

The Plenum of the "New Turn"

by Will Herberg

The XI Plenum, held two years after the X Plenum, is of especial importance in that its political decisions uncover most effectively the real content of the strategy of the "new turn" behind which the Eccei leadership has been systematically trying to hide the disastrous consequences of its own policies. The XI Plenum shows not only that the "new turn" strategy involves the most unprincipled

system of carefully turned half-statements, deliberate contradictions and diplomatic manoeuvring but also that this whole dishonest system can neither hide nor at all modify the fundamentally false, ultra-left and sectarian political course that has in fact been aggravated with every "new turn". This is the most important lesson of the XI Plenum.

TWO REVOLUTIONARY PAPERS IN INDIA THE MASSES.

ORGAN OF THE COMMITTEE FOR ORGANIZING THE
REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS PARTY OF INDIA

No. 5. PRICE HALF ANNA. April 15, 1931.

THE KARACHI CONGRESS.

Eleven years ago the Congress broke away from the old tradition of constitutional action, and entered only an appearance. The prevailing spirit of political and intellectual starchy and narrowness.

REVOLT

(Circular of the Committee of Action for Independence)

OUR OBJECT.

The consistently revolutionary elements in the Congress from the very beginning, did not approve of the Working Committee entering into negotiation with the government for establishing conditions of peace in which the recommendations of the B. T. G. could be considered. They sounded alarm as soon as the fatal negotiation began. They had the courage to say frankly whether the line adopted by the leaders was bound to lead, as was by them, to capitulation and compromise.

Our programme of revolutionary action with which the leaders should be confronted at Karachi. The revolutionary will of the rank and file to fight must prevail at Karachi. No power but the will of the rank and file should be allowed to carry the day with the cheap demagoguery of empty radical phrases. Concrete issues must be raised and determinedly fought out to the finish.

What is National Independence? How will it be realized? What will be the cardinal principles of the Constitution of the Free National State? What?

"The Masses," Organ of the Committee for Organizing the Revolutionary Working Class Party of India, and the "Revolt," Organ of the Committee of Action for Independence, Both Published Illegally Under the Influence of the Communist Opposition.

The Indian Struggle Continues!

FIGHT FOR SWARAJ FOR THE MASSES

Manifesto of Committee of Action for Independence

(The Committee of Action for Independence has issued the following Manifesto.)

The Congress leaders have made truce with the Government. They say that they have made truce because the Government has agreed to grant Responsible Government. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel came to Bombay to explain how Swaraj is in sight, and Mahatma Gandhi himself came to do the same thing.

But what is this Swaraj? What are the workers and peasants going to win for their innumerable deeds of sacrifices, sufferings and heroism—deeds committed enthusiastically at the call of the Congress?

It is said that the Government of the country will be largely handed over to the Indians. But who are these Indians? The princes, landlords and capitalists. That is, the people who oppress and exploit the Indian workers and peasants just as much as the foreign capitalists. When these people will get more power they will exploit the masses more. This Swaraj the Congress has won. The Congress leaders do not explain how the conditions of the workers and peasants will be any better, when the rich people of India will have the chance to be richer.

The Congress leaders are very annoyed with those who defend the interest of the workers. At the Azad Maidan meeting Vallabhbhai Patel asked the workers not to fight the Indian capitalists but to help the Congress to place them in power. He maintained that the Congress stands for the workers and peasants! Can the workers still believe it?

In their anxiety to get Swaraj for rich men the Congress leaders have altogether disregarded the demands of the workers and peasants who cheerfully suffered great hardships at the call of the Congress. The demand for the redress of most burning grievances of the workers and peasants have been repeatedly placed before the Congress. They have received no attention, while the Congress leaders have fully supported the demands of the Indian capitalists. The boycott movement has greatly helped the Bombay mill owners but the Congress leaders would not allow the workers to fight for more wages!

Vallabhbhai Patel also told that Congress is not prepared to harm the princes and the landlords. So under

Swaraj these parasites will thrive side by side with the Indian capitalists. The Congress justifies this policy on the plea that foreign exploitation must be first removed. But the Swaraj the Congress has won is not going to put an end to foreign exploitation, as far as the masses are concerned.

The British capitalists make an annual profit of about 250 crores of rupees thru India. To pay this huge bill is the "obligation" of India. Who discharges this obligation actually? The workers and peasants, who produce goods with which the payment is made. The average burden per head of a toiler is 40 to 50 rupees a year. Under "Swaraj" this burden will not be relieved. Mahatma Gandhi has guaranteed that every piece of this "obligation" shall be discharged by the Indian people. That is, the Indian workers and peasants will continue to be exploited by the foreign capitalists under "Swaraj" which will satisfy the ambition of the Indian landlords and capitalists.

The workers have no reason to be discouraged. They now know that the Congress does not stand for them. They must help themselves. They must continue the struggle against foreign as well as against Indian exploiters at the same time, under the leadership of their own party—the party of the workers and peasants of India. Under the Red Flag of that party all the oppressed and the exploited must unite and struggle for freedom. They must unite the peasantry and all the other oppressed to continue the fight with the object of conquering Swaraj for the masses.

Committee of Action for Independence

GOOD MEETINGS HELD IN NEW JERSEY

Big Open Air Meeting In Passaic Francis Speaks in Orange

PASSAIC, N. J.—The extent to which the workers here are interested in the message of the Communist Party (Majority Group) can best be judged from the fact that Saturday night at Hudson and Market Streets, a crowd of over 150 listened for three hours to Comrades Zam, Keller and Francis who discussed unemployment, wage-cuts, lynching, etc.

All efforts by two members of the official Communist Party to coerce Negro workers from listening to all the speakers were futile. At the close of the meeting these workers went to our headquarters here Comrade Keller and other explained to them the value of organization.

ORANGE, N. J.—At the request of the President of the Musolet Club, a Negro organization, Rothschild Francis spoke for an hour at its headquarters on: "The Class Struggle."

A resolution was passed unanimously by the club to hear Jay Lovestone speak on "Communism" in Jersey City on Monday, May 25, at the Jewish Community Center.

1. The Analysis of the Objective Situation

Quite correctly does the XI Plenum resolution make as the central axis of its analysis of the present world economic and political situation the sharp and fundamental contrast between the capitalist world in acute crisis and the Soviet Union in rapid Socialist construction. The summary formulation of the Plenum on the economic situation is:

"Capitalist stabilization is coming to an end. In the U. S. S. R. the laying of the foundations of Socialist economy is being completed."

So "capitalist stabilization" is only now (1931) "coming to an end"? But at the XI Plenum (1929) it was already "shattered" and "liquidated"—and to doubt this was the surest sign of a "right winger" and "renegade". Why, at that very time, the official reporter at the XI Plenum even assured us that the very term "stabilization" was "confusing" and "should perhaps never have been applied!" The retreat here is obvious.

But even this "cautious" formulation of the XI Plenum is incorrect because it separates "stabilization" (and its liquidation) as an economic condition from the political factors organically associated with it. The Platform of the International Communist Organization (Revolutionary Age, April 25, 1931) declares quite correctly:

"The so-called stabilization of capital is, therefore, no mere economic phenomenon. It signifies the reestablishment of capitalism, economic and political."

The liquidation of stabilization, therefore, does not come automatically and by itself with a deep economic crisis but necessarily involves also the shattering of the reestablished political domination of the bourgeoisie. The International Platform emphasizes:

"An economic crisis does not in itself mean the end of the so-called stabilization. It only signifies such an end if the working class makes use of the objective revolutionary possibilities created for overthrowing the rule of capital."

But for the bourgeoisie there is no situation necessarily without a way out. If the working class is not in position to take advantage of the economic conditions for the ending of capitalist stabilization, then the bourgeoisie will temporarily overcome the crisis at the expense of the toilers and, under certain conditions, thru the victory of the extreme counter-revolution.

The Question of Fascism

An astonishing feature of the XI Plenum resolution is the absolute neglect of the question of Fascism altho surely the sweeping advance of Fascism is an outstanding feature of the present political situation. The superficial treatment of the question of Fascism in the resolution is to be associated with the complete sterility of the Comintern today in the tactics of the struggle against Fascism and to the serious concessions made to the spirit of "national Bolshevism" by the German Party and Eccei within the last year.

2. The Working Class and the "Revolutionary Upsurge"

At the X Plenum Molotov declared that we were: "with both feet in the revolutionary situation," while Lozovsky was sure that the situation already then had "all the features of the eve of the revolution". At the XI Plenum, two years later, however, we are told that "there has been a growing increase in the revolutionary upsurge."

How is the XI Plenum able to "prove" this assertion which seems so contrary to the facts: in the last few years it was precisely the counter-revolutionary forces of Fascism that made such inroads among the toilers while the Communist movement lost in strength and influence? Thru obvious distortion of facts ("intensification of strike struggle and unemployed movement"), thru pure inventions ("development of the revolutionary peasants movement"), thru outright fiction ("growth of a number of Communist parties") which are contradicted by the official statements themselves. Hardly adequate proof!

That the "revolutionary upsurge" is pure fabrication is indicated in the resolution itself when it refers more than once to the "offensive" of the capitalists and to the "resistance" and "defensive" of the workers. Gone are the "offensive battles" of two years ago when every little strike in every part of the world was a great "offensive action of the proletariat". The working class which is on the "defensive" (or even on the "counter-offensive") and which at the same time finds itself in a "deep revolutionary upsurge" is in a somewhat contradictory position!

When it comes to the concrete analysis of the situation in different countries the XI Plenum is again peculiarly "cautious"—the caution of diplomacy and evasion. We read that in certain countries (Germany, Poland) there are "being created the conditions for the growth of the pre-requisites of a revolutionary crisis." Note the implications and reservations! Not the "revolutionary crisis" is growing (at the XI Plenum it was already here!) not even its "pre-requisites", but the "conditions for the growth of the pre-requisites", and even these "conditions" are not yet here but are only being "created". Such diplomatic evasion only characterizes the futile attempt to crawl out of the swamp of the third period phantasies without ever admitting that you have fallen into it! This is the "new turn" strategy in action.

(Continued in the next issue)

Lack of space compels us to postpone to the next issue the concluding installment of "What About the Marine Union" and the next article in the series: "Rationalization and the Workers."

have just cut their interest rates on

thrift deposits. For nine consecutive weeks prices have been falling in a new downward course. The failure of the London Wheat Conference and the Geneva Conference to achieve an improvement in international relations has been reflected sharply on the Paris-Berlin-London stock markets.