victory possible.

PROLETARIAN PARTY SPLIT

the dialectical laws of development in ed to mind by the factional struggle the revolt in the Proletarian Party. now taking place in the ranks of the Proletarian Party. It is a sign of vitality that is well worth watching. For over a decade this sectarian off-shoot of American Communism devoted itself to a tranquil observation and "explanation" of social phenomena. The depression in the spectacular start that has been the American labor movement during the made by the people who specialize in it. period of prosperity, and the indifference of the workers to revolutionary propaganda which ensued from it, created spe- ania, and by still noiser propaganda cial conditions for the existence of such about other bombs which were found or a group. And this was further facilit- planted or imagined in various parts of ated by the errors and exaggerations of the country. Connected with this was the official Communist Party. The pseudo-Marxist policy of Keracher and Co. was a complement to Pepperistic adventurism. Thus a number of revolutionary -it is claimed-were addressed to a workers were maneuvered onto a sidetrack. Everything was quiet in the Proletarian Party. Its leadership walled it off from the class struggle and from the flerce disputes which raged within the general Communist movement.

By that state of affairs could only be temporary. The accentuation of the class struggle in the country, and the great conflicts over principle which have brought the world movement of Communism to a crisis, have posed questions which can no longer be evaded. Controversy is sweeping through the Keracher party like a tornado, making up in fury for its long postponement. Al most overnight the Keracher group of leaders, who ask only for peace and quiet, have been confronted with a gether with the "dynamite plot" in the stormy internal struggle. Following the New York harbor there is every ground national convention of the organization. where criticism was smothered and all against the workers, introduced with a the burning questions of the moment series of typical frame-ups-is in prewere evasive opportunism, an opposition paration. has come to life and is waging a militant struggle on a national scale. The bomb scare as the prelude to an attack few months defeat both the social demopposition is publishing its own bulletin on the Communist Party, and limits its ocracy and Fascism? No normally thinkand has even gone so far as to project concern and protest to that. If the new ing person who can read and calculate a national conference. A split appears machinations take on real proportions a would risk such a contention. Politicto be the inevitable outcome of the con- blow at the Party will undoubtedly be ally, the question is posed in the followflict.

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

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. That question is: Where are we going, and why? "Proletarian Opposition Bulletin" ects a sharp criticism against the bur- in the bourgeois sense of the word." eaucratic regime within the party; it Communist Manifesto. condemns the opportunistic election campaign in Detroit, and insists on a struggle for immediate demands on the question of unemployment. On all these points the opposition is undoubtedly in the right as against the leadership. But when all is said and done these questions have a secondary imortance. They are by no means an adequate armament for a real political struggle. The opposition must equip itself with an all- are the following: around platform. It must take a position on the basic questions of principle, and make its tactical deductions accordingly. Otherwise it will not be able to avoid a rapid disintegration. Such a fate will threaten it immediately.

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

To save the new movement, or at least a substantial part of it, from this fate is the task of the serious Communist elements within it. Keracherism is only a weak sprout of Stalinism; the ideology at bottom is fundamentally the same. A transfer of affiliation from the Proletarnothing more than an organizational secession and a capitulation in principle.

Every tendency to limit the opposition to the secondary tactical points is a pre-Engels once wrote that every workers' paration for such a debacle. A serious party must necessarily develop in a pro- study and consideration of the great cess of internal struggle, according to principle questions, and the adoption of a precise attitude toward them, are now general. This observation is again call- indispensable for a fruitful outcome of

BOMBS FOR NEW YEAR'S

It looks like a big year for the bomb and dynamite racket, if one can judge by The new year was ushered in with the loud explosion of a bomb in Pennsylvthe inevitable hue and cry about a conspiracy of the Communists, the antifascists and other radicals. The bombs number of the leading Fascists of the country. Of iourse, none of the Mussolini agents were injured. They never are. The miraculous escape of the intended "victims" in these affairs is as unfailing as the change that the radical! workers are the guilty parties.

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

The Daily Worker speaks of the latest least mitigate the danger nor the necessity of fighting the conspiracies. We are victory of Fascism inevitable. on the side of any worker, or any workers' organization, regardless of its

principle, that is, from a class point of view. There is practical wisdom, also, in this attitude. The Communists cannot fight successfully alone against an the support of the working class. The more readiness they show to join in the under attack the stronger become their own claims for similar support, and the more readily will they receive it.

"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, Number 2, which we have at hand, dir- it is, so far, itself national, though not

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Minneapolis Open Forum

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

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

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A Letter to A Member of the German Communist Party

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

and not to a situation that may develop which of these keys to strike. Is that 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 for this gives me an opportunity to get inevitability of a Fascist victory. In fact, in the appeal for the "Red United at all mean that the poison is a "lesser ers' printshops against Fascist bands. 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 vanguish Fascism without first defeating the soc ial democracy. This same idea, Thaelmann repeats in all possible shades in his article. Is this idea correct? On the historical scale it is unconditionally correct. But that does not at all mean that with its aid, that is, by simple repetition, one can solve the questions of the day. An idea, correct from the point of view of revolutionary strategy as a whole, turns into a lie and at that into a reactionary lie, if it is not translated into the language of tactics. Is it correct that in order to destroy unemploy ment and misery it is first necessary to destroy capitalism? It is correct. But only a hopeless fool can draw the conclusions therefrom, that we do not have to fight already today, with all of our forces, against these measures with the aid of which capitalism is increasing the misery of the workers.

Can we expect that the Communist Party will in the course of the next the objective. But the specific point of ing manner: Can we successfully repel attack in the present instance seems to Fascism in the course of the next few be the anti-Fascist movement; and the months, that is, with the existence of a The leaders of the Proletarian Party. New York harbor affair is simed at the greatly reduced, but still (unfortunately) Tidewater Boatmen's Union. For our very strong social democracy? The Cenpart, these circumstances do not in the tral Committee replies in the negative. In other words, Thaelmann considers the

Once Again: The Russian Experiences In order, to express my thought as celarpolitical complexion, in such a situation. ly and as concretely as possible I will Communists make a fatal error when come back once more to the experience pelled and 25 members have resigned they limit their protests to cases of dir- with the Kornilov uprising. On August 26 from the Party. "Members of the N. ect attack against their own party. Such (old style) 1917, General Kornilov led his Cossack troops and one irregular division against Petrograd. At the helm of power there stood at that time: Kerensky, lackey of the bourgeoisie and three-quarters an ally of Kornilov. Lenin was still in onslaught of the capitalists. They need hiding because of the accusation that he was in the service of the Hohenzollerns. on the same accusation, I was at that defense of any workers' organization time incarcerated in solitary confinement in the Kresty Prison. How did the Bolsheviki proceed in this question? They also had a right to say: "In order to defeat the Korniloviade we must first defeat the Kerenskiade". They said this more than once, for it was correct and necessary for the entire further propaganda. But that was entirely insufficient ground not to put up a resistance on August 26, and on the following days against Kornilov and to prevent him from butchering the Petrograd proletariat. The Bolsheviki did not for that reason content themselves with a general appeal to the workers and soldiers to break with the conciliators and support the red united front of the Bolsheviki. No, the Bolsheviki proposed the united front struggle to the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries and created together with them common organizations of struggle. Was this correct or incorrect? Let Thaelmann give me an answer to this question. In order to show much more boldly, how matters stood with the united front, I will cite the following incident: Immediately upon my release from solitary confinement, after the trade unions had put up bail for me, I went directly to the Committee

question for me. Is Bruening the "Lesser Evil"?

for National Defence, where I discussed

and voted decisions regarding the strug-

gle against Kornilov with the Menshevik

Dan and the Social-Revolutionary Gotz,

the allies of Kerensky who had imprison-

ed me. Was this correct or was it

wrong? Let Remmele answer this

The social democracy supports Bruening, votes for him, assumes the responsibility for him before the masses-on the basis that the Bruening Government is the "lesser evil". The Rote Fahne atpation of the Communists in the Hitler Opposition and myself in particular de- the social democratic organizations. With and support Bruening? We Marxists re-Braun as component parts of one and the same system. The question, which one of them is the "lesser evil", has no sense, for the system against which we are fighting needs all these elements. But in conflicts with one another and the party of the proletariat must take advantage of these conflicts in the interest of the revolution.

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

A correct policy is necessary in order when to strike and what keys to strike. life and death for the working class. to achieve victory. That is, we need a The abstract question as to who is the policy appropriate to the present situal lesser evil: Bruening or Hitler-is just tion, to the present relationship of forces as senseless. It is necessary to know clear? For the weak-minded let us cite another example. When one of my enemies sets before me small daily portions of poison and the second, on the other hand, is about to shoot straight at me, then I will first knock the revolver out of the hand of my second enemy, rid of my first enemy. But that does not gle in a strike or in the defense of work-

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

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

The misfortune is, that in the Central Committee of the Communist Party there are many frightened opportunists They have heard that opportunism con they are against blocks. They do not understand the difference between, let

clutionary party and the social demo- I said to myself: We can probably find cracy serve, as a rule, to the advantage a theoretical explanation for our block of the social democracy. Practical agree- with the conciliators in the struggle ments for mass action, for purposes of against Kornilov, in Lenin. And actualstruggle are always of use to the revolu- ly, here is what I found in the second tionary party. The Anglo-Russian Com- part of volume XIV of the Russian edimittee was an impermissable type of tion, in a letter of Lenin to the Central block of two leaderships on one com- Committee, written at the beginning of mon political platform, vague, deceptive, September, 1917: binding no one to any sort of action.

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

average social democratic worker- can

A Good Quotation from Lenin.

The present day epigones, that is, the thoroughly bad disciples of Lenin, like sists of a love for blocks, and that is why to fill up their gaps on every occasion that offers itself with-often entirely irrelevant-quotations. For the Marxists, us say, a parliamentary agreement and the question is not decided by a quotation an ever-so modest agreement for a strug- but by means of a correct method. If one is guided by correct methods, it is not hard to also find the fitting quota-Election agreements, parliamentary tions. After I had drawn the above compromises concluded between the rev- analogy with the Kornilov insurrection,

"Even at the present it is not our duty The maintenance of this block at the to support the Kerensky Government. time of the General Strike, when the That would be unprincipled. Someone referendum, that is, the attempt of the General Council assumed the role of asked: then we are not to fight against Fascists to overthrow Bruening. But in strike-breaker, signified on the part of Kornilov? Naturally, we are. But that is not one and the same thing. There is Hitler the lesser evil, for the victory of No common platform with the social a limit to this. It is being transgressed the referendum would not have brought democracy, or with the leaders of the by many Bolsheviks who fall into "conthe proletariat into power but Hitler. To German trade unions, no common pub- ciliationism" and allow themselves to be driven by the current of events.

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

> "In this, that the forms of struggle against Kerensky vary. Without diminishing our hostility against him even by one note, without taking back one word from what we have said against him, without rejecting the task of overthrowing Kerensky, we say: We must calculate the moment, we will not overthrow Kerensky at present. We approach the question of the struggle against him differently and namely: by explaining the weaknesses and vaciliations 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 such A. B. C. questions. I t is sad, arately, but strike unitedly! Agree only finally to the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries as a general accounting for the baiting, slander, imprisonment tween the keys, stamp with their boots concluded even with the devil himself, 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

- -L. TROTSKY.

Communism or Fascism in Germany?

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

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

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

on the key-board.

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

uniting the antagonists against us. The front must be directed against Fascism at the present time. And this common front of direct struggle against Fascism, involving the entire proletariat, must be utilized in the flank attacks against the social democracy, which

are for all that no less effective. It is necessary in fact, to show complete readiness to make a block with the social democrats against the Fascists in all cases in which they will accept a block. To say to the social democratic workers: "Throw your leaders aside and join our 'non-party' united front", means to add just one more hollow phrase to a thousand others. It is necessary to be able to tear the workers away from their leaders in reality. But reality today is -the struggle against Fascism. There tempts to ascribe the same view to me are and doubtless will be social dem--on the basis that I expressed myself ocratic workers who are prepared to fight against the stupid and shameful partici- hand in hand with the Communist workers against the Fascists, regardless of referendum. But have the German Left the desires or even against the desires of manded that the Communists vote for such progressive elements it is obviously necessary to establish the closest possigard Bruening and Hitler, together with ble contact. At the present time, however, they are not great in number. The German worker has been raised in the spirit of organization and of discipline. This has its strong as well as its weak sides. The overwhelming majority of these elements are momentarily involved the social democratic workers will fight against the Fascists, but-for the pre-

be sure, it is painful to have to argue lications, banners, placards! 'March sepvery sad indeed, when musicians like how to strike, whom to strike, and when Remmele, instead of distinguishing be- to strike! Such an agreement can be with his grandmother and even with Noske and Crzezinsky. On one condition: not to bind one's own hands.

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

case of an emergency, that is, of the coordination of the actions of the Communist and the social democratic divisions in the struggle, etc., etc., must be dealt with in this program.

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

A practical program of agreements with the social democratic workers, we proposed as far back as September, 1930, (The Turn in the Comintern and the Situation in Germany, published by the Militant), that is, a year and a quarter ago. What has the leadership undertaken in this direction? Next to nothing. The Central Committee of the Communist Party has taken up everything except sent at least-only together with their that which forms its direct tasks. How organizations. This stage cannot be much valuable, irrevocable time has been only unity in struggle with the social skipped. We must aid the social dem- lost. Truly, there is not much time left, democratic workers can bring victory. There are seven keys in the musical ocratic workers by deeds-in his new and The program of action must be strictly Make haste, worker-Communists, you ian Party to the Stalin faction signifies Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; for scale. The question which of these keys extraordinary situation—in testing the practical, strictly objective, to the point, have very little time left. eigh \$2.50. Five cents per copy, is "better": Do, Re or Sol is a senseless value of their organizations and lead- without any of those artificial "claims" question. But the musician must know ers at this time, when it is a matter of without any after-thoughts, so that every Kadikoy, December 8, 1931.