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 Slutzky, a young Marxist historian. We have no room here to go into the material content of this polemic at the present moment, if only for the simple reason that we do not know the work of Slutzky. Here we call attention to two things. With unexcellable grossness and brutality, Stalin launches into poor Slutzky who dared, on the basis of documents, to consider possible an overestimation on Lenin's part of the S. P. G. Centrists (Kautskyans). This thought of Slutzky's is called by Stalin, who demagogically reduces the polemic to this question: Was Lenin a Bloshevik? Yes or no? Is there to be any doubt about Lenin's Bolshevism? The Bolshevism of Lenin is an "axiom" for Stalin, a dogma, just as the sanctity of some Mary is a dogma for the church. There is nothing to doubt about this, nothing is to be looked into concerning it, nothing is to be discussed: it must simply be believed.

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

matter, but nevertheless a faction of ed, tried and railroaded to the work track." Communism. Thence a certain liberal- house. ism towards the Trotskyists and those The flight of Reeve and Powers threw thinking like them." There's the nigger the party into a panic. For months no in the woodpile. "Trotskyism" is gain challenge was made to the edict of the ing an influence in Russia among the Republican Mayor Kunze against all party members. Stalin is becoming Communist assembly. The T. U. L.

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 Kameney, a policy of confidence in the provisional government and supported a bloc with Tseretelli in the Soviets. Arriving in Petro grad, Lenin wrote his "April theses" which gave the party a completely different orientation, an orientation towards the winning of the revolutionary masses with a view towards the assumption of power by armed insurrection. For Lenin it was a question of "forgetting the reminiscences of the past", not to be bound by the old formula, outstripped by events, of the "democratic dictatorship of the punge" all onerous sections from the workers and peasants", but to steer a course resolutely towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is what cred in concealing the mistakes and the Trotsky called the re-armament of the party. This historical fact is undeniable

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 Petrograd.

That is just what the young Marxian ian 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 Krasnaia Gazetta is aroused by this scandal. Yaroslavsky is openly attacked and the demand is made that in the "next edition of the farty history, sections caluminating the party be expanded" Stalin himself published his article in the Bolshevik in which he "reconstructs" the historical truth after his own man-

The all-powerful apparatus of Stalin fears nothing so much as the historical truth. That is why it will lightly obey any commands of the Master and "exhistory. But like all other historical fasifications, this one too will not succrimes of the "organizer of defeats".

-E. O.

With the Opposition in Minneapolis

the event as a "suspect", in reality as a menace in the given situation. hostage pending the arrest of the T. U. In the workhouse, the I. L. D. machin-These hypocritical, mendacious, priestly, The breaking into the Gateway Meat deliberate sabotage and cowardice again? that the Paterson members of the W. C. tempt to answer Swabeck's arguments. "Scoundrelly" "trivial", "degenerated" the three rank and file workers were years has there been as good a case. In- fers to that issued by Workmen's Cirin the words of Stalin, are both the arti- arrested, Karl Reeve, Powers and Grecht, nocent, framed workers. The I. L. D. cle, Branch No. 417, N. Y. It was this cle and its author, Slutzky, because the the erstwhile working class heroes on the officially did nothing for the victims. A call which was published in the press, article is supposed to be "semi-Trotsky-| party payroll, sneaked out of town. The few friends brought fruit and cigarettes first in the Day, and then, after a delay ist" and its author a disciple of Trotsky. party officially announced they had noth and very little of that. The boys felt of three weeks, in the Freihelt. And with this we come to the reason ing to do with the affair and refused the bureaucrats had betrayed them; and why Stalin's article was written. Surely to participate in the defense of the work- that their own comrades had deserted not out of scientific eagerness to secure ers fearing this would implicate it, and them. It rankled. They resolved never historical truth. "I believe that rotten be used as prima facie evidence of the to be made scapegoats again. liberalism, which at the present moment party's responsibility. All idea of workenjoys a certain vogue among a section of ing class solidarity was thrown to the rade dropped out altogether, one came the Bolsheviks (the editorial board which winds. The workers of Minneapolis got back into the I. L. D., much "wiser" for also gets its share, together with Slut- a lot of secret satisfaction out of the the experience, and the third, after sevzky), has pushed them along this path daring act of the demonstrators liter- eral months of thought and study of the "The Economic Crisis and the Commun- bers as well as numerous friends and Some Bolsheviks are of the opinion that ally reusing to starve and going into the situation, joined the Communist Opposi- ists" will be given by Arne Swabeck. The sympathizers of our movement. Trotskyism is a faction of Communism, a store and "taking it". But chagtin was tion. In his own words he says, "I'm lecture wil be held at OSTROPOLER mistaken one, it is true, committing no felt at the manner in which the party going to do what I can to help put the HALL, 943 No. FRANKLIN ST. The ter of ceremonies, calling upon comrades few blunders, even anti-Sovietist for that shamefully deserted the workers arrest

Recently a worker approached the headquarters on Hennepin was left epen League and applied for membership. He by the police perhaps for the purpose of a great deal of interest among the work- sults of the class struggle and the world Group), if for no other reason that polis sullen, shy, keenly observant, but not trapping Powers. The Communist League ers. Even the capitalist newspapers carvery talkative. He said he had just headquarters, however, were raided twice ried notices of this event. 200 attended! completed a 90 day sentence at the work- and meetings broken up. Our headquarhouse for participation in the February ters were finally closed. To all appear-25 Hunger Demonstration last year. He ances, the police department considered ing. had been picked up by the police after the Trotskyists as the more dangerous

After serving their sentence, one com-

SWABECK IN MINNEAPOLIS

joint benefit of the Militant and the new Jewish organ of the Left Opposition, two public lectures were held; one on the Plight of the MacDonald government in England with lessons for the 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, patriotism of the party under the lead- held at the Labor Lyceum. Though the ership of Stalin-Kamenev. Of all these audience in both cases was not extraormemoirs, those of Schlapnikov, who was dinarily large, it was very attentive and in the leading center of the party from interested in the message of the Opposithe very first days of the revolution in tion spokesman. The meetings were mark-Petrograd, are the most convincing and ed by serious questions and discussion authoritative. The memoirs of Schlap- from the floor, as well as by certain pronikov constitute an invaluable document vocative heckling and speeches by the for any conscientious historian who Stalinists, all of which gave comrade wants to present a true picture of the Swabeck an opportunity to deal concreterole of the party in this period of Feb- ly with the questions raised. One party ruary 27 up to April 3, 1917 (old style), member reiterated the argument that the that is, up to the arrival of Lenin in Trotskyists were "individualists who would not abide by Communist discipline; historians, Slutzky and Volossevitch, did mass work the party was doing, the Opin their historical works. They based position did nothing but criticize the themselves upon the evidence of Schlap- party." It was obvious to all after nikov and spoke of a "re-armanent of Swabeck's answer that the very particithe party" in April 1917. Another Marx- pation 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 stan-

In addition, comrade Swabcck 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 Kami, 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 usual question and discussion period will feature the Mooney Forum meet-

CORRECTION

In the article on the Workmen's Circle U. L. and party organizers of the affair. ery was again gummed up. Or was it by J. B. (Militant 2-1-32) there is stated Stalinist took the floor in a weak at-Market on that date, the product of the The I. L. D. lost a unique opportunity to issued a call which "was first published; party's "third period" adventure in Minn- exploit this local issue along with its in the Jewish Day and, after a delay of Hall and did not hear the sorching anscapolis, found the party bureaucrats un- national campaign. After all, nothing three weeks, in the Freiheit." This is wer of comrade Swabeck. willing to go through with the move for rallies local workers so much as a case a technical error due to the wrong which they alone were responsible. When they personally know about. Never for placement of the sentence. The call re-

PHILADELPHIA

MASS MEETING

Saturday with comrade Swabeck for the League of America (Opposition).

Swabeck's Tour Results

meeting, with an attendance of 50 work- rupted and dragged through the mire of ers, was held in Kansas City on December 18, when comrade Arne Swabeck spoke on the "Economic Crisis and the Communists". The talk was very well ment stressing on the necessity for received and aroused a greater interest more activity and devotion on the part in the program and work of the Communist League (Opposition). The Stalinists, who are askance at the development of, as they call it, "A Trotskyist Center" in Kansas City, set to work to hinder the meeting. At first they boasted they would send their "big guns" to heckle the speaker but none of them showed up. But several Party rank and file members did attend, despite the intimidation and and that furthermore, in the face of the 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, conducter by comrade Geo. Clarke, has ten members with good prospects for growth. Those wishing to join should get in touch with George Clarke, care of Buchler'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 Swabeck yesterday as he delivered his remarkable lecture on "Trotsky's Views of the World Crisis". Despite the departure from the rule that admision 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 Swabeck very ably presented the viewpoint of the Left Opposition, winning the applause of all present. He but inevitably, the name we proposed will dealt with the perspectives for the yet wave coyly at the masthead of the the American Frame-up System". Last crisis, the role of the Communist advance Lovestone sheet. What does perturb us week's debate on the proposition "That guard of the working class, and the a trifle is that the name we proposed for Communism will Emancipate the Work- débacle of Stalinist policy. He spoke the organization has not yet made any ing Class" between comrade Dunne and of the vindication of the policy of the headway. We want the "Majority" Jean Spielman of the A. F. of L. aroused Left Communists as expressed in the regroup to be called C. P. L. A. (Minority situation. He exposed the farcical de-litical accuracy and clarity. As our readnunciation of the "Long terms credits ers may be sure, our proposals are never to the Soviet Union" slogan of the Left motivated by mercenary considerations-Communists by Stalinists and prophesied that before long these bureaucrats would the sacrosanct interests of truth and have to eat their words and conform to justice. . . . the demands of life.

During the discussion period one lone

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 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 ang factories. PHILADELPHIA—On SUNDAY JAN-I N. Western Ave., in honor of comrade UARY 10, 1932, at 8 P. M., a lecture on Arne Swabeck drew many of our mem-

Comrade John Edwards acted as mas-Communist party back on the right admission is free and edveryone is invit- present for speeches. The speakers all ed. There will be a period for questions responded to the occasion very nobly. In spread ever wider the teachings of Lenin- imperialism.

KANSAS CITY-A successful mass; ism which have in this period been cor-Stalinist revisionism.

Comrade Swabeck was the last speaker. He spoke on the problems of our moveof 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 Economou and H. Judd who were in full charge of the kitchen. A collection of \$27.00 was taken and presented to comrade Swabeck to help strengthen our Militant.

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 we want no money prizes-but solely in

DEATH PENALTY FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST AGITATION

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

Decapitation will be meted out to agitators in Hankow, Wuchang, and Hany-

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 and discussion by the audience. The addition to the usual fun provoking com- military control, reveal the precise exmeeting is being held under the auspices ments there was noted a strong under- tent to which the present "rulers" of After the successful banquet held last of The Philadelphia Branch, Communist current of seriousness, and the will to China have sold themselves to foreign

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The Red Movement in Bulgaria

On June 21 last, the C. P. of Bul- ascribed to the thoroughly false line and part by the complete defeat of "Demo- the general framework of the defeat of C. P. B. received.

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

field of social legislation.

22, 1924 (206,540) and those of the S. inability to secure the support of the ship which eliminates and is still elim- tellectual and political shortcomings, all P. (22,404), we must admit that the loss proletarian masses, all this is all the more inating mechanically every opportunity regard for truth has been sacrificed. of votes by the C. P. is relatively greater deplorable and disquieting because it that arises and fails to profit by the Theories are built up not on the basis than that by the S. P.

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

anaylsis of the situation of the C. P. of lacking and falling behind the possibil uniformly on the other parties. Bulgaria, we first want to declare that ities that the situation offers. the loss of influence by the party is to be Only open and pitiless criticism can ally not only of a personal character,

garla obtained a big parliamentary vic- policies of the C. I. and therefore we tory. This victory is distinguished in permit ourselves to speak primarily of cratic Unity" (Zgovor), and in part, by the Bulgarian proletariat in 1923, and the great number of votes that the illegal in connection with that, to scrutinize the entire policy of the C. I. from the critic-The C. P. received 166,000 votes, while al point of view of Marxism-Leninism. Despite the official optimism, it is

nevertheless a regretable, a disagrecable and disquieting fact that the influence of We can all still recall that in conse- the C. P. has been declining in practicquence of the election, the Tsankov-Liap- ally all the capitalist countries, and that tchev government resigned and made the proletarian masses are not being won place for the bourgeois opposition part- over to Communism. In the eyes of the ies, the so-called "people's" bloc led by present leadership, this statement is regarded as "Trotskyism", "deviation to It could be foreseen that the proletar- the right", posing a lack of confidence iat had little to expect from the "dem- in the revolution. The simple mention nessed the era of "Bolshevization". It ment itself, but of its leadership. The ocratic" people's bloc, by the fact that of this fact suffices to merit the designathe latter did not promise even in the tion of "renegade". Nevertheless, we ods, forms and tactics artificially and in the condemnation of the leadership period of the election campaign, that it need above everything, a thorough anal- schematically upon the European move- responsible for these mistakes. The lack would abolish the notorious law "for ysis on our own part, in order to find the protection of the state" in case it the causes of this stagnation, or rather, came into power, nor grant a general this decline. The causes must be reveal- ferent countries as well as the necessity a deplorable moral stagnation, which unamnesty or bring any sort of relief to ed and uprooted; this is the fundamental of adapting the proper general Com- der the mask of loyalty and under the the strving native proletariat in the condition for the success of the prole- munist principles to them. tarian revolutionary movement. The dec-In recalling the number of votes the line in the influence of the Communist ated and prolonged by the formation of the mistakes being corrected, they create C. P. obtained in the elections of April parties of the capitalist countries, their a bureaucratic regime inside the leader- new mistakes. In order to justify inoccurs not in a period of ebb, but in a experiences of the non-Russian strug- of vital facts, but for the purpose of cov-The aim of these lines is to analyze period of general radicalization for the gles. Linked directly with this is the ering up mistakes committed through tions for the victory of the revolution criterion for the tactical questions in the

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

the growing parties their clear and prin- Russian party and its transportation to cipled position. It elaborated the gen- the other parties. eral principles of Communism, the fundamental lines of strategy, of Communist tactics and organization. Lenin was able in working out special ways and means to profit by the experiences in the strug- of the proletarian revolution and its pregles of the western parties, he was able to interpret them in a broad theoretical has been increased by the bureaucraticsense. He did not think it possible to ally entrenched preponderance of the invent the tactics for the other parties Russian party in the leadership of the from the center, nor to outline and pre- C. I. that no longer corresponds to the scribe them to the smallest details.

The negative side became more and in international questions. more apparent in the second half of the existence of the C. I., after 1923, after the experiences characterizes the crisis the death of Lenin and after the revolu- of the Bulgarian Communist Party as tionary waves in central and western well as that of the entire movement of Europe had calmed down. Then we wit- the C. I. It is not a crisis of the moveconsisted in the attempt to boist meth- criticism of the past mistakes will result ment, completely neglecting the pecu- of a healthy, creative criticism which the liarities in the class relationships of dif- present leaders fear, is accompanied by

On the basis of a detailed and objective are maturing, the subjective factor is other parties, and to transpose them deal more or less with the International.

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

It is responsible first of all, for the Under Lenin, the International gave penetration of bureaucratism into the

On the other hand, we must consider the difficulty of the sections of the C. I. paration in the different countries, which moral preponderance of its leadership

The inability to draw the lessons of mantel of mechanical discipline, sows This crisis in the C. I. was accentu- disorder. As a consequence, instead ' of

> On the basis of these lines, which we intend to speak, in our next article