

Molotov Takes Rykov's Place

The decision of the Central Committee of the U. S. S. R. to free Rykov from his functions as chairman of the People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. "upon his own request", has only confirmed a state of affairs that has existed for many months. This measure was prepared by many stages: campaign in the press, cutting off a part of the power by the designation of Syrzov to the chairmanship of the People's Commissars of the Russian Republic, vacations "for reasons of health", and finally dismissal "upon his own request". The struggle against the Right is now entering into what could be called the stage of organizational measures.

The continuous fire of the press which prepared the attack has accomplished its task: now it is the "light cavalry" of the Control Commission, of the agents of the G. P. U. within the party, of the whole of Stalin's apparatus of secret repression which is beginning to function.

The organizational measure against Rykov was only the beginning of this attack. The TASS agency reports that Tomsky, Dogadov and Ossinsky have been relieved of their functions as vice-presidents of the Supreme Council of National Economy of the U. S. S. R.

Why Stalin Dumps the Right

Why does Stalin find the moment propitious to rid himself of the Right wing? What is the political significance of the attack launched by Stalin against the Right? The **Bulletin of the Russian Opposition** which has just appeared writes in an article on the campaign against the Right: "Just as the smashing of the Left Opposition at the Fifteenth Congress in December 1927 immediately preceded the Left turn, which officially opened on February 15, 1928, so the inevitable turn to the Right will have to be preceded by an organizational smashing of the Right Opposition. Why? Because if this turn should be made with the cause if this turn should be made with the presence of the Rights in the Central Committee, the latter would declare their solidarity with the turn, and by that, would not only make their expulsion from the party difficult but in general would additionally mar the perfection of the general line." (Militant, January 1, 1931.)

The symptoms that proclaim the turn to the Right in economic policy and, later on, in the whole policy of the Comintern, symptoms which we have signalled on the occasion of the last capitulation of Bucharin, is making itself manifest today in a clear manner. Centrism remains faithful to itself, to its own nature. After having taken adventurist flights in economic policy (the five year plan in four years and complete collectivization), Stalin could no longer come to a timely halt, and adapt the development of production to the real forces of the country, as comrade Trotsky counselled in his articles and comrades Rakovsky, Muralov and others in their declarations of April and to the Sixteenth Congress. Today, so as not to end in ruin, Centrism is obliged to make its customary brusque change in the opposite direction by resorting to the Right. But in order at the same time to save, as comrade Trotsky says, the "perfection" and the "prestige" of his general line, Stalin continues to employ the same perfidious maneuver which consists of ideologically stripping his adversary after having destroyed him by apparatus measures.

An Open Secret

This game is effective and capable of lulling the masses so long as it is not unmasked, so long as the marked cards are not uncovered. Today, the Stalinist tactic has become an open secret. Inside the party, among the working masses, in the factories, they speak openly and translate into workers' language the perfidious malice of the "gensek" (general secretary). The bourgeois too, is beginning to disclose the combination and is already calculating the profits it can draw from it. The petty bourgeois journalists of the capitalist press are already announcing the radical change to the Right of the one they call with unacknowledged admiration "the flexible Georgian". Also, the correspondent of the London **Sunday Times** telegraphs from Moscow in joyous accents: "The necessity of trimming the sails to the Right has now become urgent: Rykov, Tomsky and the others are withdrawn so as to give Stalin the possibility of realizing by himself, wholly or partially, the program of the Right opposition."

This new administrative change of Stalin has two aspects: he liquidates the representatives of the Right in the Soviet institutions in the person of Rykov, Tomsky and others, and rids the Communist International of the outstanding representatives

of the "third period" in the person of Molotov. The aim is always the same: the methodical preparation of the turn to the Right on a national and international scale. The correspondents of the **Bulletin of the Russian Opposition** stress that for a certain time already the relations between Stalin and Molotov have become "spoiled". Stalin was very much dissatisfied with Molotov's policy in the C. I. and accused him . . . of having invented the "third period" and of having led the C. I. to its decline. It is not difficult to foresee that "the best disciple of Lenin and the chief of the world proletariat" (see the pamphlet on the fiftieth anniversary of Stalin and the preface to it) will unload all the ultra-Leftist mistakes he committed with Molotov in the Comintern upon the latter, and the Soviet press will undertake to make the new president of the People's Commissars understand that he will remain alone in bearing the responsibility for the policy, consistent in its stupidity, of the "third period". For the high post of President of the People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R., after the luckless experience of Rykov, will not for a moment hinder the Stalinist apparatus from treating the head of the Soviet government with every name in order to safeguard the prestige of the general secretary of the party.

New Right-Center Bloc?

Who is going to lead the Comintern now in Molotov's place? The return of Bucharin to the leading circles of the C. I. is spoken of. A new Stalin-Bucharin bloc, then, is being realized. The personal combination is of little import, it is the tendency of a similar bloc that seems possible to us. But the objective conditions of the U. S. S. R. have changed considerably since 1925-27. The Thermidorian elements are more numerous and bolder than before. They can interpret this new turn to the Right as an encouragement to the liquidation of all the institutions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is no doubt that they will try to put over their work under cover of the new Centrist zig-zag. The Left Opposition warns the Centrist leadership against this danger. The possibilities of maneuvering between the Left and the Right become ever more restricted. The Stalinist leadership will be compelled by advancing events to choose between the Leninist positions of the Left Opposition or the complete discreditment of its "prestige" and the conquests of the October revolution. —M. MILL.

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The International Bulletin of the Left Opposition, published by the International Secretariat of the Opposition at Paris, is soon to appear in a complete English edition. Hitherto, the Bulletin has been published in the French and German languages, which has made it inaccessible to many comrades in this and other countries. By a decision of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition), the Bulletin is now coming out in English as well.

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AARON GROSS

On Saturday, January 3, 1931, Aaron Gross, one of the well-known leaders of the Left wing and Communist movement in the needle trades, died of heart failure, at the age of 38. Born in Poland, he came to the United States shortly before the war and became active in the needle trades union. Later on, he joined the Communist Party and was prominently identified with the Left wing movement in the needle trades, and particularly in the International Fur Workers Union of which he became vice-president. He was at the head of the famous furriers' strike of 1926 which the Left wing led and which brought the conflict between it and the Right wing bureaucracy to a sharp point. It was during the strike of 1927 that Gross was savagely assaulted by Right wing gangsters who cut him so seriously with knives that his life was in danger for a while. The injuries he suffered at that time contributed to a large extent to the illness which compelled him to depart for Los Angeles a while ago in an endeavor to recover his health. His death came suddenly. He leaves a wife, Sarah, and two sons, Morris and Arthur.

During his years in the party, comrade Gross was always associated with the Lovestone group in general and with the Zimmerman-Wortis-Gold faction of opportunists in the needle trades in particular. A devoted, energetic and courageous worker in the movement, he was nevertheless always on that side of the struggle in the Left wing which opposed the adoption and execution of a genuinely Communist course. Like many of his intimate collaborators in the Left wing, and later in the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, he was subsequently made one of the scapegoats for the whole past policy of the party in the needle trades upon the advent of the recent ultra-Leftist course. He was expelled from the party together with other supporters of the Right wing faction. He did not live to see the consummation of the bloc between his party faction and a section of the trade union bureaucracy against whom he helped lead the needle trades workers in some of their most brilliant battles.

Though we were on opposite sides of the struggle in the Communist movement, the Left Opposition bows in tribute before this fallen fighter who rose from the many-thousand ranks of the bitterly exploited needle trades workers and helped in their heroic upward struggle to freedom.

The Relapse into Trotskyism

(Continued from page 1)

to entrust him in any case with leading work." So much for the information of our trustworthy men who are absolutely sure.

Who Teaches Leninism

A certain Shanduns has come upon the scene in recent times as a big figure (right now he is a member of the Central Control Commission of the party, responsible director of the department of cotton).

He fulminates against all the deviations and passes for one of the defenders of "Leninism" (see **Pravda** of December 14). A few words to characterize him: in 1927, he was an adherent of the Left Opposition. Member of the Central Committee of the Armenian party, he was unmasked by the Stalinists. This hero became frightened and renounced all his ideas. But that is not all. The next day he was pressed to the wall by the workers' nucleus to which he belonged and which followed the Left Opposition. To the question: "Why didn't you defend your conceptions in the Central Committee," this fabulous hero replied: "I fooled them in the Central Committee, my soul belongs to you." And this individual is today one of the pillars of "genuine Leninism". It is an eloquent fact that it is such wretched creatures who are educating the new generation in the spirit of loyalty, courage and militancy. At the same time, the best revolutionists are perishing in exile. ZINZADZE IS DEAD! This organizer of the civil war in the Caucasus, president of the Caucasian G. P. U., member of the party since 1903 who helped to crush the Menshevik insurrection of 1924, imprisoned for years by czarism, escaped from Menshevik prisons in 1920, in short, one of the exemplary and most courageous chiefs of the old Bolshevik party dies in exile, and **Pravda** has not a word for him except for a farewell of his wife and children. These facts must be explained to the party members. The struggle must be carried on with them against the Stalinist régime which does nothing but weaken the resistance of the party and endanger the Soviet power.

—SENINE.