

Throughout the World of Labor

IN THE SOVIET UNION

Our Statement to the XVI Party Congress

January, 1930

Moscow

With regard to our tasks and immediate tactics our opinion is the following: it is especially important that Rakovsky, Mouralov, Kossior and the other comrades prepare a statement for the Sixteenth Party Congress, in the name of the entire Opposition. This declaration must be addressed to the masses over the heads of the leaders. The sense of this declaration must be: to explain the preceding statement and to reply to the apparatus bureaucrats; to dissipate any possible illusions concerning Centrism; to denounce once again the nature of Centrism—in particular that which concerns the problem of the workers, the Party regime, and the problems of the Communist International.

Centrism has not changed in the slightest. It remains true to its nature, but veils itself under a barrage of "Left" phraseology.

With respect to that which concerns the International problems: we still live in a period of reaction, which draws to a close. Our tasks are: to recapture the lost positions; to systematically organize and prepare the proletariat for the coming battles; to show up the inexperience and stupidity of the high-powered politicians, who discover a revolutionary situation today in order that on the morrow, having burned their fingers thereon, they can turn their backs when it actually exists; to point out the causes for the fiasco of all the red demonstrations; to sum up all of the "bolsheyzation" of the Communist International, and especially to combat the anti-internationalism, the pernicious theory of socialism in one country—which debases the world wide significance of the October revolution and gives birth within our ranks to economic adventurism; to once again put forward the slogan of the Soviet United States of Europe.

What To Tell the Party

In our statement the complete truth must be told to the Party and to the working-class. They must be forewarned of the threatening crisis which, today, is closer than ever. An infinitesimal minority tends towards making concessions to Centrism at the time of the Sixteenth Congress. Their path is not ours. Without a thrust from the base we shall not influence Centrism. This "thrust" must be prepared—therein lies the problem.

One of the most serious of moments appears to be in the country—with respect to the malodorous situation in the collectives. This is explained to a large extent by the possibility of avoiding difficulties, of utilizing credits and machines. Unions of poor peasants must be organized more than ever before. Only these unions, under a proper leadership, can give a clear cut class character to the collectives and orientate the movement upon our path.

The apparatus, acting only through administrative means and by thrashing about in the press, can make the collectives the opposite of what they should be. They can become the organizational centers for all the enemy elements in the country. Unquestionably, the Kulak movement is growing. A serious warning is given by an incident which occurred in the Ivanovo-Vosnessenk district, where a crowd of peasants, under the direct influence of the Kulaks, arose to beat up the Communists.

The Centrists' Adventures

It is urgent and important that the causes for the enormous destruction of cattle be analyzed. Despite a certain halt in the grain crisis and an amelioration in the rationing of meat, the real salary of the worker shows no signs of any increase. Particular attentions must be given to the spirit of the proletariat. The Mensheviks already profit by their discontent...

By not letting up their blows against the Leninist Opposition, Centrism has favored the possibility for all anti-Soviet elements to raise their heads. The attention of the entire Opposition must be drawn to this side of the question—the resistance to counter-revolution. A pitiless struggle must be waged against these elements, the Social Democrats up to the Right wingers in the Party!

...The entire Centrist politics, with its present "Left" aspect, is more and more becoming transformed into a bureaucratic adventure. The counter-revolutionaries are rapidly mobilizing their forces, and the politics of Centrism furnish them with forces. That is why the truth must be put brutally and the problem posed in this manner so that every comrade understands: the Party course must be changed or reaction will triumph....

—A WORKER

The Communist Workers And the Opposition

At almost the same time that the Stalinist Political Bureau published an insidious "piece of news" in certain Leningrad newspapers about the supposed sabotage of a Trotskyist, the Pravda published a letter from a correspondent which is entitled "The Swan Song of a Trotskyist Group". The author of this letter, after some generalities concerning the struggle of the Party on two fronts, goes on to the following items:

"Thus, for example, a few weeks ago, at the Party purging of the nucleus in a repair shop at Belgosstrol (Minsk), a group of Trotskyists was uncovered who claimed themselves to be 100% for the Party line, and who were carrying on a desperate struggle against the Party. The group had published and distributed counter-revolutionary tracts, collected funds for an "anti-Party campaign fund", demoralized the less firm Communist and non-Party factory workers. This group was composed, amongst others, of party members and avowed Trotskyists who had been expelled from the Party. An agreement of mutual support had been concluded between the 'Communists' and the Trotskyists. Thus the 'Communists' of the factory nucleus had attempted to introduce some non-Party elements of their group into the Party. In their turn, the latter did not permit attacks upon the pseudo-Communists. At the last purging, for example, a certain Trotskyist, Reinzelberg, foaming at the mouth, had defended a member of the secret Trotskyist Party, Buslovitch."

Then the correspondent includes the discovery of the group and the statement wherein the leaders admit their errors, of a type well known in the statements which are lent to or extorted from the Oppositionists.

The Opposition and the Rank and File

This text permits of a certain number of lessons. But first, it must be pruned of its "third period" literature which is more copious than nourishing. It must be pruned also of insults and absurdities (the campaign fund against the Party, etc.). What remains is that in the large working center of Minsk, among the railroad workers, among the rank and file Communists, there was formed an organized group, unknown to the apparatus functionaries, which struggled for the program of the Opposition. The Communists of the nucleus had formed a united front with their expelled comrades and coordinated their struggle against Centrism. Thus, spontaneously, a secret fraction was formed which brought together in Communist work, the rank and file Communist workers and the expelled—and this among a group of railroad workers in a large industrial center. The life of this

small group shows clearly the agreement of the rank and file workers with the Oppositionists, which the official press wears its lungs out in attempting to pass off as counter-revolution. It furthermore shows by a concrete example what work in common brings together the Oppositionists and the revolutionary rank and file workers. The example of Pravda's indignant correspondent illustrates the "united front" towards which the Left Opposition in Russia tends and which newspaper writers qualify as retreat or capitulation.

A. Nikitine can express his indignation. Such "swan songs" cannot sound too agree-

able to the ear of the apparatus bureaucrats. And when the correspondent Nikitine in the end of his note states "that it is becoming incomprehensible that the Trotskyist group could have existed and could have carried on its disorganizing activity without the local organizations knowing anything about it", he only confirms the nature of the regrouping which, in workers' centers, calls the most informed of the militant workers to unite with the Opposition for Communist work.

This pretended swan-song brings us the proof that the revolutionary thought of the Russian Opposition is very much alive.

IN INDIA

Gandhi Enters the Field of «Struggle»

Last week we made clear the fundamental facts concerning the problems of the Indian revolution. We pointed out the impasse in which the nationalist chiefs found themselves, and in particular Gandhi, caught between the thrust of the masses on the one hand, and the pressure of the British on the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois classes on the other.

On March 2nd, Gandhi, who has begun the campaign of "civil disobedience", foreseen by the Congress of Lahore, sent "an ultimatum" to Lord Irwin, the viceroy of India, which serves to illustrate this situation. In the matter of the ultimatum, it is an appeal to the kindness of the viceroy, an anguished petition full of irreconcilable contradictions. "I hold the British laws," writes Gandhi, "as applied to my country, to be an iniquity and a curse. But I feel no hatred for the British, nor the least wish to harm their legitimate rights in this country." But all this in no way approaches the duplicity of what follows. "The National Congress has declared itself for independence. The Dominion status would assure it to us. You, yourself told us so, but since your declaration I have become informed that the politicians of Great Britain had no intention of conceding it to us."

Gandhi on His Knees Before the Lord Viceroy

In the sentence which we underlined, Gandhi unites the claim for independence and that of Dominion status. He writes that Dominion status would assure independence, would lead to independence. And yet Gandhi cannot be ignorant of the fact that these are two quite contradictory things. Dominion status is a form of government in the group comprising the British Empire, accomplished to the benefit of the native bourgeoisie; it is the demand of the industrial and commercial sections of India; and it is also a promise that the Labor Party has made, but is, however, unable to keep. But independence, that is to open the door to the proletarian revolution.

Gandhi fears this second eventuality. He writes to the viceroy that his intransigence "explains the progress which the party of violence has made among us, and explains the increasing seriousness of the situation." In other words, Gandhi fears the weight of the revolutionary masses, and he also tries to make use of them as a scare-crow against the viceroy. But the end of his petition is more pitiful. He writes, "It is evidently in your power to prevent me from acting by locking me up. But, myself gone, I have the conviction that there will be hundreds of faithful companions to continue the struggle. While there is yet time, I beg of you, on my knees, to prevent the irreparable."

The Workers Will March Beyond Gandhi Lord Irwin, viceroy of India by the grace of MacDonald, was satisfied with an indirect reply. His secretary answers to the Mahatma: "The viceroy has learned with the deepest regret that you contemplated a form of action which, manifestly, allows of a violation of the law and a danger to the public peace." Sick at heart,

Gandhi is forced to renew the struggle for non-cooperation, and to preach the boycotting of British goods and the refusal to pay taxes. What can be clearer to Lord Irwin? It is a violation of the law, it is a danger to the public peace. Take care!

How far will Gandhi go in his campaign? The immediate future will tell. But when Gandhi stops, the revolutionary masses will not. It is in the perspective of this continued development of the activity of the worker and peasant proletariat, that the responsibilities of the Communist International enter.... At the moment, there is no Communist Party in India. There are only agitators who fight in the Left wing of the nationalist movement, in the bureaucratic manner of Molotov, by attacking the assemblies where Gandhi and the other nationalist leaders take the floor, instead of carrying on propaganda and class struggle activity within the masses by means of a class party. Only the formation of this party can make the perspectives favorable for the proletariat.

The Durban «Raid» in South Africa

As an example of the confidence with which policies are folsted on the Comintern sections and afterward justified, you will be interested to learn that a police raid recently carried out in Durban against defaulting native tax-payers, who, however, offered no resistance, was hailed in the Inprecorr recently as a triumph for the Comintern's new South African slogan. The raid was falsely referred to as a "native revolt" due directly to the application of the new policy which had increased the influence of the C. P. What are the facts?

1. There was no revolt. The police raided the native locations in Durban, without prior warning, to compel defaulters to pay their taxes. There was no attempt at resistance to the police, who were armed, the taxes were paid, and those who were unable to pay were put in jail.

2. The Communist Party has no influence in Durban, it cannot muster half-a-dozen members to form a branch. And so the new policy has been proved correct by a revolt which never happened, produced by an influence of the C. P. which is non-existent. These statements incline South African Communists—both in the Party and out—to laugh. But they are apparently swallowed whole in other countries, where faithful worshippers at the shrine of Stalin acclaim the correctness of his line. When will the Comintern cease to mislead? In fact, its line in South Africa is proving as true as did its line in China.

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JAPANESE RADICAL HELD FOR DEPORTATION

SAN FRANCISCO—Sadaichi Kenmotsu, Japanese Communist being held at San Francisco for deportation, was granted a stay of hearing on a habeas corpus motion. He is out on \$3,000 bond. Kenmotsu was arrested during the unemployment demonstrations in March.