

semi-monthly organ of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

War Clouds in the East China Provokes Russia

China's seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria, jointly owned by China and the Soviet. Union, and the brutal arrest of Soviet citizens, mark a criminal attempt by the Chinese counter-revolution to provoke a war against the Workers' Republic.

The Soviet Union was the first country in the world to renounce all rights of extra-territoriality Soviets and force them to war.

the logical outcome of the counterrevolutionary preparation of a new defeat.

lution, a source of stregth to labor everywhere, and war. the working class throughout the world must rally to its defense immediately. The workers must be on flected those processes which have lately found their their guard against all possible developments on a larger scale. Up to the present time, there are few signs that the Chinese action is being supported by foreign imperialism. This is not because the imperialists love Russia more and Chiang Kai-Shek less. It is because they fear the establishment of a precedent pers have attacked China. The French, and the Amer- who organized and led them. ican press. led by the New York Times, have ad-

is not standing it in very good stead, as we pointed munists.

Every worker on guard! Now more than ever is trial is such an attempt. the united strength of the working class imperative.

FIRST OF AUGUST!

What will "International Red Day" bring

"Opposition" which is soon to appear.)

"The Western European Bureau of the Comin China and to return all the concessions extorted munist International" has summoned the workers of by carism from the Chinese people — a step taken by the whole world to demonstrate in the streets on the none of the imperialist powers. In 1924, the two coun- First of August. This demonstration has been aptries reached an amicable agreement on the joint pointed as an answer to the bloody repression by the control and administration of the Chinese Eastern German social democrats of the vanguard of the Railway, built by czarist Russia. The movement for Berlin workers. That the historic crime perpetrated Chinese liberation from imperialism has always found on the First of May cannot and will not remain unthe warmest response from the workers and peasants avenged — no revolutionist has any doubt of that. of Russia. Now, taking advantage of Russia's de- The only question is, when and how we can avenge liberate policy of peace, the Chinese government has ourselves on the social democracy and its bourgeois taken this provocative step designed to outrage the boss for the bloody attack upon the May day manifestation of the workers. The method chosen by the The seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway is Comintern is wrong to the bottom. It is the mere

The recent May Day celebration naturally re-

(This document has been prepared and signed expression in the life of the trade unions, in the muniby the editors of the new international Magazine cipal and parlamentary elections, especially in England and Belgium, and in many other more trivial manifestations of the life of the working class. The political stabilization of the bourgeoisie during the last six years has found its chief support in the policy of the Comintern, which has guaranteed the defeat of the proletariat in Germany, China, England, Poland, Bulgaria, a weakening of its position in the U. S. S. R., a consistent desintegration of the Comintern and a reviving of the social democracy. The political stabilization of the bourgeoisie has been the necessary premise of its economic stabilization which in turn has weakened the possibility of direct revolutionary activity.

COMINTERN POLICY IN ENGLAND

In its more concentrated form this whole situation has recently come before us in England, where course pursued by Chiang Kai-Shek and the other The May Day demonstration is a traditional de- only three years ago the proletariat passed through leaders of the Kuo Min Tang. The Russian masses monstration of the proletariat appointed once and its revolutionary general strike. In a county where must now pay for the menshevik policy applied in for all to take place upon a definite day of the year capitalism is suffering a gigantic crisis of decline, the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 by the Stalin- independently of the course of the international and where all the leaders of the workers' organiza-Bucharin controlled Executive of the Comintern and national life of the proletariat. But the whole tions have succeeded in disgracing themselves with which served as a brake on the revolutionary move- history of the May Day celebration shows that it nev- an unheard of betrayal, the Comunist Party has rement of the workers and peasants, chained them and er hung suspended above the real course of the vealed itself at the polls as totally insignificant in the Communist Party to the chariot of the bourgeois worker's movement, but was wholly determined by size. For quite a number of years the Comintern and Kuo Min Tang, and facilitated the victory of Stalin's this movement and subordinate to it. In parties car- the Red International of Labor Unions have been allies, the counter-revolutionary generals of Chiang rying on a peaceful reformist work it was transform- announcing to the whole world that in the move-Kai-Shek's stripe. The result of this policy — the ed from the beginning into a peaceful manifestation ment of the revolutionary minority of the trade setting back of the Chinese revolutionary movement and had lost before the war all its revolutionary unions there are about a million workers who follow for years, and the triumph of reaction — has made feature. In countries where an energetic struggle was the Communist banner. The unemployed together it possible for Chiang Kai-Shek to proceed against in progress for the universal franchise, the May with the grown members of families would give us at the Soviets with such brazen cynicism without en- Day celebration was transformed into a constituent least over two million voters. The miners, who have countering substantial resistance by the Chinese mas- part of this struggle. In Russia the May Day cele- just come through an immense strike and are compelbration was identified with the revolutionary strug- led to work under worsened conditions, would give all This resistance must be made to China's progle against Czarism and from 1905 on changed with most as many. Out of this three or four million it vocation by the workers of the entire world. The So- all its changes: from stormy attack to complete qui- would seem as if at least a decent share ought to have viet Union remains the fortress of the world revoesence. We saw the same thing in Germany after the
fallen to the lot of the Communist Party. And what happened? Nominating 27 candidates in the districts

CONTINUED ON PAGE SEVEN.

Gastonia in Danger

that the present Chinese rulers would use against the becomes increasingly clear that the southern Bour- Government has been to deny the right of asylum concessions and extra-territoriality rights that Eng- bons are determined to go through with their plans to L. D. Trotsky, the exiled organizer of the Russian land, France, Japan and others took from China by to "legally" murder the 15 strike leaders who have Revolution and the Red Army. Definite announcestriving against each other for Russia's trade. Credits been indicted in Gastonia, North Carolina, for the ment of this decision was made in the House of Comfrom Germany, coming recognition from England major crime of arousing the serfs of the textile barmons on July 11th according to a dispatch printed and the United States and similar signs, are all indions to struggle. The judicial henchmen of the southing the New York Times. The MacDonald Governcative of this. That explains the peculiar "neutrality" ern lords want to execute at least some of the 15 or Soviet "friendliness" of the world imperialist workers who defended themselves against the press. The Japanese press has condemned the action murderous raid of the local fascists. By this punish- that it intends to do nothing harmful to the capitaof the Chinese, because they fear similar action ment they intend to make an example of those work- list system of exploitation, list no time in buttresagainst their properties in Manchuria. The Daily ers who dared to challenge the might of their bosses, sing the promises with a concrete and significant Worker reports that the most influential German pa- and particularly of the "Bolsheviks from the North" deed.

The southern reactionaries rightly see in the opted a "neutral" or "favorable" attitude. The lead- Communists the most militant fighters against ex-Peiping and Tientsin Times, regards the action as "a that in the recent battles on the textile front in the ing organ of the British imperialism in China, the ploitation, their most dangerous foes. They know flagant violation of a solemn international agree- South, the Communists have done more to arouse a sion of Trotsky illustrates again what these footmen ment" and warns China against attempts at war. spirit of resistance and independence among the vio- of Imperialism mean by "democracy." In their sub-And both Secretary of State Stimson and the lently suppressed southern workers than have the years servience to the capitalist masters they cast aside the French foreign minister. Briand, are calling attention of do-nothing "organization work" carried on by the traditional right of asylum which England once gave to both parties that they are joint signatories to the American Federation of Labor payroll boys. That is to Marx and Mazzini. Kellogg Pact! Russia's signature of the Kellogg Pact, why the lynching spirit aimed to cow the southern that smoke-screen for imperialist war preparation, textile workers is aimed most directly at the Com-

but if the possibility is given them, they want the capitalist class succeeds in damning this reservoir something." complete overthrow of the proletarian dictaorship and directing its flow into the channel of scabbery, the whole labor movement will suffer. The Gastonia

Now more than ever must there be the unity and where must rally swiftly to the defense of Gastonia What is needed now is an editorial from the New That is why the American working class every-Now more than ever must there be the unity and where must rang swindy to the detends of Russia's revolutionary forces against. It must march to its aid now, and not when it is too Leader, explaining how the parting of Trotsky from the reactionary elements inside and outside the Soviet late. It cannot remain indifferent to the fate of its late. It cannot remain indifferent to the fate of its England proves the superiority of bourgeois democra-Union. Now more than ever is the return of the class brothers without endangering its own fate. It expelled and exiled Bolshevik-Leninists necessary for the Communist Party. Now more than ever is it for the Communist Party. Now more than ever is it have shown the mortal blow that divided and sectarhave shown the mortal blow that divided and sectaranimous and harmonious agreement of all parties,

England Bars Trotsky

As the day of the trial, July 29, approaches, it One of the first acts of the new British Labor

MacDonald never tired of condemning the Pro-

The real masters of the British Empire are well pleased with this act of their "Labor" Minister. The 1922 raid of the Communists in Bridgemann "Tories cheer Labor Minister's announcement in Com-In spite of all this, the workers must bear in was carried out by the reaction in order to strike a mons" says the New York Times. And why should nt mind the possibility of a highly dangerous situation blow against the whole labor movement, against the they cheer? The class conscious capitalists clearly developing. The fundamental antagonism between the fighting spirit of the steel, railroad, mine and textile understand what Trotsky represents. The Times edi-Soviet Union and world imperialism remains. workers. In the same sense, the lynching of the 15 torial says: "Foreign Secretary Henderson definitely Should the Chinese counter-revolutionists and the strike militants-Communists and non-Party fighters stated that before diplomatic relations with Soviet Russian White guards proceed to large-scale military is being planned to intimidate the rising labor Russia are resumed definite pleages will be required attack, necessitating the withdrawal of Russian movement in the South which has broken out in three that no Communist agitation in England is to be enforces from the Western frontier, the Baltic tools seperate places in as many months: Gastonia, Eliza- couraged or permitted by the Moscow authorities. of European imperialism, led by Pilsudski, may use bethton and New Orleans. The south is a huge re- That is asking a good deal. If they give so much the opportunity for a counter-revolutionary assault servoir of strength and fighting capacity for the they will expect something in vertical. The exclusion from the west. The imperialists want Russian trade, whole labor movement of the United States. If the of Trotsky from a refuge on British soil would be

The Times, which interprets the big capitalist point of view unerringly, remarks: in all this Russian affair, as in others, Frime Jamister MacDonald necessary to recall L. D. Trotsky to his rightful place as leader of the invincible Red Army.

Long live victory of the Russian proletariat!

Down with the red-handed assassins of the have shown the mortal blow that divided and sectarian action has delivered in similar instances. In the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the Boston Committee of socialists and anarchists attempted to monopolize the blow at the counter-revolution. These editorials are CONTINUED ON PACE FIGHT PAST due.

The End of the Cloakmakers Strike

ly an expression of the fact that they are beginning not the case. to recover from the disorganization, indifference ation channels and failed of its object.

Garment Workers Union was brought to a shameful and strengthened the latter. conclusion by the Right wing union leaders. With the exception of the "closed shop," not a single one of the important demands announced at the beginthe present strike and settlement.'

Here are the results of the first skirmish in tail end. the new period of rise of the Right wing leadership in the ladies garment industry:

wage raise.

advisable!

FACTS ABOUT THE SETTLEMENT

granted to the bosses in the new agreement. What is ond Congress of the R. I. L. U. even worse than this is the right granted to the bosses by the union to discharge any worker — except of a strike by the Right wing, should have made ing an undetachable segment of the needle trades for reasons of "union activity" — subject to appeal to the "impartial" commission. The Right is trumpet- of the workers' front against the bosses, guarding defeat the Right. The militant tradition of the working this point as a victory for the workers, when in at the same time its own independence and its right ers and the unsavory record of the Right are a guareality it is aimed directly at the workers, and at the of criticism and agitation. Proposals for unity could rantee of the victory. The word lies with the Left militant. class conscious workers in particular. "Uni- have been made even to the Right wing leaders, yes, wing workers. — M. S. on activity" under the regime of the Schlesingers, as the workers have learned to know, is limited to activity against the opponents of the bureaucracy. The discharge right is aimed at those workers in the shop who fight for the rights and interests of the cloakmakers, who dare to tell the boss where to get off at, and above all, at those workers who dare to express any criticism of the leading clique of the union and its misdeeds. The discharge right signifies joint control by the bosses and the union bureaucrats over the job of the workers who can henceforth open his mouth only at the risk of having to look for work elsewhere. It is the old game played by by Hillman and Co. against the Left wing tailor, and by Schlesinger, Sigman and Co. when they were at the helm in the past. Many have been the workers after such a "victory" as this.

To cap the betrayal of the workers by Schlessinger is the unconcealed spirit of class collaboration that characterized the course of the strike and that is now fastened on to the backs of the cloakmakers through the settlement. The entry of the Lieutenant-Governor Lehmann and Mayor Walker, two of the best wheel-horses of Tammany Hall, into the strike tions that would be good only for a party convention brought to a fist fight. Thus the meeting was brokas "arbiters" of the dispute was gleefully hailed by and not for a non-partisan fraternal organization en up and adjourned. these "socialist" leaders who have long ago dumped whose membership is composed of left wingers, nathe class struggle from their train as excess baggage. tionalists, small business men and workers who don't a hall downstairs. The Freiheit manager shouted. The workers were asked to offer up thanks to these belong or sympathize with any political party. Tammany Hall standpatters as the saviors and patrons of the oppressed. Furthermore, the settlement Convention a revolt began in the I. W. C. The first who were in the hall did not agree with the hooligan calls for the establishment of a permanent "impartial revolt started in Boson and a meeting of more than methods of the steering committee. By these methods arbitration" commission to which all disputes will three hundred people was held Wednesday, June 26, the Party is being discredited among the sincere symbe refered. The "impartial" chairman who will sa- in the American House with Mr. Oripow as chairman. pathizers in the left wing and the right wing reactioncrifice himself to this work at the miserable salary The chairman began his speech with the following aries gain ground in the Jewish labor movement. of \$25,000 a year is Mr. Raymond Ingersoll, another words: "Last Monday's Freiheit editorial and today's Tammany hack.

ORGANIZING THE BOSSES

all independent bosses to join the bosses' associations. am working in a shoe factory today. I gave away my That is, the union of the workers is supposed to become the agent, the organizer for the unions of the bosses. The workers are to become the instruments a sympathizer with the left wing movement. When Published twice a month by the Communist League for forging a solid, united front of the bosses so that they may the better be able to break the unity of the ation to the I. W. C. I made a motion to the National workers. Schlesinger in the role of a procurer for Executive to support the Freiheit with \$300. That the manufacturers' Industrial Council — that is a will show that the slander of the Freiheit is not true." living portrait of the "socialist" trade union leader

A few telegrams and letters were read to the mass in his prime.

There is not the faintest excuse for this treachery to the workers. At least 20,000 workers — the branch in the organization, Number 15, which is also decisive majority — responded to the call of the considered to be a left wing branch, pledged its sup-Right wing union. A few thousand others went down port to the new revolt for a free platform and nonin reply to the call of the Left wing Industrial Union. The Right wing was in the position to hold out

The New York cloakmakers' strike was primari- industry will convince the veriest child that this is

and defeat and aspiring to reconstitute their organi- their betrayal with such comparative ease? The ing outside of either. There were numerus other zation and reestablish the union conditions which explanation is not entirely with the answer that they weapons at the command of the Left for the organiwere wrested from them. Due to the combined were in a shameless united front with the machinery zation of the unity of the workers, but they chose strength of the bosses and the Right wing leaders of the capitalist state (Tammany Hall, from Albany none of them. and the state and city authorities who intervened to the City Hall) and the cloak bosses. That was unactively, and thanks to the great errors of the Left doubtedly a powerful factor. But the other factor it belongs, on the Right wing leaders, instead of wing leadership, this new movement of the workers that contributed mightily to the success of the Right showing the workers clearly where the responsibility was diverted for the time being into class collabor- wing fakers was the enormous errors of the Left lies for the split in the workers' ranks, the course The strike called by the International Ladies because they played into the hands of the Right wing escape from under and to burden the Left with the

ERRORS OF THE LEFT WING

In the first place, the Left wing — and we speak ning of the strike has been achieved in the final set- specifically of the Communist Party which acted tlement between the union and the bosses' associa- through the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union tion. The socialist pillars of the union, Schlesinger- — displayed eminent confusion; where it did have ultra-"Left" course of our American Stalinists, is Dubinsky, Ninfo and Co., have not shown improve- a policy it was the wrong one. The Left wing showed ment over their treacherous record of the past, and no initiative in the struggle. Its position was that if market." Unless it is taken into serious consideration the situation is pretty bad when even the yellow New the Right wing called a strike then the Left wing by the Party and Left wing union leaders, and their York Forward is constrained to admit (July 17, would transform it into a real strike. By this act tactics changed accordingly, the Left wing will be in 1929): "It would be wrong to maintain that the alone they automatically gave the Right wing the a still worse position. The starting point for such a cloakmekers got everything they were entitled to in first word; they surrendered the head of the movement to the Right and left themeselves the role of so far as the cloakmakers are concerned, the Right

The Left wing did not issue the slogan of unity in the struggle, and it was under this slogan that the Right either because of conviction or job com-There is no provision made in the agreement the Left wing gained its big strength among the needle pulsion. Despite every effort of the Right to isolate for an increase in wages for the workers, despite trades workers, reaching its height in 1926-27. Intheir present straitened conditions, and the assur- stead of the slogan and practise of unity, the only ing the closest contact with the workers in the shops. ance of the leaders that the strike would result in a demand of the Left was an appeal to the workers to It must be recognized that in many cases Left wing make it a real strike — by walking down from the workers will have to submit to the necessity of join-There is no provision made in the agreement shops and coming to the Left wing halls. The working the Right wing union in order to be able to work for the establishment of the unemployment insurance ers did not understand this "brilliant" maneuver, side by side with the less advanced workers and mofund, a burning need for the workers. Like the wage this "novel" way of uniting the workers to struggle bilize them in the shop and in the Right wing union increase. the prospect for it is dangled before the against the bosses in a strike. The result was, despite for a renewed struggle for unity and against the class eyes of the workers for some future time when the all the self-deception and exaggeration of the official collaborationist Right wing and their policy of bearbitration commission will deem it necessary and Party press, that the bulk of the workers went to traval. the Right wing halls and not to the Left.

"organize concerted actions of all workers' organ- to come for the actual realization of the aims which There is no definite and unmistakable abolition izations" and "take into consideration that in counthe workers failed to accomplish under the Right of the malevolent piece-work system, and no guaran- tries in which there are several trade union head- wing. The growth of the militancy of the workers and tees are established for wiping it out of the industry. quarters, every action of the workers, particularly the strengthening of their spirit can be safely relied Promises on paper serve as guarantees only for the in the event of the general strike, is threatened with upon. The question of tactics and leadership will great danger, if the trade unions will not fight joint- have a decisive bearing on the results of these com-There is no positive assurance of the institution ly;" that "the revolutionary trade union officials ing struggles. The present failure is not a permanent of the 40-hour week (5-day week) in the industry. should taken upon themselves the initiative to create one. With the help of correct tactics and resolute The infamous "reorganization" right is still the united front," as is correctly stated by the sec- leadership on the part of the Left wing the advance

proposals for joint action to guarantee the solidarity masses will the Left wing make progress and finally

even to the Schlesingers and Dubinskys provided that the Left wing would simultaneously carry on a persistent agitation for such unity below, in the ranks of the workers themselves. The Left wing had a splendid opportunity to agitate for and form joint strike or action committees in the shops, composed Why was the Right wing able to carry through of workers belonging to both unions and those stand-

Instead of placing the stigma of division where wing. These errors must be condemned precisely followed by the Left wing enabled the Right wing to responsibility for divided action. The test of the correctness of the policy lies with the results: the Right is today stronger and the Left weaker than either of them has been for the last 3 or 4 years.

> PREPARE FOR THE FUTURE This ominous fact, the result of the irresponsible common knowledge among the workers in "the wing now has the upper hand. The Left wing must proceed to win back those workers who now follow

The cloak strike movement was only a hesitant What the Left wing should have done was to beginning, a sign and a promise of deeper struggles of the Rights can be pushed back and the present The Left wing, as soon as there was a prospect situation turned into a mere episode. Only by becom-

War in the Indep'nt Workmen's Circle

In the last days of May was held the convention atttacked Soviet Russia and the American Commun-

and the S. P. With the impractical work of the Com- C. "Village" in Russia." munists in the Workmen's Circle they were absolutely defeated. Now the same impractical methods are used speaker, Mr. Wilcon (the first chairman of the I. W. in the I. W. C. Before the convention the W. P. tried C.), "comrade" Marx, manager of the Freiheit, who to organize a few small branches of left wingers with is a member a few months in the I. W. C. and was With a majority of nine votes they adopted resolu- of his sympathizers made so much noise that it was

editorial of the Freiheit attacked me as a right winger and an enemy of the working class. I shall state Worst of all, the union obligates itself to force since I was 16 years old I became a worker and I activity for the working class and I am doing so at the present. I was never a right winger. I always was the Freiheit made the first appeal since its public-

> meeting declaring their support. Especially it should be mentioned that a telegram of the second largest

"We were never afraid to fight against the trio: for the demands of the workers, to gain a far better the Forward the W. C. and the trade union bureausettlement than they did — if they had been interest crats. We are left wingers in the Jewish movement for Entered as second-class mail matter November ed in improving the conditions of the workers! But the last 23 yrs. We have donated \$300 to the Freiheit 28, 1928, at the Post Office at N. Y.

of the Independent Workmen's Circle at Chicago. its as spies and provocators — L. S.) For the The Independent Workmen's Circle is a radical last few years we have done everything for the left and fraternal organization which has been in exist- wing movement. Now the Communist Party came to ence for the last 23 years. It has always been in Chicago after the wonderful work we have done for opposition to the Workmen's Circle because the For- the left wing movement, after we have accepted the ward clique always had the control over the latter left wing workrs, where they were expelled from and would force it to adopt its methods. The best the W. C. as individual members and as branches in Lewis and the operators against the militant miner, part of the I. W. C. was that members of any political our organization. Now the Communist Party came party could join it and preach openly their ideas. The to Chicago and made a pogrom and tried to discredit left wing had a free field for propaganda there. our active members as counter revolutionists, ene-The Workmen's Circle suppressed the left wing mies of Soviet Russia. We were helping to build the who were left breadless or driver out of the industry movement because that was the order of the Forward new needle trade union. We are organizing an I. W.

When the chairman tried to introduce the next

The steering committee had prepared in advance "all the left wingers should go downstairs in the As soon as these resolutions were accepted at the hall." But only a few followed him. The left wingers

> Ex-National Executive Committee. Independent Workmen's Circle.

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The Crisis in the Communist Party

The crisis in the American Communist movement is a part of the crisis in the International which has Stalin Centrism and the mechanical extermination of grace. the Leninist wing.

August 1st, 1929

. The American Party was slow to manifest open reactions to the International crisis, and particularly slow to develop a conscious participation in the world struggle over the basic questions which lie at the bottom of the crisis, but it is catching up now with de- make this absolutely clear. When we speak of the vastating speed. And what we see now is only a beginning. Greater storms are ahead. The life of the movethink and act can play the part of Communist soldiers formulae handled down from above automatic hand raisers, are worse than useless. The cult of "corpse obedience" serves only the bureaucratic destroyers its regeneration.

fraud, an insult to the party and a target for the of the American Opposition Communists. ridicule of its enemies.

changed his character or his actions in the slightest could apply.

THE STALINISTS AND THE RIGHT WING

Why should anyone be surprised if the enemies of Communism laugh and if the party members and sympathetic workers fall away in bewilderment and disgust? When we spoke at the December Plenum of the Central Executive Committee about the growth of the right wing in the Russian Party and the crisis in the Right-Center Bloc, we were accused of scandal mongering and "speculation". Pepper, who made the rebetween Stalin and Bucharin, and Foster nodded apinformed that Lovestone is aligned with the Russian and International right wing and therefore must be expelled.

The Party member who takes official pronunciamentos on faith does not understand this rigamarole and for a good reason. The Right-Center Bloc (Stalin-Rykov-Bucharin) which has ruled the International through the six-year war against "Trotzkyism" has conspired all the time to prevent the Communist workit. Up to the present moment the identity of the leadthe tag ends of the old factions and appointed by instatement of the expelled Oppositionists with full ers of the right wing (Rykov-Bucharin-Tomsky) has cablegram from above, cannot overcome the crisis and rights to defend their views is the first prerequisite. not been disclosed in the official Party press, although unite the Party. The stop-gap leadership of today only Without this party democracy is a sham. everyone knows it except the "loyal" Party member makes matters worse. It has all the faults of the Lovewho is supposed to know everything. The question of stone regime without any of its strength or independof the Russian Revolution, of the Comintern and, consequently, of our Party is bound up with it. But the reality. "enlightenment campaign" only obscures and muddles the great issue, keeps the membership from underis in charge of the campaign against factionalism. Is

question of the right wing. It was the Bolshevik-Lenin- the cross and become the apostle of unity. ists in the Russian Party — the "Trotskyists" — who Wolfe is removed from the Political Committee and will strengthen and invigorate party life.

The newly appointed leadership of the Party, in "new leadership".

By James P. Cannon

THE OPPOSITION AND THE RIGHT WING

position with the Lovestone faction. A serious dis- a decent job of translating the staements it signs. Lovestone faction in this sense it goes without saying be among its staunchest defenders.

The right wing of the Russian Party, with which and holds back the awakening of the movement and sentative of the class forces in the Soviet Union its position in the class struggle and sharpen the crisis It is necessary first of all to tear aside the curtain also the case when it was in one bloc with Stalin to. Gastonia defense, in the Needle Trades and in other of falsehood, deception and trickery behind which the exterminate the Leninist wing of the Party, and its questions will bring swift and devastating reactions. pitiful subsidized agents of American Stalinism try bloodthirsty campaign against the "Trotskyists" was to conceal the real state of affairs from the party. the clearest expression of its Thermidorian character

pulsion and corrupts by subsidy. Take the case of York Volkszeitung-is the greatest and most danger-Lovestone. For years the Stalin E. C. C. I. supported ous illusion. The right wing, by its very nature, by him in his criminal factionalism; time and time again the class forces of capitalist restoration it represents, Opposition Communists. Stachel, Bedacht & Co. were Centrists who were allied with them onto this path. and collapse. his partners in every perfidious faction manoeuvre, as- The condition for the existence and growth of the Stalinism is breaking up the ranks of International suring the Party that he represented the line of the right wing is the annihilation of the Leninists who Communism, and the American section is now begin-Communist International. With the help of the E. C. C. are fighting for the October revolution and the regening to feel the full force of the International crisis I. and with the help of Stachel, Bedacht and Wein- negation of the Comintern on the line of Lenin. "De- This is the meaning of the crisis in the Party. The stone he gained the support of 90 per cent of the del- mocracy" for the right wing is only an expedient in the Communist forces must reform themselves and build egates at the Party Convention a few months ago. faction struggle with the Centrist Apparatus, not a anew. Help will not come from above; the source of Now, out of a clear sky, without Lovestone having principle of party organization which they would or the disruption lies there. The struggle against disin-

detail, he is expelled from the Party as an opportunist This is true also in America. The Lovestone who volutionary workers must awaken. They must give up and renegade. And Stachel, Bedacht and Weinstone demands party democracy expelled the Opposition blind obedience and begin to think and to act indeconduct a campaign to "enlighten" the party about Communists from the Party for their views alone. pendently. The struggle must cease to be an affair of the matter; explaining, however, that they, like Saul They went further—the Lovestones and Fosters to- the bureaucratic upper crust and become the conof Tarsus, suddenly saw the light and can now be gether - and expelled Communist proletarians for mere- cern of the Communist workers in the mass. The dely protesting against the expulsion of the others. velopment of the initiative of the Party ranks and Party democracy is an absolute prerequisite for the their conscious intervention in the struggle is the hope Party. It will be the mightiest weapon in the hands for the future of the movement. This means, as a beof the proletarian elements for the salvation and re- ginning, a fight for definite aims along the following generation of the movement and for its normal de- lines: velopment on the revolutionary path. But Lovestone is not and cannot be the champion of this slogan.

FAILURE OF NEW LEADERSHIP

this change about a discussion and an education of the cratic measures, will be politically annihilated. Party, a correct line of tactics in the class struggle

2. Genuine party democracy in place of the regime and a bona-fide leadership, freely chosen by the Par- of administrative terror and suppression. A situation ty and standing on its own feet, are necessary. They must be created where nothing is taken for granted

are lacking now. The present make-shift leadership, a conglomeration behind official authority. The members must assert ers from knowing the truth about the conflict within their sins for self-advancement, patched together from out fearing organization measures and threats. The re

Lovestone is out but Stachel remains. And Stachel standing it and thus strengthens the right wing and this not a spectacle for gods and men? Stachel, the or-Lovestone, its uotstanding American representative.

Ganizer and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which, including the functionaries and employed and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which, including the functionaries and employed and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which, including the functionaries and employed and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which, including the functionaries and employed and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which, including the functionaries and employed and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which, including the functionaries and employed and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which, including the functionaries and employed and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which, including the functionaries and employed and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which including the functionaries and employed and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which including the functionaries and employed and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which including the functionaries and employed and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which including the functionaries and employed and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which including the functionaries and the functionaries and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which including the functionaries and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which including the functionaries and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which including the functionaries and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which including the functionaries and right-hand man of Lovestone in every paratus which includes the every paratus which inc The new manoeuvre of Stalin Centrism which evil enterprise of disruption, the most dubious charac- ployees of auxiliaries, now exceeds ten per cent of the brands Lovestone as an opportunist and expels him ter that ever floated to the top in the foul waters of Party membership. These paid officials, remote from from the Party—seven months after he expelled us— party factionalism, an individual with no tradition, excannot change the position of the Communist Opposiperience, ability or integrity, the faction-monger who the party, stifling its normal life and monopolizing tion on any of the principle questions, above all on the lived by factionalism—Stachel has made the sign of party discussion and direction. The drastic reduction

analyzed its social basis and exposed its Thermidorian

Welle is removed from the rollical Committee and Wicks, equally characteriess and with far less ability,

5. Subsidies of all kinds must be absolutely abolished

ation between the Opposition Communists and the porary existence signifies the abolition of a genuine ing out independent life. Opposition to subsidy under Lovestone faction. Weinstone "predicts" such an leading body and the establishment of a receivership these conditions is a fight for the integrity of the Pareventuality in his article in the Daily Worker. These over the Party by the Stalin E. C. C. I. This so-called ty. people who themselves change with every wind and leadership enjoys no confidence in the Party ranks and 6. The Party must have a real Convention, preceded every -')legram from Moscow do not understand a the "loyal" Party members who want salvation by by an bon-

ity this is literally the case. The C. E. C. is only the rubber stamp for the Representative of the E. C. C. I. been maturing over a period of years. The Commu- Lovestone in every infamous practice against loyal who in turn relies on cabled instructions at every nist movement throughout the world is paying, in disintegration and defeat, for the false leadership of in burglary and slander, make this accusation with ill venture to write its own statements; this is obvious from their language. Such expressions as "defeat all efforts of drawing the Party away from the political path of the 6th Congress" and "sending the direction There can be no combination of the Communist Op- to the devil" show that the C. E. C. does not even do

STRENGTHENING THE RIGHT WING

Their method of "fighting" the right wing only that we refer to the leaders only and not to the hon-strengthens it as an ideology in the Party. There is no ment is at stake. Only those who rouse themselves to them with the help of the E. C. C. I. Many of these victories over the right are mechanical and temporary. now and in the days ahead. Theological worshippers of suddenly uprooted by decree.

The political line of the leadership is heading toward Lovestone is unquestionably connected, is the reprewhich are driving the restoration of capitalism. This in the party. The false tactics of counterfeit leftism in fact, now openly proclaimed by the Stalinists, was the preparations for the T. U. E. L. Conference, in the

The leadership which promises to unite the Party The spurious "enlightenment campaign" is such a curThe dissolution of the Communist International would will itself fall apart into factions, in fact it is already tain. It talks of discussion of the issues—and prohibe an inevitable corollary of its victory. For those doing so. The groupings which are taking place around bits it by organization measures and threats. It cruswho want to fight for the preservation of our commuFoster on the one side and Bedacht on the other are ades against factionalism — under the direction of the nist movement, any kind of support for the right common knowledge in the circles of informed funcmost unprincipled and corrupted faction mongers. It faction—to say nothing of a bloc with its American tionaries. These are not purely arbitrary and personal cries about the unity of the party—and plunges the agents—cannot be spoken of lightly; it cannot be groupings, as may appear. They have a political base party headlong into a new split, the second in less than spoken of at all. An absolutely irreconcilable war in the impulse of Foster, whose real trend is toward a year. The "enlightment campaign" is a bare-faced against the right wing is the first and foremost duty labor progressivism, to find a way out of the blind alley of fake leftism on the trade union field and the The idea that the right wing Thermidorian elements wish of Bedacht to "make good" for his confessed sins Contempt for the Communist rank and file is a chain the Russian Party can really espouse "party demoracteristic of Stalinism which rules by apparatus comimpact of the class struggle, and of the blows of the right wing on the one side and the Communist Opposition on the other, the present Central Executive Comit interfered to strengthen his control of the party. had to demand the fiercest and most criminal repres-Foster was his comrade-in-arms in the expulsion of the sion of the Bolshevik-Leninists and to drive the Stalin any real principle foundation, is doomed to defeat

tegration must be organized from below. The re-

THE WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS

1. In place of the fraudulent "enlightenment campaign", a real discussion of the three political ten-The re-unification of the Party and the elimination dencies which are now taking definite shape in the of factionalism are categorical tasks for the accomplish American Party. Such a discussion calls for the pubport against us, denied the existence of any differences ment of which the conscious revolutionaries must band lication of all important documents and a free opportogether and fight. The "Open Address" and the tunity to explain and clarify the conflicting views. proval of the statement. Now the Party, which was measures which followed it have not and cannot solve Only in this way can the Party be educated politically left in ignorance of all the developments, is blandly this problem. Crisis, splits, paralysis and disintegration and enabled to act consciously, solving its problems are the results so far. And the coming period will only without inner convulsions. We stand for such a discusintensify the crisis, widen the splits and increase the sion because we know that in it the Leninist line will demoralization until the course is changed. To bring prevail and the right wing, which thrives on bureau-

and where incompetent bureaucrats can no longer hide

3. A genuine proletarianization of the leadership in the right wing in the Russian Party is indeed a burnence. It confuses the Party by giving the outward apwhich bona-fide workers, leaders in class struggle ing question of the International movement; the fate ence. It confuses the Party by giving the outward appearance of a change from petty bourgeois politician-activities who have independent opinions and the ability to defend them, play an active part in all the leading bodies. This must replace the present system of electing harmless proleterian elements for show pur-

> 4. A reorganization and reduction of the Party apof this staff and the election of fresh worker elements

character. The Opposition alone wages a real struggle takes his place. Gitlow is slated to go but Bedacht, and the Party adjusted to operate by its own means against it in defense of the Prolearian Dictatorship. who by his own confession was steeped in moral and derived from membership dues and contributions. Op-The present sham battle of the Centrists against the political corruption, is promoted. Add a few Amters position to subsidy is no principle. Mutual assistance right wing is carried out only under the whip of the and Tallentires—the numer makes no difference be- of revolutionary parties has played a positive role in cause they weigh nothing-and Foster. This is the the past and no doubt will do so in the future. But in the present situation subsidy has become an instruorder to create confusion, spreads rumors of a combin- The new leadership has no real authority. Its tem- ment for corruption, for bureaucratization and crush-

Karl Radek and the Opposition

During the last few weeks there has been con- ced more and more to color Stalin's zig-zag in order iderable talk in the world press about the "disinte- to justify his own. rration" of the Russian Opposition and comrade - mostly to the Right - and then again to meet name to the collective declaration. with it. Up till 1926 Radek held that it would be imsian Committee. After the Right and Left Kuo Min from its path. Tang had betrayed the revolution. Radek was against the slogan of the proletarian dictatorship and for that of the "democratic" dictatorship, interpreting Constantinople, that the same way Stalin, Bucharin and Martinov May 26, 1929. did. In 1923-4 Radek argued that the theory of the permanent revolution was basically one with the strategic line of Lenin. In 1928 he attempted to build up a complete contradiction in this question between Lenin and Trotsky. He had to repeat, with minor refused to sign the Platform only because it spoke too opinion on these theses. categorically for a single Party. There is nothing unnatural in this combination of ultra-Left conclusions and Right premises. On the contrary, the complished," went over with their light baggage to the camp of the social democrats.

RADEK'S IMPULSIVENESS

stateman. Radek exaggerates and anticipates too to demand the allocation of funds for light as well been hidden from the Party — I have named seven much. He measures with a yardstick where it is on- as for heavy industry. ly a matter of inches. Therefore he almost always

As long as we lived in Moscow, Radek's impulsiveness was often of service to the Opposition. At sufficiently." This is to embellish the reality. With demands do not, of course, exhaust the questions of almost every session he would bring up suggestions our policies we have lost the middle peasant whom the regime, but they are perfectly concrete and for decisive changes in the policy of the Opposition the Kulak has led away, something that is acknow- mark a step forward. — in the whole of it or in this or that question. He ledged by the February article in Pravda. reconciled to it. But under his exaggerated and dan-RADEK'S RIGHT-ABOUT-FACE

and the Thermidor almost a myth. Had we all been eyes to this whole mechanics. in Moscow, Radek would probably have quieted down after his first exaggerations — until a new flare-up. But Radek was in Siberia. He sent letters and theses to a number of comrades. Everyone jumped on him. Yaroslavsky reported Radek's views at meetings, making a mess of it for lack of understanding and

of 1923 by means of ultra-Left violence.

telling light out of malice. Thus Rad' became the *Schwartz is the chairman of the All-Russian Miners

13. Finally Radek's theses say that these

Radek has often been called the leader of the group for about a year and a half. In July of last year Ra- intervention of a number of Party leaders implies that is joining Stalin. The uninformed - and they dek wrote his draft of an appeal to the 6-th Congress. the greatest concern for the fate of the Party and are the majority in the West - may conclude from At that time the exiles were still permitted to cor- the revolution." Is not here meant the latest apthis that Radek has only lately turned from the respond somewhat freely; the Stalinites hoped that pearance of the master's (Stalin) understudy (Moloabout a year and a half. It would be still more cor- onies of the exiles a sort a vote took place on the the administrative organs is useful, while criticism rect to say that comrade Radek's path, beginning two texts of the appeal to the Sixth Congress. Radek of the leadership - harmful? I should say: "If in tion only to turn from it to the Right or to the Left several hundred. In the end Radek also attached his maneuver amounts to 10-20 per cent and the posi-

On July 17, 1928, I subjected the draft of Ratogether with Brandler and his group. Radek was convinced through that, I hope, that in 1929 Radek against the Chinese Communist Party leaving the has added little to his mistakes of 1928. At any rate, Kuo Ming Tang. After the general strike in England, these individual or group zig-zags, even when made Radek was against the dissolution of the Anglo-Rus-

L. D. TROTSKY.

The Theses of Comrade Radek

Three days ago I received the draft of comrade servations, Zinoviev's hackneyed arguments. On the Radek's theses, sent to the eight comrades. These other hand, on the question of the Thermidor and theses have probably already been sent to the Conone hundred percent democratic — (Stalin). Ratwo Parties, Radek went ultra-Left in 1927. He attempted several times to proclaim that the Thermidor was already "accomplished." For a time he re- ture as well, I consider it necessary to express an afraid that the insufficiently proletarian Party would

THE ANTI-KULAK AGITATION

history of the Comintern is replete with such com- ti-Kulak agitation - that is a fact of the greatest of the Party. That is why they have been and are binations. Nor is there anything unnatural in Radek's political significance which it would be complete po- strangling democracy. going over so easily from ultra-Left deductions on litical blindness not to recognize." In these words the the question of the Thermidor and two Parties to polemical spear is pointed in the wrong direction. alone in the awakening of the Party masses. If they the road of unprincipled conciliation with regard to In my oppinion, the following should have been said: do not take into their hands the matter of self-crithe Left-Centrist zig-zag. We have seen also in "Several months of anti-Kulak agitation, if they ticism". . . etc. Again too general. In order that the other contries, particularly in Germany, how easily are not followed by a radical change in the line, masses may actually participate in this matter, it people who have accused the Russian Opposition of will inevitably throw the Party back considerably is necessary that they do not allow the Centrists to "not going far enough," and who have proclaimed and will undermine the last vestiges of confidence lull them to sleep. The Centrists have considerable dozens of times that the Thermidor was already "ac- of the ranks in all slogans and in all campaigns."

- 2. With regard to the capital outlay, Radek says: "Instead of investing the basic capital in a sefor the people. All the more frequent should be the ries of undertakings in the same branch of product- antidote from us. To be sure, none of us means to put Radek on ion which would only show results several years lathe same plane as these weathercocks. Radek has to ter, concentration of funds is necessary in order to his credit a quarter of a century of revolutionary obtain goods with the least possible delay". This ob-Marxist work. Not only is he incapable of going over scure expression is apparently intended to convey Party apparatus; c) proletarianization of the appato the social democrats, but he can hardly become the idea that funds should be transferred from heavy ratus; d) prosecution of those who strangle demoone with the Stalinites. At any rate, he will not be industry to light. This is part of the Right wing's cracy in the factory; e) ridding the Party of bougeois able to live together with them. He is too much of a program. I see no reason why we should enter on and bureaucratic elements. All this is too general Marxist for that, and, above all, too international. that road. If it is a purely practical proposal, then and is repeated on every possible occation, with-Radek's misfortune lies where his strength is: his ex it should be supported by figures; that is, it should out furnishing any guaranties. As an afterthought, be proved that in allocating the funds, the necessary it is said: "Finally, the readmission of the Opposition Radek is undoubtedly one of the best Marxist proportion between heavy and light industry is not into the Party is necessary." That is correct. And in journalists in the world. It is not only the precision being preserved. If such a reallocation of funds were place of the other points, which are too general, it and strength of his style. No, it is first of all his to be made only on considerations of the moment, it ability to react with amazing quickness to new phen-would mean to prepare a still greater crisis in two or for the 16th Congress during 1928 and to bind the omena and tendecies and even to their first symp- three years. Improvisation in such a question cantoms. Here lies Radek's strong point. But the strength not be allowed at all and, as has been said, is only of real self-criticism; b) to publish immediately all of a journalist becomes a source of weakness to a grist to the mill of the Right. It is sufficient for us the articles, speeches, and letters of Lenin that have
 - middle peasant has not been won over, Radek's the- present budget is the financial basis of the apparases say: "We still haven't won over the middle peasant tus of autocratic and bureaucratic corruption. These
- 4. Coming out against the view that the left gerous innovations one could often find some valu- move is a mere maneuver, the theses say: "Whether of the Comintern. Radek's estimation of the Februdek's participation was always beneficial to the col- on the strength and the determination with which face to the road of Marxist policy, is basically incorof the numerous zig-zags of Radek — to the Right this struggle." This, of course, is true, but it is too Plenum is very great; it shows that the Right-Cen-1928 the leading group of the Opposition has been ses. In reality it should be said: "The measures un- not to the Right, but to the Left, and that is all. dispersed. All of us were separated from one another dertaken above will result in an inevitable fiasco if There is no unifying idea in the Leftism of the Febself. It is clear that under such circumstances Ra- bureaucratic Centrism — will not educate the mas- of the Leftism of the Fifth Congress. No real con-

7. With regard to self-criticism, the theses vow: This story, as already stated, has been going on "It is not a fraud and not a maneuver, because the Opposition to the apparatus Centrists. In reality, the split would manifest itself more quickly that way. tov) with a shower of abuse addressed to the Opcomrade Radek's hesitation has been going on for Through an exchange of telegrams between the col- position and with an explanation that criticism of with 1923, has crossed with the line of the Opposi- gathered half a dozen votes. My draft was signed by the question of the Kulak the purely combinatory tive measures forced by the bread shortage amount to 80-90 per cent of the given zig-zag, then in the possible to carry through any economic policy other dek's theses to an analysis in a letter which I sent tricks amount even at the present moment to not than that of Stalin-Bucharin. Up till 1927 Radek was to the exiles and to Moscow. I consider it timely to the exiles and 49 per cent are general expenses of the maneuver: redeeming victims, scapegoats, etc., etc." There is hardly any reason for swearing with such assurance that there is neither maneuver nor fraud here.

- 8. Radek's theses refer to Stalin's speech before the students, without mentioning that with regard to the question of the Kulak, the speech is also a complete withdrawal of the February article in Prayda. and may mean the obliteration of the Left zig-zag also in this important and specific question. Incidentally, this speech is astounding for its illiteracy in economic questions
- 9. Further on comes the explanation why the Center, as distinct from the Right, was against innernot comprehend their truly proletarian policies. This is inadmissible apologetics. The Centrists felt that their Chiang-Kai-Shek, Purcell and Kulak poli-1. First of all the theses say: "Several months of an cy would not be accepted by the proletarian kernel
 - 10. "The question of inner-Party democracy lies means for that even now. They lack only the blissful confidence on our part. "Piatakoviade." "Safaroviade" are at present the most effective "opium"
- 11. The deductions of Radek's theses with regard to self-criticism are the following: a) further groups of such documents in my letter to the Con-3. With regard to the Stalinist argument that it gress; c) to curtail at once the Party's budget twenfinds himself to the Right or to the Left — much is impossible to combat the Kulak as long as the ty-fold, that is, to five or six millions, because the

PROBLEM OF THE COMINTERN

12. It is still worse when it comes to the question able observation or new impression. That is why Ra- or not this struggle will be carried to the end depends ary Plenum as a great, in a way decisive, turn about lective work. And none of us would have made a list the working masses will insist on the extension of rect. The symptomatic significance of the February as well as to the Left; more often to the Right, though, general. It would mean: The Central Committee trist policy has landed completely in a blind alley. than to the Left. The trouble is, however, that since did what it could, but now it is the turn of the mas- and that the leadership is trying to find a way out by enormous distances, and each was left to him- the Opposition — in spite of the dreadnoughts of ruary Plenum. This Leftism reminds one a great deal dek's extreme impulsiveness would serve him badly. ses and help them carry this struggle to the end." clusion have been drawn from the greatest defeat 5. "The Center in the Party," say Radek's the- of the Chinese revolution; instead there is the fan-Since February 1928 comrade Radek has made ses, "by concealing the existence of this group ___ fare of boasting about the approach of the socalled a very abrupt turn in the question of the Thermidor the Right — only weakens the chances of the strug- new wave, with regard to the peasant movement and "two Parties." He did not foresee the possibility gle for a correction of the Party line." This is to and this after the proletariat has been decimated. of resistance on the part of the Centrists to the put it very tenderly. The struggle against the Kulak This whole perspective is false and the whole man-Right, as did all those who first heard about the means in the Party a struggle against the Rights. ner of approaching the question gives its blessing Thermidor from us and immediately began to vow Carrying on a "campaign" against the Kulak, the to adventurism. The little reservations on putches that it was already "accomplished." Only, since Ra- Center in the Party covers up the Right wing and are for self-justification in the future. If there is a dek does not merely repeat general, empty phrases, stays in a bloc with it. The theses remark reproach- new wave, then the revolts in the provinces are not but tries to observe facts and understand them, he fully that this "only weakens the chances of the putsches. In reality, it is the destruction of the remwent to the oposite extreme. The Stalinites began to struggle." No, it dooms the struggle to inevitable nants of the proletarian vanguard that is going on. seem to him, after February 1928, to be Marxist, defeat, if the Opposition will not open the Party's Theoretically the Menshevik resolution on the Chinese question, though it was written in pseudo-Bolshevik terminology, should, from the strategical 6. The characterization of Schwartz* as a point of view, destroy the Chinese Communist Par-"comrade keenly attuned and tied up with the proletarian masses" sounds strange. Did he protest any- traces of yesterday, combining with them elements The correspondence was intercepted by organs of the where against the infamous banishments under Ar- of ultra-Leftism and Right premises. Here, too, there G. P. U. and turned over to the Central Committee. ticle 58? It seemed to me that he "keenly voted for is much resemblance to the Fifth Congress which tried to eliminate the question of the German defeat

August 1st, 1929.

- of the program puts it; but the draft of the program, under a radical form, sanctifies the Kuo Min indicated by us. Tangiade.
- is to embellish the reality in a flagrant manner.

THE "VALUE" OF THE C. I. PROGRAM

- 16. The general appraisal of the draft of the program by the theses is incorrect, that is, it is exceedingly good - natured. Contradictory, eclectic basic questions. scholastic, full of patches, the draft of the program is no good at all.
- theses on the question of partial or transitional de- which the Party is now mobilized." Not that alone. mands are quite correct. It is high time that these The pitiless unmasking in each practical matter or formula the bourgeois-democratic revolution is not general considerations were translated into a more theoretical question of the half-measures and con-finished takes it on himself to guarantee in some general considerations were translated into a more fusion of Centrism — there is the most important way that the petty bourgeoisie is really capable of line a plan for transitional demands which would appart of support of any progressive steps of Cenbeing independent of the bourgeoisie. He thereby caply to countries of lifferent types.
- 18. On the question of the Thermidor, Radek's theses quite unexpectedly say: "I shall not discuss here the question of knowing to what extent analo-

mintern with the methods proclaimed by the last for which they are visualized. Lenin compared the first time, as if we had not carried on a correspond Plenum of the E. C. C. I." You can hardly believe Brest-Litovsk peace with the peace of Tilsit. Maretski dence with Preobrazhensky: the theses have not a word

- 15. On the theory of stages, on the theory of "that a number of Party leaders with whom we crossed the middle of 1918. Yet power had been in the hands dually composed Parties, on the theory of socialism swords yesterday are better than the theories which of the proletariat since November 1917. The argudually composed Parties, on the theory of Socialism they defended, then no one will be more pleased in a single country, Radek's theses say that these are they defended, then no one will be more pleased ment sounds particularly bizarre coming from com-"tails" that should be removed. It is as if the Marxthan we." That sounds awfully chivalrous: Noble rade Radek who so resolutely tried to prove that "tails" that should be removed. It is as it the leaders first cross swords and then they weep tears ist man has already emerged full grown out of the leaders first cross swords and then they weep tears there is no feudalism in China, no class of land-Centrist monkey, but with one superfluous organ: of reconciliation on each other's bosom. But here owners and that therefore the agrarian revolution Centrist monkey, but with one superfluous organ.

 "the tail." The good teacher and preceptor hints: is the rub: How can leaders of the proletariat be would not be directed against the landlord but a-"the tail." The good teacher and preceptor mints.

 Please hide your tail and all will be well. But that better than their theories? We Marxists have been gainst the bourgoisie. Survivals of feudalism are very accustomed to appraise leaders by their theory, strong in China, but they are indissolubly bound up there may be excellent leaders who are accidentally bourgeois-democratic revolution ,, is not completed,"
 - begun," Radek's theses declared, "should consist of Kamenev to which Beloborodov recently called my 17. The general principle indications of Radek's fighting ruthlessly. . . against all the evils against attention:

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

21. I do not stop to consider a whole number of gies of the French and Russian revolutions can be less weighty and specific observations. I confine I think it is necessary to say it for the sake of clamade." What does that mean? The question of the myself only to pointing out the supplement to the rity, without fearing the attempts of our "monolith-Thermidor we formulated together with the author theses which is devoted to the Chinese revolution. ic" opponents to exploit our differences of opinion. of the theses and with his participation. Analogies This supplement is written in such a way as if we should be made within the strict limits of those aims were approaching the question privately for the

could have explained to Lenin that the class condito say in reply to a single one of my considerations. The , methods" of the February Plenum of the E. tions of the Tilsit peace were entirely different, as But that is not yet the worst. What is worse is that C. C. I. consist first of all of the approval of Article he explained to us the difference between the class Radek's theses are written as if here had never been 58 and of the assertion that the Bolshevik-Leninists nature of the French and our own Revolution. We a Chinese revolution in 1925-27. All of comrade Ra-"are banking on the fall of the Soviet power." Can then called Maretzki by the name he deserved. We dek's considerations might have been successfully it be that the resolution on the Opposition is of less took the Thermidor as a classic example of a partial formulated at the beginning of 1924; the bourgeoishistorical significance than the resolution on the sec- counter-revolutionary coup d' Etat accomplished democratic revolution is not completed, it still has ond ballot in France, or the dubious hodge-podge as yet completely under the revolutionary banner, democratic stages before it, and then there will be on whether or not the British Communist Party should but already having at bottom a decisive character. a change by growth again. But the Right and Left take part in the Labor Party? How can that be for- No one has ever named or offered a clearer, more Kuo Min Tang, the Canton period, the northern exgotten? Can I be admitted to the Comintern if I am striking and more richly instructive historical analo- pedition, the Shanghai coup d' Etat, the Wuhan pedeeply convinced that in voting for the Chinese re- gy for explaining the dangers of degeneration. A riod — what are all those if not democratic stages? solution the February Plenum dealt another mortal tremendous international polemic has developed and Or, since Martinov has made a mess of it. can we blow to the Chinese proletariat, and that in voting continues around the question of the Thermidor. simply leave it out of consideration? The theses see for the resolution on the Opposition gives the worst, What political sense, then, has the above-mentioned in the future what has in reality already been left most reactionary and self-debasing expression of unexpected doubt about knowing to what point anabehind. Or, perhaps the theses hope to get "real" the treacherous, bureaucratic methods of "leading" logies between the French and Russian reolutions democracy? Let them give us her address. The escan be established? Are we sitting in a society of sence of the matter is that all those conditions which 14. The theses of the February Plenum put the Marxist historians and discussing historical analogies with us united the agrarian revolution with the pro-14. The theses of the represent relating put the question of "temporary agreements with liberals in general? No, we are carrying on a political fight letarian revolution are expressed still more clearly question of "temporary agreements with interacts in in which we have made use of the analogy with the colonial countries" word for word just as the draft Thermidor a hundred times, within definite limits we "wait" until the democratic revolution has grown into a socialist revolution. Two questions are combined here. In a certain sense our democratic revo-19. "If history will prove," Radek's theses say, lution grew into a socialist revolution only towards through their theory, by the ability of leaders to un- with bourgeois property. How then can comrade Raderstand and apply it. Now it would seem that dek now pass over this difficulty by saying that the armed with reactionary theories on almost all the repeating here the mistake of Bucharin, who in turn repeats Kamenev's mistake in 1917? I cannot do 20. "The support we give to the move that has better than to quote here again Lenin's word against

> "He who is guided in his activity by the simple pitulates weakly at the moment, hoping for the grace of the petty bourgeoise." (Lenin. Vol. 14, Part 1, page 35).

> That is all I can say on comrade Radek's theses. LEO D. TROTSKY

Alma-Ata, July 17, 1928.

The Draft Program of the Comintern

8. THE BENEFITS OBTAINED FROM THE FARMERS' AND PEASANTS' INTER-NATIONAL MUST BE PROBED.

One of the main, if not the main accusations hurled against the Opposition, was that of its "under-estimation" of the peasantry. Also on this point life has given the test proof both along the internal and the international lines. The official leaders proved guilty of UNDER-ESTIMATING the role and significance of the proletariat in relation to the peasantry all along the line. Here can be mentioned the greatest blunders and errors along the economic, political and international lines.

At the bottom of the internal errors, since 1923 there lies an under-estimation of the significance of State industry under the management of the proletariat for the whole of national economy and for the alliance with the peasantry. In China the revolution was lost by the failure to understand the leading and decisive role of the proletanat in relation to the agrarian revolution.

From the same viewpoint it is necessary to examine and estimate the role of the work of the Krestintern* which from the beginning was not more than an experiment—an experiment which required the utmost vigilance, and integrity of principle, to boot. It is not difficult to understand the reason why.

The peasantry, by the history and conditions of its life, is the least international of all classes. What is called national traits has its chief source precisely in the peasantry. The peasantry and only its semi-proletarian sections at that can be interested in the international cause, only under the guidance of the proletariat. All roundabout ways are a mere play with classes, and such playing is always detrimental to the interests of the proletariat. Only to the extent that the national peasantry is severed by the national proletariat from the influence of the national bourgeoisie and is trained to see in the proletariat not only its ally, but also its leader, can it be attracted to the path of international politics. Attempts, however, to organize the peasants of the various countries into an independent international organization over the head of the proletariat and regardless of the national Communist Parties, are doomed beforehand to failure and, in the final analysis, can only hamper the struggle of the national proletariat for influence on the agricultural laborers and poor peasants.

In bourgeois revolutions as well as counter-revolutions, beginning with the peasant wars of the sixteenth century, the various strata of the peasantry played an enormous and, at times, even decisive role. But this role was never an independent role. Directly or indirectly the peasantry always supported one political force against another. By itself it never constituted an independent force, having its own common national political tasks. In the epoch of finance capital the polarization of capitalist society has constantly progressed as compared with the phase of capitalist development. This means that the relative strength of the peasantry has diminished and not increased. At any rate, in the imperialist epoch the peasants of the capitalist countries are less capable of INDEPEND-ENT political action on a national scale than in the epoch of industrial capitalism. The farmers of the United States today are incomparably less capable of playing an independent political role than forty or fifty years ago when, as the experience of the Populist movement shows, they could not organize an independent national party.

The temporary but sharp agrarianization of Europe as a result of the economic decline caused by the war has given rise to illusions concerning the possible role of "peasant", that is, bourgeois pseudo-peasant Parties. If in the period of grave peasant unrest after the war one could still risk the experiment of organizing a farmers' and peasants' international so as to test by experience the new relations between the proletariat and the peasantry, the peasantry and the bourgeoisie, the time has at last come when the five years experience of the Farmers' and Peasants' International must be theoretically and politically summarized, its great shortcomings revealed and an effort made to show what are its advantages. One conclusion at any rate cannot be denied. The experience of the "peasant" parties of Bulgaria, Poland, Roumania and Jugo-Slavia, that is, of the backward countries, the old experience of our Social Revolutionaries, and the fresh (the blood is not yet dried) experience with the Kuomintang, the sporadic experience in the advanced capitalist countries, particularly that of La Follette and Pepper in the United States, have invariably shown that in the epoch of capitalist decline there is even less reason to look for INDEPENDENT revolutionary anti-bourgeois peasant parties than in the epoch of rising capi-

"The town cannot be equalled to the village; the village cannot be equalled to the town in the historical conditions of that epoch. The town inevitably LEADS THE VILLAGE, the village inevitably FOLLOWS THE TOWN. It is only a question

still play a decisive role but this role, again, will be neither leading nor independent. The poor peasants of Hupeh, Kwantung, or Bengal can play a role not only on a national but also on an international scale. However, only on condition that they will support the workers of Shanghai, Hankow, Canton and Calcutta. This is the only way, out for the revolutionary peasant ON AN INTER. NATIONAL road. The effort immediately to unite the peasants of Hupeh with the peasants of Galicia or Dobrudja, the Egyptian fellah with the American farmer, is hopeless.

But the nature of politics is such that everything which does not directly serve its object inevitably becomes an instrument for other objects, frequently for the very opposite ones. Have we not seen examples when a bourgeois party, which relied on the peasantry or sought to rely on it, became interested in the Farmers' and Peasants' International for a longer or shorter period if it could not do so in the Comintern, only in order to find protection from the blows of its own Commi Party, as Purcell, in the trade union domain, protected himself through the Anglo-Russian Committee? If La Follette did not try to register in the Farmers' and Peasants' International that was due to the extreme weakness of the American Communist Party, the more so considering that at that time its leader Pepper, without an invitation, embraced La Follette, even without that. But Raditch. the bankers' leader of the Croatian rich peasants, found it necessary to leave his visiting card in the Farmers' and Peasants' International on his road to the Cabinet. The Kuomintang went much further than that and secured protection for itself, not only in the Farmers' International and the Anti-Imperialist League, but even knocked at the doors of the Politbureau of the C.P.S.U., against only

It is very significant for the leading political tendencies of recent years that whereas tendencies in favor of the liquidation of the PROFINTERN (the Red International of Labor Unions) were very strong (its very name was deleted from the statutes of Soviet trade unions), we find that, so far as we remember, the question has never been raised in the official press as to what exactly are the conquests of the FARMERS' AND PEAS-ANTS' INTERNATIONAL.

The Sixth Congress must seriously probe the work of the Farmers' and Peasants' "International" from the viewpoint of proletarian internat is high time to give a Marxian

The Secret Resolution Against Bucharin

DOPTED BY THE LAST PLENUM OF THE C. C. OF C. P. S. U.

ave the opportunity of estimating the declaratin of Lucharin, Tomsky and Rykov of February 9, 1929, hich presents a factional platform; that comrades the joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the C. P. S. U. to deelop and defend their views in contradiction to the Party line: that Comrades Bucharin and Tomsky have refused to submit to the decisions of the joint ession of the Political Bureau of the Central Committe and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission on withdrawing their resignations, the joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the C. P. S. U. considers it necessary to make the following decision:

viation in the C. P. S. U. are most-closely bound together with the peculiarities of the present stage in he development of the proletarian world revolution. The 15th Congress of the C. P. S. U. and the 6th World Congress of the Comintern already established the symptoms of a serious change in the position of vorld capital as well as in the international revolutionary movement. The characteristic essential features of this change are a sharpening of the inner vulse and undermine ever more its temporary and wavering stabilization, and the growth of the elements the working class and the successes of the Communists at the parliamentary elections, the serious victories in the factory councils elections in Germany, the spread of the revolutionary crisis in India and the uninterrupted ferment in the other colonies, the acsumulation of contradictions and the war danger in the camp of the imperialists as well as between the capitalist world and the U. S. S. R.).

Under these circumstances, the most important tasks of the Communist Parties are the following: the further bolshevization of the Communist Parties, their purging from social democratic traditions, the assurance of the leading role of the Party in the growing revolutionary movement and the preparation of the broad masses for the coming decisive class

STABILIZATION AND THE RIGHT WING

In the questions of international policy, the Right deviation glides down toward the side of the social democratic estimation of the stabilization of capitalsm (the theory of the "recovery" of capitalism) which finds expression in an obliteration of the ever more sharpening crisis of capitalism, in the denial of the fact of the wavering of capitalist stabilization and in the veiling of the essential revolutionary of the present epoch as the period of the crisis of cathe latter two papers don't know yet that Bucharin is Party Conference and not to publish it in the press. revolution. They underestimate, in connection with chat, the mobilization of working masses (especially swamp of Centrism, to splits; he covers it with disthe unorganized) to independent struggle against the credit and shame. — Ed. reformist trade union bureaucracy.

The connection between the Right deviation in the C. P. S. U. with this opportunist tendency in the nks of the Comintern is absolutely obvious. Com-

training the struggle of the Comintern against the Party. . . Right deviation and Conciliationism in the Comintern 4. The Right deviation is rooted in the petty bur-The declaration of these three comrades that the po- geois mass elements that surround the working class. licy of our Party is "disintegrating" the C. I., weaken- Inside the Party, the the bases of the Right deviation ing its ranks and is leading to division as well as to are the least steadfast elements in the non-proletarian splits in the foreign Communist Parties signifies not sector of the Party who are most exposed to petty only ignorant-opportunist lack of understanding of bourgeois influences and the danger of degeneration, he tasks of the purging of the Communist Parties as well as the backward sections of the workers who from the elements of social democracy but also a real have not gone long enough through the shool of support of the Right renegades. That is why comrades shop and factory and are connected with the village Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky are objectively more and as well as the city petty burgeoisie. The platform of more the center of attraction for all the opportunist the group of comrade Bucharin of February 9 as the most active and militant workers up to the mo-

rade Bucharin that the Party is spreading bureau- C. form an appeal to these unstable elements and the International Labor Defense and of the Needle cracy signifies a discrediting of that tremendous contribute objectively to the creation of the Right Trades Industrial Union (for which he went to work which the Party has developed in the struggle deviation in the Party. . . against bureaucracy. The philistine slander of self- 5. The joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. criticism by this group can have no other meaning C. declares that the Bucharin group has already bethat that of direct struggle against the slogan of gun the factional struggle against the Party leaderself-criticism. In the question of the trade unions, ship. It has recourse to quite impermissible violation comrades Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky are proceed- of Party discipline (resistance of comrades Bucharin ng on the highly dangerous road of playing the trade and Tomsky to the repeated decisions of the Politicals class conscious and intelligent men such as comrade unions against the Party, of really adopting a course cal Bureau on their method of resignation). It in- Malkin whose thoughts are concerned with the worldthat leads to the weakening of the trade union move- spired the factional work against the Central Com- wide workers' struggle. Letters from "the outside" ment by the Party, glossing over the shortcomings mittee in the Moscow organization, endeavored to do much to make life endurable for the class war of the trade union work and cloaking the trade play the fraction at the 6th Trade Union Congress prisoners and sustain them with the knowledge that unionist tendencies as well as the appearance of a against the Central Committee, made the attempt to they are not forgotten by their comrades in the bureaucratic hardening of a part of the trade union form an unprincipled bloc of leaders against the struggle. We therefore remind all comrades of the impparatus, in which they picture the struggle of the Central Committee (proposal of comrade Bucharin portance of writing to comrade Malkin. Address

Below we reprint the secret resolution adopted the Central Control Commission of the Communist Tomsky group at the recent Plenum of the Russian taken from the arsenal of Miliukov's Party, the ac-Party of the Soviet Union approves the resolution of Party Central Committee. The excerpts published becausation of the Party that it is spreading bureaucrathe joint session of the Political Bureau of the Central low compose the most important parts of the resolucy and disintegrating the Comintern — all this is ommittee and the Presidium of the Central Control tion and were translated from Gegen den Strom, centwithout doubt indicative of the factional character Commission on inner-Party affairs of February 9, ral organ of the Brandlerite Right wing in Germany, of the Bucharin group and the departure of this In view of the fact that the joint session of the solution is characteristic of Stalin's method of fight- the Bucharin group violates in the grossest manner Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the ing the Thermidorian Right wing in the Russian Parthe Leninist unity of the Party, shatters Bolshevist residium of the Central Control Commission did not ty. It is the method of the Centrist apparatus, of the discipline and undermines the collective leadership bureaucrat whose faith lies entirely in the all-power- in the Central Committee. fulness of the Party machine, who is mortally afraid Fortified by the will of all the Party organizaof arousing the masses of the workers and the Com- tions, which unanimously support the line of the ucharin, Rykov, Tomsky continue in their speeches munists againt the Thermidorian Right wing. To Central Committee and have energetically conarouse the masses for a genuine --- and not a pitiful demned the attitude as well as the viewpoints of comapparatus struggle against the Right would invove rade Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky, the viewpoints the setting in motion of such a force as would sweep which, considered basically, reflect a Right deviation; over the restorationist Right, and over the Centrist in view of the fact that comrades Bucharin, Rykov swamp as well, and clear the ground for the reinstitu- and Tomsky have not admitted their mistakes; finaltion of the Bolshevik principles fought for by the Op- ly, proceeding from the interests of the unity of the position. Stalinist Centrism fears action of the mas- Party which is especially necessary under present ses far more than it does the Right wing. It is ready circumstances, the Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. to unite with the latter against the revolutionary cur- C. of the C. P. S. U. decides: rents in the working class. Stalin did this for more than five years in the struggle to decimate the Leninist Opposition led by Trotsky. He thereby only

midorian Right. To conduct such a struggle would sky of February 9 and in the speeches of these comlead to the annihilation of Centrism itself, since the rades at the Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. Right wing can be eliminated only if it is attacked as views that are incompatible with the general from a principle viewpoint. But the basic principle of line of the Party and which, basically considered, the Right wing — the theory of socialism in one conform with the position with the Right deviation. country, the Menshevik betrayal of the Chinese re- and to obligate these comrades to carry out unconvolution the theory of two-class parties, the capitu- ditionally the decisions of the Party and the comlation to Purcellism in the British General strike, the mittees; contradictions in the camp of capitalism which confalse internal line in the Soviet Union, etc. etc., were worked out jointly by the Bucharin-Rykov Right of a new revolutionary rise (the strike wave in a gainst the Opposition! Only by such an approach to series of European countries, the leftward march of the present crisis in the Right-Center bloc can a

Stalin's present left zig-zag is the forerunner of a new swing to the Right. It is a zig-zag for which the from the posts occupied by them (Prayda, Cominheavily of all.

arin who was unanimously chosen chairman of the Co- destroyers of Party discipline; mintern at the 6th Congress is removed by Stalin with e) that the Political Bureau shall adopt meafaction. He aso knows that these international puppets reau; of the Centrist apparatus will see to it that the membership of the Internatinal does not ask questions but thorough execution of the line of the Party and the does as it is told, whether it knows why or not. Stalin decisions of the Central Committee in the press of does not even bother to inform the Russian Party the Party as well as the Soviet press, and in all paof his decisions against the Right; the resolution is pers and journals; given only to the functionaries, the apparatus men-As for the foreign Communist press, they have long pulsion from the Central Committee and the Party eatures of the "third period." In this manner the York, give its readers more detailed information on Committee and the Political Bureau; Rights, and the Conciliators they have taken in tow, the events in the Communist movement than the Daily arrive directly at a revision of the Leminist estimation Worker and the Freiheit combined. The readers of organizations of the Party and members of the 16th

Stalin drags the Communist movement to the

THE RIGHT AND THE PARTY REGIME.

In the question of the role of the Party apparators. Humbert-Droz, Eweht, Gerhardt and others. represents a repetition of the most malicious accusa-

and conciliatory groups in the sections of the C. I. . . . well as the viewpoint represented by the members of ment of his imprisonment. We should remember him The slanderous statement of the group of com. this group at the Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. also because the faction mongers of the Party, of

The unheard of gossip about the Party sliding down to the Trotskyist position, the slanderous re-Below we reprint the secret resolution adopted by the Stalin faction against the Bucharin-Rykov-tary-feudal explotation" of the peasantry which is where it was made public for the first time. The regroup from the general line of the Party, Thereby

THE ORGANIZATION REMOVALS

1. The growth and development of the Right de- played the miserable role history assigns to Centrism. ration of comrade Bucharin of January 30, in the a) to condemn the views presented in the decla-Stalin can not lead a real fight against the Ther- declaration of comrades Bucharin, Rykov and Tom-

> b) to condemn the negotations behind the scenes by comrade Bucharin with comrade Kamenev as the and Stalinist Centrism in the five years of struggle a- crassest expression of the factional character of the

c) to condemn the policy of resignations of comrades Bucharin and Tomsky as a gross violation of Party discipline:

Center will pay dearly and the working class most tern and Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union), and to warn them that in the event It is worth mentioning, in conclusion, the un- of the slightest attempt to violate the decisions of concealed contempt with which the Stalinist bureau- the Central Committee and its organs they will be cracy regards the foreign Communist Parties. Buch- immediately removed from the Political Bureau as

out even the formality of an ordinary or special meet- sures to prevent the occurrence of any deviations ing of the Comintern or its executive. Stalin knows from the line of the Party and the decisions of the that the Thaelmanns, Semards, Bells and Fosters will leading Party committees in the speeches of indivivote with both hands for any decision of the Stalin dueal members and candidates of the Political Bu-

f) to adopt all the necessary measures for a

g) to establish special measures - up to exago been transformed into language bulletins for ___ for guaranteeing the preservation of privacy of Stalin's paid scribblers. We have arrived in the Com- the decisions of the Central Committee and its Pomunist movement today to the shameful stage where litical Bureau and to exclude the possibility of inthe yellow socialist rags, like the Forward in New forming the Trotskysts on the affairs in the Central

Remember Comrade Malkin

One of the surest tests of the vitality and integrity of any section of the workers' movement is its attitude toward the vanguard fighters who have fallen into the hands of the enemy and languish in their prison. A special regard for the class war prisoners rade Bucharin has really solidarized himself in this tus and of the inner-Party regime, however, the atquestion with the opportunist stand of the Conciliamark of every revolutionary body worthy of the name. Comrades Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky are restions raised by the Trotskyst Opposition against our Support of class war prisoners cannot have any sectarian or partisan limits. Every worker in prison for his class is entitled to loyal support and help regardless of his political views and without any conditions. This will always be our principle.

There is a special need for the readers of the Militant and for members and supporters of the Communist Opposition, to remember comrade Maurice L. Malkin who is serving time at Comstock Prison, New York. This special remembrance should be given to him because he was one of the first American Communists to fight under our banner and was one prison) have mistreated and neglected him, suppressed his name and publicity about his case, withheld the material support that is his due and failed to send him the books he asked for out of funds generously provided by workers for this purpose.

Time drags heavily in prison and doubly so for

FIRST OF AUGUST!

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE most favorable to it, the Communist Party gained in ing will not last for decades like the pre-war school is a direct and immediate payment for the ruinous years. But it is just this period that the German, policy of the Comintern upon the question of the yes, and the whole European working class is going Anglo-Russian Committee — the central question of through. The appearance of an independent Brandthe policy of the Comintern in England for the past ler faction is a small incidental sympton of this same

August 1st, 1929.

questionable leftward movement of the mass of the ward movement of the masses. But this leftward workers. But this leftward movement, i. e., a break- movement has still a purely pacifist, reformist and ing away of millions ef workers from the bourgeoisie, nationalist character. The further fate of this prohas at the given stage a clearly reformist-pacifist cess depends upon a whole series of domestic and incharacter — and that sharply emphasized, moreover, ternational causes, and to a considerable degree upon by the defeat of the British Communist Party. It our own policy, upon our ability to understand the is hard to imagine a more cruel joke than that per- essence of the process, upon our skill in distinguishpetrated by the Comintern upon British Communism. ing its successive stages. For several years they have compelled the British Communist Party to ride on Purcell's running board, be replaced by a revolutionary one from that moand hold a revolutionary wreath on the head of ment when the masses begin in a continually in-Cook. The Moscow leadership remained for a whole creasing flood to pass from the social democracy to year in union with the unqualified strike breakers of the Communist Parties. But that has not yet hapthe General Council. Politically the Communist Par- pened. Individual, episodical manifestations do not ty in these circumstances did not exist. The revolumatter. It is necessary to take the process as a whole. tionary minority of the trade unions remained intel- When Thaelmann, following Stalin and other leaders lectually helpless, and the Comintern with its entire of the Comintern, said in July 1928 that "the situpolicy helped Thomas and Purcell shatter, discourage ation is becoming more revolutionary every day," he and absorb this minority. After all this, the British only revealed a complete incapacity to understand Party received an order to accomplish an immediate the dialectic of the process which is taking place in turn about of 1802 degrees. As a result it could only the working class. find out that the working class simply does not know it as an independent revolutionary party.

GERMANY AND CHINA

stronger than the other parties, has also a more segree significant and promising. But it was not by any the German working class had only begun to emerge million are weighing upon these 3,200,000. This was afflicted after the catastrophe of 1923. Giving nine paign, which completely refuted Thaelmann's sellingmillion votes to the social democracy, the German talk about the situation becoming "more revoluworkers explicitly declared that they wish again to tionary every day." try their luck on the paceful road of reform.

In China the Communist Party now numbers three or four thousand members, and not that huneitther in Shanghai or in Paris. The French Com- yet pacifist and reformist "leftward movement" of everything in order to do nothing.

workers of Brussels and Antwerp at the sum- and freshest edition of "revolutionary" social demomons of the Jacuemotte?

of the Comintern. They all reveal exactly the same methods in general. features: decline of influence, weakening of organization, ideological splitting up, a decrease of confidence of the masses in the appeals of the Party.

ty, poisoned with the spirit of Smeral and those like him. As a result of the sheer command from the top to become revolutionary in 24 hours, the Czecho- policy of the Communist Party itself. Slovak Party simply began to crumble away.

FALSE ESTIMATE OF THE SITUATION

What next?") the official estimate of the situation want is a correct political line. was analyzed in complete detail, and an accurate warning was issued a year ago against the ruinous adthese circumstances it it intolerably light-minded to will be raised to a higher power. say that "the situation is becoming more revoluti- In the Autumn of 1923, when mental life in the fluence of the Party on the masses, gained from onary." The social democracy is not a part of revo- Comintern was not yet entirely choked, there was an day to day by a clear, farsighted and correct policy. the whole world of that on the First of May.

all processes are rapidly carried through, this schoolprocess. The passing of the workers from the bour-The recent elections in England revealed an un- geoisie to the social democracy testifies to a left-

The reformist leftward movement will begin to

The German Communist Party received at last year's elections 3,200,000 votes. After the defeat of 1923, that is, after the collapse of Brandlerism, and after the monstrous mistakes of the ultra-lefts of The German Communist Party, incomparably 1924 and 1925, such a result was in the highest derious tradition and more militant cadres. But in 1928 means a symptom of a revolutionary situation. Nine from the paralysis with which its vast majority was made clear at the time of the Armored Cruiser Cam-

A NEW GROWTH OF REFORMISM

The working masses, and above all the new gedred thousand which was so light-mindedly claimed neration, are now passing through an accelerated reat the Sixth Congress by the bureaucrats of the petition of the course of reformism. That is the Comintern. But this little Party is in a state of still fundamental fact. From this it by no means follows, further disintegration. The leadership of Stalin, of course, that we must soften our attitude toward combining Opportunism with adventurism, has the social democracy, or the right opposition, (Buchwrecked the Chinese revolution for years, and with arin, Brandler and Co.). But our own tactical tasks it the young Chinese Communist Party. When the ought to flow first of all from a correct understandthat on the First of August the proletarian batallions of 1929 could not jump out of its political setting. It will march in Shanghai as in Paris, this prophesy could not help the Communist Party become stronger can only be classed as cheap rhetoric. Alas, every- in the course of 24 hours than it actually was. May Day thing goes to show that batallions will not march could be only an episode in the process of an as munist Party, like its pale shadow the Unity Confed- the masses. The attempt to jump over the sky in 24 eration of Labor, has by no means increased its in- hours strictly according to the calender, flowed from fluence of late years. There is not the slightest hope a false estimate of the processes taking place in the that the First of August will prove any more revolu- mass, and inevitably led to a defeat, in which there tionary in France than the First of May. Semard was an indubitable element of adventurism. The opand Monmousseau undertake everything and promise portunists always make gains on the miscalculations of revolutionary adventurism. In this case the social Or perhaps the outcome of the Belgian elections democrats made these gains and in part also the give grounds to hope for a demonstration of the Brandlerites who represent the tidiest, most honest cracy. They are using the debacle of revolutionary We will not stop to mention the other parties adventurism in order to discredit revolutionary

There cannot be any doubt that the May Day celebration set back the German Communist Party. This does not mean of course that it set the Party The Czecho-Slovak Party was considered one of back forever, or even for a long time. The unexthe most powerful sections of the Comintern. But its ampled crime perpetrated by the Social Democracy first attempt last year to designate a "Red Day" un- will be gradually assimilated into the consciousness covered an alarming stagnant reformism in the Par- of the working mass and will help them make the is to correct what is already done. It is necessary to transition to Communism. There can be no doubt of call off the August First Demonstration. that — upon one single condition: a fairly correct

of view it is necessary first of all to ask the question: the authority of the Comintern. But the injury wil. What is now needed by the Berlin workers and the be less if you call off the demonstration in time, than They told us during the period of the Sixth Con- German workers and all other workers? A repeti- if you stubbornly persist in the mistake, converting gress that the situation in Germany is placing revo- tion of May Day or a learning of the lesson of May the demonstration in the one case into an unworthy lution on the order of the day. Thalmann clearly an- Day? The answer is already contained in the quest- comedy, and in the other into a guerilla battle benounced: "The situation is becoming more revolu- ion. A repetition is unthinkable and not to be per- tween small revolutionary troops and the police. tionary every day." But that judgment was false to mitted. A repetition would be a bare, senseless adthe roots. In a letter sent by comrade Trotsky to the venture. What we want is a learning of the lessons, Party seems to attempt to dissent from the summon Sixth Congress in the name of the Opposition ("And a correct estimation of what happened. What we of the Western European Bureau in the direction of

"RED DAY" CONDEMNED TO FAILURE venturistic conclusions which that estimate would raise itself above the political level of the move- technical slogans of the Comintern. That is the wors: entail. The Opposition does not deny the symtoms ment. Still less can an artifical piling up of "red course to take, for it combines all the disadvantages of a leftward movement of the German working mas- days" bureaucratically designated in advance accord- of a retreat with all the dangers of adventurism. ses. On the contrary for us also this "leftward movement" found an unqualified expression at the time is making an attempt to take a First of August reThe Opposition ought to use all its strength to acof the recent elections to the Reichstag. But the venge for the First of May. It is possible to say even complish that. We should be able to knock on the whole question is as to the present stage of this left- now, and it is necessary to say it in the hearing of doors of all the organizations of the party, behind ward movement. We have had in Germany a simul- all: The First of August "Red Day" is condemned whose back the demonstration was announced. We taneous growth of the Social Democracy and the in advance to failure. In addition to that: What was must appeal to the advanced elements of the trad-Communist Party. That has undoubtedly meant an valuable in the First of May (the self-sacrifice of a unions. We must spare no effort to explain the erebbing of broad circles of the workers away from part f the proletarian vangard) will be reduced to a ror and the danger of this new invention. We must the bourgeois parties. But the principle current still minimum on the First of August. And what was bad explain to Communist and revolutionary workers in flows in the channel of the Social Democracy. In on the First of May (the elements of adventurism) general that the first requisite for a militant mass

lution. Hermann Mueller and Zoergiebel reminded international polemic in the leading Communist or- The present policy of the Comintern is undermining gans as to whether or not it is possible to set the and destroying the influence won by the October We have to understand correctly what a growth date for an insurrection in advance. Basing them- Revolution, and in the period of the first four Conof the social democracy means in the present circ- selves upon the whole experience of revolutions the gresses of the Comintern. We must change the poliumstances. After the experience of the war and the Marxists demonstrated that it is not only possible cy at bottom. We must begin by calling, off the Audefeat of German militarism, after the revolutionary but necessary. Following Stalin and Zinoviev, Brand- gust First Demonstration. uprising and the cruel defeats of the proletariat, ler and Maslov laughed at the idea of setting the broad masses of the workers, a new generation of date for an insurrection, thereby showing that upon itself to be cut off from the masses and above all them, is experiencing a desire to go again through the fundamental questions of the revolution they re-

a situation is, the more necessary it is for the proletarian vanguard to have a clear and definite plan of action. The leadership of the Party ought to stand firmly at the helm with its eyes forward. One of the fundamental moments of leadership in such cir cumstances is the practical preparation, of an insurall only fifty thousand votes. This terrible debacle of the social democracy, but most likely only a few rection. And since an insurrection, like all human affairs, develops in time, the leadership must designate in good season the date of an insurrection. It stand to reason that with a change in the circumstances the date may be changed — as it was changed in Petrograd in 1917. But that leadership which cannot understand the significance of the time factor, which merely swims with the current, gurgling and blowing bubbles is condemned to ruin. A revolutionary situation demands a revolutionary calender.

But this certainly does not mean that it is sufficient for Thaelmann, Stalin, Manuilsky or Semarc to pick up the calender and put a red blot on the First of August in order to turn that day into a revolutionary event. Such an approach combines the most ruinous features of bureaucratism and adventurism. In those countries and those parties, where pure bureaucratism is uppermost — and these arthe majority - the First of August will in all probability end in a comical fiasco like the Vincennes demonstration of Semard-Monmousseau. In those count ries where the elements of adventurism are upermost, the First of August may end in a tragedy which this time - in cantrast to May Day - will be wholly, absolutely and irremediably to the advantage of the enemy.

IRRESPONSIBLE SLOGANS

The summons of the Western European Bureau of the Comintern issued in Berlin on the 8th May, although we are accustomed to much, shock us with its light-mindedness, garrulousness, bragga docio and disgusting irresponsibility. "Into the streets, proletarians!" "Down with Imperialist war! "Appropriate the political and military-technical experience of the struggle of the Berlin proletariat! "Learn the fighting methods of the police!" "Mak secure your ability to manoeuvre!" "Unite your sul port of the Berlin proletariat with the daily demand of the broadest proletarian masses!" "Down wit. imperialistic war!!" "Into the streets, proletarians!

In other words the European Communist Pal ties are given a strictly dated task: In the course c three months (May to August) to unite themselve with the broadest masses of the workers (no mor and no less), learn the art of manoeuvering, aquirthe fighting methods of the police, appropriate th political and military-technical experience of a struggle and go into the streets against. . . the imperialist war. It is really difficult to imagine a mor-Central Committee of the French Party promises ing of what is taking place. The May Day celebration pitiful document, testifying to the fact that the the skull of the Comintern have succeeded in produc ing an ominous stupidity. And now this headless leadership, armed with the above cited ideas and slo gans, warns the bourgeoisie of all Europe that it in tends on the First of August to lead the workers into the streets "fully armed with military-technica methods!" Could it be possible to play more shame lessly with the lives of the proletarian vanguard an the honor of the Comintern than these contemptibl epigones are playing with Stalin at their head.

> The tasks and duties of the Bolshevik-Leninist flow very clearly from the whole situation. We represent at present in the workers' movement a small minority - and this for the same reasons that th. bourgeoisie are strong, the social democracy has grown, the right wing of the Comintern is consol. dating, and Centrism holds the apparatus in its hands The task of the Marxian minority is to analize, estimate, foresee, warn against dangers and indicate the

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

What is to be done immediately? The first thing

But this will do injury to the prestige of the Conintern and its national sections? Indubitably. A If you approach the situation from this point crude political mistake cannot pass without affecting

common sense. But instead of clearly and firmly rejecting it, the manifesto of the Congress is conten-We have said that May Day cannot artifically to smear over and dissolve in water the military-

demonstration at the summons of the Party is an in

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The New Progressive Movement

By Arne Swabeck

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action (Muste Group) has emerged as a definite trade union oppositon with an elaborate program and a proposed membership basis of groups and individuals. The program of the C. P. L. A. contains points

worth noteing, as for instance:

Demands for social insurance.

To assist in organization of industrial unions in basic industries with aggressive fight on the picket line and against the power of the courts to issue injunctions and their attempts to cripple unionism.

To encourage working class education. To help establish farmer and labor co-operatives.

To urge independent labor party action. Support of the struggle for the six hour day. Opposition to expulsions from trade unions for

political beliefs. To urge the workers to demand the wealth they create and to strike for their right as of old.

Unquestionably this program and its militant terminology to a large extent reflects the pressure past. It is a progressive program, most of its points being indentical with those sponsored by the T. U. E. L. This new movement is a direct outgrowth of the increasing class pressure upon the workers in trustified industry and is one expression of working class radicalization. The almost complete disapearance of an organized left wing has facilitated the emergence of the C. P. L. A. at this time. These are facts of the greatest significance. They demand attention and a correct attitude from the Communists.

In industry everywhere the pressure upon the workers is increasing. More speed-up, more machinery, more uncertainty of employment. The present ried into life in the movement; constant pressure for cent St. John will always be a treasure to the revofaint gropings of the workers for a way out will, in the course of its natural process, turn into more definite channels. The unorganized, unskilled and semiskilled workers in the basic industries, who here and skilled workers in the basic industries, who here and force able to bring these policies to their correct confor organization. Those in the unions will be compelled to seek new policies, new methods, which will go beyond the obsolete craft barriers and challenge UNCENTS

NEW SPIRIT IN OLD UNIONS

closer to the rank and file and more subject to its guiding intelligence. pressure will feel themselves compelled to move for expansion. The Chicago Federation of Labor is a case in point.

Recently by resolution a committee was established to carry on organization to further increase the union ranks. While this committee is composed of paid officials from the affiliated local unions bringing with them all the conservative craft prejudices, the action itself is nevertheless a response to pressure of conditions. Lately also on several occasions almost unanimous sentiment for the building of a

- organizing the shop crafts.

not yet of large ramifications, will ever more express they should at once tear themselves loose from all capitalist influences and completely accept communist leadership will be a mere expectation having no found-

BEGINNING OF REVOLT

workers, even including the formation of the C. P. L. commutation brought his release. A., show the beginning of revolt against the growing reaction of the officialdom. Adefinite class ideology cialism St. John, in revolt against the parliamentary by no means exists as yet. Our task is still the one of reformism of the Socialist Party and the sectarian, struggling for a class movement of the American ultra-legal concepts of the Socialist Labor Party, unfortunately, used to be an ex-comrade by the name workers. Tis of course presupposes the compact or- developed along the line of revolutionary syndicalism, of Spector." — Jay Lovestone, The Comunist, Januganization of a left wing capable of developing and the path taken by many of the best proletarian fight- ary-February, 1929. broading its influence in the course of struggle, ex- ers of the period. In many respects this represented

clusion of the Communists will neither be able nor the real death of revolutionaries. have the slightest intention of actually leading the To the great loss of the workers' cause, St. John, nels and prevent the actual and necessary revolt.

LEFT WING TACTICS

this period will develop merely by these aspiring leaders, even though they may be the very ones instrumental in unloosing the forces of great potentialities. Such is the destiny of the new progressive movement: it must either turn into more definite, more left, more of genuine left wing policies and activities of the ders or become merely a shield for reaction and disapear in a merger with it.

The official attitude so far taken by the "new trade union line" of the Party in refusing to recocoming movement they express in its first stage, in the earlier work of the I. W. W. militants — and St. simply lumping them all with the A. F. of L. bureau- John in the front rank — retains all its validity. crats in one hodge podge, has nothing to do with They wrote much of the tradition of the American Communist tactics. The present moment calls for the revolutionary movement in letters of fire that will united front tactic with an independent policy and never be extinguished. The modern movement of merciless exposure of the reformists, fakers and betrayers; a constant pressure to make the present gran-should value this tradition highly and honor the me-

more definite left wing and revolutionary policies.

ed and the left wing will prove its worth as the only

NEW SFIRST IN COLOR OF THE MARKS the passing of another of the great figures sideration and concern for others, of loyalty in per-Simultaneously the reactionary state and concern for others, of loyalty in per-dership is marching ever more into the open as the of the American revolutionary movement whose sonal relations, which bound men to him in lifedership is marching ever more into the open and deeds helped to make its tradition and whose names long affection. Those who were so bound to him, who agents of capitalism. In union authinistation will not be forgotten. "The Saint", as he was known, knew the warmth of his handelasp, enshrine his strategy the policy of the employers of the employers of the employers by those who knew and loved him, died at the age memory in their hearts along with the best memore dominant. Actually to prevent organization of these of 56 after a long illness complicated by high blood mories of the great cause for which we live and flunkeys. Yet to conclude that the A. F. of L. and pressure. He will be sincerely mourned by thousands strive. kindred unions are passing out of existence would whose lives were influenced by him, particularly by be entirely wrong; or even to deny the possibility of those who belonged to the old guard of the I. W. W a certain growth. The lower functionaries who are in its bravest days when he was its moving spirit and

Vincent St. John, like Haywood and Frank Little, was trained in the hard school of the Western Federation of Miners, that model labor union whose mighty struggles threw their shadow across the world in the latter years of the Nineteenth Century and the movement of defense to the exclusion of all other first years of the Twentieth. A metal miner by trade, working class forces. Instead of solidarity they Our limited experiences have already quite clear- board of the W. F. M. and in that strategic position since the strongest days of the Mooney fight. (fur limited experiences have already quite where the leader of the left wing in the looming of the strongest days of the mooney right.

Since the strongest days of the mooney right.

Grave consequences will be reaped by the defense in basic industries is conditioned upon the waging of struggle between conservative and revolutionary unless this policy is adopted by the Communists and the most militant struggle and facing the most ferounionism which centered around the question of afthe I. L. D. in the Gastonia fight. Up to now, the

to expect that the workers who become ready for or
At the second convention of the I. W. W. in 1906 has been sunk without a trace. Instead of welcoming ganizaton will in mass numbers entirely discard the St. John headed the revolutionary syndicalist group outside support, the Party has repulsed it. Instead existing unions which have a tradition behind them? which combined with the S. L. P. elements to oust of inviting united aid, the Party has preferred to Hardly. On the Pennsylvania railroad, for instance, Sherman, a conservative, as President and establish proceed alone in its "pure" ultra-"Left" madness. the unions are now — in agreement with the bosses a new administration in the organization with a reThe Gastonia "unity" conferences of the I. L. D. have volutionary policy. He became the general organizer been organized on the most limited basis conceivable. Surely in the present objective conditions there under the new administration, breaking with the W. In Chicago, the frivolous Stalinist dabblers refused Surely in the present objective conditions there are many favorable possibilities for the growth and are many favorable possibilities for the growth and big whole allowing to seat the delegates of the Communist League (Opdevelopment of a broad progressive movement. To his whole allegiance to the I. W. W. He presided at position at the defense conference because — they development of a broad progressive movement. To denythis is tantamount to denying the present beginning of radicalization of the workers, which, although

S. L. P. and the elimination of the "political clause" a criminal attempt to carry on the factionally corrupt from the preamble. St. John was the leader of the splitting game of the Stalinists at the expense of the itself both among the unorganized workers in basic proletarian "Direct Action" forces which defeated Gastonia defendants. industry and among those in the trade unions. On as General Secretary of the I. W. W. until 1914, and wing cannot arouse a broad inclusive movement for the whole, the ideology of the American workers is undoubtedly did more than anyone to shape its the defense of Gastonia on the same scale as the course and prepare the ground for its later develop- movement we set into motion in defense of Sacco ment under the active leadership of Haywood.

of General Secretary and engaged in a mining en- strike cannot be repeated in the case of Gastonia. ation in facts. To pursue a policy based on the supposition that these working masses are waiting for ing a fortune to help finance the organization of the the South has the knife to its throat. Every worker tated his own arrest and subsequent conviction with the working class to the stirring appeal of Gastonia. the Chicago group of I. W. W. wartime prisoners. He The signs indicating the present trend of the served two and a half years at Leavenworth before

From his earlier concepts of revolutionary soposing the reformists aspi to leadership and provate from parliamentary socialism, but the munist Party, unfortunately, used to be an "exing the superiority of the syndicalist countries and prejudices and theoretical falsity of the syndicalist countries."

or industrialist position were storing up disasters for the future. The philosophy of the I. W. W., which St. John did so much to shape, was too simple for the complex situation brought about by the entry of the United States into the World War. The great The C. P. L. A. in its organizing conference, sacrifices and heroic deeds of its members were unmade an attack upon the Communists. This was done availing against this handicap and were greatly dispartly to preserve their own appearance of respect- counted by it. The spirit of the I. W. W. died in the ability, but mainly to solidify the influence of their war, and not the least of the signs of this tragedy own reformist position. To the workers, however, the was the loss of faith of practically the entire body one thing must remain decisive that any group pro- of the old guard which had made its history and its posing to organize a progressive movement to the ex- glory. St. John was among them. Spiritual death is

workers in revolt against the reactionary policies of and with him the great majority of the leading milthe A. F. of L. bureaucracy, much less against Ame- itants of the I. W. W., failed to make the theoretical rican imperialism. Their aim is, rather, to keep all and tactical adjustments neccessitated by the exsuch developing movements within "safe, legal" chan- perience of the World War and the Russian Revolution. Their limited industrialist concepts remained unchanged. Communism, especially its American re-Yet it would be entirely to narrow and un-Marx- presentative, impressed them unfavorably and they ian a view to identify the progressive movement which could not swim with the current of the new movement. The enormous errors, presumptiousness and tactlessness of the Party leadership are partly responsible for this calamitous state of affairs. American Communism should have been a natural growth out of the soil of the pre-war movement represented in part by the I. W. W. The early years of the Party were weakened and hampered by this failure and the I. W. W. movement, alienated from Communism, lost its old-time vigor and passed into an inevitable degeneration and decline.

But despite the tragedy of the after-war years diously proclaimed program a program of realities, car mory of the men who made it. The memory of Vinlutionary workers of America in their aspiring strug-In this process the reformist leaders will be discard- gle for the workers' world.

grief. He was a most admirable personality - brave and resolute, loyal and honest. He was a gifted and inspiring leader and organizer who gave himself, throughout the years of youth and manhood prime, untiringly and unsparingly to the workers' cause. And with the highest executive qualities he combined The death of Vincent St. John at San Francisco the rare gift of friendship, of warmly human con-

Hail and farewell, Soldier, Man and Friend!

Gastonia in Danger

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

he joined the Western Federation in 1894, and be-showed dissension; instead of uniting the movement, came one of the most militant fighters in its ranks they divided it. The mass movement arose in spite and an influential voice in its councils. Despite his of them. The momentum of the movement swept over modesty of disposition, his freedom from personal these triflers and succeeded in becoming a power ambition and his lack of the arts of self-aggrandiz- despite these reactionary leaders. The policy of Inement, his work spoke loudly and brought him wide- ternational Labor Defense in those days brought it labor party and discarding the A. F. of L. time worn spread fame. His stirring deeds as a pioneer organizer the support of hundreds of thousands of workers, political policy has been voiced at meetings in quite became legends of the movement and remain such increased its prestige; and called into existence the today. Until 1907 he was a member of the executive largest mass movement the country has ever seen

cious persecutions. This is vivdly brought out in the filiation to the I. W. W. which the Western Fede-defense work and agitation has been conducted on a Southern textile mills. Would it then be reasonable ration had played a major part in founding in 1905. most narrow and irresponsible scale. The united front

and Vanzetti. There is not the slightest reason why He withdrew from activity on leaving the office the unity for support and defense of the Passaic

the Communists to assume the direct lead — which workers. Despite his retirement at the period, fear of must answer. The banner of unity, not the flag of the Party endeavors to establish by mechanical meahis abilities and the prospect of his return to the ofsectarian isolation and partisan primacy, can become sures — without traveling the road of intermediary fice vacated by the imprisonment of Haywood dic- the standard that will rally every honest element in

Tempus Fugit

"The leader of the Canadian Communist Party,

Tempus fugit! The leader of the American Com-