WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

HEMILITA NT

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Our Martyrs

Liebknecht and Luxemburg

the revolutionary German working class, reasons for the degneration of the official Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, were murdered in the streets of Berlin. The ruling class of Germany, fearing these two heroic and dauntless fighters. their ability to mobilize the proletariat for the proletarian dictatorship and socialism, called upon the lackeys of the capitalist class, the social democrats, Noske, Schiedeman, Ebert, to stem the revolutionary tide, to murder its outstanding leaders and fighters. The official social democracy carried out these instructions; murdered Liebknecht and Luxemburg, destroyed the Spartacus movement. For the time being it saved Germany—for wage slavery and exploitation. Luxemburg and Liebknecht remain the symbol of proletarian struggle for emancipation; the German and international social democracy continue as the active henchmen of capitalism.

Both Rosa and Karl had, long before 1919, fought the treacherous policies of the social democracy within the official movement. Luxemburg took up the struggle against both the revisionism and opportunism of Bernstein, David, Legien, and Noske, and the academic centrism of Karl Kautsky. Previous to this she had been active in the Polish movement where she fought tooth and nail against the nationalist position of the leaders. Closely in contact with the their Marxist principles, with a heroic Russian social democracy she followed the revolution of 1905 with the greatest interest. She recognized the importance of the leading role of the proletariat in the democratic revolution. She wrote a brochure in which she drew some lessons on mass political strikes, trade unions, relations between trade unions and for the German party and international working class from the Russian

writings of Marx, especially on economics but wrote a theoretical work which attempts to apply the economic laws discovered by Marx to the stage of the im- manently established under capitalism. perialist capitalism ("Accumulation of The class struggle leads inevitably to Capital"). Her knowledge and treat- revolution as shown by Germany today. ment of Marxism, not as a dogma but a revolutionary method of penetrating, knowing and transforming social reality, made Rosa one of the few original thinkers the revolutionary movement has produced since Marx and Engels. She ac- Lenin and the Bolsheviks. She undoubttively participated in all phases of the edly made mistakes. But in spite of social-democratic movement, women's this she remains one of the few Marx- ered American bourgeoisie, rendered dework, practical politics, theoretical dis-ist leaders of our times. Her works sperate by the deepening of the crisis cussions, anti-militarist and youth work.

knecht. Both stressed the importance of work within the armed forces-a proposal which sounded Blanquist to the pacifist and ultra-legalistic social democratic leaders. Karl and Rosa fought for the organization of special youth ers. leagues which would attract young workers and students to the socialist movement, educate them in Marxism, struggle against capitalist militarism. Liebknecht in "Militarism and Anti-Militarism" analyzed the class nature of present day militarism showing its twofold character: against the enemy capitalist nation and colonial peoples; to suppress the working class at home. Luxemburg exposed the sham and hypocricy of the proposals for disarmament and pacifism under capitalism, and castigated them as "pacifist utopias". The activity of Rosa and Karl prepared them for the war period role.

The coming of the World (War, which like all deep social crises poses the questions of class struggle sharply, found down either to the Left or to the Right. social democratic opportunism develop That is the situation approaching with logically into social chauvinism, social every hour in Germany today. There imperialism. The policy of class colla- are forces who would like the ball to boration during peace time led to sup- roll down towards the Right and break port of the bourgeoisie during the war. the back of the working class. There On the other hand, the advocacy of class struggle, a relentless fight against main at the top. That is a utopia. The the capitalist class during "peace" time, ball cannot remain at the top of the found Liebknecht and Luxemburg during pyramid. The Communists want the as prior to the war in the vanguard of, ball to roll down toward the Left and the proletariat struggling against the to break the back of capitalism. But it capitalist conflagration and for proletar- is not enough to want, one must know ian revolution.

Luxemburg and Liebknecht aided by such fighters as Jogisches, Mehring, Levine, organized the Spartacus Bund, unfurled the banner of revolutionary Marxism and proclaimed the struggle against the war, the social democrats, the mainstay of capitalism, and for socialism, Karl hurled the defiant voice of the militant working class in the Reichstag when voting against war credits; in the Kaiser's army he agitated the soldiers for socialism; in the streets of Berlin at the height of the war in May 1916, he echoed the class interests of the German proletariat. For these actions Liebknecht was arrested and thrown into jail.

Luxemburg had also been incarcerated by the Kaiser's government; the other Spartacans were issuing illegal literature and conducting other forms of propaganda under the able leadership of Leo Jogisches. Rosa, while in prison, wrote her now famous brochure on "The way, then they would perhaps even pre- means that his speeches regarding the the next two, three or five months. The after five, ten or twenty years of their Crises in the German Social Democracy"

On January 15th 1919, the leaders of explaining in a scientific manner the social democratic movement, for its war position and the road the Marxists should

> When the Russian workers overthew capitalism and established a proletarian dictatorship, Liebknecht and Luxemburg unhesitatingly supported the Bolshevik Revolution. Rosa, while criticizing some of the policies of the Bolsheviks, stressed (in contrast to Kautsky) that they were in the main conditioned on factors inde pendent of their (the Bolsheviks) will and on that bases were justified.

The German revolution of 1918 released Luxemburg and Liebknecht from prison. The Spartacus Bund, which had been part of the Independent Social Democratic Party (the Centrist party of Kautsky, Hilferding, etc.) withdrew and on December 31, 1919 founded the Communist Party of German (Spartacus Bund). The questions of armed insurrection, barricade fighting, the proletarian dictatorship and socialism, in a sword, precisely those matters which put horror ated with a lucidity which only a brillant Marxian like Rosa Luxemburg could use. Not fearing to struggle against the stream though only a handful, Rosa and the working masses, intransigeant in radio for the National Broadcasting Compurpose of social production and distribulialist society by itself—without the aid her Spartacan omrades, with faith in will to struggle for socialism, launched the organization which will lead the Ger man proletariat to power.

The German Communist Party was founded at a time when street fighting took place in Berlin. In a few days on January 15th, 1919, Luxemburg and Liebknecht were arrested and shamefully murdered by the social democrati henchmen of the German bourgeoisie. A short time later, Leo Jogisches was Luxemburg not only popularized the brutally killed while in prison. The traitorous social democracy established "order" in Germany. But "order' "peace", "stabilization", cannot be per-

> The Left Opposition considers itsel the rightful inheritors of the traditions of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Rosa more than once was at logger-heads with Opposition to publish and make known the writings of Luxemburg so that we one of the most brilliant Marxist teach-

> > -JOSEPH CARTER.

SUBSCRIBE TO YOUNG SPARTACUS

OPEN FORUM

Revolutionary Currents in

Spain Today

Lecture by MAX SHACHTMAN

Just Returned From A Four Weeks' Stay In Spain.

at the Labor Temple 14th Street and Second Avenue

Friday January 15, 1932 at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION ADMISSION: 25 Cents Unemployed Workers Admitted Free Auspices: New York Branch Communist

League of America (Opposition)

appeared in the press. There are already "official" Japanese versions and "official" American versions. Developments are not moving with the speed haracteristic of such incidents, it is true. The cloud-burst following Saraievo was much more prompt. But that is not at all sufficient reason to interpret the slowness of procedure in the vulgar and watered manner of the Stalinists, who attribute it solely to the imperialists' anxiety not to spoil the solid (?) front against the Soviet Un-

consul, Culver B. Chamberlin, in Man-

churia. Many versions of the story have

ing more. Every serious observer, every serious world situation, with which we shall deal

ion. For the Stalinists, the internal

contradictions of imperialism constitute

just one more hollow phrase with which

to adorn a "thesis" or a manifesto, noth-

Outstanding in last week's news is the revolutionist could not help but see the further o... diplomatic incident around the American growing dissatisfaction of the Western capitalist brigands with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. In a world economic crisis like the present, gripping industry as tightly as it does, every scrap of market is the subject of the greatest avarice and envy for every one of the robber states. All the more so, when it concerns so promising and so valuable a market as China. It would be rank stupidity to assume for even a minute, that the United States, Great Britain and the others would so readily cede such a treasure to the Nipponese. On the contrary, a revolutionist, a disciple of Lenin cannot doubt at all that conflicts of a high order among the imper ialist powers are bound to result. The tempo in which these conflicts are sharpened and the forms that they take or are controlled by other factors in the

present instance.

However, under the pressure of our

criticism and of the growing demands

of the situation itself, the Stalinists have

begun to mutter and mumble a few ob-

scure words about the need for credits

and trade to the Soviet Union in connec

tion with unemployment. But so far, it

has remained largely upon paper, filed

away for the records. No real national

campaign, appropriate to the tremendous

importance of the question, has yet been

undertaken. The Opposition's point of

view, you see, must not be confirmed,

for how can the "counter-revolutionary

Trotskyists" be permitted to show that

they saw more clearly and more correct-

ly and more in time, how to rally work-

ers for the cause of the Soviet Union?

We, for our part, are not in the slightest

concerned about the vulgar question of

seems to keep the Stalinist functionaries

Japanese-American Conflict

The Recent Manchurian Incident as a Factor in World Politics

At the present time, the United States State Department appears to restrict itself to the invocation of the Nine Power Treaty and the policy of the "Open Door", in its struggle against the Japanese. There has been talk of action along these lines for some time. The Chamberlin affair has merely served as the pretext for giving this line of action the necessary impulse. The State Department is calling upon Great Britain and France to support its side of the conflict. It is doubtful, to say the least, whether France would give its aid: Strained relations between the bourgevisies of the two countries in the past few months confirm us in our doubt. The British are confronted with rising revolutionary activity among the Indian masses and in jockeying for position might be more amenable to American plans, especially due to the temporary decline of American "sympathies" for Indian independence. For the time being, American-Japanese relations are characterized by less active hostility than would normally be expected. Imperialist alignments in days of economic stress like the present are fickle things. But it is only a matter of time for the lines to be drawn.

The community of interests between the working class of the world and the oppressed colonial peoples of the Orient, achieved by devious routes.

Clarity on War Danger!

Yes, the Soviet Union is in langer. The capitalist world is desperate. For the present, this danger is most acute on the Western frontier, to be more precise in the menace of Fascism facing the German working class, which is an invaluable ally of the Soviet Union. It is there that the greatest watchfulness is necessary. It is there, that the whole Communist movement is standing a test that will be decisive for the working class and for the oppressed peoples of "credit" for revolutionary ideas, which the entire world for many years to come. But historical development does not awake nights. What we do find it im- proceed along one straight line. Any Unfortunately, the campaign for cre- perative to ask is this: Is the reactionary "incident" is bound to serve as a spark obstinacy of the Stalinist machine to with which to set off the explosive forces It was in the latter two fields that comrades; most of her critics have never two neigs that contractes, most of her critices have never gasted by the fact that all the nostrums tain capitalist statesmen and politicians paign at a time when it is not only is why all Communists must pay the nighly essential but when bourgeois de- closest attention to the turns in impermagogues are hypocritically waving ialist policy, that is why they must not around a slogan which properly belongs underestimate them, distort their importance. The Chamberlin incident and the Or perhaps the Stalinists want no mass further progress of Japanese-American campaign of agitation and action on this relations requires the utmost attention of the workers, not as an incident in itself,

is the lesson taught by political necessity. Today, this becomes clearer than ever. The imperialist powers are preparing to strike. While centering our attention on the struggle in Germany, we must not forget the danger threatening from the East. The coordination of the aims of the imperialists will undoubtedly be

matter on how large a scale, will not raised by the Left Opposition, and the made about this burning working class but as a factor in the world situation

and fear in the hearts of the capitalists and their labor lieutenants, were illumin. Capitalist Politicians Favor Russian Credits; Stalinists Mark Time

The flat proposal for trade with the at best, it can and will serve as a slight conflict to the reactionary, utopian theory Soviet Union made by Mr. Rainey, Dem- amelioration of its crippled industries, that the Soviet Union has all the necess ocratic leader of the House of Represen- which only a complete and radical change sary economic and political pre-requisites tatives, in a speech delivered over the of ownership can rehabilitate for the for the complete construction of a soc pany last Monday, brings one more pro- bution. But with the misery of the mil- of the rest of the world. How perniciminent capitalist politician into the lions of unemployed in this country be- ous a theory this proves to be in praccolumn of those who have already ad- coming more acute every day, the de- tise is eloquently demonstrated by the vanced the idea before. In this programmatic speech, widely reproduced in the with the Soviet Union would undoubtedly press, which is intended as a semi-official prove of great value. Factories now indictment of the Hoover régime and as shut down would have the opportunity the plan of action of the Democratic of resuming production and would re-House majority for "solving the crisis" Rainey advocates large-scale trade with the Soviet Union which, he adds, constiutes one of the world's largest un- than that: the difficulties in the Soviet tapped markets at the present time, and Union itself would be considerably ameparticularly necessary for the United liorated if the American workers could States with the present state of its in-

Further indications of the trend capitalist opinion are contained in a speech delivered in the house by another Democratic politician. William Sirovich, who recently returned from a visit to make concrete and alive the feeling of the Soviet Union, but also the diplomatic international solidarity of the American recognition of the country by the United States as a solid preliminary to such

It is clear that the thoroughly bewild-

course incontestable. For the bourgeoisie, embraced in the slogan stands in direct hind the scenes. . . .

velopment of extensive trade relations employ tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of those now tramping the streets in the vain hunt for work. More compel the United States to dvance a billion dollar credit to the workers' repof ublic for the purchase of machinery and other instruments of production. In any case, a well-conceived and organized national campaign for this purpose would workers and a sentiment of intimate connection between their struggle against the misery of unemployment and the Russian workers' job of building the new society.

are almost unknown to the American and the growing discontentment of the dits, recognition and trade has hitherto hitherto invoked by the bourgeois states. I who have taken up this popular issue and men and economists for the solution of capitalized upon it for themselves. The the difficulties have failed, is even begin-| Communist movement has religiously she erred, but learn a great deal from ning to orient itself—at least in certain avoided the issue, or even condemned the to the revolutionary movement? quarters- towards the Bolshevik devil campaign for it as "social fascism" or in the hope of finding some way out. something closely akin to it. The reasons That trade with the Soviet Union, no for it are two-fold: the slogan was first issue in the hope that if no "stir" is solve the convulsive contradictions in Stalinist sages feel mortified at having to question, Stalin will be able to achieve as a whole. herent in the capitalist system, is of adopt it now, and secondly, the idea the same aim by polite negotiations be-

OPPOSITION LEADER ARRESTED

IN ARGENTINA

We are informed by letter of the ar-

rest of comrade Camilo Lopez, the sec-

retary of the Left Opposition in Argen-

tina. The letter from our comrades

reads: "Our secretary, Camilo Lopez was

arrested and his house raided by the

police. They took all his papers and

propaganda material. We have been

very busy since trying to prevent his

being sent to Ushuaia, the Siberia of the

-S. G.

The Impending Danger of Fascism in Germany

going through one of those great historic hours upon which the fate of the German people, the fate of Europe and in an important measure, the fate of all of humanity will depend for decades. If you place a ball on top of a pyramid the slightest impact can cause it to roll are forces who would like the ball to rehow. Let us calmly reflect once more: Is the policy carried on at present by the Central Committee of the Commun ist Party of Germany correct or incor-

What does Hitler Want?

The Fascists are growing very rapidly. The Communists are also growing but much more slowly. The growth at ists signifies the danger that the ball may roll down toward the Right. Therein lies an enormous danger.

Hitler emphasizes that he is against a coup d'etat. In order to strangle democracy once and for all, he is willing to achieve power no differently, so to speak, than by the democratic road. Can we seriously believe this?

Of course, if the Fascists could figure fer this road. In reality, bowever, this peaceful democratic road are only a calculation of time in the polity of rev-

At the present moment Germany is A Letter to a German Communist Worker on the United operations of decisive importance. Front Against Hitler: -: By Leon Trotsky

road is unthinkable for them. It is cloak, that is, a strategem. In that case stupid to believe that the Nazis would it is all the more necessary to keep one's grow uninterruptedly, as they do now, eyes open. for an unlimited period of time. Sooner or later they will drain their social reservoir. Fascism has introduced into its own ranks such dreadful contradicfore the Fascists will have united about be able to halt, for they will have nothing more to expect here. They will be forced to resort to an overthrow. But even apart from all this,

the Fascists are cut off from the democratic road. The immense growth of the political antagonisms in the country, the stark brigands' agitation of the uation in which the closer the Fascists heated the atmosphere will become and ditions most favorable to the Fascists. the more extensive, the unfolding of the conflicts and struggles will be. From the extreme poles shows that the ball this perspective, civil war is absolutely cannot maintain itself at the top of the inevitable. Consequently the question of pyramid. The rapid growth of the Fasc- the seizure of power by the Fascists will not be decided by vote, but by civil war, which the Fascists are preparing and This circumstance is of tremendous improvoking.

Can we assume even one minute that

What is Concealed Behind Hitler's Strategem?

His calculations are altogether simple and obvious: He wants to lull his antotions, that the moment must come in gonists with the long-run perspective of which the flow will cease to replace the the parliamentary growth of the Nazis ebb. The moment can arrive long be in order to catch them napping and to deal them a death-blow at the right mothem even half of the votes. They will not ment. It is entirely possible that Hitler's courtesies to democratic parliamentarism may, moreover, help to set up some sort of coalition in the immediate future in which the Fascists will obtain the most important posts and employ them in turn for their coup d'etat. For it is en- for it. An ignominious defeat in a strugtirely clear that the coalition, let us gle against bands of human rubbish—the assume, between the Center and the Fascists will inevitably lead to a sit- Fascists will not be a stage in the "democratic" solution of the question, but a come to get a majority, the more step closer to the coup d'etat under con-We must Plan According to the Shorter

Perspective All this means that even regardless staff, the solution can arrive in the course of the next few months, if not weeks. portance in elaborating a correct policy. If we allow the Fascists to seize power greater crime in politics than that of ary plans laid out in advance for hoping for stupidities on the part of a two, three or five years will prove to be strong enemy. If Hitler cannot help be- only wretched and disgraceful twaddle, on obtaining an absolute majority of the ing aware that the road to power leads if the working class will allow the Fascvotes at the next elections in a peaceful through gruesome civil war, then that ists to achieve power in the course of not after their coming into power, not

Let us take another, more remote example for the clarification of our idea. Hugo Urbahns, who considers himself a "Left Communist", declares the German Party bankrupt, politically done for, and proposes to create a new party. If Urbahns were right, that would mean that the victory of the Fascists is certain, For, in order to create a new party, years are needed (and at that it is not at all proved that the Party of Urbahns would in any sense be better than Thaelmann's Party: When Urbahns was at the head of the Party there were in no ways fewer mistakes).

Yes, should the Fascists really conquer power, that would mean not only the physical destruction of the Communist Party, but veritable political bankruptcy many millions of the German proletariat would never forgive the Communist International and its German section. The seizure of power by the Fascists would therefore most probably signify the necessity of creating a new revolutionary party and in all probability also of a new International. That would be a of the desires of the Fascist general frightful historical catastrophe. But to assume today that all this is unavoidable, only genuine liquidationists are capable of. That is, those who under the mantle of their hollow phraseology are in actuality capable only of capitulating Hitler and his advisers do not realize in two or three months, then the strug- in a cowardly manner in the face of and foresee this? That would mean to gle against them next year will be much struggle and without a struggle. With consider them blockheads. There is no harder than in this. All revolution this conception we Bolshevik-Leninists Department of Labor. This ends a perwho are called Trotskyites by the Stalinists have nothing in common.

We are unflinchingly convinced that the victory over the Fascists is possible (Continued on page 4)

Argentine. Comrade Lopez has been given twenty days to get ready to go to Ushuaia or to be deported to Spain

MOONEY CONFERENCE IN

BELLEVILLE

On Sunday, January 10, the first session of a united front conference to demand Mooney's release will take place in Belleville, Illinois. This conference has been organized along the lines of Mooney's August 20 appeal by the local comrades in Belleville, cooperating with the St. Louis branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). Reports of its sessions and activities will appear in forthcoming issues of the Militant. All active workers are urged to give all support to the Belleville conference.

JAPANESE COMMUNIST WINS **VOLUNTARILY DEPARTURE** TO RUSSIA

Sadaichi Kenmotsu, young Japanese graduate, who has been held in San Francisco two years facing deportation as a Communist, has finally been granted voluntary departure to Russia by the sistent contest to prevent Kenmotsu being sent to Japan, where he would have been subject to drastic punishment as a Communist. Proceedings against him were based on his attendance at a meeting at which alleged "subversive" literature was distributed.

Stalin Makes Party History to Order

Stalin. There are two articles of the "Master" published in the Russian party press, dealing with questions of party history. One of them, which has appeared in the foreign official Communist press, deals with Lenin's attitude towards the pre-war Social Democratic Party of Germany and is a polemic against the article of Slutzky, a young Marxist historian. We have no room here to go into the material content of this polemic at the present moment, if only for the simple reason that we do not know the work of Slutzky. Here we call attention to two things. With unexcellable grossness and brutality, Stalin launches into poor Slutzky who dared, on the basis of documents, to consider possible an overestimation on Lenin's part of the S. P. G. Centrists (Kautskyans). This thought of Slutzky's is called by Stalin, who demagogically reduces the polemic to this question: Was Lenin a Bloshevik? Yes or no? Is there to be any doubt about Lenin's Bolshevism? The Bolshevism of Lenin is an "axiom" for Stalin, a dogma, just as the sanctity of some Mary is a dogma for the church. There is nothing to doubt about this, nothing is to be looked into concerning it, nothing is to be discussed: it must

simply be believed.

It is clear that such a way of putting a question, for people whose every second word is "dialectics", is stupid and vulgar. Lenin was not a Bolshevik from his first days, while he still lay in his cradle He developed himself in the course of all his revolutionary activity to the position of a Bolshevik. He was not "infallible", like Stalin and other priests and holy men, but made mistakes, acknowledged his mistakes openly in order to rectify them. It is curious that Stalin, wherever he speaks of the "infallibility", of the absolute "dogmatic" Bolshevism of Lenin, adds in parentheses "(the Bolsheviks)". This creates the appearance as though all the Bolsheviks were always at one with Lenin in all questions—we shall show below that this is wrong-and as though every Bolshevik, just because he was a Bolshevik, because it lies in the very essence of Bolshevik, was-a Lenin. And just as little as one may entertain doubts about Lenin's Bolshevism or discuss the question, so is one prohibited to doubt the Bolshevism of the "only" Bolsheviks, the Stalinists, or even discuss it, least of all concerning the Bolshevism of Stalin—the Lenin on a higher level-who conceals his hollowness behind a canonized, "embalmed" Lenin. Out with it! this doubting! These hypocritical, mendacious, priestly, jesuitical morals, which hit Marxism-Leninism in the face with a blackjack, are a phenomenon worthy of the degen erated Comintern, which every Communist will spurn.

"Scoundrelly" "trivial", "degenerated" ist" and its author a disciple of Trotsky. Bolsheviks (the editorial board which Communism. Thence a certain liberal- house. ism towards the Trotskyists and those thinking like them." There's the nigger the party into a panic. For months no in the woodpile. "Trotskyism" is gain- challenge was made to the edict of the ing an influence in Russia among the Republican Mayor Kunze against all party members. Stalin is becoming Communist assembly. The T. U. L.

For the 1,000th Time

frightened. He fears the "Trotskyist" truth. He is therefore giving the signal to the G. P. U. by articles and commands for a new reinforced annihilation campaign against the Left Opposition.

The second Stalin article is concerned with party history of the February revolution and the arrival of Lenin in Petrograd, and with Yaroslavsky. This period is exceptionally painful for Stalin role of the party in this period of Febhimself and it is highly important that all the party comrades learn the "historical truth" about this affair.

Who would have believed it? And yet it is a fact! The Soviet journals accuse Yaroslavsky openly of having favored the smuggling of Trotsky's conceptions on the history of the Bolshevik party at the beginning of the February revolution into the books on party history of which he is in charge.

As everybody knows now (after the re velations of comrade Trotsky) the Bolshevik party at the beginning of the February revolution (before the arrival of Lenin) conducted, under the leadership of Stalin and Kameney, a policy of confidence in the provisional government and supported a bloc with Tseretelli in the Soviets. Arriving in Petro grad, Lenin wrote his "April theses' which gave the party a completely different orientation, an orientation towards the winning of the revolutionary masses with a view towards the assumption of power by armed insurrection. For Lenin it was a question of "forgetting the reminiscences of the past", not to be bound by the old formula, outstripped by events, of the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants", but to steer a course resolutely towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is what Trotsky called the re-armament of the crimes of the "organizer of defeats". party. This historical fact is undeniable

In recent weeks the world has been enriched by two "theoretical works" of Killing a 'Dead Trotskyism' and all the eye-witnesses of the February revolution, who left memoirs of the early moments of the revolution, estabpatriotism of the party under the leadership of Stalin-Kamenev. Of all these Petrograd, are the most convincing and authoritative. The memoirs of Schlap-Petrograd.

> That is just what the young Marxian the party" in April 1917. Another Marxian historian spoke of it right in the party history which appears under the is where Yaroslavsky's sins begin. How did he let it pass? Has he not succumbed himself to Trotskyism? The whole Soviet press, from the Izvestia to the Krasnaja Gazetta is aroused by this scandal. Yaroslavsky is openly attacked and the demand is made that in the "next edition of the party history, sections caluminating the party be expanded" Stalin himself published his article in the Bolshevik in which he "reconstructs" the historical truth after his own man-

> The all-powerful apparatus of Stalin fears nothing so much as the historical truth. That is why it will lightly obey any commands of the Master and "expunge" all onerous sections from the history. But like all other historical fasifications, this one too will not suc ceed in concealing the mistakes and the

> > -E. O.

With the Opposition in Minneapolis

the event as a "suspect", in reality as a menace in the given situation. hostage pending the arrest of the T. U. U. L. and party organizers of the affair. The breaking into the Gateway Meat party's "third period" adventure in Minneapolis, found the party bureaucrats unwhich they alone were responsible. When in the words of Stalin, are both the arti- arrested, Karl Reeve, Powers and Grecht, cle and its author, Slutzky, because the the erstwhile working class heroes on the officially did nothing for the victims. A call which was published in the press, article is supposed to be "semi-Trotsky- party payroll, sneaked out of town. The few friends brought fruit and cigarettes first in the Day, and then, after a delay party officially announced they had noth-And with this we come to the reason ing to do with the affair and refused the bureaucrats had betrayed them; and why Stalin's article was written. Surely to participate in the defense of the work- that their own comrades had deserted not out of scientific eagerness to secure ers fearing this would implicate it, and them. It rankled. They resolved never historical truth. "I believe that rotten be used as prima facie evidence of the to be made scapegoats again. liberalism, which at the present moment party's responsibility. All idea of work- After serving their sentence, one comenjoys a certain vogue among a section of ing class solidarity was thrown to the rade dropped out altogether, one came The workers of Minneapolis got also gets its share, together with Slut- a lot of secret satisfaction out of the zky), has pushed them along this path daring act of the demonstrators liter-Some Bolsheviks are of the opinion that ally reusing to starve and going into the Trotskyism is a faction of Communism, a store and "taking it". But chagrin was tion. In his own words he says, "I'm lecture wil be held at OSTROPOLER mistaken one, it is true, committing no felt at the manner in which the party few blunders, even anti-Sovietist for that shamefully deserted the workers arrest matter, but nevertheless a faction of ed, tried and railroaded to the work

The flight of Reeve and Powers threw

Recently a worker approached the headquarters on Hennepin was left open League and applied for membership. He by the police perhaps for the purpose of is sullen, shy, keenly observant, but not trapping Powers. The Communist League very talkative. He said he had just headquarters, however, were raided twice completed a 90 day sentence at the work- and meetings broken up. Our headquarhouse for participation in the February ters were finally closed. To all appear-25 Hunger Demonstration last year. He ances, the police department considered had been picked up by the police after the Trotskyists as the more dangerous

In the workhouse, the I. L. D. machinery was again gummed up. Or was it and very little of that. The boys felt of three weeks, in the Freiheit.

back into the I. L. D., much the experience, and the third, after sev- UARY 10, 1932, at 8 P. M., a lecture on Arne Swabeck drew many of our memeral months of thought and study of the "The Economic Crisis and the Commun bers as well as numerous friends and situation, joined the Communist Opposi- ists" will be given by Arne Swabeck. The going to do what I can to help put the HALL, 943 No. FRANKLIN ST. The -cowl. track."

SWABECK IN MINNEAPOLIS

joint benefit of the Militant and the new Jewish organ of the Left Opposition, two public lectures were held; one on the Plight of the MacDonald government in England with lessons for the Minnesotz Farmer-Labor Party, which was held right in the 11th Ward F. L. P. headquarters, and the other on the Role of lish the vulgar opportunism and social the Left Opposition in the Present Crisis, held at the Labor Lyceum. Though the audience in both cases was not extraormemoirs, those of Schlapnikov, who was dinarily large, it was very attentive and in the leading center of the party from interested in the message of the Opposithe very first days of the revolution in tion spokesman. The meetings were marked by serious questions and discussion from the floor, as well as by certain pronikov constitute an invaluable document vocative heckling and speeches by the for any conscientious historian who Stalinists, all of which gave comrade wants to present a true picture of the Swabeck an opportunity to deal concretely with the questions raised. One party ruary 27 up to April 3, 1917 (old style), member reiterated the argument that the that is, up to the arrival of Lenin in Trotskyists were "individualists who would not abide by Communist discipline; and that furthermore, in the face of the historians, Slutzky and Volossevitch, did mass work the party was doing, the Opin their historical works. They based position did nothing but criticize the themselves upon the evidence of Schlap party." It was obvious to all after nikov and spoke of a "re-armanent of Swabeck's answer that the very participation of party members in our meetings were a recognition of the revolutionary work the Opposition is carrying exalted supervision of Yaroslavsky. This on, and that our constructive criticism and conduct in the W. I. R. and the Mooney conference, etc., was rallying increasing numbers of workers to our stan-

In addition comrade Swabeck addressed the Labor Lyceum Open Forum on the Manchurian Crisis and the Workers Open Wast 12th Street, Kansas City, Mo. Forum on the Future of American Trade Unionism, the latter conducted every Sunday Afternoon, 3 P. M. at 1530 East Franklin Ave.

Nearly seventy dollars was raised from these meetings and a number of subscriptions to Opposition papers, especially to Unser Kamf, the new Jewish organ. We hope soon again to get a speaker from the National Center. C.

* * * * MINNEAPOLIS WORKERS FORUM 1530 East Franklin

Sunday, January 10th, at 3 P. M. The next meeting of the Minneapolis Workers Open Forum will feature Carl Cowl who speaks on "Tom Mooney and the American Frame-up System". Last week's debate on the proposition "That Communism will Emancipate the Working Class" between comrade Dunne and Jean Spielman of the A. F. of L. aroused a great deal of interest among the workers. Even the capitalist newspapers carried notices of this event. 200 attended!

The usual question and discussion period will feature the Mooney Forum meet-

CORRECTION

In the article on the Workmen's Circle by J. B. (Militant 2-1-32) there is stated deliberate sabotage and cowardice again? that the Paterson members of the W. C. Market on that date, the product of the The I. L. D. lost a unique opportunity to issued a call which "was first published exploit this local issue along with its in the Jewish Day and, after a delay of Hall and did not hear the sorching ansnational campaign. After all, nothing three weeks, in the Freiheit." This is willing to go through with the move for rallies local workers so much as a case a technical error due to the wrong they personally know about. Never for placement of the sentence. The call rethe three rank and file workers were years has there been as good a case. In- fers to that issued by Workmen's Cirnocent, framed workers. The I. L. D. cle, Branch No. 417, N. Y. It was this

PHILADELPHIA

MASS MEETING

ed. There will be a period for questions and discussion by the audience. The Saturday with comrade Swabeck for the League of America (Opposition).

Swabeck's Tour Results

ers, was held in Kansas City on December 18. when comrade Arne Swabeck spoke on the "Economic Crisis and the He spoke on the problems of our move-Communists". The talk was very well in the program and work of the Communist League (Opposition). The Stalinists, who are askance at the development of as they call it, "A Trotskyist Center" in Kansas City, set to work to hinder the meeting. At first they boasted they would send their "big guns" to heckle the speaker but none of them showed up. But several Party rank and file member: did attend, despite the intimidation and order by the Stalinist bureaucrats not fun making. to attend the meeting. The meeting gave an impetus to the Opposition Open Forum which is soon to begin.

On the following Sunday night a banquet was held. A good time was had by all and a collection was taken up to aid in the work.

The study class in the Fundamentals of Communism is now well under way The class, conducter by comrade Geo. Clarke, has ten members with good prospects for growth. Those wishing to join should get in touch with George Clarke, care of Buehler's Bookstore, 220

-GEORGE CLARKE.

CHICAGO, ILL.-

It was a hall packed to the doors that greeted comrade Arne Swabeck yesterday as he delivered his remarkable lecture on "Trotsky's Views of the World Crisis". Despite the departure from the meeting, Redifer Hall, 30 N. Wells St., was packed with about a hundred workers present promptly on the hour announced for the meeting.

Comrade Swabeck very ably presented the viewpoint of the Left Opposition, débacle of Stalinist policy. He spoke of the vindication of the policy of the headway. We want the "Majority" Left Communists as expressed in the reto the Soviet Union" slogan of the Left motivated by mercenary considerations-Communists by Stalinists and prophesied have to eat their words and conform to the demands of life.

During the discussion period one lone Stalinist took the floor in a weak attempt to answer Swabeck's arguments. As soon as he was through he left the wer of comrade Swabeck.

A good collection was taken, a good literature sale was reported by the literature agent and many new contacts were made with workers eager to get more information on Communism and the policies of our faction. It was the opinmeeting will inject new pep into the —J. S. G. work here in Chicago.

The New Year's Eve banquet arranged position at its own headquarters, at 1435 ang factories. sympathizers of our movement.

Comrade John Edwards acted as master of ceremonies, calling upon comrades Terrorist. Communist party back on the right admission is free and edveryone is invit- present for speeches. The speakers all responded to the occasion very nobly. In addition to the usual fun provoking com- military control, reveal the precise exmeeting is being held under the auspices ments there was noted a strong under-tent to which the present "rulers" of After the successful banquet held last of The Philadelphia Branch, Communist current of seriousness, and the will to China have sold themselves to foreign spread ever wider the teachings of Lenin- imperialism.

KANSAS CITY-A successful mass ism which have in this period been cormeeting, with an attendance of 50 work- rupted and dragged through the mire of Stalinist revisionism.

Comrade Swabeck was the last speaker. ment stressing on the necessity for received and aroused a greater interest more activity and devotion on the part of all comrades. The comrades of the Left Opposition must realize that today they stand at the head of the whole Communist movement in Marxist clarity and training for the class struggle.

The very successful program proceeded into the early hours of the morning in unabated hilarity. Jack McBeth of the Liberal Science Institute, present for the occasion, displayed unusual genius in

Much credit for the gastronomic success of the affair goes to comrades Jim Economou and H. Judd who were in full charge of the kitchen. A collection of \$27.00 was taken and presented to comrade Swabeck to help strengthen our

OUR MIND IS UNCHANGED

As we announced several months ago. in an exclusive interview with our printer's devil, Kent, the name Revolutionary Age was proving to be too radical for the Lovestone faction. Despite the denials at that time, we stuck to our guns and we're glad of it. For we now have the official announcement that the Revolutionary Age is now to pass into an unlamented limbo so that its place may be taken by the more modest Workers' Age. Harmonious as this change is with the course of the Right wingers, we still stick to our old proposal. Our readrule that admision was charged for this ers will doubtless recall it. We want it changed to the Victorian Age. Thus far, nobody has been able to advance a single reasoned argument against our proposal and we take that to mean that it is unassailable. In spite of that, we're satisfied with one step at a time. Slowly winning the applause of all present. He but inevitably, the name we proposed will dealt with the perspectives for the yet wave coyly at the masthead of the crisis, the role of the Communist advance Lovestone sheet. What does perturb us guard of the working class, and the a trifle is that the name we proposed for the organization has not yet made any group to be called C. P. L. A. (Minority sults of the class struggle and the world Group), if for no other reason that polsituation. He exposed the farcical delitical accuracy and clarity. As our readnunciation of the "Long terms credits ers may be sure, our proposals are never we want no money prizes—but solely in that before long these bureaucrats would the sacrosanct interests of truth and justice. . . .

DEATH PENALTY FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST AGITATION

HANKOW, (Fenprecor) Death to antiimperialist agitators! This is the decree of the Wuhan military authorities posted throughout this city today. The Garrison Headquarters has issued a warning that "would-be law breakers" will pay with their heads for attempting to create disorders "that would develop ion of all comrades that this successful into a diplomatic issue". The order is aimed" against the outbreak of incidents involving foreign, particularly Japanese, nationals".

Decapitation will be meted out to agiby the Chicago branch of the Left Op- tators in Hankow, Wuchang, and Hany-

Ave., in honor of comrade Public meetings and organization of societies are forbidden.

"Peace and order" are thus being maintained in the Wuhan area by Governor Ho Chen-chun, notorious White

These orders, duplicated throughout the area under Kuo Min Tang or other

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The Red Movement in Bulgaria

tory. This victory is distinguished in permit ourselves to speak primarily of part by the complete defeat of "Demo- the general framework of the defeat of cratic Unity" (Zgovor), and in part, by the Bulgarian proletariat in 1923, and the great number of votes that the illegal in connection with that, to scrutinize the C. P. B. received.

the socialist party received only 25,000 P. got only 5 seats.

We can all still recall that in conse-Malinov.

It could be foreseen that the proletariat had little to expect from the "demfield of social legislation.

than that by the S. P.

the profound causes of this loss, as well working class. In other words: precisely habit, now become deep-seated, to make as those for the decrease in the influ- at the moment when the objective condi- the Russian factional struggles a general menting. ence of the C. P. in general.

On the basis of a detailed and objective are maturing, the subjective factor is anaylsis of the situation of the C. P. of lacking and falling behind the possibil- uniformly on the other parties. Bulgaria, we first want to declare that ities that the situation offers.

On June 21 last, the C. P. of Bul- ascribed to the thoroughly false line and garia obtained a big parliamentary vic- policies of the C. I. and therefore we entire policy of the C. I. from the critic-The C. P. received 166,000 votes, while al point of view of Marxism-Leninism.

Despite the official optimism, it is votes. The C. Pl gained 32 seats, the S. nevertheless a regretable, a disagreeable and disquieting fact that the influence of the C. P. has been declining in practicquence of the election, the Tsankov-Liap- ally all the capitalist countries, and that tchev government resigned and made the proletarian masses are not being won place for the bourgeois opposition part- over to Communism. In the eyes of the ies, the so-called "people's" bloc led by present leadership, this statement is regarded as "Trotskyism", "deviation to the right", posing a lack of confidence in the revolution. The simple mention ocratic" people's bloc, by the fact that of this fact suffices to merit the designathe latter did not promise even in the tion of "renegade". Nevertheless, we period of the election campaign, that it need above everything, a thorough analwould abolish the notorious law "for ysis on our own part, in order to find the protection of the state" in case it the causes of this stagnation, or rather, came into power, nor grant a general this decline. The causes must be revealamnesty or bring any sort of relief to ed and uprooted; this is the fundamental the strving native proletariat in the condition for the success of the prole munist principles to them. tarian revolutionary movement. The dec-In recalling the number of votes the line in the influence of the Communist ated and prolonged by the formation of the mistakes being corrected, they create C. P. obtained in the elections of April parties of the capitalist countries, their a bureaucratic regime inside the leader-new mistakes. In order to justify in-22, 1924 (206,540) and those of the S. inability to secure the support of the ship which eliminates and is still eliminates and political shortcomings, all P (22,404), we must admit that the loss proletarian masses, all this is all the more inating mechanically every opportunity of votes by the C. P. is relatively greater deplorable and disquieting because it that arises and fails to profit by the Theories are built up not on the basis occurs not in a period of ebb, but in a experiences of the non-Russian strug-The aim of these lines is to analyze period of general radicalization for the gles. Linked directly with this is the ering up mistakes committed through

the loss of influence by the party is to be Only open and pitiless criticism can ally not only of a personal character,

showed almost exclusively its positive the matter.

Under Lenin, the International gave the growing parties their clear and principled position. It elaborated the general principles of Communism, the fundato interpret them in a broad theoretical from the center, nor to outline and prescribe them to the smallest details.

The negative side became more and more apparent in the second half of the existence of the C I., after 1923, after the experiences characterizes the crisis the death of Lenin and after the revolu- of the Bulgarian Communist Party as tionary waves in central and western well as that of the entire movement of Europe had calmed down. Then we wit- the C. I. It is not a crisis of the movenessed the era of "Bolshevization". It ment itself, but of its leadership. The consisted in the attempt to boist meth- criticism of the past mistakes will result ods, forms and tactics artificially and in the condemnation of the leadership schematically upon the European movel responsible for these mistakes. The lack ment, completely neglecting the pecu- of a healthy, creative criticism which the liarities in the class relationships of dif- present leaders fear, is accompanied by ferent countries as well as the necessity a deplorable moral stagnation, which unof adapting the proper general Com-

tions for the victory of the revolution criterion for the tactical questions in the other parties, and to transpose them

The causes for the crisis are natur- of the crisis in the Bulgarian C. P.

serve as a remedy. The absence of it although personalities play a role in indicates the sickness. The only means them, and are not at all to be neglected. of putting a stop to the disintegration, is The absence of a man of Lenin's scope the clearing of the road for criticism, in the Russian party, counts, no doubt In the first half of its history, the C. I. But there are, of course, deeper roots to

> It is responsible first of all, for the penetration of bureaucratism into the Russian party and its transportation to the other parties.

On the other hand, we must consider mental lines of strategy, of Communist the difficulty of the sections of the C. I. tactics and organization. Lenin was able in working out special ways and means to profit by the experiences in the strug- of the proletarian revolution and its pregles of the western parties, he was able paration in the different countries, which has been increased by the bureaucraticsense. He did not think it possible to ally entrenched preponderance of the invent the tactics for the other parties Russian party in the leadership of the C. I. that no longer corresponds to the moral preponderance of its leadership in international questions.

The inability to draw the lessons of der the mask of loyalty and under the mantel of mechanical discipline, sows This crisis in the C. I. was accentu- disorder. As a consequence, instead of regard for truth has been sacrificed. of vital facts, but for the purpose of covignorance or through empirical experi-

> On the basis of these lines, which deal more or less with the International, we intend to speak, in our next article,

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Developments in Spanish Revolution

conservative: they are simply reactionary." This is true As in all backward countries, the Spanish bourgeoisie is tied up with the most reactionary castes of the country. Its political torpor, its fear, which make it embrace the first cutthroat that comes along, or the arrogant fanatics of Lerroux like a shipwrecked man holding on to a plank, these are an irremediable evil in our bourgeoisie. Senor Zamora's exhortations to come out of its present state are wasted. The evil has deep roots.

The Spanish bougreoisie will disappear as a class without changing its characteristics. The structure of our economy, and consequently the role whch Spain plays in world economy, fix a limited bourgeoisie must move. The contradictions of Spanish economy cannot be solved by the bourgeoise and logically tend to become sharper. It is enough to see that after eight months of the Republic, and in spite of the declarations of the republicans, not only have the bonds which subordinated Spain to world capitalism remained, but they have even drawn tighter. The Republic has not made the least change in the internal structure of the country. Nothing is the workers themselves. The revolutionmore natural, then, since the same state ary workers who were against Communof affairs continues, than that its consequence should keep on manifesting themselves. Our bourgeoisie will continue to be, while it exists, among the most reactionary in Europe.

In reality the Republic changed nothing, but retained the same state of affairs. The activity of Maura and of Alcala Zamora, the same before as after the change of regime, was a continual exhortation to their class to convince it of the necessity for a change; and in spite of the notable success which they achieved, the bourgeoisie could not be calmed down until it saw itself protected by a regime of force.

Overthrow of Monarchy Inevitable

The monarchy had reached a situation which could no longer be sustained. Since the coming of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera it had been evident that monarchy and dictatorship would fall together. The forces which the monarchy exerted at the last moment to avoid being uprooted with the dictatorship could not be successful. Their recould not be successful. Their responsibilities overtook them alike. The immense majority of Spain felt that the problem posed was a constitutional one. The bourgeoisie, for its part, had a special interest in not moving the queslace the question of responsibilieies, not exceeding strictly political limits.

The monarchy could not at that time resort to a regime of force—the dictatorship had just collapsed for lack of a base—nor did it have within itself a demsolution was therefore to unload all responsibility on a regime for which there was no remedy, and to weaken as much as possible the consequence of its fall.

Nor was there any call to be develved as to the meaning of the Republican-Socialist combination. Apart from the fact that in all its activity before the change of regime it has displayed a concombination as an historical phenomenon the king conducted himself, in a way, the working masses and the middle class was nothing new. In all countries there as a sympathizer. have occurred political conditions which have tended to blur the class struggle it was realized was the natural result under the excuse that the revolution in of the deeply reactionary downward terests various classes. Certainly-but slope which the revolution had taken, it interests them in opposite ways. For at the very beginning of the change the the bourgeoisie, the important thing in a bourgeoisie found an excellent opportunrevolutionary situation, and the thing ity to emphasize to the full the reacthat determine its maneuvers, is the tionary character of the Republic. The fear of being tied up by the proletariat; fact that the Republic had been installfor the proletariat, the interest of the ed without violence and as a result of revolution is the occasion which it offers a few elections, provoked throughout the to impose its will on the bourgeoisie, to country the greatest democratic confussubjudgate it, and suppress its class

At the distance of a few months, it could be hallucinated by the Republican- have executed in the face of a revolu Socialist combination. All the weakness, tionary situation, found the most de-

"The conservative classes of Spain", where it was not conscious complicity, plorable echo in the working class. The said Alcala Zamora recently, "cannot be of the leaders of the revolutionary work- socialist and anarchist leadership of ing class, stood out sharply on this occasion. In spite of the ambiguity of their phrases, and the abundance of promises did not hesitate to make statements of a most alarming character to the working class. If the delay of the Republican-Socialist combination in coming to a struggle did not suffice, the declarations of some of its eminent members could not leave the least doubt as to the policy which the combination was to pursue. On April 9 Manuel Azana made the following special statement for "Workers' Solidarity"; "It has been agreed that the participation of the workers will not turn aside the political revolution, by changing it into a social revolution. Besides, what they call the circle of necessity, within which our Communist danger is no reason for resigning ourselves to the present regime and letting it continue."

Can these words, if properly under stood, have more than one meaning? No; it is clear that the leaders of the C. N. T. took advantage of the meaning which they had for the revolutionary masses influenced by anrchism. The av- 17). ersion to Communism, which the leaders of the C. N. T. tried so hard to maintain, has been struck at Spanish reaction will was in this case a source of deception for throw into the abyss of death the fascism repudiated it as a working-class

our workers' movement, which had delivered up the whole revolution to the gave out a slogan which seems a joke; bourgeoisie, made its faults still worse on the change of regime. If the socialists and anarchists, for separate reasons, immediately deprived the proletariat of any class action, they devoted themselves immediately to presenting as a victory what was only the result of their mistakes.

On the proclamation of the Republic, the working class received nothing but poison from all sides. "At one stroke," and with dizzying speed, Spain has placed itself at the head of Europe and perhaps of the world", said Workers' Solidarity on April 16. It took all the vulgarity of anarchism to interpret the situation in such a manner. What a grotesque meaning have certain words of Workers' Solidarity today!

"Our attitude is one of full excepta tion and hope. Even if the opposite may seem to be the case, the political perspective of the moment represents a good promise for the working class" (April

"We are convinced that the blow which ism of Europe and America" (April 18).

The leaders of the C. N. T. gave the workers an interpretation which was the

A Series of Articles on Spain

Beginning with the next issue, the Militant will commence the publication of a series of articles on the present situation in revolutionary Spain, by Max Shachtman, editor of the Militant. Comrade Shachtman has just returned from two months in Europe, part of which was occupied with a visit to Spain. In both Madrid and Barcelona, he had the opportunity of speaking with prominent and authoritative spokesmen of the socialist, anarchist, syndicalist, Catalonian nationalist and Communist movements, and to view the general situation at close range. The series of articles will deal with the economic conditions of the workers under the republican regime, the possibilities of a socialist government, the struggle in the trade union movement between the conflicting political tendencies, the interesting dispute developing between the anarchists and the syndicalists in the National Confederation of Labor, the situation in the Communist party, the Maurin group, and the Left Opposition, and so forth. Our readers are urged to watch for these articles every week and to call the attention of other workers to them.

tendency. But when the bourgeoisie opposite of the truth of the Spanish rev talks of "Communist danger" it does not olution. The one thing that was not refer to a struggle among tendencies, struck down in Spain was reaction. The which it generally neither understands monarchist elements scarcely suffered nor distinguishes, but to the working punishment from the Republic. On the sponsibilities overtook the dictatorship class all together, to the danger of a social revolution.

Change In Spain Reactionary

The bourgeoisie, without losing its fears, was abandoning the monarchy in proportion as the combination kept lestion off this plane. It posed in the first sening the distance between monarchy and the revolution. Finally the rapwith the purposes of demanding retribu- prochement of the two camps was so tion, but to prevent the revolution from close than in view of the municipal elections of April 12 the bourgeois politicians, who were defending their class against the mondrchist entrenchments, understood that all resistance was useless and harmful. If the Republic was inocratic solution. The most conservtaive stalled in Spain almost unanimously it was because the bourgeoisie saw the possibility of effecting the change almost without losses. The pacific and original manner in which the change of re-It was the duty of a consciously-guided gime was effected in Spain proves the movement not to let itself be deceived. | profoundly reactionary character of the change. In reality it was the monarchy that was saved. Neither the interests which the fallen regime sheltered, nor its most representative men, suffered a major damage. The whole monarchy sistent counter-revolutionary line, the became republican to save itself. Even

Moreover, if the change of regime as ion ever recorded in history.

A revolution which was pacific because it was no revolution, but the most per-

seems incredible that the working class fect maneuver that the bourgeoisie could

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other hand, the working class, when it began to show itself as such, was the object of the most brutal repression. On the 1st of May, that is, a fortnight after the proclamation of the Republic, the repression began. In Barcelona and in Bilbao the police force was aimed at the

The promptness with which the Provisional Government called the Constituent Assembly was in response to the need of profiting by the prestige which the Republican-Socialist combination en- TO THE INTENATIONAL SITUATION joyed. The halo thus created assured it the monopoly of the Asembly. It was in the interests of the bourgeoisie that the er of the Left Opposition fulfills the Republic was fixed up by means of the most burning need of the moment for the combination, which also made the electoral law. Things were so organized that all groups apart from the combination could scarcely influence the progress of the Assembly.

The Deception of the Cortes Left The distinguishing feature of the combination has been the complete subordination of the Left wing to the Right, which makes the organization even more deceptive. When the elections were held, of our country were being radicalized the working class of every capitalist Within the combination, this was reflected in the growth of the Left wing, and above all, in the Socialist Patry, which is the most numerous group. Still, in the Assembly, the internal mechanism of the combination was put into motion, and then we saw that the one who gave orders was the Right wing.

The Assembly began to play a most in decent farce. The bills presented were almost ultra-Left. In the course of the discussions they were constantly mutilated. If at the last minute there still remained anything that the right wing their very character for each to aid and considered dangerous, Senor Alcala Zamora would intervene and "create clarity"

These results could not be justified by the composition of the Assembly, since the Left elements were in the majority; they were explained by the manner in which the Assembly functioned. The Lefts said, "Since this Government is a mixture of tendencies we must submit, we must work out compromise formulas" In the name of formulas of agreement, we notice that although there is a left majority in the Assembly, these lefts are politcally impotent.

The left elements of the combination are only the tools which the right uses for its own advantage. For this the Republican-Socialist combination was created. If it had not fulfilled this function, the Right would have dissolved it. At all difficult moments, the coalition was in danger of being broken up. At the his eyes peeled, use the utmost objectime when the religious question was being discussed, for instance, if the socialists had defended the point of view of the projected Constitution, it would have won in the Assembly, and all the rights, including the radicals, Maura and Zamora, would have undertaken an open fight against the Constitution and

The deceptive role which was represented by the elements of the Left created the necessity of compelling the socialists to form a homogeneous Government. This slogan, given out by us, was poorly understood even by the Communists. The Workers' and Peasants Bloc called it reactionary. Trying to adopt a revolutionary position, the Bloc it announced itself in favor of a Government of Pestana-Vallina-Peiro

The progress which the bourgeoisie has made are shown by the fact that now it dares to take off its mask. The same bourgeoisie, which took such pains at the begeinning to cloak itself in socialism and radical-socialism, now feels it necessary to get rid of the subaltern personnel. It is natural that the latter should resist the abandonment of its privileged position, and propose coalition Governmente; so long as the Assembly a coalition Government. The short space of time left for the Assembly is the last concession that the bougeoiste makes to his assistance.

The Liquidation of the Left

The political liquidation of the Left, of which we can speak as if it were an accomplished fact, was accomplished, not by the revolutionary offensive of the working class, but it was the bourgeoisie that got rid of this tool after having used it to the full. The bourgeoisie has made a step forward, and if the situation demands, can come back to using successfully bourgeois radicalism, since no revolutionary force has arisen to take its place, since it has not been liquidated in a revolutionary manner. The revolutionary liquidation of the bourgeois left and of socialism must be carried out now taking advantage of its political decadence, not letting it-deceive the workers into trying out its demagogic radicalism

as an opposition. Communism, which, we can say, has not figured or known how to figure in the revolution, must make up for lost time by a broad policy of unification of the working class. In the new phase of the class struggle, without fraud or concealment, the unity of the labor movement, the union of all forces, will be the firm base on wihch the offensive against the reeaction must support itself, and the only base one can bring the working class a sound revolutionary leadership. Now that the new Communist bureaucracy has done its best to convert the. Soviets into a fetish which the masses feel to be out of reach, the Factory Committees, even if they cannot fill the funcunited front of the workers.

Madrid, December, 1931

It is entitled: GERMANY-THE KEY

-SHALL FASCISM REALLY BE VIC-

TORIOUS? This latest work of the lead-

world. It analyses in clear and distinct

strokes, the problems facing Communism

and offers the Bolshevik solution to

The Communist International, the van-

guard of the whole international working

class is approaching a decisive histor-

ical task in Germany. Every month,

every week, every day brings us closer

to the critical moment. In 1923, the de-

feat of the German proletariat inaug-

urated a sweep of reaction that affected

country and served as a brake on the

stormy davance of the post-war revolu-

tionary movement. Today, we are con-

fronted with a similarly decisive situa-

The forces of Hitlerism, the prospective

butchers of the German workers, are con-

tinually growing. World imperialism,

seized in the grip of an unprecedented

economic crisis, is casting ravishing and

greedy glances at the Soviet Republic in

the East. These two processes are not

divorced from one another. It lies in

In the meantime, the German working

class remains divided. The social dem-

ocrats still have a free hand in their de-

ception of the workers. The Stalinist

leaders of the Communist party, only

yesterday the bold prophets of the "third

period", are overcome with panic by the

growth of the Fascists. They are falling

into passivity, squirming helplessly and

resorting to futile ejaculations. The sit-

uation is not lost yet, but the German

Communist party, and with it the whole

Communist International, is in danger of

committing a blunder as tremendous in

Every Communist, every serious rev-

olutionary worker must consider it his

duty to pay the closest attention to what

is now going on in Germany Every con-

In his new pamphlet, the leader of the

first Red Army, the closest co-worker of

Lenin, is appealing to all the worker

Communists. What he has to say is of

extraordinary historical importance. Ev-

tivity in his judgment.

its consequences as the defeat of 1923.

tion in Germany.

abet the another.

them.

New Trotsky Pamphlet Coming

WE ARE ABOUT TO GO TO PRESS | revolution, must consider it his duty to

revolutionary movement of the entire THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

Under the Banner of Marxism

Opposition in England

Party Members Form Nucleus to Fight for Leninism

formally the English section of the International Left Opposition.

The absence of such a formally organized and active group of Oppositionacutely in our ranks, not only because exists, the reaction will govern through of the general need of extending the influence and strength of the Marxian wing in all countries, but because in England specifically the official Communist party has, in relation to its strength and to the magnificent possibilities for revolutionary growth that the situation has offered, outdone itself to pile defeat upon error and error upon defeat. More than ten years of official British Communism have elapsed today withou't the party having yet made a deep impression upon the proletariat. The striking decline of British imperialism has barely, if at all, been accelerated by the revolutionary activity that the British party

should have displayed. The unexampled movement of the British workers in the coal and general strikes of 1926 simthe first and even the second Labor government, the party has been able to make only the smallest minimum of capital among the working class. Even now, when a section of the British work ers are being driven by the contradictions of capitalism, driven by the hundreds to join the party, indicating by the flow to Communism which takes place in spite of the Stalinist bureaucracy that the revolutionary standard is capable of attracting the most advanced workers-even now, the party acts largely as a sieve into which the hundreds of new Communist workers come only to drop out in almost equal

The grave crisis of the ruling class tion which the Soviets did in Russia, and its institutions is convulsing the must nevertheless be the place for the latter in every one of its parts. And in this process, such institutions as the Labour party and the Independent Lab--L. FERSEN. our Party show themselves to be very

numbers after a brief stay.

On December 19 of last year, a group, quickly affected. In both of them, and of members of the Communist Party of particularly in the last-named, there is Great Britain who have been active in a growing discontentment with the leadit for years, met in London to constitute ers and their policies. Especially in the I. L. P. are there now tremendous possibilities for winning thousands of good revolutionary militants who are in its ranks. But in face of these possibilities, ists in England has always been felt the Communist party, held in the straitjacket of Stalinism by its Rusts and Pollitts, merely skims the very thinnest surface and disdainfully ignores the real opportunities which are offered it.

> With the British situation as a whole, and with the position of the British party, we shall soon have occasion to deal in greater detail. But even these brief and sketchy comments, together with what is now general knowledge about the state of affairs, demonstrate plentifully the need and the prospects for growth of a well-knit section of the Left Opposition in England.

Small as our young British section is at its commencement, the Left Opposition has been signally fortunate in winning to its banner a good group of active militants who do not seek in the ranks of ply swept over the English party without our movement a safe refuge from the depositing anything but the thinnest lay- class struggle, as have many in the past er of new strength upon it, a layer who sought to cover up their own rewhich, moreover, it promptly proceeded tirement from the revolution with the to lose. From the disgraceful record of prestige and the great tradition of our movement. On the contrary, our English group is composed of party members who are not only well known for their activities in the movement but whose adherence to the Opposition is a continuation on a higher plane and in an organized manner of a struggle against bureaucratism and opportunism which they have conducted, under other forms, in the recent past of the party.

Every one of the comrades who came together to constitute the group-with perhaps one exception—is a melaber of the party and, without fearing the consequences which the Stalinists nowadays imose upon the struggle for the ideas of Marx and Lenin, they are determined to carry on the fight within the party and, at all events, as a faction of the Communist party. By this alone, the English Opposition describes a clear line of demarcation between itself and those dilletantes and children of fantasy who have, in England, sometimes taken the name of the Opposition, for a thousand and one reasons, but not for a single one which justified the assumption. On the fringes of the movement in England-as everywhere else—are a number of tiny little sects, stewing hopelessly and in with a new pamphlet by comrade Trotsky. obtain a copy of the latest work of Leon quiet isolation in the stale juice of their own superiority; individuals and idualists; in short, opportunists, do-nothings, sectarians of all kinds who have painted themselves up with the colors of the Opposition in the expectation that it would not only obligate them to nothing serious but that it would relieve them of a slashing criticism and separation from the Left Opposition. Of this too we shall have another occasion to speak.

The group has decided to issue a bulletin immediately, in preparation for the printed paper to come. The group, which was constituted with the aid of a representative of the International Secretariat who was present decided to establish relations with the latter body immediately.

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Mooney and the American Frame-Up

Sunday, January 10, 1932: "Tom

East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

System;" Speaker: Carl Cowl.

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Every Sunday, 3 p.m. By JOHN EDWARDS JANUARY 17

"LENIN & MARXISM"

Free Admission

HALL, 1435 NO. WESTERN AVE. Auspices: Chicago Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

ST. LOUIS-An Open Forum is being conducted each Friday evening by the St. Louis Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) at the Crunden Branch Library, 14th & Cass Aves. The first of the open forums at which comrade George Roberts spoke, was on "Unemployment and the Unity of the working class". All meetings, unless otherwise indicated, begin at 7:30 P. M. The list of Open Forum meetings is as fol-

Friday, January 15, 1932: Speaker-Martin Payer on "Tom Mooney and the of the Youth Section, Communist League Frame-Up System".

Country Possible?"

Friday, January 29, 1932: Speaker-John Scott on "Fascism or Communism scientious proletarian fighter must keep in Germany."

> are cordially invited. Young Spartacus can be purchased at

all newsstands, bookstores, meetings, etc. where The Militant is now sold. If you tainment, Saturday, January 9th. The ery member of the Communist party, are unable to get a copy at these places, every sympathizer of Communism who is write to Young Spartacus, 84 East 10th York Section of the Communist League sincerely attached to the cause of the Street, New York, N. Y.

Entertainment

In New York for Young Spartacus

An Entertainment and Dance for the benefit of Young Spartacus, official organ of America (Opposition), will be held on Friday, January 22, 1932: Speaker- Saturday, January 9th, 1932, beginning at George Roberts on "Is Socialism In One 8 P. M., at the headquarters of the League, 84 East 10th Street.

The Youth Committee in charge promises a very lively and entertaining The Admission is free All workers Musical and other features, as well as excellent refreshments have been provided. All workers are cordially invited to attend the Young Spartacus enteraffair is under the auspices of the New (Opposition).

victory possible.

PROLETARIAN PARTY SPLIT

Engels once wrote that every workers party must necessarily develop in a prothe dialectical laws of development in ed to mind by the factional struggle the revolt in the Proletarian Party. now taking place in the ranks of the Proletarian Party. It is a sign of vitality that is well worth watching. For over a decade this sectarian off-shoot of American Communism devoted itself to a tranquil observation and "explanation" and dynamite racket, if one can judge by of social phenomena. The depression in the American labor movement during the made by the people who specialize in it. period of prosperity, and the indifference of the workers to revolutionary propaganda which ensued from it, created special conditions for the existence of such a group. And this was further facilit. planted or imagined in various parts of ated by the errors and exaggerations of the country. Connected with this was the official Communist Party. The pseudo-Marxist policy of Keracher and Co. was a complement to Pepperistic adventurism. Thus a number of revolutionary workers were maneuvered onto a sidetrack. Everything was quiet in the Proletarian Party. Its leadership walled it off from the class struggle and from the fierce disputes which raged within the general Communist movement.

By that state of affairs could only be temporary. The accentuation of the class struggle in the country, and the great conflicts over principle which have brought the world movement of Communism to a crisis, have posed questions which can no longer be evaded. Controversy is sweeping through the Keracher party like a tornado, making up in fury for its long postponement. Almost overnight the Keracher group of leaders, who ask only for peace and quiet, have been confronted with a stormy internal struggle. Following the national convention of the organization, where criticism was smothered and all against the workers, introduced with a the burning questions of the moment series of typical frame-ups—is in prewere evasive opportunism, an opposition paration. has come to life and is waging a militant struggle on a national scale. The opposition is publishing its own bulletin on the Communist Party, and limits its and has even gone so far as to project concern and protest to that. If the new a national conference. A split appears machinations take on real proportions a to be the inevitable outcome of the con-

In fact, the split has already began. The leaders of the Proletarian Party, who borrow so much in principle from Stalinist revisionism, have revealed themselves also as apt pupils of the administrative methods. The criticisms of the opposition everywhere are being answered, not with arguments but with expulsion. According to the "Proletarian Opposition Bulletin" six of the leading oppositionists in Chicago have been exfrom the Party. "Members of the N. E. C. are being sent out on a witchsmelling and heresy-hunting campaign, with power to expel, suspend, or otherwise punish members, without the formality of a "trial". Three members have been suspended and one expelled in Elkhart, Indiana. The entire branch of 40 at Buffalo has been expelled. At New taken place.

The course of the opposition movement within the Proletarian Party remains unclear. It is quite obvious, from a reading of its campaign material, that the opposition has not yet undertaken to answer the main question which arises inevitably from its struggle against the have not got. Since the proletariat must leadership and policy of the party. That question is: Where are we going, and must rise to be the leading class of the why? "Proletarian Opposition Bulletin" Number 2, which we have at hand, directs a sharp criticism against the bur- in the bourgeois sense of the word." eaucratic regime within the party; it condemns the opportunistic election campaign in Detroit, and insists on a struggle for immediate demands on the question of unemployment. On all these points the opposition is undoubtedly in the right as against the leadership. But when all is said and done these questions have a secondary imortance. They are by no means an adequate armament for a real political struggle. The opposition must equip itself with an allaround platform. It must take a position on the basic questions of principle, and make its tactical deductions accordingly. Otherwise it will not be able to avoid a rapid disintegration. Such a fate will threaten it immediately.

One thing at least may be said with certainty; the opposition cannot stand alone as an independent movement. Having made a decisive break with the sterile circle of Keracherism-and this is a sign of its vital proletarian impulse -the opposition confronts the necessity of attaching itself to the living movement of Communism. This is the first and most pressing implication of the re volt. With which faction will the new grouping affiliate?—that is the question. Those whose seek to evade that question, who hold up the prospect of a "fourth' faction, can only deceive and mislead the movement. That is only the Keracher policy on a small scale; and the present upheaval is, in the first place, a sign of the utter bankruptcy of this policy. The Published weekly by the Communist fact that a part of the insurgent elements in New York and other places have already gone over to the Stalin faction, without waiting for the movement as a whole to clarify its policy, is a warning Martin Abern against temporizing and delay with this fundamental problem.

To save the new movement, or at least a substantial part of it, from this fate is the task of the serious Communist elements within it. Keracherism is only a weak sprout of Stalinism; the ideology at bottom is fundamentally the same. A transfer of affiliation from the Proletarian Party to the Stalin faction signifies Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; fornothing more than an organizational secession and a capitulation in principle.

Every tendency to limit the opposition to the secondary tactical points is a preparation for such a debacle. A serious study and consideration of the great cess of internal struggle, according to principle questions, and the adoption of a precise attitude toward them, are now general. This observation is again call- indispensable for a fruitful outcome of

BOMBS FOR NEW YEAR'S

It looks like a big year for the bomb the spectacular start that has been The new year was ushered in with the loud explosion of a bomb in Pennsylvania, and by still noiser propaganda about other bombs which were found or the inevitable hue and cry about a conspiracy of the Communists, the antifascists and other radicals. The bombs -it is claimed-were addressed to a number of the leading Fascists of the country. Of iourse, none of the Mussolini agents were injured. They never are. The miraculous escape of the intended "victims" in these affairs is as unfailing as the change that the radical

workers are the guilty parties. Nine times out of ten-or, better, 99 times out of a hundred—this is the real meaning of the "discovery" of bombs and dynamite: to lay the ground for an attack against the workers and to railroad some individuals as an example. This is American labor history. And the Mussolini regime has introduced this "American plan" all over Europe in the fight against the anti-Fascist movement. If we take the New Year's hulabaloo together with the "dynamite plot" in the New York harbor there is every ground for the assumption that a new offensive

The Daily Worker speaks of the latest bomb scare as the prelude to an attack attack in the present instance seems to be the anti-Fascist movement; and the Tidewater Boatmen's Union. For our least mitigate the danger nor the neces sity of fighting the conspiracies. We are on the side of any worker, or any workers' organization, regardless of its

political complexion, in such a situation. pelled and 25 members have resigned they limit their protests to cases of dirquesions must be approached from a in this attitude. The Communists canonslaught of the capitalists. They need. the support of the working class. The York and other places secessions have defense of any workers' organization more readily will they receive it.

—J. Р. С.

"The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they first of all acquire political supremacy, nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not

Communist Manifesto.

Minneapolis Open Forum

Among the lecture arranged for forthcoming weeks at the Minnea olis Forum are the following:

All meetings, unless otherwise men tioned are at 3 P. M.:

Sunday, January 17, 1932: "Imperialism; What Next?. Speaker: Vincent R.

Sunday, January 24, 1932: DEBATE: "Socialism versus Communism". Speakers: O. P. Victorian, representing the Socialist Party against Carl Cowl representing Communist League of America (Opposition).

Sunday, January 31, 1932: "The Proposed Railroad Wage Reductions" Speaker: C. R. Hedlund.

All these lectures and debates will be held at the Workers Open Forum, 1530 East Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. The Admission is free.

TOTO TO TO THE TOTO THE TOTO TO THE TOTO THE TOTO TO THE TOTO THE TOTO TO THE TOTO THE TOTO TO THE TOTO TO THE TOTO THE TOT THE MILITANT

League of America [Opposition] at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD

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Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy

The Workers United Front against Fascism Where Lies the Mistake in the Present Policy of the

rule, but now, under the given conditions, in the coming months and weeks Thaelmann Considers the Victory of Fascism Inevitable

to achieve victory. That is, we need a The abstract question as to who is the We Must Force the Social Democracy policy appropriate to the present situa- lesser evil: Bruening or Hitler-is just tion, to the present relationship of forces as senseless. It is necessary to know and not to a situation that may develop which of these keys to strike. Is that in one, two or three years, when the clear? For the weak-minded let us cite question of power will have been decided another example. When one of my enfor a long time.

fact that the policy of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, in part consciously and in part unconsciously, derives from the recognition of the inevitability of a Fascist victory. In fact, in the appeal for the "Red United Front" published on November 29, 1931, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, starts out with the idea that it is impossible to vanquish Fascism without first defeating the soc ial democracy. This same idea. Thaelmann repeats in all possible shades in his article. Is this idea correct? On the historical scale it is unconditionally correct. But that does not at all mean that with its aid, that is, by simple repetition, one can solve the questions of the day. An idea, correct from the point of view of revolutionary strategy as a whole, turns into a lie and at that into a reactionary lie, if it is not translated into the language of tactics. Is it correct that in order to destroy unemploy ment and misery it is first necessary to destroy capitalism? It is correct. Bu only a hopeless fool can draw the conclusions therefrom, that we do not have to fight already today, with all of our forces, against these measures with the aid of which capitalism is increasing the misery of the workers.

Can we expect that the Communist Party will in the course of the next few months defeat both the social democracy and Fascism? No normally thinking person who can read and calculate would risk such a contention. Politicblow at the Party will undoubtedly be ally, the question is posed in the followthe objective. But the specific point of ing manner: Can we successfully repel Fascism in the course of the next few months, that is, with the existence of a New York harbor affair is aimed at the greatly reduced, but still (unfortunately) very strong social democracy? The Cenpart, these circumstances do not in the tral Committee replies in the negative. In other words, Thaelmann considers the victory of Fascism inevitable.

Once Again: The Russian Experiences In order, to express my thought as celarly and as concretely as possible I will Communists make a fatal error when come back once more to the experience with the Kornilov uprising. On August 26 ect attack against their own party. Such (old style) 1917, General Kornilov led his Cossack troops and one irregular division principle, that is, from a class point of against Petrograd. At the helm of power view. There is practical wisdom, also, there stood at that time: Kerensky, lackey of the bourgeoisie and three-quarters not fight successfully alone against an ally of Kornilov. Lenin was still in hiding because of the accusation that he was in the service of the Hohenzollerns. more readiness they show to join in the on the same accusation, I was at that time incarcerated in solitary confinement under attack the stronger become their in the Kresty Prison. How did the Bolown claims for similar support, and the sheviki proceed in this question? They in the sheviki proceed in this question? also had a right to say: "In order to de feat the Korniloviade we must first defeat the Kerenskiade". They said this more than once, for it was correct and necessary for the entire further propaganda. But that was entirely insufficient ground not to put up a resistance on August 26, and on the following days It is not a Question of the Workers Who against Kornilov and to prevent him from butchering the Petrograd proletariat. The Bolsheviki did not for that reason content themselves with a general appeal to the workers and soldiers to break with the conciliators and support the red united front of the Bolsheviki. No, the Bolsheviki proposed the united front struggle to the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries and created together with them common organizations of struggle. Was this correct or incorrect? Let Thaelmann give me an answer to this question. In order to show much more boldly, how matters stood with the united front. I will cite the following incident: Immediately upon my release from solitary confinement, after the trade unions had put up bail for me, I went directly to the Committee for National Defence, where I discussed and voted decisions regarding the struggle against Kornilov with the Menshevik Dan and the Social-Revolutionary Gotz, the allies of Kerensky who had imprisoned me. Was this correct or was it wrong? Let Remmele answer this question for me.

Is Bruening the "Lesser Evil"?

The social democracy supports Bruening, votes for him, assumes the responsibility for him before the masses-on the basis that the Bruening Government is the "lesser evil". The Rote Fahne attempts to ascribe the same view to me -on the basis that I expressed myself against the stupid and shameful participation of the Communists in the Hitler ers against the Fascists, regardless of Opposition and myself in particular de- the social democratic organizations. With manded that the Communists vote for and support Bruening? We Marxists regard Bruening and Hitler, together with ble contact. At the present time, how-Braun as component parts of one and the same system. The question, which German worker has been raised in the one of them is the "lesser evil", has no sense, for the system against which we are fighting needs all these elements. But sides. The overwhelming majority of these elements are momentarily involved November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at in conflicts with one another and the party of the proletariat must take advantage of these conflicts in the interest of the revolution.

There are seven keys in the musical eigh \$2.50. Five cents per copy. is "better": Do, Re or Sol is a senseless German Communist Party

A Letter to A Member of the German Communist Party

A correct policy is necessary in order when to strike and what keys to strike. life and death for the working class. emies sets before me small daily portions The whole misfortune lies in the of poison and the second, on the other hand, is about to shoot straight at me then I will first knock the revolver out of the hand of my second enemy, for this gives me an opportunity to get rid of my first enemy. But that does not at all mean that the poison is a "lesser evil" in comparison to the revolver.

The misfortune consists precisely of the fact that the leaders of the German Communist Party have placed themselves on the same ground as the social democr acy only with inverted prefixes: the Soc ial democracy votes for Bruening, recognizing in him the elesser evil. The Communists on the other hand, who refuse to trust either Braun or Bruening in any way (and that is absolutely the correct way of acting), in the meantime go into the streets to support Hitler's referendum, that is, the attempt of the Fascists to overthrow Bruening. But in this they themselves have recognized in the Stalinists, a policy of betrayal. Hitler the lesser evil, for the victory of

Into A Block Against the Fascists

The misfortune is, that in the Central Committee of the Communist Party there are many frightened opportunists They have heard that opportunism con sists of a love for blocks, and that is why they are against blocks.4 They do not understand the difference between, let us say, a parliamentary agreement and an ever-so modest agreement for a struggle in a strike or in the defense of work ers' printshops against Fascist bands.

Election agreements, parliamentary compromises concluded between the rev olutionary party and the social democracy serve, as a rule, to the advantage of the social democracy. Practical agree- with the conciliators in the struggle block of two leaderships on one common political platform, vague, deceptive, September, 1917: binding no one to any sort of action. The maintenance of this block at the to support the Kerensky Government. General Council assumed the role of asked: then we are not to fight against

the proletariat into power but Hitler. To German trade unions, no common pub-

say to himself: What the Communists propose is completely indispensible in the struggle against Fascism. On this basic condition it is possible to pull the social democratic workers along with us by our example and to criticize their leaders who will inevitably serve as a check and a brake. Only in this way is

A Good Quotation from Lenin.

The present day epigones, that is, the thoroughly bad disciples of Lenin. like to fill up their gaps on every occasion that offers itself with-often entirely irrelevant—quotations. For the Marxists. the question is not decided by a quotation but by means of a correct method. If one is guided by correct methods, it is not hard to also find the fitting quotations. After I had drawn the above analogy with the Kornilov insurrection, I said to myself: We can probably find a theoretical explanation for our block ments for mass action, for purposes of against Kornilov, in Lenin. And actualstruggle are always of use to the revolu- ly, here is what I found in the sceond tionary party. The Anglo-Russian Com- part of volume XIV of the Russian edimittee was an impermissable type of tion, in a letter of Lenin to the Central Committee, written at the beginning of

"Even at the present it is not our duty time of the General Strike, when the That would be unprincipled. Someone strike-breaker, signified on the part of Kornilov? Naturally, we are. But that is not one and the same thing. There is No common platform with the social a limit to this. It is being transgressed the referendum would not have brought democracy, or with the leaders of the by many Bolsheviks who fall into "conciliationism" and allow themselves to be driven by the current of events.

"We shall fight, we do fight against Korniley but we do not support Kerensky, we are uncovering his weaknesses. The distinction is very delicate, but highly important, and must not be forgotten. "Wherein does the change of our tactics, after the Kornilov insurrection, consist?

"In this, that the forms of struggle against Kerensky vary. Without diminishing our hostility against him even by one note, without taking back one word from what we have said against him, without rejecting the task of overthrowing Kerensky, we say: We must calculate the moment, we will not overthrow Kerensky at present. We approach the question of the struggle against him differently and namely: by explaining the weaknesses and vacillations of Kerensky before the people. (who are fighting against Kornilov)".

We are proposing nothing different from this: complete independence of the Communist organizations and press, complete freedom of Communist criticism, the same for the social democracy and the trade unions. To allow the freedom of the Communist Party to be limited (for example, in the manner of the entrance into the Kuo Min Tang) only despicable opportunists are capable of. Our place is not among them.

There is nothing to take back from our criticism of the social democracy. Nothing to forget of all that has been. The entire historical account, including the account for Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will be presented in time, as be sure, it is painful to have to argue lications, banners, placards! March sep- we Russian Bolsheviks also presented it such A. B. C. questions. I t is sad, arately, but strike unitedly! Agree only finally to the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries as a general accounting Remmele, instead of distinguishing be- to strike! Such an agreement can be for the baiting, slander, imprisonment concluded even with the devil himself, and murder carried on against workers,

But we presented our general account to them months after we had utilized the partial accounting between Kerensky and Kornilov, between the "democrats" and the Fascists—and at that in order to repel the Fascists with all the more certainty. Only thanks to this circumstance, were we able to be victorious.

When the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany adopts the position expressed in the lines of Lenin quoted above, the entire approach to the social democratic masses and the trade union organizations will change with one blow: Instead of the articles and speeches which are convincing only to those people who are already convinced without them, the agitators will find a common language with new hundreds of thousands and millions of workers. The differentiation within the social democracy will proceed in rapid tempo. The Fascists will soon begin to feel that their tasks consist not only of defeating Bruening, Braun and Wels, but in taking up the open struggle against the entire working class. On this plane, a deep differentiation will inevitably begin with-

tory possible. But it is necessary to desire this victory. In the meantime, there are among the Communist functionaries many cowardly careerists and bureaucrats who hold on to their little posts, to their income and more than that,-in their skins, very dearly. These creatures are inclined to sprout ultra-radical phrases underneath which is concealed a wretched and despicable fatalism. "Without a victory over the social democracy it is impossible to strike against Fascism!". say such terrible revolutionaries, and for this reason . . . they are getting ready their passports.

in Fascism. Only by this road is vic-

Worker-Communists, you are hundreds of thousands, millions, you cannot leave for anywhere: there are not enough passports for you. Should Fascism achieve power it will ride over your skulls and spines like a frightful tank. Your salvation lies in merciless struggle. And only unity in struggle with the social democratic workers can bring victory. Make haste, worker-Communists, you have very little time left.

- -L. TROTSKY.

Communism or Fascism in Germany?

We cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of the developments that are now unfolding in the class struggle in Germany to paraphrase the warnings contained in the recent studies of comrade Trotsky: Unless the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany make a sharp turn away from their present attitude, the fate not only of the German revolution but of the international working class will be castastrophically determined for a long time to come. It is toward the end of imposing the execution of this turn that every class conscious worker, every Communist militant, and above all the fighter in the Left Opposition, must direct all energies at the present moment. Everywhere, at every meeting, in every revolutionary organization, the workers must be made aware of the terrific situation which is being created. Every opportunity must be taken to arouse the Communist workers in particular to the need of acting as revolutionists, that is, of intervening in the spirit of internationalism, of demanding that the course of the German Communists shall be steered towards victory over Fascism instead of towards an ignominous defeat and annihilation. The official Stalinist press, with that national self-centeredness which

has characterized it in recent years, pays little or no attention to the German events. Brief and boastful dispatches, dealing with trifling episodes, are their sole contribution to the burning problems that cry out for solution. True to all the best traditions and teachings of revolutionary Marxism, we, on the other hand, are putting the question as it must be put if victory and not defeat is to be the outcome of the stirring battles that are imminent in Germany.

This second contribution to the question by comrade Trotsky which is printed here is not our first word and will not be our last. Every opportunist, every revolutionary worker concerned with the triumph of our great cause, will henceforward place all emphasis on the subject which is so richly and so instructively illuminated by our exiled leader. The task of defending and advancing the interests of the militant proletariat has fallen once more to the little group of Marxists organized in our ranks. Great historical battles, like the Russian revolution, and now like the German struggle, are infallible touchstones. Let us prove equal to the test.

tween the keys, stamp with their boots on the key-board.

Have Already Left the Social Democracy But of Those Who

Still Remain With It. The thousands upon thousands of Noskes, Welss, Hilferdings, prefer, in the last analysis, Fascism to Communism. But for that they must once and for all tear themselves loose from the workers. Today this is not yet the case. Today the social democracy as a whole, with all its internal antagonisms, is forced into sharp conflicts with the Fascists. Our task consists of taking advantage of these conflicts and not of uniting the antagonists against us.

The front must be directed against Fascism at the present time. And this common front of direct struggle against Fascism, involving the entire proletariat, must be utilized in the flank attacks against the social democracy, which are for all that no less effective.

It is necessary in fact, to show complete readiness to make a block with the social democrats against the Fascists in all cases in which they will accept a block. To say to the social democratic workers: "Throw your leaders aside and join our 'non-party' united front", means to add just one more hollow phrase to a thousand others. It is necessary to be able to tear the workers away from their leaders in reality. But reality today is -the struggle against Fascism. There are and doubtless will be social democratic workers who are prepared to fight hand in hand with the Communist work referendum. But have the German Left the desires or even against the desires of such progressive elements it is obviously necessary to establish the closest possiever, they are not great in number. The spirit of organization and of discipline. This has its strong as well as its weak the social democratic workers will fight against the Fascists, but-for the present at least-only together with their

very sad indeed, when musicians like how to strike, whom to strike, and when with his grandmother and even with soldiers and peasants. Noske and Crzezinsky. On one condition: not to bind one's own hands.

· It is necessary, without any delay finally to elaborate a practical system of measures-not with the aim of merely "exposing" the social democracy (before the Communists), but with the aim of actual struggle against Fascism. The question of factory defense organizations, of unhampered activity on the part of the factory councils, the inviolability of the workers organizations and institutions, the question of arsenals that may be seized by the Fascists, the question of measures in the case of an emergency, that is, of the coordination of the actions of the Communist and the social democratic divisions in the struggle, etc., etc., must be dealt with in this program.

In the struggle against Fascism, the factory councils occupy an enormously important position. Here a particularly precise program of action is necessary. Every factory must become an anti-fascist bulwark, with its own commandants and its own battalions. It is necessary to have a map of the Fascist armories and all other Fascist strong-holds, in every city and in every district. The Fascists are attempting to encircle the revolutionary strong-holds. The encirclers must be encircled! On this basis, a pact with the social .democratic and trade union organizations is not only permissable, but a duty. To reject this for reasons of "principle" (in reality because of bureaucratic stupidity, or what is still worse, because of cowardice) is to give direct and immediate aid to

A practical program of agreements with the social democratic workers, we proposed as far back as September, 1930, (The Turn in the Comintern and the Situation in Germany, published by the Militant), that is, a year and a quarter ago. What has the leadership undertaken in this direction? Next to nothing. The Central Committee of the Communist Party has taken up everything except that which forms its direct tasks. How organizations. This stage cannot be much valuable, irrevocable time has been skipped. We must aid the social dem- lost. Truly, there is not much time left. ocratic workers by deeds-in his new and The program of action must be strictly scale. The question which of these keys extraordinary situation—in testing the practical, strictly objective, to the point, value of their organizations and lead- without any of those artificial "claims" question. But the musician must know ers at this time, when it is a matter of without any after-thoughts, so that every Kadikoy, December 8, 1931.