

THE LOVESTONEITES IN ACTION.

By CYRIL BRIGGS.

The complete renegade degeneracy of the Lovestoneite group is nowhere more sharply revealed than in their activities in those mass organizations in which the Party has established its influence.

Wherever we find in our ranks comrades still naive enough to express doubt that the renegades are waging open war against the Party and the Comintern we may safely adduce that these comrades are direct in their Communist duty of working in, and helping to build, the mass organizations. Were they active in these organizations they could not fail to recognize the definite and conscious role being played by the Lovestoneites in the operation of the capitalist and social democratic scheme to liquidate working class militancy and disrupt the fighting organizations of the proletariat.

Certainly, those comrades who are active in the mass organizations have no delusions about the treacherous role of the Lovestoneites but are rather filled with contempt and loathing for these traitors to the working class movement who have increasingly exposed themselves as the open allies of the worst petty bourgeois careerist elements in these organizations.

The activities of the renegades have been particularly pernicious in the Harlem Tenants League. In this organization, where the influence of our comrades has welded together in iron solidarity large masses of Negro and white working class tenants, and have won these masses for a militant and class conscious struggle against the rent gougers and exploiters, the renegades were busy for six weeks in an attempt to disrupt the organization and defeat its militant program. In this attempt they have not hesitated to ally themselves with the worst elements in the League. They have become the bed-fellows of the petty bourgeois careerists who have sought to use the League for the advancement of their personal fortunes and were interested, therefore, in diverting it from its militant program into reformist and futile methods of struggle. A few months ago they were attacking these elements as sharply as anybody else but now, so complete is their renegade degeneracy, they do not hesitate to establish a united front with these same elements! So, today, we find Campbell, Welsh, Morris Nemser, Anna Thompson, Sarah Cole, in open alliance with the petty-bourgeois careerists in an effort to split the League and betray the hard-pressed tenants of Harlem into the power of the landlords. And with failing is allied the creature of the self-confessed spy, Jackson.

Failing in their effort to disrupt and destroy the League from the inside, the renegades and their careerist allies have decided they could more effectively play the landlords' game of demoralizing the tenants by organizing a rump league, whereby the landlords could be assured that the leadership of the tenants would be such as they, the landlords, would desire their victims to have—"safe" leadership, in the interests of the landlords. And to make sure that they spread confusion and demoralization in the ranks of the tenants of Harlem, the disruptionist agents of the landlords elected to call their league the Harlem Tenants League, elected to steal from the six hundred and more members of the militant, landlord-hated Harlem Tenants League, the name these renegades have used since the first day of their organization! And these renegades plan to call in the capitalist state to assist them in the steal of the name—they have announced their intention to have the name incorporated so that the militant, working class tenants who have all along followed the example of most labor unions and other working class organizations in refusing to put their heads into the noose of landlord and employer regulation and control through the machinery of the state, may be robbed of the name which has become a synonym for militant struggle against the landlords. In this way, the disruptionists seek to smother the weapon and shield which the oppressed tenants of Harlem have forged, through many victorious struggles, against the landlords!

In furtherance of their plans to spread confusion among the tenants, they have issued their plans, in the name of the Harlem Tenants League, and signing themselves "Members of the Executive Board." They have postscripted their letters "Note New Address." This in spite of the fact that the regular Harlem Tenants League is meeting every Monday night at the same address as formerly—the Public Library, 103 West 135th Street.

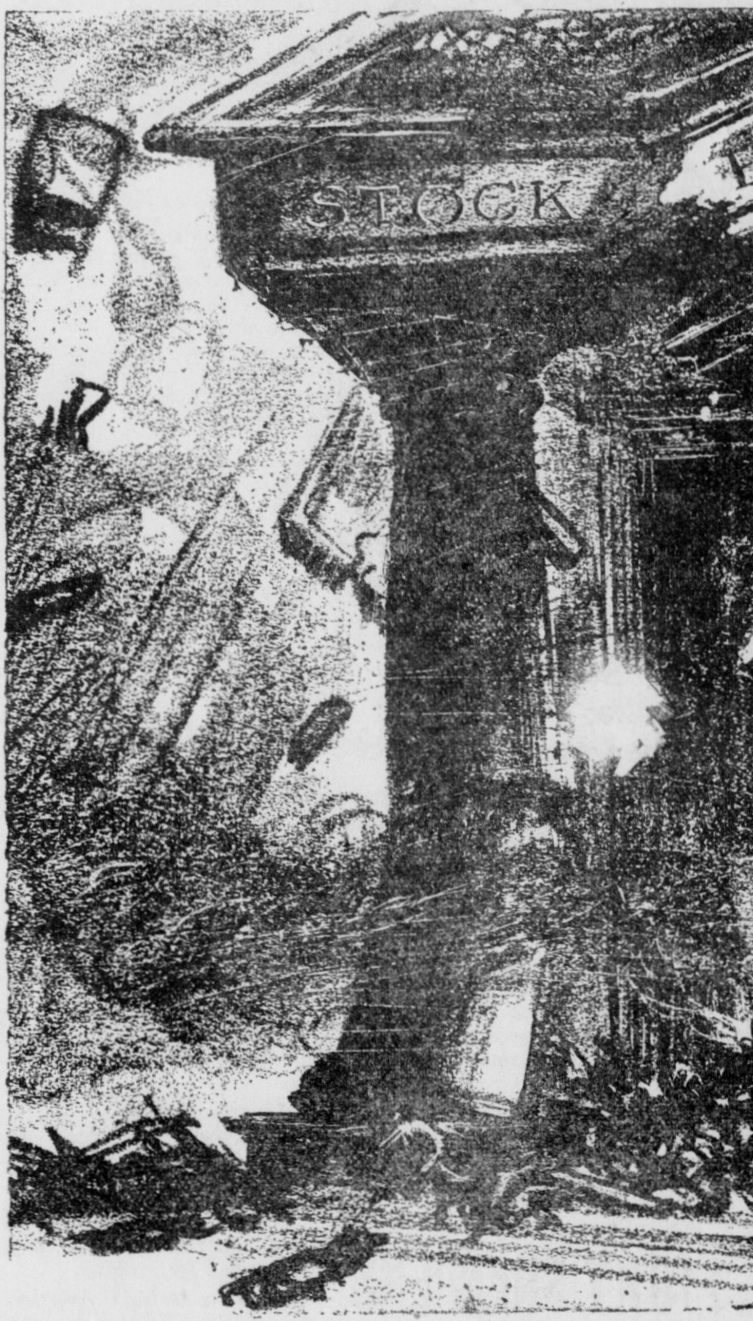
The fight in the Harlem Tenants League was wilfully precipitated by the renegades under the open leadership of Campbell, with the secret guidance of Anna Thompson, on the fake issue of the barring of Welsh at a District Election Conference to which he presented credentials as one of the delegates from the League. The conference in question accepted the credentials of the other delegates from the League, but on the question of Welsh there was a unanimous vote not to seat him. The delegates present, most of them non-Party delegates, voted on the basis of their knowledge of Welsh as a disruptive force in working class organizations. When the question was brought up in the League it was clearly pointed out by the president and by several speakers from the floor that while the League had a perfect right to elect Welsh as a delegate, the Conference also had the right to bar him if it considered his presence inimical to the successful carrying out of its work. But the renegades did not want explanations. They wanted a fight! They had been holding caucuses with the petty-bourgeois elements in the League—democratic and republican politicians, landlords' spies, etc.—and considered their forces strong enough to start a struggle for the leadership of the League. Their petty bourgeois allies had long objected to the present militant leadership. The first step of the renegades and their allies was to arrogate an attack on the leadership; their next step was an effort to concentrate all power of decision and action to the Executive Board on which they then had a majority. In their effort to perpetuate their hold on the Executive Board and deprive the general membership of any say in the matter, or of any word in the governance of the organization, they brought in the following resolution:

"That any problem confronting the League that requires deliberation, political, organizational or otherwise, should first be referred to the Executive Committee for action."

They sought to jam through this and several other similar resolutions. They soon discovered, however, that the tenants of Harlem were not so dumb as they thought. And in the meantime, the Committee on Reorganization of Committees, which had been appointed before the fight began, brought in its recommendations for the reorganization of the Executive Committee. These recommendations were accepted by overwhelming vote of the membership in spite of the hysterical abuse of the president of the League by Campbell, and the unprincipled attacks by Welsh and others. A motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Reorganization was carried by 41 to 3. Previous to this a motion by Welsh to take up the report of the old Executive Committee as the first order of business was crushingly defeated, 51 to 2. Campbell then made a motion to add Welsh to the reorganized Executive Committee. This motion was defeated by 43 to 14. These four votes were the highest given the disruptionists throughout the fight. The vote directly after this of 43 to 3 to adopt unchanged the report on Reorganization of the Executive Committee showed a change of mind by some of the tenants in the meantime, demonstrating that not all of the fourteen who had voted with the disruptionists in the previous motion were solidized with them. The recommendations on the reorganization of the Housing Committee were next taken up and adopted by a stentorian YEA, with only two weak NOES audible through the hall. This was too much for at least one of the petty bourgeois careerist allies of the renegades, and at this point C. B. Jenkins, a typical self-seeking opportunist, lost his head and stalked out of the meeting after expressing his opinion that the tenants "were a bunch of gorillas and not worth bothering with." This same Jenkins is now one of the leaders in the opposition league.

The example of Jenks was followed by the rest of his group a few weeks later. Evidently, Campbell, who refused to participate in tenants' street meetings "because it would jeopardize her job"

Welsh, whose activity in the League began and ended with the attempt to disrupt the League from the inside; Nemser and Thompson, whose first appearance in the League synchronized with the offensive against the leadership; these, together with Battle, Hendrickson, Henderson and other elements who have always been opposed to a militant tenants' struggle, evidently all of these agree with Jackson that working class tenants who go in for militant struggle against the rent gougers are a bunch of gorillas and not worth bothering with. So much the better for these same tenants! The Harlem Tenants League, the militant tenants' organization which they tried in vain to wreck, will continue to wage the fight against rent oppression and will soon forget these disrupters. (Appropriately enough, the first meeting of the opposition league was held over a theatre whose billboards announced as the feature of the night, the picture "Forgotten Faces.") The tenants of Harlem will soon forget these disruptionists, but first they will sweep them out of their path as they will all allies and defenders of the landlords. The Negro and white workers becoming daily more and more radicalized under the pressure of capitalist rationalization (speed-up, longer hours, lower pay, higher rents, etc.), will recognize these renegades as enemies of the world working class movement, as enemies of working class emancipation. The radicalized workers will in-



Bukharin's Theoretical Political Conclusions I

(Continued from Yesterday.)

According to Bukharin it seems that Lenin taught his Bolshevik Guard nothing but "caution" in relation to the peasantry, "caution" in relation to the kulaks, "caution" in relation to the tempo of industrialization. "The greatest caution," Bukharin proclaims, "in those points of policy which deal with the relations between the workers' state and the peasantry." "The greatest caution," in Bukharin's interpretation, is the infusion of the kulaks into our co-operative system, the prelate merging of the kulaks into socialism. "And the day will come when the Kulak's grandson will be grateful"—for the "cautious" and delicate (Leninist, omrade Bukharin?) way we handled his ancestors. This is not Leninism. It is a substitution of Leninism by a new Communist Bernstein-ism. The Leninist conception of the "period of education" is interpreted in the style of the Liberal professors. The whole period following the civil war is represented as a period of peaceful educational work. The Leninist conception of the democratic reserves of the proletarian revolution is treated as the union of the working class with the whole of the peasantry. Certainly Lenin was not speaking of the kulaks. Bukharin would put a stop to the process of eliminating the capitalist elements in the Soviet village.

After this it is not surprising to find that Bukharin completes his own "political testament" by a most enormous theoretical blunder, calculated, when worked out, to become the starting point for a new opportunist platform. "Our chief guarantee of Socialist construction," Bukharin declares, "lies in developing the most advantageous combination of class forces, which would ensure us the possibility of further Socialist construction... To develop the combination of the 'proletarian revolution' with the 'peasant war' in a new form, this is now 'construction.'" The peasant war, according to Marx and Engels as well as Lenin, is the war of the whole peasantry, the agrarian revolution—bourgeois-democratic in its content. Bukharin wants to take us far back, to a historical epoch long gone by, when at the present time, in the epoch of collective farming and Soviet farming, in conditions of vigorous Socialist reconstruction of the Soviet village, he takes his point of departure from the "peasant war," i.e., from the general peasant interests, as a further factor for the Socialist reorganization of the Soviet village. Bukharin, it is true, speaks of some "new," "constructive" form of combining the "peasant war" with the proletarian revolution. But this new statement of Bukharin's only deepens the opportunist character of his whole formula. The union of the working class with the whole peasantry in a constructive form is absolutely unacceptable. The acceptance of such a formulation would mean at the same time

stinctively recognize the truth of the remarks of Comrade Manuilsky in his closing speech in the Tenth Plenum of the ECCI:

"He who will hinder the proletariat abroad from carrying out the task of the offensive against capitalism, is an enemy of the U. S. S. R., an enemy of the socialist order which is being built in our country. On the other hand, he who hinders the struggle against the capitalist elements in the U. S. S. R. is an enemy to the proletarian revolution in other countries. International opportunism is a double-faced Janus with one face turned towards socialism and revolution, hampering their progress in every way. One cannot conceive such a situation that the world proletariat should take up the offensive while the U. S. S. R. was upon its defense. Neither can one imagine the reverse, that the U. S. S. R. should be marching forward without causing at the same time an increase in the militant activity of the proletariat throughout the world."

With the withdrawal of the disruptionists, the meetings of the League at the Public Library have proceeded with marked smoothness and efficiency. The tenants, for the first time in weeks, are now enabled to report on their individual troubles with the landlords who, as predicted in the League several months ago, are now in a new offensive of rent raising. Tenants report that rents in houses where they or their friends live are being raised ten, twenty and thirty dollars at a jump. So far, the members of the League have been able to resist rent raises by following the advice of the leadership of the League to "pay no rent raises but resist every effort to raise your rent." Through the cooperation of the International Labor Defense, the League is able to see that its members get legal advice without charge and that only nominal fees, within the reach of workers, are charged for cases where it is necessary to defend the tenants in the capitalist courts.

The vicious system of landlordism is particularly hard upon the Negro tenants of Harlem and Brownsville. Because of the capitalist policy of segregation the landlords are able to exploit these workers to the nth degree, exacting of them the most exorbitant and unreasonable rents, often two and three times in excess of the rentals paid by white workers for similar accommodations. The Communist Party must mobilize the white workers to fight shoulder to shoulder with their Negro fellow workers, against segregation, against rent extortion, against discrimination of any kind. The Party must give its full support to the struggle of these harassed, landlord-oppressed, boss-exploited tenants. Every help should be given the Harlem Tenants League in prosecution of its struggle against the landlords and their courts, in organizing house and block committees, and in building the Harlem Tenants League into a powerful instrument of struggle.