

FOR A UNITED REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

An Appeal By the National Buro of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition)

The following appeal was sent by the Communist Party (Opposition) to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

—Editor

AN OVERWHELMING desire for class unity is sweeping the ranks of the workers thruout the world today. Impressed with the vast progress of the Soviet Union, awakened by the disasters in Germany, Spain and other countries, where the disunity of the proletariat was largely responsible for the triumph of reaction, aroused by the menacing advances of fascism in recent years, the masses of workers are calling for unity in tones that will not be denied and are impatiently brushing aside the outworn prejudices and the old antagonisms that have proved such barriers in the past. Under their pressure, great political obstacles are being gradually cleared away. Profiting by the experiences of Germany, Spain and Austria, the socialist masses are learning to look with revulsion upon the crudely reformist bourgeois coalition policies of their old leaders and are beginning to tear down the wall of unreasoning hostility separating them from the communist workers. In the official communist movement, too, the utter bankruptcy of the old sectarian course, of the blind opposition to the united front, of the policy of dual unionism and of the theory of social-fascism, has helped to clear the way for a new approach towards the socialist workers and thus to facilitate united action. Proletarian unity is the slogan that has seized the hearts and the minds of millions of class conscious workers in every part of the world who are beginning to realize that the strength of their class lies primarily in its militant unity and solidarity.

The First Steps

The first form in which this elemental striving for class unity has expressed itself is the achievement of trade union unity and the establishment of united fronts or common action among the socialist communist and other labor organizations. Great advances in this direction have already been made in Austria, Spain, France, Switzerland and Belgium. Tho sometimes weakened and disfigured by the opportunist distortions of the so-called People's Front, such united action represents not only a significant step in the class consolidation of the proletariat but also, and precisely for that reason, the first really effective answer to the bloody challenge of fascism. In the United States, the same underlying tendency is to be felt, but here specific conditions, especially the weakness of the workers' political movement, have hitherto given it the form primarily of a drive for trade union unity.

United action, however welcome and necessary it undoubtedly is and however vigorously all class conscious workers should strive to realize it, is only the first step in the direction of proletarian class unity. Since the days of the world war, the political movement of labor, embracing its most advanced and conscious elements, has been split into two main streams—social-democratic and communist. Under the circumstances in which it occurred, this split was both necessary and progressive, for it was the inevitable consequence of the brazen desertion of socialist principles on the part of the most opportunist sections of the social-democratic movement. Only thru its instrumentality could revolu-

tionary Marxism have rid itself of the rotting carcass of anti-socialist opportunism and have acquired that ideological independence and freedom of political activity without which a revolutionary movement is altogether impossible. To overcome this division in a sound and effective manner has always been a great objective for all revolutionary Marxists. The highest form of the unity of the proletariat is the revolutionary unity of its vanguard in the ranks of one revolutionary party:

A Sound Basis

But, if such unity is to be any thing more than a snare and a delusion, it must be based on sound political foundations. Austria has plainly shown us that the mere organizational unity of the proletariat within one party is not enough to assure victory or to stave off the triumph of fascism. What is needed is not merely socialist unity but revolutionary socialist unity—the political unity of the proletariat on the basis of the tested principles of revolutionary Marxism. The experience of decades of the world labor movement, climaxing, in its various phases, in the great Russian revolution, in the miserable fiascos of the two British labor governments and in the bitter defeats in Germany, Austria and Spain, have thrown abundant light upon those principles which alone can give strength and revolutionary effectiveness to a working class political party:

1. The class independence of the proletariat—the rejection of any form of collaboration or coalition with the bourgeoisie.
2. Revolutionary internationalist opposition to imperialist war and war preparations—the rejection of every form of class peace or support of "our own" imperialist bourgeoisie, direct or indirect, in any war it may wage.
3. Clarity on the question of the road to power—the practical recognition of the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship in the form of workers councils.
4. Recognition of the proletarian class character of the Soviet government as a workers state engaged in the construction of socialism—the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against all enemies.
5. Democratic centralism as the basis of party organization—in order to be able to combine discipline and unity of action with genuine collective initiative and complete freedom of political discussion and decision within the party.

Unity—Need of Hour

Unity on such foundations would be sound, revolutionary unity. We must heartily greet the fact that such unity is today becoming increasingly possible, just as the demand for it among the masses of the class conscious workers is becoming increasingly urgent. Under the impact of the colossal experiences of the last six years, a deep fermentation is under way in the socialist movement everywhere, achieving expression in a process of far-reaching political differentiation and, in particular, in a pronounced swing to the left among the best sections of the socialist workers. In a number of countries an important revolutionary wing has emerged, breaking with reformism of all shades and openly championing the principles of revolutionary socialism (communism). Behind this advanced element follow other broad sections of socialist workers, at present more backward but moving in the same general direction. In the United States,

similar processes are taking place; in a hesitant, irregular, uneven manner, the leftward movement is forming here as well, heading towards revolutionary socialism. This process of political reorientation now under way in socialist ranks creates the possibility for a broad extension of the basis of revolutionary unity and gives the slogan the timeliness and vitality which it has already acquired.

The achievement of sound unity will, of course, necessarily imply the elimination of many obstacles now in the way, including the traces of old prejudices, remnants of reformism and unclarity among the left socialists as well as the new opportunism and the stultification of the forms of democratic centralism among the official communists. Such obstacles cannot long withstand the mighty will to unity of the masses of class conscious workers.

Revolutionary unity is the great demand of the hour. It must be recognized that, by and for itself, neither the Communist Party, nor the Socialist Party nor the Communist Opposition nor any of the other workers political groups is today in a position to provide the basis for the development of the effective revolutionary party of the proletariat. Revolutionary unity can and must be achieved if the proletariat is to have a leadership equal to the gigantic historical tasks facing it—to save mankind from the horrors of another world

war; to halt the advance of fascism and to overthrow it where it is already in power; to destroy the whole mad system of capitalism and to lay the foundations of a new socialist order.

Our Fight For Unity

The Communist Opposition was born in the struggle for working class unity. We championed the cause of the united labor front and of trade union unity when we had to stand alone against the bitter opposition of both the socialists and official communists. The result of our unyielding fight for unity are well known. Our fundamental policy has been thoroughly justified in life itself, in every one of the great events that have changed the face of the world labor movement in the last seven years.

Today it becomes the task of the Communist Opposition to raise the slogan of revolutionary unity in response to the deepest needs of the proletariat. We earnestly appeal to the official Communist Party, to the left socialists and to all other class conscious workers to face this problem, to discuss it and to make known their attitude towards it. We urge that the question be examined entirely from the point of view of the vital interests of the proletariat and that any secondary considerations of prejudice or factional advantage be brushed aside. We are confident that, if the question is approached

in this spirit, the answer can be only one of enthusiastic support of the movement for revolutionary unity!

Our Tasks

For itself the Communist Opposition lays down the following tasks:

1. To raise and to champion the slogan of revolutionary unity among the workers of various political tendencies and to fight against all resistance to unity whether it comes from right opportunism or from ultra-left sectarianism.
2. To strive for the broadening and extension of every form of socialist-communist collaboration and of the united labor front in general in order to mobilize the forces of the workers against capitalist reaction as well as to prepare the way for and to stimulate unification on a still higher level, in one revolutionary political party.
3. To explain the political basis of sound revolutionary unity and to expose and resist all efforts to bring about unity on an unsound, un-Marxist basis.

Forward to the united labor front against capital!

Forward to the unification of the class conscious vanguard of the proletariat on the basis of revolutionary Marxism!

NATIONAL BURO
COMMUNIST PARTY
(OPPOSITION)

Jay Lovestone, Sec'y

ROOSEVELT REACHES FOR RURAL VOTE

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lowing it to lie "fallow" or idle for decades. But in this so-called "modern" administration, the progressive achievements of capitalism are discarded, and farmers are to be paid for reviving the essence of feudal agriculture! Capitalism, in its imperialist stage revives "all that is dying and mediaeval" (Lenin)

As the administration has pointed out, certain features of Hoover's program are here included. In this connection note should be made of the fact that the triple A decision did not arouse the expected enthusiasm in the ranks of the G.O.P. For the bourgeoisie, as a class, has no fundamental solution for the agrarian crisis. The major struggle that looms concerns the attitude towards foreign markets. Some elements of the ruling class wish to raise the farmer's price at home (domestic allotment plan) and keep the export price low to compete on the world market. Others wish to raise the farmer's price abroad

(export debenture plan, a kind of inverted tariff) and begin a new drive for markets, pointing out that agricultural exports have decreased, and imports increased.

The new plan is put forth with an officially sponsored fear of unconstitutionality, altho by leaving out any provisions to pay the bounties, it is hoped to avoid conflict with the Supreme Court. Roosevelt's strategy begins to be outlined rather clearly, even at this stage of the electoral game.

First, by transforming the AAA machinery into the Soil Conservation machinery, he will be able to uphold the vast bureaucratic electoral machine that he has built on the countryside. This apparatus acts also as a powerful pressure instrument to keep the farmers hitched to the ruling class.

Secondly, altho the benefit payments will eventually reach a smaller layer of farmers, he stands forth as maintaining a farm-relief program that speaks in terms of cash. This assures him of the

major part of the agricultural vote.

Thirdly, the dangers of a "constitutional amendment campaign" already appear to be too great to the powers that be. The bourgeoisie, if they did decide to pass an amendment, would only concoct one for their own class aims. This would not be an amendment to give Congress the power to pass social legislation, but an amendment that would increase the powers of the Executive, perhaps even with a loophole for a kind of "government by decree," "in the interests of the nation" (read bourgeoisie). But, at present, it becomes too risky to play with the very conception of a constitutional amendment. The differences over the type of amendment might, they reason, hasten the development of a Farmer-Labor Party, and lose Roosevelt a good section of his support. The bourgeoisie cannot afford today to take the same "liberal" attitude as was possible for their European brethren, thirty and forty years ago.

—M. S. M.

C.P. Drags Opposition To Court

The following document is an official complaint lodged by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia with the Czech Gendarmerie. The appeal to the "republican police" against the Communist Party (Opposition) is quite in line with the action of the Communist Party in voting for Benes for President and for his proposed military budget.

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To the District Police Authorities in Asch (Czechoslovakia)
Concerning: Complaint against misuse of our Party name:

The undersigned files the following complaint in the name of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, District Asch, with a request for action:

Josef Voell, Asch, Arbeiterheim, publishes a periodical paper entitled "Arbeiterpolitik." As is evident from the enclosed copy the

following sentence appears on the title page: "Published by the C.P. Cz. - Opposition." The formulation C.P.Cz. represents the abbreviation of the official name Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The use of this formulation represents a misuse of the official Party name of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia by virtue of No. 23 of the municipal election law (names of parties) particularly since Josef Voell is not a member of our Party and was not empowered by us to issue this paper.

In the name of the Communist Party district organization of Asch I hereby ask the Police authorities to prohibit the further use of the title "C.P.Cz." on the front page of the above-mentioned paper "Arbeiter-Politik."

KARL WETTENGEL
Asch, Arbeiterheim
Asch, December 27, 1935.

C.P.O. APPEALS FOR UNITY

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ism—the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against all enemies.

"5. Democratic centralism as the basis of party organization—in order to be able to combine discipline and unity of action with genuine collective initiative and complete freedom of political discussion and decision within the party."

This document (printed on this page) is being submitted by the National Buro to the enlarged session of the National Committee to be held in New York on February 22 and 23.

HAVE YOU GIVEN
TO \$5,000 FUND?