by LEON lands off Rosa Luxemburg TROTSKY

Stalin's article, "On Some Questions Reply to the Slandering of had the highly developed 'servility of a fence of Kautsky's position against the me after much delay. After receiving it, for a long time I could not force myself to read it, for such literature sticks in one's throat like saw-dust or mashed bristles. But still havng finally read it, sary organizational conclusions. It is I came to the conclusion that one cannot not to be gainsaid that Rosa Luxemburg ignore this performance, if only because did not pose the question of the struggle there is included in it a vile and bare- against Centrism with the requisite comfaced calumny about Rosa Luxemburg. leteness,-in this advantages were entire-This great revolutionist is enrolled by ly on Lenin's side. But between October Stalin into the camp of Centrism! He 1916, when Lenin wrote about Junius's proves-not proves, of course, but asserts pamphlet, and 1903, when Bolshevism had -that Bolshevism from the day of its its inception, there is a lapse of thirteen inception held to the line of a split with years; in the course of the major part by the slavering daubers of the "divine", the Kautsky Center, while Rosa Luxem- of this period Rosa Luxemburg was to but that he made himself Lenin. Lenin burg during the time sustained Kautsky be found in the Opposition to the Kautfrom the Left. I quote his own words, sky and Bebel C. C., and her fight against from others and daily drew himself to "Long before the war, from about 1903- the formal, pedantic, and rotten-at-the-1904, when the Bolshevik group had form- core "radicalism" of Kautsky took on an day. In this perseverance, in this stubed in Russia and when Lefts first made ever increasingly sharp character. themselves heard in the German social democracy, Lenin took the course to- and did not support Rosa Luxemburg up spirit find its expression. If Lenin in that Radek acted thereupon under Yaroward a break, a split with the oppor- to 1914. Passionately absorbed in Rus- 1903 had understood and formulated ev- slavsky's rod does not mitigate his guilt. tunists both at home, in the Russian so- sian affairs, he preserved extreme cau- erything that was required for the coming for only despicable slaves can renounce cial democratic party, and abroad in the tion in international matters. In Lenin's times, then the remainder of his life the principles of Marxism in the name of II International, and the German Social eyes Bebel and Kautsky stood immeasur- would have consisted only of reiterations. the principles of the rod. Democracy in particular." That this, ably higher as revolutionists than in the In reality this was not at all the case. however, could not be achieved was due eyes of Rosa Luxemburg, who observed Stalin simply stamps the Stalinist imentirely to the fact that "the Left social them at closer range, in action, and who print on Lenin and coins him into the terization of Radek but to the fate of This hostility we see manifested in a democrats in the II International, and was much more directly subjected to the petty small-change of numbered adages. Lenin's letter. What happened to it? small measure by the cries of fear utterfirst of all, in the German social dem- atmosphere of German politics. ocracy composed a weak and impotent group . . . that was fearful even of uttering aloud the word, break, split." Such is the basic formulation of the article. Beginning with 1903, the Bolsheviks stood for a break not only with the Right but also with the Kautsky Center; while Rosa was afraid even to mention

openly the world "split". STALIN'S IGNORANCE OF PARTY HISTORY

story of one's own party, and first of all, it off once for all. of Lenin's ideological course. There is not a single word of truth in Stalin's point of departure. In 1903-1904, Lenin Kautsky now more than all the rest, the questions, reforms are products of the ago on a question that holds now only was, indeed, an irreconcilable foe of op- fithy, vile and self-satisfied brood of revolutionary class struggle, so in inter- an historical interest. But it is precise- identity" has unfolded is surprising. portunism in the German social democracy. But he considered as opportun- she long ago understood that Kautsky fight for and to gain certain guarantees is exceptionally great. It shows Lenin seeking to organize a third party of ism only the revisionistic trend, which had the highly developed 'servility of a was led theoretically by Bernstein.

fighting against Bernstein. Lenin con- jority of the party, a flunkey to opporsidered Kautsky as his teacher and tunism." (Leninist Anthology, Vol. II, stressed this everywhere he could. In page 200, (my emphass). Lenin's work of that period, as well for a number of years following, one must find even a trace of criticism in principle directed against the trend of Bebel-Kautsky. Instead one finds a series of declarations to the effect that Bolshevism but is only a translation into the language of Russian conditions of the trend of Bebel-Kautsky. Here is what Lenin wrote in his famous pamphlet, "Two Tactics", in the middle of 1905, "When and where did I call the revolutionism of Bebel and Kautsky opportunism second phrase "R. Luxemburg was right, exceptionally valuable document for the them both. (To be concluded). come out into the open between me on the one hand and Bebel and Kautsky? . . . The complete solidarity of the international revolutionary social-democracy in all major questions of program and tactic is an incontrovertible fact."

A year and a half later, on December 7, 1906 Lenin wrote, in the article "The Crisis of Menshevism", " . . . From the very first (see "One Step Forward. Two Steps Backwards") we affirmed that we are not creating any special sort of Bolshevist' tendency; we only take our stand everywhere and at all times in defense democracy, right up to the social revolution, there will inevitably be an opportunistic and a revolutionary wing."

Kautskyism but with revisionism. brown shirted hordes. Moreover he looked upon Bolshevism as the Russian form of Kautskyism, which in his eyes was in that period identical with Marxism. The passage we have just quoted shows, incidentally, that Lenin did not at all stand absolutely for suffering of the jobless. And they say course. Thus, as an avowed party of admitted but also considered "inevitable" the existence of the revisionists in the not be eradicated until the system itself

revolution. Two weeks later, on December 20, 1906, Lenin greeted enthusiastically Kautsky's answer to Piekhanov's questionaire on the character of the Russian revolution, look somewhat like the Communists. But political parties. It gives the democratic party marks of resemblance to the social. There the Socialist parties have already had the honor to serve the bourgeoisie, in governmental capacity. "What we have claimed—that our fight this is more apparent than real. All for the position of revolutionary social- these parties have their specific place democracy against opportunism, is in no and specific function. The Communist this fact. Faced by a growing deficit manner whatsoever the creation of some party is the party of the working class, in the budget, the McDonald-Henderson 'original' Bolshevist tendency-has been of the proletarian revolution. The socompletely confirmed by Kautsky. . . . "

tion is absolutely clear. According to old standbys have proven unequal to the ily? Oh, no! The Labour party leaders Stalin, Lenin, even from 1903, had de- task. This is easily proven, not by the are the 'umble servants of his Majesty manded a break in Germany with the op- radical-sounding words in their platform George V. No, their method was to portunists, not only of the Right wing -the treacherous leaders of the S. P. (Bernstein) but also of the Left (Kaut are past masters at this trade-but by proletariat, by cutting their already sky). Whereas in December, 1906, Lenin their deeds which always hurl the lie paltry dole. as we see was proudly pointing out to right back into their very glib mouths. Plekhanov and the Mensheviks that the How are the unemployed to attain so- in Germany. There the criminal leaders trend of Kautsky in Germany and the cial insurance, and the shorter work of the German S. D., on pretext that trend of Bolshevism in Russia were week, according to the S. P.? By strug. Bruening was preventing the advent of identical. Such is part one of Stalin's gle? By mass action to force the capiexcursion into the ideological history of talist class to grant them these burn- ance several times, in the notorious emer. Bolshevism. Our investigator's scrupu- ing necessities? No, heavens no! That's lousness and his knowledge rest on the a Bolshevik method, and we Americans same plane!

LENIN AND LUXEMBURG

a Revolutionist

The capitulation of the German social democracy on August 4 was entirely unexpected by Lenin. It is well known Kautsky, especially in 1910-1914, an imthat the issue of the Vorwaerts with the portant place was occupied by the quespatriotic declaration of the social dem- tions of war, militarism and pacifism. ocratic faction was taken by Lenin to be Kautsky defended the reformist program, a forgery by the German staff. Only af- limitations of armaments, international ter he was absolutely convinced of the court, etc. Rosa Luxemburg fought deawful truth, did he subject to revision cisively against this program as illusory. his evaluation of the basic tendencies On this question, Lenin was in some of the German social democracy, and doubt, but at a certain period he stood destroyed? To put forward such an assertion, one while so doing, he performed that task closer to Kautsky than to Rosa Luxem- WHERE IS LENIN'S LETTER must be absolutely ignorant of the his- in the Leninist manner, i. e., he finished burg. From conversations at the time TO RADEK?

hypocrisy . . . R. Luxemburg was right, national relationships it is posible to ly the historical value of the letter that John Dewey, the pathetic figure who is theoretician'-to put it more plainly, he Kautsky at the time was to be found was ever a flunkey, a flunkey to the ma-

> Were there no other documents (and there are hundreds), these few lines alone could not unmistakably clarify the moment, today, in contradistinction to

theoretician' . . . " Lenin hastens here to recognize that "verity" which he did not see formerly, 'or which, at least, he the C. C. Radek, like all ofhers, should did not recognize fully on Rosa Luxemburg's side.

Such are the chief chronological guideposts of the questions, which are at the same time important guide-posts Lenin's political biography. The fact is indubitable that his ideological orbit is represented by a continually rising curve. But this only means that Lenin was not born Lenin full-fledged, as he is pictured ever extended his horizons, he learned a higher plane than was his own yesterborn resolution of a continual spiritual the insolent evaluation placed by Stalin Lenin did not participate in this fight growth over his own self did his heroic on Rosa Luxemburg. The circumstance LUXEMBURG'S STRUGGLE

AGAINST KAUTSKY

with Lepin I recall that the following. In any case there cannot be even the On October 27, 1914, Lenin wrote to argument of Kautsky made a great im- shadow of a political reason for the con-A. Schliapnikov, " . . . I hate and despise pression upon him: just as in domestic cealment of a letter written two decades ory to what extent this circle of ideas of the Comintern!

lective work over the platform of the Left Opposition, Radek showed Kamenev, Zinoviev and myself-probably also to other comrades as well-a letter of Lenin criticism of the German Lefts. In accordance with the regulation passed by have delivered this letter to the Lenin Institute. But fearful lest it be hidden. if not destroyed in the Stalinist factory of fabrications, Radek decided on preserving the letter till some more opportune time. One cannot deny that there was some foundation to Radek's attitude. At present, however, Radek himself hasthough not very responsible still quite an active-part in the work of producing political forgeries. Suffice it to recall that Radek, who in distinction to Stalin is acquainted with the history of Marxism, and who, at any rate, knows this letter of Lenin, found it possible to make a public statement of his solidarity with However the matter we are concerned with relates not to the personal charac- gle.

theoretical biography of Lenin. In the

autumn of 1926, at the time of our col-

documents of the party's past have been

found its expression in Lenin's articles: If one were to take the disagreements same song of dread. Norman Thomas the question would require a particular- between Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg in and the other member of the American ly careful analysis. Neither can I take their entirety, then the historical cor- socialist priesthood are of course also upon myself to assert from memory how rectness is unconditionally on Lenin's found in this motley chorus. one of the colleagues closest to him at soon Lenin's doubts on this question were side. But this does not exclude the fact! But this inability to make a distinct But not merely in the United States,

the reins of government for the bosses. the Daily Worker and its party directors. tactic is an incontrovertible fact."

Lenin's words are so clear, precise, and gram. Its promises run all the way movement in this or any country, has in the city of Milwaukee. The same evictory are the announcement that there is not categorical as to entirely exhaust the gram. Its promises run all the way movement in this or any country, has in the city of Milwaukee. The same evictory are the announcement that there is not merely a powerful Fascist movement. from the abolition of child labor to the capitalist class granted the workers tions and police terror against the un-"planned production and social control". one single thing except where they have employed reigns in Milwaukee as in any that it has virtually taken over the The Socialist party is the party of grad- been forced into it by mass pressure? city controlled by the democratic and government, is an extravaganza origin-The Socialist party is the part they expect to gain all their demands, of consideration. Why, the very right post for the future. If the Republican American workers by Stalinism. In the excluding the very last one, and then to vote for the expropriated masses was and Democratic parties are outspoken the capitalist system will have been so achieved through the force of working representatives of Wall St., the Socialgreatly reformed, that its abolition will class power. The eight hour day was ist party is its concealed, demagogic, be a mere triviality. In this, the Hill- not attained by voting one party in and radical-tongued servitor. And as such theory of the American party leaders quits claim, resides the "realism" of another out. The struggles that finally it is all the more dangerous to the stands out in all the bolder stupidity of the point of view of the revolutionary their program as opposed to the "fana- secured the eight hour day for the Am- working class in its struggle for eman- a striking revelation of the studied inof the point of view of the Iteration of the program as opposed to the studied insocial democracy. And within the social ticism" of the Communists. But the erican workers, (one of the brightest cipation. A vote for the Communist competency of the present day leadership party is an indication that you are (save the mark) of the International

Fascism-U.S. & German It Was Discovered in U.S. and Ignored Where It Really Was

It is not correct to assume that the ately followed by the futile conferences petty bourgeoisie, which formed the bulk held by Hoover, the big industrialists of the troops of Fascism in Italy and and labor leaders, the Daily Worker Germany at its inception, are automatic- suddenly announced that "the Communally guaranteed to support such a move- ist Party and the most conscious secment elsewhere, always and from the tions of the working class-which more very outset. Fascism, attaining power and more recognize the Communist party in Italy, very swiftly demonstrated that as their leader in all present-day strugthe desperate hopes placed in it by the gles-accept the challenge of Hoover's petty bourgeoisie as a defense against National Fascist Council" (November 28, the big bourgeoisle, were grounded in 1929). This in the leading editorial. nothing substantial. Mussolini very soon And to make clear the extent to which revealed the elementary political truth of the Stalinists considered that Fascism the present epoch in particular: the petty had already established its sway in this bourgeoisie can play no independent country, it was announced four days role: it follows either the big bourgeoisie later, under the headline "Big Fascist or the proletariat. In Italy, Fascism is Body Aimed at Workers-Act as Govern. the instrument of naked rule by the ment", that "Out of the White House sword of the industrialists and the larger crisis conferences has grown a powerful landowners. Nor could it be otherwise. Fascist organization . . . Hoover and his This disappointment of the illusions of cohorts find the usual 'democratic' machthe petty bourgeoisie causes many of inery of the capitalist state inadequate them, particularly in other countries, to to meet the onrush of the growing crisis develop a certain hostility towards Fasc- and have created this new, more facile ism, which they envisage, and with machine to take over the most important a certain justification as the betrayer of functions of the capitalist government their hopes for relief from the upper at the present time . . . The Fascist and nether millstones of the class strug-

Is Radek hiding it even now from the ed in this country by typical spokesmen Lenin Institute? Hardly. Most prob- for the petty bourgeoisie. In the United In Rosa Luxemburg's struggle against ably, he entrusted it, where it should States, so thoroughly dominated by be entrusted, as a tangible proof of an monopolist capitalism, the crisis has been intangible devotion. And what lay in extremely severe for the middle class store for the letter thereafter? Is it pre- citizen. The goliath of bureaucratic govserved in Stalin's personal archives ernment, arch-representative of big cap alongside with the documents that com- ital, looms before him like some monpromise his closest colleagues? Or is it ctrous nightmare. At every repressive destroyed as many other most precious measure taken by the executive committee of the sovereign class, our petty bourgeois burgher utters a shriek of terror: "Fascism is growing in the United States! The government is turning new Fascist, capitalist grouping, Hoover Fascist! There is a Mussolini in the will act as the executive of the Fascist White House!"

Dewey's Theory

The extent to which this "mistake in ("reforms") by means of the interna- as he really was, and not as he is being liberalism, rarely misses an opportunity tional class struggle. Lenin considered recreated in their own semblance and to give vent to his theory about the it entirely possible to support this posi- image by the bureaucratic dunderheads, growing movement of American Fascism. tion of Kautsky, provided that he, after who pretend to infallibility. We ask, The Nation and the New Republic echo the polemic with Rosa Luxemburg, turn- where is Lenin's letter to Radek? him along the whole scale of their feeble paratus. The "usual democratic" Coned upon the Rights (Noske and Co.). I Lenin's letter must be where it belongs! tones. The plagiarist par-excellence from gress was "merely an appendage to the do not undertake now to say from mem. Put it on the table of the party and the ideas of liberalism, social democracy new Fascist, capitalist grouping". Tri. and Stalinism, A. J. Muste, sings the umphant Italian Fascism has not achiev-

is not some sort of an independent trend, the time, that "now", at the present settled. In any case they found their that in certain questions, and during tion between the growth of repressive With the boldness of conception and expression not only in conversations but definite periods Rosa Luxemburg was measures against the working class, vio- sweep that characterizes genius and inthe past, he "hates and despises" Kaut- also in correspondence. One of these let- correct as against Lenin. In any case, lence and brutality used against it, on sanity alike, the Daily Worker proceeded sky. The sharpness of the phrase is ters is in the possession of Karl Radek. the disagreements despite their import- the one hand, and on the other hand to overrun Great Britain as well with an unmistakable indication of the extent I deem it necessary to supply on this ance, and at times—their extreme sharp. Fascism, that is, the naked rule of the to which Kautsky betrayed Lenin's hopes question evidence as a witness in order ness, developed on the bases of revolu-bourgeois dictatorship in which every editorial typewriter-while-you-wait. On and where did I call the revolutionism; and expectations. No less vivid is the to attempt in this manner to save an tionary proletarian policies common to fragment of the democratic raiment of December 5, 1929, a news story aunounce-Only when they get a parliamentary does not originate with Dewey, Muste meet the economic emergency'. The editto this "revolutionary" act is to hold contribution to political science made by

light of the uninterrupted series of blunders made by the German party leaders in relation to Hitlerism in Germany, the Almost three years ago, with the out-

-CLARKE. break of the crisis which was immedi

nature of the agrarian-imperialist-'labor' body makes it more useful to the capital. ists than their existing state machinery" (November 30, 1929.)

ing at all, the Daily Worker was seeking to convey to its readers the idea that the "ordinary democratic" state machinery of the bourgeoisie was no longer serviceable to it and that a Fascist council was now acting as the government.

Fascism is the Government in U. S.!

If the English language has any mean-

Another few days later, a headline announced that "Congress Takes Back Seat For Fascist Council", and the article read: "Congress, which meets next week, will be merely an appendage to the economic council, and attempt very little through Congress in the present crisis" (December 2, 1929). "Organization is rapidly growing," boasted the Worker on December 5, "to meet the threatened drives of Hoover's Fascist state apparatus."

Plainer speech could not be asked for. A Fascist council had been organized in America. It was already the state aped very much more than this in order to establish the dictatorship of the

In England Too!

capitalism has been ripped off com- ed "the swift transformation of Macpletely, including the most elementary Donald's government into Fascism thinrights of the working class movement- | ly disguised as a 'Council 'of State' to same issue (about three years ago, remember! What foresight! What prophetic gifts!); "Following the example of its world-rival, the United States, the British capitalist class has begun organizing for an open Fascist dictatorship to replace the famous British 'democracy' . . . Ramsay MacDonald's and the 'Labor' Party's function is precisely to prepare the way for the open Fascist dictatorship in England."

But enough is enough. Even an ordinary doctor, not to speak of an intelligent Communist, knows that the stomach can stand just so much and no more. In November-December 1929, the American Stalinist crystal-gazers had hoisted Fascism into power in the United States and were swinging it into the same seat in England. Outstripping the wildest phantasmagorias of fear which possess the frightened soul of John Dewey, they saw the monster of Fascism (to say nothing of "social Fascism") in the United States, in England, in Abyssinia, in Iceland, everywhere, in short, except where it really was: Germany!

And Germany? In Germany, where Fascism was on

the march, where it was growing stronger by leaps and bounds, where it was unfolding into a hideous menace to the working class-the Stalinists at first denied it altogether, then they ignored t with a wave of the hand, then they proclaimed that it had reached the heights of its strength, then they entered into a vulgar competition-in-nation. alism with it-to the present day, when they are still ignorant about how to crush it, after having allowed it to assume the proportions it has. Fascism was not a danger in Germany; no, only in the United States and England. Fascism was not the danger in Germany; no, only "social Fascism", the "specific form", according to the gifted Bela Kun at the 10th Plenum, which Fascism assumes in the highly developed industrial coun-

Isn't this little contrast a dazzling tribute to the wisdom, the foresight, the perspicacity, the discrimination, the in fallibility of the present Stalinist leadership, nationally and internationally? A meteorologist who persistently predicted snowstorms in the Sahara Desert and hot spells at the North Pole, who announced squalls for a sunny Tuesday and sunshine for a rain-drenched Fridayhas a place set aside for him as a member of the PoliticalBureau of the party. He will fit it like a glove.

THE TURN IN THE C. I. AND THE SITUATION IN GERMANY is out of print and is available only in the BOUND VOLUMES of comrade TROTSKY'S pam-

65 c

The Socialist Party and Unemployment only when they get a parliamentary does not originate with Dewey, Muste meet the economic emergency. The edit-

The Socialist party has written in franchise on election day. very "realistic" German social dem- pages in U. S. labor history) constitute ocracy, the blood relations of the party the greatest denial of this fake teaching. of Thomas, Oneal and Lee have pursued Speaking of Menshevism, as the op- their realistic program to the very end. portunistic wing of the social democracy, And where has it led them? Into the the significance of the ballot box. Votes Lenin compared the Mensheviks not with camp of the road makers for Hitler's are a clue to the strength of a party,

The S. P. Program

gram on unemployment. They advocate tions and huge movements that make the social insurance, the six hour day five capitalist class sit up and take notice. a split with the opportunists; he not only further that the curse of unemployment reform, it can never gain any reforms is due to the capitalist system and will at all. social democracy right up to the social is done away with. The economic crisis the real meaning of the promise of the works wonders on the physiognomy of S. P. for unemployment insurance and cialist party is the third capitalist party from bankruptcy. How? By eliminating Within these limits, I trust, the ques- which the bosses call upon when their the allowance to the parasitic royal fam-

disdain to use imported Russian tactics. We stand by the constitution of the U. S., vote for us, and you, the workers, Directly after his assertion regarding will get everything that your heart de- his knee before the American Bruening. 1903-1904, Stalin makes a leap to 1916 sires. Thus the Socialist party throughand refers to Lenin's sharp criticism of out its history—in place of action, the talism is the cause of unemployment. the war pamphlet by Junius, i. e., Rosa holy paper of the ballot box. This, in They propose the abolition of the sys-

Meaning of Ballot Box The capitalist class well understands but they do not indicate that the voters are anything else but a discontented, The Socialist party has a "bold" pro- passive mass. It is strikes, demonstraday week, as measures to relieve the The S. P. fears to embark upon this

But, if one wants further proof as to

In Great Britain the last act of the late "labor" government is indicative of cabinet decided to save the capitalists place this burden on the shoulder of the

We have even a more glaring instance Fascism slashed the unemployment insurgency decrees. Thomas is shouting aloud about Fascism being prepared for America today. This is laughable. But the workers can rest assured that when Fascism actually threatens, he will bow

But the Socialist party says that capi-Luxemburg. To be sure, in that period itself, constitutes outright treason to tem-by the ballot box. No forcible Lenin had already declared war to the the working class. It is a trick to lull confiscation of property—they promise to

aware of the heinous role of the S. P.

WHATINEXT?

Vital Questions for the German

Proletariat

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finish against Kautskyism, having the workers into satisfied slumber all the fearful petty bourgeoisie. When will drawn from his criticism all the neces- year round and to rely solely upon the they "abolish" the capitalist system?