

Comintern Hears Dunne, Zetkin

OUTLINES TASK CONFRONTING U. S. MOVEMENT

Revolutionary Hope in Industrial Workers

Eleventh Session.

(Special to the Daily Worker.)

MOSCOW, June 24.—(By Mail).—

At the afternoon session Comrade Thalman took the chair and called upon Comrade William F. Dunne, (America).

Comrade Dunne said that in his report Comrade Zinoviev has dealt mildly with the American party not because that party had not made mistakes, but because these had been corrected. The mistakes which had been made were due largely to the composition of the party and to the difficult nature of the American population. There has never been a mass revolutionary party in the United States, and all attempts to form one, hitherto, had failed.

Socialists Gone.

The American Party had from its very beginning met with the open hostility of the American bourgeoisie; and it had been able to operate in the open only since 1922. The American Party was not faced with the necessity, as were the European parties, of splitting the masses from social democratic leadership.

The American Socialist Party had been dispersed, with the exception of a handful who were now in the Gompers camp. There was no revolutionary party except the Communist Party of America. They were confronted with no dangers in the formation of the united front with lower strata of the petty-bourgeoisie and with trade union leaders. The American Party met with no competition in its campaign for the leadership of the masses.

Its object in carrying on the manoeuvres for the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party was to drive a wedge between the exploited farmers and workers and the capitalist parties. There were some differences within the party as to the basis for the Farmer-Labor movement. Some wished to base it upon the industrial workers, but the minority tended to over-emphasize the importance of the agricultural workers. In this connection Comrade Pepper's claim to represent the Left was not correct. To wish to make the agricultural worker the basis of the movement as against the industrial proletariat was not a Left basis.

Unemployment Crisis.

America was faced with a coming economic crisis, with a great increase in unemployment, the closing of fac-

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Campaign Manager Hails the Big Battle Ahead

By JOSEPH MANLEY

Campaign Manager, Workers Party.

It will be a rare pleasure to manage this campaign, headed as it is by two such American modern revolutionists as William Z. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow. Foster, so well known to millions of industrial workers in the steel, packing and railroad industries; Gitlow, the revolutionary garment worker from New York's East Side, and famous throuth the entire Eastern industrial section because of his militant fight against the unjust system that sentenced him to its prisons.

Foster will bring to this campaign the results of long years of struggle as an active revolutionist and organizer of the working masses; and in addition the results of two trips to Soviet Russia—the last one just recently completed. From the knowledge gained on this last trip to Russia, he can very well draw the proper comparison between their Soviets and our Teapot Domes. And the virile speeches of Ben Gitlow—which earned for him the revolutionary sobriquet of "the Red Ruby"—will ring thru the land during his coast-to-coast speaking tour.

Foster, Gitlow Against Field

It will be Foster and Gitlow, with the comparatively slender financial resources but unlimited revolutionary fervor of our Party—the Workers Party—against the millions of dollars at the disposal of the republican and democratic parties and the "not-yet" party of LaFollette.

To those who love a good fight, it is worth while to live in this great year of Teapot Dome, of national elections—and of steadily growing unemployment.

Our Party will throw itself into the coming political struggle with unbounded enthusiasm, for this will mark a historic epoch in the Ameri-

can class struggle.

For the first time in American history, a Communist Party will participate in the national elections. It will in truth be the beginning of the end for American capitalism—the imperialistic would-be enslaver of the world's workers.

And the campaign committees will bear the brunt of the battle. They will have to help secure petitions, sell and distribute special campaign literature, and especially they will have the duty of helping to organize campaign meetings. These meetings must be regarded as the most important that have ever been held in America. The workers during election struggles can be reached as at no other time, and extraordinary efforts must be made to fill the meetings with workers who are becoming more and more receptive to the message which this campaign is to convey.

Machinery of Workers Party

"The headquarters of the Campaign Manager is, of course, located in the national office of the Workers Party. And every effort will be made to rally the entire machinery and full support of the Workers Party organization for the work of this campaign. Printed bulletins, pamphlets and leaflets will be distributed broadcast thruout the country. And a corps of speakers and organizers will lend their services during the campaign.

All of which will have the effect of stimulating the entire Workers Party organization, and will perhaps add thousands to its present ranks. So that at the conclusion of this campaign, the Workers Party of America will have become an even greater factor in American political life and in the every-day struggles of the working class.

BRITISH OIL IMPERIALISTS BUYING BOKHARAN COUNTER-REVOLUTIONISTS!

MOSCOW, July 20.—The Rosta correspondent at Tashkent (Russian Turkestan) learns that, profiting by the very difficult position of the Afghan Emir, the Britishers have become very active in preparing a counter-revolutionary invasion of Bokhara. The Emir of Bokhara has lately received large sums of money from them. This has enabled him to support a considerable number of prominent counter-revolutionaries who have come to Cabul and are now, under British auspices, concentrating at Hanabad.

The Emir of Bokhara is said to urge an immediate invasion of that country, stressing that the Soviet power is getting ever and ever stronger there. As for the Emir of Afghanistan, the British authorities, while bringing strong pressure to bear upon him, are trying to allure him by promising territorial compensations at Bokhara's cost.

These authorities are supported in their activities by the Anglo-Indian press, which purposely spreads incorrect information about would-be insurrections in Turkestan and Bokhara.

Dunne and Zetkin Address 5th Communist Congress

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tories and general industrial paralysis. Comrade Dunne vigorously denied Comrade Varga's statement that Comrade Pepper was the only representative of the American Party who foresaw the coming crisis. The party had foreseen it but believed that the crisis would not come as quickly as was estimated by Comrade Pepper. They were now fully prepared to meet the coming crisis but believed that the rapidity of its arrival was overestimated.

The St. Paul conference did not result in the formation of a mass party, but in the gathering together of various elements including groups of bankrupt farmers. Until the industrial masses were drawn into the party, it would possess no basis as a real mass revolutionary party. But at present the American working class was too well employed, well paid, fed and clothed to be in a revolutionary state of mind.

Turning to the problem of American imperialism, Comrade Dunne pointed out that Latin America, which contains a population of 110,000,000 Spanish-speaking peoples, had largely replaced the lost German markets as far as the United States was concerned. The population of South America was on the whole hostile to American imperialism, and it was the task of the American Party to organize these workers to resist the American imperialist class.

Emphasizes Negro Issue.

The American trade union bureaucracy, controlling four millions of workers, was the world's most reactionary trade union leadership. It was the first line defender of capitalism and fought for American imperialism. The principal task of the American Party was to embrace and lead the whole 20 millions of America's industrial proletariat. It was a clean-cut fight between the Communists and all sections of the bourgeoisie. Then ten to twelve million Negroes, the most bitterly exploited race in America, were led by people whose function it was to keep them servile henchmen of the bourgeoisie. They were being driven into industry to compete with the white workers. They constituted a serious problem, coupled with which was the influx into the industry of two million farmers, driven off the land by bankruptcy. The agricultural group was of decreasing importance as an economic and political factor, and the American Party must not base its tactics of the united front on the farm proletariat. The American Party was now becoming a mass party and was united behind its present leadership. Its experience in the past two years had brought it knowledge and ability to deal with the complicated American economic struggle.

Need Organization in England.

Comrade Dunne then referred to the criticisms of the British Party, which, he observed, the British comrades seemed to resent. When Comrade Zinoviev had said that in England there was a tradition of small parties, the British delegates had seemed pleased. It seemed as if they thought that, if they had been a big party, they would have been out of tune with the traditional development and would have been wrong. The British Party needed an intensive organizational campaign linked up with the political work of the party. It would not gain the membership it needed by diffused propaganda and abstract Communism. He believed that applications for membership were much better than a great many abstract speeches.

Clara Zetkin Speaks

The next speaker was Comrade Clara Zetkin who was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers.

Comrade Zetkin: If we are now engaged in weighing and reviewing the road already traversed, it is because we wish to outline the path for the next courageous advance, for we are all united in the conviction and the desire that we must speed the courses of the revolution. In this respect the central points are the October retreat of the German Communist Party and the tactics of the united front, two subjects of international importance. We have listened to the statement of the majority representatives of the German Communist Party about the October defeat and its causes. We were entertained to a grotesque misrepresentation of the past, and to a heavenly glorification of the present. It was asserted that the October defeat was the inevitable outcome of the petty bourgeois, opportunistic policy pursued by the Communist Party since 1921, which was calculated to liquidate the role of the Communist Party as an independent and leading revolutionary class party of the proletariat, and thus to deprive it of its right to exist. There are several facts which give the lie to this assertion. We are told here about Brandlerism and Radekism, regardless of the fact that until quite recently Radek was one of the most ardent champions of the left wing. Brandler, who is reproached with having pursued his policy quite consciously and systematically since 1921, did

not get back to Berlin until the autumn of 1922.

Brandler in Saxony.

Yet another fact should be pointed out: the policy of the former Central Committee was endorsed by the Executive until the October defeat. Therefore, if the German Party is indeed guilty of any sin, the Executive is equally guilty, because it has acted with utmost vigor against the opportunist policy. It was asserted that Comrade Brandler had deliberately chosen Saxony as the battle ground for the application of the united front which was to culminate in the "workers' government," for the reason that the Communist masses in that country were already contained with opportunism.

The fact of the matter is that Comrade Brandler did attach supreme importance to the development of the situation in Saxony, yet it was not because he considered the Communist masses contaminated with social-democracy, but rather because he erroneously imagined the social democratic masses to be so impregnated with our influence that they would join us in the fight.

Foiled Fascist Coup.

There was yet another important reason for choosing Saxony as the battle ground. It was the talk of the town that the fascists in Berlin were going to restore the monarchy on the 9th of November. The only way to frustrate this plan was to retard the fascist march from the South, in Saxony and Thuringia. If the events in Saxony did not bring about the proletarian revolution, they have at least contributed to the fact that the fascist attempt on the 9th of November resulted in nothing else but the Hitler farce at Munich.

The majority representatives seem to share the view of Comrade Zinoviev that the October retreat was due to a wrong application of the tactics of workers' government. To my mind the October defeat was due to a number of causes, which should prompt us to criticize severely the attitude of the party prior to October.

Revolutionary Situation.

Thanks to the occupation of the Ruhr, the situation was doubtlessly extremely revolutionary from an objective point of view, and it already began to grow even subjectively revolutionary. All of a sudden, so to speak, hundreds of hot springs bubbled forth from the ground that was rent by an outburst of volcanic forces. It was the task of the party to merge these waters into one strong stream and to set to this stream its course and its goal. In other words, the fight was to be waged for the conquest of power.

Blames Leadership.

This did not happen. The party did not take timely cognizance of the revolutionary situation, nor did it take advantage of the situation with sufficient consistency and vigor. And by far the larger part of the blame rests upon the leadership of the German Communist Party, because it should have led the way instead of waiting to be driven into activity by the masses. It was the duty of the party to lead up to the common every day demands of the proletariat to the demand for the conquest of power, and to challenge a civil war, not abstractly, but utilizing and intensifying the movement for the ameliorating of the misery of the people. The party failed to utilize all the opportunities for action in parliament, in the communal councils, at public meetings and demonstrations, so as to transform every cry for bread, clothing, or education into the cry: down with the capitalist dictatorship! The party failed to concentrate and to permeate the factory councils and to organize into points of support for mass action. Neither did

Ignored Partial Fights.

it infuse the breath of life into the militant organs of the united front, by making the proletarian hundreds active and by giving them a definite aim, to serve as the defense corps of the workers in their daily struggles.

How are these mistakes to be explained? The party was convinced that the fight for the conquest of power would be inaugurated by an extreme effort, in which all the forces would pull and work together. It considered the partial fights and the partial demands merely as the premature dissipation of the energy of the masses. It did not consider the fight for partial demands as a means of recruiting, mobilizing and educating the proletariat for the mass fight for power. This wrong view is indeed a fatal social-democratic legacy. When the party at last saw the full meaning of the revolutionary situation, it made a belated effort to rally the mass organizations and to equip them militarily and technically for the armed rising.

Must Educate Masses.

Of course, military and organizational preparation are both necessary things. But they alone do not suffice. They must go hand in hand with tireless and consistent education of the masses to the necessity and inevitability of the armed fight. It was Napoleon who said that 80 per cent of the guarantees of victory are of a moral nature. This is twice, ten-fold, true of civil war. On the outbreak of the revolutionary fight, the masses will have to take into consideration the military and technical preparedness of the counter-revolution. The deficiency

must be made good by moral factors: political insight, militant courage, self sacrifice, etc. The military and technical preparations will partly be effected in the actual course of the struggle.

Necessity for Armed Fight.

The most essential postulate for the start of the fight is for everyone to be convinced that the fight must be fought, and that he must take part in it. This conviction begets the desire to find one's own weapons, and it is quite possible that this desire will render every stick in the house, every hammer in the factory, and even every bare fist, a mighty weapon wherewith to fight the enemy. The party has done little or nothing to imbue the large masses with the desire and consciousness of the necessity of the armed fight. By its policies and political activities it failed to get into innermost touch with the masses that are to be engaged in the fight, neither in the whole of Germany nor even in Saxony, where the fight was to flare up.

Huge Mistake.

Under these circumstances the common "workers' government" of Communists and social-democrats was indeed a huge mistake. The only sense in a workers' government was if it would be formed as the crowning effect of a tremendous mass movement, backed by the political organs of proletarian power outside of parliament, by the workers' councils and by their congress, and above all, by an armed working class. The very reverse was done. The workers' government was to be the starting point of a mass movement, and of the arming of the proletariat. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that some mistakes should be committed in the application of the tactics of the United Front. And so it happened. The feverish hunt for arms had the effect of frustrating the very revolutionary policy which was to arouse and to rally the masses, and to get them to use the weapons in the fight. The net result was: no weapons and no men.

Masses Not Prepared.

Brandler had to admit subsequently at the Chemnitz Conference that the Communist Party was fighting while the masses were not ready to fight. And it was this sad state of affairs that urged him to refrain from appealing for a fight. It was asserted here that the retreat did not express the revolutionary sentiment which existed among the masses. Nothing of the kind. Of course, the party, the leadership as well as the membership, was inspired by a strong and honest desire to fight. Nevertheless, the bare fact was that the masses were not prepared to fight, because the party failed to make proper use of the spontaneous revolutionary outburst of the masses; it was allowed to flicker out uselessly.

The Cuno Strike.

The same thing happened at the time of the Cuno strike. The Cuno strike was certainly an abortive attempt to lend political color to the movement of the masses, but it revealed also the great lack of political maturity for the revolt, for the capture of power. Not otherwise was it possible, for the masses allowed themselves to be lulled by the social-democratic bourgeois hotch-potch of the Stresemann-Solmann Hilferding government? Then came the Emergency Powers Act, the dispatching of Reichswehr troops to Saxony, the persecution of the Communist Party, and the fascist dictatorship. Yet the masses remained dumb. No message came from the masses to indicate their revolutionary readiness and willingness to fight.

The Hamburg Battle.

But you will tell me, comrades: What about Hamburg? Well, Hamburg is a very strong argument in support of my view. All the sincere admiration which I felt for the couple of hundred brave souls who fought like lions at Hamburg could not make me oblivious of the mortifying fact that these fights were not accompanied by any action of solidarity either from the ranks of our party or from the ranks of the proletariat at Hamburg. A few hundred were allowed to fight unaided. (Thalmann: "Because they had no arms.") I am aware of that, Comrade Thalmann, but what the devil become of the resolve to requisition arms by force? Under those circumstances not only the party members but the whole of the Hamburg proletariat should have been inspired by the call to arms that was once made by Herve:

Tear the crosses out of the ground, Turn the crosses into swords!

I noticed no resolve of this kind. And where was this spontaneous action of solidarity, even in one industrial district of Germany? The militant revolutionary resolve of the party proved an illusion.

All these facts lead me to the conclusion: The party has not yet consolidated its forces and its activity to rally the masses to action by our propaganda and education, to unchain the activity of the masses, and to get the masses into the conquest of power. No doubt the October defeat was partly to blame for this, as well as the economic situation, the exodus from the trade unions (for which, by the way, the party is partly to blame), the wholesale victimization of comrades, and so on. But there were doubtless some other causes too. For instance the inadequate organiza-

tional shaping of the party and its insufficient theoretical schooling, and the faltering, vacillating policy of the Central Committee, which has manifested itself particularly in its attitude upon the trade union question. I will recall only the hesitant attitude of the party leadership towards the workers' congress, the weak action for gaining admission into the trade unions and for capturing them.

Must Face Our Errors.

Comrades, I regard it as essential that you should be quite clear as to what errors and weaknesses are to be overcome so that the party may become really consolidated and in the highest degree capable of action. The party will never overcome these errors if you declare that every successful action is due solely to your own work and that every weakness is a heritage of the old Central Committee. If you do so you will be saying in one and the same breath that you are both impotent and almighty. Greater tasks are facing our party than ever before. We must be prepared for them.

Arming for the Struggle.

It is very possible that the world situation will very rapidly become acute. An acute situation may arise with extreme rapidity in Germany, since the reparations agreement and the basis of the Experts' Report is working in this direction. We must exert greater energies than ever in order to win over the masses and to fling them into the fight under our leadership. The party has begun to arm for the forthcoming struggles by its agreement with the Communist parties of the neighboring countries. I welcome this feature.

But we must not forget in our international mobilization that imperialism must be defeated by the proletariat in their own country. Therefore the proletarian masses in Germany must be mobilized. I have so far heard nothing of the concrete slogans and measures that this necessitates. Moreover the proletariat must find allies in order to overthrow the domination of the capitalist class. What is our attitude towards the national question, the peasant question, and towards the question of the petty-bourgeoisie? Where are the practical concrete deductions from our policy?

The United Front, How?

The present situation lends increased importance to our attitude towards the proletarian united front. It is certainly one of the most important duties of the World Congress to reach complete clarity on the subject of the united front, a tactic the culminating point of which is the workers' and peasants' government. Neither the report of Comrade Zinoviev nor the discussions have dealt with sufficient clarity with the question as to how the united front is to be concretely carried into effect. Comrade Zinoviev spoke in the manner of a Bible or biblical commentary how the resolution of the Fourth Congress is to be understood. I frankly declare that it has not been explained how the united front is to be put into effect.

"Have Done With Words."

On this subject I hold with Luther: "Have done with words." The resolutions of the World Congress must be regarded as authoritative without explanations or comments. When they no longer suffice, they must be changed. We need unambiguous texts. If we permit explanations written by Zinoviev independently, or by Zinoviev misled by Radek, and are content with his opinion as how resolutions are to be understood, then we must recognize the right of other comrades to interpret in their own way the resolutions of the world congress. This must not be, in spite of our great respect for the chairman of the Communist International. It will lead in practice to the breakdown of unity, the breakdown of party discipline.

Union for Life and Death.

We must clearly understand that the united front must be a union for life or death of all proletarians who are rebels against the capitalist profit-system and the bourgeois state, a firm revolutionary fighting brotherhood under the leadership of the Communist Party. Two preliminary conditions are necessary for such a united front. Firstly, that the Communist Party must be a firmly consolidated, disciplined, centralized unit with unshakable principles and convictions. It must never conceal its true character. In its actions it must never allow itself to be bound by considerations of other parties. It must always act with extreme firmness and independence as the revolutionary leader of the masses. The second condition for the united front is that we must be capable of improving our contact with the masses and their daily struggles for the daily needs of the proletariat and the producers in general.

I cannot accept the statement of Comrade Zinoviev on the question of the workers' and peasants' government to the effect that the workers' and peasants' government was only a pseudonym, a synonym, or some other "nym" for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Not by Parliament.

The Labour Government can come only as the expression of a revolutionary mass movement. This is also true even if a parliament is its god-mother. The workers will expect that it should conduct a revolutionary labour policy. This is impossible without dictatorial attacks of the most

severe character upon capitalist economy and private property. It is therefore obvious that a Labour Government can never maintain itself by the strength of Parliament. It must base itself on the support of the organs of power of the revolutionary workers outside parliament; the soviet congress and the arming of the proletariat. The period of real revolutionary workers' governments cannot last long as Comrade Treint said: the workers' government is dictatorship in process of formation. In many countries of western Europe, the fight for the possession of power will immediately develop into the fight for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. In other countries it will perhaps have to pass thru the workers' government stage.

Pacifist-Democratic.

I do not think that the pacifist-democratic wave, regarding the importance of which the opportunists are so eloquent, is very powerful or can last very long. Basing myself on this conviction, I am of the opinion that every spark of power the proletariat can win must be exploited to the full. The world domination of the bourgeoisie has been shattered to its depths. It no longer maintains itself by the strength of its legal and illegal instruments of power but by the opportunist, reformist contamination of the workers. The ideas of the Social Democrats cripple and deaden the faith of the workers in their own revolutionary strength and degrades them to body-guards of the bourgeoisie. Therefore the Communist International must regard it as its first duty to root out every trace of reformist-opportunist tendencies. We must also be perfectly clear that such tendencies are not merely an inheritance of the past, but that they continually arise out of the present situations. They are based on the desire of unenlightened workers to escape from the hell of poverty as quickly and as "cheaply" as possible. On the other hand, the same situation, the hesitating progress of the revolution, gives rise to another danger, a danger from the Left. It is the danger of the point of view which leads to Putschism; in other words, the conviction that the party must undertake revolutionary, and decisive action without the masses and for the masses; that mass action can be replaced by party action.

Masses Necessary.

I have noted this point of view running as an undertone to the assertions that the German Communist Party in October should have attacked in the fight for power even though the masses stood passively on one side. It was the concealed cause of the offensive in the March action. Our attitude to the masses must be such that the party should become the planning and leading brain, the organized backbone and the passionate forward-driving heart of the masses; the life of the party must become the life of the masses.

Bolshevik Party!

Masses and party, as active subjective factors of the revolution, belong together. For this purpose the communist parties must become steadily bolshevized. They must become permeated with the attitude and adopt the practice of what in my opinion is the organizational and political superiority of bolshevism. It is the principle that a revolutionary party cannot tolerate merely paying members, that every member must be an active, working, fighting member, fulfilling definite party duties. We must fill every party member, every working man, and every working woman, with the conviction that altho their will and their deeds may be but a drop, nevertheless it may be the drop which will fill the cup of the revolutionary will-to-act to overflowing. If we succeed in working and fighting in this manner, the revolutionary wave will again well-up from the depths of objective forces and to it will unite itself the will of the masses under the leadership of the Communist Party, tense for the fight, driving the wave of revolution forward with irresistible power, so that it swallows up bourgeois society. Let us exert every effort to make the wonderful, proud slogan of the young soviet-pioneers a reality in our party: "Always ready."

Send in that Subscription Today.

"NOES" GAIN AGAINST TRIBUNE'S BROADCAST OF BIG MURDER TRIAL

Indignant "noes" seem to be winning against the Chicago Tribune's battle to broadcast the Loeb-Leopold murder trial, in spite of the efforts of the "patriotic" sheet to win support by enlisting the opinion of the strike-breaking state's attorney, Robert E. Crowe. The vote to date is all for the "noes," many of whom add comments protesting vociferously against the broadcasting proposal.

Workers couldn't listen in to the trial with all its salacious and sordid detail because of their employment, and angry mothers do not want the trial broadcast because of the difficulties of restraining young people's attention.