

THE MILITANT

# A Letter on the Capitulators capitalist police of all Europe! One thing is clear: we have the perspective before us of long stubborn struggle and work of

Dear Friend:

Central Committee. There is not the slightest doubt of the whole world a monstrous lie and slander against Central Committee. Inere is not the sugneties doubt us, gradually preparing a justification for measthat these capitulators and compromisers of one in uses of blood represents. And we must not dare Along with the work among the masses on the basis drait will be made 1001s of. Of what participated are they tell the truth about ourselves in that same press?!! of our platform, we must deepen our work of edu-the Party different from that of Zinoviev are they tell the truth about ourselves in that same press?!! of our platform, we must deepen our work of edudreaming? Branded as a capitulator, movie, not knowing what to with the reactionary diplomats to prevent our admis-in silence, afraid to move, not knowing what to sign into one country. The sign admises the propaganda young Bolsneviks. What position between as and munist press to accompany this reactionary police mental questions of Marxism and the international the zinovievists do the new capitulators expect to work with wild persecution and slander, which revolution. clear idea of that. They have the hope that Yaro- creeps into the pages of the whole bourgeois press. clear idea of that. They have the hope that Table And we must modestly and sweetly keep silent, slavsky will purge their brains, after which they will And we must modestly and sweetly keep silent, slavsky will purge their brains, after which they will have to crawl out of the swamp onto a clean spot, by obedient to a resolution of the year 1905 which was no means increasing their authority.

1. They assert that the disagreements have almost bureaucracy attacking us in sacred union with the disappeared. How do they explain the rabid character of the repressions? Exile, and hard-labor prisons for Bolsheviks in the absence of very deep and irreconciliable disagreements, could only be the result of a completely unprincipled bureaucratic banditism. That is just the policy of the Stalinists, banditism. That is just the point of view of Radek and others. This "Conference for Progressive Labor Action" But what about the movement they express which But in that case, how do they dare murmur of a was more a sympton of the processes at work than is indubitably a growing one? — this is the question. But in that case, how do they dare multium of a event of importance in itself. It will not shake the How can it be broadened and developed, how can it union with these political bandits who, without an event of importance in itself. It will not shake the How can it be broadened and developed, how can it union with these political bandits who, without throne of a single king of trade union reaction or be steered away from reformist stultification into the even upset the swivel chair of and of the line of a single king of trade union reaction or be steered away from reformist stultification into the grounds in principle, are imprisoning our contracts where the swivel chair of any of its lower path of class struggle and the influence of the revolishment, and sometimes to death?

### WHAT CAPITULATION MEANS.

out that line and for what reasons. Having got analysis. out that line and for what reasons. That is a stating of the progressive conference and the TALSE TAUTICS OF THE PARTY. gritting their teeth, are carrying out a left zig-zag, attempt to give the movement a national form and an at the movement from the sidelines of isolation. Such which by force of circumstances and of the struggle organizing center are evidence that the half-conscious a course which the Party is now following is not only which by force of circumstances and of the black model in the labor ranks against the paralyzing rule wrong and futile from a tactical standpoint. It is a itself has carried them much faither to the tactical standpoint. It is a they wished. Nine-tenths of those cadres are of the black reactionaries is growing. The conference direct repudiation of the tactics elaborated by the dreaming of getting back at the first opportunity was above all an expression of this movement from Second, Third and Fourth Congresses of the Comdreaming of getting back at the first opportunity line, below. This is the outstanding fact, and those who do munist International and applied in practice throughupon a more "healthy", "normal, " hattonal and applied in practice who the munist international and applied in practice and hate us mortally exactly because by our uncom- not understand it, who try to dispose of the whole out the years of its growth and progress. and hate us mortally exactly because by our and have a state of the unpose of the whole out the years of its growth and progress. capitulation of the Opposition would mean: a) con- misrepresentation — the Daily Worker's contribution this false path today. Our Party, like the other secdemning ourselves to a Zinovievist vegetable exist- --- will never be able to undertsand anything. First of tions of the C. I. is being forced into all kinds of demning ourselves to a Zinovievist regetation and all it is necessary to see and understand the move- ultra-left idiocies to "make good" for the crimes of b) an immediate swerving of the Stalinists to the ment from below and then seek the tactic whereby Stalin opportunism in the Anglo-Russian Committee right.

II. in the least interest the advocates of capitulation "in one country". The national-socialistic program of the Comintern worries them very little. They rethe Comintern worries them very little. They re-concile themselves with light hearts to the policy of the most next it is true beind the scenes for without criticism which was played until a short time adventurism which, in Berlin as in Canton, is designadventurism which, in Berlin as in Canton, is design-ed to restore the revolutionary reputation of things and working like a well organized steering from the opportunism of yesterday and will be ed to restore the revolutionary reputation of committee whenever the proceedings lagged or the followed tomorrow by another swing to the right. Centrism. Meanwhile the continued persecution of the Opposition is hopelessly decomposing the cadres of the Comintern. Everything is being trampled haves with none swords in their hands on the field on a last field the cadres with none swords in their hands on the field on a last field the cadres with none swords in their hands on the field on a last field the cadres with none swords in their hands on the field on a last field the cadres with none swords in the cadres are also as a state of the cadres with none swords in the cadres are also as a state of the cadres with none swords in the cadres are also as a state of the cadres with none swords in the cadres are also as a state of the cadres with none swords in the cadres are also as a state of the cadres with a state of the cadres with none swords in the cadres are also as a state of the cadres with none swords in the cadres are also as a state of the cadres of the Comintern. Everything is being trampled heroes with paper swords in their hands on the field are already foreshadowed in the growing isolation of we heal this affliction? It is quite simple: capitulate before that same boot!

III. A revolution is a mighty devourer of percentage of devastated souls among the ruling splittings off. groupings and individual capitulations. the October victory. We are not in the least frightyoung.

### THE USE OF THE BOURGEOIS PRESS.

"Yes-yes" of these new capitulators to Yaroslavsky against reaction. and company, in regard to the impermissibility of employing the bourgeois press. Was it necessary to

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of An Address all mail to:	nonth by the Communist League nerica (Opposition) P. O. Box 120, Madison Square
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1928, at the Post Office at N. Y., N. Y. under the act confidence in them who will suffer from disapoint. Details of the lessons of the strike will follow in the of March 3 1879.

adapted to the conditions of a revolutionary Party, I. They assert that the disagreements have almost and not to the reactionary work of a Thermidorian

education. We must renew our ranks. Let those withdraw who are not strong enough for this Dear Friend: The latest press despatches tell of a journey of official press agency of the Soviet Union. — Ed.) work. Some of them, having wandered and wa-Preobrazhensky to Moscow for negotiations with the the Stalinists are propagating in the bourgeois press vered, will come back to us. And we by then will be stronger. We must prepare to replace them in the spirit of adamantine Bolshevik irreconcilibility. the Party different from that of Emotion with the Stalinists dicker with the bourgeois police and cating the youth, not sparing our strength even to in silence, afraid to move, not knowing what to man the reactionary uppoints to prevent our admis- and one person. We need a deepened propaganda expect. We, meanwhile, are actively, though sion into one country. They compel the Norwegian on a world scale. Every serious Bolshevik ought slowly, preparing the future forming the cadres of Communists together with the reaction to destroy to have around him several young people, leading young Bolsheviks. What position between us and the right of asylum. They compel the official Communist for the sphere of the funda-

Constantinople, May 23, 1929. L. D. TROTSKY. IN THE NEXT ISSUE: A letter just received from comrade Trotsky on "Radek and the Opposition", dealing also with the reply of comrade Trotsky written in exile at Alma-Ata to the thesis of Radek.

## THE PROGRESSIVES MEET

mercenaries. Nevertheless it has an importance for utionaries expanded? In our opinion it would be a those who examine the happenings of today in the grave error for the revolutionaries to stand aloof light of the dynamic forces making for future changes from it. As the movement takes shape locally and in We never characterized the boundary separate unions the Communists should penetrate it lessly and annihilatingly as Radek does, against his of progressive windjammers happens without cause. and force it to the left. The fact that the progressive will, as a result of the mere fact that he has got The development of the new progressive movement is leaders do not want this "help" and that the socialist will, as a result of the mere fact that is following the fine of the analysis and forecast of our party elements especially will try by all means to prelost in this forest of three trees, trains out, and falls Platform just as precisely as it is confuting the vent it, is no serious argument against such a tactic. again, scrambles away, thes to get up, and we still think, Party Convention theses of both groups of the squab- This attitude of the progressive leaders only facilitates down again. We have thought, and the progressive leaders only facilitates that the Stalinists are not unthinking political ban- bling bureaucrats which were concerned only with the exposure of their fraudulant claims before the that the Stainists are not untillusing point in the attempt to adapt themselves to the latest zig-zag workers and helps to prepare the ground for the condits, for they have protound and principles a poor of Stalin Centrism in the Comintern rather than with solidation of a more aggresive leadership and the for their merchess persecution of a more aggressive leadership and the statesman who takes a political line in short frag- an analysis of the actualities of the American move- strengthening of the position of the revolutionary ments, not asking himself what elements are carrying ment and inferences proceeding from such an elements.

### SOCIALISTS AT THE CONFERENCE

the most part, it is true, but more or less in charge ago. The rabid and senseless leftism of today resulted against Green, Woll and Company, after years of the Party and the weakening of its position. The skulking subservience in their train, represents a entire movement of radical labor will suffer for this change in the appearence of things. They are being policy, perhaps for years to come. The policy of the blown to the front by the wind of a new movement in . Party is directly against the interests of the unfoldpeople. In the older generation there is an immense the workers' ranks. The stupid tactics of the Com- ing workers' movement. The trend of events will percentage of devastated souls among the ruing munist Party only clear the way for them and there- make this all too clear as it is already clear to those majority — and no small percentage among the hyber to the second the make this all too clear as it is already clear to those majority — and no small percentage among the by help to prevent the new movement from developing who apply the criteria of Leninist tactics. Opposition. The reaction is in full course in the by help to prevent the new movement from developing who apply the criteria of Leninist tactics. Party and the Comintern, reflecting the general its real implications of struggle. The "new line" of **PLAIN TALK NEEDED**. swing of class forces on a world scale. In such as the "new line" of the Communists serves to strengthen their position just Silence in the face of these enormous errors, or circumstances withdrawals and capitulations inevi- and isolate them. These simple and obvious facts stand —mon with revolutionary duty Carbonary duty Carbonar

not ahead of the workers' movement it seeks to re- or soul-less place-hunters on the make. Fewer decrees, timidity and fear. The solemn warning of Norman of America needs. the most "respected" names. By the example of Thomas that the demand for a labor party is "too It is now time to check the new line of phraseradical for the labor men" although he himself of mongering leftism against experience and draw the course is heartily in favor of it,-a sentiment echoed balance against it. Tre revolutionary proletarian by his socialist confreres — is an indication of the wing of the Party must foresee the cumulative harm IV. What a pitiful and cowardly falsity is the rabbit-like boldness of these latter-day warriors which a persistence in this course will bring and

### ROLE OF PROGRESSIVE LEADERS.

entiment of the discontented worker, and to be con- united on the line of Leninism. rvative and cowardly enough in action to dodge any al clash with the reactionaries. The removal of alhoun, himself a pink-hued liberal confusionist. om the teaching staff of Brookwood College, on the eels of the conference, was meant to mollify Woll essives do not really mean to fight them.

known in advance and taken for granted by Com- tactics of first trying to get mechanical control of the Entered as second-class mail matter November 28, munists. It is only those who have placed too much movement and when they fail, of trying to disrupt it. ment.

This "Conference for Progressive Labor Action" But what about the movement they express which

## FALSE TACTICS OF THE PARTY.

its development along the line of effective struggle and the menshevik policy in the Chinese revolution. The question of the Comintern does not and revolutionary understanding may be facilitated. The present policy of "having nothing to do with the progressives" is just as wrong as the game of sub-The Socialists appeared at the conference as the ordinating everything to them and supporting them

swing of class forces on a normal structure of the series of such departures. as the "new line" of the communists serves to weaken mon with revolutionary duty. Such an attitude befits and isolate them. These simple and obvious facts stand mon with revolutionary duty. Such an attitude befits out above a bale of theses. The "Conference for Progressive Labor Action" is decrees from "above" automatically and in advance, splittings off, groupings and individual capitulations. present but behind it. The movement has impulses fewer hypocritical endorsements and confessions, less Only by way of such self-cleansings and self-clari-fyings could it have grown and strengthened for the October victory. We are not in the least frightthe October victory. We are not in the least iright-ened by the withdrawal of comrades, even those with

begin now a stubborn and determined fight to change it. An honest, conscientious fight for Leninist policy on a single important question, such as the trade union They aim to strike a balance between the awaken- question, will inevitably lead its protagonists into the ng workers and the A. F. L. officialdom which will general communist struggle against the whole regime econcile their co-existence and leave a dignified of bureaucratic centrism. The broader the scope of lace for themselves as "leaders" of a sort. It is this fight and the swifter its tempo the scope of the heir policy to be radical enough in talk to catch the errors be corrected and the Communist ranks be

## NOTE

The publication of the report sent in by Comrade nd Green and convince them that the Muste pro- Konikov of the shoe strike situation in Boston has been unavoidably delayed on account of the conference ma-In all this the progressives run true to form. Such terial. Comrade Celia Cooperstein is active on the intradiction between words and deeds, such con- Executive Strike Committee. Comrade I. Cooperstein ision and cowardice, are the very essence of "pro- and Comrade Kleinfield of Chelsea hav been active ressivism" in its leading staff. All this should be as pickets. The Stalinites have followed their usual next issue.

## **The British Labor Government**

The results of the British general election could occasion little surprise. The series of preceding byeelections had clearly indicated the fate of the Baldtion was logically to be expected.

competition and rationalization, by applying the screws ty. of radicalization.

Union Bureaucrats and Liberals still reeking of their sharpening clas struggle; these were thrown on the chiefly into the channels of parlamentary reformism. "apostacy" to Lloyd George. MacDonald did not even think it necessary to make concessions to the pseudolefts of the I. L. P. Maxton school, who pass so many resolutions for "socialism in our time". Shaw. Clynes. Henderson, Sankey, Jowett, and their like will prove the same sturdy defenders of British Imperialism in Egypt and India they always have been. The maintenance of the Empire is a point of cardinal policy in the platform of MacDonald. That means "continuity" in the repression of the subject nationalities of the Empire by coercive means if necessary.

### The MacDonald Program.

the Baldwin Government which outlawed the general G. Glater and K. K. Das. strike and made mass picketing a crime. MacDonald. ing pressure of the masses.

victory of the laborites in England means as much "so- if you want them I will send them to you by mail. cialism" as the presence of the social democrats in the German coalition Government. That is, it means no-MacDonald is busy embracing the notorious Dawes loped capitalism (despite certain negative sides). and there is a great hue and cry about the impending. ing markets from the British?

### The Defeat of the Communists.

tionary program were never before in British history Indian population: so favorable yet it must be recorded that the vote of 50,000 the Communists drew, constitutes a resounding defeat for our party. There is no sense in sweetening the pill. We are under no political or financial obligations to Stalin that necessitate soft-pedaling on the lessons of the election. It is true that of recent years Transport Workers

## By Maurice Spector

and industry have abandoned their pre-war concilia- a "higher plane". But even downright falsification is tain their relations with the British labor bureaucracy. tory attitude to the trade union movement and have unable to serve the Daily Worker and Freiheit for

side of the reformist trade union bureaucracy thru the agency of the Anglo-Russian Committee. This Committee was held up by Stalin and Bucharin as the win Government. Its record had been so obviously re- the methods of analysis of the Stalinized Executives, real center for the organization of resistance to the actionary, its treatment of the working class so pro- 'Agit-Props' and Press, of the Comintern have become war danger. To the exigencies of maintaining this vocatory, (the suppression of the miners and the very simple, that is, when the Communist Party suf- bloc was sacrificed the independence of the Commungeneral strikes, the rupture with the USSR, the impe- fers a defeat all you need do is to lie about it and ist Party, which was utterly submerged in the General rialist expedition to suppress the Chinese revolutionary shout that it was really a victory, but this was not the strike, and which at first even refused to criticise the movement, the repressive anti-trade union act, and method of the Lenin Comintern. Thus latterly the betrayers of the strike. In the interests of this Anglothe naval parity conflict with the United States), that Thaelmann-led German Communist Party was isolated Russian Committee, Tomsky agreed to recognize the a second Labor Government or Liberal Labor coali- in connection with the May Day events, the "red shop fakers of the British General Council as the sole stewards" that had been elected proved broken reeds, spokesmen of the British trade union movement, and The British working class has been moving steadily the Red Front was proscribed, the "general strike", the Minority Movement was a parade of windy speech leftward since the end of the war under the circum- the party officialdom called, to which 50,000 in the making and inocuous resolutions. It is ridiculous to stance of the loss of British economic supremacy to whole country responded, was a terrible fiasco, the sub assert that Purcell, Hicks and their fellows were "unthe United States and powerful challenge of in- sequent Saxony elections registered Communist losses, masked" by the communists even after the event, dustrial competition on all sides in a consistently but the Stalinites everywhere hail all this as a series when the Stalin-Tomsky-Bucharin bloc sought at all shrinking world market. The lords of British finance of phenomenal successes that elevate the struggle to costs, including the surrender of principle, to main-

When you have followed such a consistent opportusought to maintain their pace in a world of increasing concealing the extent of the defeat of the British par- nist line for years you cannot suddenly turn around and repair the damage with dramatic ultra left geto the working class. In recent years and particularly How does it come about that at a time when the stures. There was nothing in the preceding conduct of under the Baldwin regime, the capitalist attacks on British masses are admittedly moving leftwards and the Communist Party to prepare the workers to folthe workers have grown in scope and provocation, and being radicalized and subjected to rationalization, the low its latest "new line" with conviction. The workers the masses have reacted in turn by a more rapid pace Communists are unable to elect a single representa- saw the spectacle of the Central Committee of the Partive? It is not enough to use another frequent Stali- ty itself at one time wide open on the question of an The Labor Party has reaped the harvest of this nite alibi and say the social-democrats and the bour- independent electoral policy. The Stalin policy is prigrowing working class rebelliousness. The experiment geoisie were against us. That, we believe, is the reason marily responsible for the disastrous showing of the of the first labor government may have "unmasked" for the existence of a Communist Party. The reason is British Communists in the election. The slogan of MacDonaldism to the officials of the British Commu- to be found in the fact that the enormous prestige and "Class against Class" which they parroted with the nist Party, but certainly not to the workers as a whole. resources of the Soviet Government, the Soviet Trade French Stalinites, fell on deaf ears. Had the commu-Capitalist public opinion has extended the MacDonald Union Movement, the CPSU and the Comintern have nists carried out the line indicated for them in Trot-Cabinet a very cordial welcome. It realizes that there since the Fifth Congress, four years ago, been thrown sky's Whither England written before the General is little to fear of "socialist experiments" from this not on the side of developing and consolidating a revo- Strike, the leftward movement of the British working Labor Government of extreme Right Wing Trade lutionary Communist Party to take advantage of the class would not have been directed as it has been,

## **Revolutionary Perspectives in India** 1.29Plantation Workers

## A LETTER TO TROTSKY

### By F. Dingelstaedt.

### Kansk, July 8, 1928. Dear Comrade Leo Davidovitch:

At the suggestion of V. I decided to communi-The program of the MacDonald government is the cate to you in writing some of my thoughts on the program of liberalism, dressed up in the shreds and perspectives of the proletarian revolution in India. tatters of socialist phraseology: The recognition of Unfortunately, the scarceness of reliable documents Russia would eventually have been carried out by the and their very poor quality do not permit the esta-Conservatives under pressure of their own industria- blishment of sufficiently decisive conclusions. It list delegations to Moscow, and is equally a demand goes without saying that the official English statistof the Lloyd George Party. The hand that MacDonald ics have not set themselves the task of facilitating a extends to the USSR will not be to cement such a class Marxist analysis in the study of the social and ecoaccord as there would exist between two Workers Go- nomic situation in India. So far as the works that have vernments, because MacDonald is not the head of a appeared up to now are concerned, they suffer from Workers Government. The capital levy the only de- so many faults from the methodological point of mand in the former Labor Party election platforms view. or else they are so tendencious, that they are that threatened a serious clash with capital, has been of very little use to our purpose. An exception dropped. Instead of nationalization of the mines and among all the works dealing with India can perhaps other industries, by the promise of which the masses be made of some books by Professor Schack, who were rallied to the Labor Party, what will be fostered calls himself a Marxist, and of Professor Narain, who is the Melchett-Turner scheme of rationalization on keeps clear of anything approaching Marxism. Of the basis of private property. It remains to be seen further account as very interesting sources of factual if there will be any repeal of the Trade Union Act of material are the conscientious studies of Dr. Mann,

Upon my request, some comrades selected a part and the whole labor bureaucracy are as much opposed of the books that I collected and sent them to you. to the General Strike as Baldwin or Churchill, and if It is only unfortunate that after the house-searchings this reactionary legislation hamstringing trade union- such a disorder was brought into my books that ism is repealed, it will only be under the most threaten certain things were lost. As for me, they categorically refused to let me go through the house to put The social reformists in the United States bubbled my personal affairs in order (as I requested). As over with delight at this latest "victory for socialism". a result I cannot at all guarantee that the selection The Magdeburg Congress of the German social demo- of books on India sent to you corresponds with your cratic party sent a telegram of greetings to MacDo- desires. My brother has forwarded to me certain nald. But so far as the working class is concerned the works, among them many interesting official Reports:

### THE NATURE OF INDIAN INDUSTRY.

lism. The "peace-loving" German social democracy in wardness from the point of view of the disproportion numerous and flourishing in ancient India. convention assembled has just endorsed the action of between agriculture and industry, India is a country its eabinet ministers in voting for a cruiser program. of concentrated, advanced and in part highly deve- PROLETARIA MUST LEAD THE STRUGGLE.

Indian industry developed onesidedly in the does MacDonaldism propose to "disarm" the American out the necessary subjective factors for revolutionamonopolies, their appetites just getting whetted for ry action: its class vanguard, the Party, its traditions export trade, and basing themselves on the greatest and its class program. But the circumstances in revolutionary proletarian vanguard, to deprive its class maturity.

By comparing the various figures of the offi-How did the Communists fare in the election? The cial census of 1921, I have arrived at approximately, who defend the necessity of organizing a workers'

### 1. PROLETARIAT.

Industrial workers 2.65 Miners .54 4.09

8.57	
	*.57
Servants	4.57
Unskilled Workers (navvies, stevedores.	etc.)
	9.58
Land Workers and Day Laborers	37.92
Total	60.84
II. INDEPENDENT SMALL PRODU	
Husbandmen (petty proprietors and	far-
mers: middle peasants and above all	the
poor peasants)	. 173.00
Breeders, Fishermen, Market-gardn	
gardners hunters	
_Artisans	30.29!
-	
Total	210.52
Total	
III. GROUPS "OUTSIDE THE CLAS Army and Police	<b>SES".</b> 2.18
III. GROUPS "OUTSIDE THE CLAS Army and Police	<b>SES".</b> 2.18
III. GROUPS "OUTSIDE THE CLAS	<b>SES".</b> 2.18
III. GROUPS "OUTSIDE THE CLAS Army and Police Beggars and Prostitudes Total	<b>SSES".</b> 2.18 3.25
III. GROUPS "OUTSIDE THE CLAS Army and Police Beggars and Prostitudes Total IV. BOURGEOISIE.	<b>SES".</b> 2.18 3.25 <b>5.43</b>
III. GROUPS "OUTSIDE THE CLAS Army and Police Beggars and Prostitudes Total IV. BOURGEOISIE. Large and Middle Landowners, Kulaks	<b>SES".</b> 2.18 3.25 <b>5.43</b> 10.72
III. GROUPS "OUTSIDE THE CLAS Army and Police Beggars and Prostitudes Total IV. BOURGEOISIE.	<b>SES".</b> 2.18 3.25 <b>5.43</b> 10.72
III. GROUPS "OUTSIDE THE CLAS Army and Police Beggars and Prostitudes Total IV. BOURGEOISIE. Large and Middle Landowners, Kulaks	<b>SES".</b> 2.18 3.25 <b>5.43</b> 10.72 18.12
III. GROUPS "OUTSIDE THE CLAS Army and Police Beggars and Prostitudes Total IV. BOURGEOISIE. Large and Middle Landowners, Kulaks Merchants (including the small ones)	<b>SES".</b> 2.18 3.25 <b>5.43</b> 10.72 18.12 83
III. GROUPS "OUTSIDE THE CLAS Army and Police Beggars and Prostitudes Total IV. BOURGEOISIE. Large and Middle Landowners, Kulaks Merchants (including the small ones) Industrialists "Liberal" Professions Officials	SES".
III. GROUPS "OUTSIDE THE CLAS Army and Police Beggars and Prostitudes Total IV. BOURGEOISIE. Large and Middle Landowners, Kulaks Merchants (including the small ones) Industrialists "Liberal" Professions	SES".

**Grand** Total 316.05 This table acquires its significance only when its vital social content is penetrated. It is the second group (the independent small producers) that is specially important. So far as the husbandmen are concerned, they constitute for the most part an economically weak section of the peasantry that is being gradually ruined from year to year by the thing for socialism and everything for the support of To grasp the kernel of the question, it must first the artisans is no better: they are the half-famished a "democracy" which is the camouflage for capita- of all be pointed out that despite its incredible back-descendants of a class that was once much more

The desperate situation of the main mass of the agrarian population of the country, with the existsettlement of the difficult problems arising from na- field of textiles; its proletariat is still strongly bound ence of relatively large numbers of workers, (who are val competition between the British and American to the land; the unity of the proletariat is extraordi-very strongly represented in the country), suggests empires. But it is in the nature of the whole position narily hampered by tribal differences, by religious the urgent necessity of the revolutionary alliance of MacDonald and the liberalized Labor Party take to and caste prejudices; nevertheless, as the experience the workers and the peasants, but under the condition the Empire, that his "pacifism" cannot be more than of the last ten years has shown, the industrial prole-that the proletariat, organized in a class party, ina vain gesture. The danger of war arises not from the tariat constitutes an ever growing class force. To dependent, having its own existence and program, a vain gesture. The danger of war arises not from the capitalist- this day it is passing through a period of spontaneous has the hegemony. No one can prove now that imperialist struggle for markets. Even if an accord movement, insufficiently conscious, corresponding cetrain "special" conditions exist in India, that not of absolute naval parity could be reached, this does somewhat to our period before 1905. It is still the proletariat, but some other class, can lead the not settle the problem of military supremacy. How difficult to say with what speed it will be able to work great masses of the peasantry and the petty bourg-

Thence the clear conclusion that to dilute the system of mass production in the world, from captur- which the Indian proletariat is developing are such as program and its slogans of the purity of class printo justify the hope for an unusually rapid rise to ciples, is simply to injure the work of the proletarian revolution in India.

That is just why one cannot agree with those opportunity for appealing to the masses on a revolu- the following schema of the class composition of the and peasants' party in India (Stalin), and not a workers' party. In my recently published book "The Agrarian Question in India", I lay stress in great detail on the problem of the Indian revolution In Millions, from the viewpoint of the solution to give to the ticklish questions of the agriculture of this cuntry.

# THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMINTERN - A Criticism of Fundamentals - By L. D. TROTSKY

(CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS ISSUE). 6. THE QUESTION OF THE CHARACTER OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

The slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat which leads behind it the rural poor is inseparably bound up with the question of the Socialist character of the coming, third revolution in China. And inasmuch as not only history, but also mistakes which people make in meeting its requirements, repeat themselves, we can already hear the objection raised that China has not yet matured for a Socialist revolution. But this is an abstract and lifeless formulation of the question. Has Russia, if isolated from the rest of the world, matured for Socialism? According to Lenin it has not. It has matured for the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only method of solution of national problems which cannot be delayed.

But the general destiny of the dictatorship as a whole is in the final analysis determined by the trend of world development, which, of course, does not exclude but presupposes a correct policy on the part of the proletarian dictatorship, the consolidation and development of the workers' and peasants' alliance, flexible adaptation to national conditions on the one hand, and the trend of world development on the other. This fully holds good also for China. In the same article "As to Our Revolution" (January 16, 1923) in which Lenin establishes that the peculiarity of Russia lies in the fact that it proceeds along the lines of the peculiar development of the Eastern countries, he dubs as "endlessly hackneyed" the argument of European Social Democracy to the effect "that we have not developed enough for Socialism, that we have not, as some 'learned' gentlemen say, the necessary objective economic prerequisites for Socialism". But Lenin ridicules the "learned" gentlemen not because he himself believes in the existence of the necessary economic prerequisites for Socialism in Russia but because he holds that from the absence of these prerequisites necessary for an INDEPENDENT construction of Socialism it does not at all follow, as the pedants and philistines think, that the idea of the conquest of power has to be rejected. In that article Lenin for the hundred and first or perhaps for the thousand and first time replies to the sophisms of the heroes of the Second International:

"This INCONTROVERTIBLE consideration (about the immaturity of Russia for Socialism)... is not decisive in an evaluation of our revolution." (Volume 18, part 2, page 118 and 119).

That is what the authors of the draft program will not and cannot understand. Notice that the argument about the economic and cultural immaturity of China as well as Russia-China of course more so than Russia-is incontrovertible. But from here it does not in the least follow that the proletariat has to give up the idea of capturing power, which capture is dictated by the whole historical position and revolutionary situation in the country.

The concrete historical, political and actual question is not whether China has economically ripened for Socialism, but whether she has ripened politically for the proletarian dictatorship. These two questions are not by any means identical. They might have been identical were it not for the fact that we have a law of uneven development. That is where the law holds good and fully applies to the inter-relationships between economics and politics. Thus, has China matured for a proletarian dictatorship? Only the progress of the struggle can give a categoric answer to this question. Likewise only the struggle can settle the question as to when and under what conditions will the real unification, emancipation and regeneration of China take place. Anyone who says that China has not ripened for the dictatorship of the proletariat declares thereby that the third Chinese revolution is postponed for many years.

Of course matters would be quite hopeless if feudal survivals would really DOMINATE in Chinese economics, as the resolution of the E.C.C.I. asserts. But unfortunately, SURVIVALS in general cannot dominate. The draft program also on this point does not rectify the committed errors, but repeats them in a roundabout and loose manner. The draft speaks of the "predominance of feudal medieval relations both in the economics of the country as well as in the political superstructure .... " This is fundamentally wrong. What does PRE-DOMINATE mean? Is it by the number of people involved? Or it it by the dominant and leading role in the economics of the country? The extraordinarily rapid growth of home industry on the basis of the all-embracing role of merchant and bank capital-complete dependence of the chief agrarian districts on the market, enormous and ever-growing foreign trade, all around subordination of the Chinese villages to the towns-goes to show the unconditional predominance, the direct sway of capitalist relations in China. Serf and semiserf relations are undeniably very strong. They

have originated partly in the days of feudalism, they partly constitute a new formation which regenerates the old on the basis of the retarded development of the productive forces, the surplus agrarian population, the activities of merchants' and usurers' capital, etc. However, not "feudal" (more correctly, serf and, generally, pre-capitalist) relations DOMINATE but capitalist relations. Only thanks to this unconditional role of capitalist relations can we speak seriously of the prospects of proletarian hegemony in the national revolution. Otherwise we find that the different ends do not

The role of the Chinese proletariat in production is already very great. In the next few years it will increase still further. Its political role, as events have shown, could have been gigantic. But the policy of the leadership was, as has been shown, entirely directed against the capture of a leading role by the proletariat.

The draft program says that successful Socialist construction is possible in China "only on condition of direct support from countries under the proletarian dictatorship." Thus, here, in relation to China, the same principle is recognized which the Party always, recognized in regard to Russia. But if China has no sufficient inner forces for an INDEPENDENT construction of Socialist society then, according to the theory of Stalin and Bucharin, the Chinese proletariat should not take power in any of the stages of the Revolution. Or perhaps the existence of the U.S.S.R. settles the question otherwise? Then it follows that our technique is sufficient to build up a Socialist society not only here in the U.S.S.R., but also in China, viz., in the two economically most backward big countries. Or perhaps the inevitable dictatorship of the proletariat in China is "admissable" because that dictatorship will be included in the chain of the worldwide Socialist revolution thus becoming not only its link, but its driving force? But this is precisely Lenin's main idea in relation to the October Revolution, the "peculiarity" of which lies precisely along the lines of development of the Eastern countries. We see thus how the revisionist theory of Socialism in one country evolved in 1925 in the struggle against "Trotskyism" confuses and muddles up matters in approaching any new big revolutionary problem.

The draft program goes still further along these lines. It distinguishes China and India from "Russia of 1917, Poland ('etc.'?) as countries with a certain MINIMUM of industry sufficient for successful Socialist construction" or (which is more definitely and therefore more erroneously stated elsewhere) as countries possessing the "necessary and sufficient material prerequisites . . . for the complete construction of Socialism." Here as we already know there is a mere word play on Lenin's expression "necessary and sufficient" prerequisites, a false and inadmissable play because Lenin definitely enumerates the political and organizational prerequisites, including the TECHNICAL, CUL-TURAL AND INTERNATIONAL prerequisites. But the other chief point is HOW can one decide a priori whether a "MINIMUM OF INDUSTRY" is sufficient for the complete building up of Socialism once it is a question of an uninterrupted world struggle between two economic systems, two social orders, of which our ECONOMIC basis is in this struggle immeasurably weaker?

If we take the economic lever only, it is clear that we in the U.S.S.R., and particularly so in China and India, are sitting on the incomparably "shorter" end than world capitalism. But the whole question is determined by the REVOLU-TIONARY STRUGGLE between the two system on a world scale. The political long end of the lever is ON OUR SIDE, or, to speak more correctly, must be in our hands, provided we pursue a correct political line.

In the same article "As to Our Revolution", after the words that "a certain cultural level is necessary for the establishment of Socialism", Lenin remarks: "Although no one can tell exactly what this certain cultural level might be." Why can no one tell? Because the question is settled by the struggle, by the competition between the two social systems and the two cultures, ON AN IN-TERNATIONAL SCALE. Fully departing from this idea of Lenin's, which follows from the very substance of the question, the draft program declares that Russia had in 1917 precisely the "minimum technique" and hence also the culture necessary for the building up of Socialism in one country. The authors of the draft are trying to say in the program that which "no one can say" a priori.

It is impossible, one cannot, and it is stupid to seek a criterion for the "sufficient minimum" within national statics ("Russia prior to 1917") when the whole question is decided by international dynamics. In this wrong, arbitrary and isolated national criterion appears the theoretical basis of national narrow-mindedness in politics, the prerequisite for inevitable national reformist and social patriotic blunders in the future.

### ON THE REACTIONARY IDEA OF WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTIES FOR THE EAST.

The lesson of the second Chinese Revolution is a lesson for the entire Comintern, first and foremost for all Eastern countries.

All arguments brought forward in defense of the Menshevik policy in the Chinese Revolution must, if we take them for what they are worth, be held trebly good for India. The imperialist yoke has in India, in that classic colony, immeasurably higher palpable forms than in China. The survivals of feudal and serf relations in India are immeasurably deeper and greater. Nevertheless, or, more correctly, precisely because of that, the methods applied in China which undermined the revolution must result in India in even more destructive consequences. To abolish Indian serfdom and overthrow the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and British militarism is a thing which can be accomplished only by a gigantic and irresistible mass movement of the people, and precisely because of its powerful sweep and irresistibility, its international purposes and relationships, it will not tolerate any half-way and compromising opportunist measures on the part of the leadership.

The Comintern leadership has already made not a few mistakes in India. Conditions have not yet allowed these errors to reveal themselves on such a scale as in China. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the lessons of the Chinese events will straighten out in good time the line of the leading policy in India and in other Eastern countries.

The central question for us here, as everywhere and always, is the question of the Communist Party, its complete independence, its irreconcilable class character. The greatest danger on this path is constituted by the organization of so-called "Workers' and Peasants' Parties" in the Eastern countries.

In 1924, a year which will be regarded as a year of open revision of a series of fundamental ideas of Marx and Lenin, Stalin advanced the idea of "dual composition of Workers' and Peasants" Parties" for the Eastern countries. It was based on the same ground of national oppression. Cables from India, as well as from Japan, where there is no national oppression, have of late frequently reported about activities of provincial "Workers' and Peasants' Parties" as of organizations which are related, and friendly to the Comintern, as if they were almost our "own" organizations, without, however, giving a more or less concrete statement as to their political physiognomy; in a word, it is exactly what has not so very long ago been written about the Kuomintang. The least dubiousness in this sphere is destructive. It is a question here of an absolutely new, entirely false and thoroughly un-Marxian orientation on the main question of the Party and of its relations to the class and the classes.

The necessity for the Communist Party of China to be affiliated with the Kuomintang was defended on the ground that the social composition of the Kuomintang was a Party of workers and peasants. that nine-tenths of the Kuomintang-this figure was repeated hundreds of times-belong to the revolutionary elements and are ready to march hand in hand with the Communist Party. However, during and since the coups d'Etat in Shanghai and Wuchang, these revolutionary nine-tenths of the Kuomintang have disappeared. No one has as yet found their traces. And the theoreticians of class collaboration in China, Stalin, Bucharin and others, have not even taken the trouble to explain what has become of the workers and peasants, the revolutionary, friendly and entirely our "own" nine-tenths of the Kuomintang membership. However, an answer to this question is of decisive importance if we are to understand in the future the fate of all these "dual composition" parties and have a clear idea of their very conception which throws us back far behind not only the program of the C.P.S.U. of 1919, but even the manifesto of the Communist Party of 1847.

The question as to what has become of the celebrated nine-tenths becomes clear to us only if we understand, first, the impossibility of a dual composition, that is, a dual class Party, expressing simultaneously two mutually exclusive historical lines -the proletarian and petty-bourgeois lines,-secondly, the impossibility to have in capitalist society an independent peasant party, that is, a party independent of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Marxism has always taught, and that was accepted by Bolshevism, that the peasantry and the proletariat are two different classes, that every identification of their interests in capitalist society is false, and that the peasant can join the Communist Party if, from the property viewpoint, he adopts the views of the proletariat. An alliance of the workers and peasants under the proletarian

dictatorship does not do away with this fact, but confirms it, only in a different way, and under different circumstances. Were it not for the fact that they are DIFFERENT classes and have DIFFER. ENT interests, there would be no need for AN ALLIANCE. Such an alliance is compatible with the Socialist revolution only inasmuch as it exists within the iron frame of the proletarian dictatorship. In our country a dictatorship is incompatible with the existence of a so-called Peasant League precisely because every "independent" peasant organization with its own national political objects would inevitably be found to be an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

Those organizations which in capitalist countries are known as Peasant Parties are in reality a peculiar type of bourgeois party. The peasant who has not accepted the proletarian position in view of his private property will inevitably look towards the bourgeoisie when it comes to fundamental political issues. Of course, any bourgeois party that relies or wants to rely on the peasantry, and, if possible, on the workers, is compelled to masquerade, that is, to create the impression that it consists of two or three different component parts. The celebrated idea of the "Workers' and Peasants' Parties" it would seem, has been purposely created to camoutlage the bourgeois parties which must seek support from the peasantry and are even ready to have in their ranks also workers. The Kuomintang has from now on forever entered the annals of history as a classic type of such a party.

Bourgeois society as is known, is so built that the propertyless, discontented and deceived masses are at the bottom and the contented and the fakers are at the top. On the same principle is also built every bourgeois party, if it is a real party, that is, if it has in its ranks considerable masses. The exploiters, fakers and violators are in the minority in class society, every capitalist party is therefore compelled in its internal relations, in one way or another, to reproduce or reflect the relations of bourgeois society in its entirety. In every mass bourgeois party the lower ranks are therefore more democratic and more radical than the leaders. This is true of the German Center, the German liberals, and particularly the German Social Democrats. That is why the constant complaints voiced by Stalin, Bucharin and others that the leaders did not reflect the sentiments of the "Left" Kuomintang rank and file, the "overwhelming majority", the "nine-tenths"; etc., etc., were so unpardonably naive. That which was regarded as a temporary disagreeable misunderstanding which must be eliminated by means of organizational measures, instructions and circulars, is in reality a fundamental and basic feature of any bourgeois party, particularly in a revolutionary epoch.

It is from this angle that the chief argument of the authors of the draft program in defense of all kinds of opportunist blocs in general-in England or China-must be viewed. According to them fraternization with the leaders is done exclusively in the interests of the rank and file. The Opposition, as is known, insisted on a withdrawal from the Kuomintang:

"The question arises," says Bucharin, "why? Is it because the leaders of the Kuomintang vacillated? And what about the Kuomintang masses, are they mere 'cattle'? Since when is the attitude to a mass organisation determined by what is done by its lead-ers?" (The Present Situation in the Chinese Revo-

The very possibility of such an argument seems impossible in a revolutionary party. Bucharin asks "And what about the Kuomintang masses, are they mere cattle?" Of course they are cattle. The masses of any hourgeois party are always cattle, although in different degrees. For us, the masses are not cattle. They are not cattle, and that is precisely why we do not drive them to the bourgeoisie, CAMOUFLAGING THE BOUR-GEOISIE BY MEANS OF A WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY. That is precisely why we must not try to subordinate the proletarian party to the bourgeoisie, but on the contrary, must at every step, set up one against the other. The leaders of the Kuomintang of whom Bucharin speaks so ironically, as of some secondary, accidental and temporary event, are in reality the soul of the Kuomintang, its social substance. Of course the bourgeoisie constitutes only the "top" in the Party as well as in society, but this top has capital, knowledge, connection; it can always fall back on the imperialists for support, and what is more it has actual political military power which directly merges with power in the Kuomintang itself. Precisely this top wrote laws against strikes, throttled the movement of the peasants, got the Communists into a dark corner, and, at best, allowed them to be only one-third of the Party, took an oath from them that petty-bourgeois Sun Yat Senism is for them above Marxism. The rank and file were picked; they served it, like Moscow, as a "Left" support, just as the generals, compradores and imperialists served it as a Right support. To

consider the Kuomintang not as a BOURGEOIS PARTY, but as a NEUTRAL ARENA OF STRUGGLE FOR THE MASSES, to play on nine-tenths of the Left bourgeoisie in order to conceal the question as to who is the real master, meant to add strength and power to the leaders, to help them to convert ever larger numbers into "cattle", and, under favorable conditions, to prepare the Shanghai coup d'Etat. Based on the reactionary idea of the dual composition of the Party, Stalin and Bucharin imagined that the Communists together with the "Lefts" will secure a majority in the Kuomintang and thereby power in the country, as in China power was in the hands of the Kuo-THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL 129 mintang. In other words, they imagined that by means of ordinary elections at a Kuomintang Congress power would pass over from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat. Can one imagine a more dealistic idolization of "party democracy" ... in relation to a bourgeois party? It must be understood that the army, the bureaucracy, the press, and capital are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Precisely because of this it already has leadership in the governing party. The bourgeois "top" tolerates or tolerated "nine-tenths" of the Lefts, and SUCH KIND of Lefts, inasmuch as they did not venture to tackle the army, the bureaucracy, the press and their capital. By this powerful means the bourgeois top holds in subjection not only the so-called nine-tenths of the "Left" Party members, but also the masses in general. The theory of class alliance, the theory that the Kuomintang is a workers' and peasants' party, is the best the bourgeoisie hopes for. When the bourgeoisie later meets face to face with the hostility of the masses and shoots them down, in this clash of two real forces, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, there is not even a whisper heard of the celebrated nine-tenths. The pitiful democratic fiction disappears without a trace in face of the bloody reality of the class struggle.

Such is the real and only possible political mechanism of the "dual composition Workers' and Peasants' Parties for the East." There is no other and there will not be.

Although the idea of dual composition parties is motivated on national oppression, as if this neutralizes Marx' class doctrine, we have heard already about "Workers' and Peasants'" bagatelles in Japan where there is no national oppression at all. Moreover, this is not limited merely to the East. The "dual composition" idea is endeavoring to become universal. The most caricature-like character in this respect was assumed by the Workers' Party of America in its efforts to support the candidature of the bourgeois, "anti-Trust" Senator La Follette, so as to attach, in this manner, the American farmers to the wheel of the Social Revolution. Pepper, the theoretician of the manoeuvre, who is one of those who has ruined the Hungarian Revolution and who failed to notice the Hungarian peasantry, made here a great effort to ruin the Workers' Party in its first stages of activity. Pepper's theory was that the super-profit of American capitalism converts the American proletariat into a world labor aristocracy while the agrarian crisis ruins the farmers and drives them onto the path of social revolution. A party of several thousand members, consisting chiefly of immigrants, had, according to Pepper, to make make common cause with the farmers through a bourgeois party and form a dual composition party, insuring thus the social revolution with the passivity or neutrality of the proletariat which has been corrupted by super-profits. This confused idea had its followers and halt followers among the leaders of the Comintern. In the course of a few weeks the scales vacillated from one side to the other until finally a concession was made to the letter of Marxism. Having been taken off its feet the American Party had to be cut off from the noose of the La Follette party which died even before its founder.

What modern revisionism invents for the East is carried over to the West. If Pepper tried across the Atlantic to whip up history by means of a dual composition party in the United States, the latest information tells us that the Kuomintang experience finds its supporters in Italy where they are endeavoring to force on our Party the monstrous slogan of a "Republican Assembly on the Basis (?) of Workers' and Peasants' Committees". In this slogan the spirit of Chiang Kai-shek embraces the spirit of Hilferding. Will we really come to that?

In closing, we only have to recall that the idea of a "Workers' and Peasants' Party" discards from the history of Bolshevism the entire struggle against the Narodniki, without which there would have been no Bolshevik Party. What was the essence of that historical struggle? Lenin wrote about the S. R.s in 1909, the following :

"The general idea of their program was not that an alliance of the forces of the proletariat and pease antry is necessary, but that THERE IS NO CLASS DIFFERENCE between the two, that there is no need to draw a class distinction between them, that the Social Democratic idea concerning the pettybourgeois character of the peasantry in contradistinc, tion to the proletariat is fundamentally wrong." (Vol. 11. Part 1, page 198).

In other words, the dual composition Workers' and Peasants' Party was the central idea of the Russian Narodniki. Only in the struggle against this idea could the Party of the proletarian vanguard in peasant Russia develop. Lenin insistently and persistently repeated in the

epoch of the 1905 revolution, that:

"Distrust the peasantry, ORGANIZE SEPARATE. LY FROM THEM, be ready for a struggle against or anti-proletarian force." (Vol. 6, page 113. Our emphasis).

In 1906 Lenin wrote: "The last advice is, proletarians and semi-proletar-

ians of town and country, organize separately. Do not trust any possessors, even those small ones, even though they 'la'or' ... We support the peasant movement to the end, but we must remember that it is a movement of another class, not the class which can or will accomplish the social revolution." (Vol 9. page 410).

This idea can be found in hundreds of the larger and smaller works of Lenin. In 1908, he said:

"The alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, we will remark in passing, must by no means be understood in the sense of a MERGING OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OR PARTIES of the proletariat and the peasantry. Not only merging, but even ANY PROLONGED CONCORDANCE would be detrimental for the socialist revolution of the working class and would weaken the revolutionary democratic struggle." (Vol. 11, Part 1, page 79. Our emphasis).

Is it possible to condemn the very idea of a Workers' and Peasants' Party more sharply, more ruthlessly and more effectively?

Lenin puts the question in the same irreconcilable spirit also in the epoch of the October Revolution. In generalizing the experiences of the third Russian revolution, Lenin, beginning with 1918, does not miss a single opportunity to repeat that in a society where capitalist relations predominate there are only two decisive forces-the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

"If the peasant does not follow the workers, he follows the bourgeoisie. There is and there can be no middle course." (Vol. 16, page 290).

However, the "Workers' and Peasants' Party" is an attempt at the creation of a middle course.

If the vanguard of the Russian proletariat had not stood up distinctly against the peasantry, if it had not waged a ruthless struggle against the petty-bourgeois looseness of the latter, it would inevitably have itself been dissolved among the petty-bourgeois elements through the S. R.s or some other "dual composition" Party which, in turn, would itself inevitably have been subordinated to a bourgeois leadership. In order to arrive at a revolutionary alliance with the peasantrythis is not attained so easily-it is first of all necessary to separate the proletarian vanguard and thereby the working class as a whole, from the pettybourgeois masses. This can be attained only by means of training the proletarian party in the spirit of staunch class irreconciliability. The newer the proletariat, the fresher and more direct its "blood relationships" with the peasantry, the greater becomes the importance of the struggle against any forms of the "dual composition" political alchemy. In the West the idea of a Workers' and Peasants' Party is simply ridiculous. In the East it is ruinous. In China, India and Japan this idea is deadly hostile not only to the hegemony of the proletariat and the revolution, but to the most elementary independence of the proletarian vanguard. The Workers' and Peasants' Party can only be a basis, a cover, a spring-board for the bourgeoisie.

Fatalistically also, in this fundamental question for the East, modern revisionism only repeats the errors of pre-revolutionary Social Democratic opportunism. Most of the leaders of European Social Democracy considered the struggle of our Party against the S. R.s a mistake and insistently urged the merging of the two parties, holding that for the Russian "East" a dual composition Workers' and Peasants' Party is just the thing. Had we taken their advice we would have never realized the alliance of the workers and peasants nor the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "dual composition" Workers' and Peasants' Party of the S.R.s. became, and could not help becoming in our country, an agency of the imperialist bourgeoisie, that is, it tried without success, to fulfil the same historical mission in a different and "peculiar" way that the Kuomintang successfully fulfilled in China. Without containing a relentless condemnation of the very idea of Workers' and Peasants' Parties for the East, there is not and there cannot be a Comintern program.

(CONCLUDED IN NEXT ISSUE)

# Behind the Scenes in the Russian Party

### Dear Comrades:

three different ways. Many of the remarks report- cynicism.) l are cited literally.

Pucharin (see The Militant, March 15, 1929) was puished on January 20th. This document hastened the appening from the leaflets of the Opposition and obey Kaganovitch too.) not from the Central Committee. The political signiasses is immense. Everyone says: Yes, the Party is and I will take care to see that there is money in the the Plechanov Institute and elsewhere to speak on the eing led blind-folded! As a result of all this, the Po- bank." tical Bureau and the presidium of the Central Con-.he "trio". We give some details on this matter.

### Bucharin's Air Journey.

ften at Piatakov's. Bucharin said the following about helm. This can only be achieved if we support Stahe preparations for the forthcoming Plenum: "The lin. Therefore no hesitation to pay him back the full disposition of our forces before the Plenum was such price." (Poor fellows! They have already paid much hat I was in Kislovodsk writing articles for Pravda, but the rudder is still far off.) One of them (Kame-Rykov had to worry about economy, while Uglanov. nev, I think, went to Ordjonikidze. They talked a lot as not to give Stalin any excuse for interfering in the tral Committee. Ordjonikidze approved. When Kame-Moscow organization. Uglanov could not stand it, nev declared that he could not understand why they tion. They expressed their opinion that "the condiame forward at the 9th Plenum of the Moscow Com- were left in the Centro-Soyuz (where Zinoviev is worknittee. was beaten and, losing his head, said stupid ing), Ordjonikidze replied: "It is still to early; the things about his alleged errors, etc., etc. I learned road must be opened. The Right will object." (And hat Rykov had finished his thesis on the control fi- according to the resolution the Right is the principal ures for the Plenum. I considered that Stalin would enemy.) Kamenev said that it was not absolutely ne-at them. (Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky have only twist Rykov around his finger in the Political Bureau cessary to give him a high post, that the simplest thing now noticed that Stalin runs the "brother Parties" and make the already unfortunate thesis still worse. would be to give him the Lenin Institute (But that is like an old Turkish Wall administered his province. ince I could not attend the next session of the Poli- the main source of the Stalinist falsifications!), that It is no longer even necessary to scream at Thalmann tical Bureau if I took the train, I left by airplane. We they must be permitted to write for the press, etc. and Semard; a crook of the finger is enough.) Twelve anded in Rostov. The local authorities met me with Ordjonikidze agreed and promised to raise the quessuspicious talk about the harm that might overtake tion in the Political Bureau. me in a continued air flight, etc., etc. I sent them to Three days later Kamenev went to Voroshilov. For no part in the solution of questions. Everything is the devil. We flew on. In Artemovsk we landed again: two hours he groveled before him, praised the policy done from above". These words of Bucharin werehad hardly left the cabin when I was handed a seal- of the Central Committee, to all of which Voroshilov met with the cries: "Where did you copy that? From d packet a cipher dispatch from the Political Bureau, did not reply with a single word. (For which he is to whom? From Trotsky!" A resolution to condemn Burdering me categorically to discontinue my flight- be commended.) Two days dater, Kalinin came to Zin- charin was proposed to the commission. But the Right ecause of my weak heart! I had hardly made myself oviev and stayed for twenty minutes. He brought hen the next train left. It appeared that there wasn't question was not yet decided and in the meanwhile it ny for 24 hours. I had to make the report."

on the struggle against the Right deviation?"

### Bucharin and Tomsky Resign.

Bucharin: "Of course I did. I had to show the Par-7 that I was not a Right winger. I arrived in Moscow but in a very short time he will be forced to apply a riday: the session of the Political Bureau had taken triple dose of my policy. That's why I support him." lace Thursday. I went through the theses; they were (That is correct! All his life Kalinin has never said bviously unsatisfactory, and I asked for the convo- and never will say anything more correct and approation of the Political Bureau. Molotov wouldn't agree, priate.) bused me, cried that I prevented harmonious work. hat I should take care of my health, and more of the ame. The Political Bureau was called together. I acceded in putting through a number of amendments Trotsky, they came together. Bakaiev insisted that ut in spite of that the resolution still remains ela- they come out with a protest. Zinoviev answered that tic. We drew a balance: the Moscow organization was there was no one to protest to, because "there is no uined, we decided to force the offensive; we formulat master". (Then to whom does Zinoviev intend to pay d eleven paragraphs of demands for the removal of the full price?) That is where the matter rested. The he Stalin people. When these demands were shown next day, Zincviev went to Krupskaia and said that Stalin, he declared: There isn't a single point that can- he had heard from Kalinin of the deportation of L. ot be realized. A commission was chosen (Rykov, D. Kruskaia said that she had heard about it also. Jucharin, Stalin. Molotov, Ordjonikidze . One day "What do you intend to do with him?" asked Ziassed, a second, a third. Stalin did not call toge- noviev. her the commission. The Plenum of the Central Com- "Firstly, you must not say you, but they, and senittee opened. The first report is discussed, the second condly, even if we decide to protest who will listen about to be passed by. In the form of an ultimatum to us?" e demanded the convocation of the commission. Zinoviev told her of the conversation of Kamenev Then it met Stalin cried that he would not permit with Ordjonikidze, of whom Krupskaia said: "Though ne single person to keep a whole Plenum from work- he cries on everybody's shoulder, no confidence can ng. What kind of ultimatums are these; why should be had in him." Arumin be removed?, etc., etc. I became angry, told Kamenev met Ordjonikidze who told him that he is aim a few sharp things to his face and ran out of the publishing a work on the struggle against bureaucracy of the liberal petty-bourgeoisesie, which has always room. In the corridor I met Tovstucha to whom I hand- and he proposed that Kamenev aid him in it. Kame- stood in the way, hindering every real forward moveed my previously prepared letter announcing the re- nev agreed with alacrity, whereupon Ordjonikidze insignation of Tomsky and myself. Stalin came after vited him and Zinoviev to his house. During the visit ne. Tovstucha handed him my declaration. He read little was said about his work. Ordjonikidze declared t through and went back. Rykov told us later that that he had raised the question in the Political Bureau his hands trembled; he was pale and expressed the and that Voroshilov had said: "No extension of their lesire to make concessions. He demanded that the de- rights (that is, of Zinoviev and Kamenev.) Look what laration announcing my resignation be destroyed. they want: the Lenin Institute! If they don't like the They promised then to dismiss Kostrov, Krumin and Centro-Soyuz, perhaps they can change to some other comeone else. But I did not go to the Plenum again". institution. As for printing their articles, that is not

### Bucharin's Platform and Kamenev's!

of 16 pages that he had written wherein he estimated the economic situation. According to Kamenev this heses of Bucharin.

his document?" Bucharin answered: "I will supplement it with a Bureau?"

hapter on the International situation and finish it Ordjonikidze: "No, that was before the session." ith the question of the inner-Party situation."

declaring: "I would urgently advise you not to come Kulak is growing throughout the country, the Kulak We are sending you the latest information received out against Stalin who has the majority behind him. does not give the worker's state any bread, the Kulak bout the situation created within and around the Po- (The majority of functionaries of the type of Piata- shoots at the village correspondents, at the officials tical Bureau. We guarantee absolutely the exactness kov and worse!) Past experience teaches us that such and kills them. The Bucharin group, with is line, culthis information, verified for the most part in two steps end badly." (An argument remarkable for its tivates the Kulak; therefore, no support to Bucharin.

The report of the conversation of Kamenev and but what shall we do?" (Poor Bucharin!)

### Whom Piatakov Will Obey.

ash in the upper circles; it stunned the lower ranks. why he gave such advice which would only prevent is impossible to come to agreement with Stalin; to making it public, we spoiled the game of combina- the struggle from developing. Platakov answered that the devil with them all. Eight months from now I will ons by Zinoviev and Kamenev. The Political Bureat he seriously believed that one cannot come out against publish a book on Lenin and then we shall see." Zinonet. . . for three days on this subject. They quarelled Stalin. "Stalin is the only man who can still be obey. viev is of a different mind. He says: "We must not be ver it finally. The Stalin fraction decided to elimi- ed". (Pearls, real pearls! The question is not what is forgotten, we must appear at every meeting, in the ate Bucharin, Tomsky and Rykov from the Political the correct road, but rather of finding out who can press, and so forth, knock on every door, push the Cureau at the next Plenum. The Rights are preparing be "obeyed" so that there shall not be any "bad" con- Party to the left." (In reality, no one has done as passive resistance. The Stalinists are crowing: they sequences.) Bucharin and Rykov are making a mistake much harm to the left policy as Zinoviev and Kamewe achieved a complete and easy victory. Our (the if they think they will rule instead of Stalin. It is the nev.) And his articles are really published. After all, pposition's) leaflet was republished by the Central Kaganovitches who will rule and I do not want to and the editors of Pravda have completely adopted the committee, for everyone said: We learn of what is I will not obey Kaganovitch." (It is not true, he will advice of Voroshiloy. They have again refused to

"Then what do you propose to do?"

"As for me, I will not worry about scholars entering. International. ol Commission instituted a quite formal trial of the N. T. U. (the Scientific-Technical Administration of which Kamenev is head) — that is no politics," said Kamenev. At this point they separated.

At the end of December, Zinoviev and Kamenev In December-January, Kamenev met Bucharin quite defined the situation as follows: "We must get at the vho felt very belligerent, was told to remain quiet so about the correctness of the present policy of the Cen-

Zinoviev began to ask for details, he replied that the the coals" enough in the districts. was not worth talking about. When Zinoviev asked Kamenev: "Then it is you who wrote the resolution about what was happening in Germany, Kalinin an- presidium of the Central Control Commission, Rykov swered that he knew nothing: "We are up to our read a long declaration of thirty pages, criticizing necks in our own affairs." Further, as if in reply to the visit of Kamenev to Voroshilov, he said literally as follows: "He (Stalin) babbles about left measures,

### The Capitulators and the Deportation.

When the Zinovievists learned of the deportation of

Hereupon Bucharin showed Kamenev a document can be printed." (Oh, Voroshilov!)

"Well, and what did Stalin say?"

Kamenev asked: "What do you think of doing with the Rights the, "main enemy"?)

### Zinoviev and Stalin.

Here Piatakov intervened in the conservation by not help him, then a thesis must be written): "The like a companion-in-arms."

Today we support the policy of the majority of the To this Bucharin replied: "Of course, this is true, Central Committee (Stalin group), so long as Stalin fights against the Nepman, the Kulak and the Bureaucrat." (So Zinoviev has changed his mind: he no lon-After Bucharin had left, Kamenev asked Piatakov ger wants to pay the full price.) Kamenev says: "It publish one of his articles because it is said to express panic before the Kulak. In recent days Zinoviev has icance of this leaflet and its popularity among the "Well, I have been entrusted with the State Bank, appeared at a Party meeting, in the Centro-Soyuz, in occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Communist

### The Rights Dare to Criticize the Master!

After we had published the famous document (the conversation between Kamenev and Bucharin), Kamenev was called to Ordjonikidze's, where, after making certain reservations, (Hm! Hm!) he confirmed in writing the exactness of the report. Bucharin was also called to Ordjonikidze's and he confirmed it as well. On January 30 and on February 9th were held joint sessions of the Political Bureau and the presidium of the Central Control Commission. The Right declared that the leaflet was a "Trotskyite intrigue". They did not deny the fact of the conversations for work are abnormal. Commissars - Krumin. Saveliev. Kaganovitch and others - have been put over members of the Political Bureau (Bucharin and Tomsky). The brother Parties are led by screaming ed secretary of a Provincial Committee. The Party has refused to accept it, motivating their disagreement nown than agents of the G. P. U. led the aviator way somewhere and before me stood a delegation of Tingview heren to ask for details he realized that the with the fact that they are already being "raked over".

> At the joint session of the Political Bureau and the the economic situation and the inner-Party regime. At the Moscow provincial Party Conference, Rykov, Tomsky and Bucharin were openly designated as the Right. But very little was said of this in the press. The Plenum of the Central Committee has been postponed to April 16th, the conference to the 23rd. It has not been possible to achieve a conciliation between Stalin and the Bucharin group (although rumors to this effect are being insistently spread, doubtlessly in order that the nuclei shall defeat the Left wing.)

Moscow, March 20, 1929. - G. G.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE: The secret resolution adopted at the recent Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, preceding the 16th Party Conference. This resolution, passed by the Stalin faction, formally condemns Bucharin, Tomsky and Rykov and their platform. Neither this platform nor the secret resolution has been published or mentioned in the Stalinist press. Watch for its appearance in the next issue!

## The Daily Worker Eats Crow

The Daily Worker of June 17, 1927 writes: "Trotsky's 'Letter to the Russian Workers' was printed in the United States in the New York "Nation", an organ ment of the American working class. The 'Nation' printed Trotsky's scurrilous document under the pretense og being 'fair'. Under this cloak of 'fairness' they joined with the rest of the defamers of the First Workers' Republic in their task of undermining the Soviet Union. Needless to say the spirit of their socalled 'fairness' was not extended to the defenders of the U.S.S.R."

Oh, yes it was! And not so very long ago, either. forbidden, but that does not mean that everything Only a few months ago the Daily Worker reprinted with the greatest enthusiasm an article published in this same liberal petty-bourgeois Nation which con-"Stalin said: "To extend their rights means to make sisted of a despicable, lying attack upon the Platform ocument was more to the right than the April 1925 a bloc. To make a bloc means to share half. I cannot of the Bolshevik-Leninists and comrade Trotsky's share half. What will the Right say?" (But are not exposure of the falsification of history by Stalin, printed in the book entitled "The Real Situation in Kamenev: "Did he say just that in the Political Russia." The article was a book review which the philistine darling of the Stalinsts, Albert Rhys Williams was hired and paid for by the The Nation towrite. When the Daily Worker reprinted his revolting "But that would be a platform?" asked Kameney. They left without anything coming of it. Zinoviev, trash from the columns of this same liberal, petty-"Perhaps, but haven't you also written platforms?" wrote a thesis two pages long (since Ordjonikidze did bourgeois journal, the Nation was hailed by Minor



In 1910, Herr von Jaegow, the Berlin police president, atempted to prohibit demonstrations on workers' May Day, and threatened to proceed against the demonstrants with arms if necessary. He was answered when hundreds of thousands of workers poured into the streets of Berlin as a challenge to the Junkers. Von Jaegow did not dare go through with his threat. But that which even the minions of the Kaiser did not dare to do, was left to be accomplished by the German social democracy, in the person of von Jaegow's successor in the post of Berlin's police president, Zoergiebel. Shortly before May 1st of this year, he issued an order prohibiting public demonstrations or meetings of any group in Berlin on May Day. The order was aimed directly at the Communists, and the answer of the Communist Party was a call to the workers of Berlin to fill the streets n May Day.

The prohibition had the unreserved support of the whole social democratic bureaucracy, both in its party and in the free trade unions. The task apparently cut out for the Communists was to mobilize the rank and file in the trade unions and the social democracy, as well as the workers sympathizing directly with the Communist Party, to demonstrate on May Day and break down Zoergiebel's edict under their crushing weight. In this task the present leadership of the German Party failed miserably, and with terrible conseoutences.

### Into a Putschist Swamp.

Ensnared by the ultra-"left" course that the Party has pursued in recent months, self-deluded by the socalled "victories" in the factory councils' elections gained at the expense of the most important positions of the Party had in the trade unions, intoxicated with exaggerated beliefs in its own strength and influence in the working class, and driven under the lash of the factional needs of Stalin in the Russian Party fight, the Thaelmann Central Committee was able to lead the party into what must be condemned as a putschist swamp. The enormity of the errors - not to say crimes - committed on May Day in Berlin in the name of the "third period" and the "new line" can only be indicated here by a few facts.

Throughout the city, preparations had been made by the trade unions for mass meetings in halls to celebrate May Day. It was the duty of the Party to send been murdered. 75 seriously wounded and 200 others tions, as follows: its members to these meetings, to take the floor, to injured in the name of socialism and the Fatherland ... call upon the workers to demonstrate in the streets in Not a single policeman had been killed. Even some of mass and thereby destroy the ukase of Zoergiebel. The the bourgeois papers called for an end to this ghastly overwhelming majority of the workers of Berlin were slaughter engineered by the defenders of the republic, sure to be at those meetings, and as it appeared later, the social democrats. such was the case. It was essential to draw these broad masses of non-party and social democratic workers into this struggle so that it would not degenerate into a purely "vanguard" action.

With customary light-heartedness, the Party issued the slogan of boycotting these mass meetings under "Why just in Berlin the bloody police terror of the all circumstances. At the meeting of the Greater Ber- bourgeoisie and Zoergiebel? Because in Berlin the ways the burden of false policy. The burden is doubly hin Central May Day Committee, the reporter who Communists stand at the head of the workers' move-heavy when it is brought on by adventurism and putspoke for the Party, Kaspar, declared: "Can a revolu- ment, because in Berlin the factory councils' elections schism. It will not become the lighter for the failure tionary worker go where one of these traitors, a Seve- showed that the overwhelming majority of the wor- of the Party to estimate soberly and critically it. ring, or a Hermann Mueller, is speaking? No! We kers stands behind the Communist Party of Germany, course of action. Up to now there has been no real crimust keep the workers from going there, we must get because in Berlin the advance of the C. P. G. in the ticism in the ranks of the Party: there has only been them to come to us." And further: "May first will be coming municipal elections will bring the liquidation bluff and false front. justification of what cannot a general test for the coming civil war, both for the of the social democracy and our overwhelming victory and must not be justified. proletariat and for the police. If we do not succeed in as the strongest Berlin party". getting hundred of thousands into the streets, a fascist The theses of the Central Committee of the Party terror regime will shortly break out in Germany that said: "The Berlin barricade fighters demonstrate that will be much worse than in Bulgaria and Italy." At we are approaching an immediately revolutionary sithis conference were present 60 delegates (!) represent tuation with whose development the question of the isolation. The Berlin putsch is Stalin's peculiar way of ing chiefly small and medium factories, the Party and armed insurrection will inevitably appear on the or- "correcting" the opportunist course along which he its auxiliary organizations. When a delegate from the der of the day ... The Berlin May Day events signify a led the Comintern in the past few years. It is his me-Leninbund (Left Communists) spoke for participation turning pont in the political development of Germa- thod of adjusting the actions of the Communist Parties in the trade union meetings with the aim of using ny." them as starting points to mobilize the workers for demonstrations in the streets, he was howled dwn.

### Into Zoergiebel's Trap.

-

Berlin being "a general test for the coming civil war", they attended the meetings organized by the trade vocations of the social democratic police president of of turning the backs of the Communists upon the centers where the masses were to gather, that the Ger- Oberschoeneweide, the Party meetings were miserably show this better than anything else. In the Prussian man Stalinists prepared to mobilize the workers attended, they were headless, poorly organized and ill Landtag, on May 13, the social democratic minister of against the prohibition of May Day. It is thus that prepared. The Party "leaders", like Neumann, Dahl- the interior, Grzesinsky, said: "Had the prohibition o they fell into the trap prepared for them by the pro- em, Remmele and Gerber were in evidence only as the demonstration been withdrawn before May 1st, i. vocation of Zoergiebel. They freed him of any fear observers of the events, standing aside like good gen- would have come to great clashes in Berlin between sothat the reactionary police might have to club or shoot erals ... social democratic or non-party workers. Rarely have The workers followed the orders of the social demo the Communists for then the police would have show the social democratic murderers had such an oppor- cratic party and the trade union fakers. Where they indiscriminately upon social democrats too, (These tunity of singing out and isolating Communist wor- were told to down tools on May Day, they did so. - blackguards have little compunction about shooting so kers alone in the class struggle for butchery.

gan of the party, wrote:

ism in the most important positions and will defeat it elections by putting through its slate. Upon orders of ing the demonstration on May 1st." ever more decisively in its further advance, is growing the trade union bureaucrats the traction workers re- This is confirmed by the words of Severing; the sowith the broadest proletarian masses towards an in- mained at their posts on May Day and traffic ran ac- cial democratic national minister of the Interior, in dissoluble, invincible proletarian unity. In the trough cording to schedule with practically no interruption. the Reichstag committee on May 7th: "it is the tas. between two waves of the revolution, in the ebb that. On May 2nd, with the slaughter of the workers still of the State to isolate the Communists." followed the first stormy years of struggle of the post going on, the employers were able to discharge the two The social democrats needed the provocation to as war period, there follows a new revolutionary tide. chairmen of the subway employees' council - both of sure the bourgeoisie that a coalition with them wa The first signals already annaunce the rumbling thun- them communists elected at the recent vote - with- safe. They needed it for the reparations conference in der of the future proletarian hurricane".

With such "revolutionary" phrase-mongering, the protest strike. stage was all set for the May Day events; set by the experienced hand of Heinz Neumann, the personal Not a single large factory in Berlin followed the Par- mocratic workers. The false tactics of the Communis agent of Stalin in Europe, the diseased creature who ty's call to demonstrate on May Day. On Thursday, Party played complete into their hands. organized the putsch in Canton in 1927 from the safe May 2, a delegated conference was held under Party The revolutionary movement in Germany has no distance of Hong-Kong.

where more than filled by workers. But the Commu- small and medium factories. Hoping for greater suc- there is a serious attempt to purge the Party of its or nists had surrendered these workers to the bureaucrats cess, it reconvened the next noon, with only 300 in portunist-leftism. The evident intention of the Comin without a struggle. The Party had called for open de-monstrations at the two most frequented centers: — ing, when 600 attended. The largest factory represen-ing the movement

### By Max Shachtman

by gatherings throughout the districts of the city. In those districts with little working class population like Schoeneberg, Wilmersdorf and Charlottenburg, the Party meetings collapsed before they began. A few people appeared, numbering less than the Party membership in the district, a handful were arrested, and the Schupo (police) had an easy time of it. In the proletarian districts like Wedding, Schoenhauser Quarter, Osten, Neukoelln, and Kreuzberg there was a greater attendance, but still weak in relation to the population.

### The Attack by the Police.

Long before the appointed time for the meetings, Schupo appeared armed with clubs and revolvers. The smaller meetings were immediately dispersed. In Weddingstrasse, they began to shoot into the windows of workers' homes at 10.30 A. M. Elsewhere, parades were held for a few hundred yards and then dispersed by the police. In some places, the police appeared for the first time with water pipes and hose to connectwith hydrants for the purpose of spraying the demon<sup>2</sup> strants

From noon onward, workers began to arrive at Alexanderplatz. At Potsdamer Platz there were less pre- The Party leaders had committed the crime agains sent than on that unforgettable day in 1916 when Karl Liebknecht spoke to the Berlin workers under a state of siege! For two hours the leaderless, unorganized, unprepared mass was jostled about by the Schupo who Party began to agitate for a one-day strike in Berlin attacked those present with indiscriminate clubbings. Around Alexanderplatz, at Buelowplatz, Hackeschen Markt and Rosenthaler Tor, the police opened fire with the result that 9 were killed and many more wounded.

The Schupo proceeded most brutally in Wedding. In Koesliner Strasse, after beating demonstrants and passers-by with clubs, they began a fire that lasted for hours. A number of infuriated workers replied with kers replied spontaneously by throwing stones at the dicalization of the German workers, exaggerated police or shooting back with old service pistols. But though it is by the Party, in face of the shamefu men, in the streets and through the windows of their homes, for three or four days, until 27 workers had compared with the vote in the 1928 Reichstag elec

### The Party Continues With Self Delusions

The penalty of the Party for its ultra-"left" policies, however, were not yet paid in full. After the May Day more ominous sign is the fact that the fascists almost events, the Communist Party declared in an appeal: quadrupled their previous vote.

lowing facts:

The workers unfortunately did not follow the leader- We repeat that the German Party is heading toward It is with the fabulous idiocy of this May first in ship or line of the Party on May Day or afterward; opportunist isolation. It yielded to the dastardly prounions. With a very few exceptions, as in Treptow-Berlin. The words of the social democrats themselve

Where they were told to continue at work, they con- cial democratic workers! - M. S.) and then they would In its May Day number, the Rote Fahne, official or- tinued. The outstanding example of this was the case have accused the minister of the interior as a murder of the traction workers, where the Party recently er of his own Party. That is why the police presiden "The Communist Party, which has defeated reform- achieved its, great "victory" in the factory councils' acted quite correctly and quite wisely in not permit out a voice being raised for them, not to speak of a Paris as proof of their readiness to crush the militanc

### The Collapse of the Protest Strike.

leadership to consider a general protest strike in Ber- been advanced by the May Day events - it has bee The meetings called by the trade unions were every lin. Only 45 delegates were present, representing only set back. The lost ground will be recovered only i datz and Potsdamer Platz, to be preceded ted apployed 600 workers, the others employed from for another period.

400 down to 20 workers. A decision was reached to cal a general strike for the next day.

In this tense and pregnant situation in Berlin. where according to the manifesto of the Party "the overwhelming majrity of the workers stands behind the Communist Party of Germany", only from 20,000 to 25,000 workers responded to the call for a general strike. Another 25,000 went on strike in the rest of Germany, a total of 50,000 workers who followed this urgent call of the Communist Party to protest against the Berlin butchery!

There were no "barricade fighters", and roof fight ing existed only in the imagination of the bourgeois press and the police. Shots were fired and stone thrown at the police by outraged workers who defend ed themselves against the Schupo provocations. There was no organized "barricade action" by the Party o the Red Front Fighters. The phrase-mongers had talk ed tall for weeks in the Party press. They talked abou. the impending revolution, about the "general test fo the coming civil war", without making the slightes preparations for action, without mobilizing the masse of the workers, without making clear to the workersor even the Party members - the intentions of the Party. When some workers and Party members acted spontaneously, the Party was nowhere to be found .-which Lenin warned in his maxim: "Never play with insurrection."

After the pitiful collapse of the general strike, the to honor the victims of the slaughter; then for a two hour strike: then for a 30 minute strike. But at the appointed time there was no cessation of work worth mentioning. At the burial, a maximum of 2,000 peopl. appeared.

### The Defeat in Saxony.

Payment for the putsch policy of the Party leaders rude barricades. The Schupo advanced with an ar- was again received in the Saxony elections that follow mored car and machine guns. In some places the wor-ed the May Day events. In the face of the growing ra there was no organized resistance to Zoergiebel's po- course pursued only a few days before by the social lice. The latter continued to fire upon men and wo- democrats, the Communists not only failed to make gains, but they even lost ground. The vote stood, as

2	1929	1928 ·
Social Democrats	922,117	999,421
Communist Party	345,817	381,560
An even less favorable	showing is evident	by a com

parison of the 1929 vote with the Saxony Landtag e lections of 1926. Between these two elections, it is true, the Party gained 3,435 votes, but in the same period the social democrats won 164,112 votes. An even

These are heavy penalties to pay but they are al

### The "Left" Zig-Zag of Centrism.

The Party is driving headlong on a reckless ultra-"left" path, towards adventurism, sectarianism and to the needs of his factional game against Bucharin How much of the above is true and how much of it and company. It is the "left" zig-zag of Centrism, the is rattle-brained fantasy can be judged from the fol- rudderles ship that is beaten alternately by waves on the left and the right.

eial democrats and Communists. That was the plan of

of the German proletariat. They needed it to deepe: the chasm between the Communists and the social de



## LOSOVSKY Versus LOSOVSKY

the line of the International) yesterday.

movement after another, is an advantage to the Ger- societies to swimming clubs. Communists."

the most reactionary section of the proletariat."

THE LOSOVSKY OF YESTERDAY

World's Trade Union Movement" (pages 84-85):

bers of the social democratic party, such as Noske, shot down thousands of workers. All this brought about pessimism and despair in the more revolutionary and impatient German workers. From that was created a whole theory: The old trade unions are created a whole theory: The old trade diffions are rotten through and through; they are reactionary, and in order successfully to fight the bourgeoisie it the German masses. The Young and Morgan Plan, ments of wealth is not to be minimized. it is so entwined with the bourgeois state, it is neces- the workers throughout the world. established.

unions? Did we not recognize the fact of the inter- This was not the case with the Dawes Plan. view than our German comrades then were.

"There was another reason why we were opposed to that slogan. What does it mean to consider the trade unions as 'hopeless' in the revolutionary sense (as The Plan calls for special payments in the first 37 financial and political instability for capitalism. unexpected conclusions which are of a Menshevik 040,000). nature."

the consequences of their acts. But we will continue roads are pledged for Germany's payments.

until its distortions are eliminated. is being dragged into another Socialist Trades and enforce action and payments. Labor Alliance. We are for the formation of a broad The Bank is meant to be a permanent institution left wing opposition movement, with the necessary which will continue to exist after the reparations have centralization, to fight to win the workers in the been disposed of. That is only its initial business. Af-

nantly points out some of the leaders of this move- lions of dollars. nent (and correctly, of course) as reactionaries, as racillators, as turncoats, and thinks that thereby the problem is solved. Unfortunately, there are many pious and indignant.

THE "UNITED FRONT WITH ONE'S SELF"

Despite the indications that the Stalinists are now The Party follows the cours in this question that was preparing to make Losovsky the scapegoat for the correctly criticized by Losovsky (in 1926-not tocatastrophic result of the new trade union line of the day!): "The united front with one's self. A quite Comintern and the R. I. L. U. developed in the "third noteworthy formula which unfortunately corresponds period", the fact remains that Losovsky's only crime to the fact in some cases. It is the result of the tactic was that he followed the "new line" to its logical con- of self-isolation. Since in many cases it is only too union line remains. Losovsky-was the most "con- made to choose conveniently the line of least reby comparing Losovsky today with Losovsky (and between Communists in various organizations is set "Can it be seriously maintained", writes Losovsky more exactly absolutely not the same thing." (Comin The Communist International, Vol. VI, Nos. 9-10, munists and Trade Unions, Berlin, 1926, page 65.)

low without as much as a gasp. But Losovsky, not the textile workers. The slogan-for the Communists front." This line was correct then and is now. to mention others, wrote differently on the same is Unity. The responsibility for all splits and division All these proposals and criticism may sound strange to mention others, wrote university on the same must be placed squarely and indisputably on the and novel to the fascinated adherents of the new subject some time ago. Replying to the very nonsense met of present of the new that he advances above, he said in his book "The reactionaries. The Resolutions and Decisions of the Stalin-Losovsky line. All that is strange about it is Second Congress R. I. L. U. (Profintern) says: "In- the facility with which the Stalinized Parties have "Basing themselves upon the unions, former mem- sofar as there are in the reformists unions organized discarded the Leninists tactics.

minorities in sympathy with the C. G. T. U. (the French left-wing union) the latter should not create rival organizations. The adherents of the R. I. L. U. should systematically organize their groups within the reformists unions and should carry on a struggle for unity within and without." This holds good today. Jouhaux is neither better nor worse than Sigman or Green

### THE NEEDLE TRADES SITUATION

The Party is wrong in the course it pursues at the clusion. Unfortunately, the essence of the ultra- difficult to bridge the cleavage between the social present stage of the struggle in the needle trades. "left" infantile disease of the Comintern's new trade democratic and Communist workers, the attempt is The position of the left wing union in the present sistent" spokesman and advocate of this line, the sistance, that is, instead of building the united front tically a boycottist attitude. The left denounces the sheer senselessness of which can be best demonstrated with the workers of other tendencies, the united front maneuver as a "fake stoppage" and says that if a between Communists in various organizations is set walk out also and to proceed to the left wing union up. But this is not one and the same thing, or to speak headquarters. What the left wing should do now, however, is to begin to agitate for a strike and for "that the American Federation of Labor represents The Party cannot pass off as a genuine attempt at united action on the part of both left and right unions an advantage to the workers' movement of the United united front activity a conference composed of the States? Or. possibly the All-German Federation of unions directly controlled by the Party, plus the workers in the ranks of both unions and those who Trade Unions, which has shattered one revolutionary regular standbys — from Party-controlled singing stand outside of either union. That is the path towards uniting the workers and at the same time strengthen. man proletariat? Would it not have been better for The Party is wrong in arbitrarily withdrawing left ing the left wing. That the right wing fakers will not German proletariat if that strike-breakers' organ- wing minority groups or organizations from the A. want to unite will only make it worse for them. Here ization had not existed in November, 1918? One F. of L. for the purpose of achieving temporary and again the Second Congress of the R. I. L. U. says: would have thought so. And if that is so, it is quite illusory "victories", instead of stubbornly fighting "In their attempt to extend and internally strengthen obvious that the Communists who construct their for their retention in the old unions as a militant the revolutionary organizations they should always tactics on such an estimate of the reformists trade opposition. It was wrong to withdraw the left wing bear in mind that their chief task is to organize conunions are closer to the social democrats than the millinery workers' locals from the A. F. of L. union certed actions of all workers' organizations..... To and add them to the Needle Trades Workers Idustrial take into consideration that in countries in which And further: "We must not forget that the section League Union, without continuing the fight bitterly there are several trade union headquarters, every of the workers organized by the social democrats is against the expulsion tactics of the Zaritskys. It is action of the workers, particularly in the event wrong tactics to split off the Elizabethton local of of the general strike, is threatened with great danger, the United Textile Workers Union instead of organ- if the trade unions will not fight jointly. Therefore, THE LOSOVSKY OF IESIERDAY the world Communist movement is required to swal- to fight against the fakers and for the unification of upon themselves the initiative to create the united

## THE YOUNG PLAN

is necessary to destroy them completely. If this colos- through the International Bank of Settlements, aims Formally America is not directly represented on

trade unions? Did we not see their reactionary role? the Allies to America for a period of 58 years. from markets. Certainly, we saw all that, but we are approaching August 31st, 1929 to March 31st, 1988, to cover the The International Bank, seemingly is to act as an the World War.

### How German Workers must be squeezed.

Losovsky does now!) If the nine million workers of years by Germany of an amount totalling \$7,826,868. Capitalism also undoubtedly has in mind, through

whole and the Communist movement in particular. the payments will go to cover war debt payments to .In the United States, where the trade union question the United States by the former Allies; the other 35 is especially difficult, the application of the present percent will go to repair war damages, chiefly in reckless and non-Leninst line threatens to play in- France. The International Bank of Settlements will creased havoc with the movement. The American transfer the German marks paid by the Reich into cre-Stalinites of all shades who accomodate themselves dits for the acount of the central banks of England, to every twist and quirk of the international factional France and Italy. These nations can then draw on Street. The Plan itself says quite plainly: apparatus, who drop old "lines" and adopt new ones such credits for payment of their debts to the United

to criticize the present trade union line of the Party Formally the United States has no hand in the entire matter; it concerns only the "Europe Powers". The Party is wrong in its course toward the form- Actually the United States Government, carrying out portant facilities hitherto lacking." ation of a new "revolutionary trade union center" at the will of Wall Street, is the main force that has

exchange and production it is meant to spread farther. The Party is wrong in its attitude towards the It is meant to become a real factor in world trade. progressive movement. The Party poinsly and indig- Its profits are expected to run into hundreds of mil-

### A Center for World Exchange.

mly because there is progressive pressure from be-'ow, a pressure that is sure to grow. The Party does in other exchanges and to become the logical handler this. tot see workers; it sees only the leaders and remains of most of the world's exchange business. Morgan, Young and Company no doubt intend that it shall become an institution controlling most of the gold of the world. To begin with it has, according to the re- "For these lies and calumnies the English pay to front, which has today become a parade slogan, ally, and it is expected that an odd \$400,000,000 an- "a Russian worker" in the Daily Worker, June 3, trotted out for show and nor for daily application. nually will be transferred to Washington. This in it-1929.

sal apparatus is being used against the revolution, if to extend and tighten this rope around the necks of the board of directors. England on the other hand plays a very prominent and formal role in the Intersary to destroy it before the power of labor can be The Young Plan replaces and extends the Dawes national Bank. England helps to collect reparations: Plan for the payment of reparations by the German America "only" receives. That England plays such a "In deciding upon our line of action in this regard Government to the Allies and the United States Go- role is evidence that English capital aspires to contiwe followed the Comintern which was categorically vernment. The German capitalists of course pass on nue as a major financial world power. That the Uniopposed to the theory of destroying the unions, but the payments to the German toilers. The total amount ted States plays its game indirectly shows its confiwas for winning them over. Why? Did we not equally of reparations to be paid and the time in which they dence over the situation and its real power. It also estimate the reactionary character of the trade are to be paid is definitely fixed in the Young Plan. serves to establish somewhat the present relation of forces between the two greatest capitalist powers now lacing of the bourgeois state with the heads of the Approximately \$400,000,000 a year is to be paid by contesting for the control of the world's available

the trade unions from an entirely different point of debts contracted by the Allies to the United States in ordinary bank conducting commercial, industrial and economic undertakings. But the formation of such an international institution at this time cannot be separated from the present world situation of economic,

Germany are 'hopeless' (or the most reactionary sec- 000. The grand total to be paid by the sweating Ger- the International Bank, to draw the Union of Sociation of proletariat, as Losovsky says today), then man masses, including the past five months under the list Soviet Republics into its orbit as one of the few the revolution itself is 'hopeless'. Thus, we come to Dawes Plan, is 36,996,000,000 Marks (about \$8,879, remaining markets of consequence. What capitalism could not accomplish through military intervention The new and important feature in connection with and war up till now it hopes to achieve through the the payments of the reparations and the war debts pressure of international economy. The imperialists THE "NEW LINE" IN THE UNITED STATES and the future plans is that a special institution, the also hope by the new plan to draw Germany away It would be purely academic to make these quota- International Bank of Settlements, is thereby set up from the Soviet Union and to unite more closely all tions to prove the instability of Losovsky, were it through which all payments by Germany are to be countries against Russia. Thus the possibilities of a not for the fact that the application of this "new made instead of directly to the Governments involved war offensive against the Soviet Republics are inline" in the United States and elsewhere is bringing as hitherto. It will take the place of the existing ma- creased. The military threat is inevitably coupled the greatest harm to the working class movement as chinery for the reparations collections. 65 percent of wth the economic threat and pressure against Russia.

### False Hopes for Stabilization

The authors of the International Bank hope to staisting and available ones under domination of Wall

"In the natural course of development it is to be exwith the utmost nonchalance, may give little heed to States Government. The resources of the German railsimply or even predominantly, concerned with the handling of reparations, but also with furnishing to the world of international commerce and finance im-

"It is to be hoped", says the Plan, "that it will bethe Cleveland conference of the T. U. E. L. Without brought about the new plan and the International come an increasingly close and valuable link in the fully understanding it, the membership of the Party Bank, and it will use every agency at its command to cooperation of central banking institutions generally of the world's credit structure."

So say and hope Morgan and Company. But "stability" for the capitalists is multiplied misery for the brade unions and not to surrender them to the A. F. L. ter wringing Germany's neck by controlling its foreign cannot solve the problem of new markets. The United States and Britain cannot absorb all the gold and payments in kind that are to be made. The International Bank in due time will only aggravate the crisis of capitalism and compel the working class of the While it is transferring the billions of German world to fight for its overthrow. The exposure of the marks into Germany's payments on the reparations Young Plan by the Communists and the struggle

### TROTSKY THE MILLIONARE

The Party is wrong in its attitude toward the united port, 500 million dollars worth of marks to sell annu- Trotsky hundreds of thousands of dollars." - Rojkov,