

Lovestone and the "Corridor Congress"

By EARL BROWDER.

The renegade opportunists, Lovestone, Pepper & Co., have now fully revealed their ugly right-wing face. As a result of this, combined with the energetic and correct policies of the Politburo and Central Committee and the assistance of the Comintern, they have been isolated and eliminated from the Party and the working class. Now remains the task, so far as the renegades are concerned, of completing the political analysis of this right wing program, and drawing the full political lessons for our Party—lessons which are an indispensable contribution to the Bolshevization of our Party, steeling it against all deviations and preparing it for the present period of sharpening class battles. One phase of this work is to trace the historical development of Lovestone's struggle against the Comintern, especially at and since the Sixth World Congress.

"THE CORRIDOR CONGRESS."

Lovestone, in common with many sections of the international right wing, makes a demagogic appeal to the Sixth World Congress of the C. I. decisions, as embodying his line, which he claims are being revised by the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In one of his latest documents he says:

"At this Congress (July, 1928) there really took place two Congresses—the official Congress whose leader was Bucharin and the unofficial anti-Bucharin caucus, the 'corridor congress.' . . . Already at the Congress itself—in spite of unanimous votes and 'no differences'—a vicious underground agitation went on against the main line of the Congress and against its chief defenders (Bucharin, etc.). Because of the relation of forces, the revisionists did not dare to come out in the open; they contented themselves with demoralizing propaganda and with preparing the basis for the revision to come."

What are the facts on this point?

It is a fact that at the Congress were two antagonistic lines, struggling with one another; that one of these lines was defeated in the delegation meetings of the principal parties, and that "the revisionists did not dare come out in the open." On these points Lovestone's statement is correct.

But a "little correction" must be made to his other points. It was not "Bucharin, etc." (that "etc." of course means Lovestone and Pepper), who defended the main line of the Congress. This is made quite clear by the following facts:

Bucharin had introduced in his own name, and distributed to the Congress delegates, a first draft of the Theses on the International Situation. When the Congress opened, this document had not been passed upon by any Party or delegation, for the first time in the history of the Comintern having not been presented to the Russian Party before being generally distributed. In the delegation meetings of the German and Soviet Union Parties, Bucharin's theses were subjected to sharp criticism, and finally, in the Soviet Union delegation, were amended in 22 points. Bucharin finally voted for these amendments, when his alternative was to go before the Congress with a fight against his own delegation and the certainty of a smashing defeat; his original theses were replaced by the amended theses of the Soviet Union delegation. This became the main line of the Congress.

If there were two lines in the Congress, therefore (and there were), it is quite evident that the one which attempted to hide itself, which "did not dare come out into the open," was precisely that one headed by Bucharin, with Lovestone and Pepper as two of his many lieutenants. Bucharin "etc." were the leaders of the "corridor congress," the faction conducting a secret struggle against the Congress line.

"NO DIFFERENCES EXIST."

Lovestone, in common with the international right wing, tries to make political capital out of the declaration made by Comrade Stalin to a Congress sub-commission, that "no differences exist" in the Russian Delegation or Politburo. He would do well to try to forget this incident as it furnishes an excellent illustration of the unprincipledness and cowardliness of the right wing.

After the struggles in the German and Russian delegations (as well as in others, including the American) and the defeat of Bucharin's theses, the Congress atmosphere was full of a quiet curiosity as to the political consequences. The Politburo of the Russian Party, on the initiative of Com. Bucharin and after he had formally accepted the amendments which changed the line of his theses, instructed Com. Stalin to make the statement concerning "no differences" on the assumption that Bucharin had honestly accepted the line of the Party. That later Com. Bucharin continued his struggle is an indictment, not of the Politburo, but of Com. Bucharin.

The same sort of incident occurred later, in November, when already the fight of Bucharin was coming into the open. The Russian Party was preparing for its 16th Conference. Com. Bucharin was faced with the question: whether to fight for his line, or to accept the Politburo theses which condemned his line. He voted for the Politburo theses and remained silent before the Conference met. Therefore the theses were presented as unanimous, and the Party was informed that there were no major political differences. Again Com. Bucharin had deceived the Party.

THE NATURE OF THE AMENDMENTS.

What was the nature of those amendments which were made by the Sixth Congress to Com. Bucharin's theses? Were they merely "little amendments" of an editorial nature? No. They were precisely upon the points around which struggle has raged since then, and in each case Com. Bucharin's (and Lovestone's) standpoint, for which he now fights was rejected.

The original theses of Bucharin estimated the first period of post-war capitalism as one of revolutionary struggles which culminated in defeat for the working class. The "little amendments" changed this to include in the culmination of the first period, the victory of the U. S. S. R. over foreign intervention, and the consolidation of the Comintern.

The original theses of Bucharin characterized the second period as that of capitalist stabilization. The "little amendments" aided the rapid restoration in the U. S. S. R. and also the growth of political influences of the Communist Parties over broad masses of the proletariat.

The original theses of Bucharin characterized the third period as that in which capitalist economy is exceeding the pre-war level, as the period of rapid development of technique and accelerated growth of cartels and trusts, and in which tendencies of development towards state capitalism are observed, with a resulting consolidation of stabilization. This line is now being openly developed by Com. Bucharin in his latest theories of the Third Period as one of "organized capitalism," disappearance of the market problems of inner competition and crises,



Class Against Class in

By BILL DUNNE.

The class struggle rages in the Charlotte courtroom where Fred Beal, Louis McLaughlin, W. M. McGinnis, K. Y. Hendricks, Clarence Miller, George Carter, and Joe Harrison, organizers and members of the National Textile Workers' Union, face from twenty to thirty years in the penitentiary. The veil of legalism with which the state has tried to cover its role as the instrument for working class suppression has been cast aside. Openly and brazenly, perhaps more so than in any similar labor trial, the state's attorneys, aided by Judge Barnhill, are appealing to the lowest prejudices of the farmer jury—a jury whose greatest enthusiasm since the trial began was aroused the other day by a glimpse of Cyclone Mack, a fundamentalist evangelist called fondly by his followers, "the Billy Sunday of the South."

The close connection between the attempt to railroad these workers to the penitentiary, the unbreakable bond between the trial itself and the whole campaign of the mill owners and their government for the

and the organic growth of capitalism. "little amendments" added, intense development of the contradictions of world capitalism, growth of internal contradictions, swing to the left of the working class, growing acuteness of class struggle, and changed the conclusion to growing shakiness of capitalist stabilization and general sharpening of the crisis of capitalism.

The original theses of Bucharin did not contain any reference to the "left" reformists and sharpening of the struggle against them. The amendments characterized them as the "most dangerous," and called for a more intense and systematic struggle.

The original theses of Bucharin did not place the Right danger as the main danger, and did not mention the conciliators to the right wing. The amendments declared the Right as the main danger and declared that without a sharp struggle against conciliation, the Right danger could not be overcome.

Thus, it is clear that the amendments, adopted against the line of Com. Bucharin at the Sixth Congress, were precisely those points which determined the whole line of the Congress, and that precisely those positions which the Congress rejected constituted the right wing platform which the renegades Lovestone, Pepper & Co., brought back to America and tried to foist upon the Party as the "decisions" of the Sixth Congress (strengthening stabilization, "industrial revolution," softening toward "left" social democracy, and an inner-Party course based upon the Right wing).

THE RIGHT WING AND TROTSKYISM.

Lovestone is today making propaganda to the effect that Trotskyism has triumphed in the Comintern and Russian Party. For this purpose he demagogically cites the collapse of the Trotsky opposition and the surrender of the leading Trotskyites to the line of the Party and Comintern. What are the facts of the relations of the Right wing to Trotskyism?

At the period of the Sixth Congress, when Com. Bucharin was accepting formally the line of the Congress and the Russian Party, it has since been disclosed that he was holding a series of secret conferences with the then Trotskyist, Kamenev, with the purpose of forming a bloc with the Trotskyites in order to effect a change in the line of the Party.

In America, the right wing opportunist Lovestone, representing the international right wing, has arrived on all practical issues, at slogans and criticism of our American Party, of the Russian Party, the Comintern and the whole international situation, which are approximately the same as the slogans and criticisms of the Trotskyite Cannon.

It is the most rotten elements of the right wing and Trotskyist groups which are politically amalgamating, while all that was healthy in both groups are repudiating their deviations, and returning to the Party and Comintern on the basis of complete and unconditional acceptance and approval of the Leninist line worked out at the Sixth Congress, elaborated at the Tenth Plenum, and applied in life under the leadership of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.