STALINIST'S TAKE MEASURES

The Expulsion of Zinoviev

The Lessons of the Second Expulsion of the Capitulators

ZINOVIEV o

Now the situation has changed at the root. True, the newspaper articles ex- capitulation plaining the expulsion proclaim that because we have grown economicaly ex- the aggravation in the situation of the tremely strong, and because the party masses, the growth of dissatisfaction, has become a soutely monorithic, there- of the workers as well as of the peasants, fore we cannot tolerate "the slightest conciliatory spirit." But in this explana- are the prerequisites for the revival of tion the white threads that baste it together, stick out all too caumsily in sharpness of contradictions and the inopen view. The necessity for the expul- tensity of alarm in the party push ever son of Zinoviev and Kameney, for an obviously fictitious reason, testifies quite erate, cautious and always-ready-foron the contrary to the extreme weakening of Stalin and his fraction. Zinoviev and into a blind alley the bureaucracy imme-Kamenev had to be liquidated post haste diately replies with repressions, in not because of a change in their behavior large measure preventive. but because of a change in the background. Riutin's group, independently of Left Opposition in the open. Small won- and to appraise correctly the limited, its actual activity, is dragged along, in der! those same bourgeois papers that temporary and conjunctural "correctness" the given instance, in order to garnish relate about the favors presumably in of the Rights, along with the erroneous the service. In the foreknowledge of the store for Rykov and Bucharin, simultane- of their fundamental position fact that they may be soon brought to ously report "new mass arrests among account, the Stalinists are "taking meas- the Trotskyists" The Left Opposition in

ures." lowering Zinoviev and Kameney, former leaders of the Lett Opposition, now being expensed for "amity' toward the taght Opposition.

Zmoviev's Game with History

that old Boisheviks, men who are wise and experienced in politics, gave their opponent an opportunty to deal them tained at the present time decisive sucsuch a blow? How could they, who re-cesses...." The nearest future, one nounced their own platform for the sake should except, will make clear that the perforce reply that this result also did policies of the last three or four years national. not come about accidentally. Zinoviev that prepared the conditions for a new Prinkipo, October, 1932. and Kamenev tried to play tricks with history. Or course, they were motivated, first of all, by solicitude for the Soviet Union, for the unity of the party, and not at all for their personal welfare 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.

us, then their allies, "to meet the party half-way". We replied that we were prepared to meet the party all the way, indicative for the future. but in another and a higher sense than was required by Stalin and Yaroslavsky. three years of acute economic crisis and the Socialist party in this sense, it is But was that not a split? Was that not Capitulaton can never be victorious. We the results, insofar, as they were expres- the expense of the revolutionary party. class lines with a working class acting itical form and its leaders are more skilshall do everything in our power so that sed in elections, were only the fact that Historically, this can only mean in opforesee all the variations of development. vote. Nevertheless it is absurd and criminal to play hide and seek with revolution, to use trickery in deasing with classes and diplomacy with history. In such com- there is not as yet any visible radicaliplex and responsible situations one must zation of the American workers or any be guided by a rule so excellently ex. visible Leftward trend accelerated by

If one leaves aside the absolutely demoralized part of the capitulators of the type of Radek and Piatakov, who, as terms with the ruling bureaucracy. But the present day is characterized by the fact that this conciliation, which appeared so final, has begun to crack and to exp.ode, and thereto in an extremely acute form. The tremendous symptomatic significance of the expulsion of Zinoviev, Kameney, Uglanov and the others originates in the fact that in the new clashes at the "tops" there are reflected the profound surges in the masses.

rule.

The Basis Under the Capitulations 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 considerable measure, at the expense of That, of course, is expressed also in the the basic funds of rural economy. Such parliamentary elections. Hence its blind on our part. But the New York Times flecting upon!

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

The growth of economic disproportions confusion in the apparatus itself-these all, and of every kind of Opposition. The more onto the road of protest the modcompromise, party "liberals". Driven

the USSR was subjected in the course of In general, one canont deny the fact a number of years to such fearful police that the judical combination of the persecution, its cadres were placed in hights, who inspired Staim's policies in such exceptional conditions that it is in-1923-1928, of two actual or supposed finitely more difficult for it than for the former "Trotskyists and of Zinoviev and legal "liberals" openly to formulate its Kamenev, guilty of knowing but of not opposition and to intervene organizationincorming,—that this, to repeat, is a aby into the developing events. By the product entirely worthy of the political by, the history of bourgeois revolutions creativeness of Stalin, Yurosiavsky and reminds us that in their struggle against lagoda A classical amaigam of the autocracy, the liberals, utilizing their Thermicorian type! The goal of the legal prerogatives, always came out first combination consists in mixing up the in the name of the "people"; only the cards, disorienting the party, increasing struggle between the liberal bourgeoisie viet proletariat will occur along the line quantitive indices represent in themthe incological comusion and thus hinder- and the bureaucracy cleared the way for of the following questions:—How to reselves a statistical fiction." ing the workers from making out what's the petty-bourgeois democracy and the what, and buding the way out. The proletariat. Of course what is concernsupprementary task consists in politically ed here is merely a matter of historical explain something.

The resolution of the September plenum out of place that having crushed counter-Inevitably a question arises, how is it revolutionary Trotskyism, having exposed the anti-Leninist kulak essence of the Right opportunists, the party...has at-

encies. The striving of the Stalinists to lump into a single pile the Lefts and the iights is facilitated to some measure by the fact that the Lefts and the Rights speak of a retreat for the time given. This is inevitable: the exigent need of a regulated retreat from the line of adventuristic leap ahead has become the vital task of the proletarian state. The Centrist bureaucrats themselves dream of nothing else but the possibility of retreatng in order, and without losing face completely, yet they cannot but recognize that a retreat in the face of the need for foodstuffs and for all other things may accusing the opposition of tendencies to-

ward retreat. The actual political danger consists in he 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 twilight in which the party lives does not allow the workers to make out quick-We do not as yet hear the voice of the ly the dialectics of economic processes

The Importance of Our Policy

All the more important, therefore, beprocesses in the country and within the party! Appraise correctly different groupings according to their ideas and the social ties! Do not become frightthe Rights! Do not forget, because of tactical coincidences, the antagonism of the strategic lines!

The political differentiation in the Sotreat? When and how to pass over to a ism in their full scope

upsurge of the Right-Thermidorian tend- LEON TROTSKY

THE MILITANT

SovietEconomyinDanger

(Continued from last issue) The administrative hue and cry after And this prediction also has been com- pressions in terms of money of certain quantity leads to a frightful lowering of pletely substantiated. In the sphere of disproportions and discordances according quarity; low quality undermines on the construction the lag was extremely great to the official estimate. next stage the struggle for quantity; the as early as 1931. It has grown still ultimate cost of economically irrational more in the current year. The transport forth the need of turning to the inter-"successes" surpasses as a rule many construction program for 9 months was times the value of these same successes. fulfilled 38 percent according to the esti-Every advanced worker is -acquainted mates of the department itself. In other cost them all too dearly. For this reason with this dialectic not through the books branches the matters relating to conthey are retreating by stealth and by of the Communist academy (alas! more struction are as a general rule even less inferior goods) but in practise, through ravorable; and worst of all is the sphere experience in their own mine-shifts, fac- of housing construction. The material tories, railroads, fuel stations, etc.

The consequences of the frenzied chase tween altogether too many constructions have permeated in all their entirety the which leads to the low effectiveness of the sphere of education. Pravda is compel- investment. led to admit that, "by lowering the quality of preparation, by skipping scientific on the Balhashaisky copper factory, the more its reactionary and utopian characsubjects, or by passing over them at expenses continue to grow from day to ter. Autarchy—is the ideal of Hitler, and "cayalry trot", the VTUZI (Highest day-factually all for nothing: in order not of Marx, and Lenin. Technological Educational Instutitions) to continue work it was necessary to that took this path instead of aiding in- transport in the course of a year 300 dustry, injured it." But, indeed who is thousand tons of freight, whereas the responsible for the "cavalry trot" in the ready transport provides all told only 20 highest educational instututions?

If we were to introduce a corrective coefficient for quality into the official data, many. comes the clear, independent, and looking then the indices of the fulfillment of the to the far future, policy of the Bolshe- plan would immediately suffer substantial vik-Leninists. Follow carefully all the drops. Even Kuybishev was forced to capital construction. "Iron for roofing admit this more than a year ago. "The is of such rotten quality," writes Pravda, as Right, "proposes to us that we strenfigures relating to the tremendous growth "that it cracks when once handled." of industry become relative," he announced cautiously at the session of Supreme ened at isolated tactical coincidences with Soviet Economic Council, "if one takes ally undermines the foundations of the into account the variations in quality." second five year plan. kakovsky expressed himself much more lucidly, "If one does not take into account the quality of production then the

Capital Construction

More than two years ago, Rakovsky new offensive? What should be the warned that the scope of the plan was ed here is merely a matter of historical and the matter of historical discover them, or more correctly to lay market for the products of British inimportant these questions are in them- the scale of the growth of production them-is the work of a lengthy and dustry." As a sign of the economic proselves, they alone do not suffice. We specified by the plan, "he wrote," nor arduous future. of the C. E. C. boasts out of time and are not building policies for one counthe specified plan of capital constructry. The fate of the Soviet Union will tion were prepared for ... The entire pre- lack of spare parts. Weavers' looms rebe resolved in an indissoluble jointure ceeding policy in the sphere of industry main inactive because a bolt is not to eign market, and consequently the strenwith the world development. It is neces- reduced itself in reality to the forced be had. 'The assortment of articles gthening of the dependence upon world sary to place again before the Russian exploitation of old fixed capital with produced," writes E. J., "in the line of economy. Is it possible that the former workers the problems of world Commun- out the slightest concern for the future." The attempt to compensate for lapses by is haphazard and does not correspond to "Trotskyist contraband"? But if so. Only the independent emergence of the a single leap ahead is least realistic in the demand." nounced their own platform for the sake of remaining in the party, when all is Left and the Right Opposition are not left Opposition and the joining together the sphere of capital construction. The "One billion roubles has been immobiling to the party, when all is left and the Right Opposition are not left opposition and the joining together the sphere of capital construction. or remaining in the party, when an an only neither crushed nor annihilated but, of the basic proletarian kernel under its resources necessary for the fulfillment of ized, 'frozen' by (heavy) industry, in the said and done, my out of the party of the courtery, that they alone exist banner can resurrect the party, the the plan "do not obtain in the country, course of only the first half of 1932, in cause of a netitious connection with a politically. It was precisely the official Workers' State and the Communist Inter- and will not obtain in the nearest fu- the form of stocks of materials, unfinished platform foreign to them? One must the capital construction will be broken tory warehouses." (For Industrialization,

down in a considerable measure."

and monetary resources are divided be-

Sixty-five million roubles were expended thousand tons. Examples of a similar kind, though not of such clarity, are too

The poor quality of materials and of equipment react most cruelly on the

The shocking lagging behind in the sphere of capital undertakings automatic-

Domestic Disproportions and the World Market

the elements of production and the from London. "In England there is inbranches of economy constitutes the very creasingly spreading the recognition of heart of socialist economy. The tortuous the fact that the advanced position of roads that lead to the solution of this the Soviet state in industry and technoproblem are not charted on any map. To logy will present in itself a much wider

commodities of widespread consumption Oppositionist Sokolnikov is trading in

Problems of Social Reformism

question which still confronts us namely,

to what extent social reformism in gen-

eral will develop in the United States

and how to most effectively combat it

ection. We are not making any futile

attempt at guesing whether social reform-

ism will actually come into power, but

merely concerning ourselves with its

prospects of sway for a time within the

necesary to acknowledge the objective

possibilities for social reformist devel-

opments, and to take them into account

in our revolutionary strategy. Whether

-ARNE SWABECK.

This has its important bearing upon the

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

| September 12, 1932). Such are the ex-

Major and minor disproportions call national market. Imported goods to the value of one chervonetz can bring out of its moribund state home production to the value of hundreds and thousands of chervontzi. The general growth of economy, on the one hand, and the sprouting up of new demands and new disproportions, on the other, invariably increase the need of linking up with the world economy. The program of "independence" i, e., of the self-sufficient character of Soviet economy, discloses more and

Thus the import 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. But on this account the import of factory machinery grew excessively.

Kaganovich in a speech on October 8 asserted that the opposition, Left as well gthen our dependence upon the capitalist world." As if the matter concerned some artificial and arbitrary step, and not the automatic logic of economic growth!

At the same time the Soviet press cites with praise the interview given by The problem of the proportionality of Sokolnikov on the eve of his departure gress of the Soviet Union, Sokolnikov The entire industry groans from the considers not the weakening but the strengthening of the ties with the forwhy is he being screened by the official

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". And in the meantime all these ailments which again rendered devastating proof of the guishable from the conscious capitalist world affairs. Its struggle for hegemony, less being corralled behind Roosevelt as have become aggravated and have as-

From day to day the official press bears In those most difficult hours for them, industrial country. That is shown on is the only material expression of opon the eve of capitalism, they adjured the face of the returns. But it is still position to the capitalist system from the further the middle class. But it is just as cernecessary to probe a little deeper to en- nizing, however, the limitations of a par- extension of the October revolution, will tain that the process of break-up cannot off in production Prayda points out: "The decrease in labor power at factories, the Then will not the Socialist party be- growing migration, the weakening of But within the United States the dial- come a more formidable political conten- labor discipline" (September 23). In the ectics of class relations, resting upon der? Its growth is significant, not mere- category of reasons for the extremely yet we have reached no further than the particularly important for us to remember the economic basis already created, is ly by the votes recorded which appear to low productivity of the Red Ural coma threat of civil war and of the down- Democratic party, one of the very impor- that, while this was undoubtedly in the also at work performing its task of be less than what was recorded by the bine, "For Industrializaton", alongside of fall of the Soviet power?-We replied, tant cogs of the system itself, being able main a working class support, it could transforming the political backwardness Debs candidacy years ago; but it is signif it did not encounter our opposition, to corrall an overwhelming majority on be recorded for its ticket also primarof the working class into its opposite. ficant from its position of almost nondifferent parts of the combine" lists the Stalin's polcies would inevitably doom the promise of "a new deal." It is inthe Soviet power to ruin. And this is disputable that the issues of the econ- Communist party leadership to indicate ical plane the traditional two capitalist its ability today to enlist the support of of labor forces"; (2) "the dunderheadthe idea that is expressed in our platomic crisis pressed forward, overshadow- clearly the revolutionary direction. In party system holding exclusive sway, considerable sections of the Leftward ed policy of the working wage" (3) form. What conquers are principles. It is taking on poling everything else in the elections. But this instance the reformists gained at will give way to parties contesting along with some manner of liveable quarters"; (4) "indescribable food for the millworkers;" (5) "the catastrophic falling off of labor discipline." We have quoted word for word. As regards the migration, which "has grown beyond all bounds", this same paper writes, "the living conditions (of the workers) are ghastly in all the enterprises of nonferrous metallurgy without exception."

> In the locomotive factories, which failed to provide 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 Kolomensk factory." The reasons? "Bad living conditions". In the Sormovsk factory-"the factory kitchen is a dive of the worst sort." (For Industrialization, September 28) In the privileged tractor factory in Stalingrad, "the factory kitchen has fallen sharply in its work" (Pravda, Septembzer 21). To what a pitch the dissatisfaction of the workers must have risen in order to force these facts into the columns of the Stalinist

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." Acording 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. "The factory is turning into a thoroughfare."

In explanation of the cruel flop of "the centration of industry, its greater cen- six conditions" there was for a long ist only on such concession crumbs Its more often point out, mostly on the sly,

Rakovsky pointed out this reason of

The presidential elections have once protest vote became entirely undistin- role played by American imperialism in arrested by all of these forces more or were to be cured by the six conditions

the struggle for principles be led in the Republican administration and position to the revolutionary party. consonance with and after consideration Hoover received the blame for the crisis of the entire situation, both domestic and the democratic party marshalled by and foreign. But it is impossible to and large the mighty, but blind protest

Discontent and Radicalization

Are we to conclude from this that victims because they did not keep to this party leadership. With that we have opment of the American workers.

No one could fail to notice the enormous discontentment as revealed by the electinue to serve every victorious faction tions, and revealed clearly also in demonstrations outside the elections. But it (under the pretext of serving socialism), is still groping. Politically, in the main, derate intra-party "liberals" who, at a tional channels, flowing from one capigiven moment, rushed too far to the talist party to another. This is the one tive menace, because things being what "In Moscow", says its editorial of sequently took to the road of coming to is the growth of support enjoyed by the most inevitably involved. Even if Russia is one menace which is feared above something else. Also, in actual numbers, kernel of Soviet policy."

paradox of a politically terribly back- vote. Hence also the support of the its struggle to supplant the bourgeoisie far as the elections were concerned. It sumed a more malignant character. ward working class in a highly developed Socialist party and the Communist party of the other capitalist nations and simulis quite clear that the majority of the able us to find the trends which are liamentary elections in actually register- in the main be determining for future be arrested for very long. ing the working class sentiment. More- political developments at home. Here we have a situation of more than over, when we speak of the support to

cisive economic factors which have long recorded by the Socialist party deserves ago pricked the bubble of national self- serious attention. sufficiency are also very strongly ex- There have been tendencies before in pressed by the French in the proverb, the effects of the crisis? Let us say at pressed in politics. As one small exam- the United States toward a break-up of Fais ce que doit, advienne que pourra! the outset that we do not at all proceed ple we might mention the claim made the two party system, horizontally and Perform your duty, let come what may! from the fundamentally false estimates by the various debtor nations, immediately false estimates by the various debtor nations are considered as a second debtor nation. Zinoviev and Kamenev have fallen the of radicalization made by the official nothing in common. Nevertheless it would sion of the present payments due and standing. They represented mainly the be difficult to deny such prospects. It is be incorrect to conclude that there are a general downward revision of debt pay- middle class elements from both parties

politically independent of the capitalist fully manipulating the issues. parties. That we know will be the direc-But in the United States today the eco- tion. But it is not yet decided to what nomic basis for an ideological and pol- extent and for how long it may assume itical regrouping of class forces is all forms of social reformist political acready established. American politics will tion. In that decision the Communist become Europeanized. It would at this vanguard will play its part. And it is moment be difficult to forget that the de- in consideration of this that the support and turn the tide in a revolutionary dir-

not yet tendencies of a Leftward devel- ments to the United States. This, of seeking a way of combination against course, only testifies to the increasing the big bourgeoisie. This is temporarily

Mister Duranty and Comrade Stalin

in such instances where the official party primers of "socialism in one country" ed to set Western Europe on fire. Tomanaged to get on the ballot. A growth, will enable anybody to recognize in the day Stalin does not want to set anything however, which is entirely too insignificant to be commensurate with the oppopularization for American consumpof revolution abroad, even if it comes
portunities which were at hand. But tion of the theory of "socialism in one without Soviet aid A German revolucant to be commensurate with the op- popularization for American consumpthat is, as has been said before in these country". At the expense of Mr. Dur- without Soviet aid. A German revoluthat is, as has been said before in these country". At the expense of Mr. Durtion is sure to be followed by a Fascist columns, particularly due to the failure anty's generously preferred wireless discounter revolution, and in the swing back of the official party leadership to con- patch charge account, "somebody" in Duccia to likely to be sweet along with of the ometal party leadership to con- patch charge account, "somebody" in duct an election campaign in such a Moscow is giving a tip to the "important" Russia is likely to be swept along with given to social reformism And social ing on their laurels", etc. However, for manner and to pursue a policy in the day- readers of the New York Times: This is the rest." to-day struggles which will win for the not Lenin's time; Stalin has come into With minor amendments, the comment

side of the picture, on the other there they are, the Soviet Union would be al- November 23, "writes Mr. Duranty, there Socialist party. In this instance that managed to hold aloof, a grave disturb- all others, and it is the outbreak of a does represent a swing away from capi- ance in Europe, especially a revolutionary revolution in Germany or elsewhere in talist allegiances of the past, despite the disturbance, would work havor with the Europe. This is a far cry from the time fact that its historical meaning becomes Five-Year Plan, whih is the keynote and when Lenin staged the Bolshevist revhere is a growth of the Communist vote Even passing acquaintance with Stalinist interested in Russia but because he wish-

they will assume the form strictly speaking of a labor party, based upon the trade unions, or the Socialist party actually mustering the forces under its does not make a comment (and it also banner, is not yet certain. That depends upon many factors of future developments. But that social reformism will exist only as an opposition force to Communism is as certain as the fact that the rapidity of developments of capitalist contradictions will also serve to limit its existence. 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 conbuild socialsm in Russia He is afraid

party at least a measure of confidence power. World revolution may have been of the Times editors is fairly keen and possibility of functioning in the United the actual core of the evil, the unbearin the air during the days when Lenin warranted. Only one other "comment" States at all as a historically progres. able living conditions of the workers. Above all one must remember the poli- and Trotsky were sowing the wild oats is missing: What have the Communist sive force are becoming enormously les-Above an one must remember the point and library were sowing the will background of the American working of the young Russian revolution. Today militants to say about the "entente cortical background of the American working of the young Russian revolution. Today militants to say about the "entente cortical background of the American working of the young Russian revolution." workers were reconciled to the loss of tical background of the American working of the young Russian revolution. Today political independence in expectation of class. The European tradition of independence in expectation of class. The European tradition of independence in expectation of class. political independence in expectation of class. The European tradition of inde-near and decisive, socialist successes. The pendent political action has not yet been we don't take the Comintern too seriously philosophy so affectingly concluded be-pendent political action has not yet been we don't take the Comintern too seriously philosophy so affectingly concluded be-pendent political action has not yet been we don't take the Comintern too seriously philosophy so affectingly concluded be-pendent political action has not yet been we don't take the Comintern too seriously philosophy so affectingly concluded be-pendent political action has not yet been we don't take the Comintern too seriously philosophy so affectingly concluded be-pendent political action has not yet been we don't take the Comintern too seriously philosophy so affectingly concluded be-pendent political action has not yet been we don't take the Comintern too seriously philosophy so affectingly concluded be-pendent political action has not yet been we don't take the Comintern too seriously philosophy so affectingly concluded be-pendent political action has not yet been we don't take the Comintern too seriously philosophy so affectingly concluded benear and decisive, socialist successes. The pendent pointiest action has not yet been peasant poor awaited from the collectives established. The American workers, repeasant poor awaited from the collectives established. The American workers, re- quant stand ten Lominadze that the C. a change in their future. The standard gardless of their many heroic examples I. would collapse if it were not for the Bussia" slander on the one hand. a change in their future. The standard gardless of their many heroic examples it were not for the Russia" slander, on the one hand, and for the revolutionary party. It is our "lies in the fact that the worker is physically of the lowest layers of the of strike struggles, have not yet learned subsidy?). Therefore, orient yourselves the "best discipline of Lonin". Longith that the worker is physically and the property of the "best discipline of Lonin". Longith the "best discipline of Lonin". of living of the lowest layers of the lowest layers of the of strike struggles, have not yet learned substance. It is the fight at every step of the road sically incapable of bearing up under to act as a class in a political sense. accordingly. This is the tip and it is Stellin on the other? It is worth re-