IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

German Opposition Shows the Way A Letter from Czeckoslovakia

Communists of Bruchal Apply Genuine Leninist United Front Tactic

In the town of Bruchsal, the local group of the German Left Opposition is the only Communist organization. Free from the stranglehold of Stalinism and its disastrous policies, our Bruchsal comrades have been able to carry on the work of the Communist party on their own initiative. Equipped with the Leninist orientation of the International Left Opposition and intent on putting it into practice, the Bruchsal Oppositionists have succeeded in establishing a successful united front of all the local proletarian mass organizations in the fight against Fascism. On the basis of their correct policy and action, they have succeeded in increasing the ranks of Communism one hundred per cent within the last few weeks, gaining in membership and founding new groups of the Left Opposition in the immediate vicinity, raising Communist influence in the local working class into a factor to be reckoned with.

Our Bruchsal comrades are carrying on their struggle with all forces at their disposal. This is in itself important work. But even more important is the example they have shown for our German party as a whole: the example of actual Leninist mass work in the struggle for the majority of the proletariat and the defeat of Fascism. In the present social ferment in Germany, the work of the Bruchsal Oppositionists stands out as a light house illuminating the Bolshevik solution.

We bring below a report of the progress of the Bruchsal Left Opposition.-Ed.

The C. P. G. in Forst Joins the L. O.

Due to the influence of the Left Opposition, the local organization of the C. P. G. in the town of Forst has placed itself on the positions of the Left Opposition. As old comrades, the Communists of Forst have not been able to allow all that they have previously learned from the C. P. G. to be called counter-revolufend the heritage of Lenin with us.

In view of the present political chaos, the comrades in Forst attempted to form the united front with the social democranow only remained an attempt, because the S. P. G. workers have in the meantime received instructions from the S. P. G. bureaucracy to create the "iron front." For this reason, the S. P. G. functionaries in Forst informed us, the matter of the united front will have to be postponed until after the presidential elecdemocratic worker to the criminal actions of his leaders.

How the Party Bureaucracy

"Liquidates" the L. O. in Bruchsal For several weeks, the party bureaucracy has attempted with all possible means to gain a foothold in Bruchsal, in from capitalism, only in this manner can order to smash the Opposition movement.

Miners

(Continued from page 1)

tact with the field." One may ask, "Where was the contact if not with the field?" This is about on a par with the party a terrible crime by establishing the unileaderships' attiude to the anthracite insurgent strike. In that vital situation it could only find the insufficiency of the that they have left the road of Lenin, demand for "equalization of work". How which is the only road by which we can futile is such analysis when one views escape the claws of capitalism. It is the broad sweeps of the many almost not the Left Oppositionists, but the bursimultaneous, isolated rebel movements caucrats of the C. P. G. who are the rewhich the party leadership could not see,

The convention adopted the slogan "face to the field". Essential as this is, ocracy, at one of the meetings the burit still leaves that main problem of un- eaucracy arranged for him on his return ification entirely out of account. This is from Soviet Russia. He said: When the the real need of the movement for which C. P. G. comes into power, the Bruchsal the revolutionary party is first of all comrades will be the first to be stood of the present policy. Out with the called upon to advance a solution.

The objective situation in the mine fields is ever more richly providing the material ready to hand. Would it not be a simple measure, entirely in accord utilizing the National Miners Union as P. G. and factory representatives, called theory that the S. P. G. is the main enthe medium, to approach the rebelling a mass meeting of the Bruchsal workers, organizations, through their insurgent Opposition addressed the many trade unwell as to their accepted leaders and to the Bruchsal organ of the Centre (Bruentheir imposed leaders, and seriously demand that in the common interests of all miners steps should be taken for a united front against the common enemy! Would that not be the most effective way to defeat the designs of the imposed leadas to clearly bring out the weakness and insufficient of the timid and opportunist progressives? Would it not be hailed by the miners as a serious step toward establishing a new national unity of

While the U. M. W. is broken up and scattered in a localized existence, it has not disappeared. A serious united front movement must also proceed by building a Left wing movement within it.

At first they tried to allow us to cooper-[ing) Party-the Bruchsaler Bote-wrote ate in the Red United Front organs. But on November 9, 1931: when the Karlsruhe comrades of the "The main speaker of the evening was atempting to approach the Bruchsal or- tion and Fascism. All power to the proganization by means of the International letarians, he said, we must fight for the Labor Defense. The Bruchsal comrades dictatorship of the proletariat". bureaucracy had to consent to this. Al- tempt to radicalize the moderate social cracy does not as yet seem to be satis- this." fied. It has sought out several comrades in Bruchsal to undertake the Feb. 4, 1932, on the other hand, wrote shameful labors of destroying the Bruchsal group of the Opposition. But what which the Left Opposition comrades of these comrades have done up to now has only turned to the discredit of the the following: C. P. G. They only proved before the Bruchsal workers the correctness of the Left Opposition policy.

In a meeting of the unemployed in Bruchsal, to which these half-baked party comrades invited a speaker from Karlsruhe, these comrades made the proposal that a party comrade be allowed to speak besides the reporter of the Left cording to them that is the same wise meeting of the unemployed, with an at- ing these people must realize the coun- would not fail to leave their effects upon democratic illusions of the masses of the tendance of 500 workers, decided against ter-revolutionary role of this S. P. G. the main industrial and commercial sec-3 votes, to reject the proposal. It is by agency. The workers must confide only tions of Czechoslovakia. such methods that the party attempts in the C. P. G., the one revolutionary to win over the masses in Bruchsal.

In the Communist Arbeiterseitung of February 4, they published an article in which they call the Bruchsal comrades Communist policy is. The Bruening peorenegades. We are also accused of glorifying the counter-revolutionary Trotsky face in the united front tactic of the and of still maintaining the anti-Marxist Communists. Therefore, their warning and anti-Leninist theory of Trotsky about to the S. P. G. leaders and the mention tionary. They have decided to fight side the impossibility of building socialism in of the radicalization of the S. P. G fol- half the number of those employed. At oisie to crush this opportunism in the of the interconnection between the reby side with the Left Opposition against one country. We are, they say further, lowers by the Communists the false course of the C. P. G., to de- telling fairy tales when we insist that thousands of Opposition comrades are confined in jails in Russia and solitaries, who have taken part in the Red October and that the Stalinist bureaucracy does tic workers according to the Bruchsal not even shrink from shooting them. example. Unfortunately, it has up to All these contentions are merely calumnies against the C. P. G. Another of our crimes consists in the establishment of a united front with the S. P. G. and trade union workers. This is enough to give a picture of the ideological swamp in which the party bureaucracy exists. The Bruchsal workers know very well who comrade Trotsky is and what he has tions. All this only shows how strong contributed to the Russian revolution. the hold of the bureaucracy on the social We also know that Trotsky is right when democratic workers still is. In spite of he says that socialism cannot be built in this, we will not rest, as sincere and one country. The workers of Bruchsal convinced Communists, until we have realize the difficult situation existing for opened the eyes of the very last social; Soviet Russia at the present through the Sino-Japanese conflict, after the Comintern leadership previously missed the revolutionary situation and left Russia an isolated country. Only the extension of the revolution on an international scale can liberate the world proletariat socialist construction be made secure and Soviet Russia defended against the threat of intervention. When the Stalinist bureaucrats characterize this theory as counter-revolutionary, then they only prove that they have thrown Marxism and Leninism overboard.

> When these bureaucrats maintain that the Bruchsal comrades have committed ted front with the S. P. G. and trade union workers, then that only proves negades. In closing, we want to call attention to the remarks of one Shaefer, a recent convert from the social demagainst the wall. All comment is superfluous.

The Lying Methods of the Stalinist

When the Committee of Action consistwith the duty of a revolutionary party, ing of the C. P. G. (Left Opposition), S. miners everywhere, through their local in which comrade Paul Speck of the Left groups, to the rank and file direct as ion and S P. G. workers who had come,

What Happened in the CHINESE REVOLUTION? PROBLEMS of the er, the corrupt office holders, as well CHINESE REVOLUTION by Leon Trotsky 385 pages paper cover \$1.00 cloth cover 1.50 1-3 off for certificate holders NOW ON THE PRESS Rush Your Order Money is needed in order to get out the next book on Germany. PIONEER PUBLISHERS

84 East 10th St.,

New York, N. Y.

Red United Front wanted to call upon the Communist alderman, Speck. He dethe Bruchsal comrades to speak as re- manded united action on part of the S. porters before the meetings of the un- P. G. and C. P. G. workers in a relentless employed, the bureaucracy put its foot struggle over the heads of the leaders, down and forbade this. They are now against emergency decrees, social reac-

declared their readiness to build up a The Bruening paper concluded the artibranch of the I. L. D., on condition that cle in the following manner: "This is a they receive a written guarantee that warning to the social democrats. The Opposition comrades will enjoy the same social democratic party has taken a danrights within it as all the other com- gerous position, for it is not excluded rades. For better or worse, the party that the Communists will make the atthough we have declared ourselves pre- democratic workers. The leaders of the pared to begin this work, the bureau-! S. P. G. will know what we mean by

> The Communist Arbeiterzeitung concerning a Communist meeting, in Bruchsal presented their point of view,

established a united front with the S. P. G. and trade union fakers for the alparty."

The juxtaposition of both these articles shows very clearly what the correct ple have realized the danger that they

tic-despite the fact that it has clashed cording to the Czechoslovakian system upon the opposition of the social dem- of unemployment insurance, so that only trism, hemmed the party which had pro- exposing the fakeries of individual reocratic Karlsruhe Volksfreund-what about one sixth of the unemployed recan be said of a tactic, which in contrast ceive a subsidy from the state at preto the former, has not succeeded in pre- sent, while the rest are dependent upon venting the formation of the "iron the support of the communities and the front", which has led to loss of influence population as a whole. Unemployment among the workers of the S. P. G. and has been extended even to functionaries

A BRUCHSAL COMRADE.

(Continued from last issue)

In international bourgeois opinion, the order of the day, the numerous mid-Czechoslovakia has always signified a protective wall of peace and order. It arose on the ebb of the social and national struggle of the Czech petty bourgeoisie and workers against the Habsburg monarchy, the Roman church and the German bourgeoisie and out of the necessity of the entente powers to plant a military base between the dangerous countries of their defeated enemies in the war, between Germany, Austria and Hungary, from which side there was the threat of revenge struggles and revolutions against the new imperialist balance of power. In this sense, the bour--egols designation is to a certain extent correct. And even when the powerful wave of the industrial crisis swept over vain. For no matter how small the America and Europe in 1929, it appeared states involved are, the contradictions in to be repelled by the "island of peace the interests that separate the bourgeois and order". The Czech bourgeoisie, rulers are all the greater and a peaceful the Carpathians as a sort of a substitute for the Austro-Hungarian customs national hopes of the Czech masses in ship of the means of production. The "The C. P. G. is being slandered by order to lower the standards of living proletariat alone can serve as the axe. the Bruchsal Trotskyists. They are not below the average of the West and Midmuch better in this than the social Fasc- dle European countries, basing itself upists. It is therefore not at all strange on French imperialism to raise its comthat these frenzied petty bourgeois have modity and capital export, at first ap-Opposition, and demanded that their pro- Bolshevik tactic that Lenin applied at toms struggles among the international permitted the Czech bourgeoisie to estabmanner of action, they only got them- is a base distortion of history. The the purchasing power of the impoverish- imperialist aims by exploiting the nationselves an overwhelming defeat. The Bruchsal workers, who are still follow- ed peasant masses inside the country al revolutionary and petty bourgeois- of the Fascists.

The Economic Situation

The shutting down of factories has assumed tremendous proportions, the number of unemployed has risen, according to the official statistics, to some 600,000, the figure for the part time workers is even higher. In the most important branches of industry the numand intellectuals. Bankruptcies among small merchants and tradesmen are on

The social democratic and reformist precisely at the moment at which the The C. P. G. has not been able to carry workers will soon have the opportunity partial struggles grew into mass demonout extra-parliamentary actions for of being convinced of the effects of the strations (as in March 1928). When,

ments of the Thaelmann leadership will be able to change the fact that the results of March 13 signify the utter bankruptcy of the Thaelmann policy, the utter political impotence of the Comintern leadership and of its spiritual leader,

The results of March 13 demand imperiously a complete turn on the part of the party, the complete renunciation of the party. The party bureaucracy is 1931, by a fifty per cent change in the theory of "socialism in one country", which is the root of all the evil in the policy of the Comintern and the C. P. G.! We must orientate ourselves toward the actual organization of the West European revolution. Out with the emy at present! That only leads to the conclusion that Fascism is the "Lesser Evil". The wheel must be turned toward: the erection of the united front between C. P. G., S. P. G., S. L. P. G. trade unions and the other decisive proletarian mass organizations. The theory of social Fascism must be uprooted, the trade union course changed completely, the R. T. U. O. policy must be given up, mass work must be carried on in the trade unions. It will not do for us to command the working class, we must Fascism than that of creating the posstruggle for the sympathies of the workers who are still outside the ranks of Communism for it is precisely upon them that the decision rests.

the necessary preparations for the com- Back to the party of Lenin! ing battle, which will be an extra-parli-mentary battle. Fascism is not yet defeated, it is still struggling for power.

some time. Extremely weak in the fac- policy of joining the Hindenburg-Front. later on, the adventurist course which tories, in the mass organizations of the They will see that Hindenburg is not had begun in February 1928 in the entire proletariat, with a membership composed, only not a dam against Fascism, but International, was imported into Czechofrom 75 to 80 per cent, of unemployed that he is preparing the road to power slovakia as well, it led to the big crash workers, with a Red Trade Union Op- of the Fascists, that he will take them of the so-called Red Day. The impotposition forming an ever more negligible into the government. They will learn ence of the party policy was quite eviminority of the working class as a to evaluate the policy of the "lesser dent and spontaneous excitement seized whole, the party cannot conduct success- evil" correctly and to realize that their the whole party membership. In order ful strikes or instigate extra-parliamen- leaders have rendered Fascism their best to save the face of the Comintern leadtary action. The party bureaucracy also services. Then the workers will seek ership, the Jilek leadership, which had realizes this. That is why the activity the road to Communism. It is the task obediently carried out the Moscow inof the C. P. G. was turned to the field of the C. P. G. to facilitate their ap- structions, was sacrificed. The new of parliamentary action, that is why the proach to Communism. That is the task leadership continued the policy of the party has been directed toward referen- of the moment. Otherwise, the Fascists Red Day and brought the adventurist dums and elections. By successes in the will come to power through the schism policy to a high pitch in the leadership parliamentary elections, the Thaelmann within the working class and the disori- of strikes and by its trade union tacleadership had hoped to conceal the cat- entation of the social democratic work- ties, through which it facilitated the astrophic effects of its policies from the ers. Only by way of the united front split of the red trade unions by the party membership. The party bureau of the decisive proletarian organizations, Right wing opportunists and renegades. cracy will, no doubt, once more attempt can this be prevented. That is the first By raving about immediate struggles for to attribute the guilt for the results to prerequisite for the creation of the cap- power precisely at the time when it was the rank and file, through the ruse of ability of the class for extra-parliament- necessary to strengthen and to build up "Bolshevik self-criticism". But no argu- ary action. In this field, the C. P. G. the positions of the party in the factorwill and must take the lead of the class ies and the trade unions, the party lead-

it is incapable of a determined turn. As long as there will be no free discussion within the party over the results of the entire policy of the Comintern and the party leadership in the last nine years, there cannot take place a serious turn resisting this because it knows that the united front and trade union tactics, the membership can only draw one conclu- party sought, with a certain amount of its place will be taken by the industrial sion! Away with the bankrupt Stalin- success, to overcome its isolation, but union." On a whole this question is yet ist leadership which has led the Com- could not change anything in the basic- one of vital importance to all workers. munist world party from one defeat to ally false strategic line. In order to un- It is a vital part of the problems of the another. Reestablish the unity of the derstand this, we must cast a brief revolution in America. With this in party, readmit the Left Opposition into glance on the political situation in mind we particularly urge the New York the party. Recall comrades Trotsky, Czechoslovakia, Rakovsky and the other October fighters to the leadership of the Communist world party. These are the most important conclusions to be drawn from the latest defeat which the Stalin leadership has brought upon the German proletariat. An extraordinary party congress on the basis of internal democracy with a thorough pre-congress discussion -this must become the demand of every Communist. There is no other way of leading the proletariat to victory against sibility for the party to undertake extraparliamentary action. This can be reached only by a complete change in the policy of the party. And this, in The German workers must utilize turn, can only be achieved by removing whatever time is still left, to make all the bureaucratic regime from the party.

dle peasantry is going under.

The balance of the state budget is shattered and has necessitated a foreign loan, which entrenches the dependence upon French imperialism even more firmly. Chained to the Western robbers, not a natural island but a piece chopped off with the axe of the world war from among similar pieces, bourgeois Czechoslovakia can secure neither peace with its neighbors, nor work and bread inside the country. In vain, the Czech petty bourgeoisie bubbles over with enthusiasm for a Middle European union, which is to form the heart of a unified, pan-European, bourgeois Europe and shine all over in the sign of Christ. In

Political Developments

If under all these circumstances in Czechoslovakia there nevertheless exists people. It had the good fortune, not state against the oppressed nationalities. And when the advanced Czech workers had gathered sufficient experiences with Smeralist opportunism.

without a serious struggle, since the with minor trade union struggles, with | Prague, February 1932 Germany after the Presidential Elections of revolutionary strategy. In view of this myopia, the party remained impotent ership undermined its former positions The party bureaucracy has proven that and was in no condition to lead the dawning leftward movement of the work-

ing class along revolutionary channels. With two half-hearted turns to the 'right", the first in October 1930, by the readoption of the struggle for partial demands and the second in the fall of

Present Political Currents

For several years there has been ruling in Czechoslovakia a broad coalition in Germany? of Czech national democrats (the party Will Hitler take power? of the industrial and financial bourge- Will the Communist and social demoisie), the Czech and German agrarian ocratic workers combine to defeat Fasccapitalists, the Czech clerical party, the ism? are parliamentary democrats), the Czech and the German social democrats. The activities of this administration, in which there are six socialist ministers, are characterized above all, by the rise in the agrarian and industrial tariffs, the increase in the military budget, the decrease of the meagre social legislation, the suppression of the Communist press, the oppressive taxation against the toilng masses, especially the peasants in Slovakia and the Carpathians, and by -ROMAN WELL. shootings against defenseless workers,

even when they demonstrate merely for limited economic demands. The sharp procedure of the police and the gendarmerie appears to the workers to be all the more provocatory, since the strike movements in the last few years have been, despite the official party reports, rather slight and have nowhere gone beyond the framework of local struggles.

In connection with the economic situation and the activities of the government, the voices of discontent among the reformist majority of the working class are constantly growing and find their expression in the meetings of the trade unions and the "socialist" parties. The economic successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, and especially the fact that unemployment over there appears to have been overcome, are driving the masses toward the Communist party and open up tremendous possibilities for agitation and action on the part of the party. But the centrist party leadership is still repelling these vacillating masses, but not merely restricting itself to attacks on the trade union fakers, by declaring its intentions of "exwhich incorporated with its industrial unification of Middle Europe has as its terminating" the trade union organizaand agrarian territories, the backward pre-requisite the uprooting of the com- tions themselves, without being able to field and forest economy of Slovakia and petitive interests of the textile manufac- substitute for them anything but the turers and hog raisers, of the grain puny "Red Trade Unions" which carry merchants and heavy industrialists. But on local and isolated strikes from time field that it lost, and which exploited the the root is precisely the private owner- to time with great advertisements, the results of which are by no means an attraction for the working masses. On the other hand, it is attempting to arouse the workers by abstract enthusiasm for Soviet Russia and to cure their reformpeared to escape the general economic or rather-existed, a relative stability of ist and bourgeois democratic illusions misery. But it was soon to be proven the political regime, then this is to be by strong words like "social Fascism." leged purpose of fighting Fascism. Ac- that the shrinking of the foreign mar- explained not by the economic basis, All that is achieved by this is the isolakets, the rise of the competitive and cus- but above all, by the conditions which tion of the Communist workers from the masses, the repulsion of the dissatisfied posal be voted on. Through this stupid the time of the Kornilov putsch. That groups of capitalists and the decline of lish its state rule. It could realize its workers into the arms of the trade union bureaucrats or under the influence

The Policy of the Left Opposition

In contrast to these tactics, the Left only to have under its sway patriotic Opposition raises the demands flowing National Socialists and social democrats, from the direct needs of the workers but even a leader at the head of the Com- and demands a common struggle of all munist party like the opportunist of Eur- workers' organizations and especially of opean format, Smeral, who as late as the trade unions on this basis. Against 1923 defended the bourgeois democracy the coalition policy of the bourgeoisie, and the unity of the Czechoslovakian it counter-poses the unified struggle of the proletariat, to be led by democratically elected organs of the working class. In place of the phrases about social ber of the unemployed amounts to about their "democratic" and national bourge- Fascism it offers a concrete explanation this, only workers organized in trade un- party, the leadership of the Comintern, formist party, parliamentarism and the If this is a counter-revolutionary tac- ions receive unemployment subsides ac- which had in the meantime begun to economic domination of capital in genersink into the morass of Stalinist cen- al. Precisely by not restricting itself to ceeded in seriously purifying itself, in formist leaders, as the Fascists and in its development and cast it back into imitation of them, the Stalin bureaucrats do, but rather by pointing out the Only thanks to this impurity within basis of the capitalist system and by the party, could the Czech bourgeoisie pointing to the road of the united strugescape from the most difficult situations | gle of the proletariat, the Left Opposition carries on the struggle against socparty of the proletariat occupied itself ial democracy and Fascism in reality.

-0. FRIEDMAN.

Debate in the Bronx

On Sunday April 10th at 2:00 P. M. there will be a debate in the Bronx on the subject of the Proletarian Dictatorship which should prove of interest to New York revolutionary workers .It is being arranged by the Industrial Union League and held under its auspices with a representative of the Left Opposition defending the Dictatorship.

The subject reads: "Resolved that in the United States a Dictatorship of the Proletaric Is Unnecessary." The affirmative side in the debate is taken by Samuel Brandon representing the Industrial Union League and the negative side by Arne Swabeck of the Communist League of America (Opposition). It will be held at the Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect Ave., Bronx, N. Y. The admission is only 10c.

The Proletarian Dictatorship is a subject of dispute of long standing between Communists and socialists, and, for that matter also, many industrial unionists. For us it is a settled question, but it would be assuming too much to maintain that this is the case with the working class in general. There is still dispute, even on its theoretical aspect. Often views are expressed somewhat as follows: "A Proletarian Dictatorship may be alright for Russia, which was an economically backward country; but in a highly advanced industrial country, like the United States, it is not necessary,-or else, workers to attend this debate.

WHAT NEXT

National Socialists (who in contradis- What is the relative strength of the tinction to Hitler's National Socialists- proletariat, the center and the Fascists? These and many other questions are

> posed and answered in WHAT NEXT? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat By Leon Trotsky a new book about 200 pages, paper cover 50c Send your orders now, Money is needed to rush this book out. Pioneer Publishers

> > 84 East 10th St.,

New York, N. Y.