

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)
If one is of the opinion that in the S. U. the beginnings of a classless society are already in existence, it is not necessary to concentrate all forces for the development of a proletarian revolution in other countries.

trade unions was entered into against the protests of the Opposition for the purpose of diminishing the war danger and was sustained even after the betrayal of Purcell and others.

You workers of the S. A. P. and the S. J. V. (the Youth Section) you want to be Communists. You cannot be that only through the adoption of general principles of Communism.

Without the C. P. G., S. P. G. and unions, no united front of the proletariat is possible. Many of you seem to forget this obvious truth.

National Socialism vs. Leninism

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.

The example of our organization in Bruchsal is instructive. Thanks to our group, there was established a united front with the S. P. G. with the unions and all other non-party organizations.

We consider the question of a united front of the proletariat not a thing in itself. The necessity and significance of the united front becomes clear only when the closeness and full danger of Fascism is realized, as well as the necessity to defeat Fascism before the seizure of power.

One cannot train Communist cadres without taking a definite stand with regard 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.

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 of the revolutionary movement.

Correct united front tactics are possible only on the basis of a clear revolutionary policy. Your party has in no way yet fully overcome reformism but repeatedly makes concessions to it.

1. The victory of the proletariat is possible only through an armed uprising, during which the proletariat destroys the bourgeois state apparatus and establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat which is the form of the rule of the working class in the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

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 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 behind the objective possibilities that the present situation offers us. The election results are unsatisfactory for the Communist party".

"The Communists do not consider it necessary to shout out loud about their victory" (Pravda, March 17, 1932)

"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.

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 the bourgeoisie in one's own country can safeguard the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

Therefore, comrades of the S. A. P., fight all forms of reformism and centrism. Forward to Communism! Executive Committee of the Left Opposition of the C. P. G. (Bolshevik-Leninists)

feats, his policy is infallible. His theory that "the social democracy and Fascism are twins" has suffered shipwreck, the S. P. G. and the Nazis have become still stronger, the party has become weaker.

The social Fascist leaders are guilty, because with the slogan of the lesser evil they have held the workers back from giving their vote to Thaelmann.

"The victory" of the party at the presidential elections, which has been invented by the bureaucracy, cannot, however, placate the party members.

The bureaucracy offers a cheap explanation to quiet down the membership. The social Fascist leaders are guilty, because with the slogan of the lesser evil they have held the workers back from giving their vote to Thaelmann.

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Lovestone and the «Muddled Pseudo-Revolutionists»

(Continued from page 2)

today and, in the deepest sense of the world, the spearhead of the anti-Soviet movement in the camp of imperialism).

The Meaning of an Alliance

But the conclusion of a military alliance with America is another matter entirely. Such measures are not taken merely for the sake of remaining on paper. In the event that war actually breaks out between the Soviet Union and Japan, the United States will appear on the scene as the military ally of the former.

Still more: Let us again assume the outbreak of a Japanese-Soviet war. On the basis of the "alliance", the Soviets are "legally" justified in calling for the dispatch of American aid to relieve its hard-pressed forces from the Japanese offensive.

If not, he will be infinitely less consistent than the Stalinists whose defense he has assumed "in principle".

herd the workers into the trenches so that more capital can be accumulated at home.

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.

A revolutionary trade union, finally, would take proper advantage of a rift in the ranks of the manufacturers, or of antagonisms between different strata among the latter, and adjust its tactics in order to make the most gains for the workers.

No, we are against "military alliances" of the Stalin-Browder-Radek-Lovestone type, and yet we are entirely in favor of utilizing imperialist disagreements as well as of concluding "commercial agreements".

Here you have a classic instance of how generally accepted postulates can be prostituted to serve a reactionary purpose, of how truth, "logically extended", becomes a lie.

Economics, Politics and War

The Soviet Union grants foreign imperialist concessionaires certain economic rights, even allowing them to exploit Russian labor and accumulate capital. And yet, even though "politics is concentrated economics", it stubbornly refuses, in principle, to grant the concessionary any political rights whatsoever.

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 extends" this idea, he "condemns" economics into politics, and tells the worker to vote for his employer at the polls.

secretariat of the D. E. C. This is a concrete example of "self-criticism" in Berlin.

But this cannot go on. The members are beginning to realize that the party leadership is leading them into the void. They will criticize. After the second ballot, the party members will resort even more to criticism.

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strategic and tactical line of the party is. And this, the party bureaucracy can in no case permit to happen.

Furthermore, "the counter revolutionary, deceptive maneuvers of the S. A. P. and the Trotskyists: For Thaelmann—against the C. P. G." are also to blame for the party's defeat.

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"Berlin, March 21, 1932
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' conference 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.

"2. Half of the comrades present at the last conference were in the party less than a year, and half of these in turn, less than three months. We must see to it that this time our really active party functionaries are invited and represented.

The sub-district committee, the unit organizers and the fraction leaders in the mass organizations are responsible for such a distribution of the invitations as will make it impossible in the future, for open enemies of the party to get access to our internal conferences through a careless distribution of invitations.

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 weeks and months in the struggle around the run-off elections and the elections in Prussia.

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Now on the Press!

Problems of the Chinese Revolution

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE 1925-1927 CHINESE REVOLUTION? WHY WAS THE SITUATION LOST BY THE PROLETARIAT? WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHINA NOW? WHAT SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS DO?

These questions and many more are posed and answered in this book. In Trotsky's own words: "The lessons and problems in the strategy and tactics of the Chinese Revolution constitute at the present time the greatest teaching for the international proletariat."

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-MAX SHACHTMAN.

-Die Permanente Revolution