Trotsky: The Tragedy of the German

(Continued from Page 1)

fragments of ideas and principles literally. are thrown out along the road like

so much ballast. factor in politics.

Executive? For Germany, it is at olutionary party. rearguard battles. In this situa- submit to blackmail means to build reaucratic revelation. Not a sin- intern situated in Moscow—as was the workers." Having comprom- or at least aggravated by the poltion, voluntary unions of Communist and social democratic workers may and will be realized for various episodic tasks, but the systematic realization of the united front is inexorably thrust back for an indeterminate future. There must be no illusions on this score.

About fifteen months ago, we wrote that the key to the situation is in the hands of the German Communist Party. The Stalkey out of its hands. Great events "period", began to interpret its enuside of the will of the party will be necessary to give the workers the possibility of drawing up short, of fortifying themselves, of rebuilding their ranks and of passing over to an active defensive. When this will occur, we have no way of knowing with precision.

Perhaps much evident first and most important functionaries' considers in the industries of an important functionaries' consumptor. And the industries of an important functionaries' constituent ference called in the Ruhr region by special courier from the Central b outside of the will of the party Communist leadership not by main- upon the workers in the industries of an important functionaries' con- possesses the first and most impor-Perhaps much quicker than the triumphant counter - revolution hopes. But in any case, it is not those who issued the manifesto of the Everyting who will discuss the manifest of the every field. It resulted, even ity tend to conservatism but never expension in the results are illuminating.

The every field is resulted, even ity tend to conservatism but never expension in the results are illuminating.

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The every field is resulted, even in the results are illuminating at those who issued the manifesto of the Executive who will direct the policy of the united front in Gerthose who issued the manifesto of ments. Rival trade unions were were counted, of which the social-letarian vanguard exists no longer.

Its press, its meetings and all its policy of the united front in Gerthinkers, football clubs, anglers' 1,298, and Nazis 161. The Compublic activities are completely majority problems. meny.

signifies, inside of Germany, the tated in an isolated and sectarian Nazi 83. critical clarification of the past, existence. support to the vigorous spirt of the vanguard of the militants, their reassembly, the organization of rearguard combats wherever it is possible waiting meanwhile for the not tolerate criticism; they made moment when the various fighting a bureaucratic caricature of the groups will draw together into a correct principles of centralization great army. This preparation sig- and disipline. The membership clerical staff of the electrical sec- corded in Germany and with fatenifies at the same time the defense within these rival organizations tion out of a total of 2,547 votes ful consequence to the working of the proletarian positions in the were deprived of all rights of seri- the socialists polled 1,916, the class throughout the world the countries closely connected with ous discussion and participation in Germany, or located right near it: decisions. They could not find 135. In all four elections there in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in themselves at home in these or-Poland, in the Baltic countries, in Scandinavia, in Belgium, in Hol- of their function and stagnated. land, in France and in Switzerland. The party bureaucracy became rounded by a powerful circle of struggle agriculture o proletarian fortifications. Without opposition to its false policies. For for an instant ceasing the attempts example, Schulz would become an to halt the disorderly retreat of Oppostionist. He would be expelthe German workers, it is neces- led from the party. Next the desary forthwith to create fortified mand would be made for his confrontiers of Germany for the strug- other organizations under party gle against Fascism.

trian proletariat were to seize munism and benefit the treacherpower now and transform its ous social democratic chiefs. country into a revolutionary battleground, Austria would become for the revolution of the German considered apart from the general proletariat what Piedmont was for strategy, by which the party leadthe revolution of the Italian bour- ers sought in their way to prepare geoisie. It cannot be predicted the proletariat for its present fatehow far the Austrian proletariat, ful situation. In no wise could it pushed forward by the events but correspond to the rhythm of workparalyzed by the reformist bureau- ing class developments. While the cracy, will advance along this German workers went through a road. The task of Communism is period of radicalization culminatto help the events against Austro- ing in the great strike wave ex- Reichstag election victory. They Marxism. The policy of the united tending throughout Germany dur- seek solace in their own statement front is one of the means. The ing the latter part of last year, that, "Germany is not Italy", conditions which the manifesto of in many instances forcing the trade meaning thereby that Hitler cannot the Executive takes over so tard- union bureaucrats into the fight, accomplish the destruction of work-

retain all their force.

However, the policy of the united front embraces within itself not only advantages but also dan- democratic leaders, despite all Mussolini, yet the Wels; Braun gers. It easily gives birth to com- their self-outs were not dislodged and Severing gentry repeat the binations between leaders behind the back of the masses, to a passive adaptation to the ally, to opportunist vacillations. This danger than to remain within their fold. continue to sabotage all struggle. cannot be warded off save under the condition of two express guarantees: the maintenance of full reedom of criticism within the ranks of one's own party. To retuse to criticize one's allies leads directly and immediately to capitulation to reformism. The policy of the united front without party but gains nevertheless. One can ism in power. The party leaders democracy, that is, without the say that election after election parasphrased the social democrats. many today? control of the apparatus by the party, leaves the leaders a free the field. But not so in actual tween Mussolini and Hitler is hand for the opportunist experience which supplement the adventurist experiences.

In making a dizzying swing to-

What is therefore the practical dom of political criticism, that is, fundamental duty is the first stage only of the social democratic workvalue now of the proposals of the the principal function of the rev- in that criminal and shameful pol- ers but also of the Communists.

ist treason which they attributed to foundations and to give the re- tional congress, nor even a plenum lation of a document from l'Hu- the masses, the strategists appeal ist bureaucracy sought implacably treat from the theoretical com- us only yesterday. This time too formist business men the possibil- of the Executive, no preparation manite, transmitted from Paris by to the "individuals", to those her- to refurbish its reputation with the mandments of Stalinism. Chips and the prediction has been realized ity of blowing it up under some in the press of the party, no an- the telegraphic agency Tass. What mits who have found no place in aid of some grandiose adventure arbitrary pretext or another. alysis of the policy of the past. a stupid and humiliating ruse! Af- the ranks of the masses but who, or another (Esthonia, Bulgaria, Criticism in general, all the more And there is nothing astounding in ter all the successes, after the real- just the same, "are really fighting Canton). Doesn't this danger exwards the positions of the united so under the conditions of the uni- this: at the very first steps in a ization of the first Five Year Plan, for the cause of the workers— ist now too? In any case, we The conditions for the united front, the Executive tramples upon ted front, should obviously corrediscussion in the party, each think-after the "disappearance of the Barbusse and General Schoenaich deem it necessary to raise a voice front put by the Comintern for all the fundamental guarantees which spond to the real relationships and ing worker would ask the functionthe countries (committees of ac- alone can assure a revolutionary preserve the necessary proportions, aries: why have the Bolshevik- cialism", the Stalinist bureaucracy save Europe from Hitler. the countries (committees of action of the paral-tion against Fascism, demonstration demonstration and content to the policy of the united The absurdities about "social- Leninists been expelled from all no longer dares to publish in its. Here we have a ready-made yzed masses, disorganize the masstion against Fuscism, demonstrations and strikes against wage re- front. The Stalinists take into conductions) present nothing new, on sideration and accept the hypo-concession not to the social demigration and accept the hypo-concession not to the social demigration and accept the hypo-concession not to the social demigration and accept the hypo-concession not to the social demigration and accept the hypo-concession not to the social demigration and accept the hypo-concession not to the social demigration and accept the hypo-concession not to the social demigration and accept the hypo-concession not to the social demigration and accept the hypo-concession not to the social demigration and accept the hypo-concession not to the social demigration and accept the hypo-concession not have been decreased as a second demigration and accept the hypo-concession not have been decreased as a second demigration and accept the hypo-concession not have been decreased as a second demigration and accept the hypo-concession not have been decreased as a second demigration and accept the hypo-concession not have been decreased as a second demigration and accept the hypo-concession not have been decreased as a second demigration and accept the hypo-concession not have been decreased as a second demigration and accept the hypo-concession not have been decreased as a second demigration and decreased as a second demigration and decreased demigration demigration and decreased demigration and decreased demigration and decreased demigration demigra the contrary, they are the schema- critical and diplomatic claims of ocracy but to Marxism. It is not deportation and to firing squads? national—that's how it feels itself Stalinists are in the habit of maskticized and bureaucratized repro- the reformists to a socalled "mu- for the treachery of 1918 but for Is it only because they dig deeper on the international arena. duction of the slogans that the tual non-aggression". Breaking its evil work in 1933 that the ally and see further? The Stalinist Left Opposition formulated much with all the traditions of Marxism must be criticized. But criticism, bureaucracy cannot permit such a more clearly and concretely two and of Bolshevism, they recom- like political life itself, of which conclusion. It is capable of no more clearly and concretely two mend to the Communist parties, in criticism is the voice, cannot be matter what flop or turn, but to termediary of paper organizations sion of the Japanese bandits able to the revolutionary party. it was registered in the camp of case the united front is realized, to halted for an hour. If what the present itself bonestly before the social-Fascism. The united front abandon all attacks against the Communists disclose corresponds to workers, to face the Bolsheviksocial-Fascism. The united front organizations and Poland, the Anti-Fascist alli- fists have not even issued a mani- of capitalism and of reformism into on such bases could yield decisive during the joint action." That's of the united front, pushing for not and does not dare to do. Thus, ance and the socalled Italian Gen. festo of protest. Now a new ediend it should have been carried out just what it says: To abandon all ward the provisional ally and, in the struggle for its own prein time. Time is an important attacks (!) upon the social democracy (what a shameful form- revolutionary education to the ates its new turn by undermining vening for the mouth of April a but against Fascism. What will last ten years.

the revolutionary trade union China? Nothing. Out of respect But the Stalinist bureaucracy has oppositions (R. G. O.) of Germany for Stalinist "neutrality", the paci- succeeded in converting the crisis eral Confederation of Labor, the tion of the Amsterdam Congress balance sheet of the uncontrolled Communist International is con- is being prepared, not against war command of the epigones for the ula!) means to abandon the free- whole proletariat. To abandon this in advance the confidence in it not "Pan-European Workers' Anti- the anti-Fascist bloc of vacated Hypocrites will be found to say: Fascist Congress". The list of "factories" and impotent "indiviThe Opposition is criticizing the in that criminal and shameful polers but also of the Communists. those invited, as is proper, is conducted which Stalin foisted upon the The publication of the manifesto fused and vast: factories (they sue a hollow manifesto, if, as a hands of the executioner. Blacka minimum. The policy of the united front assumes a "front", not by practical necessity but by that is, stable positions and a central positions and a central position and a central position of the mannesto fused and vast; factories (they matter of fact, things go this time guards will add: The Opposition as far as the holding of a Contral position and a central position of the mannesto fused and vast; factories (they matter of fact, things go this time guards will add: The Opposition as far as the holding of a Contral position and a central position of the mannesto fused and vast; factories (they matter of fact, things go this time guards will add: The Opposition as far as the holding of a Contral position of the mannesto fused and vast; factories (they matter of fact, things go this time guards will add: The Opposition as far as the holding of a Contral position of the mannesto fused and vast; factories (they matter of fact, things go this time guards will add: The Opposition as far as the holding of a Contral position of the mannesto fused and vast; factories (they matter of fact, things go this time guards will add: The Opposition as far as the holding of a Contral position of the fact, things go this time guards will add: The Opposition as far as the holding of a Contral position of the fact, things go this time guards will add: The Opposition as far as the holding of a Contral position and a central position of the fact, things go this time guards will add: The Opposition as far as the holding of a Contral position of the fact, things go this time guards will add: The Opposition as far as the holding of a Contral position of the fact, things go this time guards will add: The Opposition as far as the holding of a Contral position of the fact, things go this time guards will add: The Opposition as far as the holding of a Contral position as far as the holding of a Contral position as far as the holding of a Contral position as far as the holding of a Contral position as far as the holding of a Contral posit tralized leadership. The Left Op- reformists come and will come to gard to the second guarantee. Hay- amining, but which throws an exposition put forth the conditions an agreement to the extent that ing denounced criticism of the so- ceedingly glaring light on the pre- world), local labor organizations, istic and adventurist. The Russian Stalinists will endeavor to hide for the united front as conditions the pressure of events and the cial democracy, the Stalinist apsent of the Old Stalinist in the old the Central Committee behind the for an active defense with the per- pressure of the masses force them paratus does not even think of giv- the attitude of the leading Stalin- belonging to a party or not, sports, spective of passing over to the to. The demand for "non-aggres- ing the right of criticism to the ist group towards it. In Prayda anti-Fascist and peasant organizaoffensive. Now, the German pro- sion" is blackmail, that is, an at- members of ts own party. The of March 6, the manifesto is pub- tions. And more: "We wish also Left hand. The experience of the tion of responsibility for the catletariat has reached the state of tempt of the reformist leaders to turn itself is effected, as is the lished not as a direct and open apa disorderly retreat, without even extort an auxiliary advantage. To custom, after the manner of a bu- peal of the Executive of the Com- are really fighting for the cause of every great tragic defeat provoked for the disastrous regime, for the

mence to commit all the opportun- up the united front upon rotten gle national congress, no interna- always the case but as the trans- ised for a long time the cause of icy of the Comintern, the Stalin-

ing their impotence. What has world situation, as well as the con-The manifesto is not the sole the Amsterdam bloc of the Cent-ditions of each country in particureply to the initiative of the Second International. Through the in- in the struggle against the aggres- cial democracy as they are favorthose invited, as is proper, is con- duals" do? Nothing. It will isdays extended the Right hand to apparatus, the apparatus behind the liberals and held a bomb in the the party, to eliminate the ques-

The conditions of the present

helping the executioners of yesterday and today.

The policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy in China was no less disastrous than it is at the present time in Germany. But there, the affair took place behind the back of the world proletariat, under conditions which were incomprehensible to it. The critical voice of the Opposition hardly reached beyond the USSR to the blindness. At the same time, we workers of the other countries. must be just to them: if they had The Chinese experience went pracdesired the victory of Hitler, they tically unpunished for the Stalincould not have acted otherwise ist apparatus. In Germany, it is than they did. Now that Hitler entirely different. All the stages is in power, and his whole policy of the drama developed before the compels him to prepare a coup to- eyes of the world proletariat. At ward the East (the revelations of each stage, the Opposition raised the Polish-Ukrainian program of its voice. The whole course of Goering are sufficiently eloquent) development was announced in ad-the Stalinists say, "He who pre-vance. The Stalinist bureaucracy pares to call on the Red Army in- calumniated the Opposition, imputed to it ideas and plans alien But even leaving aside the ques- to it, expelled all those who dared Do the Stalinists deny this dan- ity of emerging upon the road of

> And now, finding itself right in way, in 1924, Stalin proclaimed as given the Communist party almost five million votes, this signifies only that it would have given it twice had been able to show that it is capable of taking and holding the power. But it gave the proletariat nothing save confusion, zigzags, de-

> Yes, five million Communists still succeeded in reaching the ballot of the Fascist bands.

It must be said clearly, plainly, count to ourselves of it. We must country will speak of the period the void. German Communism can We take into consideration the be reborn only on a new basis and

song of the Stalinist bureaucracy has been sung. The German proletariat will rise again, Stalinism never. Under the terrible blows of Laying a stable basis under the the enemy, the advanced German MILITANT is the best way of as- workers will have to build up a

-LEON TROTSKY.

The Crisis in German Communism

Continued from last issue

Within these general workers' rganizations the Communists have played their role; but the "third period" policy shows its disastrous results. The Stalinist party lead-ed Fascism and seriously weak- ganizations beginning with the national Left Opposition. It is ers, with the inauguration of this ened the Communist yanguard. aim of winning the workers to which the social democracy has one example among many others by feeble. But the Left Opposition If the central position has sur- majority of the workers remained which they had formerly held lets, it gives no leadership what- the International Left Opposition tion against German Fascism, the defense committees, cut the work-If the central position has sur- majority of the workers remained here. In the electrical works ever, its own leaders are either began seriously to solidify its ranks shock troops of world imperialism. ers off from the slightest possibilities of which under a seriously to solidify its ranks. In the approaches, one must pre- tions and by and large also under pare points of support for the fu- their ideology and leadership. The ture offensive. This preparation new opposition organization vege-

Stalinist Leaders Prevented

Trend Toward Communism The Stalinist leaders, caught in the vise of their own policy, could ganizations which were stripped proletarian positions around the demnation and expulsion from all direction, from the RGO, from its In the first rank comes Austria, freethinker society, from its chess which is immediately threatened players' clubs, anglers' clubs, etc. by the Fascist cataclysm. One can Such a method could only help to say with certitude that if the Aus- alienate the workers from Com-

These are only some of the examples of the Stalinist methology ily from the Left Opposition thus the disastrous and criminal Stal- ing class wrought by Mussolini.

trism circumvented the constantly for Hitler.

Decisive Class Battles

were counted, of which the social- letarian vanguard exists no longer. 3.326 votes were cast, of which under arrest or fugitives, its headthe socialists obtained no less than quarters are taken over by the pol-

Nazis 443, and the Communists greatest crime of Stalinism.

was a 90 percent participation. ing class.

Socialist Bureaucrats and

Stalinists Partners in Betrayal The social democratic leaders complacently accept the Hitler inist party leadership policy and While this is true in the sense the independent trade union sects that Hitler faces a far more powcould only serve as a brake upon erful working class, a potentially the general movement. The social far stronger antagonist than did from their positions but had their treason of their Italian fraternity. authority re-inforced. For the They have succeeded in maintainworkers there was no other choice ing their party intact but they In this sense the Stalinist Cen- They thereby keep the road open

growing working class trend to- But we have sought in vain also certain temporary retreats, con- party is unable to fight, where it commensurate with the Nazi gains, by the first heavy blows of Fascstrengthened the party victories in They said: "The difference bestruggle or in trade union and basically that the latter has no working class contact within the economic conjuncture ahead of industries. Despite the parlia- him". True as this is in its ab- tions arrived at on the basis of Party. We call upon all workers How has the Executive acted in mentary election victories the party stract sense, when substituted for the furious onmarch of German to repudiate this leadership which this case? Dozens of times the could not lead in struggle against measures of struggle it becomes Fascism capturing one strong posi- is undermining Communism in its Left Opposition predicted that un- the constantly growing Fascist re- entirely false. The economic con- tion after another and already desperate attempt to stop the ininists will be compelled to recoil powerless. By its policy and Hitler. For that is required a ent—the Communist party. They Opposition in the Tri-Cities. from their ultra-Leftism and that, methods the Stalinist leaders united working class, oriented, or must yet take into account the

The sad truth is that today, at the time of this writing, the party which should function as the proa frightful demoralization has

Within the clerical staff of the seized its membership. The party municipal gas and the electric is betrayed by its Stalinist leaderworks the council elections gave ship, it is sacrificed by an incomthe following results. In the gas petent bureaucracy, the strength section out of a total of 2,064 votes of its numbers faded to the vanishcast, the socialists obtained 1,151, ing point because it meant nothing the Nazi 413, and a neutral mod- when associated with an utterly erate ticket 459. There was no false ideology, false perspectives Communist ticket. Among the and policies. Today is being re-

What is becoming of the Comintern? Undermined and almost Here is again telling proof of reduced to impotence by its conworkers following the social dem-trolling Stalinist clique it has likeocratic leaders and not at all con- wise failed to functoin and to show sidering themselves partners in the the way. When feeble attempts in same camp with the hated Nazi. regard to the German situation On the contrary. It proves that were made by it they were made the workers are holding fast to upon a false road. What will be the socialist party just at the its future if the Fascists finally period of its severe persecution by conquer in Germany? This questhe Fascists and their campaign tion embodies such serious consefor the Hitler parliamentary tic- quences that it is difficult to fully ket. But it also gives telling contemplate today. One thing is proof of the weakness of the Com- certain. We see now the eclipse munist party among the workers of Stalinism in Germany and perin the industries. All in all, how- haps in the whole Comintern. But ever, it is one more excellent a far more serious aspect of the reason for a genuine united front present situation is the question of between the C. P. and the SP. That the eclipse of the Comintern itself, is yet the key question. No other if not of the Soviet Union. The way exists to defend the German Stalinist regime has long ago reworking class, its rights and its duced the Comintern to an aporganizations against the murder- pendix purely of the interests of Mr. and Mrs. Behr are husband lions than through a united work- Soviet Union. What will the de- having contact with the police reinforce himself, protect his rearstruction of strongest Comintern party outside of the Soviet Union,

the proletariat of -the western time the organizer of the TUUL in blindness. world despite the white terror rule the mining region, have made open destroys utterly criminal complacency in fact that the three above menface of the mortal danger threat- tioned people were officers of the

ening the world proletariat And Union of Unemployed, and had a 'reedom of criticism of the ally ward Communism. That sympathy for any sign of struggle initiated what of the political consequence special meeting where we were that the consequences of a lying. The law of unequal development and the re-establishment of the full for Communism increased, is by the Stalinist party leadership. of the destruction of the strongest barred by the police of this city. proved by the various parliament. By their own course they have party existing within a capitalist ary elections where the party, with arrived at a situation where the country? Will that not mean almost a death blow to the Comintinued to record gains, not at all is being shattered and wiped out tern additionally weakened by the demned their action. The branch effects of a defeat of such gigantic of this city warns all workers party is necessary, in order to as- will serve as an impulsion to the consequences as a defeat in Ger- against those degenerates and calls Fall of Stalinism Signals Rise of Left Opposition

placing themselves on the road of sayed the social democratic bu- ganized and prepared for such a possibilities which despite all still the united front, they will com-reaucracy, enormously strengthen- huge task. In that the party exists of the German working class

yet being able to rally in time the powerful resources lying dormant within its ranks. But it is necessary to be prepared for the worst variant. For such possibilities, how-The Alternatives in the leadership failed completely to ever, the party of Stalinism will no the party of Stalinism will no working class defense. Thereby longer give the initiative or leadit also laid the road open for ership. Now there remains as the Hitler to smash the workers' or revolutionary hope only the Interparty itself. The extent of its true that compared to the giant Again and again the solid hold destruction is illustrated by the task our ranks are still extreme-

Left Opposition in the past, facing the failures of Stalinism, could show the correct road. When the Comintern, hamstrung by the Stalin regime, failed in this decisive sit- tion of help to the German prole- to speak of the united front, helpuation to give leadership or even tariat, there remains the question ed the social democratic bureauclubs, etc. But the overwhelming munists lost the absolute majority prohibited. But it issues no leafto speak to the world proletariat, of the defense of socialist construcn the international conference held recently. Delegates from eleven ger? The most that they can say the mass struggle, disorganized the 3,034, the Communists 156, and the ice, its nuclei are disorganized and different countries participated is that Bitler is not yet, today, vanguard, paralyzed the proletarand began in a small measure to capable of carrying on a war. That int. In this way, opposing the uniprepare our organization for its is true, and we said so some time ted front of defense with the social great tasks | When viewed in con- ago. But if Hitler, today incap democracy, the Stalinists found tradistinction to the silence and able of carrying on a war, will be themselves with the latter in a failure of the Stalinist Comintern capable of it tomorrow—and he united front of panic and of capione must say that in that fact will not be able to avoid carrying tulation. alone lies an enormous importance. on war-does not a correct strat-That was a signal for the new egy demand that Hitler be prevent. front of ruin, the leadership of the epoch wihch are now entering. A ed from preparing his blow, that Comintern fears light and criticism signal for the falling of Stalinism is, that the German workers get more than anything else. Let the and the rise of the Left Opposi- rid of Hitler before he gets rid of world revolution go lost, provided tion.

-ARNE SWABECK.

Davenport, Iowa.—On March 18,

of the Chamber of Commerce. the only mass party outside of the These three individuals atacked to the enemy the complete liberty dispersed, demoralized Under the prestical aspect of this question when they were confirmed with the prestical aspect of this question when they were confirmed with the prestical aspect of this question when they were confirmed with the prestical aspect of this question when they were confirmed with the prestical aspect of this question when they were confirmed with the prestical aspect of the aspect of the confirmed with the prestical this contact. The position in the city of Davenport.

The Union of Unemployed Rank and File held a meeting where 109 on all party members to demand of the party the reason for the united front between these indivi-These, of course, are considera- duals and the organizers of the

(Oppositon) Tri-City Branch your friends and comrades:

Three Expulsions cabbages with his back turned to in the number of voters of from

1933 the Left Opposition Branch of the Tri-Cities was forced to ex- time. pel S. R. Claussen for cowardice, moral and physical degeneracy, for breaking the discipline of the the "purely defensive" war being had still given the Communist branch and attacking the Left Op- the only permissible one? "Let position publicly. The expulsion Hitler attack us first, then we will party 3,000,0 votes If the prolealso took place of H. and J. Behr for connection with the Police Department and agents of the Chamber of Commerce, This was done after a trial where these people practically admitted the charges. Claussen is 21 years of age, a fellow who thinks he is a little bit late to think of its defense. better than the ordinary worker. He is about 5 ft. 4 in in height. and wife who have had and are passively lets him strengthen and and carried information to agents guard, create an army for himself,

practical aspect of this question when they were confronted with traitor, even if the motives for his yoke of the apparatus, they have rolls up enormous difficulties. facts. The party, through the untreason are not to render service bureaucratic terror of Stalinism Through the German party were employed Council and through Tony to imperialism, but consist of petty maintained the solid contacts with Minerich who is at the present bourgeois weakness and political fore the turn came for the terror The "justification" of a policy of of Poland and the Baltic states in attacks against the Left Opposi- waiting and evasion under these between. Germany being added to tion, and have used every method conditions can only be weakness. openly: Stalinism in Germany has that iron ring of Fascist and semi- possible to take away all halls This is a very serious argument, had its August 4th. From today Fascist dictatorships practically from the branch of the Left Op- but we have to give a clear ac- on, the advanced workers of this Stalinist regime will concentrate They have further attacked say: the Stalinist policies in the of the domination of the Stalinist yet more purely within the Soviet through personal slander the com- USSR have so thoroughly disor- bureaucracy only with a burning Union in an attempt to give life rades of the Left Opposition, with ganized economy and the relations sense of shame, only with words of to its reactionary utopian theory the assistance of the local news- between proletariat and peasantry, hatred and curses. The official of socialism in one country. It papers and the local Chamber of have so badly weakened the party, German Communist Party is doomwill pay even less attention to the Commerce plus the American Leg- that the necessary premises for an ed. From now on it will only de-Comintern than before. Hence its ion. This was done through the active foreign policy do not exist compose, crumble and melt into today.

force of this argument. We know with a new leadership. policy become transformed into acts also upon the fate of Stalinobjective obstacles along the road ism. In the various countries, it But we draw the conclusion: a finds itself in different stages of fundamental change in the policy, decomposition. To what degree the methods, the leadership of the the tragic experience of Germany sure the Soviet State, in addition rebirth of the other sections of the to everything else, of a real cap- Comintern—the future will show. acity for defense and freedom of In Germany in any case the swan Prinkipo, March 21, 1933.

-L. TROTSKY.

(Continued from Page 1)

not because they desired the vic tory of Hitler, but out of political ures socialist construction."

the German workers? Marxists that vain prestige may live: the have often made fun of "parlia- bankrupts sow confusion and mentary cretinism", but kolkhoz smear up the traces. The fact cretinism is not worth a bit more. that the Communist Party of Ger-One cannot sow grain and plant many lost "only" 1,200,000 votes at the West, from which, for the first in the number of voters of from time since 1918, comes the greatest three to four millions, is proclaimthreat, which can become a mortal ed by Pravda as an "enormous danger if it is not paralyzed in political victory". In the same

Or have the Stalinists perhaps assimilated the pacifist wisdom of were withdrawing without battle, defend ourselves." This was alsocial-democracy: let the National-Socialists first openly attack the constitution, then, well ... etc. Still, when Hitler openly attacked or three times that number if it the constitution, it was already too

He who does not outstrip the enemy while he is still weak; who feats and distress. receive support from abroad, as-sure himself of allies; who leaves tories and on the streets, there

initiative internationally.

der the blows of events, the Stal- action. It remained paralyzed and junctures alone will not defeat having eliminated its main oppon- fluence of the ideas of the Left suring its regular and unhamper- new party. The Bolshevik-Lenined appearance. The most stable ists will give all their forces to this basis for the MILITANT is a large work. Communist League of America subscription list. Get subs from Prinkipo, March 14, 1933.