# IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

## Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

# German Political Scene

BERLIN, Feb. 16, 1932

a normal life on their ever more and tion (1923) behind them. more reduced "wages".

astonishing, on first consideration, that no strikes whatsoever broke out at the time of the last wage cut, in January. despite the fact that the C. P. G. agitated for strikes with all its forces, once damental idea (or rather, fundamental again sacrificed a good number of the few who still remain with it in the factories. But the cause here is the same as that for the lack of all the other activities. By its false "third period" tactics, the party has isolated itself from the masses organized in the trade unions, who form the decisive element for any sort of action. In this manner. the masses who want to fight remain without leadership, and the leadership that wants to fight-without masses This new bankruptcy of the trade union tactics in the course of the strike attempts in January has caused the bureaucracy to carry out a certain turn in trade union policy with increased energy; that is, all forces are now being concentrated for the work in the trade unions. But unfortunately, this work is being carried on in such a spirit that great successes cannot be expected. NAZI TERROR INCREASES

The most striking feature of the situation-and one should not be distracted from this by all the parliamentary maneuvers-is the growth of the National Socialist movement, if not in numbers, then in power, in spite of all the minor injuries inflicted on Hitler. The extraparliamentary activity of the Nazis has once again taken a big bound. Only to way, have taken place right in the midst The tragedy of the Chinese revolution is mention two examples (which, by the) of Red Berlin): an assault by Nazis on to be attributed to it. The setbacks after the Italian model-and the dis- England during the big strikes six years ruption of a protest meeting attended by ago, in Austria during the Vienna inseveral thousand Communists by a few hundred Nazis. The latter case is altogether unheard-of. It is the first time ists have been confronted with historic such a thing has happened. Here, as tasks, may be traced directly to the poiwell as in the case of other murders of sonous doctrines distilled in the laborversities it is naturally the Communists "great organizers of defeat" are diligentwho are arrested. The Nazis are generally set free. Is it at all surprising, Spain. The responsibility for the situawhen Minister Groener-and that is very tion lies directly in the hands of the significant too-who still hauled Nazi officers before a court martial a year ago, today opens up the "republican" army for the Nazis? In order to round out the picture, we must also mention that the organizers of the pogrom of which we have spoken above, and in particular a certain Count Helldorf, have all been acquitted.

With regard to the presidential elections, we have reported before. It is of course, self-evident that the Left Opposition will, as always, support the candidate of the party. The very probable renunciation of a candidacy of its own in favor of Hindenburg by the S. P. G. will naturally offer exceptionally favorable opportunities for the Communists in the election struggle. The task imposed by this, namely, to take advantage of the parliamentary gain for extra-parliamentary actions will, however, be possile only with a turn in the tactics of the

#### UNTED FRONT IS ONLY SOLUTION

The position of the S. P. G. in the presidential elections is naturally breaking up its "iron front", created under such hopeful circumstances, almost immediately. That was a bloc of all republican organizations for a struggle against Fascism, carrying on a thea rical campaign with many well attended meetings, which had, to be sure, very little practical value for the fight against the Fascists, but did nevertheless effect the dissatisfied S. P. G. members so A rongly that the growth of the Socialist Labor Party (the split-off from the S. P. G.), for example, had come to a standstill. At the present, only united front policy, as outlined by comrade Trotsky in his latest pamphlets, is needed to drive a deep wedge into their ranks.

To report more in detail about the S. L. P. G. very much space is required, of Manuilsky and the other annointed for this prototype of a Centrist party has almost as many tendencies as members. There can be no doubt that a finders from stating (correctly, but more rapid process of differentiation is going than a year afterward;) that: to take place within it. On the one side, in the direction of reformism, towards which a great part of the leadership doubtlessly tends, and in the direction of Communism, to which a great part of the worker members stands very close. Not a few of them will stop at olution has commenced." Stalinist Centrism, if it will not only turn slightly in the German question. These are aided by preparatory work on the part of hose Brandlerites in the S. L. P. G. who preach against criticism in the international and the Russian questions. It is well-known that sian questions. It is well-known that the "genuine" Brandlerites themselves before them with a deafening roar, (Afcreation of an equal Centrist party has Communist Party plastered the walls of

made their attempt at the establish- within the ranks of these workers who The terrible effects of the crisis, in- ment of one like it-superfluous. Part are coming from reformism to the revgreasing in its intensity, are apparent to of them have gone over to the Centrist olution. No wonder. These workers all. At present, the articles of the Am- party, the others wan; to go back. What feel no need of the theoretical margarerican reporter. Knickerbocker, are mak- will become of this former part of the ine of Brandler-Thalheimer or the staming their way through the world press. Brandlerites in the further course of mering of Thaelmann; they are anxious It must be said that he does not exag- the process of development inside the to learn Communism at its source. This gerate at all. The hordes of beggars S. L. P. G., it is hard to say with cer- has not only instigated the Stalinists and prostitutes are growing on the streets tainty, in advance. The perspectives to a new campaign of slander, but even daily: a symptom of the constantly are not very good for them, since Walch- Brandler could not sleep peacefully unspreading misery. But even those who er, Froelich, e.c., have a very great, til he too had contributed in his morido have work, find it impossible to live but nevertheless very questionable tradi- bund little sheet, his compound of falsi- tation. Imprisoned in the Averoff Re-

> Opposition, great parts of the S. L. P. G. will, at er they have convinced themselves of the impossibility of their fun-

it is hard to describe the extraordinary popularity that comrade Trotsky enjoys essity.

# munist party—place themselves on the positions of the Left Opposition and fight with us to reform the party. For

ATHENS, GREECE

On January 23, there died in the Municipal Hospital of Athens, comrade Theodore Papoucoupoulos, for two years a member of the Archio-Marxist Youth. Comrade Paboucoupolos and nine other members of our organization were arrested during the illegal demonstrations on the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution and condemned to 42 months of imprisonment and deporfication and insults under the mislead formatory he was savagely maltreated It is also juite indisputable that with ing title, "theoretical article", which was by the guards because of his revolution-Under these circumstances it is rather even the meagre activities of the German quite worthy of a Yaroslavsky. But ary attitude. All the comrades were this will not stop the onmarch of the beaten up for 10 consecutive hours on Trotsky pamphlets, which speak ou: that the flat of their feet. As a result of which millions of workers feel as a nec- this maltreatment, our comrade Paboucoupolos suffered from a swelling and -E. BAUER. | a gangrine developed. His leg was am-

martyrdom he succumbed.

Here is a version of the incidents that took place on the day of his burial, according to the bourgeois journal "Eleftoros Anthropos" of January 24.

"The Communist Incidents of Yester-"The Communist Injured at Averoff

Place "Clashes between Police and Archio-Marxists

"During the Funeral Fighting Takes

"Attacks Made to Snatch Away the Corpse

"Yesterday morning the young Communist Paboucoupolos died at the Municipal Hospital, where he had been transferred from Averoff Prison, to which he was committed with other Communists for violating the Anti-Communist Law, and at which he was maltreated by a guard. At the Hospital, his foot was amputated, but it was impossible to save him. The death of the young Communist Paboucoupolos, due, according to the hospital physicians, to septic poisoning caused by the injury, provoked bloody battles between police and Communists at his funeral yesterday. The fighting was provoked in the following manner: "As soon as the death of the young worker Paboucoupolos became known, the Organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Archio-Marxists) circulated the leaflet printed below among the work

"'Workers: Your comrade Paboucoupolos is dead. A victim of bourgeois Moscow superiors, in the purely papal savagery, this young worker has given his life to the struggle for bread and freedom of our class. The butchers have slain him in the prisons.

"'Workers: Do not allow this crime with the capitalist assassins! The mar-

#### Organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Archio-Marxist Left Opposition)

"At 3 o'clock promptly, the Archio-Marxists began to arrive in groups and demanded that the corpse be handed over to them for the funeral. The brother of the victim and his parents appeared for the same purpose. But the police gathered in front of the Hospital, and executing the orders of the Police Department, refused to hand over the obdy of Paboucoupolos to the Archio-Marxists. In view of the refusal of the police to grant the demands of the Archio-Marxists and the insistance he latter on taking possession of the body of their comrade, saying that "he belonged to them", the incidents mentioned above took place. Seeing that the assembled would not depart even if they attempted to disperse them by force, the police tried to remove the corpse through a door at the rear end of the Hospital, out of the sight of the Communists.

"After the transfer of the corpse, the Archio-Marxists were informed that the dead had been interred in the First Cem-

"An attack against the Police

"Following this, the Archio-Marxists turned en masse to the First Cemetery. But a great contingent of police gathered there, with Chief of Police Nascos at their head.

"At the First Cemetery the Archio-Marxists again demanded that the corpse of Paboucoupolos be given to them, but the police refused and occupying the gates to the cemetery, prohibited them from entering. Upon this attitude on the minutes they were all inside the cemetery. Once inside, they attacked the police, entered the chapel of the cemetery and took possession of the unfortunate Paboucoupolos. Immediately, they hoisted the dead on their shoulders and started to sing revolutionary funeral songs in preparation to the interment. The police, with fresh reenforcements, commanded the Archio-Marx- tral party organ is edited by the turnists to abandon the dead and to leave. coat Pumarega, which is, perhaps, as it They refused. A lively scuffle took should be, under the Stalinist regime. place between police and Archio-Marxists. The police finally succeeded in dis- harmony for the progress of the Compersing the Archio-Marxists, chasing munist party, with virtually everything them with nightsticks among the graves. in its favor, the party has nevertheless Later on the police buried the dead only made the slightest gains, gains after an official ceremony.

"But the incidents of yesterday did really closer to losses. Instead of domnot end at the cemetery. The dispersed inating the stage of events, official Com-Archio-Marxists reformed their ranks in munism drags out a distracted existence front of the University to protest the somewhere in the wings. Stalinism has unjust seizure of the dead by the police. robbéd it of its vigor, paralyzed its Three speakers harrangued the crowd, limbs, upset its ideological balance, divattacking the police, condemning its interference and characterizing it as "unheard-of cruelty" . . . Later the Archio-Marxists headed for the Court House. A committee petitioned the District Attorthe police and declared for the first emies hope. It has only been momentartime, relatives and friends have not ily prostrated by Centrism, and it will been allowed to bury their dead, en- revive with new strength under the intrusted to policemen with nightsticks! fluence of the Left Opposition. The The District Attorney declared himself Bolshevik-Leninists of that country alincompetent to act in the matter. After ready number a thousand strong and the committee left the Court House, new they bear the future in their hands. incidents were provoked. A skirmish

putated, but the poison spread all over took place between police and Archiohis organism and after 50 days of Marxists resulting in one policeman being wounded and in the arrest of seven workers."

> At the time of their arrest for the demonstration of the Fourteenth Anniversary, our comrades declared before the Tribunal that they were Bolshevik-Leninists. A lawyer comrade defended them. organ of the party did not breathe a word of all this and classified them as members of the party. Seven days after our paper Pali Ton Taxeon brought news of the crime committed in the prison, the party paper launched an attack auginst the state for the maltreatment of comrade Paboucoupolos, whom it called a member of the Young Communist League affiliated to the party. The young martyr wrote a letter, published in the Pali (The letter mentioned appeared in The Militant of January 6, 1932 -Ed.)

The party organ did not breathe a word about it, but continued to exploit the fact in the branches of the I. L. D. where they refused to let our comrades take the floor. At the same time, the I. I. D. forgot the martyr and failed to send him either medicaments or food. The day of his death they went so far as to demand the corpse for the funeral, although the deceased was a member of our organization and despite the fact that his brother is also a sympathizer of ours. At the grave, a Stalinist outraged all those present with the shout "Down with the Archio-Fascists", but the worker-members of the party, who had joined in our united front, silenced him. The party membership considered the dead as a member of the working class. But the Stalinist bureaucrats attempted to exploit him for their own ends, not mentioning anywhere that the victim was a mmbr of our organization.

.Pall Ton Taxeon, in its editorial on January 26, drew the following conclu-

"The death of comrade Paboucoupolos has given the members and sympathizers of the Communist party an opportunity to demonstrate their sentiments. Despite the efforts of the Stalinist bureaucracy to exploit comrade Paboucoupolos, as is its custom in other working class questions, the workers of the party understood that the victim was a victim of their class and they realized the united front with us in their chagrin at the actions of the bureaucrats as they have realized it in the course of the struggle. For them, the Archio-Marxist Paboucoupolos was a revolutionist and a member of a revolutionary Communist organization. The Stalinist bureaucracy is responsible before the workers of having attempted to transform the dead into a banner for its own exploitation against our organization. The workers have judged them and condemned them for

#### The Memorial Meeting

On the First of February, our organization organized a memorial meeting for comrade Paboucoupolos. 1500 workers participated. Bloody clashes took place in front of the cemetery where the police force attacked with stones for a whole hour until it was finally forced to shoot at the demonstrators, to disperse them. Later on, demonstrations were held in the town proper. 141 were arrested, but due to the broad participation of the working class and its militant manifestations, the arrested were set free. This has aroused the fury of the bourgeoisie and the judges responsible for the acquittals have been severely reprimanded.

The Stalinists fixed another hour for the memorial in order not to permit their sympathizers to come in contact with us. We defeated this maneuver by appearing at the hour set by them. We took the initiative in the demonstration and we transformed it into a success for our organization. The following day, the official organ of the party was forced to admit that Paboucoupolos was an Archio-Marxists. ......

#### Spanish C.P. in Revolution

(Continued on column four)

With the conditions in almost perfect which, considering the possibilities, are ested it of its power to attract the masses. Only a stiff antidote of Marxism will enable the Communist movement to shake off this noxious disease. Communism is not dead in Spain, as its en-

### The Spanish Communist Party in the Revolution

Points of similarity in the Russian and Parls with posters announcing: "Nothing inexcusably surrendered to the mercies the Spanish revolution can be found in has changed in Spain!") numerous questions. It is when a comparison is made between the state of the revolutionary party in both countries that the striking contrast is found. The Bolshevik party under Lenin and Trotsky was fully equipped for the struggle for power and drove inexorably and the Communist party, deprived of rud- ions, the party contended itself with der, sails and crew by the ravaging flinging into a void the "radical" slo storms of Stalinism has floundered help- gan: Down with the bourgeois republic! lessly in the trough of events and has Partial slogans like urging the seizure served as one of the principal factors of land by the peasant, were scornfully slackening the progress of the proletarian pulsed aside and in their place the slo-

It does not always take a revolutionary situation to demonstrate the disastrous effects of eight years of the domina- Communist party". Naturally, neither tion of Centrism in the Communist In- the workers nor the peasants paid the ternational. But such a situation does slightest attention to such fantastic abreveal with the clarity of a flash lightning the wreckage in the field ideas and organization which the Stalinist current has left in the wake of its campaign against "Trotskylsm", that is, against the tested principles of Marxism. of Red Bernn); an assault by Nazis on suffered by the proletarian movement in twittes and slogans of the official party. surrection, in Germany for the last few years, in short, wherever the Communworkers, and in the scuffies at the uni- atories of the Stalin machine. Now the ly pursuing their appointed task in central Stalinist clique, for it has ruthlessly extirpated any sign of independent thought and leadership in the national sections, substituting for them puppets in office who practise a servile obedience towards the "infallible chiefs"-a condition which has one advantage; it makes it impossible for these chiefs to unload

> body else, try as they will. MANUILSKY ADMITS ERRORS It is a truism to affirm that no small question is involved. The question of the Communist party is decisive in the Spanish revolution. Only anarchists can believe that without a proletarian vanguard organized into a political party! for the purpose of leading the class to power, and capable of reaching that goal, the workers of Spain can achieve their emancipation. But in actuality, one of the main reasons for the persist-Spanish labor movement has been the absence of such a party. Just look at the following, great condensed record of the official party leadership, registered,

the responsibility for defeat upon any-

right threatening proportions. Every Communist infant now "knows" that one of the unforgivable crimes of "Trotskyism" is its penchant for "leaping over stages", for "not distinguishing" between the democratic and the socialist stages of the revolution. This stupid falsehood has been dinned into the ears of every new recruit to the movement. No doubt but that the present leaders of the Spanish party accused their own Oppositionists of the same thing. But when the monarchy was overthrown, these revolutionary savants, far from "leaping over" any s'ages, simply failed to see that a "new stage" had been reached. In this line of thought they were merely giving a faithful imitation leaders of the Comintern, which did not prevent one of the official scapegoat-

"The party was taken by surprise by the fall of the monarchy; it saw in it nothing more than a change of front, without seeing the change in the class relationships, and in principle it roundly denied that the bourgeois-democratic rev-

In other words, the Stalinists, who have introduced into Marxism the positively gifted idea of the bourgeois revolution "growing over into" the socialist revolution, made the simple mistake of not recognizing the bourgeois-demare on their way back to Stalin. The ter the fall of the monarchy, the French

As soon as the party leaders woke up to the fact that a revolution had taken place under their very noses, they proceeded to "act with determination" While the masses of workers and peasants, and certainly the petty bourgeoisie, were still reeling deliriously under successfully towards that aim. In Spain, the influence of their democratic illusgan of Soviets was issued as a slogan for immediate action, and of course, "Soviets under the leadership of the late for his train and then, after going home because "there is still time for the next one", misses that one too.

The interest in democratic demands aroused in the masses by the fall of the monarchy found no reflection in the ac-Neither by word or deed did it give the masses any indication that only the proletariat and its revolution could really solve the democratic tasks with which Spain is still confronted. In this manner, it lengthened the term of imprisonment to which the popular masses were condemned in the ranks of the republican and socialist demagogues who were thus enabled to pursue their hypocritical course of unfulfilled and unfulfillable

In the trade union field the party piled blunder upon blunder. And here it had to deal not only with the social democracy which was already discredited among the majority of the workers (although it still remains no mean factor), but with the anarchists and syndicalists who had a revolutionary prestige among the masses which only an intelligent Marxian policy could possible shake. Instead, therefore, of sinking the roots of the party in the National Confederation of Labor (anarcho-syndicalist) and the General Union of Workers (Socialist), the party was forced by its leadership to waste invaluable time in what the official Comintern critic (Stirner) now calls "the premature creation of small and lifeless Red trade unions". Result: in the socialist trade ent strength of the anarchists in the quite negligible. In the anarchist unthe workers, the party's hold is just as, the latter to devote his talents for moreover, in a revolutionay period when Catalonia, the industrial heart of Spain uncorrected small errors assume down- and the seat of power of the N. C. of Anido in Barcelona. Now, while the exist because the vast bulk of the organized Communist workers have been

To say that the internal regime in the Spanish party does not differ essentially from the one prevailing in the other national sections, is already enough to give any even half-experienced Communist worker a clear idea as to what is

of the Right wing faction of Maurin and

meant. For months during the early period of the revolution, the Madrid "Executive Committee", composed of a handful of bureaucrats, ruled despotically in the name of Spanish Communism without any mandate except the rights arbitrarily conferred upon them by their sense. Critical and even questioning voices in the ranks were either commanded to be stilled, or else their possessors were summarily expelled from the party. Bullejos-Trila-Adame — this to pass unpunished. Raise your voice unholy trinity has become a by-word in in protest and prepare the ferment of out like the man who has come too the ranks of Spanish Communism, and revenge. All out to his funeral today even inside the official party. Workers at 8 o'clock near the Church of the supporting the Left Opposition found First Cemetery. Follow our young comthemselves promptly removed from the rade to his last resting place! Down and most popular leaders and founders tyrs of our cause must not be forgotparty's membership list. The best-known of the Spanish Communist movement ten! were expelled for "Trotskyism", and that is why such comrades as Jaun Al drade, Andres Nin, Henri Lacroix, Luis Palacios, Esteban Bilbao and scores of others of the same caliber are today outside the ranks of official Communism, which does not, it is true, diminish their activity for the revolutionary movement

by one iota.

Whole districts and groups have been expelled, and in cases with disastrous consequences. The best example of the latter is the case of the Catalonian Federation which resisted the false trade union line of Messrs. Bullejos and Adame and fought against party bureaucratism. The arbitrary expulsions which followed results in Right wing confusionists like Maurin being enabled virtually to take over the Catalonian Communist movement, while the official party remains with scarcely a nucleus throughout the district. But for that, elements have made their way into the party who can only disgrace its name. The worst instance is the appointment of Angel Pumarega as editor of the party's recently established daily paper in Madrid. Pumarega is the creature who, while imprisoned with other Communist leaders under the Primo dictatorship, wrote from his cell to plead for medcy and liberation on the basis of his complete unions, the Communist influence remains renunciation of Communism and the asions, with hundreds of thousands of The release by the magnanimous Primo members and the decisive influence upon of this despicable renegade only enabled inconsequential. In fact, throughout long time to the reactionary gangster "trade unions" organized by Martinez L., the Communist party does not even party is carefully purged of all "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists", the cen- part of the police, the Archio-Marxists (Continued on last column)

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