matter."

years of domination by the epigones in ers reacted honestly in the direction of the leadership of the Communist Inter- the Right wing only because of the blunnational is making itself felt most acutely at the present moment, when the ob jective conditions for revolutionary progress are almost universally favorable to the proletarian vanguard. Paralysis and decay of the most vital organs of the official international Communist movecularly glaring and disastrous in the present world crisis of capitalism, of the ravages of the bureaucratic internal regime which was required by the apparatus in order to destroy the fundamental pinciples of Marxism in all the parties of the International. In the three countries of Europe where the Communists should even now be leading the workers to decisive battles, a disheartening picture is presented. In bankrupted Germany, the plague of nationalist degeneration has gripped the only remaining nou-Russian mass party in the Comintern and threatens it with another 1923 debacle, even though in a different form and under different conditions. In revolutionary Spain, the feeble skeleton formation of the official party plays no decisive role in the country, and lays a huge obstacle in the road to the victory by diverting the vanguard from the proletarian revolutionary goal to the-at best-mythical and - at worst-fatal goal of a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". In England, the prostrated figure of the official party is unable to affect developments in any serious manner at all. The other parties of the International do not present a much more encouraging picture, despite brief and temoprary rises, despite the increasingly favorable condi-

2. The Centrist bureaucracy has not however, succeeded in completely destroying the Communst International. The latter posseses a vitality, not derived from Centrism, but still sufficiently powerful to have withstood the fatal consequences of the corrosive influence of the epigones. The vitality of the Comintern has its sources in the existence and popularity of the October revolution and the Soviet Union, its traditions and its associations, all of which the advanced elements of the working class still connect and identify in their minds with the existing parties. The support still enjoyed by the official parties is given them by the workers as representing the ideas of the October revolution. In addition to this tremendous factor, the hopeless bankrutcy of capitalist society, the intensified exploitation and misery characterizing it in its last period of decay, plus the despicable and unconcealed treachery of the social democracy, drive more workers to the ranks of Communism than the mountain of blunders, defeats and crimes of the Stalinist apparatus can drive away. While this state of affairs cannot produce a permanent "equilibrium" in the ranks of official Communism, it nevertheless operates at the present stage with such force that it may be said that the bulk of the revoluionary workers are either in or around the official Communist parties or under its influence. Furthermore, the shifting of the apparatus from its Right positions to positions of ultra-Leftism, driven by the pressure of events, by criticism of the Opposition, by discontentment in the ranks of the party itself, are objective testimony to the possibilities which still exist to purge the party by radical measures of reform and to re-establish it upon a strong Marxian foundation.

These are the principal factors which determine for the International Left Opposition the role which it has assumed and which it must maintain: the Marxian wing of Communism, constituted as a faction of the Communist International which works for its regeneration and restoration. This historical task can be accomplished only by the most intransigeant struggle against the Centrist bureaucracy and the reactionary ideas with which it has poisoned the movement.

3. The formal splitting off of the Right wing from the Comintern in a whole series of countries, particularly since the Sixth Congress, has served to clarify the struggle in the Communist movement. The Right wing represents the most consistently opportunist section of the ruling machine in the Comintern from 1923 to 1928 which, in the person of the Right wing, has now taken a giant's stride closer to the social democracy. In a number of countries, sections of the Right wing have already the Second International. In the main, however, it represents a bridge built towards social democracy. It shares the basic theortical conceptions of Centrism (national socialism as against revolutionary internationalism), but otherwise it leads a parasitic existence, nourished by the cruder and more obvious blunders of purblind Centrism, which it criticizes with scraps borrowed from the platform of the Opposition. Liquidators, the ideological agents of the social democracy under the Communist banner who con stitute the Brandlerist "International" must be fought relentlessly at every juncture. While it has and can have liquidators, the Left Opposition, mindful convocation.

1. The destruction wrought by eight of the fact that great numbers of workders and bureaucratism of the Stalinists, should make every effort to win over, by fraternal discussion, the revolutionary working class elements in the Right wing

4. In spite of, and in a sense because of, the obstacles placed in the path of ment are the most notable effects, parti- its development and the organizational defeats inflicted upon it by the apparatus, the International Left Opposition is today at the highest point yet attained in its ideological progress. The disloyal abuse of the immense apparatus at the disposal of Centrism, its usurpation of the direction of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, the years of defeats and revolutionary ebb, the fact that the present revolutionary tide has not yet posed acutely and unpostponably before the Communist workers the fundamental strategical problems all these circumstances have combined to prevent the Left Oppositoin from enjoying an organizational growth commensurate with almost daily vindication and confirmation of its ideas, its prognoses, its platform. The aim of the Left Opposition is to the Central Committee of the G. C. P. redress the dispersed and bewildered everything is wrong; the evaluation of ranks of Communism so that the organized revolutionary vanguard shall be able to fulfill its historic mission. Our principal task, therefore, is not the pursuit for a "mass movement", which the whole environment and the conditions of our struggle renders futile, but the more systematic and strengthened organization of our propaganda for winning the militant vanguard.

> succeeded not only in clearing its ranks of all capitulationist elements of the Zinoviev group, but also of ultra-Leftist dilletante and compromising tendencies, such as were represented by Urbahns, Paz and van Overstraeten. In addition, elements alien to the ideas and spirit of the Left Opposition, like Pollak Czecho-Slovakia, Frey in Austria, the Landau group in Austria and Germany, have been dropped by the way-side. The Opposition, whose strength lies in its ideas and which constitutes a faction, has especially rigid requirements and cannot have any hesitation in enforcing them. For that reason, the American section of the Left Opposition also endorses the struggle conducted by our French section against the Right wing group of Gourget and against the ambiguous attitude of other members of the Ligue, such as Naville, who did not join in rejecting categorically the ideas and conduct of this group, and whose attitude, instead, confronted it, just as it comforted the Landau group in its dcstructive work in the ranks of the German Opposition. In the future, the American section must devote a greater amount of its attention to the developments in the other countries so that it may contribute the maximum possible clearing the road of progress of the International Left Opposition and helping to overcome those difficulties, and even crises, which frequently arise in the life of every active political organism and from which the Left Opposition is not immune. Any tendency in our own ranks to minimize the importance of the genuine internationalism which is

5. One of the difficulties which the International Opposition has enountered in the past period has been the defections of members of the Bureau which has so grately incapacitated it as to compel the International Secretariat to ed with two mortally hostile parties, is assume functions other than purely ad- naturally beyond doubt, and all the falseministrative ones. This assumption of hoods of the social democracy will not political functions has proved to be cor-Secretariat is the only effective center holding together the various sections of the Opposition, and, by grace of the support given it by the great majority of the sections, having the authority to intervene in any country for the purpose of defending the ideas of the Left Opposition. The fact that purely formal organizational attacks are levelled at the Secretariat precisely by those elements who are breaking, or never had anything in common, with the principle and political ideas of the Opposition,-elements like Landau, Frey, van Overstraeten, Urbahns. Weisbord, etc.,-gives the meascompleted an organizational fusion with ure of these criticisms. Until an international congress can take place, and a representative Bureau elected, we must give all our assistance towards streng thening the authority and the capacities of the Secretariat.

constituted by an active and fraternal

movement as a whole, must be sharply

checked and corrected.

At the same time, the Communist League of America (Opposition) suggests that the International Congress be called for the Spring of the coming year, so that the international relations of the Opposition may be strengthened, a review of the past years undertaken, and the tasks for the coming period elaborated. We propose that all the main theses and documents for the congress shall be available for all the sections nothing in common with the Right wing at least two months before its actual

M.N.Roy Arrested in India

leader of the Right wing of the Indian ing his release from the Indian prisons Communists, has been arrested by the of British imperialism and the British British authorities-in India and charged Labor Party, for it was during the Labor with high treason. This is the second party cabinet's regime that he was arscientists, authors, artists and publicists, He was expelled after the 6th Congress. the previous deceptive and abortive move- reactionary camp for its radically false

Manabendra Nath Roy, the principal have already adopted resolutions demand

Resolution on the International Left Against National Communism! Opposition

When these lines reach the reader, they will, perhaps, in one section or another be out of date. Through the efforts of the Stalinist apparatus and the friendly collaboration of all the bourgeois gov- dums the right of designating their tifled. Whether the Fascists vote togethernments, the author of these lines is which he can react to political events only after a delay of several weeks. To this must also be added that the author is obliged to rely on far from complete information. The reader should bear this in mind. But even from the extremely unfavorable circumstances, we must attempt to extract at least some advantage Not having the possibility to react to events in all their concreteness, from day to day, the author is compelled to concentrate his attention on the basic points and the central questions. This is where he justification lies for this work.

How Everything Is Turned Upon Its Head

The mistakes of the German Communist Party in the question of the plebiscite is among those which will become clearer as time passes, and will finally enter into the textbooks of revolutionary strategy as an example of what should not be done. In the conduct of the situation is incorrect, the immediate aim is posed incorrectly, the means for its achievement was selected incorrectly. In passing, the leadership of the party succeeded in overthrowing all those "principles" which it advocated within recent

On July 21, the Central Committee addressed itself to the Prussian government with the demand for democratic and soc-In a number of countries, great steps have been taken in the past period to-The International Left Opposition has in actuality addressed itself to the upper stratum of the social democratic shortening this road for Fascism. party with the proposal for a united front against the Fascists under certain conditions. When the Social Democracy rejected the proposed conditions, the Stalinists formed a united front with the Fascists against the Social Democracy. This means that the policy of the united front is conducted not only from "below" but also from "above". It maens that Thaelmann is permitted to address himself to Braun and Severing with au "open letter" on the joint defense of democracy and social legislation from the Hitlerite bands. In this manner, metaphysics on the united front "only the united front only from the top, untheir will.

If the social democracy is a variety of Fascism, then how can one propose to social Fascists a demand for the joint defense of democracy? Having entered upon the road of the referendum, the party bureaucracy did not put any couditions to the National Socialists, Why? If the Social Democrats and the National Socialists are only shades of Fascism, then why can conditions be put to the Social Democracy and not to the National Socialists? Or perhaps between these two "varieties" there exist certain very important qualitative differences in regards to the social base and the methods of deceiving the masses? But then, do not call both of them Fascists, because names in politics serve in order intervention in the life and work of the to differentiate and not in order to throw everything into the same heap.

> Is it true, however, that Thaelmann entered a united front with Hitler? The Communist bureaucracy called the referendum of Thaelmann "red", in distinction from the black or brown plebiscite of Hitler. That the matter is concerncompel the workers to forget it. But a paign, the Stalinist bureaucracy drew the revolutionary workers into a united front with the National Socialists against the Social Democracy. At least if one could designate his party adherence on the ballots, then the referendum would at least have the justification (in the given instance, absolutely insufficient from political standpoint) that it would have permitted the count of its forces and by that itself, separate them from the forces of Fascism. But German "democracy" was not solicitous enough in its time to provide for participants in referen-

By LEON TROTSKY

given question, gives one and the same tion, the unity of front with the Fascistz is an indubitable fact. Thus, between midnight and dawn everything appeared to be turned on its head. The "United Front", But With Whom?

of the Communist party pursue with its turn? The more you read the official documents and speeches of the leaders, the less you understand this aim. The Prussian government, we are told, is paving the road for Fascism. This is perfectly correct. The federal government of Bruening, the leaders of the Communist party add, have actually been fascising the republic and have already accomplished a lot of work on this road. Perfectly correct, we reply to this. But without the Prussian Braun, the federal Bruening cannot maintain himself the Stalinists say. This too is correct, we reply to them. Up to this point, we are in complete accord. But what political conclusions flow from this? We have not the slightest ground for supporting Braun's government, for taking even a shadow of responsibility for it before the masses, or even for weakening by one iota our political struggle against the government of Bruening and its Prussian agency. But we have still less ground for helping the Fascists to replace the government of Brueningial concessions, threatening otherwise to Braun. Because if we accuse the Social come out for the referendum. Advancing Democracy, with sufficient grounds, of wards the accomplishment of this task. its demands, the Stalinist bureaucracy paving the road for Fascism, then our own task can least of all consist of The circular letter of the Central

> Committee of the German Communist Party to all the nuclei, on July 27, most mercilessly lays bare the inconsistency of the leadership, because it is the product of a collective elaboration of the question. The essence of the letter, liberated from confusion and contradictions, is reduced to the idea that, in the final analysis, there is no difference between the Social Democrats and the Fascists, that is, that there is no difference between the enemy who deceives and betrays the workers, taking advantage of these people, without even noticing what their patience, and the enemy who simthey are doing, threw overboard their ply wants to kill them off. Feeling the senselessness of such an identification, from below", by means of the most stupid the authors of the circular letter unexand the most scandalous experiment of pectedly make a turn and present the red referendum as the "decisive applicaexpectedly for the masses and against tion of the policy of united front from below (!) towards the Social Democratic, the christian and the non-party workers". In what way the intervention in the plebiscite alongside of the Fascists. against the Social Democracy and the party of the Center, is an application of the policy of the united front towards the Social Democratic and christian workers-will not be understood by any proletarian mind. The reference is evidentby to those Social Democratic workers who, having broken away from their party, participated in the referendum. How many of them? By the policy of the united front, one should at least understand a common action, not with the workers who have left the Social Democracy, but with those who remain in its ranks. Unfortunately, there are still a great number of them.

The Question of the Relation of Forces

The only phrase in Thaclmann's speech of July 24, which resembles a serious motivation of the question is as follows: "The red referendum, by utilizing the possibilities of legal, parliamentary mass action, represents a step forward in the direction of the extra-parliamentary mobilization of the mases". If these words have any sense at all, rect, and at the present moment, the fact remains a fact: in a certain cam- it is only the following: We take the In the struggle against Kornilov parliamentary vote as the point of departure for our general revolutionary offensive, in order to overthrow the government of the Social Democracy and the parties of the golden mean allied with it, by legal means, and in order afterwards, by the pressure of the revolutionary masses, to overthrow Fascism which is attempting to become the hear to the Social Democracy. In other words: the Prussian referendum only plays the role of a spring-board for the revolutionary leap. Yes, as a spring-board, the plebiscite would have been fully jus-

parties. All the voters are fused into er with the Communists or not, would placed in such circumstances under one inseparable mass which, on the lose all significance, beginning with the moment when the proletariat, by its presanswer. Within the limit of this ques- sure, overthrows the Fascists and takes the power into its own hands. For a spring-board, one can make use of any planks, the plank of the referendum intaking the jump must be there, not in words but in deeds. The problem is cou-What political aim did the leadership forces. To come out into the streets with the slogan "Down with the Bruening-Braun government!" at a time when according to the relation of forces, it can only be replaced by a government of Hitler-Hugenburg, is the sheerest adventuran altogether different sense if it becomes an introduction to the immediate struggle of the proletariat itself for power. In the first instance, the Communists would appear in the eyes of the

> The question of the coincidence of the voting with the Fascists is consequently viewed by us not from the point of view of some abstract principle, but from the point of view of the actual struggle of the classes for power, and the relation- izing" which Thaclmann and Co. engage ship of forces at a given stage of this in when, in justification of their own struggle.

masses as the aids of reaction; but in

the second instance, the question of how

the Fascists voted before they were

crushed by the proletariat would have

lost all political significance.

Let Us Look Back at the Russian Experience

It may be regarded as incontestable that at the moment of the proletarian uprising, the difference between the Social Democratic bureaucracy and the Fascists will actually be reduced to a minimum, if not to zero. In the October days, the Russian Mensheviks and S. R.s fought against the proletariat hand in hand with the Cadets, Kornilovists and monarchists. The Bolsheviks left the pre-parliament in October and went into the streets, in order to call upon the masses for an armed uprising. If, simultaneously with the Bolsheviks, some kind of a monarchist group, let us say, had also left the pre-parliament in those days, this would not have had any political significance because the monarchists were overthrown together with the democracy.

The party arrived at the October uprising, however, through a series of stages. At the time of the April, 1917 politics with blown-out lanterns. demonstration, a section of the Bolsheviks advanced the slogan: "Down with the provisional government!" But the Central Committee immediately rejected the ultra-Leftists. Of course, we should propagate the necessity of overthrowing the provisional government; but to call the workers into the streets under this slogan, cannot yet be done, because we ourselves are still a minority in the working class. If we overthrow the provisional government under these couditions, we will not be able to replace it, and consequently we will help the counter-revolution. We must patiently explain to the masses the anti-popular character of this government, before the hour for its overthrow has steuck. Such was the position of the party. During the subsequent period, the slo

gan of the party was: "Down with the capitalist ministers!" This was a demand directed at the social democracy to break its coalition with the bourgeoisie. In July, we led a demonstration of workers and soldiers under the slogan "All power to the Soviets!", which meant at that time: all power to the Mensheviks and S. R.s. The Mensheviks and the S. R.s, together with the White Guardists, crushed us.

Two months later, Kornilov rose against the provisional government, occupied the frontline positions. Lenin was at that time in hiding. Thousands of Bolsheviks were in the jails. The workers, soldiers and sailors demanded the liberation of their leaders and of the Bolsheviks in general. The provisional Government did not come to terms Should not the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks have addressed an ultimatum to the government of Kerensky Free the Bolsheviks immediately and ro move from them the disgraceful accusa tion of service to the Hohenzollernsand, in the event of Kerensky's refusal

have refused to fight against Kornilov? This is probably how the Central Committee of Thaelmann, Remmele, Neumann would have acted. But this is not how the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks. acted. Lenin wrote at the time: "It would have been the profoundest error to think that the revolutionary proletariat is capable, so to say, out of 'revenge' upon the S. R.s and Mensheviks -for their support of the crushing of the Bolsheviks, the assassinations on the cluded. Only, the possibility of actually front and the disarming of the workers -of 'refusing' to support them against the counter-revolution. Such a way of sequently reduced to the relation of putting the question would have meant, first of all, the carrying over of petty bourgeois conceptions of morals into the proletariat (because for the good of the cause the proletariat will always support not only the vacillating petty bourgeoisle but also the big bourgeoise); 15 ism. The same slogan, however, assumes the second place, it would have beenand this is most important-a petty bourgeois attempt to cast a shadow, by 'moralizing', over the political essence of the

Lessons of the 'Red'

If we had not repulsed Kornilov in August, and had thereby facilitated his coming to victory, he would, in the first place, have destroyed the flower of the working class, and consequently, would have interfered with our victory, two months later, over the conciliators when they were overtaken by their Nemesis-not in words but in deeds-for their historic crime.

It is precisely "petty bourgeois moralturn, they begin to enumerate the endless infamies committed by the social

With Blown-Out Lanterns

Historical analogies are only analogies. There can be no talk about the identity of conditions and tasks. But in the figurative language of analogies, we may ask: At the time of the referendum in Germany, was the question posed of the defense against the Korniloviad, or in reality, of the overthrow of the whole bourgeois order by the proletariat? This question is not decided by bare principles, nor by polemical formulae, but by the relation of forces. With what care and sincerity the Bolsheviks studied. counted and measured the relation of forces at every new stage of the revolution! Did the leadership of the German Communist Party attempt, when it entered into the struggle, to draw the preliminary balance of the struggling forces? Neither in articles, nor in speeches, do we find such a balance. Like their teacher Stalin, the Berlin pupils conduct

His considerations on the question of the relation of forces, are reduced by Thaelmann to two or three general phrases. "We no longer live in 1923," he said in his report, "the Communist party is at present the party of many millions, which grows at a furious pace." And this is all! Thaclmann could not show more dearly the extent to which an understanding of the difference between the situation in 1923 and 1931 is foreign to him! Then, the social democracy was breaking up into bits. The workers who did not yet succed in breaking away from the ranks of the Social Democracy, turned their eyes hopefully in the direction of the Communist party. Then, Fascism represented to a far greater degree, a scarecrow in the garden of the bourgeoisie, rather than a serious political reality. The influence of the Communist party on the trade unions and the factory committees was incomparably greated in 1923 than it is today. The factory committees were actually carrying out at that time the basic functions of · Soviets. The Social Democratic bureaucracy in the trade unions was losing ground from under its feet every day.

The fact that the situation in 1923 was not utilized by the opportunist leadership of the Comintern and the German Communist Party is still alive in the consciousness of the classes and the parties, and in the mutual relationships between them. The Communist party, Thaclmann says, is the party of millious. We are very glad of that. We are very prond of it. But we do not forget that the Social Democracy still remains the party of millions. We do not forget that, thanks to the horrible chain of the epigone mistakes of 1923-1931, the present Social Democracy reveals far greater powers of resistance than the Social Democracy of 1923. We do not forget that present-day Fascism, nursed and reared by the betrayals of the Social Democracy and the mistakes of the Staliuist bureaucracy, represents a tremendous obstacle on the road to the seizure of power by the proletariat. The Communist party is the party of millions. But thanks to the preceding strategy of the "third period", the period of concentrated bureaucratic stupidity, the Communist party is still extremely weak today in the trade unions and in the factory committees. The struggle for power cannot be led by basing oneself only on the votes of a referendum. One must have support in the factories, in the trades, in the trade unions and in the factory committees. All this is forgotten by Thaelmann who substitutes strong words for an analysis of the situation.

To contend that in July-August 1931, the German Communist Party was so powerful that it could ented into an open struggle with bourgeois society, as embodied in both its flanks, the Social Democracy and Fascism, could be done only by a man who has fallen from the moon. The party bureaucracy itself does not think so. If it resorts to such an argument, it is only because the plebiscite failed and consequently it was not put to the further test. It is precisely in this irresponsibility, in this blindness, in this unscrupulous pursuit of effects, Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; for- that the adventurist half of the soul of

(To Be Continued)

Do Not Make Mooney Case a Football

(Continued from Page 1)

presentative of the Mooney Committee is a partner to this movement does not change the fact either, and the sooner it is realized the more swiftly the genuine united front movement for Mooney will progress.) The purpose of the committee is "one effective demonstration in which all forces constructively and honestly willing to help, may do their part." We know this language well. This is labor movement who use it demagogically and with a despicably pious hypocrisy against the Left wing who, you see, are not as "constructive and honest" as the Wolls, Hillmans and their Greens. ilk. . . .

ments "for Mooney" ended-in the course. A timely correction will minimditch. It is not two or three or twenty ize or even conceal any future pay movements for Mooney that are needed. but one. It is not a conglomeration of reactionaries, pseudo-progressives and assorted shysters who can organize and lead it, much less organize and lead it pose will come a cropper in the end. against the Communists. That is to say, it cannot lead it correctly or successfully. But it can undoubtedly muddy the waters for some time to come. And it can do this largely because the official class conscious militants to make this taken from the reactionaries in the Left wing movement, hornswoggled by idea prevail. the Stalinist bureaucracy, has not started

off by clearing the waters. For a Genuine Movement

Whatever strength the newly-formed "Mooney committee" may gain will come to a large extent from the blunders al-We say quite openly: not an ounce of ready made by the Communists, without confidence can be placed in this self- whom, we repeat, no real movement is constituted clique, thrown together behind worthy of the name. What milk has time Roy has been on trial, the first one rested. The International Labor De- closed doors. The protest movement, been spilled cannot be gathered up again. having been during his absence from fense, of course, has refused to do any- the united front for Mooney is inconceiv- But a new and better start can be made Max Shachtman Maurice Spector India, when the same charge was laid thing about the case Roy, who was able without the Communists and the and must be made. The Hillman-Cohenagainst him and other Communists. one of the leaders of the Comintern in Left wing. Whoever starts off without Muste-Bailey committee is only the first Labor and revolutionary organizations in its early days, became an ardent sup-them has started off on the wrong foot, installment on the payments the Left a number of countries, and outstanding porter of the Stalin-Bucharin regime, has made a start which will end where wing will get from the conservative and

ments. Let everybody bear in mind: the

Mooney case is no faction football, and whoever seeks to use it for this pur-The Stalinists can just as little use it for the prestige of their own false line as the labor skates can use it for their anti-Communist arsenal. It is up to the

THE MILITANT

Published weekly by the Communist League of America [Opposition] at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon Arne Swabeck

eigh \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Stalinist Centrism find its expression ! Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy