

**WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE**

# THE MILITANT



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## 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—by 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 of the revolutionary movement. 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 bourgeois—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 sharply, found social democratic opportunism develop logically into social chauvinism, social imperialism. The policy of class collaboration during peace time led to the 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 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 Spartacists 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 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 Jogisches 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.

—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)

## 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 the present state of the United States with the necessary 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 how large a scale, will not solve the convulsive contradictions inherent in the capitalist system, is of course incontestable. For the bourgeoisie,

## 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 are controlled by other factors in the world situation, with which we shall deal

further on...  
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 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 which will 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.

## The Impending Danger of Fascism in Germany

At the present moment Germany is 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 down either to the Left or to the Right. That is the situation approaching with every hour in Germany today. There are forces who would like the ball to roll down towards the Right and break the back of the working class. There are forces who would like the ball to remain at the top. That is a utopia. The ball cannot remain at the top of the pyramid. The Communists want the ball to roll down toward the Left and to break the back of capitalism. But it is not enough to want, one must know how. Let us calmly reflect once more: Is the policy carried out at present by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany correct or incorrect?

What does Hitler want?  
The Fascists are growing very rapidly. The Communists are also growing but much more slowly. The growth at the extreme poles shows that the ball cannot maintain itself at the top of the pyramid. The rapid growth of the Fascists 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'état. 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 out obtaining an absolute majority of the votes at the next elections in a peaceful way, then they would perhaps even prefer this road. In reality, however, this

### 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

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 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 prerequisites 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 "stir" is made about this burning working class question, Stalin will be able to achieve the same aim by polite negotiations behind the scenes. . . .

### 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.

(Continued on page 4)



IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Developments in Spanish Revolution

"The conservative classes of Spain," said Alcalá Zamora recently, "cannot be conservative; they are simply reactionary."

The Spanish bourgeoisie will disappear as a class without changing its characteristics. The structure of our economy, and consequently the role which Spain plays in world economy, fix a limited circle of necessity, within which our bourgeoisie must move.

where it was not conscious complicity, of the leaders of the revolutionary working 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.

Cah these words, if properly understood, 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 anarchism.

plorable echo in the working class. The socialist and anarchist leadership of our workers' movement, which had delivered up the whole revolution to the bourgeoisie, made its faults still worse on the change of regime.

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.

"Our attitude is one of full expectation 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 17).

"We are convinced that the blow which has been struck at Spanish reaction will throw into the abyss of death the fascism of Europe and America" (April 18).

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.

tendency. But when the bourgeoisie talks of "Communist danger" it does not refer to a struggle among tendencies, which it generally neither understands nor distinguishes, but to the working 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 lessening the distance between monarchy and the revolution. Finally the rapprochement of the two camps was so close that in view of the municipal elections of April 12 the bourgeois politicians, who were defending their class against the monarchist entrenchments, understood that all resistance was useless and harmful.

Moreover, if the change of regime as it was realized was the natural result of the deeply reactionary downward slope which the revolution had taken, at the very beginning of the change the bourgeoisie found an excellent opportunity to emphasize to the full the reactionary character of the Republic.

A revolution which was pacific because it was no revolution, but the most perfect maneuver that the bourgeoisie could have executed in the face of a revolutionary situation, found the most de-

opposite of the truth of the Spanish revolution. The one thing that was not struck down in Spain was reaction. The monarchist elements scarcely suffered punishment from the Republic. On the other hand, the working class, when it began to show itself as such, was the object of the most brutal repression.

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 enjoyed. The halo thus created assured it the monopoly of the Assembly. It was in the interests of the bourgeoisie that the Republic was fixed up by means of 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, the working masses and the middle class of our country were being radicalized.

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 politically 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 time 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 Assembly.

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 gave out a slogan which seems a joke; 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 beginning 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 Government; so long as the Assembly exists, the reaction will govern through a coalition Government. The short space of time left for the Assembly is the last concession that the bourgeoisie 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.

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 which the offensive against the reaction 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 function which the Soviets did in Russia, must nevertheless be the place for the united front of the workers.

Madrid, December, 1931. —L. FERSEN.

Under the Banner of Marxism

Opposition in England

Party Members Form Nucleus to Fight for Leninism

On December 19 of last year, a group of members of the Communist Party of Great Britain who have been active in it for years, met in London to constitute formally the English section of the International Left Opposition.

The absence of such a formally organized and active group of Oppositionists in England has always been felt acutely in our ranks, not only because 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.

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 our movement a safe refuge from the class struggle, as have many in the past who sought to cover up their own retirement from the revolution with the 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.

The grave crisis of the ruling class and its institutions is convulsing the latter in every one of its parts. And in this process, such institutions as the Labour party and the Independent Labour Party show themselves to be very

quickly affected. In both of them, and particularly in the last-named, there is a growing discontentment with the leaders 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, the Communist party, held in the strait-jacket 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.

Every one of the comrades who came together to constitute the group—with perhaps one exception—is a member of the party and, without fearing the consequences which the Stalinists nowadays impose 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 dilettantes 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 quiet isolation in the stale juice of their own superiority; individuals and individuals; 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. —S.

New Trotsky Pamphlet Coming

WE ARE ABOUT TO GO TO PRESS with a new pamphlet by comrade Trotsky. It is entitled: GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION—SHALL FASCISM REALLY BE VICTORIOUS? This latest work of the leader of the Left Opposition fulfills the most burning need of the moment for the revolutionary movement of the entire world. It analyses in clear and distinct strokes, the problems facing Communism and offers the Bolshevik solution to them.

The Communist International, the vanguard of the whole international working class is approaching a decisive historical task in Germany. Every month, every week, every day brings us closer to the critical moment. In 1923, the defeat of the German proletariat inaugurated a sweep of reaction that affected the working class of every capitalist country and served as a brake on the stormy advance of the post-war revolutionary movement. Today, we are confronted with a similarly decisive situation in Germany.

The forces of Hitlerism, the prospective butchers of the German workers, are continually 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 their very character for each to aid and abet the another.

In the meantime, the German working class remains divided. The social democrats still have a free hand in their deception 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 situation 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 its consequences as the defeat of 1923.

Every Communist, every serious revolutionary worker must consider it his duty to pay the closest attention to what is now going on in Germany. Every conscientious proletarian fighter must keep his eyes peeled, use the utmost objectivity in his judgment.

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. Every member of the Communist party, every sympathizer of Communism who is sincerely attached to the cause of the

revolution, must consider it his duty to obtain a copy of the latest work of Leon Trotsky and to read it carefully. The fate of the world revolution is at stake. Let no genuine revolutionary stand aside. Every worker and Communist must get a copy 10c per copy; 7 cents in bundles of GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. Order through Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

CHICAGO Open Forum

Every Sunday, 3 p.m.

JANUARY 17 By JOHN EDWARDS ON "LENIN & MARXISM" Free Admission at HALL, 1435 NO. WESTERN AVE. Auspices: Chicago Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

ST. LOUIS

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 follows:

- Friday, January 15, 1932: Speaker—Martin Payer on "Tom Mooney and the Frame-Up System".
Friday, January 22, 1932: Speaker—George Roberts on "Is Socialism in One Country Possible?"
Friday, January 29, 1932: Speaker—John Scott on "Fascism or Communism in Germany."
The Admission is free All workers are cordially invited.

Young Spartacus can be purchased at all newsstands, bookstores, meetings, etc. where The Militant is now sold. If you are unable to get a copy at these places, write to Young Spartacus, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

EXPIRATION OF SUBSCRIPTION If the number of your wrapper is 97 or under, your subscription has expired. To ensure that you do not miss a single issue of The Militant, send in your renewal immediately to The Militant, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y. Sunday, January 10, 1932: "Tom Mooney and the American Frame-Up System;" Speaker: Carl Cowl.

Entertainment In New York for Young Spartacus

An Entertainment and Dance for the benefit of Young Spartacus, official organ of the Youth Section, Communist League of America (Opposition), will be held on Saturday, January 9th, 1932, beginning at 8 P. M., at the headquarters of the League, 84 East 10th Street.

The Youth Committee in charge promises a very lively and entertaining Musical and other features, as well as excellent refreshments have been provided. All workers are cordially invited to attend the Young Spartacus entertainment, Saturday, January 9th. The affair is under the auspices of the New York Section of the Communist League (Opposition).

אונזער קאמף "UNSER KAMPF"

צוויי-וועכנטלעכער ארגאן פון דער קאמוניסטישער ליג פון אמעריקע (פאראייניגט) 84 EAST 10th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

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NAME ADDRESS CITY STATE

A Letter to A Member of the German Communist Party

EDITORIAL NOTES

PROLETARIAN PARTY SPLIT

Engels once wrote that every workers party must necessarily develop in a process of internal struggle, according to the dialectical laws of development in general. This observation is again called to mind by the factional struggle now taking place in the ranks of the Proletarian Party.

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.

In fact, the split has already begun. 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 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 leadership and policy of the party.

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.

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.

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 principle questions, and the adoption of a precise attitude toward them, are now indispensable for a fruitful outcome of the revolt in the Proletarian Party.

BOMBS FOR NEW YEAR'S

It looks like a big year for the bomb and dynamite racket, if one can judge by the spectacular start that has been made by the people who specialize in it. The new year was ushered in with the loud explosion of a bomb in Pennsylvania, and by still noisier propaganda about other bombs which were found or planted or imagined in various parts of the country.

The Daily Worker speaks of the latest bomb scare as the prelude to an attack on the Communist Party, and limits its concern and protest to that. If the new machinations take on real proportions a blow at the Party will undoubtedly be the objective. But the specific point of attack in the present instance seems to be the anti-Fascist movement; and the New York harbor affair is aimed at the Tidewater Boatmen's Union.

"The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."

Minneapolis Open Forum

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

All meetings, unless otherwise mentioned are at 3 P. M.: Sunday, January 17, 1932: "Imperialism; What Next? Speaker: Vincent R. Dunne.

Sunday, January 24, 1932: DEBATE: "Socialism versus Communism". Speakers: O. P. Victorian, representing the Social 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.

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The Workers United Front against Fascism

(Continued from page 1) rule, but now, under the given conditions, in the coming months and weeks. Thaelmann Considers the Victory of Fascism Inevitable

A correct policy is necessary in order to achieve victory. That is, we need a policy appropriate to the present situation, to the present relationship of forces and not to a situation that may develop in one, two or three years, when the question of power will have been decided for a long time.

The whole misfortune lies in the 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 social democracy.

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. Politically, the question is posed in the following manner: Can we successfully repel Fascism in the course of the next few months, that is, with the existence of a greatly reduced, but still (unfortunately) very strong social democracy?

Once Again: The Russian Experiences In order, to express my thought as clearly and as concretely as possible I will come back once more to the experience with the Kornilov uprising. On August 26 (old style) 1917, General Kornilov led his Cossack troops and one irregular division against Petrograd.

It is not a question of the workers who have already left the Social Democracy but of those who still remain with it. The thousands upon thousands of Noskes, Welses, Hilferdings, prefer, in the last analysis, Fascism to Communism. But for that they must once and for all tear themselves loose from the workers.

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".

There are seven keys in the musical scale. The question of which of these keys is "better". Do, Re or Sol is a senseless question. But the musician must know

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

The misfortune is, that in the Central Committee of the Communist Party there are many frightened opportunists. They have heard that opportunism consists of a love for blocks, and that is why they are against blocks.

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 democracy only with inverted prefixes: The Social democracy votes for Bruening, recognizing in him the "lesser evil".

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 catastrophically determined for a long time to come.

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.

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.

be sure, it is painful to have to argue such A. B. C. questions. I t is sad, very sad indeed, when musicians like Remmele, instead of distinguishing between the keys, stamp with their boots on the keyboard.

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The thousands upon thousands of Noskes, Welses, Hilferdings, prefer, in the last analysis, Fascism to Communism. But for that they must once and for all tear themselves loose from the workers.

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.

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.

We Must Force the Social Democracy Into a Block Against the Fascists

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Election agreements, parliamentary compromises concluded between the revolutionary party and the social democracy serve, as a rule, to the advantage of the social democracy. Practical agreements for mass action, for purposes of struggle are always of use to the revolutionary party.

No common platform with the social democracy, or with the leaders of the German trade unions, no common pub-

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average social democratic worker can say to himself: What the Communists propose is completely indispensable 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 victory possible.

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 with the conciliators in the struggle against Kornilov, in Lenin. And actually, here is what I found in the second part of volume XIV of the Russian edition, in a letter of Lenin to the Central Committee, written at the beginning of September, 1917:

"Even at the present it is not our duty to support the Kerensky Government. That would be unprincipled. Someone asked: then we are not to fight against Kornilov? Naturally, we are. But that is not one and the same thing. There is a limit to this. It is being transgressed 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 Kornilov 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 we Russian Bolsheviks also presented it finally to the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries as a general accounting for the baiting, slander, imprisonment and murder carried on against workers, soldiers and peasants.

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 within Fascism. Only by this road is victory 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.

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. Kadikoy, December 8, 1931.