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For Communist Unity

An Open Letter of the Spanish Left Opposition

(Continued from last issue) Spanish Communism and not the bureaucratic farce that the national and international leaders intend to make of it. In the light of events, it has been proved the party to victory. All sincere Compelled for their opposition views into the unified party, a prerequisite for any further action on part of the party. Such a unification can only take place through the problems regarding the labor movehistoric needs of the present hour demand this imperiously. In this sense, the Communist Left Opposition will not fail in its duty. It is confident that the Spanish Communist workers will be convinced that there are no more devoted the Spanish party in respect to the corfriends for the party than the members of the Left Opposition. Furthermore, internal regime prevailing at the present the Opposition has not retracted and will not retract its determined effort to cooperate in the forefront ranks, in the reconstruction of the party and in the application of a correct and coherent policy.

The meet that is to be held at Sevilla, is called a congress of the masses. It would be much more appropriate to call it a congress of the bureaucrats. Despite the deftness with which the stage

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is being set for this meet, despite the The revolutionary working class can- participation of so-called non-party worknot do without this indispensable weapon ers' delegations, the congress will remain transform into a decree, directed supin the revolution- the Communist party. for every conscientious militant a bur-The congress which has been called must eaucratic farce that will only impede be made a congress of the unification real revolutionary criticism. After more and organization of all the forces of than five years of the dictatorship of the Bullejos-Trilla clique, a national congress is being prepared in less than ers of Menshevism expelled from the twenty days. This in itself is a sufficiently eloquent fact. What the congress that the policy proposed by the Opposi needs is the genuine participation of all tion is the only one capable of leading those elements who during each stage of the Spanish revolution have pointed out munists will consider the unification of to the party the correct slogans to be all the forces of Spanish Communism and employed. These elements are precisely Opposition, that is to say, the "counterrevolutionary Trotskyists", against whom comfortable position. You yourself can- thm and with a different amplitude, its desperate struggle for the maintenthe grave diggers of Spanish Communism are at present directing their batteries. the convocation of a congress on the There can be no genuine reorganization basis of a democratic discussion of all of the party except on the basis of a unification. The reorganization on the ment and the Spanish revolution and basis of the bureaucrats, without any on the basis of the submission of the real internal democracy, cannot in any minority to the majority and will there- way solve the urgent problems that come by lay the ground for a mass Communist up each day before the Spanish prole- ated list: In the intentional interchange a highly industrialized nation. . These party which will be able to cope with tariat. What is required is the readmis- of names for the purposes of additional intermediate classes—the peasantry in tne tasks imposed by the situation. The sion and the regroupment of all Communists, members of the party or comrades expelled for their views.

There are innumerable reasons why tions for it. we cannot have any confidence in the good intentions of the International and rection of the political mistakes and the moment. But, it is especially interesting Opposition and Menshevism. No artifices that within this document (of the C. I.) the greatest tolerance is shown toward ary 20 represents a finished amalgam in cision the policy to be pursued, and of such an amalgam, its own emptiness. tive in the party, in the work of com- down in history with the Thermidorian its hands, but of one in which they had penses of the monstrous military appar- the party meetings in which we participleting the reconstruction of a genuine stigma. party which will be up to the level of

agreement with the Spanish leadership, my family, in general, which needs no Fascism to the parliamentary field, to Germany will play its part in one sense ly, party members take part in heated has conceived the "Open Letter", which proofs. If this is so why was it neces pose the question as: "Hindenburg or or another. But the fact remains that discussions with us. We have been able is based on quite correct, but incomplete sary to resort to false documents and Hitler?", to carry out their policy of the in any case, the leftward trend of the criticisms. But it is not too much to expect both leaderships to do all in their masquerade into the decision itself? He power to make a dead letter of this cannot wriggle out of this. The fact a tremendous success. All the theories opens up perspectives for great class have also made contacts and our infludocument, although this will only disrupt the course of the Spanish revolution. It is the duty of all revolutionary workers who have not been contaminated by the bureaucratic virus to coordinate all their activities with the view of carrying out the turn in practice, with all its consequences, in spite of the national and international leaderships. It is necessary to open up immediately a broad discussion all over the party organizations. But this discussion will not have any actual effect if it does not allow for the active participation of all the members of the Left Opposition, who were the first ones to indicate the mistakes and to explain what the correct policy was, that had to be pursued. The Opposition demands to reach its aim. This time Stalin thrust been able to halt Fascism. be heard by all the Spanish Communists and to be allowed to work together with them in the elaboration of our common tasks, to take part in the preparation of you to issue not without timid resist- explanation for the defeat of the C. P. the congress of unification and reorgani- ance, I know,-this unworthy decree of G.? The political line of the party zation. Every congress that will take ostracism, it was only because the pro- stands to blunt contradiction to the place without the participation of the found correctness of the Left Opposition political needs. This is revenge for the Left Opposition will be a pure maneuver was revealed on all questions without Stalinist theory that "social democracy of a bureaucratic character and will only exception, domestic as well as interna- and Fascism are twins", that everybody the leadership admited all this quite unprove that the leadership of the party tional, on which we waged a struggle all outside of the Communist ranks is a ambiguously in documents, of which The fears more than anything to have to face these years. The seemingly aggressive "social Fascist". Its trade union policy Militant has published important exthe points of view of the Opposition before the great tribunal of the Communist proletariat.

Fight in your units, in your sections, for a party congress that will be a real congress of the unification of the forces of Spanish Communism and not a congress of intrigues which passes one-hundred-percent unanimous resolutions.

from the party for differences of opinion, be readmitted into the party and permit- president Kalinin, who supported Stalin ocratic workers there, who have always to Germany, the word "Fascism" does Situation" Read his new work on Gerted to participate in the preliminary from the Right against the Left Opposi- stood to the left, have followed the not even get any mention in them. Diswork.

or adventurer be allowed to speak in struggle against me, with the support of bountly contradicts the reports of the your units of "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" without extending an invitation to the Oppositionists to present as a mujhik needs a phonograph." In this ist unions, but rather a complete execuour point of view.

Fight to have the party congress call ed only by a committee composed of the reresentatives of all the tendencies in

the Spanish Communist movement. Do not allow the expulsions that are being prepared behind your backs by the leaders to be carried out before the con-

We are among the first founders of the party, we have gone through all the persecutions with it and we have the right to be heard before we are condemned. Long live the Unification and Reorganization Congress of the Spanish Com-

munist Party! Long live the Unified Mass Communist

Trotsky's Open Letter to the C. E. C. of the U. S. S. R.

(Continued from page 1) not remember which one it is, in the numerical order,-you were forced to ily, over 30 people who were dragged in exclusively for the purpose of political masking. You included in this list lead-Soviet Union with my direct participation over ten years ago. Apparently it seemed to Stalin that this was a masnot help realizing this, but also in this the crisis spread out over France. question you are forced to submit to the Stalinist bureaucracy which works ever more rudely, not troubling about the dignity of the highest organs of the Soviet power.

It is too repulsive for me to dwell on other traits and marks of Stalin's fabric-"effect" it represents a document of the same moral level as the two above-mentioned forgeries which served as prepara-

A Thermidorian Trick

You can connect the Left Opposition with Menshevism only in the order of a police alphabet. In the political order, your Centrism stands between the Left will change that. The decision of Februthe "organization of sympathizers", the the Thermidorian style. Centrism, os-Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, the most cillating between Marxism and national confusionist and dangerous tendency in reformism, is forced-it cannot be otherthe Spanish labor movement, while the wise-to combine and amalgamate its most fanattical intransigeance is mani- petty bourgeois enemies from the Right fested toward the Left Opposition, which and its revolutionary opponents from is the only one to point out with pre- the Left, in order to cover up by means which has denounced the democratic and I wish to remind you that the first adpetty bourgeois character of the Maurin vise concerning the expulsion of the Left Germany After the Elections faction. Nevertheless, the Opposition Oppositionists from the country, was is ready to give its determined aid to given in print to Stalin by none other the conscious and sincere militants ac- than Ustrialov. Your decision will go and of taking the fate of Germany into

As a concession to the unrest stirred decision is based on the whole counter- liamentary struggle aided the S. P. G. ly upon the events of the movement. The the majority of those attending wants to up in the ranks, the International, in revolutionary activity of myself and of leaders to reduce the struggle against result of the presidential elections in listen; they follow our words attentiveto introduce elements of an unworthy "lesser evil". that after nine years of uninterrupted of the C. E. C. of the party, to the effect struggles. The "left" parties and the ence has grown considerably. baiting-do not forget that the begin- that Fascism has reached its high point, socialist party will be unable to keep ning of the struggle against "Trotskyism" coincided with the death of Leninyou had to resort to borrowings from had reached the culmination point of degree to which the Communist party in an organizational way. We are sufferthe filthy sheets of Polish and German their rise with the Reichstag elections. will be able to reach the hesitating mass- ing first of all, from a shortcoming that chauvinism in order to pass this excep. The election results prove that they have es and gain their attenion, find a bridge the French party itself has been inflicted tional law against me and my family to been able to penetrate into strong pro- to them, will their development take the hide under an amalgam—this fact alone letarian districts. That Hitler was not revolutionary road when the bankruptcy discloses and strips bare to the bone the elected President of the Reich does not of the other parties will become manifest our internal difficulties; we have not as impotence of all the campaigns against "Trotskyism" and irreparably compromises your last creative act.

An Expression of Impotence

From the point of view of personal revenge-and this element as you well tional and social liberation and all their The Seventh Convention of the C. P. F. know, enters into all of Stalin's combina- variations, its "adaptation" of the himselr out too far from behind the political and moral size. If he forced conditions are favorable, what is the pitiful self-defence.

Stalinist faction for industrialization, abled the treacherous trade union leadfor planning, for higher tempos of econ- ers to lead the members of the unions omy, aganst the stake on the kulak, for into the Hindenburg-Front. The "uncollectivization. From the year 1923 on, ited front" tactics of the Thaelmann the Opposition demanded the preparation leadership has created the prerequisites of a five year plan and itself indicated for the establishment of the "iron front". tion, knows more about it than any one slogans of the leadership entirely. It Molotov, Kalinin, Voroshilov and others. Rote Fahne: There is not any disintegradeclared that "we need the Dnieprostroys tion within the S. P. G. and the reformformula is contained a whole historic tion of the slogans of these organizations philosophy. For the struggle against it by their followers. The results show the places of detention and exile, sever- enemy now is Fascism. Only the policy al Bolshevik-Leninists-are shot. (To be continued)

-L. TROTSKY.

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New Tendencies in French Politics

World Crisis Reveals Long Latent Contradictions Between Social Classes

Germany, in which French imperalism of millions of francs. stands at a turning point of its development. When the crisis had already been raging in a good many other countries, France still appeared to be spared from terly move. In actuality the yellow it. The bouregois press attributed this threads stick out only too obviously. to the ancient "French virtues" of or-Pretending that only in 1932 it became der, harmony, etc. The socialists fol- every day, and the French bourgeoisie, clear to you just what kind of work lowed in its footsteps. A discuchant- so proud of its stability in the past, is But, many of the causes which made

possible the great resistance to the crisis In the first place, there is the existence of quite large intermediate classes, despite the fact that the war made France particular-formed an important domestic market. The tariff walls, rising like in England; the efforts of other nations, like Germany, to develop their own agriculture; the fall in prices have considerably diminished the resistance of ed to their prosperous past, constitute works for the export trade, having certain advantages in the period of "promany has. Thus, with the general dedirection of the Communist solution. cline, French industry is not in a very There is already, indisputably, a trend is publishing. advantageous position to preserve its toward the Left. At present it is being place in the world market. The colonial empire, though it is important, does not by far offer any resources similar to

(Continued from page 1) Stalin will tell you that it is not a Hitler. The lack of ability on the part

It has been clearly proven that the "Red a mass support for the maneuvers of the tween the various tendencies in the orleadership with all its programs of na- self.

Why were the results so unfavorable will be a damm again t Fascism.

(Continued in Next Issue)

-R. WELL.

the Young Peoples Socialist League and pulsions are being prepared. the Spartacus Youth Club which will The convention will constitute a vic-

The defeat of Germany and the achievements of the Versailles Treaty gave France a political importance internationally, entirely out of proportion with its economic strength. The crisis is revealing this contradiction more and more ance of the Versailles Treaty, which is a diplomatic instrument of its past supremacy, as well as for the preservation of will tomorrow become the causes of a its military strength. On the other hand, tremendous aggravation of the situation. it is redoubling its offensive against wages and it intends, by inflation or by laboring masses and to expropriate the intermediate classes.

for the elections have not taken place. Serving as a sort of barometer, they permit us to judge with more or less precision, the reallignments of the classwere overthrown. The Rote Fahne of their promises to the proletariat and the tion) has not, unfortunately, as yet been September 16, 1930 wrote that the Nazis intermediate classes. But only to that able to transform this gain of influence at all change the fact that the Fascist in the eyes of all. If this does not take yet benefited from a test of great strugdanger has become even more prominent. place, they will be derailed and used as Referendum" strategy of the C. P. G. worst brand of reaction, of Fascism it-

Where is the party in this situation? tions-the decree completely failed to phraseology of the Nazis, etc., have not What is its orientation? The Seventh Convention of the French party is going to take place in a few days, after a stage and carelessly revealed his real for the Communists? If the objective lapse of three years since the last convention. It will be devoted to the policy of the "third period". The balance of this policy is completely negative: loss of membership, loss of influence, deep-going disorganization. Several months ago, on the occasion of a turn, gesture of Stalin is impotent and even has isolated the party completely among tracts. Now, at the time of the conventhe organized workers. The disastrous tion, nothing of the sort is allowed. This the proposals, necessary for the carry-The Opposition fought against the trade union course of the Stalinists en- time, it is necessary to "shut their mouths". One huge thesis is the only document presented by the leadership for pre-convention discussion. The entire activity of the past period is skimmed over in less than twenty lines. "Self- ing an alliance with Bruening, of subcriticism" is reduced to its most barren its basic elements. All the economic The results in Saxony, where there is expression. As a perspective for the fusuccesses of the Soviet Union were theor- no Centre strength and where the other ture, nothing is offered that is not con-Demand that all comrades expelled etically and partially organizationally, parties in the Hindenburg-Front are mere tained in the last general theses of the really stands for! Read his pamphlet prepared by the Left Opposition. Your splinters, prove that the social dem- C. I. A few scanty phrases are devoted "Germany-the Key to the International cussion has been as restricted as possi-Demand hat no irresonsible bureaucrat else. Yet, in April 1927, Stalin, in the has been proven once more that reality ble. The press has published a few resolutions of approval and several arti- Germany is of prime importance for the cles by leaders . . . against the comrades in the sections who dared to for yourself, what the correct Communthink on their own hook. Articles have ist policy, which is the keystone of the appeared in L'Humanite in which party entire question, must be. Your advance members are denounced as enemies. In orders will make it possible for us to and for its defeat, Rakovsky is chained how the workers react to the slogan of order to remain within the Stalinist line, have the book ready for sale without down to Barnoul, hundreds and thou- the C. P. G., that the S. P. G. is the the French party bureaucrats are shout- delay. The price is: 50 cents. sands of unbending revolutionaries fill main enemy now ... For them, the main ing about the "Trotskyist" danger, accusing everyone who opposes them as a of the Stalinist party leadership gave "Trotskyist". A real campaign of terthe treacherous S. P. G. and trade union ror was inaugurated in the Parisian releaders the opportunity to arouse illu- gion, where discontent is particularly Get your copy of PROBLEMS OF THE sions among the workers that Hindenburg great and where whole sections are hostile to the leadership, although no clearly different policy has been put forward. The leadership published the names of SPARRTACUS-Y. P. S. L. DEBATE | the more daring comrades in the press. | Problems of the CHINESE REVOLU-"Can the Program of the Socialist It demanded publicly that only members Party Emancipate the American Work- approving the party policy without any ers?" is the subject for debate between reservations be elected as delegates. Ex-

Spanish Communist Left Opposition. (Opposition) New York Branch | the Labor Temple, 14th St., and 2nd Ave. the party in which the crisis can only |

Paris, March 9, 1932. | those of the British empire. Finally, continue to develop. The policy that has The parliamentary elections are ap- the reserves of one of the greatest French been pursued, is that of the C. I. It has proaching. They are especially import- industries, the tourist industry, which turned its back to the united front, it posedly against thirty-seven persons, in- ant, as they will take place in a period has declined enormously despite the exist- is opposed to trade union unity. In the cluding outside of members of my fam- in which the equilibrium established at ence of the Colonial Expedition, are no question of the elections, the vanguard Versailles is about to topple over, in doubt going to diminish even more in of the woking class is divided under the which a decisive solution is imminent in the feture, depriving French capitalism cover of the formula "class against class", by maintaining systematically the party's candidate on the second bullot even if that is to the advantage of the candidate of the reactionary parties as against the candidate of the socialist party. This so-called tactic of "class against class" repels the socialist workers, strengthens their parliamentary illusions and serves the reformist apparthe readmission of all the comrades ex- those who constitute the Communist Left Dan and Abramovitch do, you place the ment became necessary shortly after uneasily expecting dark days in the fu- atus of the bourgeoisic. The continua-Presidium of the C. E. C. in a very un- wards. With a somewhat different rhy- ture. That is, in part, the reason for tion of this policy-another can hardly be expected from the convention-will only keep on accumulating defar a 'ter

Progress for the Left Opposition

Nevertheless, there are some germs of regeneration in this situation. We have mentioned above the discontent in the some other modification of its financial Parisian region of the party. The critsystem, to increase its exploitation of the icism expressed has often been confused, narrow, but in most cases it was not a reflection of opportunist tendencies, These are as yet only its intentions, but of healthy proletarian sentiments. For the first time in years, non-oppositionist militants have pushed their criticisms as far as the leadership of the C. I. Thus, one unit speaks against the es, the general orientation of the toil- "policy of Stalin": other comrades speak the domestic market. On the other hand, ing masses and of the proletariat in view of the "responsibility of the C. I." Some the intermediate classes, their eyes turn- of the situation. In so far as they comrades refuse to vote against the present a factor in the class struggle, "Trotskyists" as counter-revolutionists a curbing factor. French industry, which they should permit the Communist party, in Sections 3 and 15 of the Parisian rewith a correct analysis of the existing gion: in Section 4, others declare that tendencies and with correct perspectives, "it is not sufficient to tell us that they sperity" through the low wages, has not to employ a tactic which will hasten are couner-revolutionists. It must be pushed rationalization as far as Ger- the development of the masses in the proven first." We only cite a few facts among many which the party press itself

But all these are only transitory maniexploited by the Radical and the socialist festations, very feeble and very instable parties in a broad campaign "for peace, ones. But a great unrest is taking place for disarmament" and touches those in the party. Theses are voted on, but masses who are disquieted by the Laval- no one takes any stock in them. A great Tardieu policy that is "isolating" France deal of attention is being paid to what is from the rest of the world and who are said about the party, especially to what anxious to cast off the heavy burden of the Opposition has to say. In the meettaxes imposed upon them by the ex- ings that we hold in various places, in to decide upon either Hindenburg or atus of French imperialism. Just to pate, we find an entirely different atmoswhat degree this leftward trend will be phere from that of last year. There are question of "isolated" facts but that the of the C. P. G. to conduct an extra-par- transformed into ballots, depends large- still many fanatics, of course. But, to extend our contacts, to establish conmasses will clash with the imperious tacts with many party members and to The National Socialists also achieved needs of the French bourgeoisie. This gain sympathizers. In the provinces, we

The Ligue Communiste (Left Opposiwith: the extremely weak conceptions of organizational forms. Then, there are gles, so as to be able to distinguish beganization. These are the obstacles in the way of an active crystallization of the germs of regeneration within the party. The Ligue is at work, striving to overcome these obstacles.

-PIERRE FRANK.

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