

# Towards a Concrete Program of Action

## Social Insurance

The problem of social insurance in a program of Unemployed Demands is treated by the present Party leaders as an illegitimate child. This despite the spasmodic proddings of the Comintern and the R. I.L.U. upon the Party on different occasions to evince a little greater activity and sincerity in this field.

The demands for Unemployment Insurance, Old Age Pensions, Sickness Insurance and the like are treated by the Browder-Bedacht pontiffs as evidence of secret "social-fascist" cravings. They apparently envisage the demand for social insurance as purely parliamentary manoeuvring and not a by-product of the class struggle like all other reforms and concessions "granted" to the workers by capitalist legislatures. Social insurance does not fit in with the rantings of the "Third period."

### Social Insurance as a By-Product of Struggle

But for the revolutionary party to surrender the representation of these demands of the socialist party, the Muste group or the other petty-bourgeois reformers would be a great blunder. If the Party does that it does not seriously have regard to the possibilities of a revolutionary utilization of parliamentary action. In fact the Communist Party is being misled by the adventurist leadership at its head into the frame of mind and tactics of the bourgeois "boycottists" in the history of the Russian social democracy. It will become so "pure" that it will end in sterility.

The presence of social insurance in Great Britain and Germany on the statute books for many decades has not prevented the development of the class struggle, and can not so long as the basic contradictions of capitalism dominate the social structure. The British workers have continued to organize great strikes and to move steadily to the Left. Bismarck's legislation to "steal the thunder" of the socialists has not prevented the rise of a Communist mass party and the development of revolutionary crises that under revolutionary leadership could have resulted in a German Soviet Power.

### Capitalist Responsibility for Unemployment

Will anyone revolutionary seriously argue that the Salvation Army, private soup kitchens, the net-work of social-service and charitable institutions maintained by the business interests are preferable to State insurance in the sense that they make the workers more class conscious or "pauperize" them less? The bourgeoisie in Great Britain is constantly seeking ways and means for cutting down the "dole". W. I. King, the well known American statistician attacks the dole on the ground that it is the real reason preventing an industrial revival. He wants a free market in the commodity of labor power, governed by "supply and demand". He blames the trade unions and the "dole" for preventing the "deflation" of wages. And he warns the American capitalists that they are running the

### THE PARTY AND THE UNORGANIZED MASSES

The main reservoir of labor militancy is the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the unorganized, basic industries. The full horror of the capitalist rationalization falls directly upon them, and the attacks of the capitalists in the present depression and coming crises strike them first and hardest. The Party must turn its face to these unorganized masses, put itself at the head of their struggles and lead the work of organizing them into new industrial unions. This historic task must be accomplished in the fire of struggle against the capitalists and their state power as well as against their agents in the labor movement, the reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., the Socialist Party and allied groups of social-reformist elements. In this protracted struggle on all fronts, extending over a period of years the decisive break of the workers with the ideology of capitalism will be effected and the genuine class movement of the workers be built.

— FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20, 1929.

same risks if they permit the enactment of unemployment insurance in the United States.

W.I. King and his associate bourgeois economists make a deep mystery of the recurrence of the "business-cycle". They find every explanation of it under the sun, but the real one of the anarchic character of capitalist production for profit. The capitalist system is responsible for the "business-cycles" and for the standing and recurrent mass unemployment. The Capitalist State must be compelled by the organization and struggle of the masses to shoulder the charges of unemployment.

## Credits for the Soviet Union

Not the least of the derelictions of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party has been its failure to rally the unemployed around the demand for credits for the Soviet Union. Unremittingly and windily the *Daily Worker* "alogenizes" for the "Defence of the Soviet Union", but when the whole international economic crisis favors the crystallization of one of the widest mass movements yet for the real and substantial Defence of the Soviet Union, the Stalinist regime and its American agents, Browder-Bedacht-Foster do nothing but hamper the Party from measuring up to its great opportunity. The reason for this attitude of the Party leaders flows not from any malice but inevitably from their false theory of "national socialism"—Stalin's Russian "exceptionalism".

### Economics and Military Defence

The Defence of the Soviet Union is not as the *Daily Worker* would like to impress its readers, a purely military question, a matter of preventing imperialist interven-

## A SQUEAK IN THE APPARATUS

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### Our Slogan of Collaboration with the Soviet Union

The approaching crisis of Soviet economy coincides with the growing world capitalist crisis. This coincidence has in the final analysis common reasons. World capitalism has outlived itself but the undertaker is not yet ready for his work. The crisis of Soviet economy, if we leave aside the mistakes of the leadership, is the economic consequence of the isolated condition of the U. S. S. R. That is the very fact that the world proletariat has not yet swept away capitalism. The problem of the proletarian revolution is the problem of the organization of socialist economy on a world scale. For Europe whose capitalism is most overripe and sickly, the proletarian revolution means first of all the economic unification of the continent. The only way we can and must prepare the European workers for the seizure of power is by revealing to them the immeasurable advantages of a correctly planned all-European and later on a World organization of socialist economy. The slogan of the Soviet United States of Europe which is imperative now more than it ever was is inadequate however, in its abstract political form. This slogan must be filled with concrete economic content. The economic experience of the Soviet Union is fully sufficient to create an exemplary variant of the plan based on the collaboration of the U. S. S. R. with the industrial countries of Europe. In the final historical analysis this is the only way out for the U.S.S.R. from the growing internal contradictions. Neither has Europe any other way out of the crisis (unemployment, the growing oppression of America and the perspective of wars). The problem of collaboration in its full dimensions can be decided only through a proletarian revolution and through the creation of the Soviet United States of Europe which through the medium of the Soviet Union will also be tied up with liberated Asia.

The European workers must be led by this perspective. They must be presented with a clear and broad plan of economic collaboration based on the exceptionally high coefficients of growth accomplished even in backward isolated Russia. This is the immeasurable revolutionary significance of the slogan of economic collaboration with the U. S. S. R. if it is advanced

correctly—that is in a revolutionary manner. In this age military strength itself depends on industrial power. In the case of the Soviet Union it depends not only on industrial power but on the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and socialism. But socialism cannot be built up in the Soviet Union entirely out of its own inner resources and separated from the world market by a Chinese wall. The difficulties that the great Five Year Plan and collectivization are experiencing today in the U.S.S.R. demonstrates this exactly.

To hold anything else is a flagrant rupture with Marxist analysis and proletarian internationalism.

### International Solidarity

The demand for credits for the Soviet Union at once reveals the inner link between the interests of the American working class and the workers of the Soviet Union. Millions are idle in the United States. But the socialist plans of the Soviet Union cry out for machinery and other industrial equipment. Employment here and collaboration with the Five Year Plan in the U.S.S.R. would be the consequences of large scale credits. Thousands of American workers would receive practical lessons in the implications of internationalism in the fundamental struggle between capitalism and socialism and the meaning of Communism. Thousands could be mobilized for the U. S. S. R. and against the capitalist government of the United States.

The slogan of credits to the Soviet Union is one that the labor bureaucracy and the international social democratic leaders will resist. They would sense in it the possibilities of a united front that would draw the rank and file away from them and towards the leadership of the Soviet Union and the Communists. They are right. "Credits for the Soviet Union", is one of the most forceful focal points for a united front movement. —M.S.P.

correctly—that is in a revolutionary manner.

Under the present circumstances this slogan is above all one of the most valuable weapons for the mobilization of the unemployed and the workers in general in connection with unemployment. This is not merely a matter of the possible delivery of commodities to the Soviet Union as important as this question is in itself. It is a question of getting out of the historical impasse, of altogether new economic possibilities of a United European economy. With this kind of concrete "supra-national" plan based on experience in our hands, the worker-Communists can and must approach the social democratic worker. Under the conditions of the crisis this is the most important approach to the problem of the socialist reconstruction of Europe. With the correct application of the united front policy the slogan of collaboration with the U.S.S.R. and the economic transformation of Europe can be made the wedge that would break off large circles of social democratic workers from the present leaders.

But for that we must first of all liquidate, reject and condemn, the theory of socialism in one country. We must make clear to the world proletariat that the Russians are not constructing a separate socialist home for themselves, and that such a structure on a national scale is generally impossible. They are constructing a national wall for the European and later on also for the world socialist home. The further they get the harder it will be to raise this wall, because it may crash without the timely construction of the other walls. About building the roof over the national wall there cannot even be any talk. We must get started with the simultaneous work in other countries according to a common plan. This plan must be worked out by the government of the Soviet Union, at any rate, its basic features, as a plan of mighty material and spiritual growth of the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

This is what the slogan of economic collaboration with the Soviet Union means in its developed form, under the present historical circumstances. But such a policy presupposes a radical revision of the theory and practice of the Soviet leadership. The Yaroslavskys are very little fit for such a policy.

(To Be Continued)

Comrade Raymond Spector, an active member of the Communist Party and who has been Chairman of the Control Commission in Section Brownsville, New York spoke before his nucleus on June 17th on the policy of the Comintern in China and endorsed the line of the Left Opposition. His expulsion followed immediately. Such is the freedom of the pre-convention discussion.

A statement of the views of Comrade Raymond Spector together with that of other Party and Young Communist League members will appear in the next issue of the *Militant*.

## Hugo Oehler Joins Left Opposition

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organizer of the revolution for the overthrow of capitalism. The first duty of every Communist is the success of the revolution and so long as the Party has a program based on Marxism there is an unbroken chain between the class, the Party and the success of the revolution. Just as soon as the leading individuals or groups in the Party revise Marxism and Leninism a danger of the elimination of the Party as the leader and organizer of the class is at hand unless we are capable of defeating the revisionists. But if the revisionists are able to dominate, it spells ruin unless the membership liquidates such a leadership.

### The Struggle of the Left Opposition

This was the case with the Second International when the revisionists dominated and eliminated it as the leader and organizer of the revolution. We saw the transformation of the Second International from an instrument for liberation to an instrument of suppression of the workers and peasants. The same process is at work in our International. Fortunately, however, for the proletariat we are living in a different historical period; this process is only in the beginning stage in our International; and lastly we have an International Opposition led by L.D. Trotsky that exposes the revision, explains the determining causes of the crisis and mobilizes the forces to win the International for the Marxian-Leninist path again.

We members of the Communist Party ask for an answer to this manifesto and for the readmittance of comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition into the Party. We do not ask for a religious campaign of "Loyalty to the C.I." to take the place of objective consideration of these proposals. If the policies of the leadership is Marxian then there is no conflict between loyalty to the C.I. and loyalty to Marxism but when the present leadership revise Marxism and present theories that are non-Marxian-Leninist the membership must choose between loyalty to that leadership and loyalty to Marxism. We stand or fall by Marxism and Dialectic Materialism and by now life itself has proven the correctness of the Left Opposition group as Marxism fighting revisionism. The readmittance of the Opposition to the International, regardless of how painful it is to some "leaders" is a necessary step to prepare the Party as the leader and organizer of the big class struggles we can expect in the present period in order that pressure of world capitalist economy can be relieved from the U.S.S.R. and the extension of the dictatorship of the proletariat over greater sections of the earth can be accomplished.

Our demands are:

1. The readmittance of the Communist Opposition and the adoption of the Marxian program of the Opposition.
2. Replace the present isolation tactics with Leninist United Front tactics in trade union work and all other activity.
3. Eliminate mechanical control of auxiliary organizations and replace with control through Marxian policy.
4. Reject VERBAL transformation of defensive struggles and demonstrations into revolutionary upheavals.
5. Reject slogan of "Social Fascism" that renders aid to the reformists.
6. Reject "Third Period" economic zig-zag course and replace with dialectic analysis and tactics.
7. Correct 7th Convention thesis on above points and other minor points flowing from these root causes.

—HUGO OELER