Semi-Monthly Organ of the Opposition Group in the Workers (Communist) Party of America

"It is necessary that every member of the Party should study calmly and with the greatest objectivity, first the substance of the differences of opinion, and then the development of the struggles within the Party. Neither the one nor the other can be done unless the documents of both sides are published. He who takes somebody's word for it is a hopeless idiot, who can be disposed of with a simple gesture of the hand."—Lenin

The MILITANT

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TROTSKY'S DEPORTATION

"Our platform will find its way. The workers of the whole world will ask themselves in deep alarm, 'For what reason, on the tenth anniversary of October, are they expelling and arresting the best fighters of the October Revolution? Whose hand is here? The hand of what class? The class which conquered in October? Or the class which is edging out and digging under the victory of October?'"—L. D. Trotsky.

THE apparently definite news that comrade L. D. Trotsky has been banished from the borders of the Soviet Union by decree of the Stalin machine will be a shock to the revolutionary workers in every part of the world. No one to whom the cause of the proletariat is a serious thing, will fail to see in this fateful act one of the most hideous and dangerous steps yet taken in the criminally disruptive course of the man against whom Lenin sharply warned the Party in his last words. The banishment of Trotsky outside the borders of the Soviet Union, for the creation of which he is more responsible than any living man, will be joyfully celebrated by the exploiting class of the entire world who see in him the embodiment of the workers' victory in the Russian Revolution.

The shameful banishment of the Sword of October follows directly on the heels of the arrest in Moscow, a few days before, of one hundred and fifty Opposition supporters whose crime consisted in the underground distribution of Leninist literature which today can no longer be circulated legally.

The arrest of these one hundred and fifty Oppositionists, comprising some of the best fighters for Bolshevism, comes at a very critical moment in the course of the Russian revolution. The Stalinist press reports, ranging from those of the hired liar Walter Duranty in the New York *Times* to the inspired *Daily Worker* stories, have announced, furthermore, that the reign of persecution, arrest, imprisonment and exile of Oppositionists is to be sharpened on every front.

We are confronted here with a course that was not begun yesterday and will not end tomorrow. The arrests and imprisonments are the logical outgrowth of the fight against the Leninist Opposition which began simultaneously with the departure of the official Party leadership from the proletarian revolutionary line after the death of Lenin. On this road of decline, slander, falsehood, Party-splitting, arrests, imprisonment and exile are only swiftly-passed stations. The apparatus has become mad in its efforts to halt the irresistible progress of the Leninist program. More than a year ago, Trotsky warned:

"Voices are already to be heard: 'We will expel a thousand, and shoot a hundred, and have peace in the Party.' These are the voices of pitiable, frightened, and yet also diabolic blind men. This is the voice of Thermidor. The worst elements, perverted with power, blinded with bureaucratic hatred, are preparing the Thermidor with all their might."

Since that warning the elements of Thermidor have claimed many victims. They drove to his death comrade Butov, the secretary of comrade Trotsky, as they had persecuted to the point of suicide his former secretary, comrade Glassman, in 1924. Butov was one of the best fighters of October. Side by side with Trotsky he went through every stage of the revolution, the civil war and the inner-Party struggle. When Trotsky was exiled to the wastelands of Central Asia, Butov felt it his duty to follow him there. He was arrested at Tashkent, *en route* to Alma-Ata, and incarcerated in the Butyrki prison in Moscow. Knowing that neither prison nor torture could break the iron caliber of such as Butov, the G.P.U. resorted to shattering his mind and heart: he was accused of espionage! Despite its malicious absurdity, Butov could not stand such a base accusation. When his demand to be brought before the investigation judge was refused he declared a protest hunger strike. He was allowed to starve for three weeks. When he was transferred to the prison hospital, it was already too late. In an unknown spot, among murderers and criminals, the corpse of comrade Butov was secretly interred.

An even worse fate was accorded the Opposition comrade Haenrichsen, a Leningrad metal worker. Shortly before the 11th anniversary celebration he was arrested and imprisoned. When his wife came to see him a few days afterwards the prison director informed her that her husband had committed suicide. But on the corpse she observed unmistakable marks of maltreatment: his teeth were knocked out, and the whole body was covered with blue marks and blood clots. When the G.P.U. heard of her intention to have an autopsy made to discover the real causes of the death, they forbade the autopsy and the body was hastily and secretly buried.

In October 1928, Menzhinsky, the head of the G.P.U., reported to the Political Bureau of the Party that he would decline all responsibility for the struggle against the Opposition unless he were "permitted to tighten the screws." He was given this permission, and sent out a circular letter to all centers of the G.P.U. with instructions to prohibit all political correspondence to exiled Oppositionists and, in the event of hunger strikes, to cut down their rations by half.

A Letter From Trotsky's Wife

Alma-Ata, December 1928.

Dear ———:

Since the end of October we have received no letters from home. We get no answers to our telegrams. In short: the postal blockade. Naturally it will not stop there. We await something worse. At present we are all sick with malaria; it is Leva (Trotsky's son) *who is sickest; he is running a continual temperature of* 39 *degrees* (103-4 degrees Fahrenheit).

Severe cold. The cold in our rooms is torturing. Houses here are not built for cold weather. The price of wood is incredible.

Natalia Ivanovna.

A letter from Moscow, dated November 17, 1928, informs us that on the eleventh anniversary celebrations,

"In the proletarian centers of the U.S.S.R. no less than 300 comrades were arrested, 118 in Leningrad, 55 in Moscow, 42 in Kiev, 15 in Baku, 35 in Kharkov, 9 in Odessa, 8 in Saratov, etc., etc. Oppositionists are proceeded against with far greater violence than White Guards, Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. Beating of the imprisoned comrades is a daily occurence. In Leningrad and Kharkov they proceed with special violence."

But these measures—measures of hysterical fear and the pressure of enemy class—cannot halt the forward march of the Opposition. Their program is listened to more attentively than ever by the workers. Despite the incredible violence practised against the Opposition, despite the ideological and organizational terror of the apparatus, growing sections of the working class in the Soviet Union have stepped forth boldly for the Opposition's program. In Moscow, for example, the workers of the *Krasnaia Obrona* factory and the *Bucharin Street Car Depot* adopted the resolutions of the Opposition with overwhelming majorities. In a series of other factories *Proletarski Trud, Moskvo Schweia* and *Parostroi,* there were majorities for the Opposition. In a closed Party nucleus meeting at the *Burevestnik,* 29 voted for the Opposition, 6 abstained, and 36 voted against.

The bureaucrat now officially admits the growth of the Opposition's strength among the workers, and seeks to crush it by the most violent means. But every blow that is struck at the Opposition causes the workers to pause and ask: *Whose hand wielded the weapon? What class benefits from these brutal attacks?* They find their answer in the daily life and struggle of the Sovet Union.

They find that the Kulak's strength and arrogance grows every single day with alarming rapidity. While Bolshevik fighters are being sent to prison and exile, they can read daily reports like the following in the *Pravda*:

The Kulak preparations for the election campaign are surprisingly well-organized. At first they organize their own election committees, and sometimes they even try to capture our Soviet *Izbircoms* (election committees.)

"The Soznovo—Solonetzki *Izbircom* (in the province of Volozhen), whose chairman is a former czarist officer, has taken away the right to vote from a poor peasant by declaring him physically sick, while they have granted the right to vote to a number of Kulaks of their own clique.

"In certain localities the *Izbircoms* are being led by churchmen. In the Siberian village Mentcherei, a secret Kulak *Izbircom* was organized. Under the guise of festivals they conducted two meetings where the "Initiators" gathered "their own" poor and middle peasants, nominated their own candidates and also outlined a plan for the campaign. The Kulak *Izbircoms* are well informed about the plans of their enemies. The Kulak children do not miss a single meeting, and keep their fathers informed as to what is going on in the Soviet *Izbircoms.* (The village Perovo, province of Vladimir.)

"The Kulaks influence the middle peasants with the assistance of the weaker members of the Soviets whom they often help financially; thus, Raskolski, the chairman of the Nizhni-Tchirisk *Izbircom,* is riding a horse presented to him by the Kulaks at a banquet."—*Pravda, January* 11, 1929.

The workers see that while the Leninist Opposition is being persecuted under the accusation that they are allies of the imperialists, the government of the Soviet Union signs the infamous Kellogg Pact, the newest instrument of imperialist war and war against the Soviet Union, and praises it as "a forward step towards peace."

The workers see that at the moment when 150 Opposition workers are arrested for "counter-revolutionary activities" the acting Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Litvinov, makes a report to the Central Executive Committee praising Mussolini and Herbert Hoover as friends of the Soviet Union who have taken no hostile steps against the Workers' Republic. . . .

The workers are beginning to realize that it is more than a coincidence that severer blows are directed against the Leninist Opposition at the moment when the business and diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union are hard at work in Washington to get recognition from the United States. They want to know if the arrest of 150 Bolsheviks is Stalin's method of assuring the foreign bourgeoisie that "the Communist and the capitalist systems can live side by side peacefully," as Sokolnikov did at the Economic Conference in Geneva. The workers already know who it is that gets great satisfaction out of the work of physical annihilation of the Opposition that is now being carried on. They have heard the warning of Piatakov, when he was still with the Opposition, that he feared an attempt on Trotsky's life; and the words of Zinoviev and Kamenev who had corroborated Piatakov's fears. The brutal course that Stalin has followed up to now gives no one any reason to believe that he will stop at any point in his rough-shod riding over the whole tradition and teaching of Leninism and the Leninists.

Stalin is determined to annihilate the fighters for Bolshevism with the basest weapons at his disposal. The official propaganda reports are laying the basis for the commission of the most hideous crimes. The "ideological campaign" is being prepared. Robert Minor, the editor of the *Daily Worker*, following the lead given him by the quasi-official reports of "comrade" Walter Duranty to the New York *Times,* writes a semi-lynching editorial entitled

Continued on page 6

The Struggle in the Coal Fields

By Arne Swabeck

The most momentous struggle on a mass scale, of the recent period in American labor history, is undoubtedly the battle of the mine fields.

Here was a crucial situation with splendid possibilities demanding a clear policy and decisive action. Despite the formidable obstacles in the way and our limited forces, the opportunities have never been better for building a new union of a militant type, for devolping a broad left wing movement and with it extend the mass influence and leadership of the Workers (Communist) Party. The leadership of the Party in this fight increased manifold its responsibility to the miners in particular and to the working class in general.

How has this responsibility been met?

The Party leadership, represented by the Pepper-Lovestone group, has failed criminally, and still is failing to respond to the imperative needs of the situation and to take advantage of the existing possibilities. The extent of the failures of the past are already brought out in bold relief by subsequent events. The whole course of the Party leadership has been sharply characterized by its general unscrupulous adventurist conception which looks upon workers in mass struggles only as objects of manoeuvre, not as class brothers in arms. Coupled with that went its conservative, opportunist outlook,—the greatest menace to the vigor and vitality of such movements.

The left wing had practically disappeared as an organized expression at the beginning of the national strike, April 1927. But the miners went out determined to beat back the attacks and the fields were seething with undercurrents of revolt against the whole treacherous policy of the Lewis machine. A clear duty faced the Party—to step forward and organize the left wing for a militant struggle against the operators and the Lewis machine. This policy was proposed by the opposition but shamefully rejected. In May 1927 the opposition brought to the Political Committee a series of motions outlining various steps to build the left wing, to sharpen the clash with the bureaucrats and to culminate in an open conference. Likened to the "horrors" of "dual unionism" and even "armed insurrection" it was rejected by the majority. The proposals for organization of relief activities, while accepted on paper, never became effective until many months after.

THE MINERS' FIGHTING SPIRIT

The evidences of the fighting readiness of the miners piled up everywhere, but not until February 1928 did the Party leadership give up its resistance and accept the policy of organizing a broad left wing, and urge the calling of the April first conference to engage in an open clash with the treacherous union bureaucracy. It was compelled by the sheer force of events. Yet the District Organizers in the two most important coal fields of the Pittsburgh and Chicago districts ingrained in the Pepper-Lovestone right wing ideology, still resisted the measures for an open conference and an open clash, to the last. However, the correctness of the policy, for which the opposition had fought so long and bitterly against the resistance of the Party leadership, was proven by the subsequent events. Once the first steps were taken they immediately let loose the tremendous latent forces which became openly crystallized in the gigantic "Save the Union" movement.

The continued resistance to a correct policy had cost the movement dearly and the consequences were serious. Firstly in failure to give any leadership at the early stage of the struggle; in lack of necessary organizational preparations; in failure to render more decisive assistance to and more effectively participate in the Pennsylvania and Ohio strike; and finally in lack of a sufficiently early and clear perspective. The left wing therefore stumbled along with, in many respects, inadequate preparations for the tempo of the movement. It thus could not carry the fight effectively to the unorganized fields until the Pennsylvania and Ohio strike became almost exhausted. When forced to act quickly for the April 16 strike of the unorganized fields, the preparatory organizational measures were entirely lacking. To this must be added the ferocious persecution and terror against the movement by the Lewis machine, the operators and the state authorities.

The Party leadership did not seem able to grasp a full perspective of an open split with the bureaucrats and the building of a new union. While it acquiesced it never changed its conservative outlook. Even at the time of the convention call leading Pittsburgh comrades, steeped in this never changing outlook, opposed the calling for a new union.

The Pepper-Lovestone Party leadership gave its major attention to gaining factional positions in the new union to the detriment of its future success. Utterly unfit to lead a serious battle in the class struggle, incapable of grappling with its real problems, so often bound up in small sordid details, this group turned its attention to securing factional control which resulted in seriously narrowing the leadership of the new unions. Highly qualified and experienced comrades, already accepted as leaders by the miners' movement, were deliberately isolated for no other reason than factional group interests.

GAMBLING WITH THE WORKERS' INTERESTS

In this real test of mass struggle the Party leadership has shown its impotency and unscrupulous gambling with workers' interests. Even toward the Party union fraction a factional policy was maintained throughout. Following a correct attitude the Party leadership would have decided upon a general line of policy for the fraction to carry out in the convention. In addition it would have elected a qualified and experienced C.E.C. committee to constantly advise with the fraction. Such, however, was by no means the case. On the contrary, the Pepper-Lovestone leadership appointed a committee with a majority of its faction agents entirely devoid of experience and authority in trade union work. This committee assumed complete authority for all decisions, made all appointments for steering committee and candidates for office. Its decisions were binding, the members of the fraction merely taking orders and having no part whatever in making decisions.

The danger of such proceedure can very well be visualized. First, it gives no opportunity to really develop the leadership of the fraction within the union. Secondly, it fails to fully utilize the experience of the comrades, the fraction members, who have been engaged in the actual battle. Thirdly, and most important of all, it destroys any basis for real Party democracy which can be founded only on the most intimate contact between higher bodies and the rank and file members, utilize the experiences and mass contact of the latter through joint deliberations and give them full opportunity for expression and criticism as the best guarantee for maintaining correct policies. This narrow factional line has not been relinquished to this date.

Such is the record of gambling with a mighty left wing struggle and a movement of splendid potentialities. The Party and the miners' movement have paid dearly for it. The crest of the first mighty wave has passed. The battle is now less dramatic but demands tenacious, painstaking work in building of the new union, so it may begin to assume leadership in local struggles for better conditions for the miners. The present Party leadership evinces no interest whatever and gives no support at all. While looking for objects for manoeuvres it has no faith in the mass struggles of the workers. Its attitude is largely determined by its own petty-bourgeois social background and concept. It has been and still is on trial before the American proletariat, particularly as expressed in this struggle. Only a correct revolutionary policy can stand this judgment.

The National Miners Union is based squarely upon recognition of the principles of the class struggle, the only possible orientation for a militant union in the present imperialist era. The Party leadership in its present "self-criticism" is making much ado about the "failure" of some of the comrades, including the writer, to adopt the wording "class struggle" for the constitution preamble. But one of my proposals for constitution submitted to the committee in charge, and contained in Minutes of Aug. 28, reads: "The declaration of principle shall be unequivocally based upon recognition of the class struggle."

The National Miners Union has been born out of the struggle in the coal fields. The operators are as determined as ever upon their strategy to smash all working class organization. In solid alliance with them are the fakers of the old union machine and the govermental institutions of court injunctions, jailings and police terror. Great are thus the forces opposing the new union. The last few years have been marked by the continuous surrender and betrayal policy of the old union bureaucracy. To effect the change from surrender to militant struggle and real organization is the great task of the National Miners Union. To accomplish this it must have the full support of the left wing everywhere and that support must be mobilized by the Party.

THE NEW UNION MUST LEAD STRUGGLES

While a beginning has been made and a splendid record set by the left wing this union cannot grow in a vacum of secret existence or semi-legality. It must step out and lead the struggles of the miners. With the proper Party support and active preparations conditions are favorable for a campaign of organization in the unorganized fields of West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Kentucky. Conditions are favorable for its leadership in re-establishing union activities and union conditions in the former strike area of Pennsylvania and Ohio. Further struggles are impending in the Anthracite. The rank and file of Illinois and Indiana have shown great discontent and rebellion against the company union conditions imposed by the fakers who still maintain job control. They are looking toward the National Miners Union to give leadership. It must and can become a real force in the struggle for emancipation of the workers from capitalist exploitation.

This is an imperative task of the Party for which the objective possibilities are favorable. The obsolute prerequisites for success in this task are a decisive change in the attitude of the Party and a reorganization of its leadership which will ruthlessly throw aside the adventurist faction mongers.

Mistakes can be corrected only when properly recognized and fully understood. This becomes a much more important maxim when viewing the attitude of the Party leadership towards the orientation upon a general policy of building new unions of the unorganized working masses. An orientation demanding ever more concrete action with the further completion of the general rationalization process of American capitalism. One recalls the timely criticism of Comrade Lozovsky last Spring, castigating our failure to see these unorganized masses, a scathing indictment of the official Party policy of manoeuvring on top while ignoring the militant mass potentialities. This was met with stubborn resistance from the C.E.C. majority; also Comrade Foster made this mistake. But not content with this the C.E.C. majority by its vote at the May plenum actually rejected the thesis of the R.I.L.U. World Congress demanding an orientation by our Party toward building of new unions of the unorganized masses. In reply to this Comrade Cannon wrote in the July Communist on the "Trade Union Question":

"The obstacles in the path of organizing the workers in the basic industries of America are truly enormous, and the present forces at our disposal are small. There is no need to minimize the difficulties, they will multiply and confront us at every turn. The state power of capitalism will obstruct the new union movement with the fiercest persecution; and the workers will soon find that they are not done with the treacheries of the labor fakers when they seek to form new unions.

"Between the decision to organize the unorganized masses and the actual formation and conslidation of new unions lies a long and stony road. But history has laid out that task for the Communist Party and the left wing, and we must begin the work in earnest."

This line was correct then and remains correct today.

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On the Eve of the Party Convention

THE Party convention, which had been scheduled for the first of February, has been postponed for another month by the cabled instructions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in the vain expectation that some secretarial machination or other can be devised to avoid the chaotic consequences of its policy which is plunging all the Parties of the Comintern into the deepest crises and splits. Such attempts will no doubt be made but they are doomed to defeat in advance. The more the present leadership of the C.I. proclaims that "the faction struggle has no basis in principle" the sharper grows the struggle in our Party no less than in the other sections of the International.

It is just these leaders who are chiefly responsible for the chaos and factional deterioration against which they complain. The determining factor in the factional struggles which rend the Parties of the Comintern is the unbridled factional crisis in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This factional struggle is the fountain head of all. Those who employ the weapons of expulsion, imprisonment, and exile—and, now banishment—against their Leninist opponents cannot show our Party or any other Party the way to solve its crisis by normal political means. Their "intervention" by cable or plenipotentiary will only make matters worse. Those who hope for help from this source hope in vain. An understanding of these facts is the starting point for any sensible analysis of the situation in our Party on the eve of the convention. Those who do not understand this are hopelessly at sea.

In our declaration of October 27, we predicted the whole course of developments and this prediction has been confirmed 100 percent in the ensuing pre-convention period. The Party "discussion" which has been going on will surely be an interesting object for the detailed study of the Party historian with lots of time at his disposal to study the reams of theses, proclamations, resolutions, confessions, etc., which have been issued. However, one who lives in the work-a-day world is obliged by sheer demands of time to confine himself to the salient points. We must confess that our own capacity to absorb these dull and windy proclamations reached the "saturation point" some time ago. The "discussion" has had three main aspects: The mutual accusations of the two "official" factions against each other, their joint "ideological campaign" against the Opposition and the "illegal" discussion carried on by the expelled Opposition.

If one were naive enough to take the declarations of the two factions seriously, where they give their estimates of each other, he would have to conclude that Lovestone and Pepper are preparing for the expulsion of the Foster group, while Foster and Bittelman on the other hand are laying the ground for a split. If the words do not mean this they have no meaning whatever. The generals on both sides of the sham battle, of course, utter them in the latter sense.

THE FAKE DISCUSSION

On the most important principle questions raised by the Opposition the two factions stand together and conduct a joint campaign against "Trotskyism." This campaign consists exclusively of denunciation without a single attempt to elucidate any of the disputed questions. The readers of the Party press are solemnly assured by all the statements and articles that the expelled Oppositionists, without exception, are traitors, etc., etc. Just what this treason consists of is not disclosed and no attempt is made to prove the accusation because there is no proof at hand. If we leave aside the yellow journalistic "exposures" based on stolen documents which nobody, least of all the authors, took seriously, it appears that the expelled comrades have become counter-revolutionaries overnight because they adopted the platform of Trotsky and the Russian Opposition. But what is the platform of Trotsky? How and why is it counter-revolutionary? To such questions, which immediately arise in the minds of grown-up people, the caucus politicians have no answer.

When we were expelled they promised a "broad ideological campaign" to clarify the Party on the questions raised in our declaration of October 27 in support of the Russian Opposition. This campaign still waits. Not a single one of the Trotsky-killers has ventured to take issue with the Trotsky platform on a single point. It is simpler and easier to pass the whole thing by with denunciation and epithet. So reason the petty bureaucrats of the two factions. The Party member who is not satisfied with that, who asks questions and demands information is forthwith expelled. Then he becomes a "renegade" too.

By expulsion and terror they sought to prevent discussion even during the fraudulent "discussion period." But they failed. They only succeeded in making it "illegal." They drove it "underground." It has a lively existence there. The Party members are discussing the forbidden questions universally. These questions dominate the Party thought. Fundamental principle questions are occupying the attention of the comrades to a greater extent than at any time since 1919. More than 100 Party members have openly proclaimed their allegiance to the platform of the Opposition at the cost of expulsion.

A FACTIONAL EXCRESCENCE

The tactic of Lovestone and Pepper in the pre-convention struggle was ordained by all the circumstances and by the whole nature of the faction. Its "leadership" rests upon an exclusive preoccupation with internal factional manipulation, subordinating all Party interest and activity to this main "work," and combining it with assiduous wire-pulling in Moscow. This faction is an excrescence which could not possibly be at the head of a healthy workers' party under normal conditions. It is a product of the times. The political and ideological life of the Comintern during recent years has been the fight against "Trotkyism". The leaders for the various Parties have been artificially and mechanically selected from above on that basis. The readiness of the Pepper-Lovestone clique to support any infamy in the fight against Trotsky, and even to demand "harsher" measures, has been their charter from the E.C.C.I. to control the Party.

Construing leadership solely in terms of control of the Party apparatus, and not at all from the standpoint of the larger aspects of this function, their whole pre-convention strategy has been to maintain and strengthen that control. To expel the Opposition; to prevent a discussion of fundamental questions shaking the Party to again establish their prior claims in Moscow in the fight against "Trotskyism"; to terrorize the Fosterites with the Trotsky scare and make them do the scavenger work in the campaign; and to encroach still further toward a monopoly of the Party apparatus—such was the "strategy" of the ruling faction.

The cowardice and characterlessness of the Foster faction facilitated this strategy all along the line and assured in advance the victory it has already recorded in the District Conventions. The pitiful attempt of the Foster-Bittleman faction to "take the leadership in the "ideological campaign" against us only undermined its own position. They were "ahead" of Lovestone only in the sense that the boots of the latter were behind them, driving them forward as captives. The Fosterites who really believed the statements of their leaders to the effect that our stand is "counter-revolutionary" naturally and logically decided to subordinate everything to the fight against it and passed over to the C.E.C. majority. Those who did not believe it passed over to us. This process of disintegration which flows inevitably from the untenable position of the Foster group, will develop with cyclonic speed after the convention.

On the surface the ruling faction of Lovestone and Pepper has an overwhelming victory. In the New York District, for example, it registered a majority of more than ten to one in the District convention. The Fosterites were allowed only 3 delegates to the National Convention against 32 for Lovestone and it is almost completely wiped out of the newly-elected District Executive Committee—all of its effective representation being eliminated. On one pretext or another the Fosterites are being squeezed out of organizational positions and practically all the posts vacated by the expelled Oppositionists are taken over by the faction agents of Lovestone.

On Oct. 27 we said "the whole course of the Lovestone group, which has no roots in the labor movement, is toward a monopoly of the Party apparatus and cannot be otherwise." This is what is taking place. This is what they mean when they issue proclamations for "Unity."

The aim of the Lovestone faction is to split the Party. Their expulsion of the Opposition and their whole approach to the convention signifies this and nothing else. One must be completely and hopelessly blind to be unable to see this and to draw the bolshevik conclusions from it.

The District Conventions, which show a ten to one majority for Lovestone, do not reflect the actual relation of forces in the Party. The gerrymandering, packing, "colonizing" and manipulating of elections in our Party under Lovestone and Pepper have become an art from which Lewis and Green could learn. The votes at the membership meetings showed a solid one-third of the Party voting against the regime in the face of wholesale expulsions of the Opposition, the support of the E.C.C.I., the campaign of terrorism and the miserable, cowardly, and apologetic stand of Foster, Bittleman & Co. These remarkable figures, listed in the *Daily Worker* reports of the membership meetings, give the lie to Convention "unanimity". They demonstrate the failure of the Lovestone bureaucracy to gain a decisive hold of the membership and foreshadow the collapse of the regime. The convention which will meet under the sign of "unity" will confront a divided Party—with the most conscious and militant fighters against the Lovestone leadership expelled and a remaining third of the membership in irreconcilable opposition to it.

What does this opposition vote of a third of the Party, after our expulsion, represent? Nominally the bulk of it was cast for the Foster platform but it would be absolutely false and superficial to count it as the strength of the Foster group. *This vote represents primarily and above all opposition to the Lovestone-Pepper leadership.*

Under normal conditions, with the Opposition remaining in the Party and forcing a discussion of the principle questions, this minority would expand and become a majority. A real discussion would shatter the bureaucratic strangle-hold of the Lovestone faction. Under the present conditions, with the discussion prohibited, without a clear comprehension of the inseparable connection of the issues of our Party with the fight of the Opposition on an International scale, and with the club of expulsion swinging over their heads, the proletarian elements *sought a legal expression for their opposition stand.* The Foster faction, in the abnormal circumstances, became the temporary concentration point of the proletarian opposition on its road to further development and clarification.

THE ROLE OF THE FOSTER GROUP

There is a danger in this which must be clearly understood and fought in the most uncompromising way. Like all centrists, the Foster-Bittleman group of leaders act as an aid to the right. Their function is to give "expression" to the proletarian tendencies, to confuse and muddle them, to halt their progress in the direction of an understanding of the principle questions and eventually to dissolve them into a false "unity" under the hegemony of the opportunist-adventurers.

Foster and Bittleman are fooling the proletarian fighters in the Party with all kinds of rumors, illusions and false hopes. They are waiting for a "cable"; a new secretarial decision; a new "concession" from Moscow. This "concession" will come but its whole import will be to further entrench the Lovestone faction and disarm its opponents. The present leadership of the E.C.C.I. is primarily responsible for the chaos of disruption in our Party. It is responsible for the domination of the faction of callous adventurers which ruins and discredits the Party. Help from "Moscow" for the proletarian tendency in our Party will come only when the purifying principle struggle of the Opposition against the present leadership of the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern has been crowned with success.

The proletarian-revolutionary elements whom Foster and Bittleman are exploiting must understand this and begin a serious study and discussion of the prohibited world questions which are the key to our own Party problems. To the extent they will do this they will safeguard against "unity" betrayals and capitulation which the unprincipled leaders are already attempting to prepare.

The Convention will not and cannot end the faction struggle. It will only clear the ground for its higher development into a struggle for the reconstitution of the unity of the Party on the basis of priciple. The end of the fake discussion which "prohibits" the real issues will mark the beginning of a new and broader wave of discussion of precisely these issues inside and outside the Party ranks. In this discussion the Communist vagnuard of the future will be consolidated.

OPPOSITION MEETING IN BOSTON

A mass meeting on the subject, "The Truth About Trotsky and the Platform of the Russian Opposition" will be held in Boston on Friday, February 15th, 1929, 8 P. M. at the Credit Union Hall, 62 Chambers St., Boston, Mass. Comrade James P. Cannon will be the speaker. Tickets in advance at 25 cents can be obtained at Shapiro's Book Store, 8 Leverett St.

ON THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA -

Alma-Ata, October 21, 1928.

Dear Comrades:—

I am writing to you in advance of the October plenary session, or at least before the news of the session has reached Alma-Ata. I have nothing new to tell you. I merely wish to summarize what I have already said, and to give you the criteria by which to judge the impending session.

It is reported that Zinoviev said that Stalin had triumphed in June. From the political point of view that is absurd. Centrism weakened itself politically by the October compromise. The right and the left wings made a gain. But the development of the apparatus has its own logic, which so far has not coincided with the general shifts of power in the Party and the working class, and is even contrary to it.

By surrendering his political position Stalin split the right wing. He "broke loose" from it (temporarily) Kalinin and Voroshilov, who are wholeheartedly for the new proprietors and the new order, but who hitherto have been afraid of being left face to face with Rykov, Bucharin, and Tomsky as leaders.

The situation from the point of view of the apparatus is bad enough for the Right. Stalin *attacks* organizationally, after he has *retreated politically* and assured himself of his majority. It suffices to note that Molotov's candidacy for the post of actual chairman of the Comintern (in place of Bucharin) is already regarded as a serious question. Yes, yes, we once jokingly suggested that Stalin would put Mechlis in as chairman of the Comintern. The reality is not far from the jest. Kaganovich must replace Uglanov, against whom charges are pending in the Central Control Committee. (Incitement of a youth-comrade against Stalin.) But the real situation of the Right appears in the fact that—according to a Moscow story—Bucharin is running down the back-stairs to Kamenev and promising to "swap Stalin and Molotov for Kamenev and Zinoviev". Kamenev of course would declare himself ready for this operation, but he understands that Bucharin's political promises are worth no more than his economic prognoses. Out of sheer insolence the leader of the Comintern, the almighty Pooh-bah, would not run to the men who were expelled from the Party only yesterday, while he is really afraid of his own shadow.

What is Stalin thinking? It is not difficult to guess. If I get out of these difficulties by means of centrist measures, then I will call the Right capitulators, and drop them a peg or two lower in the organization. If, on the other hand, the situation gets worse, then I will steer to the Right myself, that is, I will *weaken* the Right faction by robbing them politically. I will declare that they have invented the disagreements, that they are trying to split the Party, and thus put them a peg lower. If these Right measures do not work, I will make my Right allies *responsible for the failure*, will again steer a course to the Left by giving Kamenev and Zinoviev a little longer leash—since they are waiting docilely like whipped dogs . . . And then we shall see . . . That is Stalin's scheme. Its strength lies in the apparatus. Its mortal weakness, that it counts without the host, i. e., without *the classes*. But as long as the classes are silent, Stalin's scheme will work.

If the main outlines of Stalin's plan are already visible from afar, they are certainly clear to the Right. That is why the Rights are so very much excited. They do not want to admit that they are already partly defeated. But they are very much afraid that if they attack, Stalin will wipe them out at one blow.

THE METHOD OF STALIN

Stalin's method was very clear during the congress. The number of hours Bucharin spoke at the congress was in inverse ratio to his influence, which is declining from day to day. In the first place, the Right policy of the U.S.S.R. is distasteful to the foreign party-bureaucrats in view of the radicalization of the masses and the pressure of the Opposition. In the second place, the apparatus is in the hands of Stalin, and in the Comintern the religion of the apparatus is no weaker than in the C.P.S.U. *During the congress the absent Stalin took three-fourths if not nine-tenths of the assembled apparatus-men away from Bucharin.* It was not necessary for Stalin to be present. He had nothing to say. The bargaining was done for him by the impersonal mechanism of power. It is evident that the Rights, whether they wish to or not, are forced to jump into the cold water—that is, they must endeavor to carry their fight against Stalin outside of the apparatus. This explains the publication of a certain article by Bucharin, "Observations of an Economist". That was the courage of despair. It is possible that Rykov and Tomsky sent Bucharin out as a scouting party. (The article is not only a product of theoretical weakness, but also of complete political impotence.) This move has done the Right nothing but harm. The "genuine" Right Wing, determined to carry the struggle outside the boundaries of the bureaucratic hen-coop, had to crow: "New proprietors, unite; or the Socialists will rob you!" Such appeals have been heard before in the struggle against the Opposition, but then they sounded somewhat contemptibly ambiguous. But the Right, in order to oppose itself clearly to the Center, had to howl this out with full throats, like the Black Hundreds, like Thermidorians. But for this Bucharin still lacks the strength. He has put his toe into the cold water, but he is afraid to plunge in. He stands and shivers . . . with fear. And Rykov and Tomsky watch from afar, to see what will happen, in order at the proper moment to disappear into the bushes. This is the disposition of the most important actors on the bureaucratic stage.

One may say that all this is not very important. But that would be false. Naturally, if the classes should speak out loud, if the proletariat should pass over to a political attack, the disposition of these apparatus actors would lose nine-tenths of its meaning, and they would shift their position sharply to one side or the other. But we are considering here a not yet completed epoch, the epoch of the omnipotence of the apparatus with a growing dual power in the country. Stalin and Rykov and Bucharin are the government. And the government is not playing a very weighty role. It is necessary to study the disposition of the bureaucratic players more closely, but from the standpoint of class rather than from that of the apparatus.

THE POSITION OF THE RIGHT WING

How can the Right danger "really" materialize? That is a question of great importance. The main thing is that the Right wing has its chief support *outside* of the Party. The Right Wing is more weakly represented in the apparatus than the Center, but in contrast to the Centrists it has a solid class support in the country. But how can the strength of the Right Wing nevertheless actually materialize? In other words, how can the new proprietors come to power? At first glance, it seems reassuring that the political *parties* of the possessing class are shattered, that the new proprietors are suppressed, that the Right Wing inside the Party, fearing the proletarian nucleus and still constrained by the past, cannot decide to rely openly upon the new proprietors. Naturally, this is all an advantage that we inherit from the past, but it is by no means an absolute guarantee. The conditions necessary for a *materialization* of the Thermidor can develop in a *comparatively short* time.

We have already more than once called attention to the fact that the victorious bourgeois counter-revolution must take the *form of Fascism or Bonapartism*, but absolutely cannot take the form of bourgeois democracy of which the soft-headed Mensheviks dream. Kamenev has never understood that to this day. In his recent conversation with our comrades, Kamenev described the situation in the country as if after a certain period "Kerensky" would stand at the threshold. Decidely not. If one must mention Kerensky, then it would be better to say that right now, under the Centrist regime, the country is compelled to pass through a "Kerensky period upside down."

The function of the historic Kerensky period consisted in this: that on its back the power of the bourgeoisie passed over to the proletariat. The historic role of the Stalin period consists in this: that upon its back the power is gliding over from the proletariat to the bourgeoisie; in general the post-Lenin leadership is unwinding the October film in a reverse direction. And the Stalin period is this same Kerensky period moving toward the Right. In a country which has been shaken by the greatest revolution the bourgeois order cannot possibly assume a democratic form. For victory, and for the maintenance of this victory, the bourgeoisie must have a supreme and purely military concentration of power, lifting itself above the classes, but having as its immediate point of support the Kulak. That is Bonapartism. The Thermidor is only a stage on the road to Bonapartism. This stage does not have to be realized completely. The counter-revolution can "jump over" one or another step. In a Thermidorian, and still more in a completely Bonapartist overthrow, *the army* plays a great role—in the second case, the decisive role. For this reason, we must *follow with the greatest attention the processes that are taking place in the army.*

THE THREAT OF BONAPARTISM

We must not forget that in the June report to the Moscow conference of Party workers, the Right "leader," referring to his friend Klim, said: "If you undertake any more extraordinary measures, the army will answer with an insurrection." That is a very significant formulation—half prophecy and half threat. Indeed it may be three-quarters threat. But who is making the threat? The new property holders through the commanding apparatus of the army. The apparatus through Klim. Here you have also, so to speak, the Bonapartist candidate Klim. It would be extremely naive to object that he would make a very diminutive Bonaparte. There have been different Bonapartes. There was not only Napoleon I, but also Napoleon III, who was a very pitiable specimen. When the possessing classes find it necessary, they will make, to use a Stalinist expression, "a prince out of a gutter-snipe". Yes, events can develop in such a way that Klim (one of these Klims) may spring forth as a "prince". That will be a third kind of Bonaparte. But that would not prevent him from destroying the revolution. They say that Klim has gone over from a Right position to the Right Center, and is supporting "the master." But such combinations at the top are formed and can be torn apart in twenty-four hours by an impetus from without. Moreover, it does not have to be Klim. If he won't do it, then Budenny. We have no lack of Bonapartes. The master says: "These cadres can only by swept away by a civil war." Klim adds: 'If you workers growl too much, remember that a great power stands behind me." Both these statements are elements of Bonapartism. In the first case speaks the Party-state-apparatus, which considers itself higher than all, higher even than the army. In the second case speaks the Military apparatus, which tomorrow will feel compelled to "put the civil arm in its place."

A bloodless victory of the Party apparatus of the Centrists over the Right would not do away with the Thermidorian-Bonapartist perspective, but would only change and postpone it. An independent victory of the Centrists without the Opposition, without the masses, can only succeed through an increased repression, through a further narrowing of the mass-basis of Centrism, through a further consolidation of the Centrist faction with the apparatus of governmental repression and, finally, with the commanding apparatus of the army, in which the Party life is long ago extinct, since no one is permitted to hold other opinions there than those which Bubnov is ordered to propagate. As a result of these consolidations, will the master himself eventually mount the white horse, or will he be found lying under Klim's horse? From the class standpoint that is a quite unimportant question.

We thus come to the conclusion that a "victory" of the Right would lead directly along the Thermidorian-Bonapartist road, a "victory" of the Centrists would lead zig-zag along the same road. Is there any real difference? In the final historic consequence there is no difference. Centrism presents only a variety of conciliation (in the given case, with the new proprietors, with the bourgeois society, which is attempting to form itself anew) but this only as the final historic consequence. At the present stage, however, Centrism reflects on a much larger scale the broad strata of the "superior" workers. The Right has its roots in the new, and chiefly the peasant, proprietorship. It would be a very crude mistake to ignore this struggle between them.

The Centrists do not want to break openly with the workers. They fear this break much more than the Right, which above all does not want to offend the property holders. Just this relation between the upper levels of the working class and the new proprietors is the basis of the grouping in the apparatus, no matter how confusing the cross-currents in the Party, no matter how great may become the "difficulties" between personalities (Stalin, Bucharin, Rykov, Tomsky.). We must distinguish the two groupings in order to follow the separate stages of the struggle, in order to understand the meaning of the struggle and its limitations. This struggle has of itself no great significance, but it breaks the bureaucratic fetters, brings the hidden to light, impels the masses to think, and widens the arena of their activities.

- A Letter to a Comrade - - by L. D. TROTSKY

Foreword

The letter written to a comrade by L. D. Trotsky which we publish on these pages formed one of the bases for which one hundred and fifty Bolshevik fighters were arrested on January 23, 1929 in Moscow for the "illegal publication of counter-revolutionary documents". It is our misfortune and the dishonor of the revolutionary movement that the writings of comrade Trotsky, which comprise some of the keenest and most brilliant Marxist-Leninist writings of our time, must be secretly circulated in the Soviet Union, and that for their distribution revolutionary workers are being persecuted.

The official reports say that the one hundred and fifty workers were given a secret trial, found guilty, and imprisoned or exiled to unknown place. Such an absolutely unheard of procedure in the Soviet Union will only strengthen the enemies of the revolution. Not even the genuinely counter-revolutionary Social Revolutionaries in 1922 or of the inveterate enemy of the Soviets, Savinkov, were given secret trials. The working class of Russia was permitted to participate because the Bolshevik prosecutors were able to pillory them as counter-revolutionaries. In the case of the 150 Oppositionists, Stalin's machine HAD to conduct a secret, hurried "trial" because they feared the resentment of the workers.

The letter of comrade Trotsky exposes with knife-like sharpness the factors and forces in the present struggle in the Soviet Union and the Party and lays bare, further, the reasons for the reactionary hysteria of Stalin and the progress of the Leninist Opposi — Ed.

The July plenum was the most important moment in the retreat of the Centrists. But it would be stupid to think that this is the last stage of the struggle, that the Centrists have finally capitulated, and that henceforward the Right enjoys a position of "monopoly." No, under the pressure of contradictions in the struggle, the revolution also will inexorably break through and play no small role in the history of the Party.

But from this one can by no means infer that the Centrists in their struggle with the Right wish to rely upon the Opposition. The Centrists fear the Opposition more than they fear the Right. The Centrists struggle with the Right, but steal from their program. To say that a bloc with one or another part of the present Center would never and in no circumstances be possible, would be ridiculous doctrinairism. Many of the present Centrists will still move to the Left. If anyone had told us in 1924 that we would form a bloc with the Zinoviev people, few would have believed it. But it happened that the struggle of the Leningrad Centrists against the attack of the Kulaks brought them to a bloc with us, and to the adoption of our platform. Similar zig-zags are not impossible with the ruling Centrists of today, if the class regime compels them to break openly and definitely with the Right, and if circumstances make them obedient. Such historical possibilities are not to be excluded. They can become steps on the way of a further development and strengthening of the Bolshevik line, just as did the bloc with the Zinoviev people. But it would be losing one's head entirely to steer a course at present toward a bloc with the Centrists as they now are, instead of systematically, uncompromisingly, implacably opposing to the Centrists the proletarian nucleus of the Party. In the long run these two tendencies will obliterate the difference between the overwhelming majority of the Opposition and its small minority which is given to "dreaming" how beautiful it would be, if a nice bloc should be formed with the thoughtful Centrists, which would diminish the difficulties and the dangers in the development of the Party and the State. But alas, the too rich experience of the past testifies that such a supposedly more economical course will cost much more, and that those who summon us to this course are slipping into Centrism itself. The bureaucratic apparatus struggle of the Centrists with the Right can be employed as a starting point for a thorough-going Party reform, only if there is a decisive interference of the masses. Only the Opposition can organize this interference of the masses, since the Opposition is politically independent of both the Right and the Centrists, and owing to this independence is able to make use of every stage of the struggle between them.

THE "ADVICE" OF THE CAPITULATORS

A few words, in this connection, upon the advice and counsel of our new friend Kamenev (in the above-mentioned conversation). . Kamenev, you know, finds that "L.T." should hand in a document in which he would say: Call us, we will work together. But L.T. is a self-willed man . . . etc., ect. Kamenev is really not so naively good-natured and of course does not himself believe in what he says. He knows perfectly well that such a declaration would not alter the legal position of the Opposition, it would merely give it a political blow which would lower it to the level of the Zinoviev people. The latter have won themselves a disgraceful half-amnesty which denies them all political life whatever. And this, only thanks to their breaking away from us. Kamenev understands this very well. His conversations and his coquetry have only one goal, to frighten Stalin, who is already maltreating a little too contemptuously his future "allies."

Kamenev wants to raise his own price, in order at a new opportunity to betray us again, but under conditions more favorable for himself. In the end, however, only complete dough heads could yield to his blandishment. Among us there will be no two opinions upon this. Especially noticeable is Kamenev's sorrow over my "frequent" and "harsh" attacks upon his capitulation. "People must work together." "We should not revive old quarrels." "It is too bad that a split has arisen."

Kamenev sings well—with coloratura. That he sings without fear of Yaroslavsky, testifies to the weakening hold of the apparatus and to the growing chances of the Opposition. We put this in our books on the credit side. But only one inference can be made from it: we must strike twice as hard, three times, ten times as hard, against the capitulators.

APPLYING THE OPPOSITION PLATFORM

The question of introducing the masses into the struggle is above all a question of mobilizing the working class in all spheres of the domestic and international life, beginning with the simplest and most pressing problems. In a series of letters we find suggestions that the Oppsition lacks a "platform" on the "labor question." What does this mean exactly? Is our platform obsolete? The "labor section" of our platform was drawn up with particular exactitude and concreteness. I'm afraid that the application of it is simply being forgotten. It seems as if many comrades have forgotten the platform. They do not apply it, they do not seek counsel in it, and for that reason are always demanding new documents. You must study it again, and apply it. Every act of a Bolshevik-Leninist must proceed from the platform; if possible accurate quotations which apply to the given question must be adduced. Theses over no matter what question of the day, little or big, must begin with a quotation from the platform. This document was built out of a vast collective experience, during which all formulations were accurately thought out and discussed. The application of the platform to all questions will have a great influence in the direction of discipline, especially among the youth. It stands to reason that gaps can appear in the platform, obsolete sentences or erroneous particulars which need changing, correcting, or completing. But we must formulate these corrections and completions clearly and accurately, and thus act upon the platform itself.

The application of the platform in every given stage and to every concrete question, (as for instance the wage-scale campaign which now stands upon the order of the day) has naturally always its own difficulties, which can be solved only with the participation of the comrades on the spot; in the factory and in the various trades. Our most important guiding idea, the decisive criterion in this field, is the increase of real wages. As to the extent of this increase, negotiations must be carried on with the managers, with the Soviet, Party and trade unions organs. A strike is, as the resolution of the Eleventh Party Congress declared, the extreme measure but absolutely not an illegal, anti-Party or anti-Soviet measure. The participation of the Bolshevik-Leninists in strikes, and in the leadership of strikes, may be indicated as the Party duty of Bolshevik-Leninists, when all other means for safeguarding the legal, that is the actually realizable, demands of the masses have been exhausted. How far these actual realizations can go, may be determined, as we have already said, by negotiations in which the workers' representative hears the explanations and also actually examines the books. Who shall conduct these negotiations? That depends upon the disatisfaction and the attacking power of the worker. When opportunities arise, the Bolshevik-Leninists will demand the election of special commissions and delegations to conduct the negotiations with the trade union, with the Party Committee of the province, and to visit the editorial offices of the papers, and, when all else fails, the highest authorities. With written declarations and an accurate report upon the workers' complaints, they should appear before the factory meetings. The mood of the workers is such as to demand upon our side the greatest determination and activity. We alone can lead the suppressed disatisfaction into the correct Soviet and Party channels. The present passivity of the masses, due to many causes, testifies in part to a wavering and indecisiveness of the masses themselves, since many of the old ways and means have disappointed, and new ones have not yet been found.

THE MASSES AT THE CROSS ROADS

This standing at the cross roads can naturally not last long. A new crystallization process must take place in the masses, and it may under certain conditions go forward with dizzying speed. And around what pole will this process take place—the bureaucratic? No, that is impossible. If we are not the pole around which everything turns in this process, then it will be the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries, the Anarchists. And that will mean that the October Revolution is finally crushed. Only the Bolshevik-Leninists can protect the Revolution against this, since they boldly go to the masses, and where it is necessary overthrow the boundaries which the bureaucrats have set up.

Going to the masses does not mean remaining passive before their spontaneous power as the Democratic Centralists plan to do. They would break their necks with their Putsch policy, which would be only half bad, or they would unwittingly help the enemy to break the neck of the Revolution, which would be much worse. The policy of the last five years has created anew in the working masses an anti-Soviet mood, partly not yet formulated, partly already formulated—that is, directed toward private property. The activity of the masses must be so mobilized that within the masses a differentiation along the class line goes continually forward. To the anti-Soviet voices which are especially well formulated, conscious, malicious, we must react much more sensitively and decisively than the apparatus does. At every new outbreak of dissatisfaction we must first of all unmask the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries, the Anarchists, in so far as they have put their oar in. We can and must react to such attempts of the agents of the bourgeoisie with a direct appeal to the workers.

We need not doubt that with the growth of our activity and our influence upon the left wing of the working class, the attempts of elements alien to us, and even our class enemies, to snuggle up to us and even clothe themselves in our colors, will grow more frequent. We must be on our guard, and denounce these elements publicly whenever possible. It is necessary that we steer, upon all issues, a perfectly accurate course, so that the masses can know where we are, and where we are not.

This is especially so with regard to the Democratic Centralists. You will remember that even in our ranks there were individual comrades who looked upon the question of Democratic Centralism from a sentimental standpoint. ("They are pretty good fellows, just the same"). Some of them did not want to see the distinctions in our political line. It is worth remarking that precisely those comrades who yesterday were still proposing a complete union with the Democratic Centralists, stand today upon the conciliatory wing, and rave and shout against "Democratic Centralism" in our own ranks, often understanding by Democratic Centralism the development of our principle line. Although it is annoying to lose time upon secondary questions, we must nevertheless occupy ourselves a litte with these Democratic Centralists, in order to be clear as to the sectarian character of their policy and the adventurism founded on it. Since the "leaders" of Democratic Centralism whom we have until now left to themselves (and in that we have been right), have talked themselves out to the end, they have given us good weapons against themselves. We will take away the best elements from them with the help of their own documents, especially with the letters of V. Smirnov. We must not neglect even the smallest wound: otherwise poison threatens the whole organism. We will take away the workers with a courageous and determined policy in the weightiest questions, upon the one side, and with a campaign of clarification on the other.

THE SLOGAN OF THE SECRET BALLOT

All the material I have received testifies that the slogan of the secret vote in the Party and the trade unions can and must be issued. Self-criticism has evolved to the point of half-comedy and half-provocation. That is clear to everyone. We must in our transitional slogans—our partial slogans, so to speak—give expression to the mood of the workers and their not yet very audible wish to get rid of pressure from above . . . . "Why didn't you vote against it?" . . . . "If there had been a secret ballot, it would have been different." That is to be heard everywhere.

Whether it will come to the secret ballot or whether intolerable contradictions will be solved in some shorter way, "jumping over" certain stages, is a special question. But for the given moment, the slogan of the secret ballot is a life question in the Party and the trade unions, since it gives to the fact of bureaucratic pressure, that is, class pressure upon the workers through the apparatus, a general expression. The slogan of the secret ballot is at the present stage the best expression for the struggle now beginning against the dual power. The open ballot was introduced in its time so that the enemy could not vote against the proletarian dictatorship. The element of dual power in the country has brought it about that the workers cannot vote for the dictatorship, through fear before the pressure of the bourgeoisie reflected through the apparatus. That is the gist of the matter. The apparatus-man stands on the tribune and watches the hands of the voters, or the worker's wife pulls him by the sleeve: "Better not vote." In these circumstances, to say that the secret ballot supports passivity and undecisiveness, is a surrender to idealistic doctrinarism.

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On the Situation in Russia

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Whoever poses the question in that way, puts the slogan of the secret ballot not in relation to the existing situation, from which so far no way out has been found, but puts it in relation to an idealized situation where all workers vote courageously and firmly according to their convictions.

If one develops this view to its logical conclusion, one must abolish the slogan of the secret ballot even in a capitalist society, in order better to develop "activity" and "courage." In China one could of course summon the brave-hearted workers to open voting, but the next morning they would lose their heads for it. Therefore in China the slogan of secret ballot (in all elections) can have an extraordinary significance, since this slogan is dictated by the relation of class forces. Although the social regime has with us a different foundation, nevertheless this foundation is already in great part overgrown with weeds. It is not true that the character of our elections and ballots is determined today by the amount of courage and decisiveness of the workers. No, it is already to a great degree determined by the changed relations of the class forces. This change finds its objective expression in the governmental apparatus, in its whole mechanism. Stalin has truly said: "These cadres can only be destroyed by civil war." Naturally there is in these words also a certain bureaucratic boasting and intimidation. With a real wave from below the apparatusman will duck; he will not let it come to a civil war. In any case this course—the course of a reform through powerful pressure of the masses—must be tried out to the end. At the present stage the slogan of the secret ballot drives the masses forward towards activity, and away from passivity. At any and every meeting where there is talk of self-criticism, of Party democracy, and so forth, the Bolshevik-Leninists must and can say: "In order to have self-criticism you must remove the pressure; make it possible for us to vote according to our convictions, without fear of loss of employment—that is, secretly. Then all the apparatus-men will be held in check."

We must begin with the Party, then go on to the unions. As to the Soviets, where different classes take part in the voting, the question must be subordinated until we have gathered the necessary experience.

PERSPECTIVES OF THE STRUGGLE

As regards the general perspectives of the struggle, both domestic and international, I must limit myself here to general remarks, reserving the right to come back to these questions in the near future, in order to treat them more concretely, and also with reference to the more important individual countries, as I have already done in part with reference to China ("The Chinese Question after the Eleventh Congress.") A considerable part of the documents we sent to the Congress was dedicated to an explanation of the relation of our inner struggle with the international struggle. The theoreticians of Democratic Centralism do not understand this relation—they have in general no line. In the international question there appear, not accidentally, certain purely adventurist blocs with people who have broken altogether with Marxism, people like Korsch and Co. In his latest pronouncements, V. Smirnov is merely a Left caricature of Stalin.

Europe is now passing through a phase of a rather lively strike movement. This wave is to a certain extent economically "belated", since it coincides with a considerable lowering of the economic prosperity. The belatedness of the strike wave was caused by the previous heavy defeats, by the growing influence of the social democracy and the bureaucratic passivity in the policy of the Comintern. A further lowering of the economic prosperity must bring the economic struggle into the political field, and thereby favor the leftward movement of the workers. It will have a different tempo in different countries. But an extraordinary sharpening of the political situation in certain European countries is not impossible even in the near future. This depends to a large degree upon the depth, the duration and the extent of the oncoming crisis, not only in Europe but also in the United States. America will overcome its crisis at the cost of Europe, and can, with its pressure on individual countries, Germany in the first place, bring them to immediately revolutionary situations. Here appears in our perspective the chief contradiction, that between the tasks of the epoch and the maturity of the Communist Party. The danger of missing new revolutionary situations is absolutely not removed, and is also not diminished. The adventure with Thaelmann is of course no accident. The present regime is a hothouse for Smolensk affairs on an international scale. And these gentry, the people of Smolensk and Hamburg, condemn us and expel us. Their work consists of befouling the banner of Communism and destroying the Comintern.

HISTORIC MISSION OF THE OPPOSITION

The more they do this, the more they demonstrate the gigantic mission of the Opposition on an international scale. We must bend all our energies to form the genuine Bolshevik cadres in the struggle with bureaucratism, to revive and mature them. That is the chief difference between the third five years of the Comintern and the second. Six years were necessary in order to bring the weightiest questions and differences out of the bureaucratic underworld into the world arena. That point is now reached. No power can again suppress the problems and counter-problems now presented. The revolutionary cadres of the foreign Parties can only grow through their own experience. We are not demanding a commandeering of the International Opposition in the spirit of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. A broadly-extended and systematic exchange of theoretical experiences, a collaboration in the sphere of the Marxian analysis of events, and a working out of slogans for action—that is the beginning. The first serious steps to be taken began already with the Sixth Congress. We must develop these steps, broaden them and deepen them.

The issue of our inner struggle is inseparably bound up with these international events. Only a fool could draw from that the conclusion that this being the case, the existing domestic policy and the policy of the Opposition are equivalent for the fate of the October Revolution. We do not promise the building of socialism in one country; that is known. We have never said and do not say that we possess a wonder-working recipe which will remove the contradictions of socialist development in a capitalist encirclement. What we have to offer is a correct orientation, a correct prognosis, and the correct class line deriving from it. The axis of our domestic policy is the maintenance of power in the hands of the proletariat—or more accurately, the return to the proletariat of this power, which has been usurped by the apparatus, and a further reinforcement of the dictatorship of the proletariat upon the basis of a systematic improvement of the daily material life conditions of the working class. There are no other recipes and none are needed.

The Opposition has a correct line. The task is to make this the line of the proletarian vanguard. To this end we must be wholly imbued with a consciousness of the great historic mission which is ours, and we must act with genuine Bolshevik courage.

Trotsky's Deportation from Russia

Continued from page 1

"Trotskyites Take to Armed Counter-Revolution; the Soviet Power Must Destroy Them." He writes:

> "Trotskyism shows itself as genuine menshevik counter-revolution, holding the basic common platform of the international bourgeoisie: the overthrow of the Soviet power. It is absolutely certain that the C.P.S.U. and the workers' government under its Leninist guidance, will mercilessly crush this new counter-revolutionary conspiracy. It is their duty to the international working class to do so."

Minor can write these disgraceful lines even though it covers the Party with shame and dishonor. He is an old hand at this game. He writes now about Trotsky just as he wrote about Lenin in the Red-hating New York *World* of February, 1919. He said then:

> "The main fact in the new situation is that the so-called nationalization of Russian industry has put insurgent industry *back into the hands of the business class*, who disguise their activities by giving orders under the magic title of 'People's Commissaries.'" (Our emphasis.)

At that time he was defending the genuinely counter-revolutionary anarchists against the Bolsheviks, about whom he substituted lies for understanding and sympathy. Today, he lies with the same ease about Trotsky, the authentic living leader of world Bolshevism, and calls for his head, and for the "merciless crushing" of Trotsky's comrades.

The 150 Oppositionists were arrested for printing and circulating a "counter-revolutionary" article by Trotsky. We print the article referred to on another page of this issue. Our readers can see that it is saturated with the unbreakable will of the Opposition to maintain the victory of the October Revolution, to defend it from all of its enemies, to guard it from the insidious attacks of the Kulak, the Nepman, the bureaucrat, the foreign bourgeoisie, and their instruments—from the conscious and unconscious agents of the Thermidor who stand behind the policies of Stalin, with a smug and satisfied leer at every new step he takes against the Leninist Opposition. There is not a breath of counter-revolution in this brilliant document for it is predicated on the only correct program of struggle, in the Bolshevist sense, against the increasing aggressiveness and impudence of the class enemies of the Russian proletariat.

Trotsky is again sounding the alarm. He is warning against the destructive role of Stalin, for Stalin is splitting the Party and the proletariat, the ranks of the revolution. When Lenin died, the remaining leaders of the Party gave repeated assurances that only a united Party and a united leadership could guarantee the continuation of Lenin's course. Stalin is following a consistently opposite path. He has drained the Party of its best blood.

He who now proposes to the world bourgeoisie "international disarmament" and gains the praise of the bourgeoisie pacifists by proposing to "disarm the Red Army", has driven into exile the Lion of October, the organizer and leader of the Red Army. He has exiled or imprisoned Radek, Preobrazhensky, Rakovsky, Smilga, Mratchkovsky, Smirnov, Fishelev, Schmidt and thousands of other heroes of October. He who in 1917 proposed a coalition with the Mensheviks—against Lenin—because "there is no Party life without disagreements," is virulently intolerant of the slightest disagreement within the Party today; every diversion or opinion from the ruling bureaucracy is slashed at with an axe. On the road to capitulation the splitting and disorganization of the Party is only an incident.

The renewed arrests and persecutions assail the class conscious workers everywhere with the insistent question: *Whose hand is here? What class is strengthened by these measures?* Trotsky long ago warned Stalin:

> "We are familiar with repressions. We are accustomed to blows. We will not surrender the October Revolution to the policies of Stalin—the entire essence of which is contained in these few words: Repression of the proletarian nucleus, fraternization with the compromisers of all countries, capitulation before the world bourgeoisie."

Such is the meaning of the new arrests of the Bolsheviks in Russia. The arrested Bolsheviks are upholding the banner of the October Revolution. The American Communists who defended the Russian Revolution since 1917 must understand this. They must understand that the defense of the Russian Opposition is the one and only means of continuing that fight.

Trotsky has been banished to Turkey, because none of the imperialist countries, these "allies of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" would permit their arch-enemy to enter their borders. He has been sent to Turkey, whose capital swarms with counter-revolutionary, White Guard vermin, who never lost their hatred for the man who organized the Red Army that drove them out and deprived them of their estates and privileged positions. His deportation there means virtually to deliver him to the White Guards. Should any harm come to Trotsky at their hands, the revolutionary working class of the world will hold Stalin personally and politically responsible for the crime! Let this be said openly and let all workers know its meaning. —M.S.

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Miners Protest the Expulsions

We print herewith the protest of a group of the outstanding leaders of the National Miners Union against the expulsions of Communists from the Party and their demand for Party democracy and a real discussion of the questions in dispute.

Jan. 13, 1929.

To the C.E.C. and to the D.E.C. District 8.

Dear Comrades:—

At our last meeting of Springfield mine nucleus by regular motion the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

We the undersigned, members of the Springfield, Illinois party unit, view with great alarm the policy of mass expulsion of proletarian members now carried on by our party leadership in what appears to us as being in pursuance of purely factional aims. A policy which we have faced to great detriment of the revolutionary cause as it appears to us in other fields of the class struggle in which we have been active for years. A policy which we maintain to be the most arrogant form of bureaucratism and to our mind has absolutely no place in a workers proletarian Communist party when applied as in this case to members whose record proves themselves as Communist by their services to the movement performed during years of activities.

It is our opinion that the policy of expulsion for political views alone is a policy of splits, of wrecking the Party and should and must be most decisively condemned by the membership.

As it appears to us, the party leadership in an effort to cover up the series of right wing errors and its complete right wing line, has now resorted to the destructive expulsion policy as a last desperate act reaching a point at present of utilizing practically the same methods as that pursued by the corrupt bureaucratic leaders in control of the trade unions, the old miners union being an outstanding dastardly example. We as Communists, many of us belonging to this union, have fought with all our revolutionary devotion this expulsion policy of the union bureaucracy, receiving at all times the full and undivided support of the entire Communist Party and all its members only to see it now resorted to and applied in the same ruthless manner by a bureaucratic leadership in the Party itself. In constructing the National Miners Union, and in laying down laws to govern its officers and members we have taken particular care and made the most strenuous efforts that the establishment of such bureaucracy should not be repeated and these methods never again be used against the left section of the membership. This was also carried out with the full support and under the guidance of the Party.

In our Party it appears to us, it is now the left wing section, the opponents of the right wing line of the Party leadership who become the expulsion victims.

We fully recognize that our Communist Party can never be put in the same category as a trade union, that our Party must have a solid foundation of discipline, but we are just as decidedly opposed to any usurpation of power within our Party which substitutes expulsion for Communist education to perpetuate a bureaucratic, extremely factional control, to make permanent an incorrect right wing political line and completely destroys any real foundation of Communist discipline built on correct policies.

In addition to the many expulsions having taken place, just recently, one of the members of our Springfield unit, Comrade Joe Angelo, has been suspended for a period of three months by the Chicago D.E.C., without even the formality of a trial, and without having been given the opportunity of stating his views in any respect in regards to the present controversy within the Party, but merely having committed the "crime" of protesting the expulsion of proletarian members of the Party. Such methods are a reproduction of the corrupt officialdom of the old reactionary bureaucracy of the trade unions of this country, especially the John L. Lewis machine in the old U.M.W. of A. This method we have vigorously fought in the union and we consistently and most decisively denounce as ultra factional, bureaucratic and tending to establish clique control of the worst sort within the Party.

These expulsions and suspensions we notice, are all taking place as a result of what is known as "Trotskyism," we are of the firm opinion that this is purely a smoke screen used to eliminate certain opponents to the present leadership of the Party. We, like many others of the rank and file members of the Party, regret we have had practically no opportunity to even become familiar with any of the issues involved in the dispute of the question called "Trotskyism." We have made an earnest effort to become steadily better Communists, steadily more effective in the class struggle, for the emancipation of the working class and in so doing to render the utmost service and loyalty to our Party. And regardless of what is said and done by others we shall continue to do so, but we consider it highly necessary and a real duty as Communists and Party members to demand that the issues of this controversy be put squarely before us without any attempts at intimidation; not by the method of expelling all these revolutionists who take the one side of the question, but by having both sides of the question fully represented and all documents bearing on the subject made available to the membership.

We most vehemently protest the splitting bureaucratic policy of expulsions from the Party for political views. It must cease and all those expelled Communists again be reinstated to full membership in the Party with their rights and duties.

Signed by—

George Voyzey, Joseph Angelo, Roy Jones, Stanley Horbut, Leone Michelangeli, Domenico Domini, A. Shimkous.

The Minneapolis Meetings

One of the largest and most rousing Communist meetings in years here was held last night at I.W.W. Hall under the auspices of the Opposition Communists with James P. Cannon speaking on "The Truth about Trotsky and the Platform of the Opposition". Over 250 workers packed the hall to the doors and listened with the closest attention to Cannon's two-hour exposition of the Opposition cause. Thanks to the presence of a strong and well organized Workers' Guard the meeting was protected from all interference and the gangster tactics which brought the police to Thursday's meeting and resulted in it being broken up by them were not attempted.

At Wednesday's meeting held at A.O.U.W. Hall a gang of thirty or more hooligans organized by the Party leadership rushed the hall early in the evening before the crowd arrived. Comrades Skoglund and Coover who were alone, handling tickets at the door, were attacked by the entire gang and badly beaten by black-jacks and brass knuckles. The slugging of these two prominent militants was accomplished by a division of labor between the members of the Lovestone and Foster factions. The latter held the arms of Coover and Skoglund from behind while the former wielded the black-jacks over their heads.

The attempt of the hoodlums to prevent comrade Cannon from speaking resulted in a fight which brought the Police who broke up the meeting, pulling Cannon down from the platform and driving the crowd from the hall. This collaboration of the police and gangsters in the suppression of the workers' right of free speech aroused violent resentment among the radical workers throughout the city who have seen the Minneapolis Oppositionists in the vanguard of every struggle of the militant workers for years past.

The I.W.W. cancelled a forum program of their own and rented their hall to us for the Saturday meeting "as a demonstration against violation of the workers' right of free speech." They also offered to help in protecting the meeting from disruption by the gangsters. The latter however failed to show up. They were brave enough to fight with thirty against two but lacked the courage to show up at the Saturday meeting where a larger group of militants were on hand early and prepared to meet them.

Comrade Cannon's speech, his array of arguments, suppressed facts and documents, made a profound impression and won many completely over to our side. Thirty-five workers in the audience handed in their names and addresses for notification of other meetings and activities of the Opposition.

On the invitation of the I.W.W., comrade Cannon remained over for Sunday night and gave a lecture at their forum on "Free Speech in the Labor Movement" to the great satisfaction of another packed hall.

Extensive meetings of the Opposition group were held with the participation of comrade Cannon during his visit which resulted in the clearing up of a number of tactical questions and the unanimous agreement of the entire group on the line of action for the future. The group passed a resolution demanding the weekly publication of The Militant and pledged $25 a week toward its maintenance.

Gangsterism has defeated and discredited itself completely in Minneapolis. The Opposition has won a great moral and political victory over fascist methods. It has won the support of the great majority of the sympathizing workers and has strengthened its own morale and conviction. Our work in the coming period will be animated by a move determined and militant spirit than before.

VINCENT R. DUNNE.

TROTSKY'S CRITICISM OF THE DRAFT PROGRAM TO BE CONTINUED

Owing to the heavy demands made on the space of this issue of The Militant by comrade Trotsky's letter on the Situation in Russia, the installment of his Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern had to be omitted. These installments will be continued in subsequent issues until the entire document is run.

The Mink

"Hasn't he (Shadow the Weasel) any enemies?" asked Peter Rabbit.

"Oh, yes," replied Old Mother Nature. "Reddy Fox, Old Man Coyote, Hooty the Owl and various members of the Hawk family have to be watched for by him. But they do not worry him much. You see he moves so quickly, dodging out of sight in a flash, that whoever catches him must be quick indeed. Then, too, he is almost always close to good cover. He delights in old stone walls, stone piles, brush-grown fences, piles of rubbish and barns and old buildings, the places that Mice delight in. In such places there is always a hole to dart into in time of danger. He hunts whenever he feels like it, be it day or night, and often covers considerable ground, though nothing to compare with his big, brown, water-loving cousin, Billy Mink. It is because of his wonderful ability to disappear in an instant that he is called Shadow."

—The Burgess Animal Book for Children.

Consider the curious case of George Mink, the secretary of the Seamen's Club in New York, who stepped forward in the Daily Worker of January 28, 1929, to "disavow" any and all connections with the "Cannon-Trotsky movement". When our home was raided our receipt book was stolen by the C.E.C. jimmy-artists along with other material. Among the receipts was one made out to George Mink for a one year subscription to The Militant for one dollar. Not satisfied with the results of their burglary, the Stalinist second-story artists added to their accomplishments that of forgery, and they faked a receipt to the unfortunate Mink to make it appear that he had contributed $50.00 to The Militant. A few days after this crude forgery, and on the basis of it, Mink was declared by the Polcom to be suspended from the Party and removed from his work among the seamen.

Comes now George Mink in the Daily Worker with a statement that "I have never at any time subscribed to The Militant, or supported it in any way, nor have I ever at any time donated any money, not even one cent, to the Cannon-Trotsky movement, or to Cannon, or to the Trotsky movement in any way, shape or form." And he then proceeds to bow his head and beat his breast and renounce the Trotskyite devil and all his works and all his pomps. His terrified tremolo rises above the chant of the congregation and he calls the assembled brethren to witness: "I defy anyone, inside or outside of the Party, to prove that I have supported Trotskyism, or been lax in my duty to fight it. I intend to continue struggling against Trotskyism."

We understand Mink's predicament and we feel for him. He might have refrained from reciting the cheap, standard slanders of "counter-revolutionaries" and "anti-working class" against us, and denounced, instead, the genuine criminals in the Party who will not stop even at forgery and worse to insure the domination of opportunist-adventurism in the Party. But Mink must watch for Reddy Lovestone, Old Man Pepper, and Hooty the Gitlow. He must "move so quickly, dodging out of sight in a flash, that whoever catches him must be quick indeed. There is always a hole to dart into in time of danger. It is because of his wonderful ability to disappear in an instant that he is called Shadow." Thus speaks Burgess. And we add: It is by these traits, so peculiarly their own, that the Minks manage to eke out their precarious existence in these hectic days. Their life is a miserable and unhappy one, but they probably reason that, after all, a Mink in the hole is better than no Mink at all!

CURTIS ARRESTED IN ST. LOUIS

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Sam Curtis was one of the seven men and women arrested here by the police for participation in a picketing demonstration in front of the British Consulate in the Federal Commerce Trust Company building as a protest against the arrest and imprisonment of comrade J. W. Johnstone in India. Comrade Johnstone, well-known worker in the labor and revolutionary movement in the United States, was arrested by the British imperialists while acting as a delegate from the League Against Imperialism to the trade union congress in India, at which he spoke.

Comrade Curtis, arrested in St. Louis, was Young Workers League sub-district organizer in that territory, until a little while ago when he was expelled for supporting the Russian and International Opposition. The opportunist fakers in the Party have been denouncing him as a "counter-revolutionary" and a "renegade" ever since.

Letters from the Militants

FROM SING SING PRISON

Ossining, N. Y., January 20, 1929.

Dear Jim:—

I have written one letter to my people in which I sent regards to you, Marty, his wife, Max and Billy. Now, Jim, I am only allowed to write two letters per week for my first ten days here, but I want you to understand that I am still, and will continue to be, as hard with the Opposition as the iron bars are in here, and you can just imagine how hard they are.

I want you to tell the boys to write and tell me how things are on the outside. I mean Party affairs and most of all you should surely write. Also send me the Militant and the Daily Worker, and get in touch with the I.L.D. and have them send me some books which must come directly from the publishers. Send me all the books of Trotsky, and also Lenin's works. I have intentions of making a little library here of my own. And anything that the comrades will send will be very much appreciated in this line, but they must come from the publishers. Also send me Labor Unity and the Labor Defender.

My regards to the whole bunch and tell them to write. I have received a letter from Comrade Stone and thank him very much. My address is No. 81542, 354 Hunter St., Ossining, N. Y. Don't forget my Number, 81542.

MAURICE L. MALKIN.

(Note:—*Comrades throughout the country are urged to write to comrade Malkin at the above address, giving him all possible news of the movement and the struggle in general. Letters from comrades on the outside are practically the only means whereby our class war prisoners maintain their contact with the movement.*—Ed.)

FROM A NON-PARTY MILITANT

Chicago, Ill., January 14, 1929.

Dear Comrade Cannon:—

Since you and comrades Shachtman and Abern resigned from your offices in the I.L.D. I have felt like asking a hundred questions. I am a radical but have never belonged to the Workers Party. Am secretary of a branch of the I.L.D. here and have been active in many workers' fights for some years.

The strange part of the controversy between yourself and the Party is that the latter seems to be afraid to let your side become known through its press and otherwise. You are continually denounced as traitors and whatnot but just exactly why, we on the outside have never been able to find out. I know that since you and Shachtman are out of the I.L.D. it seems to be going to pieces, and I know that the Daily Worker is not as good as it was with writers like Dunne, O'Flaherty, Swabeck and yourself.

I have heard you speak many times and am personally acquainted with Shachtman. It seems incredible to me that you would deliberately turn counter-revolutionary and I refuse to believe it. I want to know your side and Trotsky's side, and why is it so hard to find out the truth about your views? So I enclose 25 cents in stamps and ask that you send me the Militant for as long as the amount will pay for it. Also if you have any list of your own and Trotsky's writings please send it.

Numerous I.L.D. members here have seriously criticized the removal of you and your comrades from the I.L.D. to me but needless to say they were not Party members. I could not help but notice the straight-forwardness of your joint article in the Daily Worker regarding your removal. I will not lose faith in Jim Cannon and our Max till I have mighty good proof and all charges against them are true. Let's hear your side!

Yours for the Revolution,

WALTER P. SUKUT.

AN EXPELLED MINER

Frederick, Colo., January 12, 1929.

Dear Comrades:—

Hugo Oehler, district organizer of the Rocky Mountain section gave me the news of my expulsion. He said the Polcom wired him to that effect. I was not surprised but felt somewhat hurt as to the extremes of the Lovestone machine as the leaders of our Party. I never dreamed that a Communist Party could falter so weakly into the hands of the present bunch of fruit merchants, shoe-string salesmen and bourgeois-styled politicians who have the almost unconditional support of the C.I.

I assume I have committed several sins in Party work as well as League work but never did I forget my revolutionary duty. By sins I mean at different intervals I showed signs of apathy towards internal duties but never did I fail to carry out as effectively as I could the mission of our Party. The path that I have had to go through has been thorny.

My entrance into the struggle by having every school in Illinois shut their door in my face caused me a great deal of humiliation in the eyes of the ignorant masses, but never since that time have I equivocated or flinched as a Communist. Then through the Farrington fight, the Zeigler fight, many duels in local unions where we clashed time and time again, faithfully carrying on our work against the reactionaries, culminating in the heroic attempt of a handful of our comrades through the "Save the Union" struggle that rocked the foundation of the Lewis machine. The continuous sabotage of Lovestone elements (Bedacht, Devine and Hankin) in the Illinois field, criminally handicapped us all the way through. They would at any time crush the opposition's achievements whether it was in external or internal work. Their jealousies exceed their Communist integrity. They are so callous they make the A.F. of L. officialdom feel childish.

I know that self-sacrifice is necessary to every Communist. It is a primary teaching to the early beginners in our movement. I do not for one moment regret my hard bumps, they are insignificant compared to some of the American leaders, let alone the leaders of the Russian Party. But I take it that these small things should be considered in their full meaning when a comrade is to be expelled. It is the work of an irresponsible, jealous and adventurist minority that expels us from the Party. They have already exposed themselves quite plainly when they stoop to such hideous burglary as in the Cannon robbery. They are so ignorant, they are so shameless that they readily admit openly in public their robbing of Cannon's apartment. Never, under any circumstances, will I enter the Communist Party of the Lovestone group without protesting violently this despicable act of the present Lovestone machine.

I met Rudolph Shohan,—I cannot call him a comrade, because he is not. Shohan is the big Lovestone man in District No. 10. He says to me as if addressing a subject: "Comrade Allard, have you appealed from the C.E.C. decision?" I replied: "Appeal to whom, to the Lovestone group?" Then point blank I asked him if he agreed with the dirty work of his faction in robbing Cannon. He emphatically replied, Yes. I nailed him quite effectively. He did not know what to say but said: "Comrade Allard, you are not yet ready to come back into the Party."

He is lousy, this guy Shohan. I am enclosing a copy of charges preferred by Allander, Bojinoff and Allard, leaders of the Colorado miners against Rudolph Shohan which the C.E.C. has never acted upon. Other charges against him are many.

I may be fired shortly if the solidarity of the miners in my pit does not hold. I have pulled two strikes already. Both were somewhat victorious. But the boss is after me. I have already a "notorious" name in these parts from the coal companies. Perhaps we will have to leave. If we return to Illinois I will try my best to go to Chicago for a thorough conference with our fellows. I wish you would see our shack here in the desert wasteland of Colorado's coal fields. Our living is meek like the masses. When we are one of the masses we cannot be exempted from the brutal oppression of boss rule. It is a satisfaction to know that the Social Revolution is in progress towards the inevitable change.

GERRY ALLARD.

FOR OPEN DISCUSSION OF ISSUES

New York City, December 15, 1928.

James P. Cannon and Comrades of the "Opposition":—

> "As for the ordinary worker in the Party ranks who has no faction behind him, his right to open his mouth ceased long ago."
>
> (Cannon, in The Militant of Dec. 1st).

Not so long ago, while a member of the Party, I found myself in a similar predicament. Having had the opportunity of participating in two Congresses of the Comintern, it may safely be assumed that I thereby gained a greater understanding of the fundamental principles, the tasks, and the basic problems confronting the Communist movement. I, however, like yourself at present, found myself confronted with a bureaucratic barrier, (and at that time you were one of them) that successfully blocked my efforts to gain a hearing for the viewpoint of those I represented. Nevertheless I was not inclined to attack the Party merely because of the short-sightedness of certain of its functionaries.

Whether my viewpoint (which was shared by many others) was correct or not, is beside the point. Likewise, the correctness of your ideological position is not the main issue. The most important phase of the present controversy, as I see it, is whether or not honest differences of opinion shall have the right of expression and discussion *within Party circles.*

While I believe that a decision once arrived at through discussion, should be accepted by all, I contend that a Communist Party MUST permit full and free discussion of fundamental principles and strategy. Far more harm is done and more energy wasted in smothering an opposition than in exposing deviations, if such they be. A Communist Party divided against itself, and factions openly warring against one another, must indeed make the powers-that-be chuckle in high glee. As a matter of fact, such a situation as has at present developed arouses suspicion in some minds whether it has not been deliberately fostered for the sake of weakening the Party and diverting attention from the more important things that require our attention.

Tremendous tasks still lie ahead of us in America, and Party errors of the past have greatly handicapped the development of the American movement.

I am not particularly concerned about your personal success, for I fear that were the tables reversed, you would be doing the same as those now in power and control.

I do, however, wish you all success as the dynamic factor within the Opposition which is at the moment striving for inner-Party democracy. I believe the determined stand taken by the Opposition will lead to a clarification of the issues and will lead to the adoption of a Communist strategy for the American movement that is more adaptable to the needs and realities of the day than the tactics of recent years, the responsibility for which you must partly shoulder.

Fraternally,

JOS. E. KUCHER.

THE EXPELLED

The Party bureaucrats have now thrown overboard even the slightest touch of tolerance towards differences of opinion in the Party. They are determined upon a course which will lead only to the splitting of the Party and the retention of its control by the opportunists. Every week brings new casualties of the "ideological campaign" against "Trotskyism" in all sections of the countries. Workers who have given long years of devoted service to the revolutionary movement are being expelled or suspended from the Party by the corrupt little clique of leaders only because they dare to express their agreement with the platform of the Russian Opposition or to oppose the expulsion of those who take this position. Below we give the names of another group of expelled comrades in addition to those published in previous issues:

CANADA

A. CHAMBERS, Sec'y, Toronto Y.C.L. Agit-Prop.
M. BERNSTEIN, Y.C.L. National Trade Union Dept.
H. PANITCH, Y.C.L. National Trade Union Dept.
J. PAGURICK, Sec'y. Y.C.L. branch.
B. KATZ, expelled member of A.C.W.A.
J. LEDERMAN, member of Needle Trades Ind. Union.
I. DERTCH, unemployed worker.
H. CLARMAN, member of Cloakmakers Union.
J. GORLITSKY, Canadian Painters Union.
H. DISENHOUSE, factory worker.
E. ZAGLIN, millinery worker.
H. BARON, apprentice.
J. JALDOFSKY, apprentice.
R. SCHWARTZ, Cloakmakers Union.
L. HOFFMAN, Cloakmakers Union.
A. ROSE, Cloakmakers Union.
J. ROTH, Raincoatmakers Industrial Union.
L. STARKMAN, Cloakmakers Union.
C. GOLDBERG, Millinery Wkrs. Union, local chairlady
J. LUTSKY, Carpenters Union.

CHICAGO

LEON MUSSEL LILLIAN BORGESON
REBECCA SACHEROW JACK COHEN
OLIVER CARLSON, founder Y.C.L. in United States.

COLORADO

GERRY ALLARD, leader of National Miners Union.

NEW YORK CITY

HARRY STONE, member of Y.W.L.
LOUIS STONE, member of Y.W.L.
LEON DENENBERG, refused admission into New York League because of support of Russian Opposition.

CLEVELAND

LEO GLEISSER, member district agit-prop committee.
J. OPPER, teacher at Workers School.
MORRIS ABRAMS.

WHO ARE THE EXPELLED COMMUNISTS

CARL SKOGLUND—Member organized labor since 1905. Joined Social Democratic Youth League of Sweden, 1905-12. Participated in military strike of 4,000 soldiers, punished by solitary confinement, 1906. Organized first union in small town paper mill, 1909. Chairman of local strike committee during general strike of 190,000 workers in 1909. Delegate first district convention for election of candidate to Rikstag, made secretary of convention, 1910. Blacklisted and came to America, 1912, joining Socialist Party in 1914. Member of I.W.W. from 1917-21. Led local campaign in big Mooney strike movement of 1918. Delegate from Minnesota to Socialist Party convention on left wing slate, 1919. Helped organized Railway shopmen of Great Northern, Northwestern, Chicago. Burlington and Quincy, 1917, and member of Brotherhood of Railway Carmen since then. Led "illegal" shopmen's strike in 1919. Chairman of Great Western and Pullman Shopmen's Strike Committee, 1922-23. Blacklisted and barred from industry as a result. Expelled from Minneapolis Central Labor Council for Communist activities on instructions from Executive Council of A.F. of L. in 1924. Delegate to every state convention of Farmer-Labor Federation. Joined underground Communist Party in 1920, member of its D.E.C. up to liquidation of underground. Helped found Workers Party and member of its D.E.C. from inception. Delegate to famous Bridgman convention, and to three national conventions of Workers Party. Industrial Organizer of Minnesota district continuosly since 1922. Member of National Railroad Amalgamation Committee Member of national election campaign committee of Party, 1928, and delegate to national nominating convention in same year. Expelled in Minneapolis, November 14, 1928.

OSCAR COOVER—Joined International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 1906, and International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, 1907. Member of Socialist Party from 1904-7. Joined underground Communist Party in December 1919, helped organize Workers Party in 1921. Delegate to Central Labor Union of Electrical Workers in Springfield, Mo., 1907-8, and Central Labor Union of Minneapolis from 1912 to 1924 when A.F. of L. fakers ordered his expulsion for Communist activities. Re-elected to C.L.U. and Minneapolis Building Trades Council in January 1928. Member of Minneapolis Party D.E.C. in 1922-3-4-7-8. Member of Political Committee of District at time of expulsion. Communist candidate for representative from 29th Legislative District in 1924. Local secretary of Railroad Shopmen's Strike Committee in 1922 and blacklisted and barred from industry as a result. Delegate to State Federation of Labor from local union and to all conventions of Farmer-Labor Federation and Association. Expelled from Party November 14, 1928.

Fight the Splitters with a Weekly Militant

The resolution of the Minneapolis group demanding the weekly publication of The Militant, broadening its scope into a general organ of the class struggle, has been followed by the adoption of similar resolutions by the Chicago and New York groups. We are fully in favor of this forward step and consider it an aboslute necessity of the struggle to purge the movement of bureaucratic corruption, which is the expression of opportunist politics, and the fascist manifestations which accompany it

The means to finance the Weekly Militant are not at hand, but they must and will be secured. It is a question of the militants comprehending fully the great historic responsibilities resting on them and steeling themselves for the utmost sacrifice.

We have decided tentatively to commence as a weekly with the issue of Feb. 15. Whether this will be possible depends upon the response with cash and weekly pledges received from local Opposition groups, and individual supporters within the ensuing period.

Send your answer now!