

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 64 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME V, NO. 2 [WHOLE NO. 98]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 9, 1932

PRICE 5 CENTS

Our Martyrs

Liebknecht and Luxemburg

On January 15th 1919, the leaders of the revolutionary German working class, 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 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 events.

Luxemburg not only popularized the 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 imperialist capitalism ("Accumulation of Capital"). Her knowledge and treatment 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 actively participated in all phases of the social-democratic movement, women's work, practical politics, theoretical discussions, anti-militarist and youth work.

It was in the latter two fields that she worked arm in arm with Karl Liebknecht. 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 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 two-fold character: against the enemy capitalist nation and colonial peoples; to suppress the working class at home. Luxemburg exposed the sham and hypocrisy 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 social democratic opportunism develop logically into social chauvinism, social imperialism. The policy of class collaboration during peace time led to support of the bourgeoisie during the war. On the other hand, the advocacy of class struggle, a relentless fight against the capitalist class during "peace" time, found Liebknecht and Luxemburg during as prior to the war in the vanguard of the proletariat struggling against the capitalist conflagration and for proletarian revolution.

Luxemburg and Liebknecht aided by such fighters as Jogiches, 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 1918, 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 Spartacists were issuing illegal literature and conducting other forms of propaganda under the able leadership of Leo Jogiches. Rosa, while in prison, wrote her now famous brochure on "The Crises in the German Social Democracy"

explaining in a scientific manner the reasons for the degeneration of the official social democratic movement, for its war position and the road the Marxists should take.

When the Russian workers overthrew 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 independent 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 word, precisely those matters which put horror and fear in the hearts of the capitalists and their labor lieutenants, were illuminated with a lucidity which only a brilliant Marxist like Rosa Luxemburg could use. Not fearing to struggle against the stream though only a handful, Rosa and her Spartacan comrades, with faith in the working masses, intransigent in their Marxist principles, with a heroic will to struggle for socialism, launched the organization which will lead the German 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 democratic henchmen of the German bourgeoisie. A short time later, Leo Jogiches was brutally killed while in prison. The traitorous social democracy established "order" in Germany. But "order", "peace", "stabilization", cannot be permanently established under capitalism. The class struggle leads inevitably to revolution as shown by Germany today.

The Left Opposition considers itself the rightful inheritors of the traditions of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Rosa more than once was at logger-heads with Lenin and the Bolsheviks. She undoubtedly made mistakes. But in spite of this she remains one of the few Marxist leaders of our times. Her works are almost unknown to the American comrades; most of her critics have never studied them. It is the task of the Left Opposition to publish and make known the writings of Luxemburg so that we will not only be able to judge wherein she erred, but learn a great deal from one of the most brilliant Marxist teachers.

—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)

Japanese-American Conflict

The Recent Manchurian Incident as a Factor in World Politics

Outstanding in last week's news is the diplomatic incident around the American consul, Culver B. Chamberlin, in Manchuria. Many versions of the story have appeared in the press. There are already "official" Japanese versions and "official" American versions. Developments are not moving with the speed characteristic of such incidents. It is true. The cloud-burst following Sarajevo 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 Union. For the Stalinists, the internal contradictions of imperialism constitute just one more hollow phrase with which to adorn a "thesis" or a manifesto, nothing more.

Every serious observer, every serious

revolutionist could not help but see the 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 imperialist powers are bound to result. The tempo in which these conflicts are sharpened and the forms that they take on are controlled by other factors in the world situation, with which we shall deal

further...

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 bourgeoisies 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, 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 achieved by devious routes.

Clarity on War Danger!

Yes, the Soviet Union is in danger. 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 the entire world for many years to come. But historical development does not proceed along one straight line. Any "incident" is bound to serve as a spark with which to set off the explosive forces inherent in world politics today. That is why all Communists must pay the closest attention to the turns in imperialist policy, that is why they must not underestimate them, distort their importance. The Chamberlin incident and the further progress of Japanese-American relations requires the utmost attention of the workers, not as an incident in itself, but as a factor in the world situation as a whole.

—S. G.

Capitalist Politicians Favor Russian Credits; Stalinists Mark Time

The flat proposal for trade with the Soviet Union made by Mr. Rainey, Democratic leader of the House of Representatives, in a speech delivered over the radio for the National Broadcasting Company last Monday, brings one more prominent capitalist politician into the column of those who have already advanced the idea before. In this programmatic speech, widely reproduced in the press, which is intended as a semi-official indictment of the Hoover régime and as the plan of action of the Democratic House majority for "solving the crisis", Rainey advocates large-scale trade with the Soviet Union which, he adds, constitutes one of the world's largest untapped markets at the present time, and particularly necessary for the United States with the present state of its industry.

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

It is clear that the thoroughly bewildered American bourgeoisie, rendered desperate by the deepening of the crisis and the growing discontentment of the working class, and somewhat flabbergasted by the fact that all the nostrums hitherto invoked by the bourgeois statesmen and economists for the solution of the difficulties have failed, is even beginning to orient itself—at least in certain quarters—towards the Bolshevik devil in the hope of finding some way out.

That trade with the Soviet Union, no matter on how large a scale, will not solve the convulsive contradictions inherent in the capitalist system, is of course incontestable. For the bourgeoisie,

at best, it can and will serve as a slight amelioration of its crippled industries, which only a complete and radical change of ownership can rehabilitate for the purpose of social production and distribution. But with the misery of the millions of unemployed in this country becoming more acute every day, the development of extensive trade relations with the Soviet Union would undoubtedly prove of great value. Factories now shut down would have the opportunity of resuming production and would re-employ tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of those now tramping the streets in the vain hunt for work. More than that: the difficulties in the Soviet Union itself would be considerably ameliorated if the American workers could compel the United States to advance a billion dollar credit to the workers' republic for the purchase of machinery and other instruments of production. In any case, a well-conceived and organized national campaign for this purpose would make concrete and alive the feeling of international solidarity of the American 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.

Unfortunately, the campaign for credits, recognition and trade has hitherto been confined almost completely to a certain capitalist statesmen and politicians who have taken up this popular issue and capitalized upon it for themselves. The Communist movement has religiously avoided the issue, or even condemned the campaign for it as "social fascism" or something closely akin to it. The reasons for it are two-fold: the slogan was first raised by the Left Opposition, and the Stalinist sages feel mortified at having to adopt it now, and secondly, the idea embraced in the slogan stands in direct

conflict to the reactionary, utopian theory that the Soviet Union has all the necessary economic and political pre-requisites for the complete construction of a socialist society by itself—without the aid of the rest of the world. How pernicious a theory this proves to be in practice is eloquently demonstrated by 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 obscure words about the need for credits and trade to the Soviet Union in connection 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 correctly and more in time, how to rally workers for the cause of the Soviet Union? We, for our part, are not in the slightest concerned about the vulgar question of "credit" for revolutionary ideas, which seems to keep the Stalinist functionaries awake nights. What we do find it imperative to ask is this: Is the reactionary obstinacy of the Stalinist machine to continue to stand in the way of this campaign at a time when it is not only highly essential but when bourgeois demagogues are hypocritically waving around a slogan which properly belongs to the revolutionary movement?

Or perhaps the Stalinists want no mass campaign of agitation and action on this issue in the hope that if no "stri" is made about this burning working class question, Stalin will be able to achieve the same aim by polite negotiations behind the scenes...

The Impending Danger of Fascism in Germany

A Letter to a German Communist Worker on the United Front Against Hitler : - : By Leon Trotsky

road is unthinkable for them. It is stupid to believe that the Nazis would grow uninterrupted, as they do now, for an unlimited period of time. Sooner or later they will drain their social reservoir. Fascism has introduced into its own ranks such dreadful contradictions, that the moment must come in which the flow will cease to replace the ebb. The moment can arrive long before the Fascists will have united about them even half of the votes. They will not 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 Fascists will inevitably lead to a situation in which the closer the Fascists come to get a majority, the more heated the atmosphere will become and the more extensive, the unfolding of the conflicts and struggles will be. From this perspective, civil war is absolutely inevitable. Consequently the question of the seizure of power by the Fascists will not be decided by vote, but by civil war, which the Fascists are preparing and provoking.

Can we assume even one minute that Hitler and his advisers do not realize and foresee this? That would mean to consider them blockheads. There is no greater crime in politics than that of hoping for stupidities on the part of a strong enemy. If Hitler cannot help being aware that the road to power leads through gruesome civil war, then that means that his speeches regarding the peaceful democratic road are only a

cloak, that is, a stratagem. In that case it is all the more necessary to keep one's eyes open.

What is Concealed Behind Hitler's Stratagem?

His calculations are altogether simple and obvious: He wants to lull his antagonists with the long-run perspective of the parliamentary growth of the Nazis in order to catch them napping and to deal them a death-blow at the right moment. 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'état. For it is entirely clear that the coalition, let us assume, between the Center and the Fascists will not be a stage in the "democratic" solution of the question, but a step closer to the coup d'état under conditions most favorable to the Fascists.

We must Plan According to the Shorter Perspective

All this means that even regardless of the desires of the Fascist general staff, the solution can arrive in the course of the next few months, if not weeks. This circumstance is of tremendous importance in elaborating a correct policy. If we allow the Fascists to seize power in two or three months, then the struggle against them next year will be much harder than in this. All revolutionary plans laid out in advance for two, three or five years will prove to be only wretched and disgraceful twaddle, if the working class will allow the Fascists to achieve power in the course of the next two, three or five months. The calculation of time in the policy of rev-

olutionary crises, is just as in war operations, of decisive importance.

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 for it. An ignominious defeat in a struggle against bands of human rubbish—the 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 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 in a cowardly manner in the face of struggle and without a struggle. With this conception we Bolshevik-Leninists who are called Trotskyites by the Stalinists have nothing in common.

We are unflinchingly convinced that the victory over the Fascists is possible not after their coming into power, not after five, ten or twenty years of their calculation of time in the policy of rev-

(Continued on page 4)

OPPOSITION LEADER ARRESTED IN ARGENTINA

We are informed by letter of the arrest of comrade Camilo Lopez, the secretary of the Left Opposition in Argentina. 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 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 Department of Labor. This ends a persistent 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

In recent weeks the world has been enriched by two "theoretical works" of 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 Slutsky, 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 Slutsky. Here we call attention to two things. With unexcelled grossness and brutality, Stalin launches into poor Slutsky 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 Slutsky is called by Stalin, who demagogically reduces the polemic to this question: Was Lenin a Bolshevik? 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 Bolshevism, 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 holiness 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 degenerated Comintern, which every Communist will spurn.

"Scoundrelly" "trivial", "degenerated" in the words of Stalin, are both the article and its author, Slutsky, because the article is supposed to be "semi-Trotskyist" and its author a disciple of Trotsky. And with this we come to the reason why Stalin's article was written. Surely not out of scientific eagerness to secure historical truth. "I believe that rotten liberalism, which at the present moment enjoys a certain vogue among a section of the Bolsheviks (the editorial board which also gets its share, together with Slutsky), has pushed them along this path. Some Bolsheviks are of the opinion that Trotskyism is a faction of Communism, a mistaken one, it is true, committing no few blunders, even anti-Sovietist for that matter, but nevertheless a faction of Communism. Thence a certain liberalism towards the Trotskyists and those thinking like them." There's the nigger in the woodpile. "Trotskyism" is gaining an influence in Russia among the party members. Stalin is becoming

Killing a 'Dead Trotskyism' 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 himself 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 revelations 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 Kamenev, a policy of confidence in the provisional government and supported a bloc with Tsere-telli in the Soviets. Arriving in Petrograd, 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 party. This historical fact is undeniable

With the Opposition in Minneapolis

Recently a worker approached the League and applied for membership. He is sullen, shy, keenly observant, but not very talkative. He said he had just completed a 90 day sentence at the workhouse for participation in the February 25 Hunger Demonstration last year. He had been picked up by the police after the event as a "suspect", in reality as a hostage pending the arrest of the T. U. U. L. and party organizers of the affair. The breaking into the Gateway Meat Market on that date, the product of the party's "third period" adventure in Minneapolis, found the party bureaucrats unwilling to go through with the move for which they alone were responsible. When the three rank and file workers were arrested, Karl Reeve, Powers and Grecht, the erstwhile working class heroes on the party payroll, sneaked out of town. The party officially announced they had nothing to do with the affair and refused to participate in the defense of the workers fearing this would implicate it, and be used as prima facie evidence of the party's responsibility. All idea of working class solidarity was thrown to the winds. The workers of Minneapolis got a lot of secret satisfaction out of the daring act of the demonstrators literally refusing to starve and going into the store and "taking it". But chagrined at the manner in which the party shamefully deserted the workers arrested, tried and railroaded to the workhouse.

The flight of Reeve and Powers threw the party into a panic. For months no challenge was made to the edict of the Republican Mayor Kuhnze against all Communist assembly. The T. U. U. L.

and all the eye-witnesses of the February revolution, who left memoirs of the early moments of the revolution, establish the vulgar opportunism and social patriotism of the party under the leadership of Stalin-Kamenev. Of all these memoirs, those of Schlapnikov, who was in the leading center of the party from the very first days of the revolution in Petrograd, are the most convincing and authoritative. The memoirs of Schlapnikov constitute an invaluable document for any conscientious historian who wants to present a true picture of the role of the party in this period of February 27 up to April 3, 1917 (old style), that is, up to the arrival of Lenin in Petrograd.

That is just what the young Marxian historians, Slutsky and Volossevitch, did in their historical works. They based themselves upon the evidence of Schlapnikov and spoke of a "re-armament of the party" in April 1917. Another Marxian historian spoke of it right in the party history which appears under the exalted supervision of Yaroslavsky. This 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 *Krasnaya 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 calumniating the party be expanded" Stalin himself published his article in the *Bolshevik* in which he "reconstructs" the historical truth after his own manner.

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 falsifications, this one too will not succeed in concealing the mistakes and the crimes of the "organizer of defeats".

—E. O.

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 Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, which was held right in the 11th Ward F. L. P. headquarters, and the other on the Role of the Left Opposition in the Present Crisis, held at the Labor Lyceum. Though the audience in both cases was not extraordinarily large, it was very attentive and interested in the message of the Opposition spokesman. The meetings were marked by serious questions and discussion from the floor, as well as by certain provocative heckling and speeches by the Stalinists, all of which gave comrade Swaback an opportunity to deal concretely with the questions raised. One party member reiterated the argument that the Trotskyists were "individualists" who would not abide by Communist discipline; and that furthermore, in the face of the mass work the party was doing, the Opposition did nothing but criticize the party. It was obvious to all after Swaback's answer that the very participation of party members in our meetings were a recognition of the revolutionary work the Opposition is carrying 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 standard.

In addition, comrade Swaback addressed the Labor Lyceum Open Forum on the Manchurian Crisis and the Workers Open 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 Kampf*, 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 meeting.

CORRECTION

In the article on the Workmen's Circle by J. B. (*Militant* 2-1-32) there is stated that the Paterson members of the W. C. issued a call which "was first published in the Jewish Day and, after a delay of three weeks, in the *Freiheit*." This is a technical error due to the wrong placement of the sentence. The call refers to that issued by Workmen's Circle, Branch No. 417, N. Y. It was this call which was published in the press, first in the Day, and then, after a delay of three weeks, in the *Freiheit*.

PHILADELPHIA

MASS MEETING

PHILADELPHIA—On SUNDAY JANUARY 10, 1932, at 8 P. M., a lecture on "The Economic Crisis and the Communists" will be given by Arne Swaback. The lecture will be held at OSTROPOLER HALL, 943 No. FRANKLIN ST. The admission is free and everyone is invited. There will be a period for questions and discussion by the audience. The meeting is being held under the auspices of The Philadelphia Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

The Red Movement in Bulgaria

On June 21 last, the C. P. of Bulgaria obtained a big parliamentary victory. This victory is distinguished in part by the complete defeat of "Democratic Unity" (Zgovor), and in part, by the great number of votes that the illegal C. P. B. received.

The C. P. received 166,000 votes, while the socialist party received only 25,000 votes. The C. P. gained 32 seats, the S. P. got only 5 seats.

We can all still recall that in consequence of the election, the Tsankov-Liapchev government resigned and made place for the bourgeois opposition parties, the so-called "people's" bloc led by Malinov.

It could be foreseen that the proletariat had little to expect from the "democratic" people's bloc, by the fact that the latter did not promise even in the period of the election campaign, that it would abolish the notorious law "for the protection of the state" in case it came into power, nor grant a general amnesty or bring any sort of relief to the striving native proletariat in the field of social legislation.

In recalling the number of votes the C. P. obtained in the elections of April 22, 1924 (206,540) and those of the S. P. (22,404), we must admit that the loss of votes by the C. P. is relatively greater than that by the S. P.

The aim of these lines is to analyze the profound causes of this loss, as well as those for the decrease in the influence of the C. P. in general.

On the basis of a detailed and objective analysis of the situation of the C. P. of Bulgaria, we first want to declare that the loss of influence by the party is to be

ascribed to the thoroughly false line and policies of the C. I. and therefore we permit ourselves to speak primarily of the general framework of the defeat of the Bulgarian proletariat in 1923, and in connection with that, to scrutinize the entire policy of the C. I. from the critical point of view of Marxism-Leninism.

Despite the official optimism, it is nevertheless a regrettable, a disagreeable and disquieting fact that the influence of the C. P. has been declining in practically all the capitalist countries, and that the proletarian masses are not being won over to Communism. In the eyes of the present leadership, this statement is regarded as "Trotskyism", "deviation to the right", posing a lack of confidence in the revolution. The simple mention of this fact suffices to merit the designation of "renegade". Nevertheless, we need above everything, a thorough analysis on our own part, in order to find the causes of this stagnation, or rather, this decline. The causes must be revealed and uprooted; this is the fundamental condition for the success of the proletarian revolutionary movement. The decline in the influence of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries, their inability to secure the support of the proletarian masses, all this is all the more deplorable and disquieting because it occurs not in a period of ebb, but in a period of general radicalization for the working class. In other words: precisely at the moment when the objective conditions for the victory of the revolution are maturing, the subjective factor is lacking and falling behind the possibilities that the situation offers.

Only open and pitiless criticism can

Swaback's Tour Results

KANSAS CITY—A successful mass meeting, with an attendance of 50 workers, was held in Kansas City on December 18, when comrade Arne Swaback spoke on the "Economic Crisis and the Communists". The talk was very well received and aroused a greater interest in the program and work of the Communist League (Opposition). The Stalinists, who are as anxious 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 members did attend, despite the intimidation and order by the Stalinist bureaucrats not 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, conducted 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 West 12th Street, Kansas City, Mo.

—GEORGE CLARKE.

CHICAGO, ILL.—

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

Comrade Swaback very ably presented the viewpoint of the Left Opposition, winning the applause of all present. He dealt with the perspectives for the crisis, the role of the Communist advance guard of the working class, and the debate of Stalinist policy. He spoke of the vindication of the policy of the Left Communists as expressed in the results of the class struggle and the world situation. He exposed the farcical denunciation of the "Long terms credits to the Soviet Union" slogan of the Left Communists by Stalinists and prophesied that before long these bureaucrats would 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 Swaback's arguments. As soon as he was through he left the Hall and did not hear the scorching answer of comrade Swaback.

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 opinion of all comrades that this successful meeting will inject new pep into the work here in Chicago.

—J. S. G.

The New Year's Eve banquet arranged by the Chicago branch of the Left Opposition at its own headquarters, at 1435 N. Western Ave., in honor of comrade Arne Swaback drew many of our members as well as numerous friends and sympathizers of our movement.

Comrade John Edwards acted as master of ceremonies, calling upon comrades present for speeches. The speakers all responded to the occasion very nobly. In addition to the usual fun provoking comments there was noted a strong undercurrent of seriousness, and the will to spread ever wider the teachings of Lenin-

ism which have in this period been corrupted and dragged through the mire of Stalinist revisionism.

Comrade Swaback was the last speaker. He spoke on the problems of our movement stressing on the necessity for 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 fun making.

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

—J. S. G.

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 readers 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 but inevitably, the name we proposed will yet wave coyly at the masthead of the Lovestone sheet. What does perturb us a trifle is that the name we proposed for the organization has not yet made any headway. We called the "Majority" group to be called C. P. L. A. (Minority Group), if for no other reason that political accuracy and clarity. As our readers may be sure, our proposals are never motivated by mercenary considerations—we want no money prizes—but solely in the sacrosanct interests of truth and justice. . . .

DEATH PENALTY FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST AGITATION

HANKOW, (Fenprecor) Death to anti-imperialist 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 into a diplomatic issue". The order is aimed against the outbreak of incidents involving foreign, particularly Japanese, nationals.

Decapitation will be meted out to agitators in Hankow, Wuchang, and Hanyang factories.

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 Terrorist.

These orders, duplicated throughout the area under Kuo Min Tang or other military control, reveal the precise extent to which the present "rulers" of China have sold themselves to foreign imperialism.

FOR YOUR LIBRARY

Books by Leon Trotsky

THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

86 pages, two-colored paper cover 25c
Introduction by Max Shachtman

THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

A Criticism of Fundamentals
Introduction by J. P. Cannon
140 pages hard paper cover 35c

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

80 pages, paper cover 10c

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

208 page book—cloth bound 1.00
paper bound .50

THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA

Introduction by Max Eastman

364 page book formerly \$2 now 1.00

MY LIFE—600 pages

5.00

COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM

The Trade Union Question

Introduction by James P. Cannon

64 pages, paper cover 15c

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER

64 pages paper cover 15c

PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. S. S. R.

48 pages, paper cover 15c

Special Rates in Bundles of 5 or more

SINCE LENIN DIED

By Max Eastman

1924

158 page book printed in London

50c

Pioneer Publishers

84 East 10th Street

New York City

although personalities play a role in them, and are not at all to be neglected. The absence of a man of Lenin's scope in the Russian party, counts, no doubt. But there are, of course, deeper roots to the matter.

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

On the other hand, we must consider the difficulty of the sections of the C. I. in working out special ways and means of the proletarian revolution and its preparation in the different countries, which has been increased by the bureaucratic-ally entrenched preponderance of the 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 the experiences characterizes the crisis of the Bulgarian Communist Party as well as that of the entire movement of the C. I. It is not a crisis of the movement itself, but of its leadership. The criticism of the past mistakes will result in the condemnation of the leadership responsible for these mistakes. The lack of a healthy, creative criticism which the present leaders fear, is accompanied by a deplorable moral stagnation, which under the mask of loyalty and under the mantle of mechanical discipline, sows disorder. As a consequence, instead of the mistakes being corrected, they create new mistakes. In order to justify intellectual and political shortcomings, all regard for truth has been sacrificed. Theories are built up not on the basis of vital facts, but for the purpose of covering up mistakes committed through ignorance or through empirical experimenting.

On the basis of these lines, which deal more or less with the International, we intend to speak, in our next article, of the crisis in the Bulgarian C. P.

—XX.

The Workers United Front against Fascism

Where Lies the Mistake in the Present Policy of the German Communist Party

Kadikoy, December 8, 1931.