

Hands off Rosa Luxemburg

by LEON TROTSKY

Stalin's article, "On Some Questions in the History of Bolshevism" reached me after much delay...

STALIN'S IGNORANCE OF PARTY HISTORY

To put forward such an assertion, one must be absolutely ignorant of the history of one's own party...

Kautsky at the time was to be found fighting against Bernstein. Lenin considered Kautsky as his teacher and stressed this everywhere he could...

Reply to the Slandering of a Revolutionist

sary organizational conclusions. It is not to be gainsaid that Rosa Luxemburg did not pose the question of the struggle against Centrism with the requisite completeness...

Lenin did not participate in this fight and did not support Rosa Luxemburg up to 1914. Passionately absorbed in Russian affairs, he preserved extreme caution in international matters...

The capitulation of the German social democracy on August 4 was entirely unexpected by Lenin. It is well known that the issue of the Vorwärts with the patriotic declaration of the social democratic faction was taken by Lenin to be a forgery by the German staff...

On October 27, 1914, Lenin wrote to A. Schlipnikov, "I hate and despise Kautsky now more than all the rest, the filthy, vile and self-satisfied brood of hypocrites..."

Were there no other documents (and there are hundreds), these few lines alone could not unmistakably clarify the history of the question. Lenin deemed it necessary at the end of 1914 to inform one of the colleagues closest to him at the time...

The Socialist Party and Unemployment

The Socialist party has written in some forty planks into its election program. Its promises run all the way from the abolition of child labor to "planned production and social control"...

The S. P. Program The Socialist party has a "bold" program on unemployment. They advocate social insurance, the six hour day-five day week...

Two weeks later, on December 20, 1906, Lenin greeted enthusiastically Kautsky's answer to Plekhanov's questionnaire on the character of the Russian revolution...

LENIN AND LUXEMBURG Directly after his assertion regarding 1903-1904, Stalin makes a leap to 1916 and refers to Lenin's sharp criticism of the war pamphlet by Junius, I. e., Rosa Luxemburg...

she long ago understood that Kautsky had the highly developed "servility of a theoretician"...

Such are the chief chronological guide-posts of the questions, which are at the same time important guide-posts of Lenin's political biography. The fact is indubitable that his ideological orbit is represented by a continually rising curve...

LUXEMBURG'S STRUGGLE AGAINST KAUTSKY

In Rosa Luxemburg's struggle against Kautsky, especially in 1910-1914, an important place was occupied by the questions of war, militarism and pacifism. Kautsky defended the reformist program, limitations of armaments, international court, etc.

On this question, Lenin was in some doubt, but at a certain period he stood closer to Kautsky than to Rosa Luxemburg. From conversations at the time with Lenin I recall that the following argument of Kautsky made a great impression upon him...

I do not undertake now to say from memory to what extent this circle of ideas found its expression in Lenin's articles: the question would require a particularly careful analysis.

I deem it necessary to supply on this question evidence as a witness in order to attempt in this manner to save an exceptionally valuable document for the

theoretical biography of Lenin. In the autumn of 1926, at the time of our collective work over the platform of the Left Opposition, Radek showed Kamenov, Zinoviev and myself—probably also to other comrades as well—a letter of Lenin to him (1911?) which consisted of the defence of Kautsky's position against the criticism of the German Leftists...

WHERE IS LENIN'S LETTER TO RADEK?

In any case there cannot be even the shadow of a political reason for the concealment of a letter written two decades ago on a question that holds now only an historical interest.

If one were to take the disagreements between Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg in their entirety, then the historical correctness is unconditionally on Lenin's side. But this does not exclude the fact that in certain questions, and during definite periods Rosa Luxemburg was correct as against Lenin.

Only when they get a parliamentary majority. The nearest the S. P. will get to this "revolutionary" act is to hold the reins of government for the bosses. Today they are already in the saddle in the city of Milwaukee...

Meaning of Ballot Box

The capitalist class well understands the significance of the ballot box. Votes are a clue to the strength of a party, but they do not indicate that the voters are anything else but a discontented, passive mass.

But, if one wants further proof as to the real meaning of the promise of the S. P. for unemployment insurance and relief, he has only to look to Europe.

In Great Britain the last act of the late "labor" government is indicative of this fact. Faced by a growing deficit in the budget, the MacDonald-Henderson cabinet decided to save the capitalists from bankruptcy.

We have even a more glaring instance in Germany. There the criminal leaders of the German S. D., on pretext that Bruening was preventing the advent of Fascism, slashed the unemployment insurance several times...

But the Socialist party says that capitalism is the cause of unemployment. They propose the abolition of the system by the ballot box.

With Germany on the edge of the volcano that threatens to erupt at any moment, Leon Trotsky's penetrating analysis of what is next on the order of the day in Germany is the most timely revolutionary document of the moment.

Fascism-U. S. & German

It Was Discovered in U. S. and Ignored Where It Really Was

It is not correct to assume that the petty bourgeoisie, which formed the bulk of the troops of Fascism in Italy and Germany at its inception, are automatically guaranteed to support such a movement elsewhere...

This hostility we see manifested in a small measure by the cries of fear uttered in this country by typical spokesmen for the petty bourgeoisie. In the United States, so thoroughly dominated by monopolist capitalism...

Dewey's Theory

The extent to which this "mistake in identity" has unfolded is surprising. John Dewey, the pathetic figure who is seeking to organize a third party of liberalism, rarely misses an opportunity to give vent to his theory about the growing movement of American Fascism.

But this inability to make a distinction between the growth of repressive measures against the working class, violence and brutality used against it, on the one hand, and on the other hand Fascism, that is, the naked rule of the bourgeoisie...

The announcement that there is not merely a powerful Fascist movement already in existence in this country, but that it has virtually taken over the government, is an extravaganza originally displayed for the instruction of the American workers by Stalinism.

Almost three years ago, with the outbreak of the crisis which was immedi-

ately followed by the futile conferences held by Hoover, the big industrialists and labor leaders, the Daily Worker suddenly announced that "The Communist Party and the most conscious sections of the working class—which more and more recognize the Communist party as their leader in all present-day struggles—accept the challenge of Hoover's National Fascist Council"...

Fascism is the Government in U. S.!

If the English language has any meaning 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...

Plainer speech could not be asked for. A Fascist council had been organized in America. It was already the state apparatus. The "usual democratic" Congress was "merely an appendage to the new Fascist, capitalist grouping"...

In England Too! But not merely in the United States. With the boldness of conception and sweep that characterizes genius and insanity alike, the Daily Worker proceeded to overrun Great Britain as well with its brand of Fascism-turned-out-on-the-editorial-typewriter-while-you-wait.

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.

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 it with a wave of the hand...

Isn't this little contrast a dazzling tribute to the wisdom, the foresight, the perspicacity, the discrimination, the infallibility 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 Friday—has a place set aside for him as a member of the Political Bureau 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 pamphlets.

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