## STALINIST'S TAKE MEASURES

# The Expulsion of Zinoviev

# The Lessons of the Second Expulsion of the Capitulators

mittee. Joining in the struggle against the kulak as a class". Thermidorian tendencies, he took a vow beforehand: in no case to bring matters oviev and Kamenev to the program of to a pitch of facing expulsion from the party. In this spirit of going fity-fifty there was ingrained his inevitable downwithin those limits that would be per- tionary documents that were being cir-

mitted by Stalin. Kamenev did absolutely everything they preferred to deliberate over this docucould in order to restore the confidence ment (?) and by this act alone, they policy which will bring larger masses of the ruling clique in themselves and placed themselves as the direct accom- of wokers together in a united struggle in order to be assimilated into the official plices of the anti-party, counter-revolu- for a specific aim. The success of the milieu. Zinoviev made his peace with tionary group." So, Zinoviev and Kamthe theory of Socialism in one country, ceny "preferred to deliberate over the and once again exposed "Trotskyism" document" instead of "immediately ex- and succeeded in bringing together only and even made attempts to burn in posing" it. The accusers do not even the Communist party and its organizacense to Stalin personally. Nothing help- dare to asert that Zinoviev and Kamenev tions. With the participation of the ed. The capitulators suffered, shut up, were entirely beyond considering its "exand waited. And with all that they still posure". No, their crime consisted in did not succeed in hanging on to cele- their "preferring to deliberate" before brate the fifth anniversary of their own "exposing". Where, how and with whom capitulation; it seems that they were did they deliberate? Had this occurred involved in a "conspiracy", and there-during a secret session of the Right orfore were expelled from the party, per- ganization, the accusers would not have haps to be deported or exiled.

and Kamenev got it in the neck not for liberate" with their own four eyes and their own cause and not under their own within their own four walls. As a rebanner. The warp of the list of those sult of their deliberation, did they exexpelled according to the decision of press their sympathy for the platform October 9th, consists of outright Rights, of the Rights. If there was even the i. e., the followers of Rykov-Bucharin- sligtest hint in the matter about such a Tomsky. Does it mean that Left Cen- sympathy, we would have been told trism has unified with Right Centrism about it in the decision. Silence on the against the bureaucratic core? Let us matter testifies to the contrary; Zinoviev tive products cat up the steel that is up this mass of commodities that are imnot rush to conclusions.

after Zinoviev and Kamenev, are those diately ringing up Yaroda. But in view a sharp turn for the worse." "The cost The factories are supplied with coal of Uglanov and Riutin, two former mem- of the fact that they nevertheless did of production of commodities is rising and raw material by means of bursts the task of coordinating branches has bers of the C. E. C. Uglanov, as the gen- not telephone, Prayda feels it justified to sharply." Two figures will suffice: in of telegram-lightnings. The industry, as been solved by capitalist technology. And eral secretary of the Moscow Committee ascribe to them this concept, "The en- 1931 a ton of iron cost 35 roubles; in Economic Life puts it, "sits on lightning." how much more and difficult is the quesand Riutin, as the head of the Agit- emy of my enemy is-my friend." to the ruling faction. When Uglanov period. We know nothing about it, and for the first 8 onths less than 30 thou- by millions of tons but also owers its ximately 60 percent, in the last months and Riutin, as a consequence of the Stal- what is more important the C. E. C. sand tons have been smelted. What this quality. Machines of poor metal pro- the fulfillment dropped to 40 percent... and have freedom of discussion. What inist zigzag to the Left, turned out to knows nothing about either, as is means in the manufacture of machines in duce inferior products, result in break. The basic costs are twice as high as Right Opposition, all the official articles objective political situation has become service rendered by Uglanov and Riutin candidates for leadership in the composiin the struggle against Trotskyism; but tion of this or the other Opposition group. their platform nevertheless is that of The Stalinist bureaucracy, of course, kulaks and bourgeois-liberals." The has long since been aware that Zin- they were supposed to develop. For th ating to the highest degree: the metal-Stalinists pretend that they are in aware oviev and Kamenev whom it had spurn- Industrialization writes about "the in- lurgical plants in the Urals had their own Communism Versus Anarchism that it was on account of just this pro- ed were very much "interested" in the ept, illiterate and the uncultured exploi- horse convoys for the transportation of gram that the struggle had taken place. oppositionist trends within the party tation of the erected power stations." fuel; in February of this year the horses As then, so now only the Rights and and were reading all sorts of documents Great difficulties are being threatened in numbered 27,000, the number fell in the Lefts had positions based on prin- that were not destined for Yagoda. In the winter in the sphere of power pro- July to 14,000; and in September to ciple. The Stalinists thrived on the sops 1928, Kamenev even carried on secret duction. They have already begun in 4,000. The reason for it is lack of fod from the one and the other.

began to assert that the Left Opposition negotiations were published at the time turned out to be correct in its stand on by the Left Opposition. The Stalinists, the question of the party regime-this however, could not decide upon expelling current year of 16 percent but in the annual castings fell from 250 to 140 acknowledged is all the more instruc- Zinoviev and Kamenev. They did not third quarter it fell below the figures of tons (quey-thousads?) "The equipment, tive since none could boast of such suc- wish to compromise themselves by new last year. The industry providing food- due to the absence of rudimentary and cesses in implanting the Stalinist regime scandals of repressions unless there was stuffs occupies the last place. The sup-constant technical supervision...has exas Uglanov and Riutin. However, "sol- urgent necessity. The period of economic plementary production of products for cessively deteriorated." "Defective proidarity" on the question of party dem- successes was then being inaugurated, in mass consumption which are supplied by duets have become as high as 35 percent. ocracy cannot soften the heart of the part actual, in part fictitious. Zinoviev the plants of heavy industries compose "The entire mechanism of the corpora tract ideal; least of all, is it predestined to serve as a screen for Thermidorian tendencies. And in the meantime, Uglanov and Rutin, at least in those years. represented the most out and out Thermidorian wing in the camp of the Rights.

Among the participators in the conspiracy, the C. E. C. lists other leading Rights, like Slepkov and Maretsky, Red professors of the Bucharin School, directors of the Komsomol and Pravda, countless articles and brochures against "Trotskyism".

On the proscribed list there are to be found Ptashny and Gorelov with a nota-"Trotskyist Opposition". We have no their lot with the Rights, or whether we workers from day to day. have before us a falsification in order neither is the latter.

who is being transferred to the G. P. U.; as for Rykov, he is once again in favor, makes speeches over the radio, etc. The Tomsky really does make plausible some of the twentieth century machine-agetemporary bureaucratic indulgences in man. favor of the former leaders of the Right Opposition. But of their being reestablished in their old positions in the party, there cannot be the slightest considera-

The group as a whole is accused of organization in order to restore capital- But that is not all. The Steel Barons organized character of struggle. The ism in the U.S.S.R. and the kulak, in were the initiators of all the wage cut isolated fights-without spreading out and the kulak, in particular (!)". This reduced to the vanishing point. Steel is tion. "particularity" gives away the whole, the pivot industry in the Alleghany reor at least hints at it. There is no de- gion. And Pittsburgh is a "one factory ating that some of those expelled, like town"—in the highest sense of the word. This is the situation which after four The growth of class consciousness and workers to consider the defeat of Price Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year, For-Slepkov and Maretsky, in the period of Activity in the steel mills sets the tune dreary and dismal years of crisis sets a spirit of militancy among the masses as an ultimate victory and to rest upon eign \$2.50. Five cents per copy.

with all his agitational radicalism, the struggle against "Trotskyism" devel Zinoviev always pulled up short before oped, after the manner of their teacher must prevent any organization from withthe actual inferences of political for Bucharin, the idea of "the kulak's grow- drawing from the conference. We realize muiae. Fighting against Stalinist policing into socialism". What stand they the strain of relations, the provocations ies in China, Zinoviev opposed to the have taken since that time, we do not that exist in such a gathering. But if all workers, unemployed, these judical fossils face to face with the enacted by congress and the states. To end the treak of the Communist party know. But it is quite possible that their an effective movement is to exist and in spite of everything, rests in maintainwith the Isuo Min Tang. Exposing Stai- present guilt consists not so much in be successful, it is iecessary that no disin's alliance with Purcell and Citrine, their desire to "restore" the kulak as integration be permitted. The Confer and in completing its work. Zinoviev was poised irresolutely before in their failure to recognize Stalin's ence must be militant. It must reject the split with the Anglo-Russian Com- victories in the sphere of "liquidation of

However, what is the relation of Zin-"restoring capitalism"? The Soviet press informs us about the following as regards to their participation in the "Everything, except Stalinism crime, "Knowing of the ocunter-revolu-After their capitulation, Zinoviev and the agents of the Kulak agencies, they failed to inform us about it. Obviously, What is astounding is that Zinoviev Zinoviev and Kameney "preferred to deand Kameney, obviously, subjected the to quality." "The technical coefficients provised in a hurry, really meets the re-The most eminent names in the list, platform to criticism instead of imme- in the use of the equipment are taking quirements of the market.

prop, were in charge in the capital of The coarse strain of the accusation cost cae to 60 roubles. the struggle against the Left Opposition, against Zinoviey-Kamenev makes it posclearing every corner and by path of sible for us to conclude with assurance per were smelted; in 1931, 48 thousand hampers the operation of coke producing Trotskyism in 1926-1927. They raised a that blow was direct against them, and tons, one-third of the amount set by the enterprises. Excessively high content of dangerous straits", writes For the Indusparticularly venomous hue and cry after primarly them. Not because they evinced plan. For the current year the plan has moisture and cinders in the coke not only trialization: In the first half year the Zinoviev and Kamenev as the "traitors" some political activity during the last been lowered to 90 thousand tons but reduces the quantity of produced metal production program was fulfilled approbe the chief practical organizers of the evident from the decree. But the general and of electro-technical equip- downs, force inactivity upon the working those set by the plan." The characterand speeches harped on one and the so much worse as to make it impossible taries. same note, "No one can deny the great for Stalin to tolerate any longer legal

negotiations with Bucharin reagrding the the Moscow and Leningrad regions. As early as 1928, Uglanov and Riutin possibility of a bloc. Records of these

# Chicago Left Greets United Front | Scottsboro -- What Now!

Soviet Economy in Danger

In the sphere of electrification, with "the blast-furnaces are in fever", because

all its successes, there is considerable of inadequate supply of fuel they are

lagging behind; the power plants in Au-jallowed to cool down rom 3 days to

gust delivered 71 percent of the energy 20 days. Here is a cirmustance illumin-

cessively behind the plan last year, manner the condition o the Stalingrad

showed a rise in the first half of the tractor factory in which the quantity of

(Continued from page 1)

there is no vacillation in the struggle on party must resist any splitting tactics any proposal of a reactionary character, ate relief for ALL unemployed workers. It must reject any proposal or action Fight for the 6 hour day and the 5 day that will weaken, nullify and destroy the beginnings already made.

time fought for a correct united front the Soviet Union. policy. One of the main obstacles has been the erroneous conception of the Communist party on the united front. culated, instead of immediately exposing Namely, their advocacy of the "united front from below". We therefore, welcome their charge toward the correct present conference proves that its previous policy was narrow and sectarian Communist party, the conference should have great strength and militancy.

#### Role of Socialist Party

(Continued from page 1)

In 1929-1930, 47 thousand tons of cop-

The light industry which lagged ex-

i front movement, they vacillate, retreat, ited front be maintained to carry out threaten and in the end pursue a course of betraying the interests of the workers.

groups in the conference.

Chicago Workers! Fight for immediweek with no reduction in pay. Fight for Social Insurance. Demand the ex-The Left Opposition has for a long tension of credits and the recognition of

MAINTAIN THE UNITED FRONT!

The Chicago Branch of the America (Opposition).

#### GREEK BANQUET A SUCCESS

PROTOMAGIA, held last Saturday at metus to the U. S. Constitution. And it our Center, turned out to be a splendid arrives at the conclusion so obvious to success from the point of view of at- all that the boys were not represented tendance as well as the spirit shown by counsel in the courtroom at Scottsby those who gathered there. The col- boro. lection amounted to more than \$33. Many, The liberals are singing a hymn of members of the Stalinist Club, SPAR- praise to American institutions. They The Left Opposition is well aware of we gladly accepted. Although we gave quently of justice and fairness and fair the role that the Socialist party and more than enough of the floor to our op- play. They are confused to the roots of its leaders have played in the struggle ponents, they declined a formal debate; their thinking. And they are sowing conof the workers. The Socialist party before a mixed audience. Comrades are fusion with a prodigal hand. The capileaders will never enter a united front swelling the ranks of the newly-formed talist press is open wide to them now unless it is by tremendous pressure from club which is soon to obtain its own for this purpose. They are serving capitheir rank and file. Once in a united headquarters in the Greek neighborhood, talism well.

ble at present to estimate what part of

liver what does not exist.

hands, and deteriorate rapidly.

Pravda characterizes in the following

(Continued from page 1)

actionary position resulting in the discreditment of this most sacred of the

of the victims which would tremendously increase the prestige of Communism and stand that the Supreme Court is a bulworking class activity generally. The wark against any 'left' deviations by only road it could "safely" take at the legislative and executive branches of the Communist League of moment was the middle road of quibbling over legal technicalities. This it does most elegantly. It makes a parade of the learned justices' erudition; it traces a devious course through certain tory. Encouraged by this victory they The banquet for the benefit of the aspects of the history of American law; recently organized Greek workers' club, it juggles with definitions in and amend-

institutions of the capitalist class before

the working class.

TACUS were present and demanded a say that the Court has redeemed the debate of the disputed questions, which prestige of capitalism. They prate elo-

the next day." "Methods of handicraft are swamping continuous belt produc-

Why is production lowered in light metallurgy in the face of collosal investments? Because, replies Pravda, "the separate branches of a single combine are not coordinated with one another in their capacity." And in the meantime the first half of the current year the But even bolts of lightning cannot de tion of intercoordination independent enterprises and entire branches of indus-Coal, hastily mined and porly sorted, try!

"The cement factory in Podolsk is in istics cited above apply in various de-In the Urals, the paper apprize us, grees to the entire present industry. (To Be Continued)

### CHICAGO DEBATE

WHICH WAY FOR THE WORLD

PROLETARIAT? Communism Anarchism JOSEPH COHEN ALBERT GLOTZER Editor, Freie Member N. E. C. Comm. League of A. Arbeiter Stimme Sunday, November 27, 1932, at 3 P. M. at 2011 W. North Avenue.

ADMISSION: 10 Cents

CHICAGO CONCERT AND DANCE Sunday, November 27, 1932, 8 P. M. at 2011 W. North Ave. ADMISSION: 25 CENTS

### Unfortunately a great many workers The text goes on to say: "The only fall for this stuff. They have seen The Conference must see to it that The workers in the ranks of the Socialist one of the assignments which we shall Hoover in action. They are familiar consider is the second-; and it becomes with the peaceful nature of their local the part of the leaders. The workers on the part of their leaders. This applies unnecessary to discuss the facts of the capitalist institutions. But they still the prosecution-". Cowardly decision!! of men who are chosen solely for their

We want to reiterate: the interests of To deal with the other two would bring merit to sit in judgment on the laws it the capitalist class to an outright re- analysis of this decision and reject the party's call to action. There is a growing number of class

conscious workers who will not be fooled by this dubious maneuver of a capitalist Or it would have had to decide in favor class made cautions by a rising tide of working class protest. They will undergovernment. They will see clearly that the battle must still be fought to its conclusion by the same fighting methods which have already resulted in one vicwill nevertheless see clearly the danger points ahead. They will remember that the retrial is scheduled for the same court under the same judge who first sentenced them to death. This will signify to them the necessity for an even greater protest movement on the part of a united working class.

#### For A Broad Movement!

These workers will look to the party to build and organize this movement. In this orientation they will be correct. The victory the party has already won gives it this right. Upon the basis of the movement already built the party will have to build a broad protest movement embracing the entire working class. The party must issue the call to build this movement. To date the party press confines itself to agitation. This is correct. But it is not enough.

The party must issue a call for united front conferences. The prestige it has won will give it the entry into organizations and a hearing before strata of the class which would otherwise be indifferent to its appeal. Workers imbued with confidence in the party because of its fight and its first victory will answer this call.

The united fronts must be genuine. They must be permeated with the spirit of working class democracy. No mechanical control! The workers suffering from the stifling control of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy will not stand for it here. And conversely this is the opportunity par excellence for the Communists to teach the workers what working class democracy really is. Let all participate should the party fear? Time and the class struggle has given it the firmest position. To work!

-T. STAMM.

# CHEN DU-HSIU

(Continued from page 1)

Chen and the other militants arrested with him. Up to now, the International Red Aid and its American section, the International Labor Defense, have preserved a horrible silence on the case. It is imperative that a genuine mass protest be made in this and other countries so that the hankmen of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry may know that they cannot turn our comrades over to the executioner! Let every class conscious worker voice his elementary solidarity with the prisoners by acting immediately, before it is too late. Raise the question of the Chinese comrades in every labor organization. Demand that the Daily Worker, the party as a whole, and the I. L. D. commence a campaign Auspices: Friends of the Militant Club | for the endangered revolutionists!

# Left Opposition in its relation to the and Kamenev did not appear to be imme- for the eight months only 35 percent of tion is wallowing in dirt." "In the Right. Party democracy is not an abs- diately dangerous. -L. TROTSKY. | the yearly stipulation. It is not possi- foundries there is never a thought of The Left Opposition Breaks Ground

in the Pittsburgh District

PITTSBURGH.—

instigators of many programmatic reso- country represent what most nearly aplutions of the C. E. C. and authors of proaches a cross-section of proletarian one third of capacity. The destitution of these questions. Militants, whom the ist party, the possibilities for important winding, filthy streets of Pittsburgh. they are forced to sell on the market on eliminated from active participation in to draw lessons therefrom. Every day bears witness to new scenes the basis of the conditions created by the various phases of the struggle, are tion of their former adherence to the of their misery. The furniture of evict- capitalism, is therefore self-explained. once again showing signs of interest, are ed families, blocks the sidewalks of the means of judging whether the matter proletarian quarters and the press con- edness prevailing, it is remarkable that join the fight. But the sad experiences concerns here two very little known Left tains full pages of eviction notices, fore- no forceful resistance has been in evid- of passivity and inaction in the course capitulators, who subsequently threw in closures and legal action against the ence on the part of the workers here. of the past four years have made them

to fool the party. The former is by no among the unemployed, those who cannot in this most powerful producing section see the need of again taking up arms, means excluded, but in all probability find even the doubtful refuge of rela- of the United States, unionism and labor but who also demand to know what sort tives and friends, flock to Father Cox's In the summary of the participants, Shantytown: there exists no greater ly strange is the fact that the monopoly They are weighing carefully the printhe chief leaders of the Right Opposi- repulsive and more disgusting a picture ton are conspicuously absent. Cables to of squalor. The good "Father" preaches the bourgeois papers report that Buch- meekness and bids the unemployed await arin "has completely reestablished his better times with the presidential inparty position" and is apparently slated cumbency of his recent rival and present for the Narkompros in place of Bubnov, endorsee, the Astor Raskob man-Frankiin Roosevelt. In the meantime the inhabitant of the reverend Father's Rooseveltville spends his time in primitive fact that in the list of "the conspirators" handicrafts, leads a life that resembles the factory masses is literally seething. there is neither Rykov nor Bucharin nor more that of the feudal serf than that The unemployed showed their will to

# The Workshop of the World-at

One-Third Capacity Conditions among the workers still at

to all the other industries. Since steel Conditions of the working class in this production is flat on its back, the result

It strikes one as extremely peculiar that cautious and judicial. The number of The utterly prostrate and dejected in this very cradle of American industry, those is steadily increasing who not only organization is at its lowest ebb. Equal- of arms to take up and how to fight. capitalists and bankers of the Mellon- ciples, the policies, the strategy and the U. S. Steel-Westinghouse combine have tactics of the various political forces in succeeded to maintain their reactionary the field. They feel that if the fight is to whip over the backs of a proletariat with be taken up in earnest, it must be on such a splendid record of militancy as the Homestead Strike, the Great Steel Strike of 1919 and the McKeesport battles of 1922-23.

And more than that, discontent among fight as early as the first year of the depression in the tremendous demonstrations under the leadership of the Communists. Small and isolated strikes, like the militant strikes of the clothing work-

#### The Inevitable Awakening of the Militants

And yet for all the poverty and wretch- once again expressing willingness to refirm ground.

Within the A. F. of L. unions, the work of the reformist fakers in lulling the masses with their treacherous policies of class collaboration is becoming exceedingly clear. And, when Green and Co. come out, finally, for such "radical" demands as unemployed insurance and "independent political action of the workers", it is because their rank and file in industrial sections like the Pittsburgh sector, are already miles ahead work-so to speak-are even worse, ers and the bakers at present, crop up of them, because the workers in the Steel workers at the mills are lucky if all over town. But after all is said and shops are being made ready by condian attempt to create "a bourgeois kulak they have three day's labor a month. done, nothing remains of a unified and tions to shake off the fetters of the trade union bureaucracy. The prestige of help but teach the party comrades the what few old Left wingers still remain important lesson, that only by an actual particular." An amazing formulation! drives of the depression years and the and seeking coordination—remain impo- in the reformist unions is gaining day and determined fight can they help re-An organization to restore "capitalism steel workers' remuneration has been tent and drown in apathy and dissipa- by day, while new Left wing forces are generate the party. making their appearance.

#### Clarification Begins in the Ranks of the Party

into motion elements of new militancy cannot of course help but have its effect their laurels. Before the Pittsburgh in the working class. Workers of all on the membership of the official Com- militants there now lies the task of drawshades are beginning to ask themselves munist party as well. The active com- ing the conclusions of their fight to a how such a situation can exist, what the rades in the C. P. who have, from their higher plane. The more thoughtful comcauses for it are. They ask these ques- daily contacts, felt the new fea- rades will inevitably have to pose the tons of themselves, not because they are tures in the situation: the general question as to the roots of the bureauaccustomed to philosophizing. It is their discontent of the broad layers of workvery mode of every day life, it is actu- ers, the rebirth of militancy in the old most highly industrialized section of the is, in round figures, a total industrial ally their bread and butter problems that organizations reaching even into the life in the country as a whole. More the proletarians, whose only means of prosperity period, and the double-edged progress of Communism-have also been than 100,000 jobless fill the narrow, livelihood is their labor power, which blade of reaction characteristic of it, had obliged to review the recent past and

Sporadically and in a groping, instinctive way, it is true, but nevertheless so conditioned that they have had to confront the stupid and disastrous policies of the Stalinist faction with the very facts of everyday life. The contrast between the excellent prospects for Communist work and the retrogressions and defeats engendered by the false direction of the leadership opened the minds of many party comrades to the dangers brought upon our party by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Faced at each step with persecutions for pointing out the destruction caused by the Stalinist "third per- tion are bound to force their way into iod" policies; with their "united front the party ranks. The Left Opposition from below only", with the sharply contrasted adventurist and opportunist sides der every aid possible and to fight side of the unemployment work, for instance; by side with the serious and conscientidisillusioned after many "turns" "half-turns" which all remained on paper and which brought the party not a single step forward, the militants were led by the logic of their struggle to concentrate fire against the local bureaucracy as such. After a hard fight, the Pittsburgh rank and file finally forced the recall of the altogether discredited and incompetent bureaucrat Carl Price, from his position as District Organizer. The Price incident cannot

But it would be altogether misleading and self-deceptive for the Communist

eracy, as to the basic causes for the Stalinist regime of blunders, crimes and wreckage. In doing this, they will not be able to avoid a consideration of the point of view of the Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky, representing a consistent Leninist line of struggle that foretold all the mistakes of the Stalinists and the results following from them years in advance-and with scientific Marxian precision.

Whether the comrades stop to consider these questions now or not, their further experiences will require this of them. The comrades have had their lesson with bureaucrat Price. Bureaucrat Johnstone, who has been magnanimously sent down from above to make the Pittsburgh Communists forget Price, will not only serve to teach the local comrades another lesson in the fight against bureaucracy and the non-Leninist system it represents. Either way, the ideas of the Left Opposias such will always stand ready to renous party militants for the Leninist redressment of our Communist party.

---S. G.

Maurice Spector

# THE MILITANT

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Arne Swabeck SATURDAY NOVEMBER 26, 1932

Max Shachtman