

STALINISTS TAKE MEASURES

The Expulsion of Zinoviev

The Lessons of the Second Expulsion of the Capitulators

ZINOVIEV
Now the situation has changed at the root. True, the newspaper articles explaining the expulsion proclaim that because we have grown economically extremely strong, and because the party has become a suddenly monolithic, therefore we cannot tolerate "the slightest conciliatory spirit."

In general, one cannot deny the fact that the judicial combination of the rights, who inspired Stalin's policies in 1923-1928, of two actual or supposed former "Trotskyists and Zinoviev and Kamenev, guilty of knowing but not informing,—that this, to repeat, is a product entirely worthy of the political creativeness of Stalin, Yaroslavsky and Zagoda.

Zinoviev's Game with History
Inevitably a question arises, how is it that old Bolsheviks, men who are wise and experienced in politics, gave their opponent an opportunity to deal them such a blow?

But they posed their tasks not on the plane of the Russian and World revolution but on a much lower plane of the Soviet bureaucracy.

In those most difficult hours for them, on the eve of capitalism, they adjoined us, then their allies, "to meet the party half-way". We replied that we were prepared to meet the party all the way, but in another and a higher sense than was required by Stalin and Yaroslavsky.

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Are we to conclude from this that there is not as yet any visible radicalization of the American workers or any visible Leftward trend accelerated by the effects of the crisis? Let us say at the outset that we do not at all proceed from the fundamentally false estimates of radicalization made by the official party leadership.

What political prerequisites were there that conditioned the period of capitulations in 1929-1930? They were: the bureaucratic turn of the helm to the Left; the successes of the industrialization; the quick growth of collectivization. The five year plan absorbed the working masses. A great perspective was opened up. The workers were reconciled to the loss of political independence in expectation of near and decisive, socialist successes.

were the economic prerequisites and the political atmosphere of the epidemic of capitulation.

The growth of economic disproportions, the aggravation in the situation of the masses, the growth of dissatisfaction, of the workers as well as of the peasants, confusion in the apparatus itself—these are the prerequisites for the revival of all, and of every kind of Opposition. The sharpness of contradictions and the intensity of alarm in the party push ever more onto the road of protest the moderate, cautious and always-ready-for-compromise, party "liberals".

We do not as yet hear the voice of the Left Opposition in the open. Small wonder! Those same bourgeois papers that relate about the favors presumably in store for Rykov and Bukharin, simultaneously report "new mass arrests among the Trotskyists".

The resolution of the September plenum of the C. E. C. boasts out of time and out of place that having crushed counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, having exposed the anti-Leninist kulak essence of the Right opportunists, the party... has attained at the present time decisive successes.

Here we have a situation of more than three years of acute economic crisis and yet we have reached no further than the democratic party, one of the very important cogs of the system itself, being able to corral an overwhelming majority on the promise of "a new deal."

Discontent and Radicalization
Are we to conclude from this that there is not as yet any visible radicalization of the American workers or any visible Leftward trend accelerated by the effects of the crisis?

No one could fail to notice the enormous discontentment as revealed by the elections, and revealed clearly also in demonstrations outside the elections. But it is still groping. Politically, in the main, it is still harnessed within the traditional channels, flowing from one capitalist party to another.

Above all one must remember the political background of the American working class. The European tradition of independent political action has not yet been established. The American workers, regardless of their many heroic examples of strike struggles, have not yet learned to act as a class in a political sense.

upsurge of the Right-Thermidorian tendencies. The striving of the Stalinists to lump into a single pile the Lefts and the Right is facilitated to some measure by the fact that the Lefts and the Rights speak of a retreat for the time given.

The actual political danger consists in the fact that the Rights are a faction of permanent retreat and that they have now been given the opportunity to claim, "we have always demanded this".

The Importance of Our Policy
All the more important, therefore, becomes the clear, independent, and looking to the far future, policy of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

The political differentiation in the Soviet proletariat will occur along the line of the following questions:—How to retreat? What are the limits of the retreat? When and how to pass over to a new offensive?

Only the independent emergence of the Left Opposition and the joining together of the basic proletarian kernel under its banner can resurrect the party, the Workers' State and the Communist International.

Prinkipo, October, 1932. —L. T.

LEON TROTSKY

Soviet Economy in Danger

(Continued from last issue)

The administrative hue and cry after quantity leads to a frightful lowering of quality; low quality undermines on the next stage the struggle for quantity; the ultimate cost of economically irrational "successes" surpasses as a rule many times the value of these same successes.

The consequences of the frenzied chase have permeated in all their entirety the sphere of education. Pravda is compelled to admit that, "by lowering the quality of preparation, by skipping scientific subjects, or by passing over them at 'cavalry trot'."

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Capital Construction
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down in a considerable measure." And this prediction also has been completely substantiated. In the sphere of construction the lag was extremely great as early as 1931.

Sixty-five million roubles were expended on the Balhashayskiy copper factory, the expenses continue to grow from day to day—factually all for nothing!

The poor quality of materials and of equipment react most cruelly on the capital construction. "Iron for roofing is of such rotten quality," writes Pravda, "that it cracks when once handled."

Domestic Disproportions and the World Market

The problem of the proportionality of the elements of production and the branches of economy constitutes the very heart of socialist economy. The tortuous roads that lead to the solution of this problem are not charted on any map.

The entire industry groans from the lack of spare parts. Weavers' looms remain inactive because a bolt is not to be had.

"One billion roubles has been immobilized, 'frozen' by (heavy) industry, in the course of only the first half of 1932, in the form of stocks of materials, unfinished products and even finished goods in factory warehouses." (For Industrialization,

The Situation on the Eve of the Second 5 Yr. Plan - A Marxian Analysis

September 12, 1932). Such are the expressions in terms of money of certain disproportions and discordances according to the official estimate.

Major and minor disproportions call forth the need of turning to the international market. Imported goods to the value of one chervontz home production of its moribund state home production to the value of hundreds and thousands of chervontz.

Thus the impact of ore from the inception of the five year plan multiplied five times in volume and four times in value. If within the current year this article of import fell off, it was exclusively on account of the foreign exchange.

Kaganovich in a speech on October 8 asserted that the opposition, Left as well as Right, "proposes to us that we strengthen our dependence upon the capitalist world."

At the same time the Soviet press cites with praise the interview given by Sokolnikov on the eve of his departure from London. "In England there is increasingly spreading the recognition of the fact that the advanced position of the Soviet state in industry and technology will present in itself a much wider market for the products of British industry."

Strengthening of the ties with the foreign market, and consequently the strengthening of the dependence upon world economy. Is it possible that the former Oppositionist Sokolnikov is trading in "Trotskyist contraband"? But if so, why is he being screened by the official press?

The Position of the Workers

Stalin's speech in July 1931 with its salutary "six conditions" was directed against the low quality of the production, the high basic cost, the migration of laboring forces, the high percentage of waste, etc. From that time on there has not appeared an article without reference to "the historic speech".

From day to day the official press bears witness to the downfall of Stalin's prescription. In explanation of the falling off in production Pravda points out: "The decrease in labor power at factories, the growing migration, the weakening of labor discipline" (September 23).

In the locomotive factories, which failed to improve the country with about 250 locomotives for the first three-quarters of the year, "there is to be observed an acute insufficiency of qualified workers. More than 2,000 workers in the course of the summer left from the single Kolomoisk factory."

In the textile industry, naturally, conditions are not better. "In the Ivanovsk district alone," E. L. informs us, "about 35,000 qualified weavers left the enterprises." According to the words of this same paper, there are to be found enterprises in the country in which more than 60 percent of the total force changes every month.

In explanation of the cruel flop of "the six conditions" there was for a long time a tendency to confine the observations to bald accusations against the management and the workers themselves, "inactivity," "lack of willingness," "resting on their laurels", etc.

Rakovsky pointed out this reason of reasons more than two years ago. "The reason for the increase in breakdowns, the reason for the falling in labor discipline, the reason for the need to increase the number of workers," he wrote, "lies in the fact that the worker is physically incapable of bearing up under a load that overtaxes his strength."

The 1932 Elections and the American Working Class

The presidential elections have once again rendered devastating proof of the paradox of a politically terribly backward working class in a highly developed industrial country.

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protest vote became entirely undistinguishable from the conscious capitalist vote. Hence also the support of the Socialist party and the Communist party is the only material expression of opposition to the capitalist parties, recognizing, however, the limitations of a parliamentary elections in actually registering the working class sentiment.

But in the United States today the economic basis for an ideological and political regrouping of class forces is already established. American politics will become Europeanized. It would at this moment be difficult to forget that the decisive economic factors which have long ago pricked the bubble of national self-sufficiency are also very strongly expressed in politics.

Mister Duranty and Comrade Stalin

(Continued from page 1)
before the Soviet Government as a positive menace, because things being what they are, the Soviet Union would be almost inevitably involved.

Even passing acquaintance with Stalinist primers of "socialism in one country" will enable anybody to recognize in the above quotations simply a Durantesque popularization for American consumption of the theory of "socialism in one country".

role played by American imperialism in world affairs. Its struggle for hegemony, its struggle to supplant the bourgeoisie of the other capitalist nations and simultaneously its efforts to save the whole of the capitalist system from the further extension of the October revolution, will in the main be determining for future political developments at home.

But within the United States the dialectics of class relations, resting upon the economic basis already created, is also at work performing its task of transforming the political backwardness of the working class into its opposite.

There have been tendencies before in the United States toward a break-up of the two party system, horizontally and along class lines. We had the various blocs of which the farm bloc and the "progressive" bloc became the most outstanding.

Mister Duranty and Comrade Stalin

does not make a comment (and it also takes the tip) which repays quoting: "In Moscow," says Mr. Duranty, there is one menace which is feared above all others, and it is the outbreak of a revolution in Germany or elsewhere in Europe.

With minor amendments, the comment of the Times editors is fairly keen and warranted. Only one other "comment" is missing: What have the Communist militants to say about the "entente cordiale" in the realm of revolutionary philosophy so affecting concluded between the former Riga liar and purveyor of the "nationalization of women in Russia" slander, on the one hand, and the "best discipline of Lenin", Joseph Stalin, on the other? It is worth reflecting upon!

arrested by all of these forces more or less being corralled behind Roosevelt as far as the elections were concerned. It is quite clear that the majority of the workers still followed this leadership of the middle class. But it is just as certain that the process of break-up cannot be arrested for very long.

Then will not the Socialist party become a more formidable political contender? Its growth is significant, not merely by the votes recorded which appear to be less than what was recorded by the Debs candidacy years ago; but it is significant from its position of almost non-existence a couple of years ago up until its ability today to enlist the support of considerable sections of the Leftward developing workers.

Problems of Social Reformism

This has its important bearing upon the question which still confronts us namely, to what extent social reformism in general will develop in the United States and how to most effectively combat it and turn the tide in a revolutionary direction.

As an imperialist power the United States faces the problem of further expanding its productive forces within a decaying capitalist world. Its very first steps in attempting to issue out of the crisis its reorganization and greater concentration of industry, its greater centralization of capital, its intensified exploitation of labor and general lowering of the standard of living narrows the margin of concessions which can be given to social reformism.

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