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

Appeal to the S. A. P.

The Left Opposition Addresses the Centrist Party Congress

(Continued from last issue) U. the beginnings of a classless society pose of diminishing the war danger and which in struggle for the seizure of are already in existence, it is not neces- was sustained even after the betrayal of power gains the confidence of the progary to concentra e all forces for the Purcell and others. In this way the bedevelopment of a proletarian revolution trayal of the reformists was covered up in other countries. As the realization by the authority of the Soviet Union "in of a classless society in the S. U. will order to remove the war danger" and of the working class and must represent apparently lead by example to the intro- the growth of the Communist Party of its historical interests. It leads the duction of socialism in other countries. England was made impossible. The re- proletariat into struggle for power and Therefore the whole policy of the Com- formists quit the committee after they after the victory toward the building of munist parties is confined to a simple no longer had any need of it. role: propaganda against the war of intervention against the S. U. Only people 8. J. V. (the Youth Section) you want is an international struggle. The Comwho do not grasp the international char- to be Communists. You cannot be that munist International is that organizaacter of the proletarian revolution (like only through the adoption of general tion which directs this struggle, subjects Brandler and Thalheimer and now in the principles of Communism. You must the temporary interests of the proletariat S. A. P.—Rueck, Schaber, Dueby) can learn from the experiences of the C. I. to the historical ones and its limited naassert that the policy of Stalin is good for the last 9 years. Without drawing tional aims to the international aims. and only the policy of Thaelmann is bad. the correct conclusions from this period) Just as until 1923 the correct policy of of weakness and defeat of the C. I. one realizing cocialism in a single country is the Communist Party of the S. U. exerted cannot become a Marxist-Leninist. a fruitful influence on other Communist parties, so the false policy of the Communist Party of the S. U. now exerts a devastating influence on other Communist parties. Until 1923 the leading role of the C. P. of the S. U. influenced the C. I. positively, now negatively. From this follows the necessity of changing the policy of the C. P. of the S. U., the abrogation of the theory of socialism in one country from which all the strategic and tactical errors of the C. I. follow. So long as the only proletarian revolu-

National Socialism vs. Leninism

munist Party of the S. U.

tion exists in Russia, the leading role in

the C. I. will remain that of the Com-

If it is correct that socialism can be realized in the S. U., that a classless society can be built, then the victory of Fascism in Germany is not dangerous, at least not so dangerous that it can jeopardize the existence of the proletarian state. If the existence of the S. U. is determined only by national factors, then the events on the international arena, in China and especially in Germany are only of a secondary nature. And if the consequences of a possible seizure of power by the Fascists in Germany are underestimated and it is considered as a phenomenon of short duration then one can hold the point of view enemy. Then the programs of "national group, there was established a united and social liberation" and of "social Fascism" are correct, then a united front with the S. P. G. and with the unions is not necessary, then also is acceptable the policy of the "Red Trade Union Opposition" (R. G. O.-the C. P. trade union organization). Without a correct revolutionary theory there can be no correct revolutionary practice! It front of the proletariat not a thing in is not a matter of a few mistakes of the itself. The necessity and significance of C. I. on "fine points" but of a whole the united front becomes clear only when system of backsliding from the positions the closeness and full danger of Fascof Marxism-Leninism. The Brandlers ism is realized, as well as the necessity and Thalheimers could not grasp this and to defeat Fascism before the seizure of paper. In the event that war actually asume, acted favorably upon Browder's therefore their policy suffered a complete power, since after its victory this would breaks out between the Soviet Union and demand) can thereupon address itself to bankruptcy. Rueck, Schaber, Dueby are repeating the same thing today.

One cannot train Communist cadres without taking a definite stand with re- parties can do this work by itself. That gard to the whole policy of the C. I. for the past 9 years. The policy of the C. I. in China shows how a revolution in colonial countries should not be organized. Contrary to the theses and statutes for every worker who wants to struggle of the Communist International adopted against Fascism earnestly and successat the Second Congress (Theses on the fully that a real united front must be national and colonial quations, 1920, 9- established between the various political 66-77) which state:

"The Communist International should enter into a temporary collaboration, even an alliance with the revolutionary movement of the colonies and the backward countries, must not however combine itself with it, but must unconditionally maintain the independent character sible only on the basis of a clear revof the revolutionary movement-be it even in embryo form", the Comintern under the leadership of Stalin pursued a but repeatedly makes concessions to it. policy in China which aimed at the suppression of "the independent character" of the Communist party of China by all means. The counter-revolutionary party of Chiang-Kai-Shek's Kuo Min Tang was recognized as a party "friendly" to the Comintern, the Communists of China were ordered not to come out as an independent party which warns the pro- the bourgeois state apparatus and establetariat and the peasants of the inevitable betrayal by the Kuo Min Tang and then leads them to the realization of the revolution, but to remain as a fraction of the Kuo Min Tang. They strove not to the proletarian dictatorship but to the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants". The Communists of China were forced in the years of 1925-1927 to suppress workers' strikes and peasants uprising because of the union with a "friendly" party and for the sake of "national unity" This policy led to the tragedy of the Chinese revolution, to the murder of thousands of Communists and of an even larger number of workers and peasants by the blood-thirsty counter-revolution, by Stalin's allies of yesterday. The C. I. stands helpless in the face of present events in China. The Communist Party of China does not exist.

The Anglo-Russian Committee

The experiences in England are just as important. The history of the Anglo-Russian Committee should be studied by all revolutionaries who want to gain clarity on questions of the United Front and who want to understand the present weakness of British Communism. The bloc of the Soviet-Russian and English

trade unions was entered into against the If one is of the opinion that in the S. protests of the Opposition for the pur- democracy. They are led by a party

You workers of the S. A. P. and the

United Front and Cartels.

Without the C. P. G., S. P. G. and 6. The presupposition for the recogniunions, no united front of the proletariat tion of the revolutionary, that is, Comis possible. Many of you seem to for- munist world movement is the reform of get this obvious truth. This can be seen the Communist International and of the from the cartels which you have estab- C. P. which will remove the strategic lished. We see that the cartels are and tactical errors of the present leadermade into discussion clubs in which one ship, will re-introduce inner party demspeaker after another tries to prove that ocracy and will achieve the unity of the the C. P. G. is incapable of carrying Communist ranks on the basis of Leninthrough actions, thus creating unbeliev- ism. able illusions in the fighting strength of the cartels. We never denied the necessity of discussions, but it is clear to us that the aim of anti-Fascist cartels-or whatever other name they may bearconsists in the first place in extra-parliamentary actions. The first condition for this is the participation of the decisive proletarian organizations. Due to the fact that the cartels became meeting places of the bankrupt Brandler group, the bourgeoisie in one's own country can the Urbahns group and various other unimportant organizations, you made it ship of the proletariat in the Soviet Front gained from these losses. An inimpossible for yourself, workers of the Union. S. A. P., to reach members of the C. P. G., their local organizations, as well as the S. P. G. and the Unions. You must trism. learn this lesson from the past if you want actively to help build the class front of the proletariat.

The example of our organization in Bruchsal is instructive. Thanks to our front with the S. P. G. with the unions and all other non-party organizations. This it seems is the only place in Germany where in spite of the existence of front of the workers of Bruchsal.

We consider the question of a united be incomparably more difficult and Japan, the United States will appear on the party C. E. C. as follows: "Now that bloody, if not impossible for a long per- the scene as the military ally of the iod. None of the existing proletarian former. It will be in a position to carry is why we turn against the treacherous policy of the S. P. G. as well as against the false policy of the C. P. G. From this appraisal of the situation it follows camps of the divided working masses. The private anti-Fascist cartels consisting of yourselves, Brandler and Urbahns will not solve this problem as you have not the masses with you.

What Constitutes A Revolutionary Policy

Correct united front tactics are posolutionary policy. Your party has in no way vet fully overcome reformism If you will remove this condition and fully embrace a real revolutionary policy you must struggle for the following and navy; perhaps, also, he will call States-all of them ideas which are in-Communist fundamentals:

1. The victory of the proletariat is war upon the bourgeoisie which is enpossible only through an armed uprising, during which the proletariat destroys viet Union.

lishes the dictatorship of the proletariat which is the form of the rule of the working class in the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

- 2. The dictatorship of the proletariat is exerted through councils (Soviets) which exercise the widest proletarian letariat and this can only be a Communist party.
- 3. The Communist party is the mind socialism.
- 4. The struggle for a socialist society
- 5. The "theory" of the possibility of reactionary, it contradicts the teachings of Marx and Lenin.
- 7. The victory of Fascism in Germany will mean not only the bloody suppression of the German working class, but also the greater sharpening of the war danger for the Soviet Union.
- 8. One of the most important tasks in the present situation is the defense of the Soviet Union as the fortress of the international proletariat. Only the defeat of Fascism and the overthrow of safeguard the existence of the dictator-

Therefore, comrades of the S. A. P. fight all forms of reformism and cen-

Forward to Communism!

(Continued from page 2)

movement in the camp of imperialism).

The Meaning of an Alliance

entirely. Such measures are not taken

merely for the sake of remaining on

against Japan, but primarily against

China, under the convenient banner of

military intervention by Japan! The

American bourgeoisie, which has always

fastened the imperialist yoke upon weak-

"democratic elections" in Nicaragua-

could not wish for a more noble ban-

ner under which to sink its teeth into

China than the "defense" of the Soviet

Still more: Let us again assume the

outbreak of a Japanese-Soviet war. On

the basis of the "alliance", the Soviets

upon the working class to suspend its

gaged, you see, in fighting to a success-

ful finish its war in defense of the So-

If not, he will be infinitely less con-

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WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHINA NOW?

WHAT SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS DO?

Union from Japanese intervention!

The Bureaucrats Analyze the Elections

How the Rank and File Party Members React to their «Analysis»

The article below, taken from our German brother organ Die Permanente Revolution, gives a good picture of the party bureaucracy's methods of "analyzing" election results and of the genuine reactions of the party membership to the set-backs the C. P. G. has recently suffered.

The result of the elections "lags beelection results are unsatisfactory for the Communist party". (Rote Fahne, March 14).

"The Communists do not consider it necessary to shout out loud about their victory" (Pravda, March 17,

"From this point of view, the five million votes for the fighting candidacy of the C. P. G. in the first ballot must be described as a big victory" (Thaelmann on March 25. See Rote Fahne of March 30.)

It can readily be seen from these quotations how, inside of 14 days the defeat of March 13, which the Rote Fahne expressed with the words "unsatisfactory result" became a "great victory" of the C. P. G. What is this about face based on? Is it really true that after a more thorough investigation, the election results must be evaluated differently the way the Rote Fahne did on March 14? Let us look at the figures more closely. We find that in almost all the decisive industrial districts the party lost many votes. For example, in the "Thaelmann fortress" Hamburg, in several of its proletarian quarters alone: St. Pauli, St. Georg, Barmbeck and Eimsbuttel, the party lost from 25 to 28 per cent of the votes it received in the last local elections. The Nazis too have had small losses there. Only the Hindenburg vestigation of the results in the other districts in the Reich does not permit an optimistic evaluation for the C. P. G. It is significant that the optimism of with the socialist construction in the was to be continued on Thursday, March the Rote Fabre came into view only after Soviet Union? These are questions 24. The bureaucracy needed this postthe article in the Pravda, The Pravda, which require an answer. But that ponement, in order to eliminate all crit-Left Opposition of the C. P. G. however, must baptize the defeat as a leads too far: By answering such ques-

you, you must take the second step to-

Japanese diplomats as you demanded

we are precipitating a war and we want

finish, not merely to the finish of the dip-

lomats, but also of their government. We

suppose you will stop your attacks upon

tacks. We feel no qualms or insolence

in asking this of you, because we have

learned from Lovestone that almost any-

thing may be done by the Communists

'in principle'." What Browder will re-

ply to this we do not know and we are

quite ready to let him worry about it

But, shouts Lovestone to us muddled

out its imperialist designs not merely gether with us. We have expelled the

defending the workers fatherland from your assistance in prosecuting it to the

er peoples in the name of the loftiest us while we are fighting Japan and help-

ideals-the "open door" in China or ing the Soviet Union ward off her at-

are "legally" justified in calling for the pseudo-revolutionary phrase-mongers, to

dispatch of American aid to relieve its us disbelievers in socialism in one coun-

This must not and cannot be expressed defeat of the C. P. G. openly. That is why the decline of March 13 has become a "big victory of hind the objective possibilities that the line has been drawn, and now the the present situation offers us. The editors and orators can rave about the and tactical line of the party has been an increased measure.

The Lies of the Party Press

The "victory" of the party at the presidential elections, which has been invented by the bureaucracy, cannot, however, placate the party members. ate the results of the elections. The bureaucracy offers a cheap explanation results of the March 13 elections. to quiet down the membership. The so-

| feats, his policy is infallible. His theory strategic and tactical line of the party that "the social democracy and Fascism is. And this, the party bureaucracy can are twins" has suffered shipwreck, the in no case permit to happen. There-S. P. G. and the Nazis have become still fore, the cheap explanation, that the stronger, the party has become weaker. leaders of the S. P. G. are guilty for the

Furthermore, "the counter revolutionary, deceptive maneuvers of the S. A. P. the C. P. G." The tone has been given, and the Trotskyists: For Thaelmannagainst the C. P. G." are also to blame for the party's defeat. Only an editor "big victory". Now it has become clear of the Rote Fahne can write such lies that "the correctness of the strategical about the Left Opposition. The brother organ of the Rote Falme in France, confirmed completely" and the barrage L'Humanite, in the article by Peri of of slander against all those who are of March 13, goes as far as to maintain a different opinion, can continue even in that Trotsky has appealed for the election of Hindenburg. But the scribblers on the party press know very well that Die Permanente Revolution appealed to: "Vote for Thaelmann, the Candidate of the C. P. G." and "Despite the Thaelmann Course, Every Force for the Strengthen-They know well, how they must evalu- ing of the C. P. G." So much for the lessons the party press draws from the

By means of self-criticism the party cial Fascist leaders are guilty, because will overcome all shortcomings and with the slogan of the lesser evil they weaknesses, the party press writes day have held the workers back from giving in day out. Is the examination of the their vote to Thaelmann. But this is political line of the party, and of its acprecisely the task of the social dem- tions therefore in order? May the party ocracy! That the leaders of the S. P. G. members, for instance, say how they and the trade unions are betrayers- evaluate the results of March 13? What every Communist is well aware of. That is self-criticism? Let us take a few it is the task of the enemy to fight examples: In Berlin there was a gathagainst C. P. G., is only natural. The ering of party functionaries after the leaders of the S. P. G. can travel no conclusion from the election results to other road than the one they have taken the effect that the party policy must be ever since August 4 ,1914. To get ex- corrected. That was sufficient to arouse cited over this is useless. But how is it an uninterrupted hullaballoo on part of possible that the S. P. G. succeeds in the party bureaucracy. One discussion winning millions, yes, the greatest part speaker, excited by the continual interof the German working class for the ruptions, had to call out: "This is even policy of the "lesser evil", even though worse than among the Nazis" and anthey have no more reforms to offer to other: "Heinz Neumann may speak, but the workers? How is it possible that no workers!" Such self-criticism was the C. P. G. has not been able to extend too much for the bureaucracy and the its influence in the working class, what meeting was adjourned abruptly. It (Bolshevik-Leninists) victory, because Stalin can stand no de tions it must become clear how false the we bring in full, is an exact picture of what took place:

"To All Sub-District Committees!

"To All Unit Organizers! To All Fraction Leaders in the Mass

Organizations! "What must absolutely be kept in mind

in distributing invitations for the continuation of the conference of party functionaries on Thursday, March 24? "1. The last party functionaries' con-

ference was attended to the extent of about 5-6 unemployed party comrades. The functionaries from the most important front, from the factory front, were therefore almost entirely absent. port of Japanese troops in a war against That is why invitations must be extended China, in spite of Lovestone's learned in such a manner that more than half explanations that war is a continuation of the representatives are factory work-

"2. Half of the comrades present at A revolutionary trade union, finally, the last conference were in the party would take proper advantage of a rift less than a year, and half of these in in the ranks of the manufacturers, or of turn, less than three months. We must antagonisms between different strata see to it that this time our really acamong the latter, and adjust its tactics tive party functionaries are invited and

The sub-district committee, the unit some reluctance that we refrain from as will make it impossible in the future. ent to which Lovestone's resent advoc- cess to our internal conferences through

Only in this manner can the responsible party functionaries guarantee that the coming party functionaries' conference will be a real impetus to revolutionary mass work for the next few ances" of the Stalin-Browder-Radek- weeks and months in the struggle around Lovestone type, and yet we are entirely the run-off elections and the elections in

Secretariat of the D. E. C. This is a concrete example of "selfcriticism" in Berlin. Every party member who criticizes is an "open enemy of The reactionary theory of socialism in the party". In Hamburg, the District one country is predicated upon trans- Organizer, Schubert went so far as to forming the international Communist say at a conference of party functionarmovement into a pacifist frontier guard ies that the poor results in the elections defending the Soviet Union from inter- at Hamburg are due to the comrades in vention while it builds an isolated, na- the Kampfbund (the party's anti-Fascist tional utopia. In endeavoring to build "mass" organization), who were only this national socialist fantasy, interven- guarding the posters at night and slept tion must be warded off at any price. in the daytime, when they should have The price thus far has included the heavy been discussing at the unemployed repayments made by the English proletar- gistry offices. When those present proiat for the Soviet alliance with Purcell; tested against this shameless arrogance, Schubert declared: "Whoever does not maintain discipline to the end of the ance with Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang elections, stands expelled". This is the picture of the party's "self-criticism". Such "self-criticism" is the deception which makes it possible for the party bureaucracy to insult the members and to forbid any criticism of the policies of the party leadership. But this cannot go on. The members

Lenin in the bargain, in an effort to are beginning to realize that the party present Radek's proposal, as well as the leadership is leading them into the void. party's demand for the "expulsion of the They will criticize. After the second ballot, the party members will resort even more to criticism. It is the task of the Left Opposition to pose the deworker to vote for his employer at the fundamental line. The tree of national the foreground. It is on this field that

-Die Permanente Revolution

Japanese diplomats", as isolated abberrations, as accidental deviations from

purpose, of how truth, "logically extended", becomes a lie. Economics, Politics and War

The Soviet Union grants foreign imperialist concessionaries certain economic Russian labor and accumulate capital. And yet, even though "politics is concentrated economics", it stubbornly refuses, in principle, to grant the concessionary

a military alliance with America a "log-

ical extension" of a commercial agree-

Here you have a classic instance of

any political rights whatsoever. the introduction of the N. E. P., the exploiting Kulak was granted definite economic privileges, yet Lenin opposed eva. granting him any political rights. The worker makes a "commercial

agreement" to work for his employer and to surrender the surplus value he produces so that his employer may accumulate capital. William Green "logically of politics by other means", he helps

The Soviet Union might allow the Japanese the use of the Chinese Eastern Railway for the "economic" purpose--let us imagine-of dumping Japanese products on the Chinese market and causing the ruin of certain native industries. Yet, Russia would rightly refuse the use of the Chinese Eastern for the transof politics which is only concentrated ers.

in order to make the most gains for the represented. workers. But it would not enter into an "alliance" with one set of manufac- organizers and the fraction leaders in turers for the purpose of wiping out a the mass organizations are responsible rival set of manufacturers. (It is with for such a distribution of the invitations dwelling here on an analysis of the ex- for open enemies of the party to get acacy "in principle" of Radek's proposal a careless distribution of invitations. is a "logical extension" of the policy pursued in the needle trades union under the regime of Lovestone-Zimmerman

No, we are against "military alliin favor of utilizing imperialist disagree- Prussia. separably connected and which must be ments as well as of concluding "commeropposed or advocated as a whole-but, cial agreements". If "logical extension" he shouts, is not war the continuation of is to be spoken of at all, then it is only politics by other means, and is not pol- in this connection:

rights, even allowing them to exploit the payments made by the Chinese proletariat and peasantry for Stalin's alli-Chin Wei; the payments still being made for the pacifist confusion and delusion With of the world proletariat by the signing of the Kellogg Pact and Litvinov's Kautskyism antics every six months at Gen-

Lovestone exerts himself, and defames

extends" this idea, he "concentrates" the generally correct line. Not at all! economics into politics, and tells the They are entirely logical results of the mand for free criticism in the party into

hard-pressed forces from the Japanese try, in Kellogg Pacts being signed by the offensive. If Lovestone is a member of Soviet Union, in raising slogans for the Congress by that time, we assume that expulsion of Japanese diplomats, in makhe will vote war credits to the army ing military alliances with the United

Lovestone and the «Muddled Pseudo-Revolutionists» sistent than the Stalinists whose defense herd the workers into the trenches an "iron front" was forced but a class today and, in the deepest sense of the he has assumed "in principle". They that more capital can be accumulated at world, the spearhead of the anti-Soviet already demand, in complete harmony home. with the idea behind Radek's proposal, the expulsion of the Japanese diplomats But the conclusion of a military al- from the State. And since the breaking liance with America is another matter off of diplomatic relations is usually the forerunner of a declaration of war, the American bourgeoisie (which has, let us

ities concentrated economics, and is not how generally accepted postulates can be prostitued to serve a reactionary

polls. And since "war is a continuation socialism can only bear chauvinist fruit. we must drive the first wedge.

-MAX SHACHTMAN.