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

# For a Turn in the Policy of the C.P.G

page 243.)

off election mostly to Hitler.

of the proletariat." The whole party solely and alone the present Thaelmann What a tremendous impression—just impress considered the votes cast for leadership. Thaelmann "as a clear avowal of revolutionary class struggle". Doubtless, a proletariat is not yet beaten. The recent geois and the Fascisst. Such an outpourgreat number of votes lost by Thaelmann demonstrations in the country, and esin the run-off elections are to be found pecially in Berlin, show an upsurge of among the abstainers. The results of the Berlin proletariat not witnessed in the election in a series of proletarian many years. The Communist demonstradistricts, however, give a terrifying pic- tion as well as that of the "Iron Front" ture of the confusion created by the filled the Lustgarten and the neighboring Stalin-Thaelmann leadership in the Com- streets. Contrarwise, the demonstration Wedding, in Berlin, Hindenburg received 98,398 (during the first elections 96,843), clear that the decision between them and workers are not yet fused into a united Hitler 49,616 (35,851 and Duestenberg the Fascists will be carried out into the front. The conquest of the state appar-12,274). Thaelmann 77,755 (90,693). Similar changes from Thaelmann to Hitler occured also in Neukoelln, Friedrichshain and Spandau, where at least 1,000 Communist voters gave their votes in the run-off elections to Hitler. Such is the picture in Berlin. In the country it stands out even in bolder relief. In the voting district of Leipzig, Duestenberg received on March 13th 36,000 votes. Thaelmann lost 23,000, Hitler won 59,000 In the district of Dresden-Bautzen: Duestenberg had 77,500 votes. Hindenberg won 15,000, Hitler 92,000, Thaelmann lost 38,000. In the district Chemnitz-Zwickau: Duestenberg had 35,000, Hin-Thaelmann lost 50,000 votes. Similar and more striking results are to be observed in Manuheim, Frankfort O. M., Hessen and other districts.

Die Rote Fahne cannot deny the fact of the swinging over of Communist voters to Hitler. It was forced to admit it in the issue of April 12th where it states that "the attempt of the Hitler and Hindenburg parties to break through the Communist front was repelled . . . Only a very small number allowed itself to be misled into casting its votes for one or the other of the bourgeois candidates". What do these words mean? They mean nothing else but that in a time especially favorable for a Communist advance, a Communist party states with satisfaction that its class enemy, which is doomed by history to disappearance, has not succeeded in breaking through the Communist front and that—nevertheless, where it did cupation of the Ruhr which threatened explained the whole thing away with a the class and the requirements of the succeed—the whole question was only of the Station of the state of the Russian party bloc? That would and contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would and contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would and contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would and contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be small number of Communication and Contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be small number of Communication and Contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be small number of Communication and Contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be small number of Communication and Contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be small number of Communication and Contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be small number of Communication and Contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party bloc? That would be contrasted with the experiences of the Russian party b a small number of Communist hangerson. This the bankrupt party bureaucracy writes at a time when the Communist Party of Germany could day in and day out have made inroads into the reformist and petty-bourgeois camps.

the party comrades in the shops and employment exchanges then really fully armed against the theory of the "lesser enjoy at the present moment, for ex- "Left" faction at the head of the party evil" of the S. P. G.? They reproached ample, and the main bulwark of the and removing Brandler and Thaelheimer. denburg and therefore also for the re- was experiencing a process of disinteaction. This was correct. But this argument could not carry great weight since the leadership of Thaelmann plunged the party into the policy of "referendums" together with the Nazis. The S. P. G. workers replied to them: Well, if you, Communists, carried through together with Hitler the referendum in Prussia against Severing-Braun and are now pursuing the same policy in Saxony and Oldenburg, why can't we come out for you Hitler is the "lesser evil" then Hindenburg can be the same for us!

In this way the party bureaucracy has robbed the party comrades of the possibility of convincing the S. P. G. workers. The theory of the "lesser evil" can celebrate victory due to the help rendered it by the Thaelmann leadership.

How could Hitler obtain Communist votes? One must not forget for a moment that the majority of the party members consist now of new members recruited between the years 1930-31-32. These youthful elements naturally lacked Marxian training and Marxian traditions. It was the duty of the Communist party to supplement what was lacking

from the Marxian line. How were the the S. P. G. speakers were applauded "The attitude of a political party to- new members trained? On the basis of only when they spoke of the extra-parward its mistakes is the most important the people's revolution, on the basis of liamentary struggle against Fascism. and surest criterion of the sincerity of programs for national and social libera- Their speeches on the republic and the the party and the actual fulfilment of its tion, on the basis that the S. P. G. is Weimar constitution were listened to in duties to its class and to the working now the main enemy, on the basis of silence by the demonstrators. The fact masses. To acknowledge a mistake "leave the trade-unions" (R. T. U. O. that the Reichsbanner workers no longopenly, to lay bare its causes, to analyze policy), on the basis of common referer, as formerly, withdraw before the throughly the circumstances which endums with the Nazis, on a rejection of Fascists but instead, actually defend brought it about, soundly to test the the United Front with the S. P. G. and themselves against them, shows that they means for the eradication of mistakes- other worker's organizations. Is it are prepared against the will of their these are the characteristics of a sincere any wonder then that a number of the leaders to fight on the streets. party, this means to fulfill its duties, to youthful strata of the proletariat so These heartening tidings the Thaeltrain and teach the class and then also trained should, out of despair over the mann leadership does not know how to the masses". (Lenin, Works, Vol. 25, failures of the party, give its votes to use. Instead of the constant prattling the class enemy in order to "cut the knot that Severing is a "social Fascist" and faster"? Are the party members of of writing in several passages of the About 36.6 million votes were cast in Magdeburg to blame who declared in a edictrial in the Rote Fahne of April 7th the run-off elections. From this number party conference that they had voted for that "Severing cannot prohibit the S. A. Hindenburg received in round figures Hitler in order to hasten the decisions, (Fascist Storm Divisions)" it is the 19,350,000, the absolute majority. Hitler, since Remmele had stated "after the task of the party to use Severing's "ac-13,417,000 and Thaelmann 3,706,000. Hin- Fascists, we come"? Their action is a tions" for the purposes of the revolution. denburg succeeded in winning about product of the criminal policy which the The fact that the Fascists are ready to 800,000 votes as against the first election, present party leadership pursues. Not go so far as to poison the water-supply Hitler about 2,080,000 while Thaelmann they are to blame but rather those very in the proletarian quarters by means of lost 1,276,000 votes. The 2.5 million Stalinist theoreticians who confuse the amiline dyes in order to come to powervoters who voted in the first election Communist ranks. Is it not frightful as the documents from Wiesbaden testify for Duestenberg went over in the run- when the Vorwaerts, the organ of the should have served as the occasion for party of organized betrayal of the in- the party to carry through a decisive De Rote Fahne of March 15th wrote terests of the proletariat, dares to write turn in the united front question. Here immediately after the elections of March on the 11th of March of the "betrayal the possibility was given for the ap-13th that "the five million Thaelmann of the C. P. G."! Not the "counter- proach to the S. P. G. and to the tradevoters of March 13th are the most class- revolutionary" Trostkyists supply the unions for the purpose of establishing conscious, revolutionary determined part S. P. G. leaders with arguments but the "class front of the proletariat".

> The Fascist danger is great but the means that the proletariat is absolutely with the working class although the streets. Significant of the demonstration atus in Prussla by legal means is to of the "Iron Front" was the fact that serve them as the necessary condition

agine-would this united march of the Berlin proletariat have made on the bouring would have filled three Lustgartens -a million Berlin workers on the

And now in the Prussian elections it is not a question of normal parliamentary elections. Much more is involved! The policy of legalism of the Fascists is to come to a definite conclusion with this.

for the successful outcome of their extraparliamentary struggle for power. It is not the task of the Communists to support the Braun-Severing Government party now is to place itself in the forefront of the struggle against Fascism.

Lenin demanded of a Communist party the re-examination of its policies, the acknowledgment before the working class

party bureaucracy! Demand internal Scheidemann and Co. party bureaucracy! Set everything into letariat is possible. Only in the way of Lenin-by an open change of policy bepolicy-only in this way is the victory of the proletariat conceivable.

(April 15, 1932)

### GERMAN SKETCHES

to lend concreteness to the picture.

Minister of the Interior Groener

The most typical and the most prominworkers attacked by Fascists refused the es, and in the last analysis, of the fail- tion of Hitler. aid of Communists with the words: ures of the regime of emergency de-"You are exactly like the Fascists". crees. The German bourgeoisie—which Stop all referendums together with the is still attempting to veer in its course ocracy by the social democrats and only Fascists. This makes the gulf between between Fascism and democracy and is after he had undertaken all these meathe S. P. G. and C. P. G. workers only therefore forced, as never before, to conduct a policy of negotiations, of betray-The comrades of Charlottenburg-Berlin als, of masked brutality-could not have have voted in four of the party units found a better representative than this with 85 votes to 15, against the theory imperial general who was elastic enough, of "social Fascism". This is a tremen- on the day of the collapse of the Emdous step forward in view of the con- pire, to save himself through an immeditions within the party. All worker diate and determined collaboration with Communists must follow this example. the people whom he only yesterday had Tear into tatters the "general line" of called traitors to the country, with the the policy of defeat put forward by the actual traitors to their class, with Ebert,

The policy which General and Minister motion for a turn in the paty policy! of the Interior Groener carried out in the thing that was of any value for them in Demand the extra-ordinary party con- 14 days that intervened between the first this military apparatus-underground. gress! Without a thorough reform of and second ballots of the presidential Since their party apparatus can continue the party no voltory over Fascism, no elections, permits one to get a good grasp struggle for the dictatorship of the proorientation of the German bourgeoisie. the increased terroristic acts against In these weeks there took place the "sensational exposures" of Severing refore the whole class, by taking into ac- garding the putschist plans of the Nazis, count the currents among the masses, Groener, who is still in power-today, munist ranks of Germany. In Red of the Nazis was very small. That They are still afraid of an open conflict by pushing them forward with a correct perhaps together with the social democrats and tomorrow most certainly, to- tem in the eyes of many among the unto discredit and to cow his faithful so--PERMANENTE REVOLUTION cial democrats. Coolly smiling, he declared that these plans had also been other hand, it has enabled Hitler to rid

While the editorials of the Permanente, made known to him, but that they had against the Fascists, that is clear. Still Revolution permit the foreign comrades not particularly excited him. He negoless is it the task of the Communists to to get a good view of the fundamental tiated with the Nazis in their complaints support the Fascists, to make easier their lines of development in Germany, we against Severing, although he has always road to power. The problem of the should like to supplement them with the very glibly referred to them as people following few character sketches, so as guilty of high treason. He openly handed a rebuff to the representatve of Severing before the state court. He negotiated with the Brunswick Nazi governopen acknowledgement of its mistakes. ent representative of the present method ment and has, without being in any way This must take place now, re-examina- of domination of the German bourgeoisie contradicted, assured them of his accord tion of the whole policy of recent years, is undoubtedly this Suabian general who with their policy. He did not take the conceals beneath his demonstrative mufti slightest measures against the so-called of mistakes made. Turn towards the S. the good old Prussian warrior heart. crown prince, who according to ancient P. G. workers and trade-unionists, scrap The head of the government, the Catholic Hohenzollern custom, broke his "word the national-Bolshevik theories,-a uni- Bruening, remains in the background, in of honor" regarding his non-participation ted front with the S. P. G. and the free line with the very best Jesuit traditions. in politics and who openly agitated with trade unions. It must not happen as It is preferable for them to have the adventures have left him, for the eleclately in Hamburg that the Reichsbanner | General act as the symbol of the success- | the feeble means which his very intense

> Only after Groener had been praised a short few weeks ago as a hearth of demsures to strengthen Hitler and to weaken the social democracy, when he had already been able to get the results of the second ballot-for Groener is a very cautious gentleman-only then did he proceed to "prohibit" Hitler's private army, the Storm Divisions (S. A. Sturm Abteilungen).

We must not nurture too many illusions over this "prohibition". It took place days after the Nazis had been informed about everything, that is, after they had safely been able to bring everyto function legally, the proscription has persons, buildings, meetings within the last few days indisputably prove. Aside from this, the act of Groener has once more given them the halo of the only honest fighters against the present sysgether with the Nazis is doing everything employed and in this manner, they have received considerable aid for their campaign in the Prussian elections. On the himself of the organizational influence of dissatisfied and unreliable elements who were concentrated precisely in these Storm Divisions. It may also be assumed that the proscription will disappear shortly after the Prussian elections.

The S. P. G. has likewise been strengthened considerably in its election campaign through this act, especially in so far as the C. P. G. is concerned. But the S. P. has paid dearly enough for this advantage. The real price they have paid is not yet known, but we can already hear today, that it will "voluntarily" dissolve its Reichsbanner. The Austrian game with "general disarmament" is being repeated. While the Fascists will within a short time be in a posiminority within the party leadership was the reformist organizations will stand seized by such vacillations in 1917, which at the end of this whole comedy, disor-

These are the undisputed and lasting revolutionary party leadership. Even the vaciliated and that was carried over to most revolutionary parties run the risk the party and through it to the class. glamorous policy of Groener, treacher-The revolutionary situation was thereby ous in every respect against all parties Berlin, April 17, 1932

> Other sketches will appear in the forthcoming issues of The Militant.

### Nine Years o'he Struggle of t 🕶 L 💅 Opposition

### The German Revolution of 1923 and the «Lessons of October»

period of the growth and progress of should have, and, by its capitulation with- Bulgarian party leaders on the eve of iod is on the one hand a result of the its decline and opportunist degeneration out a struggle, enabled the German bour- their insurrections and how they failed greatest objective difficulties and dangers under the regime of Stalin-Zinoviev- egoisie to get that breathing space to solve them with either resolution or of this 'jump' but on the other hand Bucharin. This line is drawn by the rev- which, with subsequent aid from the success. An excellent summary of the the result of a furious assault of bourolutionary events in Germany towards United States in the form of the Dawes key points in this work was made sub- geois public opinion. There also lies the denburg won 35,000, Hitler 70,000. the end of 1923 and the disputes that Plan, was the direct precursor of the sequently by comrade Trotsky himself. whole import of the Right groupings. arose in the Russian party and the In- socalled stabilization of Europe and the ternational around the lessons to be decline of the revolutionary wave. drawn from them. Just as the Bolshevik The German Situation in 1923

The utumn of 1923 found Germany gration and dislocation to the Left.

Every day brought increasing difficulties for the bourgeoisie desperately will not only remain unimpaired but will seeking for a way out of its crisis. Every day brought new accretions of strength to the Communists. The widespread network of factory councils was in the hands of the revolutionists. Every important factory had its militant "proletarische Hunderschaften", the well-knit against Hitler with Severing-Braun? If nucleus for tomorrow's Red Guard. In Saxony and Thuringia, coalition governments had been formed by the "Left" social democrats and the Communists which, despite the radically false policies pursued in them by the Communist ministers, gave an index of the tremendous strength commanded by the party. So ripe was the situation that, as Trotsky says, "It became quite clear that the German bourgeoisie could extricate itself from this 'inextricable' position only if

could not happen because the policy of the party leadership, and more than that, eve of its insurrection and how it solved The unfailing appearance or develop- up the 100 for the bound volumes of all

A sharp dividing line marks off the ternational, did not understand what it the problems confronting the German and munist parties in the 'pre-October' per-

In the face of its imperative tasks, party grew steel-hard in the study of with all the chances in its favor, when the 1905 revolution and the refutation of the moment came to strike the German the Menshevik conception of its nature party leadership simply quit the field of and problems, so Bolshevism today can battle, permitted the armed intervention be strengthened only in the study-not of the reactionary troops without offermerely of the successful October rev- ing resistance, and surrendered its posiolution of 1917, but also of the defeated tions without firing a shot. Only in revolutions in Germany of 1923 and in Hamburg did heroic rear-guard street China of 1925-1927. It is to an appraisal battles take place as a result of the of the missed revolution in 1923 that failure of the Central Committee to arcomrade Trotsky devoted himself in his rive in time with the instructions changfamous work "The Lessons of October". ing the plan of battle previously arrived

How was it possible for such a situaconfronted with a revolutionary situa- tion to develop, with all the disastrous tion of the highest order. The country consequences which it subsequently enwas passing through a violent crisis, tailed? The then leaders of the Intergreatly accentuated by the French oc- national, Zinoviev, Bucharin and Stalin, the Versailles Treaty was supposed to heimer, the heads of the German party, course of political life, such a contrahave ended. Not only were the masses were to blame. The whole trouble lay, diction can be straightened out, even the purport of the 'Lessons of October'." Lovestone told us. I don't know whether of the workers expressing their mood by you see, in the fact that they had played though with losses, yet without a catasflocking to the standard of the Com- a "parliamentary comedy" in the trophe. But in a period of violent crisis, ginning of 1924 aroused a terrific storm organizing center of the revolution. The olutionary situation is still ahead! A means the scope and power which they easily and swiftly repair by putting the capitalist regime, the social democracy, With a "Bolshevik" leadership and the revolutionary situation still at hand, the incidentally, our wisdom and prestige prepare. . . .

> party members. In other words, the "art" of their leadership consisted exclusively of learning already changed, the masses receded and to look backward, or to have their own vie wto the Polcom and that an answer nothing from the events, of teaching the relationship of forces became fun- pasts spoken of and analyzed. Add to would be forthcoming. Up to Tuesday nothing about their essential lessons, of finding a scapegoat upon whom the blame for the difficulties might be shitfed, and of preserving intact the myth of bureaucratic infallibility.

be greatly enhanced in the minds of the

"The Lessons of October".

years, is a whole chain of back-sliding the leadership of the Communist In- them successfully and resolutely, with ment of Right groupings in all the Com- the pamphlets.

sons of October" retain their full strength vacillations arise unfailingly in the even now. Yes, even more, they receive Communist parties at the moment when confirmation over and over again after it is most dangerous. With us, only a tion to reconstruct their armed divisions.

"Among the numerous difficulties in a proletarian revolution there is a partiarises out of the position and tasks of the contrary, the leadership as a whole of confronting the events, slogan and measures of struggle of yesterday that are being sharply precipitated, with the new tasks and requirements. And there cannot, after all, be a sharper turn of events than that required by the armed uprising. It is right here that the danger also arises that the policy of the This can be achieved only when the exparty leadership and the party in gen. periences of October 1917 and the poli- Stalin - Lovestone Parleys eral does not correspond to the action of tical content of the Right Opposition in-

". . . (In Germany) the situation shevik party. was ripe and the leadership lagged behind. By the time this contradiction live from hand to mouth, and, just as basis of the letter sent to the party. was straightened out, the situation had they refuse to see or hear, they dislike Stachel said he would report the interdamentally worse.

"The German defeat of 1923 naturally then busily engaged in usurping the had many national peculiarities. But it control of the party was doing it by already contained many typical features, also, which signalized a general danger. The Russian Opposition, in the figure This danger can be characterized as the of comrade Trotsky, proceeded from an crisis of the revolutionary leadership on defeat, and you have the reasons for the entirely different standpoint. It aimed the eve of the transition to armed upat such an objective analysis of the rising. The depths of a proletarian party launched against Trotsky and the Opevents, at such an extraction of the are already by their very nature far less lessons presented by the defeat, as susceptible to bourgeois public opinion. would not only reveal who and what Certain elements of the party leaderwere at fault but would serve as a ship and the middle layers of the party the Communist party did not understand source of instruction to those Communist will always unfailingly succumb in larger at the right time that the position of the parties which still had before them the or smaller measure to the material and bourgeoisie was 'inextricable' and did final struggle for the seizure of power, ideological terror of the bourgeoisie. not draw the necessary revolutionary This aim was brilliantly achieved in Such a danger should not simply be re- the Communist International-A Criticjected. To be sure there is no remedy ism of Fundamentals" which you can March 3, 1879. The tragic outcome of the German The essence of this document lies in against it suitable for all cases. Never- spare, send it at once to Pioneer Pubthrough struggle and training. This revolution of 1923 was due, however, a masterful comparison of the problems theless the first step towards fighting it lishers and we will reimburse you for

"The ideas set out by me in the "Les- And that is just why irresolution and were, however, overcome, thanks to the ganized and with empty hands. sharp energy of Lenin. In Germany, on passed up . . . All these were not of course the last crises of leadership in a decisive historical moment. To limit these inevitable crises to a minimum is one of the most important tasks of the Communist parties and the Comintern.

munist party-which was then reaching coalition government in Saxony and had it is precisely time that is lacking to in the ranks of the Russian party burthe highest point it has ever attained- failed to strike the decisive blow at the eliminate this contradiction and to re- eaucracy. The vials of wrath of the rulbut even the petty bourgeoisie, disinte- right time. But, added the Russian dress the front, so to speak, under fire. ing clique were poured out to the last How could matters go so far, however, grating, declassed and impoverished was trinity, (and in this they were echoed The periods of the highest accentuation drop upon Trotsky's head. What Zinthat Communist voters give their votes being rallied in great numbers to the by Brandler and Thalheimer), the rev- of a revolutionary crisis are by their oviev, Rykov, Stalin and Co. were contact to Hitler? Were very nature always only brief. This cerned with was not so much the Marx- then in Moscow. nationalists and Fascists had by no mistake has been made which we will contradiction between a revolutionary ian criticism to which Trotsky submitleadership (vacillations, a temporizing ted the conduct of the German party and Wicks-returned, the negotiations attitude despite the assault of the bonr- leaders, but the fact that in drawing his were resumed, "Then", said Lovestone, geoisie) and the objective situation, can striking analogy with the 1917 insurrec- "the party approached us for another lead in the course of a few weeks and tion in Russia, Trotsky had revealed conference". Gitlow represented our even days to a catastrophe and to a that vaciliations and capitulatory ten- group this time. The party representawhole mistake will be made good and, loss of what took years of work to dencies similar to Brandler's had existed tive was Stachel. Stachel assured Gitin the very highest spheres of the Bol-The bureaucrat and the opportunist

this the fact that the cliques which was night the answer had not been received. attempting to revise the truthful record of the October insurrection, and by unloading all responsibility for the German furious assault which they promptly

> (To be continued) -MAX SHACHTMAN.

SPECIAL ATTENTION If you have one or more copies of the

(Contined from page 1)

The C. I. man then told Lovestone to

making his proposition for unity. This letter was sent. Weinstone forwarded a copy of the letter to Moscow and negotiations were suspended for a while When the delegation—Browder, Stachel

send a leter to the Polcom of the party

low that "the whole trade union policy would be revised gradually". Gitlow said the group sotod on the

(Comment on the above letters will

be found on page 4)

THE MILITANT Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD James P. Cannon Martin Abern Max Shachtman Maurice Spector

Arne Swabeck

Entered as second class mail matter paper edition of the "Draft Program of November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of

SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1932 Vol. 5, No. 19 (Whole No. 115) Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; for eign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy.