

Discussion Articles

Two Internationals

(Continued from last issue)

The German social democracy, not to be distinguished from its international, did not pursue a revolutionary class policy...

tially in an active political sense no different than the policy of social democracy. The likeness lay in that neither program led in the direction of a possible victory of the proletariat.

The main policy adopted by it during the whole situation was the support of the "lesser evil" as against Hitler.

If Social democracy held to the theory of the "lesser evil", the Stalinists advanced the position of "national and social emancipation of the German people".

Now that Hitler has taken power, how do these people look upon events in Germany? What have they learned over a period of years in which they pursued the policy of reform...

Fascism and Social Democracy Now, the working class is taught to believe that it has to go through the brutal stage of Fascism before it can experience the victory of the proletarian revolution.

The opening speech by Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the International, reads as follows: "The German Social Democracy was too busy with its immediate problems and failed to formulate a general policy."

Before the Nazis gained their victory, the party and the International always boasted about what would happen AFTER Fascism took power. Thus, Remmele in the Reichstag: "If they (the Nazis) once come into power, the united front of the proletariat will be established and sweep everything away..."

And from Otto Wels, the leader of the German Party, under whose direction the traitorous policies of that organization were initiated: "We made various mistakes but our critics mostly forget the circumstances and facts of the situation in which we worked."

Accepting Fascist functionaries into its ranks, canonizing fascist army officers who excelled in the anti-Semitic campaign taking place in Germany, publishing their pamphlets and printing their articles because they announced their adherence to the Party when it issued its nationalist slogans...

The French Socialist Party The leader of the French Socialist Party, Leon Blum, eloquently declared: "Real political democracy is impossible without economic democracy, bourgeois democracy being but a stepping stone."

There are words which have acquired a sort of currency in the official Communist Party. Such for example is the word "mistake". "We made a mistake here"—is a sort of a formula in the Stalinist ritual, which is in essence to the Grand Master of deceptions.

These men who sank in the swamp of chauvinism, who, whenever it was in their power, throttled movements of revolt and rose to save this social order, have summarized the colossal German defeat. You have the results: (1) The Allies were unfriendly to the "tender republic"; (2) The Communists were hostile to social democracy.

Take for example "Izvestia", the official organ of the Russian Soviets. In the issue for September 8, 1933, Karl Radek takes a stand against Prince Sapega, the former minister of foreign affairs of Poland and under Plehansky.

Here you witness no criticism of the "general line", no questioning of the theoretical outlook of social democracy, no criticism of the tactics of the leadership. It was circumstances and the Communists that were responsible for the defeat.

Further Prince Sapega writes that "Poland would be tied by the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union only if this pact would obligate Poland in some more serious matters. But...there are no immediate prospects of an of-

It is quite true that little else could be expected from this gathering. Every revolutionary worker knew that there could be no other evaluation of the German events by these people. They prepared the ground for all that has taken place. We have treated them briefly, because much has already been said of them and of their role in the labor movement.

Stalinists blame social democracy. The social democrats feared the united front because it would inexorably have led to the proletarian revolution. The Stalinists played into their hands by preventing the execution of this tactic.

With the defeat of the German party, the backbone of the Comintern was broken. Aside from the German party, the largest and strongest party in the International in the capitalist world, the C. I. is composed of small ineffectual organizations that play either small or no roles at all in the countries where they exist.

What is necessary in Germany today, is clarity. The workers must be taught to understand what took place and why it took place. The German working class will reconstitute itself in a final struggle against Fascism.

The international proletariat is marching toward a new period of clarification. Betrayal by social democracy for twenty years, ten years of defeat under the bankrupt policies of Stalinism are forcing definite changes in the ranks of the world proletariat.

There are 170 of us in all, twenty anarchists and seven Communists. The others are thieves, forgers, peddlers, all sorts of poor devils. Many are ill: tuberculars, syphilitics, lepers...

Our life begins. Frightful bands on the prisoners: one day they suspend someone (which is death according to the guards) in the middle of the snow with hands bound.

At this point the indignation of Karl Radek becomes high and carries him away completely into the realm of noble feelings. He dons the robes of one of the highest priests of the infallible idol Stalin and indignantly pointing his finger to the sky solemnly proclaims:

It sounds unbelievable, but here is the sad truth. A Polish bourgeois statesman informs the Polish and German bourgeois in a clear language that the non-aggression pact is not to be taken too seriously.

Under the Uruburu government, the hangman Cornadas, the warden of the penitentiary had him ferociously beaten. In this way three of his ribs were broken and his hand lacerated.

Next week 5th Anniversary of MILITANT In next weeks issue, which marks the fifth anniversary of the Militant, special articles commemorate the event will appear by various members of the editorial board.

events in Germany prove is what has always been understood by Marxists: there is no hopeless situation no guarantees for the proletariat for capitalism, just as there is not. The decisive element in such situations is the party of the working class.

The Recognition of the German Working Class What is necessary in Germany today, is clarity. The workers must be taught to understand what took place and why it took place.

Prisoners' Manifesto After two days of sailing we land at Ingeniero White. Here loading and unloading lasts two days. The Anarchists and Communists decide to issue a joint manifesto to the workers of the district.

A Fight on the Prison Ship It is no longer bearable. We try to speak with the officer of the guards. He answers with insults. We cry out. We decide once for

Prison Life Begins Our life begins. Frightful bands on the prisoners: one day they suspend someone (which is death according to the guards) in the middle of the snow with hands bound.

At night we hear howls of anguish from the prisoners in the cells where the guards beat them with iron rods and clubs.

Tomorrow is the First of May, says a comrade. The vision of thousands upon thousands of workers celebrating May Day in the four corners of the earth passes before our eyes!

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In Exile on the Tierra Del Fuego

Argentine Reactionaries Use Torture on Militant Bolshevik-Leninist

Some time ago comrade E. Islas, secretary of the Left Opposition in Argentina, was exiled to Tierra Del Fuego. He was shipped to Ushuaia, the southern extremity of America, in a semi-polar climate, the regular place for "forced labor".

There were those old reprobates from justice inured by the storms of life who could not hide their emotions. Propaganda in Prison The grey days drag by interminably. We have neither books, pencil, nor a piece of paper.

We are again on board the "Pampa" A sad ending for this proud boat which bears more resemblance to a slave ship than a war transport.

A Fight on the Prison Ship It is no longer bearable. We try to speak with the officer of the guards. He answers with insults. We cry out. We decide once for

all, take some planks which serve as a ram and begin to strike at the walls of the vessel. The steam pipes burst open. The hold is filled with smoke.

After ten days we arrive, half of us are sick. We have returned to Villa Devoto. Strange thing! They place the political prisoners in quarter 30 which is meant for common criminals, instead of sending us to quarter 20 where we belonged.

We are again at liberty. We will struggle for those who remain in the grip of the hangmen of capitalism, and particularly for the comrades we have left behind in Tierra Del Fuego which can be quite correctly called Tierra Muñite.

We are taking up our places again in the ranks of the Left Opposition, the advanced guard in the struggle for the Communist revolution. Buenos Aires, July 1933. —EDUARDO ISLAS.

International Notes

THE L. O. IN LITHUANIA The Left Oppositionists in Lithuania have been definitely constituted in an organized group, working in conditions of illegality.

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Switzerland.—After approving the new orientation, the conference adopted the name, "Marxist Action". A new organ under the same name has been issued.

Great opportunities are opening for our Swiss comrades. It is a known fact that a development to the Left has taken place in the Schaffhausen organization, still affiliated to the I. C. O. of Brandler.

THE ILP AND THE MOVEMENT FOR THE NEW INTERNATIONAL The London New Leader, central organ of the British Independent Labour Party announces, in the latest issue of the paper received here, the publication of a discussion paper entitled Controversy.

Our Swiss section held its national conference on September 2-3. This conference has an enormous importance for the future development of the Bolshevik-Leninists in

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