

The

RED FLAG

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FOR LENIN AND TROTSKY!

On The Anti-Fascist Front.

A LETTER FROM GERMANY.

Below we give a few extracts from the letter of a German comrade dated March 16th. We have many such letters, but lack of space prevents us publishing more than that given below. The paper of our German section, "*The Permanent Revolution*," was banned by the Nazis in common with all other revolutionary journals. Less than two weeks after our comrades issued a new paper, "*Our Word*," which is now being illegally distributed.

"The C.C. sabotages the question of the united front which is understood correctly by the masses. In the region of x... the united front was formed on the widest base with social-democratic workers including the lower officials. The result was a very wide mass self-defence, regular discussions each week, talks between officials of both groups, common demonstrations against fascism, etc. The sub-group leadership took action against these events by removing from office all the functionaries, among whom were old experienced fighters. The group leadership obviously covered the behaviour of the sub-group. Trotskyists were actively sought out and the slogan was given—"*Exclude without consideration whoever has relations with Trotskyists.*" That provoked great excitement among the greater part of the members, who expressed themselves as follows: "*We must discuss with the Nazis, but not with our own comrades.*" There was no reply to the resolutions of protest addressed where they were needed.

"*Nothing was done to prepare the Party for illegality, when anyone with foresight knew that the prohibition of the Party was only a question of days. It was only thus that it was possible for the Party, after the burning of the Reichstag when the Nazis seriously broke out, to have its backbone broken in but a few days. During his flight of six days across Germany the writer of this letter succeeded in making only one contact with local leaders — all had fled, or, which is true of a large number, had been arrested. It was only at Z... that we found one exception, but this comrade was without leadership and disconcerted. In the days that followed the taking of power by Hitler, the most important task was to get together publications and subscriptions for the press. When on the 26th February *Rote Fabne* was able to reappear after a long prohibition, it was hardly published*

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Why The RED FLAG Appears.

TO REGENERATE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

Comrade Reader,

Having bought our paper you will want to know something of its purpose. You will see that it is published by the British section of the International Left Opposition but perhaps, like most militants in Britain, you know very little of this organisation? Although begun many years ago no section has existed in England until recently. The officials of the Communist Party have affixed the epithet "counter-revolutionary" to the work of Leon Trotsky who is the leader of the Left Opposition and who is known to millions as the co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution and as the organiser of the Red Army. The less familiar they have been with the viewpoint of the Left Opposition, the more abusive has been the language of the Communist Party officials. There are obvious reasons for this: the men they praise to-day they will abuse to-morrow, if they are told to do so. Such people cannot be taken seriously as revolutionaries. But unfortunately they poison the minds of workers in the Communist Party to whom we address ourselves. All we ask of workers is that they read our case and judge for themselves.

We do not, at this stage, seek to form a new party or a new International. We are a group of revolutionaries who have been expelled from the Communist Party for advocating the policy and principles upon which the Communist International was founded. Our object is to win the Communists back to that policy, and such an object concerns all working-men and women since without a functioning, effective, Leninist International we cannot hope to overthrow capitalist rule. Already the revolutionary movement and the world working class has paid heavily for the complete Stalinist domination which followed the expulsion of the Left Opposition from the Communist International. To-day, as we look round, we see economic crisis in Russia; terrible and devastating defeat in Germany, and in every country weakened and depleted Communist Parties. In Britain the Communist Party, as a result of wrong policies, is isolated from the trade unions, is only able to count its supporters in hundreds and is weaker in membership than it was seven or eight years ago. The world crisis bringing a weakening of the capitalists and their Labour servants instead of

strengthening the Communist Parties has left them weakened. Is there not sufficient reason for our existence?

At every critical stage in the world struggle the present leaders of the Communist International have been tried and found wanting. But the stand of the Left Opposition has found its justification in the test of events. Proclaimed "dead" a hundred times the International Left Opposition, in spite of slander and persecution, grows steadily. In 36 countries it has its organs; in 24 countries its sections firmly established. In the Soviet Union, where 5,000 of its members are in prison and in exile, it is receiving fresh support and growth. Slander, persecution, abuse and expulsion cannot prevent the steady advance of the Left Opposition because it is based upon the living truth of revolutionary Marxism.

In the Communist Party of Great Britain the reign of the bureaucrats has been so far uninterrupted and complete. Discussion, of any real character, has been prevented by the simple method of expulsion and by keeping from the Party all the essential documents. Let those who still believe that there is intelligent and revolutionary discussion within the Communist Party examine the events which led up to the expulsion of ourselves. Or let them ponder over a decision of the recent Party Congress at Battersea where all the delegates condemned Zinoviev, Kamenev, and other Russian Bolsheviks without discussion as "counter-revolutionaries." The delegates knew no more about the viewpoint of the people they so condemned than they knew about the man in the moon. But they voted, because, you see, they were told that these old Bolsheviks were "counter-revolutionary." And so in a thousand cases. There is no discussion save that prompted and controlled from above.

Our new venture, the RED FLAG, appears at a critical time for the world working class. Its influence will be the more decisive for that. To add to the great number of working-class papers is a great responsibility for our, as yet, tiny group. But our paper will be found an indispensable weapon for the militant workers. The papers of the Labour Party deliberately deceive the workers in the interests of the employers. The Communist press reflects

(continued on foot of page 4)

"THE GERMAN WORKERS WILL

Leon Trotsky writes on the Tragedy of the German Proletariat

THE most powerful proletariat of Europe through its position in production, its social importance and the strength of its organisations showed no resistance at the time of Hitler's coming to power and the first violent attacks on workers' organisations. That is the fact on which we must base ourselves in further strategical plans.

Obviously it would be stupid to think that the future development of Germany will follow the Italian way,—that Hitler will, step by step, strengthen his domination without serious resistance—that German Fascism will have many years of domination. No, the fate of National-Socialism must be drawn from an analysis of German and international conditions, not from purely historical analogies. But this is already obvious; if since the month of September 1930 we demanded of the C.I. an immediate plan of action in Germany, we now must build up a long-term policy. Before the decisive combat is possible, the vanguard of the proletariat will have to orient itself anew; that is, understand clearly what is taking place, distribute the responsibilities of the great historical defeat, mark out the new road, and in that way regain confidence in itself.

The criminal role of the social-democracy requires no comment: the C.I. was created 14 years ago precisely to snatch the proletariat from the demoralising influence of the social-democracy. If that has not succeeded up to the present time, if the German proletariat found itself impotent, disarmed, paralysed, at the moment of its greatest historical test, the direct and immediate fault is with the leadership of the post-Lenin C.I. That is the first conclusion we must immediately draw.

In spite of the treacherous blows of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Left Opposition remained to the end loyal to the official Party. Bolshevik-Leninists now share the fate of all other Communist organisations: the militants of our cadres are arrested, our publications prohibited, our literature confiscated. Hitler even hastened to suspend the *Bulletin of the Opposition* which appears in Russian. But if, together with the whole proletarian vanguard, the Bolshevik-Leninists endure the consequences of the first serious victory of fascism, they cannot and do not want to take upon themselves the pretence of responsibility for the official policy of the C.I.

THE RECORD OF STALINISM.

Since 1923, that is, since the beginning of the struggle against the Left Opposition, the Stalinist leadership aided with all its power, though indirectly, social-democracy in perplexing, in confusing, and in weakening the German proletariat; it stopped and held back the workers when conditions dictated a courageous revolutionary offensive; it proclaimed the approach of the revolutionary situation when that situation had already passed; it entered into agreements with petit-bourgeois twaddlers and boasters; it limped impotent behind the social-democracy under the guise of the policy of the united front; it proclaimed the "third period" and the struggle for the conquest of the streets under conditions of political regression and of the weakness of the C.P.;

it replaced the serious struggle with capers, adventures and parades; it isolated Communists from the mass trade unions; it identified Social-Democracy with Fascism and refused a united front with workers' mass organisations against the aggressive troops of the National-Socialists; it sabotaged the least initiative for a local defensive united front, at the same time it systematically deceived the workers as to the actual relations of forces; it distorted facts, presented friends as enemies—and closed tighter and tighter the mouth of the Party, no longer permitting it to breathe freely, nor to speak, nor to think.*

In the vast amount of literature devoted to the question of Fascism, it suffices to refer to the speech of Thaelmann, official leader of the German C.P., who at the Plenum of the Executive of the C.I., in April 1931, denounced the "pessimists," that is, those who are able to predict, in the following words:

"We have not allowed the tendencies toward panic to disconcert us. . . . We have soberly and firmly stated that the 14th of September (1930) was in a certain sense Hitler's best day, and that afterwards would come not better days, but worse. This appreciation which we have given of the development of this party is confirmed by events. . . . To-day the fascists no longer have reason to laugh."

Referring to the creation by the social-democracy of defence groups, Thaelmann in the same speech maintained that these groups in no way differed from the combat divisions of the national-socialists, and that both were preparing similarly to destroy communism.

To-day Thaelmann is arrested. Facing triumphant reaction, Bolshevik - Leninists find themselves in the same street with Thaelmann. But the policy of Thaelmann is the policy of Stalin, that is, the official policy of the C.I. It is precisely that policy that is the cause of the complete demoralisation of the Party at the moment of danger, when the leaders lose their heads, when Party members, having lost the habit of thinking, are prostrated, when the principal historical positions are given up without combat. A false political theory carries its punishment in itself. The power and stubbornness of the apparatus only increase the dimensions of the catastrophe.

THE UNITED FRONT.

Having given up to the enemy everything that could be given up in so short a lapse of time, the Stalinists attempt to correct the past by means of convulsive acts which only light up more clearly the whole chain of crimes committed by them. Now that the C.P. press is stifled, that the apparatus is destroyed, that the bloody rag of Fascism floats with impunity over Karl Liebknecht House, the Executive Committee of the C.I. places itself on the road of the united front, not only from below but also from above. Moreover, this new zig-zag, more acute than

those preceding, was not produced by the leadership of the Executive; the Stalinist bureaucracy abandoned the initiative to the Second International. The latter succeeded in taking into its hands the weapon of the united front, of which up to the present it has had an excessive fear. So far as it is possible to speak of political advantages in the conditions of a retreat of panic, these find themselves completely on the side of reformism. Forced to reply to a direct question, the Stalinist bureaucracy chooses the worst way: it does not refuse the alliance of the two Internationals, but neither does it accept it; it plays hide and seek. It has reached such loss of confidence in itself, such abasement, that it dare not now show itself before the world proletariat facing the leaders of the Second International, the branded agents of the bourgeoisie, the electors of Hindenburg, who prepared the way to Fascism.

In a special appeal of the Executive "To Workers of All Countries," on March 15th, the Stalinists do not say a word about "social-fascism," formerly named the principal enemy. They no longer talk of the great discovery of their leader: "Social-Democracy and Fascism are not at opposite poles, but are twins." They no longer insist on saying that the struggle against Fascism requires the preliminary defeat of Social-Democracy. They no longer breathe a word about the inadmissibility of the united front from above. On the contrary, they carefully enumerate cases in the past when the Stalinist bureaucracy, in an unexpected manner to the workers and to itself, found itself forced suddenly to propose a united front to the reformist leaders. Thus do artificial, false, quackish theories give way under the whirlwind of the historical storm.

"Taking into account the peculiarities of each country" and the impossibility that, so to speak, arises from them, of organising the united front on an international scale (suddenly the struggle against "exceptionalism," that is, the theory of the right-wingers on national peculiarities, is forgotten), the Stalinist bureaucracy recommends to the national C.P.s to make proposals of the united front to the "Central Committees of the Social-Democratic parties." This again was proclaimed only yesterday a capitulation to social-fascism! Thus do the great lessons of Stalinism during the past four years fly under the table into the wastepaper basket. Thus is reduced to dust a whole political system.

But there's more to it than that. Having immediately declared the impossibility of conditions for a united front in the international area, the Executive immediately forgets it, and twenty lines further down formulates the conditions under which the united front is admissible and acceptable in all countries, in spite of the differences in national conditions. The retreat before Fascism is followed by a retreat of panic from the theoretical commandments of Stalinism. Splinters and fragments of ideas and principles are thrown down on the road like burdens.

The conditions for the united front proposed by the C.I. for all countries (committees of action against Fascism, demonstrations and strikes against wage-reductions) present nothing new: on the contrary, they are the schematised and bureaucratized reproductions of the slogans that the Left Opposition formulated much more clearly and concretely two and a half years ago, and for which the Left Opposition was registered in the camp of social-fascism. On those bases the united front in Germany could bring results; but for that it should

* A full critical examination of the Stalinists' errors and blunders in Germany from 1923 onwards will be found in "Lessons of October" (1923), "The Draft Programme of the C.I." (1928), "The New Turn in the C.I." (1930) and "Germany the Key to the International Situation" (1931).

RISE AGAIN — STALINISM NEVER ! ”

have been carried out in time. Time is an important factor in politics.

What is now the practical value of the proposals of the Executive? To Germany it is trifling. The policy of the united front implies a "front"; that is, stable positions and a centralised leadership. The Left Opposition posed the conditions of the united front as conditions of an *active defensive* with the view to passing to the offensive. Now the German proletariat has reached the state of a *disorderly retreat* without even rear-guard action. Under these circumstances, voluntary unions of Communist and Social-democratic workers can be realised and will be realised for various episodic tasks, but the systematic realisation of the united front is inevitably set aside to an indeterminate future. One must not deceive one's self on that point.

GERMANY — AND AUSTRIA.

Approximately fifteen months ago we wrote that the key to the situation was in the hands of the German C.P. The Stalinist bureaucracy has now lost that key from its hands. Important events outside the will of the Party will be necessary to give the workers the possibility of stopping, of strengthening themselves, and of rebuilding their ranks and passing to an active defensive. When that will be, we do not know exactly. Perhaps much more quickly than the triumphant counter-revolution hopes. But in any case, it is not the ones who drew up the manifesto of the Executive who will direct the policy of the united front in Germany.

If the central position has yielded, one must fortify one's self in the approaches, one must prepare bases of support for the future offensive. This preparation means, within Germany, the critical explanation of the past, the support of the strength of mind of the vanguard of the militants, their assembling, the organisation of rear-guard action where it is possible while waiting for the moment when the various groups of action can draw closer into one great army. This preparation at the same time means the defence of proletarian positions in countries closely linked to Germany or situated immediately next to Germany: in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Baltic countries, in Scandinavia, in Belgium, in Holland, in France and in Switzerland. We must surround Fascist Germany with a powerful circle of proletarian fortifications. Without ceasing for one instant the attempts to stop the disorderly retreat of the German workers, we must now create fortified proletarian positions around the frontiers of Germany for the fight against Fascism.

In the first place there is Austria, immediately threatened by Fascist disaster. One can say with certainty that if the Austrian proletariat does not now take power and transform its country into a revolutionary fortress, Austria will become to the German proletarian revolution what Piedmont was to the Italian bourgeoisie. One can not predict how far the Austrian proletariat, pushed forward by events, but paralysed by the reformist bureaucracy, will advance on that road. The task of Communism is to help events against Austro-Marxism. The policy of the united front is a tool for this purpose. The conditions that the manifesto of the Executive takes up, so long after the Left Opposition proposed them, thus keep all their force.

The policy of the united front, however, contains within itself dangers as well as advantages. It makes possible combinations

between the leaders behind the backs of the masses, passive adaption to the ally, opportunist oscillations. This danger can be prevented only under the condition of two definite assurances: the maintenance of complete liberty of criticism against the ally and the re-establishment of complete liberty of criticism within the Party. To refuse to criticise its allies leads directly and immediately to capitulation before reformism. The united front without Party democracy, that is to say, without control of the Party over the apparatus, gives free hand to the leadership for the opportunist experiments that complement adventurist experiments.

What has the Executive done? Dozens of times the Left Opposition has predicted that, under the blows of events, the Stalinists would be forced to retreat from their ultra-leftism, and that, taking the road of the united front, they would commence to effect all those opportunist betrayals that they attributed to us the very day before. Our prediction has once more been realised word for word.

In making a dizzy leap toward the positions of the united front, the Executive tramples upon the fundamental guarantees which alone are able to assure a revolutionary content to the policy of the united front. The Stalinists take under consideration and accept the reformists' hypocritical and diplomatic pretensions of so-called "mutual non-aggression." Breaking with all the traditions of Marxism and Bolshevism, they recommend to the Communist Parties, in case of the realisation of the united front, the "renouncing of attacks against the Social-Democracy during the common action." It amounts to this: to renounce attacks (!) against the Social-Democracy (shameful formula!) means to renounce the liberty of political criticism, that is to say, the principal function of a revolutionary party.

A STATE OF PANIC.

This capitulation is caused, not by practical necessity, but by a state of panic. The reformists are coming and will come to an agreement to the extent that the pressure of events and the pressure of the masses force them. The demand for "non-aggression" is blackmail, that is, an attempt of the reformist leaders to extract an accessory advantage. To submit to this blackmail means to construct the united front on rotten bases and to give to the reformist managers the possibility of breaking the front under some or other arbitrary pretext.

Criticism in general, and especially under the conditions of the united front, must obviously correspond with the real situation and guard the necessary proportions. It is necessary to refute the absurdities concerning "Social-Fascism"; that is a concession, not to Social-Democracy, but to Marxism: It is not for the betrayals of 1918 but for the bad work in 1933 that it is necessary to criticise the ally. But criticism, as is the case with the very political life of which criticism is the voice, is not able to stop itself an hour. If the revelations of the Communists correspond to reality, they serve the ends of the united front, pushing ahead the temporary ally and giving, which is still more important, a revolutionary education to the entire proletariat. To renounce this fundamental duty is to take the first step of that criminal and shameful policy which Stalin imposed on the Chinese Communists in relation to the Kuomintang.

The situation is no better in relation to the second guarantee. Having renounced

criticism of the Social-Democracy, the Stalinist apparatus does not even think of giving to the members of its own party the right of criticism. As usual, the very turn is accomplished as a sort of bureaucratic revelation. Not a national congress, nor an international congress, nor even a plenum of the Executive; no preparation in the Party press, no analysis of past policy. And that is not surprising. At the beginning of a discussion in the Party every worker who is thinking will ask the functionaries: Why have the Bolshevik-Leninists been excluded from all the sections, and in the U.S.S.R. been subjected to arrests and to shooting? Is it only because they dig deeper and see farther? The Stalinist bureaucracy cannot admit such a conclusion. It is capable of any sort of leap or turn, but it cannot and does not dare come forward honestly before the workers and stand face to face with the Bolshevik-Leninists. Thus in the struggle for its own preservation, the apparatus weakens its new turn by undermining in advance the confidence, not only of Social-Democratic workers, but also of Communists.

The publication of the manifesto of the Executive is also accompanied by a circumstance outside the question we are examining, but one that throws increasingly brilliant light on the present situation of the C.I. and on the attitude of the Stalinist directing group toward it. In *Pravda* of March 6th, the manifesto is published not as a direct and open appeal of the C.I. seated in Moscow—as always used to be done—but as the translation of a document from "*L'Humanité*" transmitted by "Fass" despatch of Paris. What a stupid and humiliating ruse! After all the successes, after the realisation of the first Five Year Plan, after the "disappearance of classes," after the "entrance into socialism," Stalinist bureaucracy does not dare publish in its own name the manifesto of the Executive of the C.I. Such is its real attitude toward the C.I. and that is how it looks upon itself in the international arena.

THE ANTI-FASCIST CONGRESS.

The manifesto is not the only reply to the initiative of the Second International. Through the medium of straw organisations, the German and Polish Revolutionary Trade Union Oppositions (RGO), Antifa and the so-called Italian CGT, the C.I. calls together a "Workers Pan-European Anti-Fascist Congress" for the month of April. The list of those invited, as is fitting, is confused and long: factory organisations (thus one says "factory organisations" although, through the efforts of Stalin and Lozovsky, Communists have been ousted from practically all factory organisations of the world), local workers' organisations, revolutionary, reformist, Catholic organisations, whether of the Party or not, sport, anti-fascist and peasant organisations. And more: "We also wish to invite all those isolated ones who are actually fighting for the workers." Having for a long time compromised the cause of the masses, the strategists appeal to the "isolated ones," to those hermits who have not found a place in the ranks of the masses, but who all the same "really struggle for the workers' cause." Barbusse and General Schoenaich will again be mobilised to save Europe from Hitler.

We have here a ready-made theatre programme of one of those charlatanesque exhibitions with which the Stalinists are in the habit of masking their impotence. What did the Amsterdam bloc of centrists

and pacifists accomplish in the struggle against the aggression of Japanese bandits in China? Nothing. In respect for Stalinist "neutrality" the pacifists did not even issue a manifesto of protest. Now a new edition of the Amsterdam Congress is being prepared, not against war but against Fascism. What will the anti-Fascist bloc of absent "factory organisations" and of the impotent "isolated ones" do? Nothing. It will issue an empty manifesto, if even this time things go so far as a congress. The tendency of the isolated has two aspects: opportunist and adventurist. In the old days the Russian social-revolutionaries extended the right hand to the liberals and in the left hand held a bomb. The experience of the past ten years shows that after every great tragic defeat provoked or at least aggravated by the policy of the C.I., the Stalinist bureaucracy implacably attempts again to get itself a reputation by some grandiose adventure or other (Estonia, Bulgaria, Canton). Does not this danger exist also at the present time? In any case we consider it necessary to give the alarm call. To try to cover the paralysed action of the masses by adventures disorganises still more the masses and augments the catastrophe.

Conditions of the present world situation, as well as conditions of each country in particular, are as grave for the social-democracy as they are favourable for the revolutionary party. But the Stalinist bureaucracy has succeeded in transforming the crisis of capitalism and of reformism into a crisis of communism. Such is the balance sheet over the period of ten years of the uncontrolled rule of the epigones.

There will be hypocrites who will say: The Opposition criticises the Party which has fallen into the hands of the hangman. The riff-raff will add: The Opposition helps the hangman. In combining false sentimentalism and poisoned falsehood the Stalinists will try to hide the Central Committee behind the apparatus, the apparatus behind the Party; they will try to eliminate the question of responsibility for the catastrophe, for the false strategy, the disastrous result, the criminal leadership: that is what signifies helping the hangmen of yesterday and of to-day.

"THE UNITED FRONT OF PANIC AND CAPITULATION."

The policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy in China was no less disastrous than at present in Germany. But there the affair took place behind the backs of the world proletariat, under circumstances incomprehensible to it. The critical voice of the Opposition from the U.S.S.R. hardly reached the ears of the workers of other countries. The experiment of China has remained for the Stalinist apparatus almost unpunished. In Germany it is quite otherwise. Every stage of the drama developed before the eyes of the world proletariat. At each step the Opposition raised its voice. The whole march of developments was announced in advance. The Stalinist bureaucracy slandered the Opposition, attributed to it ideas and plans foreign to it, excluded all those who dared speak of the united front, helped the social-democratic bureaucracy break down the unified local committees of defence, obstructed the least possibility of the workers' coming out on the road of the mass struggle, disorganised the vanguard, paralysed the proletariat. Thus, opposing themselves to the united front with the social-democracy, the Stalinists found themselves with the latter in the united front of panic and of capitulation.

And now, finding itself already facing

ruins, the leadership of the C.I. fears more than anything else light and criticism. The world revolution may be lost provided vain prestige lives. The bankrupts sow confusion and confound the traces. The fact that the German C.P. lost at the first blow "only" 1,200,000 votes in the face of a general increase of 3 to 4 millions in the number of electors is proclaimed by *Pravda* as a great "political victory." Likewise, in 1924, Stalin proclaimed as a "great victory" the fact that the workers in Germany who retired without fighting should still come forward to give to the C.P. 3,600,000 votes. If the proletariat, deceived and disarmed by the two apparatuses, this time gave to the C.P. nearly 5,000,000 votes, that only means that it would have given the party twice or three times as many had it had confidence in its leadership. It would have raised it to power if the Party leadership had been able to demonstrate that it was capable of taking and of keeping power. But it gave nothing to the proletariat but confusion, zig-zag, defeat and distress.

STALINISM'S "FOURTH OF AUGUST."

Yes, five million Communists again succeeded one by one in approaching the ballot-box. But in the factory organisations and in the streets there are none. They are disconcerted, dispersed, demoralised. Under the yoke of the apparatus they have lost the habit of independence. The bureaucratic terror of Stalinism has paralysed their will even before the coming of the terror of the Fascist bandits.

It must be said clearly, frankly, openly: Stalinism in Germany has had its Fourth of August. Henceforth, the advanced workers of that country will speak of the period of domination by the Stalinist bureaucracy only with a bitter feeling of shame, only with words of hatred and curses. The official German Communist Party is condemned. From now on it can only decompose, crumble to dust and disappear. No artificial means will save it. German Communism is able to be reborn only on a new basis and under a new leadership.

The law of unequal development applies also to the existence of Stalinism. In different countries it shows different stages of decomposition. To what extent the tragic experience of Germany will serve as an impulsion for the renaissance of other sections of the C.I., the future will show. In Germany the funeral chant of the Stalinist bureaucracy is in any case finished. The German proletariat will rise again—Stalinism, never. Under the terrible blows of the enemy, the advance workers of Germany will have to build a new party. The Bolshevik-Leninists will devote all their forces to that work.

L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, 14th March, 1933.

WHY THE RED FLAG APPEARS.

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the hesitations, the lack of assurance of the Communist leaders, who, lacking confidence in themselves, also lack confidence in their readers. They believe that the workers can only be won to Communism with their eyes blindfolded. That is why their papers indulge in such unparadisable exaggeration, and issue policies in the form of orders.

The workers do not ask for orders, but for political guidance. To help the workers we must say what is what. Not to distort, nor to select, nor to gloss over, nor to sweeten, but to honestly say what is what. Falsehood serves false authority but does not educate the masses. We shall endeavour to present the true facts to the workers, for only in this way can we win them to the revolutionary cause. We shall speak openly to destroy the influence of reformism in the working-class movement and of the bureaucrats in the Communist International. Around our paper we shall group the best and the most loyal revolutionary workers. In this way we seek to serve the interests of the working-class to re-unite the true Communists of all countries.

ON THE ANTI-FASCIST FRONT.

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when the greater part of the edition was seized at the gates of Berlin.

"One of the most important causes of the failure was the bad work in the factory organisations and the trade unions. Here, too, there was much talk, false reports were issued on the force and combativity in the factory organisations. The red trade unions had no direction whatever. In not a single factory organisation was there even an attempt at resistance. It would be necessary to write a whole book to show all these things. But there is one thing which to-day is perfectly clear.

"The responsible ones are the Thaelmanns and their confederates and their Stalinist inspirers. The fascists would never have been able to make such a coup if we had only shown the least resistance. From the attitude of the N.S.D.A.P. in the First days it was clear that it was surprised by the capitulation without combat of the working class. The German C.C. and the leadership of the Comintern was not in a position to organise the fight against Hitlerian fascism. The only activity of the past months consisted in carrying on the fight against those who thought that these latter were a scourge. They have given up a well-organised working class to an enemy who in brutality far surpasses Mussolini.

"This we must say to the international proletariat. Very rarely has the Left Opposition had the occasion to fulfill its historic task as is the case at present.

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