

MILITANT

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LETTER TO THE RUSSIAN WORKERS

Dear Comrades:

I write to you in order to tell you again that Stalin, Yaroslavsky and Bros. are deceiving you. They say that I made use of the bourgeois press in order to carry on a struggle against the Soviet Republic, in whose creation and defense I worked hand in hand with Lenin. They are deceiving you. I used the bourgeois press in order to defend the interests of the Soviet Republic against the lies, trickery and perfidy of Stalin and Company.

They asked you to condemn my articles. Have you read them? No, you have not read them. They are giving you a false, counterfeit translation of separate small fragments. My articles have been published in the Russian language in a special booklet in exactly the form in which I wrote them. Demand that Stalin reprint them without abbreviations or falsifications. He dare not do it. He fears the truth more than anything else. Here I want to give the fundamental contents of my articles.

The "Armed Struggle" Slander

1. In the resolution of the G. P. U. as to my banishment it states that I am conducting "preparations for an armed struggle against the Soviet Republic." In *Pravda* (No. 14, February 19, 1929) the statement about armed struggle was omitted. Why? Why did Stalin not dare repeat in *Pravda* what was said in the resolution of the G. P. U. Because he knew that no one would believe him. After the history of the Wrangel officer, after the exposure of the agent provocateur sent by Stalin to the Oppositionists with the proposal of a military plot, after all that, no one will believe that the Bolshevik-Leninists, desiring to convince the Party of the correctness of their views, are preparing an armed struggle. That is why Stalin did not dare print in *Pravda* what was stated in the resolution of the G. P. U. of January 18th. But if that is true, why introduce this obvious lie into the resolution of the G. P. U.? Not for the U. S. S. R. but for Europe, and for the whole outside world. Through the T. A. S. S. agency Stalin systematically and daily cooperates with the bourgeois press of the whole world, propagating his slander against the Bolshevik-Leninists. Stalin can in no other way explain this banishment and his innumerable arrests, except by accusing the Opposition of preparing an armed struggle. With this monstrous lie he has done enormous harm to the Soviet Republic. The whole bourgeois press has discussed the fact that Trotsky, Rakovsky, Smilga, Radek, I. N. Smirnov, Beloborodov, Muralov, Mratchkovsky and many others who built the Soviet Republic and defended it, are now preparing an armed struggle against the Soviet power. It is obvious how such an idea must weaken the Soviet Republic in the eyes of the whole world. In order to justify his repressions, Stalin is compelled to compose these monstrous legends, doing incalculable harm to the Soviet power. That is why I considered it necessary to appear in the bourgeois press and say to the whole world: It is not true that the Opposition intends to wage an armed struggle against the Soviet power. The Opposition has waged and will wage a ruthless struggle for the Soviet power against all its enemies. This declaration of mine has been printed in tens of millions of newspaper copies in all the languages of the world. It will serve to strengthen the Soviet Republic. Stalin wants to strengthen his position at the expense of the Soviet Republic. I want to strengthen the Soviet Republic by exposing the lies of the Stalinists.

By L. D. Trotsky

The Strength of the Soviet Power

2. Stalin and his press have for a long time been propagating all over the world the statement that I declare that the Soviet Republic has become a bourgeois state, that the proletarian power is wrecked, etc. In Russia many workers know that this is a vicious slander, that is founded on falsified quotations. I have exposed these falsifications dozens of times in letters which have been circulated

COM. TROTSKY
on Jay Lovestone
Foster, Pepper and
Our Tasks Today!
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from hand to hand. But the outside bourgeois press believes them, or pretends to believe them. All these counterfeit, Stalinist quotations appear in the columns of the newspapers of the whole world as a demonstration of the assertion that Trotsky considers the fall of the Soviet power inevitable. Thanks to the enormous interest of international public opinion, and especially that of the broad popular masses, in what is being created in the Soviet Republic, the bourgeois press, impelled by its business interests, its desire for circulation, the demands of its readers, was compelled to print my articles. In those articles I said to the whole world that the Soviet power, in spite of the incorrect policies of the Stalin leadership, is deeply rooted in the masses, is very powerful, and will outlive its enemies.

You must not forget that the overwhelming

Chicago Workers!
Greet the National Conference
of the Communist Opposition
at a
Mass Meeting
on the
TRUTH about TROTSKY
and the
OPPOSITION PROGRAM

at
Redifer Hall
30 N. WELLS STREET

on
Sunday, May 19, 1929

AT 8 P. M.
SPEAKERS:

James P. Cannon--Arne Swabeck
Maurice Spector--Vincent Dunne
AND OTHERS

AUSPICES: Chicago Communist Opposition
Group

majority of the workers in Europe, and especially in America, all still read the bourgeois press. I made it a condition that my articles should be printed without the slightest change. It is true that certain papers in a few countries violated this condition, but the majority fulfilled it. In any case all the papers were compelled to publish the fact that, in spite of the lies and slanders of the Stalinists, Trotsky is convinced of the deep inner power of the Soviet regime, and firmly believes that the workers will succeed by peaceful measures in changing the present false policy of the Central Committee.

In the Spring of 1917, Lenin, imprisoned inside Switzerland, employed a "sealed train" of the Hohenzollerns in order to get to the Russian workers. The chauvinist press attacked Lenin, going so far as to call him a German agent, and address him as Herr Lenin. Imprisoned by the Thermidorians in Constantinople I employed the bourgeois press as a sealed train in order to speak the truth to the whole world. The attacks of the Stalinists against "Mr. Trotsky," stupid in their intemperance, are nothing but a repetition of the bourgeois and Social Revolutionary attacks upon "Herr Lenin." Like Lenin I regard with contempt the public opinion of the philistines and bureaucrats whose spirit Stalin represents.

The Banishment from Russia.

3. I told in my articles, distorted and falsified by Yaroslavsky, how, why, and under what circumstances I was banished from the U. S. S. R. The Stalinists are propagating rumors in the European press to the effect that I was permitted to leave Russia at my own request. I exposed this lie. I told how I was sent over the border forcibly after a preliminary agreement between Stalin and the Turkish police. And here I acted not only in the interests of my own personal defense against slander, but first of all in the interest of the Soviet Republic. If the Oppositionists really desire to leave the borders of the Soviet Union, that would be understood by the whole world as a sign that we consider the situation of the Soviet government hopeless. We have not the shadow of such a thought. The Stalinist policies have dealt a terrible blow not only to the Chinese Revolution, the English working class movement, and the whole Comintern, but also to the inner stability of the Soviet regime. That is indisputable. However, the situation is not the least bit hopeless. The Opposition in no case intends to fly from Soviet Russia. I categorically refused to cross the border, proposing instead that they should imprison me. The Stalinists did not dare resort to that measure, they were afraid that the workers would insistently demand my liberation. They preferred to make a bargain with the Turkish police, and they transported me to Constantinople by main force. This I explained to the whole world. Every thinking worker will say that if Stalin through T. A. S. S. daily feeds the bourgeois press with slanders against the Opposition, then I was obliged to publish a refutation of these slanders.

Lenin's Testament

4. In tens of millions of newspaper copies I told the whole world that it was not the Russian workers who exiled me, nor the Russian peasants, nor the Soviet Red Guards, nor those with whom we conquered the power and fought shoulder to shoulder on all fronts in the civil war. It was the bureaucrats who exiled me, people who have got the power into their hands and converted themselves into a

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May Day - - and After

May Day.

The militant working class of the entire world down tools today to demonstrate its solidarity. It marches before the capitalists—its class enemy—with a challenge to the rule of the masters. The workers' flag which redens the columns of our troops is the symbol of the coming victory of the people.

May Day is a day of celebration of this coming victory. It is also a day of preparation for it. To prepare for its historic victory, the working class, and especially its most advanced section, must review its struggles of the past period. It must take a reckoning of its present condition. It must gird itself, and armed with greater confidence and the lessons of its experiences, proceed with increased consciousness to the battles of the future.

The period of new struggles that has already begun in Europe for the working class already includes the United States. Despite the tremendous backwardness of American labor, the past two years have witnessed a number of bitterly and heroically fought strikes in which the American workers have demonstrated that they have a spirit of militancy, of self-sacrifice and endurance—as in the miners' strike, in the textile mills and in the clothing shops of New York—that is seldom equalled. The American workers are worthy brothers-in-arms of their more revolutionary European comrades.

But the American workers as a whole, because of their privileged position and other historical causes, still remain relatively backward, are still largely unorganized and lacking in solidarity and unity, still suffer under the stifling control of the labor agents of capitalism, still grope blindly in the darkness of capitalist illusions. Should such a situation continue, it can only mean greater and heavier defeats and burdens for the working class in the fights they will conduct against the capitalist class in the next period.

American Imperialism

The problems of the American workers are enormous. Nowhere and at no time has the proletariat ever been confronted by such a formidable enemy as American labor has in the master class of this country. United States imperialism today is master in its own home and has proceeded to master the rest of the world. Millions of workers and poor farmers in every part of the world feel the heavy weight of its iron fist. In China as in New York, in Mexico as in Pittsburgh, in Africa as in Alabama, in Europe as in Illinois, in South America as in Gary, millions of toilers pay tribute to the bursting treasure stores of the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Schwabs, the Mellons and the rest of the American money kings. You will find the American bayonet or the dollar in the hand of reaction in almost every country where it is in power. Wherever the rule of American imperialism has not yet triumphed, you will find it preparing to establish its mastery by military and financial force.

Its world domination, however, cannot be established or maintained without having a servile, quiet, "satisfied" working class at home. But the American workers are being steadily driven to struggle. They are awaking to the danger of new imperialist war that

hangs like a sword over their heads. They are beginning to resist the wage cuts and speed-up and union-smashing work of the bosses. They are being aroused at the government which is the official agent of the capitalist class. A new mood of struggle is developing, and one of the best signs of it is the uprising of the backward, oppressed textile slaves of the South.

The American Labor Leaders

The main instrument of the capitalists in strangling this spirit resistance in the ranks of the working class are the present labor "leaders". Instead of organizing the workers for struggle, for the defense and improvement of their standard of living, instead of strengthening their ranks and pointing their weapons towards the real enemy—the bosses and their government—the Greens, the Wolls, the Lewises, the Freys, the Schlesingers and the Hillmans divide the ranks of the workers. They deliberately limit the strength of the organized workers by refusing to organize the unorganized. They sap the fighting force of the unions by their established policy of expelling every militant fighter who opens his mouth. They drug the workers to sleep with treacherous words and deeds of "peace" with the bosses when there is not and cannot be peace. They enter into struggles under the pressure of the workers only to betray them to the capitalist class for whom they are working in reality. They reject the policy of class struggle and replace it with the policy of surrender to the capitalists. They are the agents of the enemy in our ranks and they must be driven out. They are the bulwarks of capitalism and they must be broken. Without a stubborn, daily struggle against these traitors the American workers cannot move forward.

The Fight for a Class Movement

The task that stands out above all others for American labor today is the creation and strengthening of a class movement of the workers on the economic field and the political field. Towards this end the trade unions must become instruments for struggle, for obtaining better conditions from the bosses instead of being instruments to increase production and add to the profits of the bosses. They must become training schools for the workers' cause and not schools for capitalist propaganda taught by the reactionary labor leaders.

The workers must strengthen their unions by organizing the unorganized millions especially the Negro workers, for without them a successful struggle against trustified American capitalism is impossible. The workers must be mobilized as one army to fight against the use of injunctions against unions and strikes. The workers must be mobilized as one army to fight for the seven-hour day. The workers must be mobilized as one army in solidified industrial unions to fight for the right to strike, the right to picket. The right of free speech and free assemblage. Such elementary conditions which are not yet enjoyed by American workers, like social insurance, maintenance of the millions of unemployed, care of women workers and of child labor, must be made an immediate aim on the order of the day.

For Unity and Solidarity

To achieve these and many other aims the workers of America must have solidarity and unity. The prejudices of the white workers against the Negroes, cunningly injected into our ranks by the capitalists, must be burned out and our fight conducted side by side. The cleavage that divides the organized from the unorganized workers must be narrowed down until it disappears by drawing ALL workers into trades unions. The expelled militants in the unions—Communists and left wing—must be immediately brought back, for they are the best fighters in the labor movement.

It is the agents of the capitalists—from Green to Schlesinger, from Woll to Hillquit—who disrupt the labor movement. It is they who thrive on expulsions and splits that weak-

en the workers. Our answer must be to maintain the banner of UNITY of all the workers against the capitalists and their servants in the labor movement. The slogan of unity in the labor movement is a powerful slogan particularly in times of struggle. It represents the interests and the aspirations of the oppressed workers. It must be put forth not only by the left wing which must be built and strengthened in the A. F. of L. unions. It must also be inscribed on the banner of the new unions, the National Miners Union, the Needle Trades union, the National Textile Workers Union. They must seize every opportunity to demand the unity of their ranks with the RANKS of the workers who remain in the old A. F. of L. unions. They must be foremost in demanding that the separate, isolated, weak struggles be combined. This has not yet been done, although we know that the labor misleaders will reject this demand as enthusiastically as the rank and file will welcome it.

These are important tasks for the labor movement. They must be persistently advanced especially by the Communists, the revolutionary and most conscious section of the working class. The Communists have a tremendous role to play in the coming period of struggle. But the pre-condition for this role is the unification of the entire Communist movement on a Leninist basis. Such a unification is impossible in this country without the re-establishment of the unity of the Leninist Party in the Soviet Union, which is the fountain head of the world revolutionary movement today.

The Tasks of the Communists

The twelfth May Day demonstration after the victory of Bolshevism in Russia in 1917, finds Trotsky, the living leader of world Bolshevism exiled in Turkey, a prisoner of Stalin and Turkish fascism, surrounded by thousands of Russian White Guards who hate him above all others as the symbol of the Revolution. It finds the best leaders of Lenin's Party exiled or imprisoned in the most desolate parts of Siberia and Central Asia. These are signs of the times. The course of the official leadership of the Communist International for the past few years has been a steady departure from the fundamental teachings of Lenin, and a murderous campaign against those who stubbornly propagated these teachings in the Party.

The Communist movement will be totally incapable of achieving its practical aims, of setting the proletariat in motion along the revolutionary path, unless it rejects the revisionist theories now prevalent in the Comintern. Thus were the Communist Parties built and strengthened in the post-war years and the first period of the Russian Revolution. Today the Communists must reject as fatal to the movement the main theories developed in the last few years, developed jointly by the vacillating Center (Stalin) and the Thermidorian Right wing (Bucharin): 1. The anti-Bolshevik theory of "socialism in one country"; 2. The catastrophic policy practised in the Anglo-Russian Committee and the British General Strike; 3. The Menshevik betrayal of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry by the policy of Stalin-Bucharin-and-Co.; 4. The course toward capitulation to capitalism in Russia today, thinly disguised by the Centrist zig-zag policy, which conceals the open Right danger of Bucharin-Tomsky-Rykov, which erects a "Left" blind in order the better to move towards the Right.

A Leninist line without the leadership of the Leninists who re imprisoned, exiled and persecuted is a hypocritical farce. The entire Communist movement must renew the demand for the return of the expelled Opposition to their rightful leadership of the Comintern and the Russian Party. The increasing difficulties of the Soviet Union and the dangerous splitting-up course in the Communist Parties make this return a burning need of the moment. The huge tasks before us make this return mandatory.

Let this May Day open up a new period of struggles and victories. Onward to the final class battle for the world Soviet.

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Associate Editors

Martin Abern

Max Shachtman

Maurice Spector

Editor

James P. Cannon

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Our Conference and the Trade Unions

By James P. Cannon

On May 17th the most active militants of the Communist Opposition from all parts of the country will meet in National Conference in Chicago, the proletarian center of the real America rich in glorious traditions of working class struggle and aspiration. Many a noble enterprise of the labor vanguard had its inception there; many a stirring battle, many a defeat and many a brave start again. It is not unlikely that our modest conference will find a place of honor among them in the history of the American revolutionary movement. This will surely be the case if our conference approximates the accomplishment of the tasks which crowd upon it, if it does not shrink before their magnitude and gives a clear answer to the questions now on the agenda of the American revolutionary movement. We shall endeavor to do this to the best of our ability.

The Importance of our Conference

The importance of our gathering for the future of the Opposition is fully understood, we believe, by all the comrades who have stood with us in the struggle up till now. And many who have not yet identified themselves directly with us wait the result of our deliberations with the greatest interest. There is wisdom in collective counsel. The fact that we are finally forcing a way, despite our great poverty, to bring our foremost comrades in the various districts together for the comparison of experiences, the exchange of views and the collective settlement of our problems is testimony to the vitality of our movement. We must make the most of the opportunity which has not been given to us, but which we have wrested from adversity.

In the first place we ought to give a thought to the general character of the conference. We meet to face things as they are and to deal with them soberly and confidently. Exaggeration, bombast, false claims and self-deception will be out of place; it will be for us now to put all the questions concretely and quietly discuss the ways and means of answering them. There should be nothing to prevent our meeting having a business-like character from start to finish. The sterile factionalism and intrigue which corrodes the party and renders its conventions futile should not trouble us at all. We have a common principle line. That is the foundation, and the only foundation, for united and harmonious collective work. Differences of opinion on secondary questions which may exist can be discussed honestly and openly. Those who are united on fundamental lines do not fear discussion.

The conference can bring fruitful results for the movement only on the condition that we do not deceive ourselves as to the state of affairs. What we think of the position of the labor and revolutionary movement in America and its perspectives has been clearly stated in the draft of our platform. The opinions we have written there about the class immaturity of the workers' movement in America and the elementary nature of the fundamental tasks of the revolutionary elements are not new; they arise inexorably from the facts of the situation.

The evils we fight against within the communist movement are not a new phenomenon and they will not be done away with in a day. Our struggle, as a detachment of the International Leninist Opposition, is a revolt against revisionist and bureaucratic corruption which has been seeping into the Comintern since Lenin left its leadership six years ago. During that time, gradually and almost imperceptibly, great changes have been brought about in Lenin's International—and all in his name. This is true of the main ideas, of the course and of the leadership. All this is buttressed by a bureaucratized apparatus and a monopoly of the material resources and press which has attracted a veritable horde of parasites and mercenaries into its service, thrusting out the tried and reliable revolutionary fighters.

It would be foolish to think that these monstrous perversions, which have been accumulating over a period of six years, could be changed in a day. We had no such illusions and have none now. To fight for the fundamental line of Marx and Lenin within the communist

ranks today means to swim against the stream. Only those who are able to do this can remain with us. We never promised a quick victory and do not promise it now. We hold out only the prospect of a long, stubborn struggle for principle against difficulties, persecution and slander. It is quite true that the revisionist-bureaucratic regime has profound and irreconcilable internal contradictions and is bound to collapse under the impact of the class struggle which cannot be regulated by apparatus manipulation. But an indispensable factor for the hastening of this collapse, and for saving the revolutionary movement from collapse with it, is the firm consolidation of the Opposition Communists for a drawn-out struggle. It will be the task of the National conference to harden our forces for a siege.

The Trade Union Question

It is becoming clearer every day that plain speech is necessary on the trade union questions. Without a sound policy in this sphere it is absolutely impossible to build the Communist Party as the guiding influence among the masses. And we have to say openly that our differences with the Party regarding trade union tactics are increasing. This becomes all the more serious in view of the forthcoming convention of the Trade Union Educational League, where, from all indications, the false line of the Party is to be reinforced by organization forms which will inevitably develop further implications along the wrong track.

The Party is wrong in bringing out a program for a new trade union movement all along the line. It is wrong in undertaking to monopolize the control of the new unions in a narrow Party sense. It is wrong in exercising Party leadership mechanically and stifling democracy and self-initiative in the new unions. And it is wrong in its attitude toward the new progressive movement.

The total result of these and similar associated errors will be a program and practice of organizing Communist sects rather than mass organizations. Every new experience makes this clearer. Now the consequences of these errors are immeasurable. They spell isolation for the Party and the crippling of the new union movement. The policies which are now being enunciated in preparation for the national conference of the T.U.E.L. appear to us to have no relation to reality. They sound in many respects like feeble echoes of old S. L. P. and I. W. W. propaganda which substituted wishes for facts. Moreover the present policy bears no relation whatever to the settled practice of the Party over a period of years, since the 1921 Convention, and which was in the main correct. And the Party leaders do not even bother to explain the reasons for this complete reversal. It is like a new revelation which has to be taken for granted. A workers' political movement can be destroyed, but never built by such irresponsible methods and leadership.

Consider, for example, the attitude toward the Progressives. "We will have nothing to do with them," say the modern phrase-mongers who see only persons and have no Marxian understanding of movements. Compare this with what Lovestone wrote in *The Communist* last May, page 277:

"The progressives are of vital importance in the development of a left wing movement of a mass character. They serve under certain conditions as one of the levers for the development of a clear-cut, broad, left wing movement."

All of today's pronouncements say the exact opposite, without the slightest explanation of the reasons for the complete change of view and without attempting to show wherein last year's estimate of the role of the progressives was wrong. This is playing with leadership in the most irresponsible manner.

The statement quoted above, which in our opinion is a correct one, was formulated in a guarded way so as to appear more "left" than the actual opinions of the writer. To learn that it is only necessary to recall the practices of united front, without criticism, under the hegemony of the progressives in so many

cases. Personal relations at the top instead of the utilization of relations with progressive leaders for the promotion of a common movement of the workers below. But these distortions should not lead us to react to the present policy of rejecting all relations with the new progressive movement. To do so is to turn aside from one of the most important avenues for the development of the class movement of the workers and the building of the Communist influence and organization within it.

Our Conference and the Progressives

Our conference should take a firm and definite stand on this question. In our opinion the conference of the Opposition Communists should support the idea of entering every movement of a progressive character in the trade unions; they should work loyally to advance it; they should for combinations with all elements willing to cooperate with us in the fight for a concrete program in the interests of the workers and their economic organizations. At the same time, and in order to do this effectively, they should fight and expose the fakers in the movement, criticise all reformist tendencies and build the independent Communist organization and influence. This policy applies with equal force in the work of organizing new unions and in the work inside the old unions of the American Federation of Labor and the Independent unions of a similar character.

We must not for a moment cease our efforts to convince the Party of the necessity for this line, for the Party is a factor of the greatest dynamic importance and a false policy on its part will have the gravest consequences in the whole militant workers' movement for which such unbounded possibilities are now unfolding. But in any case our activity cannot be confined to mere criticism. Hand in hand with it must go the development of a systematic activity of the Opposition Communists in the trade union movement along the lines of our own policy. Practical demonstrations of its correctness will exert a powerful influence on the Party ranks and, simultaneously, will be the means of consolidating a revolutionary nucleus within the new progressive movements which will become the center and rallying point for all the militants in the future. The more firmly we insist on this policy and the more energetically we apply it in practice the less will be the harm done by the present phrase hysteria.

Proceeding along this line, facing all obstacles and fearing none of them, tackling all the concrete questions in a serious and workmanlike manner and giving an answer to them, our Conference will render services of historic value to the American working class movement and will perform a duty to the International.

OUR MAY DAY MEETINGS

A number of mass meetings were held in various cities on International May Day by the Communist Opposition, in some cities together with other labor and revolutionary groups. As this issue goes to press we have not yet received complete details. Below we give brief resumes of the meetings.

Comrades Arne Swaback, leader of the Chicago Opposition Communists, spoke at the May Day meeting of the Karl Marx Scandinavian Workers Club. The same organization had been prevented from hearing comrade Swaback on the "Truth about Trotsky" a few weeks ago by the the gangster-splitting tactics of the Stalinites.

In Philadelphia the May Day meeting was held under the joint auspices of the Opposition Group, the Philadelphia Negro Labor Alliance and the Workers Defense Committee, with comrades K. M. Whitten, Leo Goodman for the youth, and A. Warren for the Negro workers as the speakers.

In Minneapolis the May Day meeting was held under the joint auspices of the Minneapolis Lenin-Trotsky League (Opposition), the Scandinavian Workers Club and the Workers Club of Minneapolis with speakers in English and Swedish.

In Cleveland, the Militant Club (Opposition), the Industrial Workers of the World, and the American Workers Educational Association combined to hold a May Day meeting with speakers in various languages. The Lithuanian "Mirtos" Choir participated.

In St. Louis, the Communist Opposition and the Militant Workers Club held a May Day meeting, after the Stalinites had prevented a united front May Day meeting of all working class organizations.

In New York City, the May Day meeting could not be held because of the last-minute cancellation of the hall by the management. The reason given was the fear that a riot would occur due to the tactics of the Stalinites.

The Minneapolis Elections

Comrade C. R. Hedlund Is Our Candidate for Mayor

By Vincent R. Dunne

Minneapolis workers have the opportunity, in the 1929 municipal election campaign, to vote for a Communist candidate. The entry of comrade C. R. Hedlund for the post of mayor by the Opposition has a meaning of more than ordinary importance for the revolutionary movement here. It signifies the adherence to the teachings of Lenin of those energetic and trusted fighters who have been expelled from the Party by a small group of apparatus agents of the Lovestone-Foster regime.

In Spite of the Split

It is a significant fact that after the split in the Party in the Twin Cities caused by the expulsion of the majority of the leading comrades who constitute the Party's mass connections in the trade unions, the labor party movement, the Jewish workers' organizations and the Scandinavian clubs, the "official" Party has made not even a single gesture that would indicate an intention to take advantage of the splendid opportunity offered for Communist work in the present city election. In-

In spite of the fact that most of the expelled comrades were the very ones, because of their experience and ability, to be called upon to carry out the Party program in the political campaign in Minnesota during the national election last fall, as well as in all past campaigns, and did an excellent job by placing Minnesota among the first few states in the whole country in the number of votes for the Communist candidates, these same comrades are now singled out in the press of the Party as the ones who have no understanding of the tasks of the Party and are, in fact, the ones who deliberately tried to betray the Party to the fakers of the farmer-labor movement.

Shady Proposals of Lovestoneites

The expelled comrades of the Opposition formed the only bloc within the Party during the last campaign to put up a determined struggle against the opportunist maneuvers of the majority of the D. E. C. when they tried time after time to go into some backdoor deal with these same fakers. It is unquestionably true that the comrades of the Opposition, together with the whole Party, had a false perspective on the development of the Labor Party, having been taught over a long period by the leaders of the Party and the Comintern, the dangerous and reactionary theory of a political party based upon two classes—the workers and the farmers. Because of this numerous mistakes were made in the labor party work. But it is just as true that the comrades of the Opposition never made the mistake of advocating the support of Democrats posing as Farmer-Laborites, as was proposed by Tallentire in the 8th Congressional District, and again by Lovestone, while denouncing Shipstead before the D. E. C. last March and almost in the same breath proposing to put up the reactionary county attorney Olson for Governor (see Lovestone's speech printed in the April 1928 Communist).

It is also a matter of record that during the election work last November and also after the campaign, the question of the Party's participation in the Minneapolis municipal election was raised by the comrades now expelled. An outline of the work before the Party in this campaign was made and generally accepted by the then majority of the D. E. C. Since that time events have demonstrated the correctness of that estimate. The Labor officialdom have gone over more and more to the side of the adventurous political charlatans in the Farmer-Labor Party. This, together with the still more recent collaboration of the trade union officials with the so-called labor representatives in the city council, who are part of the machine of the local gas and street car company, in preventing the development of a real rank and file fight on the big scab building job of the N. W. National Bank, presents an opportunity for revolutionary campaign work which must be utilized.

Our Candidate

Our candidate for the post of mayor, C. R. Hedlund, is qualified for the responsibilities of this fight by a life-long record of left wing activity in the railroad unions as well as by years of membership and active life in the Party and finally by his complete acceptance of the platform of the Opposition. His unhesitating standing defense of the comrades first expelled is in keeping with his whole history in the labor movement. He has carried the banner of the Party in previous campaigns. In this campaign, with the additional handicap of a fight against the Opposition by vicious and unscrupulous Party bureaucrats, we will have need of such a standard bearer. Comrade Hedlund, on a Communist platform, contested the 10th Congressional District in the general election last November and in spite of a full fight by the Republican machine and a bitter fight from the farmer-labor officials received some twenty-four thousand votes.

The platform for the campaign in this election consists of several local and partial proposals based on the needs of the workers in the industries generally, making up in the aggregate the following demands:

The right to organize, to strike and to picket without police interference. The abolition of all employment agencies and the placing of work-

ers on the job through their unions. A fund administered by the unions for the relief of unemployment. The substitution of party designation for the present system of "non-partisan" filings for political office. The organization of a labor party. The recognition by the United States of the Soviet Republic and the defense of the Soviet Union against the war danger. In addition, our agitation in the campaign will emphasize the need for the amalgamation of the craft unions and the strengthening of the fighting power of the workers. The organization of the unorganized workers. Rank and file control of the several strikes now going on and the rallying of the unorganized workers to support them. Against the growing danger of imperialist war. For the union of all revolutionary workers in on the basis of Leninist teachings in the fight for power in the United States.

Comrade Hedlund has already spoken before several workers' organizations, and endorsement of the platform will be secured from a number of unions and other working class organizations. The comrades of the Opposition will organize meetings in the different sections of the city and as the weather permits we will hold outdoor gatherings in support of the campaign. Literature will of course be distributed to the extent that available funds permit.

We are out in the name of the Communist Opposition in the present election struggle to make a serious and determined attempt to organize against the Bosses! Against their state machinery! Against the bureaucrats in the labor and revolutionary movement! For registering a big Communist vote for our candidate!

NOTE: Since this article was written, the Stalinites have entered their candidate in the primaries. Ed.

The Lost Leader

In the normal development of a revolutionary movement its leaders grow in the course of protracted struggles; they are tested and retested in responsibilities; they become widely known to the rank and file and acquire a great moral authority as a unifying and guiding force. This was the case throughout the Comintern in Lenin's day. He above all others understood the great role of leadership and explained, especially in his brochure in "The Infantile Sickness of 'Left' Communism" its function, its organic connection with the masses and the importance of its stability and continuity.

The regime of Stalinism, which revises and distorts all the precepts of Lenin, reduces the Leninist conception of leadership to a ghastly caricature. Nowadays leaders are made to order from above, their authority is artificially conferred upon them and they rule by decree. The moral and political authority of real leadership is replaced by the simple operation of apparatus mechanics. The Party members, who play no real part in selection of leadership, never know from one day to another who their leaders will be; but experiences teach them to expect sudden changes and to be prepared to wake up any morning to confront a new set of leaders without prior consultation about the matter. They learn also to remain calm at the spectacle of a bureaucrat wielding czarist power one day and "sinking without a trace" the next. Sometimes there are interludes when nobody, least of all the Party members, knows whether their leaders, politically speaking, are dead or alive and they stand like ticket holders at a raffle, waiting to see what number will turn up.

We are now witnessing one of these Strange Interludes, and the leader whose fate is spinning on the wheel is none other than John Pepper, the scoundrel who put Communists in jail in Hungary and who has made a political living in recent years as a mercenary in the war against "Trotskyism." Pepper is as transparent a charlatan, as characterless a demagogue as ever strutted across the stage of the workers' movement. But so much has corruptionist politics superseded the normal relations between leaders and masses and the natural selection of the former by the latter—these qualities were no handicap to Pepper's "career" in our Party. He bobbed up one day and assumed command in military fashion, putting the membership through some paces and forced marches from which they are still leg-weary and foot-sore. He marched them to the Federated Farmer Labor Party and back again without a single bivouac along the way; and his comic opera crusades for the "Third American Revolution" and the "Unarmed Spartacus Uprising" in the South will surely receive mention when the history of the movement is written and everything can be told.

His most recent campaign was against American "Trotskyism." He made the report against us at the December Plenum, presented the motion for our expulsion and wrote all the "theses" and "declarations" against us. He spoke there—a brief five months ago—as the leader of the party hurling mud at people who were fighting on the side of the workers when he was toasting the war with Austrian Generals. But, alas! Life is full of changes and uncertainties. Already the mighty modern Caesar has fallen and there are none so poor to do him reverence.

The campaign against "Trotskyism" was his undoing. So much of the varnish was scraped off the party leadership in the fight that the setting up of a new "front" became a matter of urgency to the Stalin regime. Besides that there was the little matter of the flirtation with Bucharin in the Comintern to look into more closely. The pushing forward of Foster as candidate for Party Secretary in place of the discredited Lovestone was the first move to change the appearance of the party leadership. The next was the demand that Pepper be taken for a ride to Moscow.

Pepper, who knows the racket, refused at first to take the tide. Insistent cablegrams, one after another, repeated the demand. Still Pepper did not go; America was his land of golden opportunity—why should he leave it? Finally after a peremptory demand threatening drastic disciplinary action, it was decided to give Pepper his ticket of leave. He forthwith disappeared, and many naive comrades actually thought he was on the high seas.

Came the dawn. And a Cablegram from Moscow asking where was Pepper and why. No answer and no Pepper. It was feared that he was lost, and the funny part of it all was the fact that the American working class movement went on in blissful unconsciousness of its misfortune. Then suddenly Pepper turned up, and in New York City of all places it seems that a keen-eyed Fosterite, strolling around the streets of Manhattan in search of the missing Apex Theory, perceived the lost leader slinking in and out of doorways and alleys around Union Square when he should have been slinking from boot to boot in Moscow. A hue and cry was raised immediately, the tocsin was sounded, and, after securing consent by cablegrams from Moscow, Pepper was expelled from the same Communist Party out of which he had expelled us only a short few months before. In expulsion, as in death princes and paupers meet.

But matters did not end there. It soon transpired that Pepper had been in New York all the time, living not uncomfortably at a decent hotel, and that Lovestone, prior to his own departure for Moscow, had visited him there regularly even after he was supposed to have left the country.

These complications compelled a reconsideration of the decision. It was decided to brazen the whole thing out and to whitewash Lovestone by whitewashing Pepper. The latter helped with one of the most unique and fascinating alibis that has ever been concocted to our knowledge. The story, briefly, as told by Pepper in all seriousness to explain his apparent violation of discipline, was as follows:

He attempted to get to Moscow via Mexico. Disguised as a Hot Tamale he had crossed to the border when the Mexican revolution broke out in full force. There he was seized by the rebels on a foraging expedition who discovered, when they stripped the supposed Tamale of its corn husk, that the inside was all Pepper and no corn meal. This made them suspicious and they wrapped the corn husk around him again, loaded him into a big cannon and shot him back across the border. He lit on his feet running north and kept going till he reached New York City to tell the Polcom about it. He was on his way to report when he was seen on the street.

Before the Fosterites could think up an answer to this story, Pepper's faction confederates rushed through a motion modifying the expulsion so as to allow him to proceed to Moscow and to refer the case there for final disposition. Thereupon, we are informed, Pepper left for Moscow immediately and was last sighted rolling Eastward through Germany disguised as a keg of beer.

Meanwhile the question of the party leadership hangs in the balance. How it will be settled the party membership have no way of knowing since they are not consulted in the matter. But one thing is certain: there will be other Peppers; they grow plentifully on the tree of Stalinism. This one who became a leader of the American Party without election, who wielded authority without accountability and who departs from leadership without even the knowledge of the party members or the left wing workers who follow the party, is a symbol of the degeneration which has taken place in questions of party administration since the death of Lenin. Here, as in all decisive questions of policy, the situation in the Russian Party is reflected in all the parties of the Comintern.

Uniting the Textile Struggles

It is difficult to obtain completely rounded and accurate information of all the details of the important strikes taking place in the Carolinas and in Tennessee by reading the frothy accounts in the capitalist press, or even the blissfully optimistic reports in the official Communist Party press. But sufficient material is available to make it possible to estimate the situation with a fair degree of sureness.

The most sensational feature of the North Carolina strikes, particularly in Gastonia, has undoubtedly been the leadership of the National Textile Workers Union, with its Communist direction. The bourgeois and yellow socialist press have been unable to conceal their chagrin at the progress made by the militants in this strike situation. For the first time on any consequential scale, the Communists have appeared in the Bourbon South with a militant program of demands in a strike struggle, have succeeded to a relatively great extent in breaking down the poisonous barriers that divided the Negro workers from the white, and have begun to teach many of the strikers their first concepts of class organization and struggle.

The Successes Achieved

The militancy of the workers—despite their almost total lack of class consciousness—in these few weeks of the half a dozen or more strikes in the three Southern states is a refutation once and for all of the myth about the impossibility for the labor movement to break into the South. It puts an end to the prevalent bourgeois theory—expressed in the Communist movement particularly by Lovestone—that the South is another Ruhr for the American bourgeoisie, that is, an almost inexhaustible reservoir for capitalist growth and reaction.

The progress already made for the militant labor movement in the Southern strikes must be zealously guarded so that the gains be not dissipated. This has happened too often in the past. It is quite true that absolute guarantees for success do not exist and never did. But a correct policy of struggle, it is equally true, gives the only guarantee that is possible under the circumstances of the moment. Such a policy has not yet been sufficiently applied in this situation.

The strike situation is not limited to the struggles led in North Carolina by the National Textile Workers Union. The vicious conditions in the textile industry have caused similar outbreaks elsewhere. In Elizabethton, Tennessee, a strike is in progress under the leadership of the United Textile Workers Union, the A. F. of L. organization. In Stroudsburg, Pa., a struggle is being led by the Associated Silk Workers. In South Carolina, spontaneous textile strikes have broken out which have no definitely organized leadership. Numerous struggles, tremendous possibilities, untouched reservoirs of strength on the one hand, separate organizations, separate leaderships, separate appeals for support on the other hand. None of the competing unions in the field is sufficiently strong to completely dominate the situation by itself.

The workers who are engaged in struggle, and those who can be brought into struggle are interested primarily in improving their conditions and building a movement that can enforce the maintenance of constantly better conditions. That section of the working class that can best represent and fight for these interests is the section which will rally the textile slaves to its banner. These interests are paramount for the workers now. Just as McGrady and Hoffman in Elizabethton can hardly organize the strikers for any mass battle against "Communism in the textile fields," so the N. T. W. U. can hardly organize the Gastonia strikers for mass resistance against the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. What the workers want is an end to the "stretch-out" system, to long hours and short wages.

The Task of the Militants

The task of the militants and the left wing in the situation is to agitate constantly for the unification of all the forces available in the

textile field for an onslaught against the powerful mill barons. It is necessary for the left wing union to say to the A. F. of L. leaders: "You maintain that you are for improving the conditions of the textile workers. Prove it by deeds. Let the ranks of the workers be united in the struggle so that more forces will be organized to resist the murderous conditions imposed by the bosses. Instead of separate struggles, with separate appeals for strike relief, let us have joint action in a common battle."

It is true that the McGrady, Greens and Wolls will reject this demand. They are not for the unity of the working class, they stand for split and division. They will have nothing to do with any movement in which the militant left wing is engaged. They lead struggles only to strangle them and turn them over to the mercies of the bosses whom the A. F. of L. serves. That is one side of the coin. But the other side is this:

The left wing, which is followed so far only by a small minority of the workers, will demonstrate to the textile strikers in all four states that the A. F. of L. reactionaries will not lead the workers in successful struggle. The left wing will show the textile workers that it stands for unity in the fight, for the greatest possible mobilization of forces against the mill owners, which is what the strikers are interested in right now. The left wing will strengthen its support not only in the ranks of the workers now following it, but it will create a movement in support of the left wing also in the ranks of the workers now following McGrady.

A Letter to International Labor Defense

March 22, 1929.

International Labor Defense
80 East 11th Street, Room 402
New York City

Dear Comrades:

The undersigned members of the National Executive Committee of the I. L. D. wish to call your attention to a number of important matters relating to the work of the I. L. D. which in our opinion should be considered by a meeting of the National Executive Committee.

1. *The Christmas Fund.* We have seen statements in various papers and have also been informed from other sources that the I. L. D. failed to make the customary distribution of funds to the class war prisoners and their families during the Christmas period for which the Christmas fund was primarily instituted. Are these statements true? If so, what were the proceeds of the Christmas fund and how were they distributed.

2. *The Monthly Relief for Class War Prisoners and Dependents.* We have been informed that the I. L. D. during the recent period has been failing to make the regular monthly contributions to the prisoners and their dependents which was the established practice of the I. L. D. carried out unflinchingly over a period of more than three years since the fund was started. Are these statements true? If so, what is the reason for the failure and what steps are being taken to overcome it?

3. *The Mooney-Billings Campaign.* What is the reason for the failure to develop this campaign for which the ground had been fully prepared before we left the office of the I. L. D. last October, and which Mooney had publicly endorsed? Is there any truth in the report that Mooney has repudiated the I. L. D.? If so, what steps are being taken to adjust matters and come to an agreement for the active participation of the I. L. D. in a United Front struggle for the freedom of Mooney and Billings?

4. *The question of maintaining the non-partisan policy of the I. L. D. in defense of the rights of all workers to free speech and assemblage.* The I. L. D. was founded on the principle of non-partisan defense of workers' rights, regardless of party or other affiliation and it carried out that line in practice. One of its first important cases was the defense of the Anarchist workers at Fall River, Mass. Recently comrades have been denied the right to sell the Militant at I. L. D. affairs in New York City although the Daily Worker and other Party publications were given this right. The same attempt to prevent the sale of the Militant was made at an I. L. D. meeting in Chicago. Not only that, but at the I. L. D. Bazaar an organized group of hoodlums, claiming to speak in the name of the New York Section of the I. L. D. attempted to deny the right to sell the Militant on the sidewalk outside the Bazaar. Is this the present policy of the I. L. D., or does the organization as such condemn such acts of discrimination and suppression.

We believe these questions are of such great importance for the work and future of the I. L. D. as to make a meeting of the National Executive Committee absolutely imperative. Since October, nearly five months ago, there has not been a single meeting of the National Executive Committee. Therefore the actual responsibility of its members is very slight, but since we, as members, bear a certain public responsibility for the work and affairs of the I. L. D. we deem it necessary, in view of the questions which have arisen, to have precise information and reports on the activities of the period

If this tactic is properly pursued, these workers will demand of the McGrady why they refuse to accept the left wing's proposals for united struggle.

We would emphasize that this policy has nothing in common with the one pursued by the Party in the Passaic strike, which showed that workers' militancy alone—and there was plenty of that in Passaic—without correct policy, is insufficient. We are not for turning the workers organized by the left wing over to the A. F. of L. bureaucrats without extracting any guarantees from the latter, and without safeguarding the movement by maintaining the independence of the left wing, its right to criticize, its right to its own leaders, etc., etc. This suicidal course virtually destroyed the Passaic union.

But to react against the Passaic distortion—if not the perversion—of the united front tactics by swinging blithely to the other extreme (a customary "corrective" in the Party nowadays) would be profoundly wrong. The Party and its press is speaking of the North Carolina strikes now as if the left wing had the South by the throat, as if it did not at all have to consider the hundreds of thousands of workers who do not yet follow the left wing.

It will not do for a moment to minimize the colossal difficulties in the way of organizing the textile workers and leading them along the path of class struggle and out of the swamp of class collaboration. A consciousness of these difficulties, militancy, level-headedness, persistence are prerequisites for victory. Necessary above all is a shunning of sectarianism and isolation, and the pursuit of a course that represents the interests and actual needs of the workers in general, and lays the basis for achieving solidarity and unity.—M. S.

which has elapsed since October. Otherwise any form of responsibility will become impossible for us. We request you to call a meeting of the National Executive Committee without delay.

Yours fraternally,
JAMES P. CANNON
MAX SHACHTMAN
ROSE KARSNER

NOTE: Since this letter was written, we have been informed that a so-called meeting of the Executive Committee of the I. L. D. was called together by the faction agents of Lovestone and Foster, to which comrades Cannon, Shachtman and Karsner—despite the fact that they are regular members of the Executive—were not invited. The essential purpose of this meeting was apparently to officially O. K. the replacement of Wagenknecht as secretary by Juliet Poyntz and the juggling of other positions in the organization by the factionalists. Another act taken was the arbitrary removal from the Committee of comrades Cannon, Shachtman and Karsner. No reasons were given. No charges were preferred. The comrades were not informed either of the meeting or the removals. The only possible reason for the removals is the fact that the three above-named comrades support the Communist Opposition. That is how the Stalinite splitters maintain the non-partisan mass character of the I. L. D. We will treat of this matter more extensively in coming issue.—Ed.

Stalin Praised by Labor's Foe

The Saturday Evening Post of April 13, 1929, says in its editorial on "The Kellogg Pact in Practice":

"It is reported in Europe that the Soviet Government of Russia has concluded broad agreements with the governments of Poland and of the East Baltic States under which their future relations are to be founded on the spirit and the letter of the Kellogg Pact. In view of the delicate problems involving boundary relations between these countries, the agreements represent an extraordinary step forward in principle. Significant, also, is the fact that the scope of the Kellogg Pact has been found a satisfactory basis for agreements between governments as far apart in type as that of Russia and those of her neighbors to the northwest.

"It seems to be taken for granted in Europe that this attitude of Russia corresponds to the policy of the moderate right wing, the group of Stalin, and represents another public victory over the left wing, the group of Trotsky."

The Post represents all that is reactionary, low, smug, anti-labor, anti-Communist, anti-Soviet in bourgeois America. Its praise of Stalin and Litvinov is well-deserved by the latter. The bourgeois reactionary Post knows how to estimate its friends and its enemies. It knows the direction in which Stalinism is moving, and it is more than satisfied with Stalin for his "public victory over the left wing." Stalin's delivery of comrade Trotsky to White Guardist Turkey is the price the Communist movements pay to buy praise for Stalin from the organ of black reaction, the Saturday Evening Post. Let every Communist think!

The Draft Program of the Comintern

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS ISSUE

5. SOVIETS AND REVOLUTION.

In the February resolution of the E.C.C.I. the representative of the Comintern, Comrade N., "and others", are made responsible for the "absence of an ELECTED Soviet in Canton as an organ of insurrection". (Emphasis in the original). This charge is in our opinion a surprising admission.

In the report of *Pravda* written on the basis of first hand documents (No. 31) it was stated that there was a Soviet government established in Canton. But it said nothing about the fact that the Canton Soviet was NOT an elected organ, that is, that it was not a SOVIET—for how can there be 1905 and other years without daring to approach a Soviet which has not been elected? We learn this from the resolution. Let us reflect for a moment. The E.C.C.I. tells us now that a Soviet is necessary in an armed insurrection, but by no means before that. But when the date for the insurrection is set there is no Soviet. To set up an elected Soviet is not at all an easy matter. It is necessary that the masses should know from experience what a Soviet is, that they understand its form, that they should have learned something in the past about the election of Soviets. Of this there was no sign in China as the slogan of Soviets was declared to be a Trotskyist slogan precisely in the period when it should have become the nerve center of the entire movement. When, however, later, a date was fixed for an insurrection so as to skip over their own defeats, they simultaneously had to APPOINT a Soviet. If we were not to expose this error to the very end, the slogan of Soviets might be turned into a strangling noose of the revolution.

A Criticism of Fundamentals

By L. D. Trotsky

Lenin explained to the Mensheviks in his time that the main task hitherto of the Soviets is to organize or to help to organize the capture of power so that on the morrow after the victory it may become the machinery of that power. The epigones—not disciples, but epigones—draw from this the conclusion that Soviets may be organized only when the 12th hour has struck. On the basis of

While this tremendously important document by comrade Trotsky is running serially in the Militant it has already been published by us in full in pamphlet and book form. The paper bound copy is for sale at our office at 35 cents in bundle orders. The cloth bound limited edition is for sale at \$1.00 a copy. Send for it!

Lenin's broad generalization they wrote *post factum* a short prescription which does not serve the interests of the revolution but to its detriment.

Before the Bolshevik Soviets in October 1917 captured power the S. R. and Menshevik Soviets had existed for nine months. Twelve years prior to that the first revolutionary Soviets existed in Petersburg and Moscow and many other towns. Before the Soviet of 1905 embraced the factories and plants of the capital there was a printers' Soviet in Moscow during the printers' strike, and a few months prior to that, in May 1905, a mass strike in Ivanovo-Voznesensk set up a leading committee which already contained all the principal

features of a Soviet of deputies. Between the first experiment of setting up a Soviet of deputies and the gigantic experiment of setting up a Soviet Government, more than 12 years rolled by. Of course, such a period is not absolutely essential for all countries, including China. But to think that the Chinese workers are capable of organizing Soviets on the basis of a short prescription which substitutes Lenin's broad generalization means the substitution of an impotent and importunate pedantry for dialectic revolutionary action. Soviets must be set up not on the eve of uprisings, not under the watchword of immediate capture of power—for if the matter has reached the point of the capture of power, if the masses are prepared for an armed insurrection WITHOUT A SOVIET it means that there have been other organizational forms and methods which made possible the performance of the preparatory work to ensure the success of the uprising, the question of Soviets becomes of secondary importance and reduces itself to a question of organizational technique or still less to a question of name. The task of the Soviets is not merely to issue the call for the insurrection or to carry that insurrection out, but TO LEAD THE MASSES TOWARD THE INSURRECTION THROUGH THE NECESSARY PHASES. At first the Soviet rallies the masses not to the slogan of an armed insurrection, but to partial slogans, so that only later, step by step, they are brought towards the insurrection without scattering them on the road and without allowing the vanguard to become isolated from the class.

TO BE CONTINUED

A Letter to the Russian Workers

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

bureaucratic caste bound together: by a solidarity of privilege. In order to defend the October Revolution, the Soviet Republic and the revolutionary name of the Bolshevik-Leninists, I told the whole world the truth about Stalin and the Stalinists. I reminded them again that Lenin in his maturely considered "Testament" described Stalin as *disloyal*. That word is understood in all the languages of the world. It means an untrustworthy or dishonest man who is guided in his activities by bad motives, a man whom you cannot trust. That is how Lenin characterized Stalin, and we see again how correct Lenin's warning was. There is no worse crime for a revolutionist than to deceive his Party, to poison with lies the mind of the working class. And that is at present Stalin's chief occupation. He is deceiving the Comintern and the international working class, attributing to the Opposition counter-revolutionary intentions and activities in relation to Soviet power. Exactly because of his inward inclination to that kind of activity, Lenin called Stalin disloyal. Exactly for that reason Lenin proposed to the Party that Stalin should be removed from his post. So much the more necessary now, after all that has happened, to explain to the whole world in what consists Stalin's disloyalty—that is, his perfidy and dishonesty in relation to the Opposition.

The "American Dollars"

5. The slanderers (Yaroslavsky and the other agents of Stalin) are raising a great noise on the subject of American dollars. Otherwise it would hardly be worth while to stoop to this rubbish. But the most vicious bourgeois newspapers take satisfaction in spreading Yaroslavsky's dirt. In order to leave nothing unclear I will therefore tell you about the dollars.

I gave my articles to an American press agency in Paris. Lenin and I, dozens of times, have given interviews and written expositions of our views on one question or another to such agencies. Thanks to my banishment and the mysterious circumstances of it, the interest in this matter throughout the world was colossal. The agency counted on a good profit. It offered me half of the income. I answered that I personally would not take a cent, but

that the agency should deliver at my direction a half of its income from my articles, and that with this money I will publish in the Russian language and in foreign languages a whole series of Lenin's writings (his speeches, articles, letters) which are suppressed in the Soviet Republic by the Stalinist censorship. I will also publish with this money a whole series of important Party documents (reports of conferences, congresses, letters, articles, etc.) which are concealed from the Party only because they clearly demonstrate the theoretical and political bankruptcy of Stalin. This is that "counter-revolutionary" (according to Stalin and Yaroslavsky) literature which I intend to publish. An accurate account of the sums expended in this way will be published when the time comes. Every worker will say that it is infinitely better to publish the writings of Lenin with money received in the form of an accidental contribution from the bourgeoisie than to propagate slanders against the Bolshevik-Leninists with money collected from the Russian workers and peasants.

The War against the Leninists.

Do not forget, comrades; The "Testament" of Lenin remains as before in Russia a counter-revolutionary document, for the circulation of which you are arrested and exiled. And that is not accidental. Stalin is waging a struggle against Leninism on an international scale. There remains hardly one country in the world where at the head of the Communist Party to-day stand those revolutionists who led the Party in the days of Lenin. They are almost all expelled from the Communist International. Lenin guided the first four Congresses of the Comintern. Together with Lenin I drew up all the fundamental documents of the Comintern. At the fourth Congress, in 1922, Lenin divided equally with me the fundamental report on the New Economic Policy and the Perspectives of the International Revolution. After the death of Lenin, almost all the participants, at any rate all without exception of the influential participants of the first four Congresses, have been expelled from the Comintern. Everywhere in the world at the heads of the Communist Parties stand new, accidental people, who arrived yesterday from the camp of our opponents and enemies. In order to adopt an anti-Leninist policy, it was necessary first to overthrow the Leninist lead-

ership. Stalin has done this, relying upon the bureaucracy, upon new petty-bourgeois circles, upon the State apparatus, upon the G. P. U., and upon the financial resources of the State. This has been carried through not only in the U. S. S. R., but also in Germany, in France, in Italy, in Belgium, in the United States, in the Scandinavian countries—in a word, in almost every country in the world. Only a blind man could fail to understand the meaning of the fact that the closest colleagues and comrades-in-arms of Lenin in the Russian Communist Party and the whole Comintern, all the leaders of the Communist Parties in the first hard years, all the participants and leaders of the first four Congresses, almost to a man, have been removed from their posts, slandered and expelled. This mad struggle with the Leninist leadership was necessary to the Stalinists in order to carry through an anti-Leninist policy.

When they were pounding the Bolshevik-Leninists, they reassured the Party by saying that it would now be monolithic. You know that the Party is now more split-up than ever. And this is not the end either. There is no salvation on the Stalinist road. You can adopt either an Ustrialovist—that is a consistently Thermidorian policy—or a Leninist policy. The Centrist position of Stalin inevitably leads to an accumulation of enormous economic and political difficulties and to the continual decimation and destruction of the Party.

It is still not too late to alter the course. It is necessary abruptly to change the policy and the Party regime in the spirit of the Opposition Platform. It is necessary to put an end to the shameful persecution of the best revolutionary Leninists in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the whole world. It is necessary to restore the Leninist leadership. It is necessary to condemn and root out the disloyal, that is, untrustworthy and dishonest, methods of the Stalin apparatus. The Opposition is ready with all its force to help the proletarian kernel of the Party to fulfill this vital task. Rabid persecution, dishonest slanders and government repressions cannot dim our loyalty to the October Revolution or to the international party of Lenin. We will remain true to them both to the end—in the Stalinist prisons, in exile and in banishment.

With Bolshevik greetings.

L. TROTSKY

Constantinople,
March 27th 1929

The Stalin-Rykov Wage Policy

A Leaflet of the Russian Leninist-Bolsheviks

COMRADES! WORKERS!

"Just as the best factory with a first class motor and first class machines is at a standstill when the mechanism that connects the motor with the machines is damaged, so also is a catastrophe to our socialist construction inevitable when the connecting mechanism between the Communist Party and the masses, the trade unions, is badly constructed. (From Lenin's resolution on the trade union at the 11th Party Congress.)

In connection with the concluded labor of the Eighth Trade Union Congress of U.S.S.R., every worker must ask himself the question: **Has this connecting mechanism worked properly?** The false policy of the leadership has brought the country to an extremely difficult economic condition. The material level of the life of the working class has fallen, the position of the classes antagonistic to the dictatorship has been strengthened.

The Bolshevik-Leninists have exposed the mistakes of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on more than one occasion, and pointed out their disastrous consequences. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. replied to these warnings with imprisonment and exile to the worst parts of Siberia and Middle Asia. But the Leninist truth cannot be killed by exile and imprisonment. This truth appears in every nook and cranny of our economic and political life.

The real wage of the workers—we are assured by the Supreme Trade Union Council—has risen 7.7 percent in the last year. This is delusion.

In its offices, the Supreme Trade Union Council proceeded from the price list in the calculations of real wages. But every worker knows from his own experience that the goods in the government and cooperative stores are not sufficient and that—willy-nilly—one must pay three times as dearly for goods at the private tradesman.

The Supreme Trade Union Council does not reckon with this over-payment. In October 1927, when the Supreme Trade Union Council fought against the demands of the Bolshevik-Leninists for an increase in wages, they assured us that thanks to government measures the price of goods would be lowered and the cost of living would thereby be decreased. In reality, however, the contrary occurred: the budget index of the Soviet Union has risen 9.3 percent according to official figures. (*Economitscheskoye Obozrenie*, No. 8) In the last eight months a further change for the worse set in when prices became higher. The second industrial loan lowered the nominal wage another 8.3 percent. The industrialization of the country is being placed completely on the shoulders of the workers. This can be best demonstrated when the sources for the funds allocated for industry are established.

Out of the billion rubles, 800,000,000 rubles come out of the profit made by lowering the cost price by 7 percent, which is, however, under the conditions of our technique and rationalization, combined with the greatest pressure on the muscle energy of the workers.

The second half of the funds allocated by the budget for industry consists of inner-industrial accumulations and of money taken directly from the working class. To this belong the 350,000,000 rubles collected among the working masses in the Industrial Loan, the deductions from the profits of industry, and so on and so forth. Thus nine-tenths of all funds allocated for large capital investments are raised at the cost of the working class.

Productivity increased 28 percent in the last two years according to the figures of the Supreme Trade Union Council. For 1928-1929 a further increase of 17 percent is foreseen.

The Leninist Opposition always pointed out the necessity of raising productivity but it has fought and is fighting against raising productivity at the cost of the intensification of labor to the point of physical exhaustion of the workers. The number of illnesses, of accidents, grows from year to year. Even the Supreme Trade Union Council must acknowledge in its report that "the rationalization carried through by industry is often not accompanied at all by the necessary safety measures. This condition, for example, is to be noticed in the naphtha, anthracite, chemical and to a certain extent in the metal industries," and we might add, in all other branches of industry.

Unemployment grows from year to year. Since

July 1, 1926, the number of unemployed members of the unions increased by 653,300 men and amounted to 1,812,000 men on July 1, 1928—and without the unions with seasonal workers the increase amounts to 81.3 percent. (Seasonal workers in the sugar industry, agriculture, building trades, and so on.) In the unions composed only of industrial workers, unemployment increased 228,600 and presented an army of 551,000 on July 1, 1928.

At the last Plenary Session of the Supreme Trade Union Council, Kradal, member of the presidium of the Supreme Economic Council, declared that the further increase of productivity by 17.5 percent will involve the decrease of the number of workers by 90,000; this line must call forth the greatest uneasiness as to the fate of the working class of the U.S.S.R.

The insignificant aid rendered the unemployed in the state budget is constantly cut down: In 1926-1927 8 million rubles were utilized for this purpose, in 1928-1929 7,200,000 rubles are being assigned for it, that is, with a substantial increase in the number of unemployed the allocated sum has decreased even in relation to 1926-1927. In the final analysis the support of the unemployed worker must be borne by the working part of the family, and the worker's budget, which even without this is heavily taxed, is constantly diminished. The position of the young workers is worsened by various measures, by decreasing the number of schools of the factory youth, and so on.

Wage agreements have actually ceased to exist. The workers are robbed of the possibility of attending conferences on wage questions. The bureaucratic agreement between the heads of the Supreme Trade Union Councils and the Central Committees of the unions with the Supreme Economic Council has replaced the wage agreement.

The new system of normalizing labor makes the unlawful position of the workers legal; from now on the standard of work is no longer connected with the wage agreements; the pressure on the muscle power of the workers will be strengthened in the course of the whole year.

The living conditions of the workers are growing worse. The consumption of alcohol grows in a frightful degree. All the assurances that the production of alcohol will be decreased are lies. In 1927-1928 there were 52,890,000 dekaliters, more than were estimated in the program, namely 49,200,000 dekaliters. And for 1928-1929 an additional 4 and some odd million dekaliters are foreseen. (See Briuchanov's report at the session of the C.E.C.)

Stalin, Tomsy and other "leaders" of the Party were forced to conduct a struggle against alcohol in words. And at the same time, the share of profits from alcohol production increased in the 1928-1929 budget by 200,000,000 rubles, or 30 percent higher than in the 1927-1928 budget. Words say one thing and deeds another.

The so-called wage reforms have led to a decline in the nominal wage in a series of industries. In the entire textile industry 3 per cent of the workers were bit by these measures, in the wool industry 7.7 percent, in the leather industry 11 to 20 percent of the workers. (Report of the Supreme Trade Union Council to the Eighth Congress of the Trade Unions, page 329.)

Housing conditions of the workers remain as unsatisfactory as before. Less money was collected for the building of houses in 1928-1929 than in 1927-1928; instead of 90 million rubles, only 70 million rubles, or a fall of 22 per cent. However, the budget provides a greater expenditure for the apparatus.

In a few words, that is what the conditions of

In the Next Issue:

The next issue of the Militant will contain: **New and hitherto unpublished material from comrade Trotsky.**

A detailed review of the conference of the Opposition.

The Situation in the Canadian Party by comrade Maurice Spector.

First-hand information on the Russian Party conference just concluded and what actually happened behind the scenes.

the working class looks like. The Supreme Trade Union Council has done nothing on its part to improve the position of the workers. The attempts of the Opposition to correct the line of the Supreme Trade Union Council, remained without results. The Bolshevik-Leninists in the trade unions are thrown out of work and sent into exile.

The fate of the proletarian dictatorship depends on the victory of the Leninists. Objectively, the present leaders of the C.P.S.U. are leading to the abyss. The working class of the U.S.S.R. must find the strength to straighten out the line of the leadership of the Party.

December 1928.

Bolshevik-Leninists (Opposition.)

More about the T. U. E. L.

Our Minneapolis comrades have just pointed out that the case of comrade Arne Swabek's arbitrary removal—without charges or notification—from the executive committee of the Trade Union Educational League is not an isolated one. Among the signers of the call for the Cleveland Conference of the T. U. E. L. we do not find the names of comrades C. R. Hedlund or Carl Skoglund, both of whom are on the national committee of the Railroad Section, to which they had been unanimously elected at the last National Conference. Both comrades are noted leaders of the left wing and progressive movement in the railroad unions, Hedlund in the Locomotive Engineers and Skoglund in the Railway Carmen. They were not notified of any "crime" they committed, no charges were presented against them, and they were not even informed of their removal.

Who removed them? Not the committee of which they are members, for it has not met on the matter. The removal was decided on by the Stalinite Political Bureau of the Party, and was carried out readily by Otto Wangerin, secretary of the Railroad Committee, an ostensibly non-Party organization. The bureaucrats are determined to wreck any movement rather than permit a supporter of the Communist Opposition to participate in its work. They intend to make every left wing and non-Party movement a hopeless sect, a tail to the Stalinite factional kite.

This is the sure road to ruin! We are sure that the high standing enjoyed by comrades Skoglund and Hedlund will not be impaired in the eyes of the progressive railroad workers by the Stalinite ukase. But the Fosters, Lovestones, Gitlows and Wangerins will have to answer to the left wing workers for their criminal work of disruption.

Form Opposition Group in China

The Militant has just received the first information about the Communist Opposition that has been organized in the Chinese Communist Party. A letter from China states—we quote it as it was written in English:—"Chinese Oppositionists, Bolshevik-Leninists, have begun to fight with the opportunism. We are deeply believed that with continuing achievement, Chinese revolution will go again according the way of Leninism. But we are youngest in the world. We want the moral and material assistances from the international Oppositionists. We shall tell you about the present conditions as much as can, when received the letter from you."

The appearance of the first organized movement in the Chinese Party basing itself on the platform of the International Opposition led by comrade Trotsky will be joyfully greeted by every revolutionary fighter. Especially in China did the revisionist line of Stalin-Bucharin-Martinov cause the greatest damage to the revolutionary movement by enslaving the proletariat and the peasantry under the yoke of the bourgeoisie under Chiang Kai-Shek, Wang Chin Wei and Co. The struggle of the Opposition gains new strength, among the revolutionary elements with every new blow of persecution dealt it by the Stalinite apparatus!

TWO FABLES

A FABLE BY KRYLOV: A toil-worn ox was returning from a heavy day of plowing in the field. Its hide was covered with grime and sweat. Its eyes were dry with earth. Its feet dragged along heavily. And on its back stood a tiny flea. Passers-by, seeing the flea on the ox, asked the flea: "What have you been doing, where do you come from?" The flea said: "Akk! Mi pakhali! (Oh we were plowing!)"

A FABLE BY MOISSAYE J. OLGIN: "We toil. We are a far-flung brotherhood of toilers. We bend our backs in the black coal caverns of Pennsylvania and Illinois. We wound our fingers with the cotton threads of the North Carolina textile mills. We scorch our faces in the lurid fires of the Ruhr steel crucibles. We poison our breath with jungle vapors of tropical rubber plantation. We freeze the soul out of our hungry bodies in the sullen wastes of Alaska. We toil." (May Day article, *Daily Worker*, May 1, 1929.)

Akk, Moissaye, mi pakhali!

