IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The Half-Turn in the German

Rote Fahne of Monday, April 25, 1932 decisive Comintern circles. confined itself merely to publishing Sunday's election results, and similarly the Tuesday number of the R. F. also recorded in a leading article only the bare results without commenting on their meaning, the official Communist press has received the task of setting down the unpleasant, the defeats and their scope. the following:

elections in Prussia with the last Landtag is the peculiarity of present political bers, with all organizations which wish elections in 1928, it appears that the developments in Germany as clearly in- to fight honestly against reduction in Communists have won nearly 600,000 dicated in the last elections." (From wages, to carry through common meas votes. The Social Democrats have lost approximately 800,000 votes while the Socialist Labor Party (the S. A. P.) could scrape painfully together about 80,000 votes (and not one mandate). The bourgeois parties from the State Party to the German Peoples' Party are nearly wiped out. The German Nationalists have suffered the loss of more than half their votes, over 1 1-2 millions; yet it to one's hand to grasp, to finally wind is clear that they have emerged from up this "liberation-program" Wide of their retrograde movement. The Centrists the mark! After Pravda records furwon around half a million votes. The ther on what the K. P. D. did not al-National Socialists have gathered practiogether "anderstand" how to carry tically their entire mass following in the out, it recommends: period since 1928 as the comparison indicates. They have become by far the strongest party.

elections with the last parliamentary offensive, against the fascist assaults, elections (of Sept. 1930) the picture ap- for the unfolding of its program of sopears even more unfavorable for the cial and national liberation of the Gerworkers' movement. The Communists man people." lost more than 300,000 votes. So also did the Social Democrats. These more than 600,000 Communist and social democratic votes must have gone principally to the Nazis. Let this be clearly stated not to discourage but to spur on to sharpest struggle against the visible the present retardation of the growth of bosom of Stalinism, and was manifestly danger. Since the parliamentary elective revolutionary forces of the German calculated to impress upon the party tions the Centrists have won more than proletariat will last very long. The leaders the fact that, at least when it to create. But there is more. Lovestone \$00,000 votes, mainly from bourgeois-lib. whole situation shows that a new turn comes to calumniating the Left Opposi- is quite well aware of the series of areral circles. The so-called borgeois part- of the broad masses to the Communist tion and pegging mud at it, the Love- ticles written by comrade Trotsky in ies of the middle as well as those of Party is possible very quickly. The stoneites take second place behind no- 1923, before the October days, in which the right are in a dying state as devel. Communists must summon forth all their body. With the zeal of a Lodovico be- he dealt with the problems of the imopments since Sept. 1930 indicate even power to hasten this turn." (From fore the doubting Borgia-"Have I not pending German revolution. In them principledness and intrigue"—that is, of sacrificing fighting militants have joined more strikingly than before. The Ger. Pravda). man Nationalists have lost a total of So: not the Party but rather the mass- water in the fountains? And mixed fatal which the policy of the Russian and able from his own name to everybody Opposition is really the vanguard of the already lost more than one million votes.

of the Prussian Landtag elections with those of the presidential election-a comparison which must be made with caument that the Communists have partially Fascist dictatorship the Communist Party word than he. In his latest piece, he posed by Lenin. regained the great losses suffered in the of Germany does not identify indeed the sets about, in the interests of truth, to second presidential election, although they did not reach the first presidential vote, let alone surpass it.

What the heart of the political and industrial life of Germany, Greater Berlin, decided in yesterday's elections, is of decisive importance. In this connection it must be set down that in Berlin also the Communists lost 90,000 votes since the parliamentary elections while the Social Democrats gained nearly

Even the most malevolent burocrat would not suspect the "Welt am Abend" of "Trotskyist slanders". The facts revealed by the Prussian Landtag elections the masses And, as the last citation various bribes—promises to whitewash sponsible for the calamity in October. are really staggering. For instance, the informs us, the "Theory of social-Fasc- the Brandlerists for their conduct in the The manner in which Trotsky "justified" Social Democrats have won back 60,000 ism" is right, but in the struggle against German October (1923). Since the creain Berlin since 1930, which means since the carrying through of the Fascist dic- tion of myths has played such a promin- ler group, is not the subject for Love- charges of alliance with Brandler. On the time of the sharpest emergency de- tatorship one cannot consider as iden- ent part in the struggle to discredit and stonean "revelations" today, for public May 14, 1929, this Galahad of purity in crees for which they are also fully re- tical social democrats and Nazis, al- crush the Left Opposition, it is worth documents exist on the matter. Three sponsible, while the K. P. D. has lost though both bring about the Fascist dic- our while to expose this new myth. 90,000 votes. In Hamburg the Party lost tatorship. Higher than this they cannot Lovestone, who knows better, now pre- he made public, Trotsky wrote: nearly 50,000 votes as compared with 1931, the S. P. D. gained 12,000 votes. From first place in Berlin the Communist Party slid down to third. In the most important industrial centers we see a similar backsliding of Communist voters. tion demands will be undertaken only Only in the South of Germany and es. under the pressure of the masses of ber legend'." pecially in agrarian Bavaria, did the party members. Under the pressure of Party show gains. The Nazis emerged events and party moods, the C. C. of the In other words, Lovestone, who is from the elections as the most powerful K. P. D. has already taken some steps, simply trying to present Trotsky as he, estimation of Brandler only when I be- will show that it was over the protests given for the change? We do not know party and their vote indicates that the they, however, are only the initial ones, Lovestone, would have acted under the

comrade to what a pass the Party has makes the statement: "We are ready to been brought by the leadership of Thael- join for a common struggle with every been brought by the leadership of Thael- join for a common struggle with every during the German crommon at factional Trotsky had failed to make a factional mann-Remmele-Neumann. Through the organization of the workers that is acthe criticism of the Left Opposition has in wages and the dole. Well said: ready as to what comrade Trotsky's position received vindication and confirmation to join with every organization for a such as could not possibly have been common struggle, so it goes today. Only looked for so quickly and so extensively. a few weeks previously Muenzenberg re

The critical, decisive phase of the strug-viled this idea of common struggle, so it goes today. Only sults of Brandler's policy (that is, of Zinoviev's and Stalin's policy as well!) The critical, decisive phase of the strug- viled this idea of comrade Trotsky and were fully clear. In the "Material on gle is reached as we predicted in the the Left Opposition as being counter- the Conference of the Russian Communlast issue of the P. R. Within the Party the dissatisfaction of its members has assumed such an extent and character that the leadership is forced to a more or less radical turn. This turn stands on the order of the day. That this is clear to the C. C. is indicated by the appeal of the C. C. and the R. G. O. "to all German workers" published on the first page of the R. F. of April 26th.

The turn stands on the order of the day, yes, it is already in process. The most important thing is however, what changes is the Party capable of bringing about! Never before has a political action of such significance to the Party as well as to the Comintern, been taken without a clear statement by the E. C. C. I. as to its position. Such a state ment has not appeared altho the R. F. of April 27th published a leading editorial from the Prayda which must be

Although the special edition of the taken as reflecting the official views of is forced (editorial of April 26th) to

"The results of the Prussian Landtag election permit clear recognition of the all the class forces of the proletariat and peculiar situation in which Germany now the working masses in the red united finds itself, and how in the face of the front and again go into an offensive extremely sharp industrial crisis the against the capitalist dictatorship and Social Democrats have succeeded in defeat Fascism". drawing away the attention of the masses from direct open struggle against capital newspaper the appeal of the C. C. and This has been done in the "Welt am ism and directing it to the peace of Ver- the R. G. O.-Committee in which the Abend" of April 15 which we cite in sailles, the national yoke weighing down party and the R. G. O. express their Germany and using this for the streng-"If we compare yesterday's Landtag thening of their dictatorship. Herein functionaries and shop-committee-mem-Pravda-the Editor).

> The portrayal of the situation is cor- mands in the shops. rect. Only we permit ourselves to point out that the diverting action of the German bourgeoisie was assisted by the "na- ing, against the policy of emergency tional and social liberation program" of measures dictatorship and their clearing the K. P. D. for which the E. C. C. I. is also answerable. It would be correct now, since the consequences are ready

'The Communist Party will draw the conclusion from this election that with all its power it must improve its work "If we compare yesterday's Landtag for mass struggle against the capitalist

One need not be surprised if the catastrophic policy become even more coarse, as in the following paragraph which the R. F. actually underscores heavily shows!

"There is no occasion to believe that

that comes forth from such comprehen-But the height of confusion is reached prospective Comintern bosses. "If, finally, we compare the results by the Pravda in the following lines:

> National Socialists with the Social Dem. reveal that "nothing is more threadbare, ocrats, although the latter as well as the nothing is more fraudulent than the manformer, even if with different methods, the of stern principle with which L. D. bring about Fascist dictatorship. The Trotsky loves to clothe himself! . . organizations of the bourgeoisie, even can learn from him in political trickery, if their differences of opinion are small unprincipledness and intrigue." and do not spring from decisive differences in nature."

Fascist tide is far from being stemmed. others must follow.

write:

"The main thing now is to assemble

"We publish today at the head of our willingness to join with all lower union ures for the struggle for workers' de-

"While we are in sharpest struggle against the government of Braun-Severletarian class forces in order to block its way to government power, in order to break its terror and through a new red it a decisive blow".

These are only the first steps on the way which the Left Opposition advocated for a long time. Until now we have only words, only appeals. Real actions must follow. The K. P. D. must have a revolutionary prospective. It was defeated only because it had none. The problems of the day must be posed concretely. "We must force on the social-democracy the bloc against fascism". This is the lesson from the Prussian election.

We greet every step on the road to a Leninist united front policy and urge all party members to turn the half-measures of the C. C. into complete ones Party members demand that words and appeals be followed by real actions.

-- PERMANENTE REVOLUTION.

the road for Hitler, we Communists stand as mortal enemies of Hitler fascism. We will do everything with the help of pro-

The National Conference of the Span-; movement in our country. The political advance of the working class to give ish Left Opposition was recently held at stupidity of the official party, the irreticle below is a message from comrade Spanish Left Opposition.

When, in June of last year, we came together as the followers of the International Left Opposition in Spain, we constituted not more than a small group of militants ready to fight enthusiastically for the creation of a real Communist

Madrid. Comrades from all parts of the sponsibility of its leaders-typical procountry were represented, reporting or- ducts of Stalinism-which has caused so ganizational and ideological progress in much ruin in the international revoluevery locality. Theses for future work tionary movement, had discredited even were adopted and preparations made to the idea itself of Communism in the eyes expand the activities of the Spanish of the working masses. The Workers' section of the Left Opposition. Among and Peasants' Bloc, the birth of which these, the benewed publication of El is due principally to the profound mis-Soviet, the weekly organ, is being plan- takes of the party and the International, ned at Barcelona. A detailed report of had transformed itself into an opportunthe conference is forthcoming. The ar- ist organization, typically petty bourgeois which constitutes a big obstacle, with its Andres Nin, one of the leaders of the innate confusionism, to the development of a strong Communist movement in Catalonia. Finally, anarcho-syndicalism, thanks to the impotence and incapability of the Communist organization, had been able to exercise an enormous influence over the broad masses of the proletariat.

The Opposition had to start an extremely difficult fight on these three fronts. For this fight it was not equipped with more than a monthly theoretical magazine of a very small circulation and the ardent enthusiasm of the handful of Spanish Oppositionists. The Under the heading "That Gibraltar of "Comrade Trotsky, before leaving the Brandler would learn. In the fall of organized group could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The material re-Workers Age drops another stink-bomb September 1923 Plenum, that is, a month He himself told me repeatedly that he sources were very limited. The point of was unable to find himself again in a view of the Left Opposition was unknown to the big majority of the workers.

In spite of all this, the results obceedingly haughty. He began to accuse tained in the ten months of struggle have me of 'pessimism'. He looked upon 1924 surpassed all our hopes. The National Conference, recently held in Madrid has showed the really surprising progress campaign in which they must be acknow- ly permeated with fatalism and sleepy- to distinguish the face of the revolution achieved in less than a year. The balance of the work achieved is highly encouraging. The Communist Left Opposition is no longer a nucleus of isolated militants as it was a year ago, but a real Communist movement, with branches in every part of the country, alive, active, combative, intimately attached to the working class and to its struggles. The danger of the Opposition becoming transformed into a circle of critics, into a sterile sect, into a ready refuge for the lazy, the cowards and the disillusioned But since Lovestone has made bold to has been victoriously overcome. The speak lightly of "political trickery, un- best, the most conscious, the most selfstabbed men from behind? And poisoned were already outlined those critical views qualities which have become so insepar- our ranks. Today the Communist Left

a little into Lovestone's relations to program, a tactic and a structure to our movement. The Communist Left Opposi-The Lovestone who defends Brandler tion has clearly showed the way for the charge of Blanquism and general op- with such affecting ardor was for years Spanish working class to follow and has position not only from the Rights in the in the vanguard of precisely that fac- constructed the basis upon which a big

gle against the carrying through of have juggled more successfully with the Moscow when the same question was matter!) who denounced the "Trotsky- that the road taken by us has been conists" for their "alliance" with Brand- firmed as correct and that only the Oplerism? Let us not merely make charges position is the heir to the traditions of but quote from documents. In his "Pages revolutionary Marxism, the faithful ex-Further: Lovestone asserts that in the from Party History", written on the eve ecutor of the work of the International January 1924 theses of Trotsky, Radek of the 1929 party convention, Lovestone of Lenin and Trotsky, capable of forging the weapon which the Spanish proletariat needs in order to obtain victory over the bourgeoisie: a big Communist party.

> The progress achieved in the last ten months, in spite of our meagre material resources and with the enormous difficulties under which we have been fighting, is the surest guarantee of the success which the future has in store for

> But we do not know how much time is left to us by history in the exceptional circumstances in which we live today. We have not a moment to lose. We must redouble our efforts, intensify our propaganda and our organizational work, consecrate all our energy to the immense task we have started to solve in order to equip the proletariat with the weapons necessary for its triumph.

> When did Lovestone change his mind discover that Brandler, after all, always

-SHACHTMAN.

Trotsky and Brandler; or Lovestone and Principles

now become quite clear. The campaign astounding impression. . . . " coincided with the negotiations they were conducting for a return to the

An Expert on "Principle"

vilification is a number of "facts" which

go! That a correct change is to be tends that only "after the rejection of made by the E. C. C. I. need not be these overtures by Brandler, Trotsky awaited going by the lead of the Pravda. made a right-about-face and began a The complete change that the situa- venomous attack upon him and his political associates. It was at this time that he originated the notorious 'Octo-

It should be clear now to every party In its appeal of April 26th the C. C. invented his criticism of Brandler not legend, incontrovertible evidence exists revolutionary-fascistic. Today the R. F. ist Party, January 1924," it says:

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Principle!", the current number of the session of the Central Committee (at the 1923, he understood his lack of capacity. in its recently revived campaign against before the decisive October days in Ger-"Trotskyism" in general and comrade many .- S.), made a speech which greatly Trotsky in particular. After a lengthy excited all the Central Committee memperiod of silence about the Opposition, bers. He declared in this speech that the last half a dozen numbers of the leadership of the German Commun-Lovestone sheet have devoted not a few ist Party is worthless and the Central with lots of 'optimism'. Then I undercolumns to an abrupt renewal of the Committee of the German C. P. is alleged- stood that this man did not know how

ledged as specialists, as people trained headedness, etc. Comrade Trotsky de. from its rear". for just that kind of activity. The clared further that under these condireason for this "turn", which puzzled so tions the German revolution is condemned 1926 Trotsky sought to make a Lovemany people for a while, has of course to failure. This speech produced an stonean horse-trade with Brandler where-This citation alone would suffice to re-

veal the shabbiness of the myth which Lovestone and Brandler are now trying Lovestone cannot begin to prove by 400,000 votes while they had previously es must make a turn!!! The sole logic drugs in wine-horns? Let me but try, German party leaders later justified with who knows anything about the past of vanguard of the Spanish proletariat. excellent lord!"—our Lovestoneites have such disastrous results. Particularly the party—it will not be amiss to inquire The National Conference has given Finally the National Socialists have sion, since accordingly the K. P. D. been engaged in proving their skill at was this true with regard to his article, doubled their vote since the last parlia- should hold fact to its previous "line". the game of "anti-Trotskyism" to their "Is It Possible to Fix the Date of the Brandler. Insurrection?" which encountered the "Further the danger becomes stronger The latest Right wing effusion deals German and Russian parties, but even tion in the International which (unlike Communist movement will develop in that the German fascists will seek to with comrade Trotsky, the Brandlerites from the ultra-Leftists a la Maslov, who Trotsky) did try to make Brandler and our country. fortify their election success by force in and principle. Lovestone is expert on made virtually the same arguments ad-| Thalheimer the solitary scapegoats for The Communist Left Opposition has tion since the presidential election is order to throw aside the obstacles to a all three matters, especially on the lastof a different character—it immediately quick, open dictatorship. In the strug-

Trotsky on Brandler

and Piatakov, "the course and conduct boasted:. Communist Party makes use of those dif- What has happened to this unbending of hie Brandler Central Committee were to stand fast and wait for a turn of them for his faction by offering them party leadership which was mainly re- from the Leninist line. . . . (and "thoroughly", at that!) the Brandyears ago, in a letter to Souvarine which

"After the frightful collapse of the German revolution of 1923, I gave Brand- ist International will be fooled by the Zinoviev-Stalin leadership of the Comlearn from the great events. His retrospective estimation of the German situation of 1923 is quite similar to the criticism that the Mensheviks developed on the 1905 revolution in the years of the reaction." (April 25, 1929.)

which the latter had urged in 1923 that did not share them." the German Communists "be restrained

There is no doubt that Trotsky made that Brandler and Thalheimer alone were and one of the leaders of the Comintern! an effort, in 1924, to persuade Brandler responsible for the October disaster. He of the falsity of his position not only in was then calling upon all true believers the October days, when the revolution to spurn the Brandlerist, Bedacht, and BOUND VOLUMES OF THE was there and Brandler failed to see it, to join with the genuine anti-Brandlerist, MILITANT FOR SALE but of his position after the defeat, when Lovestone. And when this paragon of Brandler did "see it" after it had al- virtue had lined up his followers on an The Militant are now ready for sale. ready slipped into the past. But this anti-Brandler platform, he proceeded by They include seventy-two issues-from was known before Lovestone's "revela- painless degrees to lead them on to the Vol. 1, No. 1 to Vol. 4, No. 12—the last tions", and known without his base in- pro-Brandler platform which he defends issue of the olr format. terpretations. In a letter published by today. It is quite evident now that They are indispensable in preparing one stroke. I had rather hoped that and trickery.

revolutionary situation. Yet, after he had missed the situation, he became ex-

Finally, Lovestone's assertion that in by the latter's support to the Opposition Bloc was to be bought by an unprincipled white-washing of the Brandlerists-we can confidently brand as a lie which authentic material.

Lovestone and Brandler

"Our party has pursued an energetic ferences that exist between these two pillar of political rectitude? Even Stachel thoroughly justified". Nothing of the policy in the struggle against Brandler sort is true or possible. Comrade Trot- and Thalheimer and other Right wingers sky's position after the capitulation in and conciliators in the German party. In The basis for this delicate piece of Germany was clearly established in his the Fifth Plenum of the Comintern, the "The Lessons of October", which evoked comrades representing the viewpoint now The line of the E. C. C. L.-a diver- Lovestone presents in defense of Brandler a rabid campaign against him, not so held by the majority of the party were gence of opinion with that of the Pravda and Co. to "prove" that Trotsky created much because of his criticism of the Ger- amongst the most aggressive in the is unthinkable—is therefore, the "na- a "legend" about them and attacked man party leadership but primarily be- struggle against Brandler, Thalheimer, tional and social liberation program" is them only after he had failed to win cause of his criticism of the Russian Bubnik and the Trotskyist deviators

> In his "Appeal to the Comintern" after his expulsion from the party, Lovestone fulminated indignantly against any principle, this St. George slaying the dragon of political trickery, this gentle St. Francis who abhors intrigue, wrote: "We do not believe that the Commun-

ler a qualified protection; I declared it fraudulent accusation (as we see, "fraudundeserved to put him up as the scape- ulent" is not a new term with Love- about the need of combatting Brandler goat when the responsibility for the stone!-S) of Bedacht against comrades as a Right winger? Why did Lovestone catastrophe in Germany lay with the Gitlow, Lovestone, Wolfe, that they pro- change his mind? Just when and why posed to establish relations with Brand- did he "establish connections with Brandintern as a whole. I reached a negative ler and Thalbeimer. The party records ler"? What explanation has he ever came convinced that he did not for a of both Bedacht and Foster that the and we confess to being little concerned. circumstances, accuses him of having single moment want to, nor could he, first resolution against Brandler and Lovestone, who worships principle and Thalheimer was adopted by the Amer- recoils from intrigue and trickery (as is ican Political Committee. Furthermore well known), is the sort of politician who it was Bedacht who proposed in Moscow denounces "Trotskyism" as the "crassest to comrades Gitlow, Lovestone and Wolfe expression of the Right wing" one day, to establish connections with Brandler as 'ultra-Leftism" the next day, and as and to keep a permanent representative anything else you please the day after. That there, was justification for this in Berlin. This was instantly rejected Yesterday, Brandler was one of his favrefusal, as far back as 1924, to make by the comrades and it comes with bad orite targets for the same vile slanders Brandler a scapegoat and the insistence grace from Bedacht to try to ascribe he now hurls at Trotsky; today, he has upon placing the responsibility where it his proposals to others. When he is really given Brandler that white-washing belonged, was adequately revealed in making his confessionals, it would be which he dishonestly alleges that Trot-1926 when Zinoviev made public a letter well for him to confess his own errors sky was ready to give him; tomorrow, if sent him and Bucharin by Stalin, in in place of ascribing them to others who he is called upon to do so, he will re-

Isn't this a gem of the purest water? was an agent of the bourgeoisie. and not spurred on" and that the Fasc- Lovestone was then still peddling the Just think of it; for years this man ists be allowed to come to power first! real October legend, that is, the legend was the leader of the American party,

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Trotsky, dated June 12, 1929, he relates Lovestone is just the man chosen by God, for lectures, debates, discussions, etc. (not for the first time) that he "did not nature and history to denounce Trotsky which they are received. Checks or come to this annihilating conclusion at for unprincipledness, political intrigue money order must accompany the orders. Price: \$5.00