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

What Really Happened at Shanghai C. P. of China? You will not say that such an action was impossible because of technical reasons, and transport reasons. For revolutionaries there are no

breaking the heroic struggle of the ing Communism. Shanghai masses, in taking Shanghai and the surrounding territory. This success was not due simply to the technical and military superiority of Japanese imperialism. The Chinese counter-revolution under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek capitulated before the enemy because of the fear that the steadfast struggle of the Shanghai workers would in the end be directed against them. For this reason, Chiang Kai-Shek disarmed the a struggle against the Japanese army. This is the way the former ally of Stalin fights for the national liberation China. It is once more made clear that the national liberation of the colonies can only come about by a victorious proletarian revolution.

Japanese imperialists. The party papers mental importance: (1) the relations beviet power, particularly calculated to chair, 'Who is for?' and 'Who is against?' reported that this army mutinied against tween the city and the country, the key establish a corresponding political har- we should easily discover that in the the Nanking government and organized question for the proletarian dictatorship mony between the proletariat and the majority of cases our elections to the the military resistance by itself. According to these same sources the army ance of the workers and the peasants; both of them and the Soviet power on tions' in quotation marks, for the voting Nanking.

What sort of an army is it? The entire Comintern press maintained any icy, silence on this question. Yet, it is impossible that these facts were unknown to the Comintern leaders. Aside from revolution of 1923 and the Bulgarian intion and consequently found it increasthe information apparatus of the Comin-Stalin, Manuilsky, Thaelmann and Co. knew very well what was going on in Shanghai.

did the Nineteenth Route Army do? To of thick filth and falsification with which ants, but also to the workers. To add The resolution is unanimously adopted. which party did the army appeal? The the bureaucracy has covered the true to the difficulties, strikes-a phenomenon There you have the customary type of Nineteenth Route Army appealed to the essence of the problem for nine years. rare and alarming under the Soviets- situation in our party organizations . . Communist Party of China. Why did the It may perhaps best be understood by Comintern leaders conceal this joyful first giving an account of the situation news from the Communist parties and existing in those days. In this way it the world proletariat? The Nineteenth will be possible to examine the contend-Army was looking for the C. P. of Chfna. Day after day it was covering the walls ground. of Shanghai with the message: Commun- The Program for Workers's Democracy tinctly Menshevik ideas, and the "Work- our party heirarchy." ist Party, come to our side, we want to join you! (This news comes from the party, when the counter-revolution and alist ideas. Even when the groups had of affairs that Trotsky proposed the official reporter of the Pravda, and was the civil war had been liquidated on divulged at a closed session. It does not hail from a "counter-revolution Trotsky- ed to terminate the atmosphere of "war ed: How shall their appearance be ex- and for a genuine workers' democracy ist"). All its efforts were in vain, the Communism" in the party and to substi-C. P. did not come to its side. The C. tute for it "workers', democracy" was P. could not be found in Shanghai, in adopted under the leadership of Lenin. the outstanding center of China. What "The needs of the current moment," read a frightful fact!

It is becoming clear only now, why the Comintern press kept quiet about the actual happenings within the Nineteenth Route Army. Had the Comintern leaders made these happenings known, every ergetically carried into every ergetically every ergetically carried into every ergetically ergeticall were the reports at the last E. C. C. I. plenum regarding the strength of the C. P. of China correct? According to these reports, the C. P. of China had hundreds of thousands of members, the Shanghai organization of the party was ary uprising in Kronstadt and the subseone of the strongest: The conclusion quent promulgation of the New Economic that every Party comrade must draw is Policy (NEP) resulted in the execution that these reports were abject deception. of the 10th Congress program being ar-That is the only answer there is.

the full responsibility for the disastrous how matters began to develop in the defeat of the Chinese proletariat in 1927, who have wrecked the Communist Party cifically. The problem was aggravated of China, had to conceal the truth regarding the actual conditions of the C. P. Ch. from the party membership so as to make them forget their catastrophic policies in China. And because this policy is being avenged in China, because there is not in fact any Communist Party there to lead the masses in struggle, the Stalinist bureaucracy had to withhold the joyful news that a whole army went over to the C. P. This is one more ter- price of manufactured objects, one latrible lesson of the disastrous policy of ter of which increased with the decrease

How much confidence can a Communist have in the data furnished by the Comintern leadership regarding the existence of a Soviet China in part of the country? Who will believe Munenzenberg, the General Secretary of the "League Against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression", an organization which according to the conceptions of the Comintern

Japanese imperialism has succeeded in the Stalinist leadership which is wreck. Is there a Communist party in these territories? If not, then under whose dictatorship. A Red Army without Communists cannot be red, cannot be an army of the proletarian revolution. There Stalinist strategists cannot deny that If that is the case; we ask: Wasn't it leaders is to lead the anti-imperialist possible to send Communist cadres from struggle, when he says at a public meet- the Soviet territories in China to Shan-Shanghai workers who were engaged in ing: "In China we have a Soviet Repu- ghai, there where your criminal policy blic with 70,000,000 inhabitants and with in its time gave Chiang Kai-Shek the over all enemies. a Red Army of 300,000 men." We ask: possibility to slaughter the elite of the

C. P. of China? You will not say that sons. For revolutionaries there are no such obstacles.

Are the data furnished by Muenzenleadership are the Soviets and the Red berg correct? Or are they only another Army? Soviets without Communists are link in the chain of deceptive reports? not executive organs of a proletarian The party comrades must know the truth. Revolutionists do not fear to realize their own weakness. Self-deception is the greatest disaster for the Commust be a Communist party there. The munist movement. We have had enough disappointments. Think of Lenin, who set up the principle of openly pointing out our weakness before the mass-not only before the members of the party. Therein lay the tremendous strength of the Leninist party and its superiority

-R. WELL.

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition: - 1923 The first struggle in the Russian party of the former. To draw together the In one of his speeches in 1923, be made The entire press, and the Communist around which the Left Opposition took blades of the scissors, that is, to bring these illuminating remarks: press in particular, have continually shape occurred in 1923 between the 12th the prices of agricultural and industrial "If we conducted an investigation and brought reports of the heroic struggle of and the 13th party congresses. It was products into greater harmony, became inquired how often our party elections the Nineteenth Route Army against the concerned with four questions of funda- the intensely urgent problem of the So- are conducted with the question from the

in Russia which is based upon the alli- peasantry on the one hand, and between party organizations have become 'elechad become a sort of rallying point for (2) the problem of a plan in the devel- the other hand. the popular masses of Shanghai. It opment of economy, which continues to was also reported that this army dis- run through all the subsequent internal armed divisions that remained loyal to struggles like a red thread; (3) the question of the internal party regime, been taken to solve the problem. To the the matter ends right there. Such is which the passage of the years has only rendered infinitely more acute; and finally, (4) the questions of revolutionary Industries, finding it hard to dispose of strategy raised by the abortive German their products, slowed up their producsurrection of the same year. The last ingly difficult to pay wages regularly. ing. Appears some comrade from the tern and the Communist press, there is point we will deal with in our next ar- When they were paid it was in the form district committee, presents a list, and also a press service of the U. S. S. R. ticle. Here we will occupy ourselves of a depreciated money which could not asks 'Who is against?' Nobody is with the first three points which are so satisfy the needs of the workers. The against, and the business is considered inextricably intertwined.

What happened at Shanghai? What means to dig under a veritable mountain were not only unavailable to the peas- 'Who is against?' Nobody is against. ing views against their natural back-

every important front, a program intend- pelled, the questions nevertheless remain- 12th party congress on plan in economy the resolution of the congress, "demand a new organizational form. That form is workers' democracy. A course of workers' democracy shall be adopted with the same decisiveness, and as enmilitarization of the party, to the extent that this does not meet an obstacle in the need for struggle with the counter-

The outbreak of the counter-revolutionrested for the time being. But the problem of democracy in the party lost none The Stalins and Thaelmanns who bear of its actuality, particularly in view of country as a whole and in the party speby the following circumstance:

In the summer of 1923, Russia experienced a severe economic crisis which became popularly known by a famous designation of Trotsky's as "the scissors crisis". The name was derived from the symbol of the widening blades of a of agricultural products and the other the

April 1923 had dealt formally with the 'Who is Against?' And, since to speak question, not a single practical step had against the authorities is a bad business, contrary: the summer and fall crisis was the election of the secretaries of our proof that the situation had worsened. number of unemployed was on the in- finished. With the order of the day, the To present the dispute of 1923 clearly crease. Manufactured goods, therefore, same procedure. The chairman asks, broke out in various parts of the country. It goes without saying that this gives

As far back as the 10th Congress of the ers' Truth Group", with anarcho-syndicphenomena were the result of the internal party regime of "war Communism" died out.

Trotsky's Intervention

Central Committee to express his opinion on the whole matter. In it he pointed not solve the problem. The crisis was due to the inadequate application of the 12th congress decisions on the organization of industry, especially with regard to the concentration of industry and the necessity of a plan. (Here, by the way, can be traced the origin of the struggle for a plan in economy which the Bolshevik-Leninists commenced and which the bureaucracy resisted for years afterwards.) Finally, he showed, the crisis was due to the inability of the party masses to exchange views, to exercize any influence upon the leadership, or to participate in the affairs of the statea condition resulting from a hierarchical and bureaucratic regime in the party with the prncipal mass of the officals appointed from above instead of elected by the membership,

How serious the bureaucratic distorscissors, one blade representing the price tion of the party had become may be seen even more clearly from the following two incidents. Lenin, desperately ill, was unable to participate directly in the affairs of the party But even from his sick-bed, he was in a position to see how matters stood and how great was the danger to the party and the revolution. Late in 1923, only a very short time before his death, he drew up one document after another directed against the secret clique of Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev-Bucharin which had already constituted itself with the determination to perpetuate themselves in control. It is in this period that Lenin wrote his numerous letters against Stalin, then the letter breaking off all personal relations with Stalin, and finally the famous "testament" in which he proposes that Stalin be removed from the post of party secretary. In one of the documents he wrote at that time, later known to the party as "Better Less and Better", Lenin wrote scathingly about the "Rabkrin" at tive work for the American bourgeoiste, the head of which stood Stalin: "Our neither more nor less. "On Guard," he new Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, we hope, will leave behind the quality which the French call pruderie, which we may call a ridiculous affectation and a ridiculous self-importance, which is the last degree characteristic of all our bureaucrats. Soviet bureaucrats and party bureaucrats alike. In parenthesis be it said that we have a bureaucracy not only in the Soviet in- ate Japan's advances upon the Soviets." stitutions but in the party too,"

How far the bureaucratism had al-

takes place not only without preliminary Although the 12th party congress in discussion, but according to the formula lower branches.

"If you raise the question of our party meetings, then how does it 'go here? Election of the praesidium of the meet-The mounting dissatisfaction of the rise to an enormous wave of dissatisworkers found expression in the party, faction. I gave you several examples too. In distorted form, it was reflected from the life of our lowest branches. notably in the formation of two secret The same thing is noticeable in a slightly groups, the "Workers' Group", with dis- changed form in the succeeding ranks of

been discovered and their leaders ex- realization in life of the decisions of the plained? And the answer which met in the country. Let us emphasize here with growing agreement was that these that the demand for workers' democracy raised so pointedly here was presented only as a revolutionary Marxist can: which continued to live after the period Not as an abstraction, not in the name of war communism in the country had of that "pure democracy" at whose shrine the Mensheviks worship so piously, but as a concrete need of the hour. On October 8, Trotsky wrote to the Trotsky's demand for workers' democracy was presented in direct connection with the needs of the socialist industry and out that repressive measures alone could the satisfaction of the needs of the in itself was a convention for the liquid- able and is not yet able to do this, beconsideration, further, the fact that Trotsky raised the whole problem in connection with the "scissors crisis" and the discontentment of the peasantry, that he presented the solution with an eye towards strengthening the bonds between the proletariat and the peasantry, it is already sufficient for a refutation of the absurd and unscrupulous inventions about an alleged "under-estimation of the peasantry" which the bureaucrats soon discovered to be the fundamental deviation of "Trotskyism".

-M. SHACHTMAN. (Continued in next issue)

Developments in

MADRID, March 24, 1932

The Communist Party of Spain has just held its Fourth National Convention at Seville. The few Spanish workers who even after the regional conferences still believed that the convention would mean the preparation for a strong Communist party and the first decisive step toward Communist unification have seen their hopes shattered. The convention of official Spanish Communism was a real "anti-Trotskyist" gathering. Only that part of the Open Letter of the Communist International, which calls upon the C. P. S. to undertake a forceful attack against the Communist Left Opposition was under discussion. We witnessed there how the leaders of the C. P., without without any transitory tsops, gave up their conception concerning the 'insignificance of Trotskyism in Spain" and adopted the point of view that Spain is the only country in which the Communist Left is actually important. They declared that it was a serious mistake on their part to disregard the enormous importance that "Trotskyism" had acquired in this country. The regional conferences which preceded the National Convention were dedicated almost entirely to the discussion of the "Trotskyist" problem and the National Convention only presented a resume of the regional conferences.

During the last three weeks "Trotskymore effectively by these self-same Stalinists than by our own work within the last two years. Today "Trotskyism" is being spoken about in Spain, in the working class organizations, in the coffee this sense, we have sufficient cause to be satisfied and we owe thanks to the Stalinist bureaucracy for the good work they have carried on for us.

Primo de Rivera in 1923, meeting at a moment when a serious depression is tariat and its vanguard in particular.

aside from demanding a fierce attack against "counter-revolutionary Trotsky-

Paradoxical as it may seem, the con-

Meanwhile the Political situation lends itself magnificently to the development of revolutionary action and the creation of a strong Communist party. The republican government, although it appears to be consolidated, finds itself in need of resorting to acts of violence in order to maintain itself in power. Bourgeois reaction has been able to readapt itself and to raise its head once more after proletariat at the present moment. Unthe panic which had seized it in the first der these historical circumstances, our days of the new regime. This is due to third National Conference is going to the obvious depression that has of late set in within the labor movement. It is undeniable that the Azana govern-

embodies the preparation of the coming into power of a government which, apart from being reactionary in general, will be particularly anti-working class in character and at that in a less concealed Unemployment is becoming more acute every day. In spite of the depression

ment, still under the "Leftist" label,

within the labor movement, strikes have not ceased to appear, although they give evidence of less intensity than several months ago. The labor crisis will continue to grow from day to day and the workers' movement will very soon resurge with even greater combativity than heretofore. The workers will defend their right to live and will engage in struggles of even greater importance and sharpness than those in the past. The anarchists and the anarcho-syndicalists have showed that they are incapable of leading the proletariat to victory. Although the anarchist working class elements have showed an admirable spirit of militancy and heroism. Nothing can be expected from the social democratic traitors. The hope of the working class rested with the Communist party and the latter deceived it in its hope. This is the great responsibility of the Stalinist bureaucracy. This responsibilty signifies incompetence and a lack of understanding on the one side; sectarianism, arrogance and the lack of the most elementary notions of responsibility, on ism" has been propagated in Spain much the other hand. The Stalinist leaders have not been able to wrest away the masses from the influence of the democratic illusions, denying these democratic illusions and prescribing a leap in one step and without any transition, houses, in the theatres everywhere. In from the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera to a Soviet regime, although at present they lose themselves in the biggest confusionism with regard to slogans of a democratic character and believe that Nevertheless, it is deplorable that the in order to come to the proletarian dicfirst convention held by the Spanish tatorship it is necessary to "pass through Communists since the coup d'Etat of the democratic stage of a workers' and peasants' government" (the same slogan that "guided" the Chinese revolution of beginning within the labor movement of 1926-27). They are the only ones re-Spain, should not have taken under con- sponsible for the masses turning, after sideration any other problem outside of losing all their confidence in the present that concerning "Trotskyism" --- and that republic, to the bourgeois "leftist" radiin an altogether superficial and subjec- cals. The establishment of the "left" tive form-especially in view of the tre- radical bourgeoisie as a party defending mendous tasks facing the Spanish prole- the democracy is something for which the Stalinist bureaucracy is largely re-The Open Letter of the Communist In- sponsible. The leadership of the C. P. ternational, assuming the air of a teach. S. was unable to explain to the masses er, merely repeats our own criticism of the deception of bourgeois democracy. It the leadership of the Spanish Communist merely aggravated things, when at the Party, stigmatizes the mistakes committime the masses were intoxicated with ted but gives no solution for the future the notion of democracy, it demanded "all power to the Soviets", to Soviets that did not exist except in the fancy of the Spanish disciples of Stalin.

It is necessary to destroy the demvention of the C. P. S. did not take up ocratic illusions of the masses; it is necthe present situation. Sad as it is, we essary to wrest them away from the inmust say this openly. Not a single thesist fluence of the radical bourgeoisie. The was presented to the convention, which official Communist party has not been working class. And when one takes into ation of the Communist Party of Spain, cause its leadership has deserted the correct Bolshevik line. It is precisely for this reason that the C. P. S. is uninterruptedly disintegrating and being destroyed. The best militants of the Communist party keep on moving in the direction of the Communist Left Opposition, are constantly increasing our ranks.

> This is the present situation and these are the problems facing the Spanish meet. Before this conference there is presented in the form of theses, an arsenal of documents on problems which the Communist Left Opposition will have to solve. Today the Communist Left Opposition is the organization toward which the most conscious proletariat of Spain turns its eyes. A large current of working class opinion is making its way toward us, putting its faith in the Communist Left Opposton of Spain. The responsibility of our organization in this historical moment is the responsibility of the real Communist party of Spain, of the genuine vanguard of the Spanish proletariat. Conscious of our duties and responsibilities, we are going to meet at our National Conference on March 26 The achievements of this conference will

-HENRI LACROIX.

Imperialist War and Social Chauvinism

(Continued from page 1)

conceived. Instead we read this solicitous advice to the American bourgeoisie

are worked out." (Our emphasis).

the Daily Worker seeks to do the deteccries in effect, "France and England are planning to repudiate your war debts. This is the conference which strengthen-Japan. You would be foolish to toler-

Is this the first concrete result of the new Stalinist "temporary alliance"? Has the American party already become dip- fixion. Stalinism is driving it to the ready gone in the party was described at lomatic adviser to the Hoover govern- brink of the abyss. The Communist that time, among others, also by Buch- ment? And has a more treacherous trap workers must cleanse the movement of arin, who was one of the leaders in the been prepared in the Communist move- the poison before it is too late. fight against Trotsky and the Opposition. ment in recent times than this one?

Now the party demand for the "exare forgotten as lightly as they were pulsion of all Japanese diplomatic representatives from the U. S." becomes entirely clear-if it ever was obscure. concerning the recent Tardieu-MacDonald The American party demands of the bourgeoisie that it take steps against the "At this conference two questions were Japanese which the Soviet Union has discussed simultaneously: the situation refrained from taking. But the expulin the Far East and the common repudia- sion of all diplomatic representatives is tion of paying war debts to the United only the first of many connected steps States. It is also no accident that the To break off diplomatic relations is usu-'attack against the dollar' has been stren- ally the prelude to a declaration of war. gthened to an unparalleled degree dir- The cruel logic of the party's downright be the subject of our next article. ectly after this conference. The Amer- chauvinistic position is that, in the event ican 'economists' are trying to find the of the consistent sharpening of the conroutes of this attack in the collabora- flict, it would only be stopping "unreation between French and English news- sonably" half way along its chosen road papers. It would be better for them to if it failed to support the American bourcast a glance deeper and to look into the geoisie in declaring war against the Quai d'Orsay and Downing Street, where Japanese. This is how the mercenaries the French and English foreign policies of Stalinism are slowly converting the great Leninist slogan to make it read: With this paragraph, the statesman of Transform the civil war into an imper-

In his magnificent criticism of the program of the Comintern, comrade Trotsky pointed out that the nationalistic, opportunistic degeneration of the social democracy led inexorably to Auged the atack on 'our' dollar. This at- ust 4, 1914, and he warned against the tack is not being conducted by isolated essential similarity with the poison innewspapers. The real enemy is the jected into the body of world Communism French bourgeoisie, the English bourge- by the idea of socialism in one country. oisie. They are also ones who back Of all the rotten fruits it has born, the present is one of the most monstrous. We say openly: this road leads to a horrible catastrophe for international Communism to its betrayal and cruci-

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