

Statement of Comrade Weisbord

(Continued from the last issue)

11. Only by a Leninist policy are the Communists enabled to radicalize the masses in the United States. This policy means "To the Masses," mass work in all its forms, formation of independent mass organizations where possible and necessary, the united front, work in reactionary trade unions and similar bodies, Labor Party, etc. To accomplish such mass work it is necessary to Leninize the party, namely to base the party on the most exploited sections of the masses, to wipe out the bureaucracy (the liars and fakers) in the party, to demand as an absolute condition and prerequisite to leadership: (1.) The tested ability to carry out mass work in a Communist manner. (2.) The liquidation of the mountain of vulgar Marxism and syndicalist-liberal conceptions and a real study of the basic works of the founders of Communism. (3.) Proven honest integrity, and courage.

To all this the present theories of "Fascism" and "Social-Fascism" give a death blow. These "theories" wiping out as they do all the Marxian-Leninist distinctions between Fascism and regular bourgeois democracy mean (1.) The reactionary unions are to be destroyed not won, the workers of the A. F. of L. being hopeless fascists, enemies of the working class. (2.) The socialist and progressive workers being "social-fascists" are only secret agents of the fascists. These too must be destroyed. (3.) The Communist opposition groups become not only full grown Mensheviks but worse, police agents, have no place in unions or other workingclass organizations. Any action against them up to complete physical extermination is justified. (4.) The line between communism and Fascism theoretically becomes very thin for overnight, no matter how tested and loyal before, any Communist can become a police-agent Menshevik or fascist. (5.) Since every tested member tomorrow can be a police-agent Menshevik, revolutionary behaviour in mass work is no longer a test for leadership. Any faker or apparatus follower can be a leader. Leaders are cheap and easily made. Distrust for the leadership follows. Cynicism not revolutionary idealism pervades the party. Double-bookkeeping (see the hypocrisy of those who put forth the CI Address of 1929) becomes the rule. Correspondingly a contempt for the membership grows. Political sterility increases.

SECTION C

12. An analysis of the present situation cannot be complete or correct without a thorough study of all basic international questions. Only the movement headed by L. D. Trotsky has stressed the necessity for a truly international point of view, has fought the tendencies of national socialism, and has made such an international viewpoint the prerequisite warp and woof of every sectional thesis. The Left International Opposition (Trotsky) alone has correctly fought the opportunism embodied (1.) In the theory of socialism in one country. (2.) In the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee affair. (3.) In the Chinese Kuomintang adventure. Nevertheless, in view of the recent international events, it is necessary to make an independent analysis here of the chief international situations.

13. *India.* The basic slogans for the Communists today in India must be Lenin's "Three Pillars" that is, a basic slogan for the proletariat (say the eight hour day), a basic slogan for the peasantry (confiscation of the land), and the slogan of Democratic Republic. To these "three pillars" the slogan "Freedom for India" must be added. Only around all these slogans can the masses be effectively mobilized. It would be a gross error for the Communists to stress the slogan of "Freedom for India" alone as does the nationalist Indian bourgeoisie. The slogan for "Constituent Assembly" by itself is not incorrect but is incomplete and may be dangerous for it does not take into consideration the fact that British imperialism can maneuver so as to make the slogan of "Constituent Assembly" a substitute for a democratic republic. The slogan "Constituent Assembly" can be used correctly only in conjunction with the slogan for a Democratic Republic.

The slogan of Soviets can be appropri-

ate only when a sufficiently acute revolutionary situation has been engendered around the "three pillars", when the class struggle and civil war rages in the villages and towns. In this connection it must be emphasized that Soviets can be built even with the slogan of Constituent Assembly. The two slogans of Constituent Assembly and Soviets need not be antagonistic at all times. But what must be stressed is the actual organization of civil war in the village and town and the leadership of the proletariat in this civil war. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat in India can make permanent its revolution.

The Communists must make plain to the masses the role of the nationalistic Indian bourgeoisie and the role of Gandhi as an agent of this class. Not only the experiences of 1921 must be gone over, but all the treacherous actions of the present Gandhi campaign (the salt campaign, the anti-machine movement, passive resistance, opposition to workers, record at the National Congress, etc., etc.) must be elaborated. Simultaneously mass movements in town and countryside against native usurer, gentry, kulak, bourgeois, must be effected. By no means must the Chiang Kai-shek adventure be repeated. The criminal negligence of the CI in failing to build the CP but in building Workers-Peasant Parties instead must be speedily liquidated. (It is clear that it is not OUR business to organize peasant parties).

It is clear that the main task of the Communists must be the stimulation of movements of the masses around the "three pillars" and freedom slogans. These movements are directed against both native and foreign rulers and bourgeoisie and these movements soon break any united front with the native bourgeoisie who may desire a nationalist revolutionary movement under the sole slogan of "Freedom of India from the British." Nevertheless, and this is most important to understand, so long as a section of the nationalist Indian bourgeoisie is fighting British imperialism under the slogan of "Freedom of India from imperialist rule," so long as this movement unleashes the energy of the masses which otherwise could not be unleashed and so long as the masses have not been actively mobilized around the correct slogans and while the exposure of the native bourgeoisie is but in its incipency, it would be manifestly incorrect for the Communists not to enter or to struggle for a national revolutionary front against British imperialism even tho this national revolutionary front would temporarily contain sections of the nationalist revolutionary bourgeoisie (whom the masses follow), even tho the sole slogan were "Freedom for India from British Imperialism," and even tho later the united front would have to be broken by the development of the class struggle in the villages and towns of India. The center of attack must be against British imperialism and its conscious reactionary agents within India.

14. *China.* Here too the slogan of Constituent Assembly is still correct, altho it is apparently incorrect to state that the Chinese revolution is still on the wane. Here the mobilization of workers and peasants on concrete issues can lead to such an acute revolutionary situation that Soviets can be formed.

It is dubious to say, as do some members of the International Left Opposition, that the present guerilla warfare going on in China today is wrong and not to be supported. Under the present conditions, if the facts are that masses of desperate peasants are ready to take up civil war in the countryside, the Communists must stimulate, support, organize, and lead such a movement. On the other hand, it must be clear that no matter how much the imperialists and native Chinese rulers may be weakened, armed peasant bands cannot take the place of mass peasant uprisings, the peasant movement can not take the place of a proletarian struggle, and peasant "soviets" can not replace the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(Concluded in the next issue which will also contain the reply of the CP-Majority Group to Comrade Weisbord's statement.)