

4/33 Rmc

INTERNAL BULLETIN # 12

COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

Issued by the National Committee

April 19, 1933

FOR MEMBERS ONLY

CONTENTS:

- 1. Resolution of the International Secretariat on the situation of the German Communist Party and the Tasks of the International Left Opposition in Germany.
- 2. C. P. G. or New Party - by G. Gourov Writings 1932-33
p137
- 3. The Negro Question in America--Minutes of discussion between comrades Trotsky and Swabeck. pamphlet "LT on Black Nationalism..."

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT ON THE SITUATION OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE TASKS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION IN GERMANY

The events which have occurred in Germany in the course of a whole period prior to, during, and after the establishment of the fascist dictatorship demonstrate as an accomplished fact the complete capitulation to fascism of the German Communist Party led by Stalinism. This capitulation was the final act in a long series of political crimes committed by the Stalinist bureaucracy, such as the policy of "social and national emancipation", of "social-fascism", of "fascism first, and then Communism", of the "united front only from below", of the Red Trade Union Organization, of "Bruening-Fascism, Papen-Fascism, Schleicher-Fascism", etc. It took this criminal policy applied for years to lead to such a disorientation and such an ideological disarming of the German Communist Party as to render possible the seizure of power by fascism without the slightest organized resistance on the part of the working class and the German Communist Party.

The International Left Opposition has for two years demonstrated the enormous danger to the German and International proletariat and to Soviet Russia of the seizure of power by Fascism, and has pointed out the means of defeating Fascism and of giving a revolutionary way out to the crisis in Germany. The German Revolution would have had as a consequence great proletarian uprisings in a number of countries, and the acceleration of the world revolution. The I.L.O. did all it could to impell the C.P.G. along the Bolshevik road which leads to the revolution. It did not succeed in forcing the Stalinist leadership to tread this road. The treason is now an accomplished fact.

The I.L.O. must draw the political consequences from this fact. To surrender to Fascism, without a battle, the most advanced proletariat, which constitutes a strong majority in the country and plays the principal role in the production of the country, with its strong organization and traditions of revolutionary struggles, signifies to commit a treason which, in these conditions and by its disastrous consequences, is not inferior to that committed by the social democracy in 1914. It signifies that the Communist Party in Germany, under Stalinist leadership, has gone bankrupt. The I.L.O. can in no way link its fate in Germany with this party. It cannot continue to work for the regeneration of the German Party. The treason committed has implacably condemned the Party to political death, to the hatred and to the contempt of the German working class.

The I.L.O. must henceforward declare openly that it breaks conclusively with the Communist Party in Germany. It must assist all the members of the Party and the Communists who are determined to work in Germany to build up in Germany a genuine Communist Party by separating themselves from the bureaucracy which has led the party to this treason.

The change of our position towards the Party in Germany corresponds to the abrupt change which took place during the last events and which have completed the capitulation and the treason of the Party in Germany. It does not change our attitude and our position towards the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R. and the Communist International. In Germany--before a treason which is plain and clear to the advanced proletariat--to remain with the previous position, signifies to compromise oneself together with the Party before the working class. The genuine German Communist Party which the German Communists must build up will work for reform in the U.S.S.R. and the re-assembly of the Communist International together with the Russian Opposition and the International Left Opposition.

G. P. G. or NEW PARTY

The renunciation of the slogan for "reform" of the official German Communist Party may provoke doubts in the minds of many comrades. Let us try to foresee some of the possible objections:

- a) We have always affirmed our devotion toward the official party, now we will turn our back to it,--that will push the Communists away from us.
- b) The party is now illegal, it has nuclei and organizations active everywhere,--we must support them.
- c) Urbahna and others will say that they were right as against us when they declared the Communist party to be dead.
- d) We are too weak to undertake the task of building a new party.

All these objections are untenable. We started out from the proposition that the key to the situation was in the hands of the German C.P. That was correct. Only a timely turn upon the part of the German C.P. could have saved the situation. Under such conditions to oppose the party and in advance to declare it to be dead would mean to proclaim a priori the inevitability of the victory of Fascism. We could not do that. We had to fully exhaust all the possibilities of the old situation.

Now the situation has changed fundamentally. The victory of Fascism is a fact, and so is the breakdown of the C.P. It is no longer a question of making a prognosis, nor of a theoretical criticism; but it is a question of an important historical event which will penetrate ever deeper into the consciousness of the masses, including the Communists. One must build the general perspective and the general strategy upon the inevitable consequences of these events and not upon secondary considerations.

It is unquestionable that many subjectively revolutionary elements of the old party will attempt to save it without giving up the old principled basis. In the near future we can expect, that is as soon as the first consternation has disappeared, an animation of the illegal Communist activities. However, without a fundamental revision of all the ideological baggage, without the elaboration of new methods and without a new selection of persons, etc., etc. the total of these activities will have no future. The efforts and the sacrifices on the old basis will not be the signs of a regeneration, but the convulsions of agony. During the legal conditions the policy of bureaucratic Centrism, based upon falsity, apparatus and finances, could for a long time mislead through an appearance of strength. It is the contrary for an illegal organization. It can maintain itself only through the utmost devotion of its members, and this devotion can be nourished only through correctness of policy and ideological honesty of the leadership. In the absence of these prerequisites the illegal organization will inevitably die (Example: Italy)

It would be inadmissible to have any kind of illusions as to the illegal perspectives for the Stalinist apparatus or, in meeting it face to face, to be guided by sentimental instead of political-revolutionary considerations. This apparatus is corroded by paid functionaries, adventurists, careerists and yesterday's or today's agents of Fascism. The honest elements will have no compass. The Stalinist leadership will institute in the illegal party a regime yet more contemptible and disreputable than in the legal party. Under such conditions the illegal work will be only a flash--although a heroic one--the result

however, can be only rottenness.

The Left Opposition must place itself entirely upon the basis of the new historical situation created by the victory of Fascism. There is nothing more dangerous, at the time of sharp turns of history, than to hang on to the old customary and comfortable formulae; this is the direct road to decay.

Urbahns and company will say: we have always declared that a new party is necessary. But the so-called K.A.P.D. said that long before Urbahns, during the years when Urbahns was yet occupied, the same as they were, and against us, to ruin the party. The foundation of sectarianism consist precisely in its estimating the historical processes with the measure of its own group. The new party begins for Urbahns at the moment when he has broken with the bureaucracy. The Marxist, however, judges all organizations and all groups through the measure of the objective historical processes. During the last two years we have written more than once that our position toward the party does not carry a dogmatic character and that great events which may radically change the situation of the working class could also oblige us to change our position. As examples of such great events we named most often a victory of Fascism in Germany and a break-down of the Soviet power. Thus there is in our turn nothing subjective or arbitrary: It is entirely dictated by the march of developments, within which has entered the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy as the most important element.

"We are too weak to proclaim the new party". But no one proposes this. How and when the new party will be created depends upon many objective circumstances and not only upon us. But from us it demands the pursuing of a correct course. To the extent that we support illusions of the vitality of the old party to that extent we hinder the creation of the new party.

Moreover, one must not forget for a moment that processes of decomposition will set in not only in the official party but also in the Social-Democracy, in the S.A.P. and in all organizations, groups and sections, which cannot stand the test of the historical catastrophe. Under these conditions it is necessary to create an independent axis for the crystallization of all revolutionary elements regardless of their party past.

Perhaps the reply to us will be: In such a case the logic will lead to a break with the Comintern. Possibly the formal logic yes, however, the historical processes do not develop according to the formal logic, they develop dialectically. We do not give up to save the Soviet Power from the ruin to which it is being driven by the Stalinists. We cannot know in advance what the reaction will be within the other sections of the Comintern to the victory of Fascism. To this belong the test of the events--with our active assistance.

The question of the open break with the Stalinist bureaucracy in Germany is at the present moment of enormous principled importance. The revolutionary vanguard will not pardon the historical crime committed by the Stalinists. If we support the illusion of the vitality of the party of Thaelman-Neuman we would appear to the masses as the real defender of the bankruptcy. That would signify that we ourselves deviate toward the road of Centrism and putrefaction.

March 29, 1933.

G. Gourov