

The Position of Com. Weisbord

We begin publication of the most important sections of the declaration read by Comrade Weisbord at the July Conference of the CP-Majority Group. It is hardly necessary to point out to anyone acquainted with the viewpoint of the CP-Majority Group that the views in Comrade Weisbord's statement are widely different from our views. In the next issue—along with the conclusion of Comrade Weisbord's declaration—we will publish a brief examination of Comrade Weisbord's opinions from the viewpoint of the international Communist Opposition movement.

4. With the world war and the revolutionary wave that followed in its wake, the epoch of imperialism entered a new stage qualitatively different from the one existing before (from 1900 to 1914). Distinctive of this new stage are the following: (a) the proletarian revolution is victorious in the U.S.S.R.; (b) post-war capitalism, with all its force, can not get back to pre-war stability. The decline of capitalism can not be stopped. All the attempts at "stabilization" become desperate efforts merely to slacken the tempo of the international revolution. This can be seen by the fact that, during this time, while some revolutionary situations are liquidated and new ones constantly and repeatedly arise; concurrently a whole host of other situations begin to take on a revolutionary character. (Germany 1923, Bulgaria 1924, Estonia 1924, China 1925-27, England 1926, Austria 1928, India, China, Indo-China 1930, besides Mexico, Nicaragua, Haiti, Porto Rico, Finland, etc.)

Before the war, neither revolutionary situations nor actual revolutions could have been created by the activity of the socialist, revolutionary parties thruout the world. No matter how well or tirelessly these parties worked the bourgeoisie was too strong, the level of activity of the masses, generally speaking, too low, to cause a given situation to become a revolutionary one. Basically, these revolutionary situations had to develop by themselves from the objective contradictions arising in capitalist society. When, during and after the war, these objective contradictions did cause revolutionary situations to arise, by that time the subjective factor had become so powerful as to be able to ma-

ture such revolutionary situations, in a number of countries, into actual revolutions. Today imperialism has become so much weaker, today, so close is the situation in a number of countries to a revolutionary one, that it is possible for an international Communist movement, PROVIDED IT HAS A LENINIST POLICY, and especially now when it controls a state backed by 150,000,000 workers and peasants, to develop situations otherwise still non-revolutionary into revolutionary situations in DIFFERENT countries at DIFFERENT times. This does not mean that a CI can "order" a revolutionary situation in ANY country at any time. It is a fact today, with the correct policy, it is far easier in many countries to disintegrate the capitalist armies, to ruin the prestige of the ruling classes, to expose the petty bourgeoisie, and to activate the masses to an extraordinary degree, than before.

Every worker knows that, under some conditions, the activity of a Communist group can "develop" a strike situation, where without this Communist group, no such situation would have been "developed". Today the Communist Party (under some circumstances and with a Leninist policy) can be the decisive force both in stimulating the exploited and oppressed masses with the understanding of the impossibility of living in the old way and in helping to make the ruling class unable to govern as of old. Since the war the old power and might of the ruling classes have been irretrievably broken. Further the experiences of 1918-1923 weigh mightily on the memory of the masses—the ruling classes in many countries were unable to govern once before. Finally, the Soviet Union

--- And Its Main Errors

with its tremendous economic and political weight will be able to throw this weight at times so as to help break the economic and political power of different sections of the international bourgeoisie at critical moments.

Therefore it is clear that very often, the activity of revolutionary organizations, if they estimate the economic and socio-political situation correctly and base their strategy and tactics accordingly if they are rooted among the masses and have their support, can be the very decisive factor (a) in developing ("creating") a revolutionary situation where none existed before and (b) in maturing a revolutionary situation to an actual successful revolution.

5. What must be the cornerstone of Communist international strategy is the recognition of this qualitative change in imperialism. Today it is possible to have "sudden" changes to revolutionary situations, "sudden" revolutions. Today there has been raised to hitherto unheard degree the decisive importance of revolutionary organizations, first as factors maturing ("creating") revolutionary situations and second, as factors changing revolutionary situations to actual revolutions (insurrections).

The fatal error in the Communist "Majority Group" (Lovestone) is that it fails to see this fundamental feature of the present stage, and to make this feature an integral part of any American analysis.

The fatal error of the CI and its U. S. "leadership," is that it caricatures and distorts this basic conception, not understanding it and indeed transforming it into a theory justifying putchism, making of the party a sect more and more isolated from the masses, more and more stifled by an absolutely sterile bureaucratic machine. The official C. P. "leaders" in the United States fail to see that an insurrection can come only after the development of a revolutionary situation and fail to understand that to develop this revolutionary situation one must follow a Leninist line of mass work, united front, work in reactionary unions, pro-

found economic analysis, the understanding of the true relationship of American to international capitalist society, and the peculiarities of capitalist America; and that an end must be put to guesswork, phrase-mongering, to the fakery and lying in the leadership, to the theory of "fascism" and "social-fascism" to the bureaucracy and violence, to the Trotsky deportations and Bloomkin murders, an end to the theory of Socialism in one country, to Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee affairs, and Chiang Kai-shek mergers, etc.

7. Secondly, an analysis of the present situation shows that the contradictions are sharpening and the tempo of international revolution is rising (that is, the "partial and temporary stabilization" of capitalism is becoming weaker than before). The original position of the Communist "Majority Group" is here too unsound; while on the other hand, the very putchist distortion of this by the official Party leadership tends to hinder the process of the cracking of "stabilization" now taking place and to weaken the revolutionary forces. Far from stimulating the masses, the false policy of the CI actually acts as a brake on the masses.

SECTION B

8. The situation in America exposes in an even clearer light the errors of the different Communist groups. On the other hand, the "Majority" Group merely sees in fact "deep discontent". With the "Majority Group" the present economic crisis is IN ESSENCE a mere cyclical one, and the dogmatic statement is made, with no appreciation of its rashness, that not only will American capitalism weather the present economic storm, but that it will rise to new peaks only to fall to new lows.

The true situation is that with the qualitative changes of post war imperialism, with the weakening of world "stabilization", with the sharpening of the inner and outer contradictions of American capitalism, there can be no "mere cyclical crisis", no "mere discontent"

(Continued on Page 14)

WEISBORD STATEMENT

(Continued from page 9)

but what we have to reckon with is a tenseness of relationships, a restiveness of the masses which can enable a Communist Party WITH THE CORRECT POLICY to lead masses into such activity as to radicalize the masses. There is great POTENTIALITY NOT ACTUALITY of masses becoming radicalized generally and relatively quickly. But the foolish policy of the Party only drives the masses further away from radicalization.

9. The dogmatic statements 1. That American capitalism will weather the present economic storm and 2. That it will rise to new peaks, utterly fails to take into account the international situation. It may be, that due, above all to the criminal policies of the CI, this eventuality may OCCUR, but it is impossible to state so now as the sole solution. The "Majority Group" fails in REALITY to see that the economic crisis in the United States means economic crises in many countries (for this group does not make such a view a VITAL part of its living work in America); that in some of these countries such a crisis if prolonged will lead to a real revolutionary situation, that a revolution breaking out in Europe may not only deepen the American crisis but will usher in a new and higher stage of the world revolution. In such an alternative (or a number of similar alternatives which result in the ushering of a world crisis) impossible? Quite the contrary! For communists, the whole perspective for the United States must constantly and intimately be permeated with this view.

(Concluded in the next issue)