of struggle against the Left Opposition. Only this victory did not result in eliminating other, and more acute, phases of the counter-revolutionary danger.

While both the Right and the Left wings of the party in the Soviet Union represent well-defined class forces and interests, the same cannot be said of the Centrist apparatus. Classic petty bourgeois force, the graph of its policy reveals a broken line of leaps to the Left and to the Right which become shorter and more frequent with the aggravation of the crisis. It leans now upon the proletarian core of the country, as during the campaign against the Right wing, now upon the reactionary forces, as during the fight against the Left. It cannot find for itself a firm class foundation from which to operate; the closest it came to such a base was during the period of the idealization by the Stalin faction of the "middle peasant", a shifty social stratum which, far from serving as a solid class foundation, requires one

itself.

The Stalin faction, however, has its strength in the party bureaucracy: it is the party bureaucracy. In the process of watering down the party until it is a bloated, shapeless mass, the apparatus has at the same time raised itself above the party to an unapproachable level and constituted itself as a bureaucratic caste. The diffused party mass is unable to reach this caste in order to change it, or to have it reflect the interests of the mass itself. The apparatus, on the other hand, after having strangled the party, must stifle all life within itself. We say "must" because it cannot refer any disputes in its ranks to the party mass below for fear of unleashing a force that is inherently inimical to it. The whole bureaucratic system, consequently, moves inexorably to a condition where a decreasing number of individuals decide and speak for all; the number of these individuals today, to all practical purposes, is one, and his name is Stalin. What are still formally party organisms, in the words of Marx, "appear as reversed Schlemihls, as shadows the bodies of which have been lost." In its turn, the apparatus becomes a shadowy projection of the omnipotent Secretariat, or more accurately, of the General Secretary.

Devoid of a class basis, the apparatus is permeated principally with the desire for self-preservation and self-perpetuation. Its policies, in all their increasing feverish zig-zags, are subordinated essentially to this aim. The sickening Byzantine flattery of Stalin which is compulsory for every official, the conversion of the army and particularly of the G. P. U. into an instrument with which the Secretariat operates even more exclusively—combined with the suppression of workers' democracy in general and

party democracy in particular, that is, of the principal guarantees against a degeneration of the proletarian dictatorship—these are the signs of the present period in the Soviet Union. They reveal "the pre-conditions of the Bonapartist regime in the country."

Tacking desperately between the various classes and social strata, the apparatus satisfies none of them. In this fact lies the danger that the mounting discontentment of all sections of the population, and above all of the peasantry, will explode the very foundations of the Soviet power, that is, of the proletarian dictatorship. If the crisis breaks out into the open and reveals that the proletariat and its party have been so weakened that they cannot act decisively and victoriously then the counter-revolution will not likely assume the form of Bonapartism, of the iron man or men "standing above the classes" and apparently mediating between the contending forces, resting for the time being upon the strength of the military forces and the experienced cohesion of the bureaucratic apparatus. It is this prospect which reveals the Stalinist faction as the potential reservoir of the Bonapartist danger.

Superficial examination alone permits one to exclude this possibility, as well as the possibility of a Thermidorian overturn, on the ground of the so-called "liquidation of the kulak". If this were actually the case, the danger would undoubtedly be considerably diminished, although even then, not eliminated. But a more careful scrutiny will reveal that the "liquidated kulak" is still a substantial force, more threatening in this respect, that his present activities and progress are not only concealed behind the administratively established collective

farms but are facilitated by the rupture of the relations between town and country, worker and peasant, rendered inevitable by the whole course of the Stalin bureaucracy.

The French farmers, wrote Marx in his classic study of Bonapartism, "are unable to assert their class interests in their own name, be it by a parliament or by convention. They cannot represent one another, they must themselves be represented. Their representative must at the same time appear as their master, as an authority over them, as an unlimited governmental power, that protects them from above, bestows rain and sunshine upon them. Accordingly, the political influence of the allotment farmer finds its ultimate expression in an executive power that subjugates the commonwealth to its own autocratic will."

Such an executive power is present in embryonic form in the bureaucratic apparatus of the party and the Soviets. For it to be fully fledged as a Bonapartist ruling machine, it must first receive baptism in the blood shed by a civil war, that inevitable concomitant of the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship which the reaction cannot hope to avert. The overthrow itself, however can be averted, but only by restoring the party of the proletariat, the crushing of which has made possible the accumulation of all the internal contradictions and the maturing of the counter-revolutionary factors. It is to achieve this restoration, to bring closer the day of its attainment, that the strength and activities of the Left Opposition are dedicated.

—SHACHTMAN.

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In connection with the celebration of the fourth anniversary of the **Militant** we got together 13 files of all the issues of the old format. This means that there are seventy-one issues of the **Militant** in every one of these files. They run from Volume One, Number One, November 15, 1929 to Volume 4, Number 12, June 15, 1931, the last issue of the old format.

These files constitute a priceless historic record. Anyone familiar with the early days of the League, with its uphill battle for the ideas of revolutionary internationalism against slander, calumny, and physical repression need not be told that it is all set down, in all significance in the columns of the **Militant**.

As times passes these files become even more priceless if we can put it that way. More than that; it becomes well nigh impossible to get them together. Comrades who want a file—and who does not?—should order at once. Money must accompany the order. There is no credit on these files. Orders will be filled strictly as they are received. Remember, comrades, this is probably your last opportunity to get a file.

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