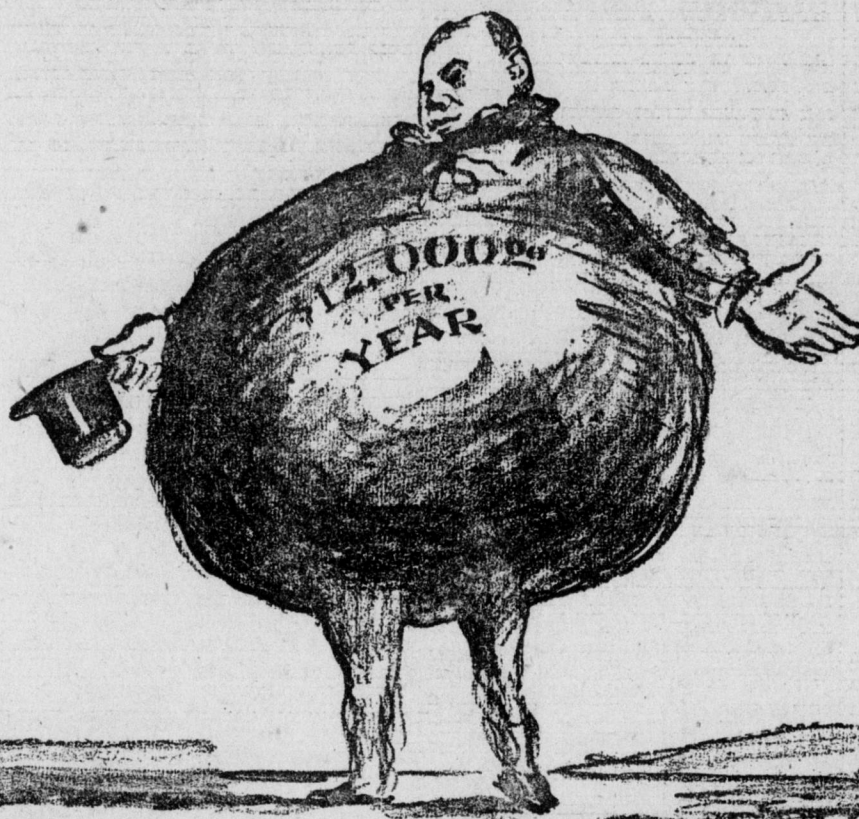


NEW YEAR'S GREETING TO THE BOSSES

By Fred Ellis



"We welcome the opportunity of giving our collective skill, training and technique to the development of industrial and individual efficiency."
—From the New Year's statement of President William Green of the American Federation of Labor.

The Problems Facing the Soviet Union

(Article III in the series on the Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.)

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

(Continued from Last Issue.)

Pessimism of the Opposition.

UNABLE to analyze correctly class forces in the Soviet Union, believing that the peasants are a counter-revolutionary class, unable to adjust themselves to the fact of stabilization, lacking faith in the constructive powers of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, exaggerating the importance of state aid of successful proletarian revolutions as the only form if aid from the workers of the world, underestimating the other forms of support that the workers of the world can give, terrified by the many and difficult problems raised by the next stage in the building of socialism, underestimating the progress so far made in the building of socialism and exaggerating all of the difficulties faced, denying that state and cooperative industry in the Soviet Union are basically socialist in type (the Russian expression is more exactly translated—"of logically socialist type"), denying that Russia is heading towards socialism and believing that it must degenerate and move backward toward a capitalism unless it intensifies the exploitation of the peasantry to the breaking point in which case the peasants will rise and

ish lines." This apologist for imperialism then proceeds to lay all the blame upon the spokesmen of the Indian Nationalist movement. It must be understood that after the tory commission has reported that the British parliament will appoint a committee to "consult" with a committee of the Indian parliament. Upon this purely formal recognition of the Indian parliament Macdonald bases his whole case—but does not forget to call attention to what he doubtless regards as the failure of the Indian Nationalists to understand and appreciate the tremendous privileges accorded them by their all-wise and merciful rulers.

Macdonald says:—"What is to be the relation between the committees representing the British and Indian parliaments? Unfortunately, upon this the Indians have given us no guidance. A political policy of boycott is like swear language. It shows poverty of resource whatever else it may express." (Emphasis ours.)

To us the policy of boycotting the imperialist commission does not appear to indicate "poverty of resource" but rather a determination to smash the theory of Indian inferiority.

When Macdonald says, as he does in his article in The Nation, that the Indian objection to the commission "is really the emanation of a political mind that has been untouched by new ideas for a generation" he shows still more clearly the bias of the imperialist Britisher and proves that his whole approach to the question is from the standpoint of the interests of imperialism rather than that of the Indian people.

There has been no protest made by Macdonald against the exclusion of Madame Sun Yat-sen but he becomes very heated, as we have seen, because the Indian Nationalists resent his calm assumption that the British government is a better judge of their needs than they are.

The Indian Nationalists are by no means the spokesmen of the Indian masses. On the contrary, they represent chiefly the Indian capitalist class and middle class. If there was a powerful mass liberation movement in India making an uncompromising fight against British imperialism, Macdonald, judged by the abuse he hurls at a purely reformist nationalist movement, would be clamoring for battleships and bombardments.

As a matter of fact, according to brazen statements made by Bertrand Russell, and known to be true by every well-informed revolutionary worker, Macdonald and the rest of the right wing Labor Party leadership not only did not oppose the sending of imperialist forces to China but actually condoned this murderous policy.

The rise of anti-imperialist movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries finds the social democrats like Macdonald systematically betraying them just as they betray the struggles of the workers at home. (The general strike, the coal strike, the failure to make a real fight against the anti-labor Trade Union Bill.)

overthrow the workers' state unless aid comes from other lands—in any case believing that the revolution cannot long endure and march forward on its own strength but must degenerate and perish unless the revolution comes to a successful conclusion soon in other countries, the opposition has succeeded in terrifying itself into a panic state by its own gloomy prophecies and predictions.

The Line of the Party.

THE party on the other hand neither minimizes nor exaggerates the difficulties faced by the Soviet Union.

It does not give way to despair merely because there are so many difficulties and the world revolution is retarded in its development.

It sets itself to the difficult task of building socialism on the basis of the constructive power of the workers and peasants and its own resources and products.

It does not permit itself to be dazzled by get-rich-quick schemes, by short-cuts to socialism, by proposals which sound revolutionary but would give a death blow to the revolution.

Nor does it become panicky and propose demoralized retreats and surrenders.

It declares that the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union can and must, by the accumulation of their own slow saving, by denying themselves some things today for the sake

of saving to build socialism tomorrow, by hard work, by sacrifices, by devotion to the cause they serve—by these undramatic means, must and can build up industry to such a stage where the Soviet Union can become an industrial country and where the countryside can also be incorporated in the system of socialized industry.

The program of the opposition and the program of the party on the above questions will be analyzed in detail in future articles. This article I want to close by drawing some lessons for the American workers from the above matters.

A Lesson for American Workers.

WE live in a country where capitalism is still very powerful.

We cannot even speak of a "stabilization of capitalism" in America because American capitalism was not at any time so shaken as to be called "unstable" in the sense that tottering European capitalism was. In fact, America is today the biggest reserve source of strength for world capitalism, and it was largely on the basis of American loans and American aid that stabilization was accomplished in the European countries.

This does not mean to say for a moment that American capitalism is secure for all time, or that it does not face serious contradictions in its further development. But for all its weaknesses and contradictions, what stands out at the present moment is its visible strength and power.

Being a Communist in U. S.

In such a period as this, it is not easy to be a Communist in America.

Those who are not generators of revolutionary energy, those who lack faith in the development of the revolutionary movement and in the certainty of ultimate victory, those who lack the ability to do hard, steady undramatic detail work, the slow building of the foundation of a movement, are of little use in the American revolutionary movement today.

Such elements here also react in one of two ways. Some of them give way to pessimism, skepticism and despair, in which case they often drop out of the movement altogether.

Others propose to give up the revolutionary tasks of the movement and to adopt an opportunistic program. Or they close their eyes to the actual objective situation in the country, and live with their imaginations in the European situation instead of attempting to grasp realistically the American situation and adapt their program to it. Such comrades may make all sorts of ultra-leftist proposals, which might be in order if conditions were as they are in the more advanced European countries, but which are dangerous and worse than useless here in America.

Realistic Analysis and Hard Work.

WHAT the movement needs in this period is calm analysis of things as they are, slow, hard, constructive work on the basis of the opportunities which present themselves and on the basis of the difficulties which we face. The work is not so dramatic, it does not rush from one big success to another, but there are plenty of opportunities for work on a realistic basis.

Opportunities for Work.

We must neither exaggerate the stability and strength of American capitalism nor under estimate them. We must recognize the difficult conditions which we have to face for work and at the same time we must recognize the tremendous opportunities that the situation in the United States presents to us, particularly in view of the fact that the field is virtually abandoned to us, that there is no other movement in the United States pretending to be revolutionary, that the bureaucracy has openly abandoned the class struggle and the leadership of the socialist party has openly become a tail to the bureaucracy in the American Federation of Labor, that in all America we are the only clear voice speaking for a labor party, the only active force urging and working consistently to organize the unorganized, the only clear fighter against war and against imperialism and that our daily paper, THE DAILY WORKER, is the only American daily paper in the English language that takes a position in favor of militant class struggle.

Tremendous Role of Communist Party.

Once the conditions are grasped as they are and tactics properly developed on the basis of them, it becomes clear that the Communist movement in America has a tremendous role to play in the organizing of the working class industrially and politically, in the saving and strengthening of the unions, in the organization of the unorganized, in the building of a labor party, in the defense of the elementary interests of the American working class, both native and foreign-born, in the organization and development of our class forces, in the building of a party and the raising of its ideological level and the strengthening of its influence among the American masses.

In viewing critically opportunism and ultra-leftism, in the opposition ranks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it is necessary to eliminate any tendencies to ultra-leftism and opportunism in our own movement. This is one of the important lessons we can learn from studying the problems of the controversy in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Cooperative Delegations and the Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union

It is generally known that the joint British Workers' Delegation proposed, prior to its departure to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, to take advantage of the presence in Moscow of labor representatives from nearly all countries, and to convene a Congress of Friends of the Soviet Union. This proposal met with general approval and the Congress was held in the Column Hall of Trade Union House, on Nov. 10, 11 and 12.

Ask Special Conference.

It goes without saying that the cooperative delegations were perfectly free to participate in this Congress or not. However, some of the cooperative delegations—the Czechoslovak, French and Latvian—ad-

ressed a special letter to the chairman of the Centrosoyuz, Comrade Lubimov, asking him to convene a conference of all cooperative delegations in order to inform them about the forthcoming Congress and to discuss the question of the cooperative delegations' participation in it. On its arrival in Moscow, the British delegation associated itself with the three above-mentioned delegations.

The chairman of the Centrosoyuz, Comrade Lubimov, acceded to the wish of the four delegations and convened the suggested Conference for Nov. 9.

The Cooperative delegations which came in full force elected the following presidium: Reeves (Great Bri-

tain), Paquereaux (France), Isse (Germany), Krenovsky (Czechoslovakia), Bolgmann (Denmark), Karhi (Finland), Krumin (Latvia), and Lubimov (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics).

Congress Organization.

Comrade Lubimov opened the proceedings by giving brief information about the Congress, beginning with the initiative of the British workers' delegation and ending with the formation, on the day before, of the "Preparatory Committee" composed of representatives of all countries—representatives of workers, peasants, cooperators, national minorities, colonies and working intellectuals. There were to be two items on the agenda: (1) Report on the economic structure of the Soviet Union; (2) War danger. The foremost task of the present Conference, said Comrade Lubimov in conclusion, is the question of cooperators' participation in the Congress.

Reeves Speaks.

In the discussion which followed, the chairman of the British delegation, Reeves, was the first speaker. He said (retranslated from the German):

"I think that I am voicing the whole British delegation when I say that we would have been very glad to have the resolutions already before us. The British delegation is, of course, in full sympathy with the idea of the Congress itself.

"I understand, of course, that the resolutions must be prepared by the main and not the cooperative delegations, but I should like the final decision on the forms of participation in this Congress to be postponed till the resolutions are to hand."

Growing War Danger.

The next speaker was Paquereaux, chairman of the French cooperative delegation. He said that such a Congress was very necessary, in view of the growing war danger, and that there was no occasion to postpone the decision re participation in it. The resolutions have to be discussed and adopted by the Congress itself, and all delegations have the fullest opportunity to take up any attitude they like to the resolutions.

The British cooperator, Bolgmann, identified himself with the opinion of the French delegation. He declared:

"I fully agree with Comrade Paquereaux's standpoint. I have conferred with the Finnish and German delegations, who are of the opinion that the resolutions to be laid before the Congress will be drawn up, with a view to providing a common platform. I, therefore, move that Comrade Paquereaux's proposal be accepted, and that the question of participation in the Congress be decided in a positive sense."

Bolgmann's Proposal.

After further arguments, the Danish cooperator, Bolgmann, made the following proposal: Cooperative delegations agree in principle with participation in the Congress of Friends of the Soviet Union, and at the same time express the wish that they be given an opportunity to familiarize themselves, before the opening of the Congress, with the theses and proposals to be placed before it. This will enable the cooperative delegations to explain their views and to introduce remarks and amendments to the theses and proposals.

When thereupon participation of cooperative delegations at the Congress was put to the vote, it was adopted unanimously.

Bolgmann (Denmark) made the following statement in regard to the first item on the agenda:

"On behalf of all delegates of European cooperatives assembled here in Moscow, I thank Comrade Rykov for his report on construction policy. We, cooperative delegates have already toured Soviet Russia and have had an opportunity to see with our own eyes how matters stand in regard to constructive work. I was particularly pleased with everything I saw, because I have been here before, in 1923, the year of serious crises. I declare with the utmost satisfaction that constructive work is proceeding rapidly and rationally. We have visited big cooperative shops, bakeries, schools and factories. All this has convinced us that genuine constructive work is done in these spheres."

British Impressed.

In addition to Bolgmann, the member of the Congress Presidium, Mrs. Tucker, representative of the British Cooperative Women's Guilds, spoke on behalf of the cooperative delegations. Her arguments were as follows:

"Comrade, Chairman and International Friends: It is, indeed, a pleasure and a very real privilege for international cooperators to be with you here to participate in this unique and world history-making celebration. These great celebrations and the information we have received, and what we have seen depicted to us, the wonderful progress you have made in this great nation during the past ten years. The only nation throughout the universe that has real Socialism, cooperation and trade unionism working together as a trinity, has instilled into this great country a new outlook, a new life, and a new system of society. It seems impossible to believe that only ten years ago the women of this country had no economic and no political freedom—and all the workmen had very little, indeed. And then to realize today that they have real emancipation among working men and women in Russia."

The resolutions on the two reports laid before the Congress were adopted unanimously.