IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

German Opposition Forges Ahead

Growing Sentiment for a United Struggle against Fascism

ter a long period of marking time. Skep- ing class. tical over the ability of their leaders to

the situation at the rpesent perlious fidence in the present leadership of the the slightest activity on the part of the hour, expresed in the program of the C. P. G. And it is precisely the policy class enemy, they fall into the greatest Nazis to transform Germany into a of the present leadership of the Com- panic. bloody dictatorship and felt by the work- munist party that forces them to have ers of the gas works and by the work- a party of their own, to nourish their ing class as a whole. The workers' illusions with the policy of certain leadtheir power to establish a united front party since the one that exists cannot in a united front. of all the workers. The workers' coun-change its policy. What does the C. P. cil will undertake all the necessary G. leadership tell these workers? With steps, to create and assure the united your organization we cannot have a front of all the workers.

The functionaries of the Berlin Shoe. Workers Union have adopted a resolu- destroy your organization and enter the tion: all proletarian parties are to enter Q. P. G.! Only in this way will the real into a united front, committees of actoin are to be formed, etc.

The S. A. P. workers are obliging their leaders to take the path toward a united front. They demand a united front with January 5, we can glean that pressure directly to the S. P. C. have not come for a united front has also been brought by the party organizations in Wurtenburg, Silesia, Saxony, etc. These phenomena show, that despite all obstacles, despite all difficulties, the working class itself is beginning to realize the united

What is the party leadership doing? Instead of supporting the first real steps towards the creation of a united front coming from the factories, instead of leading them into revolutionary channels, it casts suspicion upon the workers in the factories with such accusations as the following: The S. P. G. factory councilmen only want a united front in order to harness the working class for the policy of betrayal promulgated by Wels. For that reason, the C. P. G. cannot participate in the united front and that is why only the "red united day leadership of the party is doing. front" remains. The party leadership Because the Left Opposition condemns

place in the labor movement today. In S. P. G., but with the S. A. P. (the new is bound to culminate in a bloody dethe factories, in the trade unions, in the centrist Socialist Labor Party) as well. feat of the German proletariat with all non-party proletarian organizations, a Every worker is expected to accept the the necesary sharpness, the party funcpowerful impulsion toward a united leadership of the C. P. G. in advance as tionaries, in their press, daily pour their front is furrowing a path for itself af- the one chosen ledgership of the work- pails of refuse and slander out against

> united front since your leaders are only "Left wing social Fascists" You must united front of a proletariat, i. e., the 'red united front" be realized.

The present party leadership, which alone bears the responsibility for the fact that these workers who have torn themdirectly to the Communist party, which

This is the opinion of millions of German workers regardless of their party affiliations. Not to take cognizance of

Very encouraging processes are taking rejects common action, not only with the! this policy of the party leadership which them. The Rote Fahne of January 8th By tearing themselves loose from the writes that comrade Trotsky has landed establish the united front of their class, S. P. G., by realizing that only through on the position of Noske and Grzezinthe workers in the factories are begin- the dictatorship of the proletariat will sky. The editors of the Rote Fahne, for the more strongly the desire for a uni- the people and above all, the voice of ning to set up a united front from below they achieve socialism, the workers whom their jobs are more important ted front makes its appearance in the the proletariat, when this voice has be subjected to a special law, to shut force a united front upon their leaders. have brought an expression for the fact than anything else and for whom the The decision of the Berlin Gas Work- that they have entered the terrain of revolution is merely a phrase, are great ers is of great significance in this re- revolutionary class struggle. By the heroes when it comes to fighting with spect. The factory councilmen of these creation of the S. A. P. they have an- despicable methods against the Left Op- They will inevitably come into contra- This language is used to justify the reworks are recognizing the seriousness of nounced in adance that they have no con-

It is not intransigeance in principle

ary 5th must occupy itself with the the only guarantee for victory in the "Trotskyites", with the "vanguard of the counter revolutionary bourgeoisie", decisive struggle for the Communist proves how deeply the ideas of the Left party. Opposition are penetrating into the party. In the party, a process is tak-

fect of negating the policy of the leadership. It has become a fact that even the followers of the R. G. O. (the red trade union Opposition), are not prepared to continue along the lines of the party leadership. The partial strikes, carried out on command, lead to great sacrifices for the Communists in the factories, without in any way strengthenon the contrary, causing its further en-

It is the task of the Left Opposition against the people. to follow up this process in the party

-PERMANENTE REVOLUTION.

ing place on the basis of the sentiments in the factories, which will have the ef-Working Class Movement in Spain

The government of the republic con- declaration of Azana, when he took over tic and imaginary dangers which, accord- stupid and reactionary phrase, "the reing the influence of the party therein and ing to it, endanger the republic, and public will make itself respected, and if which each time are increasingly immi- not, then feared"; if we take into acfeeblement. The Rote Fahne of January nent. Those responsible for these dan- count the mildness and considerateness 5th reports that in Wurttemberg, Silesia. gers are those who carry on acts char- with which the government has pro-Saxony, Berlin, the Ruhr, etc., there acterized by violence against public ceded against the reactionary religious exist opportunist deviations. These are peace and order. This naturaly is the phenomena which were hardly possible language used by those who under the several months ago. It is undoubted; government have shut off the voice of ing carried out today. ranks, the harder it will become for the asked for the fulfillment of the promises the mouths of the working classes who Communists in the factories to carry which the same government made beout the policies of the party leadership. fore proclaiming the republican regime. pressive actions of the state power

The republican government of Spain proletariat, to crush the rebelliousness with the greatest attentiveness. It is leans ever further toward an essentially of the working masses who were clamornecessary to cause those party comrades reactionary policy; social-democracy, ing for bread and justice. The law for that cause them to reject a united front who are already beginning to understand collaboration with the present govern- the defense of the republic was approved with S. P. G. and S. A. P., but political that the policy of Thaelmann and Rem- ment' constitute the false mask of of- against the wishes of the people and in council has issued an appeal to the lead- ers of their party, namely, that it is helplessness and the simple fear of be- mele is leading the party to a precipice, ficial democracy, in reality a hypocriticers of all parties, to do everything in necessary to create a new Communist ing overpowered by the opposing parties to take further steps on the path of the al reaction. The constitution with which Guard has been charged with making reconstruction of the party, to organize the Constituent Assembly has endowed The fact that the Rote Fahne of Janu- them into a firm faction. Therein lies the "defense of the republic", was already a reactionary and retrogressive first of their demands the "dissolution of constitution, outmoded and anti-democratic at bottom, even from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie. If we add to this constitution and to this law for the defense of the republic the shameless

stantly threatens the people with fantas- the presidency of the government, that orders, there will be nothing to surprise us in the repressive policy which is be-It is said that the religious orders will

demand the immediate expulsion of the Jesuits, the friars and the monks from the country, but this law has not yet been passed; another law was passed and approved, to shut the mouths of the order to crush the people. The Civil "respected" the law passed and promulgated by those who placed among the the disastrous Civil Guard" when they were conspirators".

The recent and present struggles of the workers are openly and frankly struggles for the dissolution of the Civil Guard. Here is where the government has exposed its truly reactionary and repressive character, defending the murders perpetrated by the Civil Guard, protecting and defending what its members had characterized as a "fatal body".

The very laws of the republic, these same reactionary laws, are violated and individual liberty is a ridiculous lie. Today men are thrown into jail without taking the least account of this liberty, and the government behaves in social and political conflicts as in the best per-

"The Law for the Defense of the Republic"

Walcher-Froelich faction (and also a lic was aimed exclusively at the worknumber of supporters of Brandler and ing-class revolutionary movement. The Thalheimer, as their organ reports) social democracy, which sees in the have added to the list by joining the working class revolutionists its most dirsocial democracy of the more despicable ect enemy, has taken the most direct and cowardly and treacherous type, and persistent part in the framing of this law.

> The working-class movements, past and present, against this brutal repression have had the defect of being purely spontaneous and lacking in leadership. We have seen workers defend themselves -Communists, anarchists, syndicalists socialists and non-party men-forming a compact bloc, but the united front of the leadership has not been realized, because the leaders have not wanted it. There has not even been created a real political united front, no orientation has been given to these proletarian move-

The C. N. T. has not seen these events; its leaders were occupied with sterile internal discussions, and divided into two groups, the "pure" syndicalists and the anarchists, likewise "pure". This division has paralyzed the activity of the

The official Communist party has not seen them, as it has not seen the need for correct Bolshevik tactics. It has not known how to take advantage of this situation, which was developing favorably for our conquest of the masses. The Spanish Stalinists, the same who on the day of the proclamation of the republic launched the slogan, "Down with the bourgeois republic!", today, when the working class needs to be orientated and guided in its struggle with the Civil Guard and with reaction, cannot find the appropriate slogan, but launch a far different one, contradicting themselves, mutilating their own slogans, disorientating the masses who need the most absolute simplifications of the pro-

The Workers' Solution

The solution lies in the united front of the proletariat, but in a real and selfrespecting united front, not in the united front and the maneuver which the official party proposes.

The dangers which threaten the republic-the government itself protects and defend them, by betraying its own promise. We say "its promise", because we believe that the republican government has not betrayed the people, as anarchists and Stalinists preach, which would mean believing that the republicans could fulfill a promise, which they have not fulfilled when in reality the republican government arrived for the purpose of defending the interests of capitalism against the attack of the proletariat.

There is therefore nothing strange in the activities of the government. It is accomplishing its historical mission. This is how the working class must approach the problem, to give it a correct

solution. Madrid, Jan. 10, 1932

-HENRI LACROIX.

Changes in the Policy of French Imperialism

PARIS, FRANCE

that is to say, first of all, the shelving the negotiations with Bruening, who afof Briand, has a far greater significance firms that the German bourgeoisie will probably already been consummated. than l'Humanite assumes. Here is the not pay any more reparations, is not the opinion of the party paper: (1-16-32): "A change in policy? Not really! There is a prefound identity between the policy of Briand-Herriot, Briand-Poincare, Briand-Blum, Briand-Laval and the present day Tardieu-Laval policy. How can this policy vary from the other today? although they have attempted indeed to It is hardly to be expected that the crisis is going to caim down the ferocious intent of our imperialism. Quite the contrary."

The editors of l'Humanite are deceiving themselves completely. They do not charation of insolvency made by Brueneven take into account the fact that the ing on the eve of the Lausanne confer- ist Italy, whose economy is in a state second part of this paragraph literally ence. As to the actual result of the precisely the crisis which, by "making only increased pressure of the United mented favorably in the entire imperialour imperialism more ferocious", to em- States on the internal policy of the Eur- ist French press; it is necessary to estabploy his own impression, imposes certain changes in the political orientation of the bourgeoisie. One has to be blind not to understand that. In fact one has to be not only blind but as limited as the Stalinists in order not to understand that the economic development, that is to say in the last analysis, the international and national class relationships necessitate different reactions on the part of the bourgeoisie as a consequence of the situation with which the lat- l'Humanite wants its readers to believe. ter is faced. In this sense, it is false to say that the policy of Poincare, Briand or Tardieu bears the same traits.

If one wants to speak of a "profound identity" in their policies simply in the sense that they are all bourgeois politicians and the representatives of capitalism in the government, then that is merely an elementary truth, but if one wants to say-and that is just what l'Humanite does want to say-that all the reactions of the bourgeoisie in the course of the development of events are always the same, that is a profound mistake. The policy before the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 is not the same as that after the failure of that occupation. The policy after Locarno is not the same as that before Locarno, and now it is

ST. LOUIS OPEN FORUM "The Religious Fakers Confuse the Unemployed's

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possible to say that the policy after the The internal crisis of the government, Hoover moratorium, after the failure of same and cann be the same as the one pursued before that.

M. M. Laval, Tardieu and Co. understand that very well. The "triumphant" voyages of Laval to Berlin, London and Washington has not fooled them at all, throw sand in the eyes of the middle classes and workers. The actual results of the Berlin trip and of the establishment of the Franco-German commission (with the aid of Jouhaux) is the devoyage to Washington that has brought attempts grand gestures which are comopean governments, not to speak of the lish a "united front" of the European insults proffered by Borah to our chauv- creditors against the U. S. Thus we are inists. Under the veil of a very relatively, temporary, strong financial position the real weakness of French imperialism, which is doomed to lose part of the fruits of its pillage of 1918, are revaling themselves. And this turn in the situation is not to have serious repercussions in the ranks of the bourgeoisie itself? And yet that is just what

In the month of June, the Left Opposition showed how America was going to profit from the crisis by which the principal European countries have been seized, in order to reinforce its tutelage over them, in order to more quickly force Europe to content itself with its "ra-

Laval has attempted to break the strangle-hold, trying to take advantage of a particularly difficult financial conjuncture in the U.S. His little blackmail game at Washington did not meet with very great success. And now, Hoover turns to ravage Europe and declares: "The reparations are your affair. It was not we who signed the Versailles treaty. On the other hand, the payment of your debts to us is our affair. That must be carried out.

This attitude on the part of the U. S. of European imperialists. Germany feels America. Now less than ever will they herself encouraged by this attitude on succeed to revive them. the part of Hoover. England, coping League of America (Opposition) | with difficulties within its own empire,

consciously along the lines of a defeat. with the social democratic Centrists tion with increased emphasis and pointed And it is precisely this that the present grouped around Seydewitz. In other out that it would not occupy for long a words, they planned to eliminate even the last nominal pretense to Communism of the Brandler-Lovestone-Roy internaconfidential meetings with the Seyde-

> When the Right wing first took shape in the Communist International, the Bolshevik-Leninists constituting the Marxian section of Communism declared that the

the international Right wing faction.

wants France to grant concessions. France whose little clients and valets plained to us that they could not share (Poland, Czechoslavakia, Jugoslavia, Belgium) are agitated by unrest, raises her head and makes believe that she has see, were for winning the masses, for no one to depend on except herself, that going to the masses "as against" us is to say, upon her "rights", upon her cannon. Under these conditions, Fascwitnessing a transformation in a double sense: on the one hand, American pres sure accentuates the rivalries and the dissensions among the European imperialisms and on the other hand the self same pressure obliges them to attempt common efforts with regard to their mammoth rival. There is not the slightest doubt that the present phase will bring about an accentuation of the process of dissension. The capitalist "united front" is merely a utopia when it is a matter of going against the U. S. It can only be of reality when it turns against the Soviet Union. Against the international working class, against the Soviet Union, imperialism can realize the united front and is realizing it. But against America, that is to say against the capitalist competitor who monopolizes by himself almost half of the world market, no united front is possible. Every attempt at a "union" among the capitalist countries can but signify an attempt at hegemony by one of them over the others within European framework. Briand's "European Union" was an attempt of this sort to definitely settle upon the others the domination of France. In this sense it was an attempt to conclude the work of the Versailles treaty. The "Anschluss" was the .embryo of an attempt of the same order must of necessity bring dissension of the by Germany. But these attempts have most serious proportions into the camp crumbled pitifully under the pressure of

(To Be Continued)

On January 12. a number of the lead- Right was a bridge to the social dem- Czech republic. Shortly after its formais doing everything to hold them back ing founders and spokesmen of the Ger- ocracy. The Left Opposition made this tion, the Brandler group yielded such from that at present, believes that the man Brandler group were expelled by affirmation at a time when the Right wing leaders like Rosi Aschenbrenner, Xavier S. A. P. workers will immediately fol- the Brandler-Thalheimer majority for was in power, or at least shared the Buchs and many others to the ranks of low their call and destroy their own their policy towards the newly-formed power with Centrism, in the highest in the party of Wels, Noske and Scheidewing of the social democracy, the Social- stances of the Comintern and the Rus- mann. Not long afterward, Messrs. Really, the Communist party has never ist Labor party (S. A. P.) of Seydewitz sian party. We made this characteriza- Miller, Levitch & Co. quit the Lovestone pursued such a light-headed, irrespon- and Co. The expelled leaders include tion at the time when Bucharin was the group for the more fertile and "massy" sile and criminal policy in all of its such people as Walcher, Froelich, Koeh- principal theoretician of the Communist fields of the social democratic "progresler, Rose Wolfstein, Enderle, Karl Frank, International, when Roy was one of its sives" and worse, while the Lovestone If the "iron front" signifies befrayal Thomas and many others. The expulmain spokesmen, when it was planned group as a whole became positively iod of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivof the working class, then the policy of of the working class, then the policy of the "red united front" signifies sabotage the "red united front" signifies sabotage the control and circumstate and that the development of the leadership of the German party, "revolutionary, pro-Soviet" Militant facof a united struggle of the working class. the central and strongest section of when the Right wing ran the American, tion in the American Socialist party. The Walcher-Froelich group stood up- After the Sixth Congress, when the Right on the ground of virtually liquidating wing was expelled throughout the Interthis correct class instinct means to work the Brandler organization and merging national, we repeated our characterizaposition between Communism and the counter-revolutionary social democracy. which is still hung out on the signboard Our strictures aroused the hottest denials from the Brandlers and Lovestones. tional. The dissidents have already held More than that, they treated our assertions with scorn and contempt, for were witz leaders and their formal entry into they not being made by the "Trotskyist the Socialist Labor party is merely a counter-revolutionists", who had "broken matter of arranging the details. In with Communism" and therefore deserved fact, by this writing, the marriage has the expulsions which the Bucharins, Roys and Lovestones had organized against them? But time is replete with revenges, particularly for the Marxists who have such a powerful protector in the form of history against the calumny, the violence, the misrepresentation and the philistinism of the Right wing liq-The Right wing condescendingly ex-

> our "sectarian" point of view. They, you We retorted that they would never win the masses, certainly not for the proletarian revolution and Communism. Time has here again vindicated theortiproceeded to shift its activity into the or Brandler will not be tomorrow? ranks of the social democracy of the

Now, the numerous supporters of the

that is, of the "Left' wing". Thus the Right wing produces the flowers for the social democratic bouquet. Each shading of the Right wing moves its bridges to the social democracy in its own particular way., Some rush forward to the party of treason, impatient at the failure of the promised "masses" to materialize; others pass lightly over to the "Left wing" of the social democracy still others capitulate quitely by going back to the Centrists through or by dropping out of working class politics entirely; and the rest oscillate feverishly with the winds, waiting for the most favorable opportunities, regretful that the impatient ones have reduced their bargaining power with those before whom they are prepared to capitulate

Lovestone only a few weeks ago wrote that the differences between Brandler and the minority were not so fundamental or serious. We want to be recorded in complete agreement with this thought cal considerations. The Right wingers It is largely a difference over "stages" have long ago started to "go to the over "tempo". Patience is never unremasses" . . . of the social democracy. warded. Let us wait but a while. Who In Czecho-Slovakia, the bulk of the much- is bold enough to say that where Walchadvertised Right wing group promptly er or Bert Miller is today, Lovestone

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in the end.

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