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WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF THE COMMUNIST LEFT OPPOSITION

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Note: The foregoing material on the situation in the Spanish section is to be published in a special supplement to this Bulletin. See appendix to The Spanish Revolution (1931-39) for this.

The present bulletin is published after the date set by the pre-conference.

The events in Germany and the problem of the new party, placed before the ILO are the reason. The I. S. has considered it its duty to bring to the knowledge of all the comrades, all the documents of the various sections and of various comrades on the question of the new party which is destined to play a role of the first rank in the development and in the political strengthening of the ILO. The publication of these documents in this issue of the bulletin will undoubtedly compensate for the delay with which the bulletin reaches the hands of comrades.

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SUMS RECEIVED FOR THE GERMAN OPPOSITION
AS OF APRIL 22, 1933.

Up to the present, only a few of our sections have turned in funds collected for the German Left Opposition.

Subscribed by members of the French League	Fr. 2,554.20
Sympathizers of the Fr. League	503.
Group of the Belgian Opposition	708.80
Group of the Spanish Opposition (Lacritz)	193.
Total	Fr. 3,964.

Comrades, we must act quickly! Do not delay in carrying out your revolutionary duty toward our German Comrades!

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CALLING OF PLENUM OF THE I.L.O.

In accordance with the decisions of the international pre-conference the I. S. decided at its meeting of April 5, 1933, to call together in Paris, for May 6, 7 and possibly 8, (that is, Saturday, Sunday and possibly Monday) the PLENUM of the ILO, composed of delegates from the Russian, German, Belgian, French and Greek sections.

The agenda is as follows:

1. Report of the I. S., (a French Reporter)
2. The German question (from the standpoint of organization and tasks) - the German delegate
3. The Spanish question (developments since the pre-conference) - Reporter - Julien
4. The American question (on the internal conflict) - Reporter - Vitte
5. The International Conference (Status of preparations)
6. The bankruptcy of Stalinism in Germany and the tasks of ILO - Reporter, Julien.

In view of the importance of the political questions to be discussed under point 6, the I. S. has decided to invite those sections too which are not part of the Plenum, to send, if materially possible, their delegates with consultative voice in order to assure a broad participation in the political discussions of the Plenum.

We ask the sections which can effect such representation to advise us of it as soon as possible.

The International Secretariat.

The problem of the orientation toward a new party in Germany, posed by comrade Gourov, has aroused passionate discussions, not only within the various sections of our international organization, but also within groups which are on the periphery of our organization and even within the various parties which adhere to the C. I. In one way or another, the problem is posed, examined, discussed. In one way or another, through this problem, the "German experience", the treacherous role played by the social-Democracy and the bankruptcy of the German Communist Party are placed on the order of the day before the International proletariat.

That is already a great deal.

We do not know yet which orientation will definitively triumph within the I. O., but we are sure we are not mistaken in declaring that the fact alone of having posed this new problem will enormously facilitate and render politically fruitful the investigation of the causes of the German defeat. If this problem had not been introduced, it is very probable that the analysis of the events which led to the catastrophe of the German proletariat, on the one hand would have touched only a limited number of comrades, on the other would have flated in a certain sense above the struggle for lack of a concrete, tangible, immediate goal. Now this goal is indicated: reform of the old party or orientation toward a new party. The question is clearly posed and it must be answered. But to answer it, each comrade is obliged to pose before himself and to resolve again all the fundamental problems of the party, of its revolutionary strategy and its tactics. Without this, no answer is possible. That is why we think that the discussion which has just begun among the Bolshevik-Leninists should be orientated clearly, not in the direction of arriving quickly at a conclusion, but in the direction of exhausting the problem without leaving anything in darkness. On this condition alone can the discussion be profitable. Only at this price will the Bolshevik-Leninists strengthen their internal solidity, increase the cohesion of their ranks and prepare themselves seriously for their future tasks.

The first thing to note is this: up to the present, the number of voices which agreed fully with the point of view of Comrade Gourov is still limited, within the ILO. As the comrades will be able to see themselves by reading the documents which we publish in this bulletin and which comes from the various sections of the ILO or from various comrades, there is far from a unanimous opinion on this point in our ranks. In the present state of our organization, as of its development, this fact is quite normal and we can only be glad of it. It proves the vitality of our organization. The comrades pose the problem they try to answer it, not under external impulsion, but on the basis of their own experience, of their own understanding, of their real development. Conscious of the great importance of the proposed turn and of the consequences within and without the organization which it can bring to the ILO, each comrade gets to work, brings his contribution, seeks his answer. Such efforts can only be encouraged. On the national and the international scale one should do the impossible to the end that each comrade can express himself according to his own ideas and resources. For it is in this way that a revolutionary organization can progress, improve its political level, can weld among the comrades those effective links without which the action of a revolutionary vanguard is impossible. The tragic experience of the German Communist Party proves this once and for all. Instead of political cohesion, revolutionary cohesion, the cohesion which is derived from collective participation in the elaboration of the policies of the party and in the selection of revolutionary elements from the field of struggle, the Stalinist fraction has substituted through the International the "cohesion" of the bureaucracy. But this is an apparent cohesion, and the party, as in Germany, disintegrates into its constituent parts, falls into dust at the first blow that strikes

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We do not wish to reply here to the observations which certain comrades have made against the new orientation. The comrades themselves will find this answer in the documents favorable to the new party in Germany, which are published in the present bulletin. Our intention is only to draw the attention of the comrades to a document which as the saying goes, "cuts the question"? This document is the resolution voted after the report of the bureaucrat Heckert by the ECCI.

One might have believed that, in the face of a catastrophe like that which took place in Germany, the leading organs of the CI. would have been at least as prudent as they were during the months and the year before the catastrophe, when the workers of the whole world were asking themselves with increasing anxiety, "Why is the CI. silent, why does it not speak before the enormous danger which threatens it?" On the contrary, these organs have spoken, and spoken in such a way as to close the mouths of all those comrades in the party (and there are many of them) who are shaken by doubts, who have questions to ask and who also have an accounting to demand.

"The policies followed by the German Communist Party, under the leadership of comrade Thaelmann, have been entirely correct." This is the first declaration of the CI. after the collapse, after the defeat! As we can see, "the German matter is already settled as far as the Stalinist bureaucracy is concerned." All subsequent discussion then becomes, for the Stalinists, absolutely useless. The convocation of the enlarged EC. becomes useless, the convocation of the 7th Congress of the CI. becomes useless (no Congress has been held for five years), and useless above all is discussion among the rank and file. Those who are worried, who have demands to make, let them be silent! The policies followed by the CPG. were correct, according to the decree of the ECCI. and before the decrees of the gods, the duty of true believers is to bow their heads.

But there are no more believers in the infallibility of the Stalinist policies. This is clear. And above all, there can be no more believers in Germany. What revolutionary worker, what class-conscious worker, could ever admit that a policy was correct when the party which applied it, the party of the most implacable struggle against the bourgeoisie, the party of civil war, of the proletarian revolution, falls apart, decomposes, disappears without a struggle? What worker, what proletarian could believe this? If for the Stalinist bureaucracy, the bankruptcy of the CPG. is only an event to be filed away, for the proletariat, this event is the greatest tragedy that has ever crashed down on it. It means the loss of all liberty, the destruction of all the conquest captured during decades of indefatigable and obstinate struggle against the class enemy. It means the smashing of the class on one of the most important sectors of the world revolution, it means the imprisonment and the death of the proletarian vanguard, it means slavery under the boots of reaction and of fascist counter-revolution. And this present appears before every revolutionary proletarian as the preface to a still greater and still bloodier tragedy. If such "correct policies", the C.P. G. dissolved away, what can be the fate of Soviet Russia?

Preoccupied with saving its own reputation, the Stalinist bureaucracy throws the German and the international proletariat into despair. If with "correct policies", a party which counts 300,000 members, which harvests about 6 million votes in the elections, leads all the other parties in Berlin, operates in the most industrialized country in Europe and the one that has the most numerous proletariat; if, applying such "correct policies", this party is not able to oppose on the field of action the least resistance and collapses like a house of paper, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that there is nothing more to do, that all is lost and that the international bourgeoisie need only stretch out its hand to get rid of the last fortress of the proletarian world revolution, the Soviet fatherland. That is where the policy of the prestige of the bureaucracy leads to!

One having affirmed that the policies followed by the CPG were entirely correct, the ECCI necessarily had to reaffirm also the correctness of its theory of social-fascism, of the united front from below; it had to reaffirm its policy of trade-union splitting and of "national liberation". And all this was framed within its fundamental theory of socialism in a single country. That is to say, it impressed the stamp of infallibility on all the "theories" and policies of Stalin which have led to the debacle of the CPG and which are undermining the very foundations of the Soviet Union.

And it is on such a basis that the Stalinists are dreaming of rebuilding the CPG. On the tragedy of the German working class, the Stalinists are grafting the farce of their political nullity.

But neither the German proletariat, nor the Bolshevik-Leninists, intend to transform a terrible historical defeat into a farce. The German proletariat, helped by the Left Opposition, will be able to draw all the necessary lessons from the German defeat. And the first of these lessons, is that of the collapse of the CPG and the necessity of orientating oneself toward the creation of a new party.

The International Secretariat.

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CPG OR NEW PARTY?

To the International Secretariat:-

Dear Comrades:-

German Stalinism is collapsing now, not so much under the influence of the blows of the fascists, as a result of its internal rottenness. We had for our task the renaissance of the party, as long as there was the least hope, just as a doctor does not leave a patient who still has a breath of life. But it would be criminal to tie oneself to a corpse. The German CP today represents a corpse.

The scorn of the vanguard of the German workers for the bureaucracy which has deceived them will be so great that the slogan of renaissance will seem false and ridiculous to them. They will be right. The hour has struck! The question of preparing for the creation of a new party must be posed openly.

In what form shall this work be done? Evidently, it will have to support itself on those elements which were created by the preceding development. But the new perspective and the new slogan will open new possibilities for the L. O. It is necessary to state the fact of the split with the Stalinist bureaucracy in Germany. This sharp turn in our policy, provoked by the turn in the situation (the August 4th is an accomplished fact), will not be absorbed all at once by all our comrades. That is why it is necessary to analyze the question in our own ranks and, above, all, among the German comrades. This task will be extremely facilitated if the Secretariat immediately adopts a firm and resolute position.

The Stalinist bureaucracy is undertaking a new "Amsterdam Congress" this time against fascism. If the Congress is called, it will be necessary for us to utilize it much better than the anti-war Congress. All sections without exception will have to find a way of being represented at the Congress. The transmission of authorizations to the comrades in the country where the Congress will be held is one of these means. Declarations of principle will have to come from all sections (not in their own name but in those of various workers' organizations).

Since it is a question of appearing before the Congress as enemies of the Centrist bureaucrats and of the liberal anti-fascists, we will have to try to make agreements with organizations such as the party (and the trade unions) of Sneevliet in Holland, the S.P. in Germany, and other similar organizations. To this end, alongside of our own declaration, which should rally the German workers to the creation of a new party, it will be necessary to work out in advance a shorter and more simple document, to which, after preliminary conversations, our allies will be able to associate themselves (to unmask the mistake of this Congress as a fundamental theme). This is a very important tactical step, in view of the fact that it will push forward the political self-determination of our possible allies and that it should facilitate for us the creation of the new party in Germany.

Differences on this or that special point cannot be significant, and will be pushed aside by the future progress of the work, if only we are in agreement on the principles, i. e., on the necessity of carrying out a sharp turn in our attitude with regard to the German CP.

The turn evidently does not consist in "proclaiming" ourselves the new party. There can be no question of this. But, we declare: the official German Party is politically liquidated, it cannot be reborn. We do not wish to take on ourselves the inheritance of its crimes. The vanguard of the German workers must build a new party. We, Bolshevik-Leninists, propose to them our collaboration.

Here it is natural to pose the question: How shall we act toward the other sections of the CI and to the 3rd International altogether? Do we break with them immediately? In my opinion, it would be incorrect to give to this question a rigid answer - yes, we break. The collapse of the German CP evidently diminishes the chances for the renascence of the CI. But, on the other hand, precisely, this catastrophe can provoke a healthy reaction in various sections. We must be ready to help it. The question has not been settled as to the USSR, where the proclamation of the slogan of the second party would be incorrect. We are calling today for the creation of a new party in Germany, to seize the CI from the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is not a question of the creation of the Fourth International, but of salvaging the Third.

The internal situation in Germany and above all the situation of the CP dictate the conclusion - we must aim far, without spending ourselves on details. In practice this means - we must first of all create a German organ abroad, theoretical and political, for the IO. We must do this immediately to give the thought of the advanced worker a point of support in a time of general disturbance. We must agree as quickly as possible with the German comrades as to this publication.

G. Gourov

March 12, 1933.

.....
 EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF COMRADE L. D. TO THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT.

For a certain period, many elements in the party will make efforts to revive the party; there are already efforts at conspirative work. But all this is nothing but the convulsions of a dying organism. The pogrom of the Hitlerites against the party has barely started. The cells exist, it is natural that they should make efforts to persist and continue. But these efforts are doomed to failure because they are taking place on the old basis of principle, of method and of selection of personnel. After the inevitable failure which is not far off, the new crystallization, very distant and very painful, will begin.

More or less symmetrical or analogous will take place among the workers in the Social-Democracy, the SWP, etc. The workers' movement will enter into a period of confusion and of waste. To present ourselves as the guardians of the coffin of the Stalinist organization would be absolutely fatal in this situation. On the contrary, to proclaim in time that the August 4th has been consummated, means to prepare our unification with the best elements in the party, after the failure of their efforts to revive the party.

CIRCULAR OF THE COMMUNIST LIGUE OF FRANCE TO ALL ITS BRANCHES

The EC of the Ligue did not vote a special resolution on the problem of the new party in Germany. On the other hand, it approved the following circular in which its point of view is clearly expressed, and which was sent out to all its branches.

This is the circular of the Ligue in that part which deals with the new party:

THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE CPG.

The problem of the new party in Germany was posed immediately if the bankruptcy of the CPG in the decisive hours of the German situation. But first of all, was there really a bankruptcy? The question seems useless since everybody, it would appear, is in agreement on this point. But the reality is quite different. In reality, not all of the comrades are disposed to admit that the CPG has shown its bankruptcy. On the contrary, many comrades think, in reality, that in Germany only another battle was lost, but that the totality of the problems of the party and of our fraction are posed today exactly in the same manner as they were posed up to yesterday. At the most, these comrades are posed to bring in a few variations into the formulas used up to yesterday, but on condition that this change of formula serve to maintain intact the essence of the problem.

For us, the bankruptcy, the failure of the CPG, on the contrary, is not a matter for doubt. This bankruptcy was shown on three occasions to be full and complete. The first time that the bankruptcy of the CPG was revealed in all its amplitude was on July 20, 1932, at the time of the coup d'etat carried out by von Papen in the State of Prussia. At this time, the slogan of a general strike launched by the party was followed by only two hundred (200) comrades in a suburb of Berlin. This was the first crying manifestation of the impotence of the party to lead the German proletariat into struggle. The second manifestation of this bankruptcy was shown on the eve of Hitler's taking power at the time of the fascist manifestation before the Karl Liebknecht House in Berlin. It was clear to all the world that this manifestation had no other purpose than to listen to the pulse of the German proletariat. The fact that the Communist Party did not even pose the question of a possible resistance to the fascist manifestation, proved that fascism could have been called to power without the least resistance. The third demonstration was the complete sweeping-away of the party by fascism and without any form of resistance being attempted. After the burning of the Reichstag, the CPG was blown away like dust by fascism, its cadres were bankrupt, its leadership eclipsed itself, its illegal apparatus could not be gotten hold of by the workers - but could by the police. In certain cities in which there were several hundred party functionaries, when meetings were called there were only few units present. In Cologne, out of six hundred functionaries of the party and its various auxiliary organizations, at the first meeting there were present five, at the second, seventeen.

In the fact of such facts, how shall we not speak of bankruptcy, how shall we not speak of the failure of the CPG, how deny the correct-

ness of the statement of comrade Gourov according to which the CPG was conquered by fascism but collapsed as a result of its bureaucratization and of its internal rottenness?

THE PARTY IS NOT A CORPSE

Even of the comrades who recognize that the bankruptcy of the CPG is entirely demonstrated, still not all admit that the party is a corpse. In the opinion of these comrades, the CPG is practically eliminated today from political life, but that does not prove it is dead, or is a corpse.

Evidently, if by a corpse one means an organism which no longer gives any signs of life, the CPG can still perhaps be classified among the living. But the question is one of a political order. Politically a party is dead when, by its internal disintegration, it shows itself incapable of answering the purpose for which it has been created. The Social-Democracy died, as a party of the proletariat, in 1914. This does not prevent it from still having a place in political life, and even a "more important" place than that of the party. The CPG is a political corpse, for by its internal disintegration it has shown itself incapable for the tasks which it must fulfill.

This does not mean that the old party cannot be reconstituted. It does not mean that the bureaucracy will no longer succeed in reorganizing, in putting together again, under its control and its leadership, a certain number of cells, of branches and of districts. On the contrary, the possibility must be conceded. With considerable financial means and with the help of the party spirit which undoubtedly exists among the rank and file, it is certain that the Stalinist bureaucracy will still have its party in Germany, although much reduced. But the question for us is to be entirely clear on the fact that such a "party" will not only be incapable of reorganizing the German proletariat for victory, but will represent a great obstacle to the revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat.

STALINISM WENT BANKRUPT, NOT THE PARTY

There are comrades who pose the problem in this manner. Starting from this statement, these comrades arrive at a middle-of-the-road solution which seems very dangerous to us. For these comrades, the problem that is posed is not that of the new party, but that of the reconstruction of the party on new foundations and with new cadres.

If one takes the formula as it stands, it seems that no disagreement exists, in reality, between the comrades who favor an orientation toward the new party, and those who talk of its reconstruction. But it is only a question of different words? We do not believe so!

First of all, it seems to us that this sharp distinction between Stalinism which has gone bankrupt and the party which has not, is altogether inadmissible. Stalinism is not only an ideology which floats above the party, but is the political and theoretical nourishment of the party itself. Stalinism is concretized in a definite movement, in a definite organization. This organization, at the present time, is the Communist Party. The failure of Stalinism as a theory was an established fact for Marxists from the very day of its birth. That is not all of the question. Actually, the problem is much more concrete. In Germany, there was an organization, there was a party which grouped together hundreds of thousands of men, which, on the electoral field, had the support of about six million voters, which had as its goal the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie in Germany and installation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now, this organization, this party, this weapon forged expressly for the revolution was broken, not in struggle but without a struggle. That is the fact. Now, before this fact, to limit oneself to saying that it was Stalinism and not the party which failed, is not to see the fact, the palpable, concrete, real fact, the fact that the party has collapsed.

In the second place, the question of reconstruction must also be looked at concretely. Stalinism is already beginning to rebuild the old party. It begins by reconstructing it politically by declaring through the mouth of the ECCI that the policies followed by the leadership of Thaelmann (that is by the leadership of the CI itself) were entirely correct. To this statement, the ECCI adds its perspective for the near future in Germany and considerations whose 100% Stalinism cannot be questioned. To this "political reconstruction" is added, and accompanies, an organizational reconstruction. Well, before this fact, what political orientation should the LO take? Up to yesterday our orientation was the reform of the party. Can this orientation still be valid today? Then in reality nothing was changed in our attitude, and the formula that says that we must rebuild the party on other foundations and with another leadership is only a mask for continuing the policies of yesterday. But if our orientation ought to be different, if it ought to accord with the historical turn which took place in Germany, then, in the fact of this organizational reconstruction of the Stalinists, our position should be clear. And, for this, we must say that the Stalinists, instead of reconstructing the party of the proletariat, are in reality completing their work of disintegrating the working class in Germany. We can have nothing to do with such work.

THE FOURTH OF AUGUST

There are comrades who deny that one can speak of a Fourth of August of the CPG. The favorite argument advanced by these comrades is that, while the social-democracy on August 4th passed over to open collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the CPG was made illegal and its militants have escaped or are in prison.

Obviously, if by the Fourth of August one means only the passage of the social-democracy to direct collaboration with the bourgeoisie, we could not speak of a Fourth of August for the CPG. But this interpretation of the Fourth of August or the social-democracy is altogether arbitrary. The essential characteristic of the Fourth of August is given by the collapse of the Second International before the problem of the war. The International had been created for the purpose of opposing the internationalism of the proletariat to the nationalism of the bourgeoisie. Now, at the moment when this International was to be put to a test, was to go into action, the whole structure of the Second International collapsed. This was the case with the CPG. That is the fundamental element which we must remember. That is to say, that the CPG, in spite of its opinions and of the fate of its militants, has proved itself organically incapable of keeping its promises and of answering the xxx necessities of the struggle of the German proletariat. It is in this, in reality, that the Fourth of August consists.

THE CI STILL EXISTS.

A certain number of comrades pronounce themselves against the orientation toward the new party in Germany, because of the fact that the CI still exists. If the CI exists, then we must choose, according to these comrades, not only on the national field, but also on the international. We cannot have the slogan of reform on the international scene and that of the new party for Germany. If the CPG has gone bankrupt the fault is not only due to its leadership but above all to that of the CI.

This is how various comrades speak.

We believe that this way of posing the question is altogether formal. Undoubtedly, the CI still exists. Undoubtedly, we must make every effort to save it, to reform it. But, in the German sector, after the collapse of the party, the party, the only way to collaborate, to work in fact to save, to reform the CI, is the firm and clear orientation of all our work toward the new party. The reform of the party is not to be obtained by repetition, but by action, by the reaction which can arise within the party and among the masses. The reconstruction of the old

party in Germany, instead of helping the reform of the CI and its regeneration, would only facilitate its decline and its failure. This reconstruction would constitute one of the main obstacles to having the German proletariat understand the causes for its defeat and the way to get back on the road of struggle. It would also prevent the revolutionary vanguard from regrouping itself and from grouping around itself in the shortest time the most combative and conscious elements of the proletariat. To believe that the CI can be reformed without a powerful reaction of the masses against its present policies and for Leninist policies, is pure utopianism.

As to the contradiction between the slogan of reform of the CI and that of the new party in Germany, it is only apparent. Actually we are witnessing a process of decomposition different from that which took place, for example, in 1914. Instead of having a collapse which starts from the top and which is simultaneously extended throughout the international, we have the collapse which starts at the periphery and which marches toward the top. This difference is the process of decomposition of the party of the proletariat obliges us to react in a different way to replace it by a new organization, by a new party. In 1914, Lenin was able to say, "The Second International is dead, we need a new party in Germany for the proletariat." This position is not in any way arbitrary. On the contrary, it corresponds to the real development of events. To wait with the posing of the question of the new party in Germany until the whole International has gone bankrupt, would mean to misunderstand the facts as they are, to chew over formulas instead of acting to transform a given situation, to become accomplices of the work of disintegration which the Stalinists are pursuing with their policies throughout the International.

THE CONSTITUTION OF A NEW PARTY WOULD ONLY BE A NEW LABEL

Some comrades see the question of a new party in this way. But nothing is more erroneous than such a position. If it were only a question of a label, no one in the IC would lend himself to such a step. But on the contrary, it is a question of a wholly different orientation of a wholly different policy within the German proletariat. If up to yesterday we struggled to reform the German party, today we are struggling to replace it by a genuine Communist Party. It is no longer, therefore, a question of label. But in the event that the Stalinist fraction should still succeed in putting on its feet what it calls a party, what should be our political attitude before this fact? Obviously, we can no longer struggle for its reform, but we must struggle for its elimination as we struggle, not for the reform of the social-democracy, centrist or anarcho-syndicalist parties etc., but to seize the masses away from them, to replace them in influence and leadership over the proletariat.

The tactics which we should have to apply to arrive at the goal may be more or less flexible according to circumstances. It is very possible, for instance, that the question not only of the united front but also of fractional work within the Stalinist organization may be posed loyally above all, within the shop cells or the local organization but it is perfectly apparent that such tactics imply an orientation is fundamentally different from that which we have had hitherto.

Some comrades give to the question of "label" the meaning that we are still too weak to orientate ourselves toward the creation of a new party and that therefore any change of orientation would only be, for the time being, a change on paper.

That our organization is weak is something that no one can doubt. But, first of all, the collapse of the CGP has already modified the relation of forces between ourselves and the Stalinists. The Stalinists who, up to yesterday, looked down on our German organization counting several hundred members, today have to lookhard around themselves to see what remains of the hundreds of thousands of workers who were for-

merly in the party. Besides, we shall not become any stronger by remaining politically attached to a party which has gone bankrupt. On the contrary, we would take on ourselves the burden of its responsibilities and its crimes. Between the party which collapses at the decisive moment, and ourselves, we must have a break in the continuity, clear and precise, before the German proletariat and before the ~~German~~ world proletariat.

It is therefore not a "question of label" but a political question of the highest importance for the future of the IIO, for its development, for the resurrection of the German proletariat and for the still possible rescue of the CI.

We have indicated here a few of the comments which comrades are making in regard to the orientation toward the new party in Germany, and we have given some of the arguments which favor the new orientation.

This will already suffice for the comrades to be in the discussion in the branches. We want to add one thing more: that the orientation toward a new party does not mean that our fraction ought to take tomorrow the concrete initiative towards its creation or to transform itself into a new party immediately. Unfortunately, we are not yet so far. For the moment, it is a question of a new orientation. The struggle over this new orientation will indicate to us the means to arrive at our aim.

Fraternal greetings.

THE POSITION OF THE C.E. OF THE SPANISH SECTION

Barcelona, March 1933.

To the International Secretariat, Paris

Dear Comrades,

Having examined in the C.E. the last letter of Comrade Gourov on the German situation, we have thought it necessary to explain our opinion in a somewhat detailed form, because of the extraordinary importance of the question. Many of our statements are contained in the Gourov letter. But others do not necessarily follow from the letter and it is even possible that they may be opposed to the opinion which we are going to explain.

1. What can we understand by the creation of a second party? In our judgment, the foundations for the creation of a second party are implicit in the whole doctrine of the Opposition, and in this stage, only one can formulate them in a manner which is more precise and more adequate to the circumstances. If by creating a second party one means that the opposition ought to engage in negotiations with the various communist groups in order to create a new organization on the periphery of the CI, that would be to add to the capitulation of the Opposition. This would be as if we applied ourselves systematically to sharpening the edge of our weapons, and at the moment when it is more than necessary to introduce the policies of the Opposition into the workers' movement? We would be allying ourselves with heterogeneous groups, which would imply binding ourselves to a discipline, and this alone would have the virtue of effacing our political line and perceptibly augmenting the crisis of Communism. The whole question is to know on what foundations should the second party be formed. And the answer is given to us by our principles themselves. The fraction, by its very situation, being outside of the party, is destined either to arrive at its reintegration, and consequently to overcome the crisis within the CI, or to transform itself into a party.

The Opposition should continue as always to demand the unification of communist forces on the basis of the CI, of all the expelled groups. On any other basis which is not the CI the Opposition should always reject unity of organization. The IO either reforms the CI or replaces it and substitutes it in history. The question can be decided in one direction or another. But to reach one of these two results the only one road: to maintain the policy of unification.

2. Our struggle for unity ought not to be supported only, although that is an important condition, with the doubt that we can succeed in attaining it, but what is more important, in that we have no responsibility for the split, and on the other hand, we know that our objective, to revive communism, we shall pursue within the CI provided only that they allow us entrance and liberty of action. And as long as we are sure of this, that we have no responsibility for the split, that with our mere reintegration we should succeed in reforming the CI., we cannot renounce the platform of unification. We have the right to bear the banner of communist unity, because we bear it sincerely, honestly, and not as a decoy, as does Stalinism when it uses this word.

But as a consequence of this struggle two things can occur: either that we shall attain unity, or that the unitary currents which we succeed in creating within the party by proving the correctness of our points of view and our desire for unification, will be translated into punishments, expulsions, by the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is evident that if Stalinism falls in the USSR, or better said, if the Opposition triumphs in ~~the USSR~~ the USSR, the unification will be carried out within the CI with all the expelled groups. But since the basis of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and its fountain of nourishment is the USSR, the Opposition will not attain, barring unexpected circumstances which would be a true historical surprise, its reintegration into the national sections. The unitary currents will be translated into expulsions, and precisely for this reason and for the assimilation of workers of other camps who see in the Opposition the true representative of communism, the obligations of the party fall on us. To maintain the policy of unification, it is not necessary either to have unitary illusions or to cease to fulfill our obligations in the struggle.

3. This is the mistake which we feel with weight in the Opposition: to believe that unity presupposes political paralysis and the obligation to bow to the reform of the party, and as a result, that everything should not be done independently of the party, or in face of it when necessary, means the abandonment of the struggle for unification. This is precisely the pretext which our incommensurable comrade Lacroix and his Madrid comrades sought, to conceal the unconfessable motives of his campaign.

Nothing is more mistaken, however. As long as the Opposition had the belief that with the "turns" that were impressed on the CI, the latter could go, find the right road, and overcome the crisis, it was logical not to leave in any way the limits of the party and in no case to oppose oneself to it. But the very development of the crisis in communism makes it impossible to maintain oneself in the positions which were correct during the years 1927-28, and even up to 1930, one can say. Although it may be a little arbitrary, we can place the fall of the monarchy in Spain as the first important example in which one sees that the issue from the crisis of communism depends on the fraction being able to convert itself into an important force, not only by impressing "turns" on the party, but by doing what the party fails to do where possible by occupying its position. For this the fraction should have the possibility of working without any kind of hesitation in the trade union, electoral, etc. fields, advancing in as close an alliance as possible with the party but without fearing to oppose it where to face where the circumstances advise it. If it is the Opposition that has impressed all the turns on the CI, including now those in Germany, we have not been able to avoid having these turns realized on a descending general line.

4. There is nothing to renounce in the struggle for unity, but on condition of not having our hands tied, and today less than ever, with the policy of unity. In the German situation one ought, from our point of view, to struggle for a Congress of Unification of the Communist Party as well as we struggle for the Seventh Congress of the CI. But at the same time we ought to establish with the parties or groups near to us, and with the workers' societies that we can influence, all relations possible so that we can appear, for instance, at

the next anti-fascist congress. We ought to elaborate a platform of struggle against fascism and group around it all possible forces in order to appear as a bloc face to face with the bureaucracy at the anti-fascist congress. But without acquiring more than these occasional connections for joint actions. As to the rest, we ought to follow more firmly each time, and finally with this position: either we reform the CI, or the CI is we.

Nothing would be more catastrophic or have more demoralizing effects than to have the Opposition begin to say, "The CI is falling to pieces, and where it falls, we abandon it at the same time as we are disposed to enter into relations with other groups to form a new party." The proletariat would say to us, and correctly, "Those who are falling to pieces are you; you have been trying uselessly to reform the CI, and now you have to return to the position of those who, starting from a principle, abandoned the CI; you have lost time." And if we are trying to justify ourselves by saying that we tried to save the patient up to the last minute, its pedantry(?) would increase still more and they could answer us "We knew well that this patient could never be cured." If the Opposition struggles for the reform of the CI it is not because it foresees no other result: its total effacement. Once this has happened the Opposition ought not to change its manner of acting and enter into relations with new groups to form a new organization, at the moment when more than ever it needs its organic independence to reconstruct the communist movement on the basis of the Opposition as Bolshevism did in its time. Let us suppose that what is already almost a fact should be completely realized, that Stalinism liquidates the CI. Who except the Opposition can assume the leadership of the world communist movement and at the same time carry on a correct policy for the USSR?

We must make every effort to carry on a correct policy toward all the communist groups, but not with a view to acquiring organic connections but to assimilate whatever in them is assimilable.

With things placed at such a point, that is, if the case happens, the fraction assuming entirely the functions of the party, whether its development be great or small, in what does the creation of a second party then consist? In renouncing its platform of unification. We believe that the moment has not yet come, but that it is now that we obtain the greatest benefit from the struggle for unity in Germany itself, by opposing Stalinism in the party, no matter what force the hostile currents may have. Today, we believe our position should be summed up as follows: Struggle for unification and full independence of the fraction. In the Spanish section, a turn in the indicated direction will not produce a crisis; being the most perfect expression of our own experience; but even if differences should arise on the national or international scale, it is to be hoped that they will be kept within the organization without coming to the outside.

Cordial Communist greetings.

For the C.E. of the L.C. of S.

The Temporary Secretary

REPORT ON THE ENGLISH SECTION, PRESENTED TO THE
PRECONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION.

The English section was organized in December, 1932. It began at that time with six comrades who had been united previously in the struggle against the bureaucracy. These comrades constituted the committee, and entered into communication with the IS and with L.T.

Two possibilities of development appeared before these comrades. The first consisted in a public declaration, which would have resulted in their immediate expulsion from the party. The second consisted in establishing themselves within the party and in influencing it by discreet propaganda.

One call of the party, the Balham group, which included four members, was led, under the impulsion of comrade Groves, to engage

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in a conflict with the leadership of the party. The Balham Group began with a discussion on the trade unions, a question on which the leaders of the party were in disagreement, and then raised the important German question, pointed out the weakness of the party's united front policy, and took the initiative in Southwest London (against the wishes of the party) in a real united front committee which began as a May First committee and later became a "Committee for Struggle Against War".

To this committee belonged the Southwest London branches of the ILP, of the Labour Party, many trade unions, and the CP, represented by the Groves committee. Through the intermediary of this committee and within the party, the Balham group carried on a campaign against the Amsterdam Congress, and had its delegate given instruction to defend the propositions of the Left Opposition.

The Balham group also demanded a congress of the party, and the opening of a discussion within the party. In September the leader of the group, comrade Groves, in agreement with comrade Wicks, who although not belonging to the Balham group propagated its policies in his own cell, had the whole group, with two exceptions, vote for a statement to the members of the party, drawing their attention to the expulsions which had been put through then the preliminary discussion of the Congress began. This statement also brought up the German question, the questions of the united front and of the internal situation of the party, and raised its criticism against the Amsterdam Congress. This document was widely distributed through the party, and other expulsions followed. The group continued its work as a cell separated from the party in Southwest London, in the Committee against War, in the local trade unions, holding public meetings and establishing points of support within the party. At the congress, the Balham group distributed publicly statements outside of the congress, and also secretly inside, by means of its supporters. It pointed its slogans all around the hall and distributed leaflets at the open meetings of the party.

The Opposition Committee published, between June and October, 1932, two issues of the mimeographed paper, "The Communist", 350 copies of which were distributed among the party. It also published the statement of the Bolsheviki-Deninists to the Amsterdam Congress and an "Open Letter to Harry Pollitt" written by comrade Purkis, who was then expelled from the party. Comrade Sava, member of the Balham group, was expelled in September, partly for his activity in the group, partly for an article in the Plebs in which he defended I.T.

The Committee of the Opposition found itself confronted by financial and internal difficulties in getting out an issue of the "Communist" for the Party Congress. Instead, it published a short statement dealing above all with the anniversary of the October Revolution. Shortly thereafter there appeared no. 3 of "The Communist".

The latest issue of "The Communist" was published in the number of 300 copies, of which the greater part were sold or given to party members. In addition we are selling the "Militant" and pamphlets by Trotsky issued by the American League. A number of bookshops in London are selling the "Militant".

RESOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH SECTION

The Assembly of the British section of the ILO has examined with the greatest attention the situation of its executive committee. The failure of this committee to function has rendered the work of the active members still more difficult, it has reduced our propaganda to nothing, and has prevented the organization, the reinforcement and the growth of our movement. The gravity of this statement is proven by the complete failure to respond to the development of the critical situation in Germany.

It is obvious that such a situation cannot be tolerated without very harmful consequences for the ILO, and that is why we desire that new progress be made in remedying this unsatisfactory state of affairs.

A committee of seven will be elected at this assembly. This committee should be composed of oppositionists who are active and worthy of confidence, in contact with the members and the masses; they should make regular reports; they should keep minutes of their discussions and decisions; they should establish close and regular relations with the IS; they should meet at least once a month, and should elect from among themselves a secretariat of three to see to the carrying on of the work in the intervals between meetings of the committee.

The committee should undertake the following tasks during the next three months:

1. Drawing up the statutes.
2. Securing the organization and the functioning of oppositionist groups of three members or more, doing militant work on the basis of their place of work or on the basis of locality. Such possibilities exist and have even been realized in two or three places, and no delay in execution should be tolerated by the committee. Where we have only one or two comrades, we should make efforts to create discussion groups composed of comrades selected among the members of the party and among non-party members, which should receive the support of the committee.
3. Where groups exist or are formed, the work should be aimed at penetrating into the party and into the working class to win over to us the best elements for our work of regenerating the CI. Each member of these groups ought, under the control of the group, participate as actively as possible in every manifestation of the life of the worker's movement. In the trade unions, cooperatives, NUTM, etc. we struggle side by side with the party on every occasion, but we express ourselves freely on the false policies of the party and we distribute our political analyses and our slogans. The group should also work out a program of education for its member, and lectures and discussions should take place regularly.
4. To consider ~~xxx~~ seriously the question of recruitment, and act so as to win over more proletarian elements.
5. To organize a campaign for a publication whose first issue could appear on the First of May.
6. To publish at least three issues of "The Communist" before May 1st.
7. To issue leaflets for the most important events.
8. The organization of a broad discussion before the congress of the ILO, prepared for by the publication of materials and documents in an internal bulletin. The first issue could appear at the end of March.
9. To consider seriously the weakness of our work among the youth, the colonials, etc., and to remedy it.
10. A plenary assembly of all the members should be called three months from today to listen to the committee's report on activity, to discuss the final resolutions, and designated delegates for the congress of the ILO.

We shall bring our full and warm support to the new committee for the accomplishment of these tasks. Since we are going through a critical period for the international movement, it is necessary for every Bolshevik-Leninist to give devoted and unlimited efforts for the building-up of a powerful British section of the ILO.

RESOLUTION OF THE I.S. ON THE SITUATION OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE

In its resolution on the differences within the American League, the preconference of the ILO emphasized the necessity of placing before the International Opposition the conflict within the leadership of the American organization. In view of the fact that up to now the discussion material has not yet arrived, and according to the latest information the situation is full of the danger of a split, and more and more hinders the work of the American League, the IS considers it its imperative duty to intervene to address itself on behalf of the ILO, for the members of the League, and point out this danger to them, drawing their attention to the following points:

1. The direction in which the League has begun to engage itself recently, of active participation in the struggle of the working masses is the one which can surely lead the League to a higher stage of its existence; put an end to the purely literary and propagandist activity, and assure real progress to the League. By this work, it will succeed in drawing new elements into the organization and in realizing a better selection of cadres.

2/ On the other hand, the work cannot give results so long as the factional struggle, which poisons the internal life of the League, will continue within the group. This struggle, having up to the present no clear political content, does not permit the organization to march forward. It prevents and stops the adherence of new members to the League; it produces discouragement among members who are not sufficiently firm as yet, instead of educating them, and positively does injury to the work of the LO in America.

3. Still/would be the situation if a split occurred in the League on the basis of this conflict. Such a split would not be understandable to the members and still less so for the workers who follow the League, and would compromise for a long time the LO in America. The IS appeals to the members of the League to prevent a split in the League at any cost, to demand the concentration of the forces of the League for the realization of the objectives which have been posed: work among the masses, the unemployed, among the trade unions, etc. and to demand that the factional struggle must stop.

4. The IS believes that the conference of the League should be held after a profound discussion within the whole organization on the concrete tasks of the League, and should take up these questions and secure a leadership which will dispose all its forces for the realization of these tasks. A concentration of forces in the leadership and the enlargement of the same leadership with the participation of the militants, especially tested workers, imbued with the spirit of positive work, seems necessary to us.

Grand perspectives are opening up before the American League. We are convinced that the members of the American Opposition will rise to the heights of the period which the communist movement is passing through in Germany, of the danger which is threatening the USSR, and the tasks which confront the Bolshevik-Leninists; and, surmounting the internal crisis, will go to work to transform the American League into a champion of the struggles of the American proletariat and a Bolshevik guide for communism in its country.

SOME NOTES ON THE ACTIVITY OF OUR SECTIONS

In order to reserve the largest place for the discussion of the new problems posed by the failure of the CPG, we limit ourselves in this number to a few elementary items of information on the activity of the various sections. Besides, the connection between a number of the sections and the IS is still far from being as close and regular as it should be. Yet broad and frequent information from the national sections, on their activity, their problems, their discussions and the difficulties which they encounter in their daily work, is the pre-condition for the penetration of our organization by a spirit of true, of revolutionary internationalism.

In the middle of the attention of the ILO is our German section. Without falling into conventional optimism, we can say that the activity of the German Opposition since the departure of the tiny grouplet of capitulators has developed considerably. In the tragic confusion which invaded all the organizations and all the currents of the working class during the decisive days of February and March, our German section has been able to raise its voice and become a center of attrac-

In the middle of the attention of the ILO is our German ^{sec-}tion. Without falling into conventional optimism, we can say that the activity of the German Opposition since the departure of the tiny groups of capitulators has developed considerably. In the tragic confusion which invaded all the organizations and all the currents of the working class during the decisive days of February and March, our German section has been able to raise its voice and become a center of attraction for many workers whose attitude to the ideas of the ILO had even been hostile up to then.

The appeal of the pre-conference of the ILO to the German workers, as well as a leaflet on the Reichstag fire, were printed illegally and distributed in thousands of copies. In all our centers in the provinces, our comrades are securing the regular publication of leaflets and of mimeographed newspapers.

Immediate measures were taken to secure the publication abroad of the paper of our German section, "Unser Wort", of which three issues have already appeared. In Germany as well as abroad the paper is finding an excellent repercussion.

At the beginning of the month of March, the German Opposition held its national conference under conditions of complete illegality. We return to this subject in a special note.

The fascist repercussion has not spared the ranks of the German ILO either. In Berlin, Granienburg, Hamburg, Mainz, Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, in many cities in the Ruhr, the nazis arrested some of our comrades. The emigration of the Oppositionists is beginning to develop. In order to secure and often save the lives of our persecuted comrades; to make possible the appearance of the paper published abroad, which is the most important weapon for an underground organization, enormous material efforts are necessary. Unfortunately, only a small part of our sections have carried out the decisions of the pre-conference looking toward a broad action of solidarity for our German section. All comrades of the ILO, all the sections, must carry out their revolutionary duty toward our German comrades who are struggling under the most difficult conditions.

In America, in Belgium, in France, our comrades are successfully continuing their campaign in the press and in public meetings on the events in Germany.

As to the Belgian section, let us note for the moment only that the Brussels Federation has been able to realize considerable progress. In the last six months, it has almost doubled its forces. At present this branch is largely composed of young workers who are also carrying out good activities in the trade union field.

The Communist League of France, too, shows a certain progress from the organizational point of view; in the Eastern district, a workers' branch has been organized at Belfort and a base of support has been created in several cities. The Dijon branch was enlarged. Next month, a district conference will tighten the links among the oppositionist comrades of Eastern France.

A very important conquest is represented by the new branch in Southern Paris, composed exclusively of tested militants of the CPF who enjoy a great authority among the revolutionary workers. The importance of this new addition is all the greater since in Paris the percentage of "French" members has up to the present been very limited.

The League is taking a very active part in the struggle of the metal workers at the Citroen plant (regular participation in the strike pickets, leaflets, etc.) One member of the League belongs to the central strike committee.

In this issue we are publishing a report on the English Section presented to the pre-conference as well as a resolution of its plenary assembly. As was the case in all sections and groups of the ILO, our English comrades are undergoing inevitable internal difficulties in finding a correct general orientation for their daily activities.

Since the minority, in spite of the demand of the IS, has not yet up to the present sent in a documentation on its point of view in the ~~time~~ the internal conflict through which the English Opposition has been passing, it is impossible for us to express ourselves as to the immediate reasons for the conflict. Still, we cannot fail to salute the efforts of the English comrades to broaden the scope of their external activity (trade union work, newspaper, work toward CP, etc.) especially in such an important question as that of the events in Germany.

The most recent news of the English comrades bears witness to an evident upswing in their activity; since the beginning of this month two new branches have been organized. The publication of the newspaper "The Communist" has been resumed; besides, an internal bulletin is being published regularly, three issues having appeared up to now. The sale of the pamphlets published by the American section has increased considerably. The English comrades are making arrangements to transform "The Communist" into a printed newspaper beginning with the month of May.

We are in position to give some information as to the expansion of our influence in the countries of South America:

CHILE- As is well known, for several months the Dissident Communist Party, an organization having a broad mass influence, had been approaching our tendency. After prolonged discussions the enlarged CC had decided, in January, to declare its solidarity of principle with the ILO and to propose at the next National Conference the formal adhesion to our international organization. Now a telegram addressed to the IS has just announced the formal adhesion: "The Congress of the Dissident Communist Party has decided after broad discussion to adhere officially to the International Left Opposition---Devin"

We are currently awaiting a more ample documentation which we shall immediately submit to the knowledge of the ILO.

EQUADOR- A letter from Guavaquil advises us of the existence of an Oppositionist branch which has been formed on the basis of the ideas of the Bolshhevik-Leninists and which is at present making efforts to systematize its work, to prepare for the publication of Oppositionist literature, and to sink its roots into the mass organizations.

BRAZIL--Our comrades are preparing their first National Conference for the end of this month; it is to adopt these on the agrarian and trade union questions, on the USSR, on the world situation and discuss the resolutions of our international pre-conference. The Conference will also elect a delegate to the International Conference of the ILO.

Our Brazilian section is regularly publishing a magazine, "The Class Struggle". The comrades are having considerable influence over the revolutionary Hungarian and Italian emigres.

Let us also note that the subscription quickly organized by our Brazilian comrades on behalf of the German comrades have brought in as a first result the sum of 600 francs.

CUBA-- In Havana, Cuba, there has been organized within the party a Bolshhevik-Leninist Opposition. For the time being it is a question of a little group which is asking for our literature and for connections with the ILO. The group already has a platform on which it is working to develop itself and to march forward.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE GERMAN SECTION

On March 11-12 the National Conference of our German section took place in a town in the province. If the pre-conference had already suggested that the tasks of this conference be limited, in view of the urgent necessity of tightening the organizational links, and of preparing the organization for the conditions of underground work, the events of the end of February and the beginning of March imposed still more the task of aiming for a short range, of closing the ranks before the fascist repression, of discussing and developing the most obviously necessary forms of work.

Before the necessity of calling the Conference in the shortest time possible, a preliminary political discussion was made impossible. The Conference had to limit itself to adopting a short resolution which constitutes the first balance-sheet of the tragic events which had just taken place.

In view of the fact that the Conference had to meet in complete illegality, and most of the time even divided up into several groups, out of about forty local organizations only eighteen representatives of the most important centers were invited to take part in the Conference, which included outside of the members of the leadership and two foreign comrades, fourteen delegates of the local organization. Although in a certain sense improvised the Conference was characterized by a very high political level, and, like the international pre-conference, it showed that we have cadres in Germany who have acquired a high degree of ideological cohesion.

Particularly the delegates from the provinces reflected an excellent state of mind and political understanding, all the more to be appreciated since the greater part of the provincial groups, thanks to the internal sabotage, first of the Landau regime and then of the Well leadership, had been left to their own fate.

The agenda of the Conference were as follows:

1. Political situation in Germany
2. The pre-conference and its point of view on the questions of the German LO.
3. General view of the situation in Russia
4. The organizational tasks
5. Reports on morale, on organization and on finances.
6. Election of the C.C.

The conference fixed once again the lessons of the past struggles (Well case, the RTUO question, attitude of the newspaper, etc.) particularly in connection with the opinions which the international pre-conference had expressed. It approved, with reservations by the Charlottenburg branch which maintained its point of view on the RTUO, the point of view expressed in the resolution. The center of the political discussions was the understanding of the extent of the victory of Hitler and the possibilities of resistance of the proletariat. The point of view expressed in the resolution, adopted with reservations by two comrades, has been confirmed by the events.

The discussion on the attitude to be maintained toward the official party developed, first of all, on the basis of the reaction to the point of view of the comrade delegate from Cologne who demanded the abandonment of our course toward reform, not only in Germany, but also in Russia and toward the C.I. Nevertheless, the resolution envisages too the necessity of a new orientation: "the creation of Communist cadres", but without abandoning clearly the general orientation toward official CPG which had been that of the whole ILO before the collapse of the CPG before fascism. On this point, the discussion is currently in course of development within the German LO.

The reports of various delegates from the provinces showed that our provincial branches are all well equipped to carry on their propagandist activity in spite of the fascist terror and in spite of the arrest of which a number of our functionaries were the victims.

The new leadership was unanimously elected. Measures were taken to assure the closed participation possible of the comrades from the provinces in the work of the leadership.

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE GERMAN
LEFT OPPOSITION (Bolshevik-Leninists)

The German bourgeoisie, in the course of the crisis, has had finally to seize by violence a decision in the relation of forces among the classes. To obtain this decision in its favor, it has had recourse to fascism. To show this development and the extreme danger which it involved, to sound the alarm and advocate the united front for defense, that was the task of the German Left Opposition. Even before the open conflict, the Well group had brought confusion as to the policy to be followed toward the party.

The false appreciation of the situation and of the forces of the party also led Well and a number of other comrades to refuse to propagate the liquidation of the RTUO through the slogan of trade union unity. The events have confirmed the ideas of the minority of then E.C. according to which it was necessary to aim for a short range. It demanded after the disintegration of the RTUO, the return into the free trade unions. The attitude of the Permanent Revolution in the elaboration of the line of the Opposition was an attitude of conciliation and of vacillation toward the bureaucracy of the party. In this respect, the National Conference approves the decisions of the international pre-conference.

The events in Germany, after the burning of the Reichstag, represent the destruction of the proletarian organizations, and as a result, the victory of Hitler for a certain time. The task of the German proletariat consists in organized resistance, with the purpose of putting obstacles, or of rendering it impossible for the bourgeoisie to profit by its victory. A defeat without a fight has still more demoralizing consequences. The LO should put all its forces to work to help the existing cadres within and without the party to organize resistance.

We can no longer expect the Socialist party to enter into the struggle; but in spite of this fascism will not spare it. It will on the contrary try to transform part of the trade unions into State fascist unions. This necessitates a further intense trade union work.

As a result of the criminal policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the CPG is in a state of complete dissolution. Its future fate and possible reassembly depend on the fate of the Soviet Union, which is also threatened with collapse as a result of the Stalinist policies. It would be premature and false to launch today the slogan of the second party. On the contrary, the tasks of the LO today consist of creating Communist cadres in the general chaos and among the former members of the party and the radicalized left reformist workers (SWP, etc).

It will depend on the Communist cadres whether the "Matteotti" crises of fascist to which the economic and social conditions will give birth, will lead to the overthrow of fascism. Fascism will seek in war a way out of its crises.

The idea of "liquidation by itself" propagated by the party, as well as the illusions which it is sowing, can only deepen still more the subsequent depression of the working class.

It is the same with the orientation toward terror which the contrists are taking. The next attacks on relief and on wages will be

the point of departure for a movement of resistance. The question of the united front is still being posed in the same urgent manner. That is why the LO must try at all costs to acquire positions in the factories.

Collaboration with the Landa group is impossible because of its policial and moral dishonesty.

The political differences with the Leninbund and SWP are too deep to permit unification. As long as the present leadership of the SWP does not take a position on fundamental questions, its attitude should be considered as that of an opponent. Still we should make contact with these groups. Political intransigence is the basis on which we must build new cadres. The complete failure of the CI forces the ILO to develop a broad international campaign against German fascism (boycotting, etc.)

The National Conference of the Left Opposition
(Bolshevik-Leninists), Section of the International Left
Opposition.

LETTER FROM TWO SPANISH COMRADES? ARLEN AND VELA

Madrid, March 26, 33

Comrade Gurov,

The I.S. has sent us a letter from you on German Stalinism and the question of the necessity of creating a new party in Germany.

We will explain the considerations which were suggested by your letter. We note a lack of objective information: "German Stalinism is collapsing now, not so much under the influence of fascist blows as a result of its internal rotteness." The fascist blows against the party are very hard according to the press. It is certain that it is disappearing? Is this founded on sure facts? This is not deduced from the fact alone of Hitler's rise to power. We recall your article, "Before [?] or the Decision". It is stated there that even under the most favorable conditions, Hitler needs many tragic months and months to establish the domination of fascism, and that during these months the proletariat, even with a correct leadership, will have two or three times the time to arrive at the power. The CI carried out its turn on the united front late and imperfectly. We do not know if the work in Germany corresponds to the new situation. In any case, there must be other facts which justify the statement that the CPG is a corpse. The inactivity? We others know nothing about Germany on this point. The censorship is very strict

The letter says, "that the scorn of the vanguard of the German workers for the bureaucracy which has deceived them will be so great that the slogan of renascence will seem false and ridiculous to them." The hour has struck! We must openly pose the question of preparing for the new party, as underlined.

We must admit that this is a conjecture, nothing more, as to the sentiments of the workers' vanguard. It would be better for the solidity of the argumentation to have, not a conjecture but a reality. Second, this paragraph and the preceding one of your letter start from a decisive rout of the proletariat; the C.P. is dead, the vanguard of the workers depreciating even the renascence of the C.P. Is fascism already consolidated for the moment? A correlation of forces abruptly brusquely modified in its favor, a true flood toward the Nazi ranks, or the smashing to dust of the revolutionary proletariat? Have they done in a few weeks the work of "long months"? Is this the case? If it is not so, the position is mistaken; today we are on a war footing and it is not a question of building a new party, for which years are necessary (letter to the German Communist workers, polemic with Urbans); it is a gigantic task (What Next?); we lack firm cadres, our ideas would have to have penetrated in a certain fashion into the masses.

The creation of a new party is therefore a long range enterprise, and today it is necessary to lead the working class into battle with all the means. We believe that today the obstacles have disappeared which would prevent the German Opposition from allying itself strongly with the comrades of the party as a left fraction and giving them directives. Have the legal and illegal apparatuses of the party evaporated? The rank and file of the party have heard more or less something of that the Opposition correctly supported, and in that case its candidacy for the practical leadership is not an impossibility. We are no strangers to the rank and file of the party? Or are we insufficient in number to group together the rank and file of the party and lead them to battle? And if this is so, would the label of a new party enormously facilitate our tasks? This is incredible.

How explain that the proletariat vanguard considers false the slogan of the renaissance of the party? The proletarian vanguard is the C.P. en masse. And it will not desire the renaissance of the party. And will it not receive with hope its fraction, whose correct policies have been confirmed by the facts? We will have to present ourselves as proposing a new party, that is to say, constituting the first cell of this party? That we do not erect ourselves into a party in any way of approaching the masses, but in reality, by defending it and offering our collaboration, we proclaim ourselves as such even for the most rudimentary intelligence. If the party still has a leadership, we must speak clearly to the party, to the rank and file, and give directives for action; if it is abandoned by the bureaucracy, we must assume the leadership and tell the rank and file that today it is necessary to make a united front among the same workers developing the greatest initiative; in the factories, locally, and by districts; to take up again relations with the organizations that remain, to give standards for clandestine organizations, and find an outlet in action. Did not Trotsky say recently that the German proletariat is so powerful that it can not lose a spontaneous movement a hundred times greater than the transport fight in Berlin? Supposing there are obstacles at the top, ought we not help this possibility as a left fraction allied with the mass of the party?

We do not understand how one can compare the fourth of August of the social democracy with the impotence of the C.P.G. August 4th was not impotence but the open treason of the social democracy passing over deliberately to the bourgeoisie and distilling the opium of the bourgeois fatherland among the working masses. The C.P.G. called for battle, but found only its echo, because of a very serious, unpardonable error in revolutionary tactics. There the difference is quite notorious, and social democracy has again played its traitorous role in paralyzing the masses. As to the result, if one grants fascism as consolidated, we understand perfectly well that they may be still more fatal than those of 1914. But we believe they cannot be put on the same footing. On the other hand, the problem of fascism in Germany is not merely a national fact, it has international repercussions; and the struggle against fascism, and consequently the possibility of its consolidation, are international. In this sense even the rout of the CP in Germany is not decisive.

Naturally the "Amsterdamian" Anti-Fascist Congress is a disgrace. It is correct that we should carry on a severe opposition within it. But what is the meaning of the agreements with the SWP and this document on the declaration of a new party, a document with which our allies can associate themselves? We have read in the press that the SWP was dissolved before the elections of March 5th, agreeing to give its votes to the social democracy. What did the SWP do? Is it not dangerous to take such steps? Can this facilitate our access to the vanguard of the proletariat? Will one not be able to say that we are left social democrats? Has Trotsky not revealed to us that the best of the SWP did not exceed left centrism? Is not Stalinist bureaucracy better? With its cadres, we should go to a catastrophe and the worker's vanguard would turn their backs on us.

The letter says, "But we declare: The official German party is politically liquidated, it cannot be reborn. We do not want to take upon ourselves the inheritance of its crimes."

-The German CP cannot be reborn? As long as the CI will exist, its German section will exist; the same as, without its German section what would the CI be? As to the rest, we have seen in Spain how the CNT has been reborn and become more powerful, as an organization it is understood, in spite of its self-dissolution at the coming of Primo de Rivera, without waiting for even the first blow. Revolutionary tradition and the victims will take care of the renaissance. In the first reaction of the masses, the party will appear; its militant workers will take care of that. What is possible today, in our opinion, is to make a breach in the bureaucracy, in spite of our small organizational forces. With a more favorable relation of forces, we should be successful. In Spain, based on the appeal of the CI on the united front, we issued a manifesto on the basis of opposition, in which we attacked the bureaucracy correctly but with the greatest severity. This manifesto reached the bureaucracy as was discussed in the cells. One oppositionist declared himself as such and said that he belonged to the organization. In spite of this no expulsion was pronounced and a little bureaucrat came forward to say that he would not be expelled. Our comrade discussed the problems of Germany. The Spanish Opposition today is almost destroyed and its practical work is a little less than nothing. In truth, practically, nothing was ever for its constitution as false(??)

That we should not wish to burden ourselves with the crimes of the CPG, good; but no more were we burdened with them before. But finally, the crimes come from the CI, from its leadership? This is a truth, and what we have always said. As to the rest, certain exaggerations of language may be pernicious. The CPG and the CI with its bureaucracy are a bit cleaner than the SWP and the Wol-Semine group that left us.

Before the problem of a new party is posed, the Opposition should try to do something to put itself at the head of the workers' vanguard, to concentrate it if it is dispersed, and direct its efforts toward action. Otherwise, the same vanguard which understands these crimes, and our severe arguments (we must watch out, for such arguments become whips for irresponsible people) would ask, "And what did you do in action?"

We do not bow before the fetishism of the fraction. We know that the fraction is an embryo of the party. Also, its conversion into a party is a problem of the development of the relation of forces. If, having reached a certain important degree, it does not conquer in the fractional struggle, its internal force itself and its projection outside, converted into a party. This would necessarily suppose a radical difference between its fractions. In case of political bankruptcy there is no question of force. Succinctly, with what one has one begins, in a certain sense, anew.

Faced with a new situation; on the one side, a new party in Germany and on the other, opposition in the other countries and re-statement of the CI, there does not fail to exist an impracticable desire. The creation of a second party in Germany, since it is a question of a second party, results in our position being interpreted, although we may not wish it, everywhere as an enemy of the party.

Finally, we shall state precisely the following points:

1. Fascism is not consolidated in Germany. All efforts should tend to undertake a national and international counter-offensive. The retreat has not yet sounded.
2. The problem is international, as much so in the sense of counter-revolution as in that of revolution.
3. The principal and even total responsibility for the events in Germany to be demanded in the revolutionary camp, falls back on the CI.

4. From the two preceding points is deduced the inconsistency of the orientation: new party in Germany, and opposition in the other countries and internationally.

5. Events must rush in one direction or another. We must carry all our efforts for entrance into the CI, to defend it, defend the threatened revolution and drive it forward. With the second party in Germany, we close the doors definitively.

6. Only after this, and before the smashing of the October Revolution, after having tried everything to support it, can we proceed to the creation of the new party and of the new International.

Communist greetings,
Arlen-M. Vola

P.S. The creation of the new party in Germany is an orientation toward the second party in the other sections. This does not depend on our statements to the contrary, but on the judgement of the proletarian vanguard. Moreover this tendency will show itself in our midst; it has also been clear on various occasions. In Spain, for instance, the attempt has already been made to justify it by passing it through as a non-traband with the inexistence of the CP. We do not therefore wish to close this letter without giving a warning: the Opposition can fall into the worst hands, it can be a field for experiments for politicians who have embroiled themselves with communism. The evidence, that it is so in Spain, in the group which postulates this tendency in an underground manner are several examples of this species, puts us on guard. Today, they call themselves the "precursors of the Opposition," tomorrow they would bury Gourov if they could. For them Trotsky is not the revolutionary criticism, the leader of the Bolshevik-Leninists, but only a large-caliber gun against the party and against Lenin.

ITALIAN SECTION OF THE I.L.O. (Bolshevik-Leninists)

On the Tasks of the I.L.O. after the Collapse of the C.P.G.

The C.E. of the Italian section of the I.L.O. (Bolshevik-Leninists), having taken note of and discussed the article of comrade L.D., "The Tragedy of the German Proletariat"; of the letter of comrade Gourov of March 12 to the I.S., and of the resolution of the latter "on the situation of the CPG and the tasks of the ILO in Germany", decides as follows:

1. The victory of fascism in Germany has placed not only the German communist movement, but the international communist movement before a new situation and new problems.

2. The first conclusion to be drawn openly, and which should be placed openly before the eyes of the communists of all countries, is the failure of Stalinism. Stalinism, which led to the destruction of

the Chinese revolution in the Far East, has led the German proletariat to catastrophe under the boot of Hitler. Weakening the force of the international proletariat, with the triumph of fascist counter-revolution, Stalinism destroys the international bases of the dictatorship of the proletariat; isolates the USSR from its sole and unique effective ally, the working class of the world. Accumulating the most terrible contradictions within the USSR; driving away the working masses from the management of their state; determining a break in the alliance of workers and peasants by a policy which satisfies neither the claims of the one nor the needs of the others; Stalinism destroys the national bases of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Stalinism is the ruin of the proletarian revolution. Liberation from Stalinism is the necessary condition for the resumption and the advance of international Communism. This is what every Communist must know. This is what every Communist must understand for the salvation of the USSR and of the Communist International.

2. The collapse of the CPG, of that party which occupied with- in the CI the second place after the party of the USSR and in which the Jormunist workers of all countries had the illusion of a great capacity for fighting against Hitlerite fascism, is the clear demonstration that the policy of the "third period" carried on by the CI has been and re- mains a colossal deception for the proletariat; a deception which has opened an abyss between the USSR and the working class of the world with the defeat of the German proletariat. Stalinism, responsible for this defeat, must be swept aside if we wish the defeat not to be las- ting and prepare other and still greater defeats.

3. In Germany, the fundamental problem which is now posed be- fore Communists is the problem of the reconstruction of the party. Hit- lerite fascism has easily been able to put its iron hand to the throat of the party and throw it to the ground because the Stalinist policies had foreseen nothing, organized nothing. After the collapse of the par- ty, there remained only massacre and ruin. To remake the Communist party in the condition for a revival of the German proletariat. We think that it is in this sense that one should understand the letter of com- rade Gurov as to the creation of the "new" party. The statement made on the resolution of the I.S. according to which the ILO "should hence- forth declare openly that it breaks definitively with the CPG" is a statement which does not correspond to the orientation which we should give our work. It is not a question of breaking with the "CPG" which the Stalinist policies have permitted Hitler to smash to pieces, it is a question of remaking, of remaking, of rebuilding the CPG. The change in our position is not toward the party as a party, but toward the leading Stalinist fraction.

The situation opens up new possibilities for us and poses new tasks. Faced with Stalinist treason on the one hand and the doubly shameful treason of the social-democracy on the other, many workers fall into passivity and discouragement. But many others, on the contrary, al- ready and from now on seek the road to escape outside of Stalinism and of the social-democracy. It is especially to these workers who want to organize themselves for struggle that we must apply ourselves with ar- dor, with tenacity, with perseverance, to build on the ruins of the y- last the new CPG, but we break in a clear and complete manner with those who have betrayed the party and the working class of Germany, we break with the Stalinist fraction which has condemned itself, and not the party as a party, by its-treason, to the hatred and the scorn of the working class. We want to rebuild the CPG. The turn of IO should consist in this: "To orientate all the work in the direction of arouse- ing and creating everywhere, locality by locality, factory by factory, the regrouping of the proletarian workers who are determined to give birth to a strong, a real Communist party. The slogan which must serve to rally all that is healthy, alive and honest in the German Communist movement must be: "The policies of Stalinism have brought us to defeat; in this way fascism has been able to crush our party. We must set to remake the Communist party on new bases".

Without ostracism, without sectarianism, all those who accept the fundamental principles of communism must be called on to partici- pate in the reconstruction of the party. The fraction of the Bolshevik- Leninists must consider itself as the axis around which the reconstruc- tion must be accomplished. But this must not be posed as a condition; This must be the result of the force which the fraction of the Bolsh- vik-Leninists will be able to arouse by its action and by the clarity of its ideological positions.

4. The lesson of Germany should serve others as a practical proof of the correctness of the positions of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Based on the defeat of the CPG, the International Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition must more than ever intensify its struggle for a radical renovation of the policies and methods of the CI. The struggle for the regeneration of the CI is more than ever the struggle which we must

carry on! We must say to the communist workers everywhere, "You see where Stalinism has led the German proletariat. Why wait longer? We must change our road. We must establish a new regime in our parties; change radically the general course of their policies; return to the Bolsheviki-Leninist policies of proletarian internationalism. To close one's eyes to realities, would be to go forward voluntarily to other and worse defeats."

The demand for a congress of the CI must be agitated in a systematic manner before the Communist parties. The Zurich International has decided to convoke its congress for June 25, 1933. We must demand that the CI reunite the world congress no later than this month. The preparation for this congress should begin at once in the national sections, admitting the participation of the Bolsheviki-Leninists. Without a radical turn, the parties and the CI will not be able to get out of the state of paralysis and of decline in which they are; they will not be able to find rescue.

5. The International Bolsheviki-Leninist Opposition, without ceasing for a single instant the preparation for the coming conference in July, must to convoke as soon as possible an enlarged Plenum, to discuss the new problems posed by the international situation and to issue to the communists of all countries a manifesto in which the tasks posed by the new problems are agitated.

April 1, 1933

 THE RESOLUTION OF THE GREEK SECTION

The BP of the OCNLG (A) and the District Committee of the District of Continental Greece, Peloponnesus and the Islands, having deliberated on the situation in Germany and the letter of comrade Gourov, considers:

-that the capitulation of Stalinism before fascism, without a battle, is only the result of a long series of treasons, which have culminated in the taking of power by Hitler. This betrayal is in no way less than the betrayal of the social-democracy on August 4, 1914.

All the conditions in Germany were ripe for a proletarian revolution; an economic situation sapped by the war and the crisis; a strong, powerfully organized, aggressive proletariat; a petty bourgeoisie crushed by the crisis. This revolution would have changed the map of Europe just as its defeat now has reactionary repercussions in all countries. Moreover, the danger of intervention against the USSR increases from day to day.

Stalinism, by its criminal policy, has ideologically disarmed the party and has handed it over bound hands and feet to the reaction. The fascist tempest has dissolved the party, which had no ties of ideological consistency. The confusion turned to despair and passivity. The CPG is only a corpse. The turn of the CI, against its will, comes at a moment when this slogan would be superfluous. If the policy of the united front, demanded by the ILO since 1930, had been applied and if the party had had a Bolsheviki-Leninist policy, the social-democratic masses would have followed it, leaving their leaders without an army.

The LO has done everything possible to force Centrism to change its course toward revolution. It has not succeeded. Now it is time that the German LO separate its responsibilities from those of the CPG. It should present itself before the German proletariat as an independent force, and representing the only guarantee for the reconstruction of the party of the proletariat. The correctness of its perspectives, slogans and proposals give it the right to this. If the German LO fails in this task, it will follow the fate of the CPG. By attaching itself to a corpse, it will become poisoned.

The German proletariat will be able to make its revolution when the conjuncture will be favorable and when it will have a revolutionary party to guide it. This party has to be created, beginning with the beginning. Without loading oneself down with the inheritance of betrayals committed by Stalinism which has dissolved the party into dust, to avoid any waste of time by trying to revive a corpse, the German Bolsheviki-Leninists ought to get to work to build a party with the healthy elements of the German working class and of the old CPG.

The CPG is dead. The loss of its leaders (Liebknecht, Rosa and the others), followed by the Stalinist domination in the CI, have prevented the CPG from forming a homogeneous, Leninist, leading nucleus. Instead of this nucleus of revolutionaries, and the revolutionary German party, eaten up by this virus, succumbed without resistance.

The German Bolsheviki-Leninists can become this nucleus. No matter how small the number of revolutionaries may be, if it concentrates the qualities of the old Bolsheviki, the heroism, the fidelity to the cause, the continuity of work, the consistent carrying-out of obligations, the self-sacrifice; and is armed with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, can create a real Communist Party which will make the revolution.

It is not a question of creating a second party, but the German Communist Party. The Bolsheviki-Leninists would not be consistent to their obligations toward the German proletariat if they did not get to work to give it a Communist party. The fundamental task of the Bolsheviki-Leninists was to give a revolutionary leadership to the German proletariat. In view of the fact that the efforts to reform the old CPG have not succeeded, they are obliged to create a new one. This task is only the logical consequence of the position of the German Bolsheviki-Leninists.

Every other way out is closed to the German Bolsheviki-Leninists. To remain in the old position of the Opposition of the CPG would be to follow its fate, that is, to vegetate for a time and to liquidate itself afterward. The German proletariat would then have the right to cover the Bolsheviki-Leninists too with its scorn. If the Bolsheviki-Leninists fail in the task which falls to them because of their previous position, the formation of a new German Communist Party will be delayed. In the long run, the proletariat will create a Communist Party for itself, but the Bolsheviki-Leninists would assume heavy responsibilities before history and the German proletariat by leaving the German revolutionaries without leading them.

The German Bolsheviki-Leninists ought to enter resolutely into the road of the creation of a new German Communist Party. It is a question of saving the revolution, the USSR, the last fortress of the revolution.

All our wishes are at their side.