

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Writings of

LEON TROTSKY

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THE MILITANT

1928

- Nov. 15 Draft Program of the Communist International - I  
(Submitted to the 6th World Congress of the C.I.)
- Dec. 1 Draft Program of the C.I. - II
- Dec. 15 Draft Program of the C.I. - III
- The July Plenum and the Right Danger  
(Alma Ata, July 23, 1928)

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- Jan. 1 Draft Program of the C.I. - IV
- Jan. 15 Draft Program of the C.I. - V
- Feb. 11 On the Situation in Russia -- Letter to a Comrade  
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- March 1 On the Legend of "Trotskyism"  
Draft Program of the C.I. - VI
- March 15 Some Remarks on the Sixth Congress  
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Draft Program of the C.I. - VII
- April 1 "Trotsky's Reply to Stalin" -- Letter  
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Draft Program of C.I. - VIII
- April 15 Four Days with Trotsky --  
Interview by Maurice Paz, Paris  
Draft Program of C.I. - IX
- May 1-15 Letter to the Russian Workers  
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Draft Program of C.I. - X
- June 1 Tasks of the American Opposition  
(Constantinople)  
Draft Program of the C.I. - XI
- July 1 A Letter on the Capitulators.  
(Constantinople, May 23, 1929)  
Draft Program of the C.I. - XII
- Aug. 1 Karl Radek and the Opposition  
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The Theses of Comrade Radek  
(Alma Ata, July 17, 1928)  
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- Aug. 15 Who Is Leading the Comintern Today? - I  
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A Letter to Boris Souvarine  
(Constantinople, April 25, 1929)
- Sept. 15 The Sino-Russian Conflict and the Opposition  
(Constantinople, Aug. 4, 1929)  
Who Is Leading the Comintern Today? - II
- Oct. 1 Once Again: On Brandler and Thalheimer  
(Constantinople, June 12, 1929)  
Who Is Leading the Comintern Today? - III
- Oct. 15 Who Is Leading the Comintern Today? - IV
- Nov. 1 Who Is Leading the Comintern Today? - V  
What Is Happening in China?  
(Prinkipo, Nov. 10, 1929)
- Nov. 30 On the 12th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution  
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(Constantinople, Oct. 19, 1929)  
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- Dec. 7 Disarmament and the United States of Europe  
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- Dec. 14 Communism and Syndicalism  
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- Dec. 21 The Defense of the Soviet Union  
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- Dec. 28 What Now? The Bolshevik Opposition  
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- Jan. 4 What Now? The Bolshevik Opposition  
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The Austrian Crisis and Communism - I  
  
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- Jan. 11 The Austrian Crisis and Communism - II (final)  
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- Jan. 18 The Defense of the Soviet Union  
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- Jan. 25 The Third Period of the Comintern's Mistakes - I  
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- Feb. 1 Reply to Chinese Opposition Group  
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The Third Period of the Comintern's Mistakes - II  
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- Feb. 8 The Third Period of the Comintern's Mistakes - III  
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- Feb. 15 The Fundamental Principle Errors of Syndicalism --  
To Serve in the discussion with Monatte and the  
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- Feb. 22 The Third Period of the Comintern's  
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- March 1 Trotsky on Stalin and Blumkin --- Letter  
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- What Is the Permanent Revolution?  
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- "La Verite and the Militant" (Excerpt from  
"A New Step Forward")  
(Constantinople, Jan. 22, 1930)
- Opposition Serves the Bolshevik Revolution -- Letter  
(Prinkipo, Jan. 5, 1930)
- March 8 My Part in October (From "The Real Situation  
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- March 15 The New Course in the Economy of the Soviet Union
- March 22 Letter to the Italian Left Opposition -- To the  
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(Constantinople, Sept. 25, 1929)
- With Lenin Against Stalin (From  
"The Revolution Disfigured")
- March 29 Open Letter to All Members of the Leninbund  
(Constantinople, Feb. 6, 1930)
- April 5 The Period of Right Centrist Down-Sliding  
in the C.I. (From "Criticism of the Draft  
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- April 12 The 5-Year Plan and World Unemployment  
(Prinkipo, March 14, 1930)
- Trotsky on Foster and Lovestone --- Letter  
(Constantinople, April, 1929)
- April 19 The Lessons of Capitulations (Alfa)
- The Ultra-Left Policy on Right Dregs  
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- April 26 Pure and Transparent as a Crystal -- On Stalin's  
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- May 10 Internationalism and the Theory of "Exceptionalism"  
- I (Preface to "Permanent Revolution")

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- May 17 Internationalism and the Theory of "Exceptionalism"  
- II (Preface to "Permanent Revolution")
- May 24 Open Letter to the Members of the C.P.S.U. - I  
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- June 7 Open Letter to the Members of the C.P.S.U. - II  
The Suicide of V. Mayakovsky
- June 14 The Slogan of the National Assembly in China  
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(Prinkipo, April 22, 1930)  
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- June 21 A Squeak in the Apparatus - I  
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- June 28 A Squeak in the Apparatus - II (final)
- July 12 The Revolution in India -- Its Tasks and Its  
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(May 3, 1930)
- July 26 Why Doesn't Lovestone Answer Trotsky? -- Letter  
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Concerning the "Defenders" of the October  
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Notes of a Journalist -- Concerning Zinoviev,  
Manuilsky and Radovoy (Alfa)
- Aug. 15 Notes of a Journalist -- Who Is Responsible for  
the "Turns"? (Alfa)
- Sept. 15 Stalin as a Theoretician - I  
Notes of a Journalist -- On the 16th Party  
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- Oct. 1 What Is Social Fascism? (Alfa)  
Stalin as a Theoretician - II

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- Nov. 15**     **Stalin as a Theoretician - III**  
                 **Molotov's Prosperity in Knowledge**
- Dec. 1**      **Stalin as a Theoretician - IV**



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- Jan. 1 What Is to Be Learned from the Moscow Trials  
The Bloc of the Left and the Right
- Jan. 15 Thermidorianism and Bonapartism  
Introduction to "The Russian Bolshevik-Leninists  
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(October 22, 1930)  
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- Feb. 1 Notes of a Journalist (Alfa)  
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(Prinkipo, Sept. 17, 1930)
- Feb. 15 At the Fresh Grave of Kote Zinzadze  
(Jan. 7, 1931)
- March 15 The Successes of Socialism and the Dangers  
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- April 1 The Successes of Socialism - II
- April 15 The Successes of Socialism - III (final)  
The Trial of the Russian Mensheviks  
Notes of a Journalist (Alfa)
- May 1 The Case of Riazanov  
(Prinkipo, March 8, 1931)
- May 15 The Question of Trade Union Unity
- June 1 Ten Commandments of the Spanish Communist  
(Kadikoy, April 5, 1931)
- June 15 The Strangled Revolution -- On Andre Malraux's  
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- July 4 An Appeal for Communist Unity in Spain  
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- July 11 Thaelmen and the "People's Revolution"  
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- July 18 The Spanish Revolution on the Order of the Day  
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- July 25 Result of the Spanish Elections ...  
(Kadikoy, July 1, 1931)
- Problems of the Spanish Revolution  
(Kadikoy, June 24, 1931)
- Aug. 1 Nine-tenths of Our Activities for the  
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(Kadikoy, July 8, 1931)
- The Catalanian Federation's Platform  
(June 12, 1931)
- Notes of a Journalist (Alfa)
- Aug. 8 A Slander  
(Kadikoy, July 8, 1931)
- Fragments of Truth from Under the Garbage  
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- Aug. 15 A New Zig-Zag and the New Dangers - I  
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- Trotsky Greet's the Weekly Militant  
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- Aug. 22 Letter to Pravda  
(Kadikoy, July 15, 1931)
- A New Zig-Zag and the New Dangers - II (final)  
(Kadikoy, July 15, 1931)
- Sept. 5 Maurin and the Anarcho-Syndicalists  
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- Sept. 19 Maurin and the Catalanian Question  
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- Against National Communism! - I

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- Sept. 26 A Letter About the Spanish Revolution  
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- Oct. 10 Against National Communism - III (final)
- Oct. 17 The Question of Workers Control of Production - I
- Oct. 24 The Question of Workers Control of Production - II  
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- Oct. 31 Greetings to "El Soviet"  
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- Nov. 14 On Opposition and the Party in Spain  
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- Nov. 21 Russian-German Trade Relations  
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- Nov. 28 The Permanent Revolution and the  
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Reply to Weisbord  
(Kadikoy, Oct. 10, 1931)
- Dec. 5 The British Election and the Communists  
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- Dec. 12 Tasks of the Left Opposition in England and India  
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- Dec. 19 The Catalonian Separatists, Soviets and  
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- Dec. 26 Stalin and the Chinese Revolution --  
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- Jan. 2 Stalin and the Chinese Revolution - II (final)
- Jan. 9 The Impending Danger of Fascism in Germany  
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- Jan. 16 What Is Fascism? --- Extracts from a Letter  
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(Kadikoy, Nov. 15, 1931)
- Jan. 30 The Left Opposition and the Brandlerites
- Feb. 6 The "Uprising" of November 7, 1927  
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- Feb. 13 From Trotsky's Letter to the National Sections
- March 12 The World Situation (N. Y. Times Interview)
- March 19 The World Crisis and Its Revolutionary Implications  
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- March 26 What Next? - I (Introduction)  
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- April 2 Open Letter to C.E.C. of the USSR - I  
  
What Next? - II (The Role of German  
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- April 9 Open Letter to C.E.C. - II (final)  
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- April 16 What Next? - IV (Democracy and Fascism)
- April 23 What Next? - V (Bureaucratic Ultimatism)
- April 30 What Next? - VI (Bureaucratic Ultimatism)
- May 7 What Next? - VII (Stalinist Zig-Zags on the  
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- May 14 What Next? - VIII (Stalinist Zig-Zags on the  
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- May 21 What Next? - IX (Stalinist Zig-Zags on the  
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- May 28 What Next? - X (Centrism in General and the  
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- June 4 What Next? - XI (Centrism in General and the  
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- On the Disarmament Conference (Chicago  
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- June 11 Greetings to "Unser Kampf"  
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- On the Labor Party Question  
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- What Next? - XII (Strike Strategy)
- June 18 German Paper Interviews Trotsky  
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- What Next? - XIII (Strike Strategy)
- June 25 A Political Biography of Stalin - I
- July 2 Closer to the Proletarians of the "Colored" Races!  
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- A Political Biography of Stalin - II
- July 9 Stalinism in Straits: Opposition on Upsurge  
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- July 16 I See War With Germany
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- July 30 The Foundations of Socialism
- Aug. 6 Hands Off Rosa Luxemburg - I
- Aug. 13 Hands Off Rosa Luxemburg - II (final)  
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- Aug. 20 A Letter to the Workers of Zurich  
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- The Only Road: Bonapartism and Fascism  
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- Aug. 27 Let Us Reinforce Our Offensive!  
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- Sept. 3 The Political Programs of the Petty Bourgeoisie  
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- Sept. 10 Letter to the Weisbord Group  
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- Alliance or Struggle Between Social  
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- Sept. 17 The Only Road: The Checking of the Stalin-  
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- Four Portraits of Chiang Kai-shek  
(April 18, 1927)
- Sept. 24 The Only Road: Thaelmann's 21 Mistakes  
(Prinkipo, Aug. 17, 1932)
- Oct. 15 The Peasant War in China - I
- The Only Road: The Road to Socialism  
(Prinkipo, Sept. 10, 1932)
- Oct. 22 The Peasant War in China - II (final)  
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- The Only Road: What They Say in Prague  
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- Oct. 29 The Only Road: What They Say in Prague  
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- Nov. 5 September Plenum of the C.I.  
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- Letter to Olminsky  
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- Nov. 12      Expulsion of Zinoviev - I  
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- Hail the Anniversary of the Russian  
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                            (Prinkipo, Oct. 13, 1932)
- The Soviet Economy in Danger - I  
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- The Only Road  
                            (Prinkipo, Sept. 12, 1932)
- Nov. 19      Expulsion of Zinoviev - II  
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- The Soviet Economy in Danger - II
- Nov. 26      Greetings to the Militant  
                    (Prinkipo, Nov. 1, 1932)
- Expulsion of Zinoviev - III (final)  
                            (Prinkipo, Oct. 1932)
- Dec. 3        Radio Speech to America from Copenhagen
- The Soviet Economy in Danger - III
- Dec. 17      Bonapartism in Germany  
                    (Prinkipo, Oct. 30, 1932)
- The Soviet Economy in Danger - IV
- Dec. 31      Perspectives of Marxism-- Letter to V. F. Calverton  
                    (Prinkipo, Nov. 4, 1932)
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                            (Prinkipo, Oct. 13, 1932)
- Excerpt of Letter to National Committee,  
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                            (Prinkipo, Oct. 22, 1932)
- The Soviet Economy in Danger - V

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- Jan. 7 Open Letter to Vandervelde  
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- The Soviet Economy in Danger - VI (final)  
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- Jan. 21 Leon Trotsky Defends the October Revolution --  
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- Jan. 28 A Note on Max Eastman -- Letter to Editorial  
Board of the Militant
- Feb. 4 The Danger of Thermidor  
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- Feb. 11 My Daughter's Suicide  
(Prinkipo, Jan. 11, 1933)  
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- Feb. 20 How Can Fascism Be Smashed in Germany?  
(Dec. 8, 1931)
- Feb. 24 Analysis of German Situation  
(Prinkipo, Feb. 5, 1933)
- March 3 The Soviet Economy in Danger -- Letter to  
"Socialistische Arbeiterzeitung"  
(Prinkipo, Jan. 26, 1933)
- March 18 Alarm Signal! Danger Draws Closer in USSR - I
- March 25 Alarm Signal! Danger Draws Closer  
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- April 1 For United Defense Against Hitlerism -- A Talk  
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- April 8 The Tragedy of the German Proletariat  
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- Hitler and the Red Army  
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- April 15 Austrian Bonapartism: Austria Next in Order! - I
- For United Defense Against Hitlerism -- II (final)  
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- Interview with B. J. Field: Answer to Louis Fischer



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- April 29 Austrian Bonapartism: Austria Next in Order! - II  
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- On Hitler's Victory  
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- May 6 Collapse of German Communist Party  
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- May 13 Collapse of German Communist Party  
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(Prinkipo, April 9, 1933)
- May 27 Problems of the Soviet Regime: The Degeneration  
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- June 3 Lessons of May Day in Austria  
(Prinkipo, May 7, 1933)
- Problems of the Soviet Regime -- II (final)
- Trotsky to the Austrian Social Democratic  
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- June 10 Apropos the Foreign Policy of the Stalinists  
(Prinkipo, May 12, 1933)
- What's Happened to Rakovsky?  
(Prinkipo, May 25, 1933)
- On Zinoviev and Kamenev  
(Prinkipo, May 23, 1933)
- June 17 Trotsky Proposes U.S. Soviet Trade -- World  
Telegram Interview
- The Platform of the Brandler Group -- A Few  
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- New Falsifications of the Stalinists (Alfa)
- July 8 On the Fourth of August  
(Prinkipo, June 4, 1933)
- C.I. Impotence Veils Itself with  
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- July 15 After the German Catastrophe  
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- Historical Objectiveness  
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- July 22 Greetings to "Red Flag," British L.O. Organ  
(Prinkipo, May 19, 1933)
- The Party in the Field of Art and Philosophy  
(Prinkipo, June 16, 1933)
- July 29 G. Zinoviev on the Party Regime  
(Prinkipo, July 6, 1933)
- Aug. 5 The Left Socialists and Our Tasks (G. Gourov)
- Aug. 12 Perspectives of the Upturn  
(Prinkipo, Aug. 18, 1933)
- Aug. 26 Fascism and Democratic Slogans  
(Prinkipo, July 14, 1933)
- Fontamara: Book Review  
(S.S. Bulgaria, July 20, 1933)
- Sept. 2 Hitler's Disarmament and Prospects of War  
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- Sept. 9 Hitler's Disarmament and Prospects of War  
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- Sept. 16 Even Slander Needs Meaning: (G. Gourov)
- Sept. 23 Left Socialist Conference: Nucleus for a  
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- Whither the I.L.P. of Britain?  
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- Sept. 30 More on the Paris Conference (G. Gourov)  
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- Oct. 7 About the United Front with Grezinsky  
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- Oct. 14 It Is Necessary to Build Anew Communist Parties  
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- Oct. 21 Impossible to Remain in Same International  
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- Trotsky Writes to the British "New Leader"  
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- Nov. 4 Leon Trotsky on the Saar Question
- Nov. 25 Maria Reese and the Comintern  
(Nov. 10, 1933)
- Dec. 9 Our Present Tasks  
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- Dec. 16 Postscript to the "Portrait of National Socialism"  
(Nov. 2, 1933)
- Dec. 30 Hitler the Pacifist  
(Nov. 23, 1933)

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- Jan. 6 The Soviet Union and the Fourth International:  
The Class Nature of the Soviet State - I  
Correction to Nov. 23, 1933 Article --  
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- Jan. 20 The Soviet Union and the Fourth International - II  
Notes of a Journalist (Alfa)
- Jan. 27 For the Fourth International -- Letter to a  
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Notes of a Journalist (Alfa)
- Jan. 29 Towards the Catastrophe
- Feb. 10 A Real Achievement -- "Unser Wort"  
(Jan. 24, 1934)  
On the Eve of the Congress -- Bolshevik  
Congresses Once and Now  
(Jan. 20, 1934)
- Feb. 17 Austria Next in Order!
- March 10 Statement on Rakovsky  
Are There No Limits to the Fall? (Summary of  
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(Jan. 18, 1934)
- March 17 Centrism and the Fourth International  
(Feb. 23, 1934)
- April 14 A Centrist Attack on Marxism  
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- April 21 Once More on Centrism  
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- April 28 What Is the Meaning of Rakovsky's Surrender?  
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- Jan. 19 Trotsky Answers Indictment (The Kirov Assassination)  
(Dec. 30, 1934)
- Feb. 9 Late Episodes in The Kirov Assassination  
(Jan. 12, 1935)
- March 30 Soviet Democracy  
(Feb. 10, 1935)
- May 4 Bolshevik-Leninists in USSR Face New Frame-Up  
(March 31, 1935)
- June 15 How Stalinists Ruin Morale of Red Army (Alfa)
- June 29 To the Students of Edinburgh University  
(June 7, 1935)
- Sept. 7 "Labels" and "Numbers" -- Pivert and Expelled Youth
- Sept. 28 The Internationalists Need Our Help!  
(Sept. 7, 1935)
- Oct. 5 A Case for a Labor Jury (Against All  
Types of Gangsterism in the Working  
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(Aug. 28, 1935)
- Oct. 12 How History Is Written (Alfa)
- Nov. 2 Increasing Oppression, The Path of Bureaucracy  
(Sept. 6, 1935)
- The Art of Insurrection
- Nov. 30 Lessons of October  
(Nov. 4, 1935)
- Not Hollow Presching But Clear Cut Slogans --  
Preface to Fred Zeller Pamphlet  
(Nov. 7, 1935)
- Dec. 14 Committees of Action, Not People's Front  
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- Jan. 4      Sectarianism, Centrism and the Fourth International  
            (Oct. 22, 1935)
- Feb. 1      Tell the Truth About Stalin  
            (Jan. 15, 1936)
- Feb. 15     Trotsky Cables Denial to AP on Daily Worker Lies  
            (Jan. 28, 1936)
- 20,000 Oppositionists Expelled from the CP of the  
            S.U. in Recent "Cleansing"  
            (Jan. 11, 1936)
- The Treachery of the Spanish "Labor Party of  
            Marxist Unity"  
            (Jan. 22, 1936)
- Feb. 22     Stalin Frame-Up Mill at Work  
            (Jan. 30, 1936)
- March 21    The Great Marxist Teachers on the Commune  
            (Novy Mir, March 17, 1917)
- April 4     On the Stalin-Howard Interview  
            (March 18, 1936)
- April 11    Jingle of Lies to Please the "Master" (Alfa)
- April 25    France at the Crossroads - I (From Section 3  
            of "Whither France")
- May 2      France at the Crossroads - II (From Section 3  
            of "Whither France")
- Tasks of the Fourth International in Spain
- On the Soviet Section of the Fourth International
- May 9      New Constitution of the USSR  
            (April 16, 1936)
- France at Crossroads - IV (final)  
            (March 26, 1936)
- May 16     In Columns of Pravda (Alfa)
- Aid the Russian Bolshevik Exiles  
            (March 25, 1936)
- June 6     Class Nature of Soviet State -- Letter  
            (Jan. 1, 1936)

**NOTE:**

From June 6, 1936 to August 14, 1937 the party press was published in San Francisco in the form of LABOR ACTION and in Chicago in the form of SOCIALIST APPEAL, both within the Socialist Party. There are no bound volumes of these papers.

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- Aug. 21 The Questions of Wendelin Thomas  
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- Aug. 28 The Trial of The Danzig Trotskyists  
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- Sept. 18 London Bureau Aids Stalin Frame-Ups  
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- Sept. 25 Stalinism and Bolshevism - I
- Oct. 2 Stalinism and Bolshevism - II (final  
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- Oct. 9 Trotsky Sees Japanese Blow Up --  
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- Statement on Reiss and G.P.U.
- Oct. 16 The Beginning of the End  
  
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- Oct. 23 Letter to Carlo Tresca  
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- Oct. 30 Swiss Police Arrest Assassins ..  
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- Nov. 6 A Tragic Lesson -- Reiss  
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- Nov. 20 High Time to Launch a World  
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- Nov. 27 Coming Trials to Reveal Secret Plans of G.P.U.  
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- Dec. 11 Moscow-Amsterdam "Unity": A  
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(Coyoacan, Nov. 29, 1937)
- Letter to the Editor of "Modern Monthly"  
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- Dec. 18 Telegram to Dewey Commission
- Dec. 25 Answers to Questions of Journalists on  
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- Jan. 15 The Lesson of Spain: The Last Warning - II (final)  
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- Feb. 12 The Fifth Wheel  
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- Feb. 26 Leon Sedoff Dies in Paris  
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- March 5 Trotsky Nails Fresh Attack on His Asylum
- March 12 Trotsky Reviews the New Moscow Trial  
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- March 19 Trotsky on Hearst  
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- March 26 Trotsky Explains to Kirchwey  
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- Hitler's Austria Coup Aided by Moscow Trial  
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- April 2 Democracy, Pacifism and Imperialism -- First  
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- April 16 The Priests of Half Truth  
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- April 23 Stalin's Trial as a Terrorist Demanded  
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- May 14 Trotsky Challenges British Labor Party  
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- June 25 Mexico and British Imperialism  
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- July 2 No It Is Not the Same -- Trotsky on Lovestone  
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- July 30 Trotsky Fears Fate of Klement -- Letter  
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- On My Conspiracy  
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- Aug. 20 Trotsky Brands "Klement Letter" a G.P.U. Forgery  
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- Aug. 27 Soviet-Japanese War Inevitable  
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- Sept. 10 Damning Evidence in Sedoff Murder  
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- Oct. 1 New War Flows From Versailles Banditry  
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- Oct. 8 Trotsky Predicts Stalin Will Now Seek an  
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- Nov. 5 Trotsky Reiterates Mission of Fourth International  
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- Anti-Imperialist Struggle Is Key to Liberation,  
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- Nov. 19 Trotsky Defends Asylum in Slashing  
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- Dec. 24 The Decisive Hour in France  
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- Above All Else Stalin Fears Internal Revolt --  
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- Dec. 23 Trotsky Statement on Dies Backing Down  
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- Trotsky on Lenin's Program  
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- Dec. 30 Why I Consented to Appear Before the  
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- May 4 Petty Bourgeois Moralists and the  
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- May 11 Open Letter to the Workers of the USSR
- June 15 Trotsky Letter Exposes Stalin Role in  
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- Dialectics Catches up with Burnham and  
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- June 22 Trotsky Indicts Kremlin's Role in Europe's  
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- July 6 G.P.U. Tried to Cover Murder with Slander  
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- Trotsky Nails Talk of Almezan "Plot"  
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- Aug. 17 After Burnham -- Macdonald
- Aug. 24 "Farewell Trotsky" -- Head for Trotsky's Article  
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(\*Appears in January, February 1951  
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- Aug. 31 Trotsky's Last Word -- To the Workers of USSR  
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- Trotsky Foresaw His Assassin Would Use  
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- Jan. 25 Lenin on the Platform -- Article from "On Lenin: Materials for a Biographer" (State Publishing House, Moscow, 1924)  
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- April 19 Quote on "Stalin-Japan and Stalin-Hitler Pact"  
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- May 10 On the Future of Hitler's Armies  
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\*Incorrect title; should be: "Does the Soviet Government  
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