The MILITANT

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

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Our Appeal to the Party Members

(SPEECH OF JAMES P. CANNON AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY, MONDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1928.)

Comrades:—

Many of the most important events and turning points in our Party life have been summed up in Party gatherings which stand out in Party history as the expression of these events. The present meeting of the Central Executive Committee, called to confirm the control of the Party by an opportunistic and bureaucratic leadership and to endorse the expulsion of its opponents, is such a gathering. It will represent in Party history a downward curve.

In most of the significant Party meetings of the past certain features, certain details, stood out and gave in themselves an indication of the whole character of the gatherings. This is true also of this one. Let me mention a couple of these characteristic features of the present meeting of the Central Executive Committee.

We were impressed as we entered the hall to see comrade Devine occupying the post as chairman—a new distinction for him—and you have all heard him tell us with a brusque authority—which is also new for him—that we will be given one hour and no more to answer the three hour reports against us. The chairmanship of comrade Devine will not be forgotten for it is a symbol of the meeting. He is the District Organizer in that District (Minnesota) where the expulsion of proletarian Communists for their views has attained the widest proportions. Twenty-one comrades there have already been expelled, and they are precisely the comrades whose names have stood out in the labor movement of Minnesota for years as the very banner of Communism. The prestige our Party enjoys in the labor movement there is due mainly to them. And it is to their loyal, untiring and sacrificial work that we owe the 5,000 votes—more than 10 per cent of the total votes for our Presidential candidates—which we received in the elections in Minnesota. The election of comrade Devine, who is responsible for the expulsion of these Communists, as chairman of the Plenum has a meaning in the light of those facts. It signifies the conferring of exceptional honors upon the District Organizers who bring about the greatest disruption. It puts the seal of approval upon the policy of mass expulsions of proletarian Communists. Thus the chairmanship of Devine is a symbol of the Plenum.

PEPPER REPORTS AGAINST US

The second significant detail I wish to mention is the selection of Pepper as the Reporter against us. This fact epitomizes the Plenum, and the whole issue around which it centers, better than anything we could say. It demonstrates in deed that the fight against us, because it lacks all principle, must be placed from the beginning on the lowest basis and must use the vilest instruments. The selection of Pepper, the bearer in the Communist movement of all that is most corrupt and most detestable to revolutionaries, as the Reporter against us, to bring here the demand for our expulsion in itself discredits that demand. The very fact that the sewage of slander against us and our comrades is poured out officially here through the mouth of Pepper puts an evaluation on this slander, it answers and refutes it. I will not insult a single Communist by "defending" him against the accusations of this characterless adventurer whose unspeakable record shames the Communist movement of the world. The Communist militants who constitute the forces of the Opposition, with the honorable record of the years behind them, are in no need of such a defense. For revolutionaries the calumny of a Pepper is only a mark of distinction and a badge of honor. It is those who elected Pepper as the Reporter against us who will have need of this defense before the Party and before the proletariat which judges the Party by its spokesmen.

In the period that has intervened since our expulsion on October 25th, we have continued to regard ourselves as Party members and have conducted ourselves as Communists, as we have done since the foundation of the Party and even for years before that. Every step we have taken has been guided by this conception. Those acts which went beyond the bounds of ordinary Party procedure in bringing our views before the Party, was imposed upon us by the action of the Party leadership in denying us the right and opportunity to defend our views within the Party by normal means. Our views relate to principle questions, and therefore, it is our duty openly to defend them in spite of all attempts to suppress them. We are bound to do this also in the future under all circumstances. However, we said on October 25th and we repeat now, that we are unconditionally willing to confine our activity to regular Party channels and to discontinue all extraordinary methods the moment our Party rights are restored and we are permitted to defend our views in the Party press and at Party meetings. The decision and the responsibility rest wholly with the majority of the Central Executive Committee.

FOR THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION

Events since our expulsion have only served to confirm more surely the correctness of the views of the Russian Opposition which we support. The momentous developments in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and throughout the Comintern have that meaning and no other. Life itself is proving the validity of their platform. Even those who fought that platform, who misrepresented it and hid it from the Party and the Comintern, are today compelled, under the pressure of events and forces which overwhelm them, to give lip-service to it, to pretend to adopt it. Many of the statements and proposals of the Opposition which were branded as "counter-revolutionary" a year ago are today solemnly repeated, almost word for word, as the quintessence of Bolshevism. Meanwhile their sponsors—the true leaders and defenders of the Russian Revolution—remain in exile and there is no guarantee whatever that the present advertized "left course" will mean anything more than a cover for further concessions to the Right wing whose policy directly undermines the dictatorship. The victorious fight of the Party masses in Russia and throughout the Comintern against this disgraceful and dangerous course cannot be much longer postponed.

(Note: Here followed an exposition of various parts of the platform of the Russian Opposition which are connected with the present developments, such as the internal questions of the Soviet Union, the crisis in the Communist Party of Germany, etc., etc. Since these questions are being elaborated in separate articles in The Militant this part of the speech is deleted to avoid repetition.)

Our views on the problems of the American Party and its leadership outlined in our statement to the Political Committee on October 25th hold good today and have been underscored by the whole conduct of the Pepper-Lovestone faction since that time. We spoke then of "its opportunist political outlook, its petty-bourgeois origin, its corrupt factionalism, its careerism and adventurism in the class struggle" as "the greatest menace to the Party." To speak now about the present Party leadership, with objectivety and precision, we could not use different language to characterize it. This estimate is written in unmistakable words in the election campaing, the trade union work, the inner-Party regime and in all phases of Party life and activity.

BUREAUCRACY AND GANGSTERISM

Since October 25th, the Pepper-Lovestone leadership has taken further steps on the course of bureaucratic disruption which confronts the Party today as a deadly menace—a course which began with the expulsion of Communists, copied from the labor fakers, and which has already taken another weapon from the same arsenal—the weapon of gangsterism. Everyone sitting here knows the facts about this. You know that inspired and organized gangster attacks have been made against us on the public streets, not once but several times.

Woe to the Party of the workers if its proletarian kernel does not arise and stamp out these incipient fascist tactics at the very beginning. The blows from the black-jacks of gangsters which have descended on the heads of Opposition Communists are blows at the very foundation of the Party. This abominable gangsterism, for which the leaders of the two factions collaborating against us, the Lovestone faction and the Foster faction, are directly responsible, is hated by every honest worker. It discredits the Party before the working class and threatens to deprive the Party of its moral and political position in the struggle against these methods of the trade union reactionaries.

Only the blindest bureaucrat, or the most irresponsible dilettante adventuring in the movement, can fail to see the unbounded consequences of the bureaucratic expulsion policy of the Lovestone-Pepper leadership and react with alarm against it. It directly threatens the existence of the Party. The first step was the expulsion of three members of the Central Executive Committee in the futile hope that the issues could thereby be disposed of. But the very next day these issues arose again in a wider circle as a result of the action against us and called forth new expulsions. In the six weeks which have elapsed since that time more than sixty proletarians have been expelled from the Party for their views and glibly denounced as "renegades" and "counter-revolutionaries" by people who are scarcely worthy to criticize them in any respect.

Bureaucratic suppression has its own logic. It begins with the expulsion of individuals and ends with the disruption of the movement. Yesterday we saw the attempt to suppress the views of the Oppositionists who fight the Party regime on principle grounds. Today already inspired resolutions from the Party units are making the same demand against the limited criticisms of the Foster group, with the threat of organizational measures after the packed and gerrymandered convention has "endorsed" the regime. Bureaucratism is alien to the proletarian Communist movement. Bureaucratism cannot stand criticism. It cannot stand discussion. Bureaucratism, which is an expression of bourgeois influence, and Lenin's proletarian doctrine cannot live together.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Our Appeal to the Party Members

The regime of bureaucratic strangulation which expels its outspoken opponents and bludgeons the Party into silence has become an international phenomenon of the period. This is the only key to an understanding of its absolutely unprecedented excesses. A real struggle against it cannot be made without an understanding of its International scope. On this, as well as on the other principle questions, the fight of the proletarian-Communist elements in all Parties unites with the Bolshevik fight of the Russian Opposition under the leadership of Trotsky.

At the XIV Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Stalin issued a warning against the course he later adopted, and predicted its disruptive consequences. He defended there the refusal to expel Trotsky from the Political Bureau and said, "We are against the policy of lopping off, of blood-letting (it was blood they wanted). It is a dangerous thing. One day you lop off this limb. Tomorrow another an the next day a third. And after a while what becomes of the Party?"

Stalin forgot these words so full of prophetic significance. He formed a factional combination with the right wing to suppress and expel the left, the Opposition. He gave the signal for the same line in all the Parties of the Comintern. As a result in the recent years we have seen everywhere a strengthening of the opportunist elements, an enormous development and entrenchment of bureaucratism and wholesale expulsions of the proletarian left—the core of the workers' vanguard. All the little Stalins in all the Parties are bolstering themselves up by these means.

THE DE-PROLETARIANIZATION OF THE PARTY

This meeting of the Central Executive Committee has an unusually large attendance which has been gathered together to applaud our expulsion. The composition of the audience is also symptomatic. Of the two hundred or more in the hall, almost every one is a functionary or employee of the Party or of an organization or institution closely related to the Party. There are not half a dozen workers from the shops present. The opportunist leaders of the needle trades are here but the rank and file Communists, who fight for Communist policies against them, are barred out. The fiction of "proletarian representation" was never more clearly exposed than it is by these simple facts. All this is in correlation to the shifting class composition of the upper circles of the Party.

The wholesale expulsion of proletarian fighters goes hand in hand with the steady recruitment of all kinds of dubious petty-bourgeois careerist and half-baked intellectual elements. The class composition of the Party, particularly in the New York District, has been seriously affected by this process in recent years and has had a direct expression in the opportunistic policies of the Party and the strengthening of the opportunist elements generally.

In the upper circles of the Party, in the Party apparatus, this increased proportion of non-proletarians is enormously expanded. Under the Lovestone regime these elements are appearing more and more on all sides as Party representatives, officials, managers, directors, teachers, supervisors. Coming to these positions without sufficient prerequisites, they bring with them the detestable careerist attributes of insolence, arrogance and pride of office, antagonizing and alienating the worker elements and thrusting them aside.

The "education" dispensed in the Party school under such auspices is becoming a distorted caricature of revolutionary training. It is led almost exclusively by school teachers, dentists, "professors", journalists—everything except proletarian leaders tested by the class struggle.

The Party must examine this question in direct connection with the struggle against the Right danger and the opportunist leaders who are its bearer. It is necessary at once to take a complete registration of the Party membership with the object of precisely determining its class composition. A reorganization of the Party apparatus from top to bottom, up to and including the Central Executive Committee, placing the overwhelming majority of the positions in the hands of experienced and tested Party workers of proletarian origin, must be effected at once. For the next period, until a proletarian stabilization has been achieved in the Party and its apparatus, the Party membership must be closed entirely to non-proletarian elements. Even then their admittance to the Party must be carefully restricted and supervised.

The failure of the Party to grow in the favorable objective circumstances, the defeats it has suffered where victories were possible, its poor showing in the election with the field to itself as the Party of the class struggle, the collapse of its trade union work, etc., are due primarily to the false leadership. Official bombast and factional trickery can no longer obscure or hide these condemning facts. The fight for the Party is a fight against the systematic opportunist policy of the leadership and the bureaucratic regime with which it fortifies itself against control and correction from below. This internal regime is tied up with the external opportunistic line and is an expression of it. A serious struggle for a correction of the opportunist external policy which weakens the Party and consequently the class before their enemies is impossible without the most determined, stubborn and relentless fight for Party democracy. Party democracy is the means whereby the policy of the Party can be corrected and its leadership reorganized on a proletarian-Communist basis.

The raising of the issue of Party democracy and the education of the Party membership on its meaning and significance are made all the more necessary by the confusion that prevails on the whole question of Party government, of forms of working class organization, of centralization and discipline, which prevails. This confusion is fostered by the monstrous distortions of Lenin's teachings disseminated by the Party leadership and is the direct result of them.

The 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, held under Lenin's leadership at the end of the Civil War, said: "The form of organization and the methods of work are entirely determined by the specific character of the given historic situation and the problems which arise directly out of that situation."

THE ISSUE OF THE PARTY DEMOCRACY

The resolution of the 10th Congress said further: "The needs of the current movement demand a new organization form. That form is Workers' Democracy." We do not advocate the mechanical adoption of the forms and methods prescribed by Lenin for the Russian Party which works under vastly different conditions from ours. But if Workers' Democracy could be proclaimed by Lenin for the Russian Party, with the responsibility of the Proletarian Dictatorship on its shoulders, then it is a hundred times more applicable to our Party under the given historic circumstances in America.

The present leaders and teachers of the Party distort and misapply all these conceptions. They substitute the idea of discipline in the formal mechanical sense for the Leninist doctrine of democratic centralism. Our Party which ought to be the champion of Workers' Democracy throughout the entire labor movement is making the very word taboo. All democracy is indiscriminately labeled bourgeois democracy. This false and thoroughly reactionary idea is heard on all sides, and Comrade Weinstone, who has become the full-blown type of Party martinet, has made an interjection here to the same effect. Party democracy, of course, does not exclude, but presupposes centralization and discipline. It is just the bureaucratic distortions and mechanical conceptions of discipline which give rise to syndicalist prejudices in this respect.

The Party must make an end of this by struggle against the leadership that fosters and expresses it. The first step is the breaking down of the disruptive expulsion policy and the reinstatement of the expelled Communists with the right to express their views in the Party by normal means. The policy of administrative gagging, suppression and terrorism must be overthrown. The worker Communist must be able to feel at home in his own Party. He must have the right and feel the freedom to open his mouth and say what he thinks without being called into the office of some petty official or other, like a recalcitrant workingman in a factory, and threatened with discipline. All talk of Party democracy in the face of suppression on all sides and the wholesale expulsion of comrades for their views is a swindle.

The Party needs a real and free discussion. The suppressed documents of the Russian Opposition, dealing with the vital world problems of the period, must be printed and made available for the Party members. The Party must have the right to discuss the questions upon which there are differences and not merely those upon which there is general agreement. The Party must discuss the International questions and not merely the National and local ones. The Party must have the right to discuss the questions confronting the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in order to participate intelligently in their solution. The Party members must have the right to discuss ALL the questions of the Comintern since they are part of the Comintern and should not regard it as an institution standing apart from them and making decisions without their participation.

There is one feature of the proceedings against us which give them a tragi-comic aspect. We see sitting here, ready to raise their hands to expel us, not a few comrades who exercised this privilege once before. Olgin, Trachtenberg, Kruse and others raised their hands just as high to expel us Communists, us defenders of the Russian Revolution, us followers of Lenin and Trotsky, from the Socialist Party in 1919. Then as now they did not spare slander and vituperation in the process. We were also in those days called "renegades", "agents of the capitalists" and even "spies" and "provacateurs". It was not we but they who had to repent the actions and swallow the words. We survived all that—the expulsions and the slander—because we were Communists and we will survive it now for the same reason.

THE BASIS OF PARTY UNITY

We live and struggle in "the epoch of wars and revolutions" when the events of days and weeks transcend in their magnitude and importance the events of years and decades of other times. We Communists, who are the standard-bearers of the interests of the proletariat and the fighters for the future of humanity, cannot for a moment forget the immensity of our historic responsibilities, which are only magnified by the fewness of our numbers here in the reactionary citadel of World Imperialism. The sharpening International complications which push us every day nearer to the verge of Imperialist war, the great and unavoidable difficulties of the Soviet Union in its Caapitalist encirclement, the colossal problems and tasks confronting our Party in the class struggle—these facts are raising the question of Party unity, of the full utilization of all the tested forces, in all its insistence. The burning issue of Party unity demands a solution, not on the basis of bureaucratic machinations but on the basis of Lenin's teachings.

We speak here for this unity. We declare ourselves ready to do all in our power to bring it about and make it secure, disregarding all the slander against us. We make one demand only: that we have the right to maintain our views and to defend them within the Party by Party means.

We pioneers of Communism in America standing here at the Plenum of the Central Executive Committee, fully conscious of the great solemnity of the occasion and with a full sense of responsibility for our words, say openly to the Plenum and to the entire Party: The views for which we have been expelled are Leninist views. We stand by them. As revolutionists we can do nothing else and we will continue to stand by them and work for their victory in the future. On this basis we present our appeal for the reinstatement into the Party of ourselves and the other expelled comrades who share our views.

Pepper ended his report against us with the prophecy that this will be the last time we will ever address a Party gathering. But this statement will be refuted by the facts of the future just as his other statements are refuted by the facts of the past. In the past during our entire lives we have always fought on the side of the working class when some of those who expel us, including Pepper, stood on the other side of the barricades. We will be at our posts also in the future. Let the Peppers make predictions to the contrary if they wish. It is not we revolutionists with unsullied records who will be discredited thereby. For such talk of the future only invites a recollection of their own dishonorable past which discredits them.

The Party needs the scores of loyal and tested Communists who are being expelled today and cannot spare them. The Party will make its voice heard and assert its will. The Party will call us back to our rightful places in the ranks, and will do this sooner than you dream. We say this because the platform of the Oppositoin represents the class interests of the Proletariat on an International scale and the Communist Party will adopt that platform. We say this because we have confidence in the proletarian ranks of the Party, in their revolutionary spirit and will. Therefore our final words at this meeting are a revolutionary salutation to the Party which we have helped to found and build and from which no power on earth can tear us away.

A Burglary - Its Political Meaning

On Sunday evening, December 23, the residence of Rose Karsner and Jim Cannon, where the editorial work of The Militant is also conducted, was entered by burglars during the absence of the occupants.

The burglary was a professional job. Deep, defacing marks on the door-jamb indicate that entry was effected by forcing the lock, which was a strong one, with a jimmy. It was also quite obviously timed for the occasion, as comrade Karsner had been confined to the house by illness and Sunday evening was the first time in several weeks when there was no one at home.

The following material was taken: Our letter file, account book, receipt book, editorial material, some manuscripts, bank book, partial list of subscribers to The Militant and some other material of this kind. Nothing else was taken.

The robbery subjects us to some temporary inconveniences but will not seriously disrupt our work, as we had taken the precaution to keep copies of the most important manuscripts and addresses in another place in anticipation of such an event. Its perpetrators can learn from the stolen material our meagre financial situation and lack of resources and the names of some comrades who had been in correspondence with us but who have not yet taken a definite position on the questions at issue.

That is all. There is not a line in our correspondence relating to any activities or "connections" of ours which conflict in the slightest degree with our public declarations in The Militant and no such "evidence" can be produced by the organizers of the burglary unless it is forged. *On the contrary, definite and complete proof is contained in our stolen correspondence to refute every one of such accusations.*

A question for Communists of far more importance than any "exposures" in the Forward style of stolen or forged material *is the political significance of underworld methods in Party disputes.* Four years ago when the proposal first came before the Political Committee that our party should sanction such methods in a trade union fight we took a determined stand against it in principle. We said then that the toleration of such a procedure would prove to be a frankenstein, that it would inevitably lead to the corruption of the Left wing and even of the party itself, that it would lead to giving up the ideological and political struggle for the mobilization of the masses—which is the weapon of Communism—and submitting disputes to the arbitrament of the ganster's blackjack and the burglar's jimmy—the weapons of reaction. We exaggerated the danger then, as we thought, in order to stamp out such tendencies at the very beginning. Many things have happened in the meantime.

Let the proletarian communists in the party ranks ponder over this question and ask themselves: *Who brings these absolutely unprecedented methods into factional disputes in the party? What class influence is behind them and* WHERE DO THEY LEAD?

They will search in vain for the necessary key to these questions unless they see them in their political connection. Bureaucratism, expulsions, gangsterism and burglary are not isolated phenomena. They are all bound together and they are the expression and instruments of an adventurist leadership and its opportunist political line. This leadership, lacking a proletarian class basis and outlook, lacking any experience or contact with mass movements, regarding the inner-party struggle for control of the appartus as an adventure and an end in itself, is an absolutely artificial, unhealthy and impossible leadership for a proletarian party. It resorts to these methods alien to communism, because its regime is collapsing and it cannot maintain itself in any other way. It resorts to bureaucratic administration and to expulsion of communists because it fears control from below. It incites and organizes gangsterism and robbery because it has no principle ground. It cannot stand up in the ideological and political fight.

This leadership, corrupt, bureaucratic, and opportunist through-and-through, is driving the Party with all means and all speed to a split. The expulsion of almost 100 Communists of the Opposition is only a beginning. There are an equal number under charges. They are laying the ground for the beginning of the expulsion of the Foster group after the Convention. Clear indications of this are already to be seen in their entire pre-convention campaign and by the removals and suspensions now taking place on various pretexts.

The Pepper-Lovestone faction, leading the party to defeats in the class struggle and faced with an ever-growing revolt from below, must and will expel the entire articulate proletarian opposition. The bureaucratism, the expulsions, the gansterism and burglary are all parts of this process.

It is impossible to wage an effective fight against these methods without attacking the false political line which they express and with which they are bound up. And it is likewise futile to quarrel with them merely over the formulation of theses and resolutions (as the Foster group leaders do) without exposing their lack of principle, without fighting for party democracy, against bureaucratism, corruption and underworld methods. These people have no definite principles. They can change their slogans from "Fire Against the Left" at the May Plenum to a hue and cry about the "Right Danger" at the December Plenum, they can change from opposition to the building of new unions in April to the policy of organizing new unions overnight—and on paper—in August, without changing their fundamental position and their completely cynical attitude in either case.

It is the task of the Opposition, in the light of the recent events, to wage its fight against the Lovestone leadership more subbornly and more relentlessly than before, to expose its incompetence and corruption, from all sides, sparing nobody who in one way or another is a party to it.

About 18 months ago comrade Weinstone came to us in alarm with the declaration that the corruption, opportunism and cynicism of the Lovestone group leaders was such that they would destroy the party if they secured control. He supplemented all that we knew of them by what he had learned as a member of their faction. He proposed a bloc with us and with the Foster group to secure the Party against this. In our opinion this proposal corresponded with the best interests of the party. The bloc was formed and a majority of the Central Executive Committee was secured in support of it. This majority was set aside by the Executive Committe of the Communist International on the initiative of Bukharin and the Lovestone faction was mechanically entrenched in control of the party. The fears expressed then by Weinstone were nevertheless valid and they have been confirmed a thousand times in the intervening period. Weinstone has capitulated to the "corrupt faction machine of Lovestone and Pepper" as he characterized it then and has become a henchman of it. The issue remains however and is clearer now, in all its International implications, than ever before. Those who see that issue and fight on that line as a part of the Russian and International Opposition are the true defenders of the Party and its future.

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A National Organization Tour

In view of the action of the Party administration in expelling us from the party and in utilizing public meetings and the forums of non-party organizations to attack and misrepresent our position, we have decided to hold public meetings and to accept invitations to speak before workers' organizations in order to bring our platform before the Communist workers and sympathizers.

Comrade James P. Cannon will soon take the road on an organization tour in behalf of the Opposition and its platform which will extend as far West as Minneapolis and Kansas City and will include Cleveland, Akron, Detroit, Chicago and a number of other intervening points. Comrade Cannon will speak at public meetings on "The Truth About Trotsky and the Platform of the Opposition," and will also hold meetings with the local Opposition groups for detailed discussion of all points of our platform and tactics.

The first public meeting on this subject was held at the Labor Lyceum, New Haven, Conn., on Friday, December 21., with an audience which filled the hall. An organized group, sent by the Party leadership of the District, attempted to disturb the meeting and prevent Comrade Cannon from speaking. These tactics violently antagonized the workers who had come to hear a presentation of the position of the Russian Opposition for the first time. Comrade Cannon continued speaking for more than an hour despite continuous interuptions and disorder when a squad of police appeared, stating that a "riot call" had come to Police Headquarters. Some of those who had been attempting to disrupt the meeting tried to make it appear that we had called the police to our aid. But this "clever" trick was quickly frustrated by the announcement of Comrade Cannon to the meeting that there was absolutely no disorder, that no one responsible for the meeting had called the police and could not do so since they are all Communists who have "relations" with the police only when they are being themselves arrested and that the police were requested to withdraw and let the meeting proceed. One of the disturbers, Comrade Kling, stood up and began to explain to the Policeman in charge of the squad that we were "holding the meeting under false pretenses by using the name of the Communist Party." He was rebuked by Comrade Cannon before the audience and the Police and was told that he should not explain his grievances to policemen as though they were the arbitrators of disputes between Communists.

This brought a roar of approval from the crowd which cleared the atmosphere and restored order. The cops left and the meeting proceeded. They returned later however and broke up the meeting on the ground that we had no "permit". The audience was driven from the Hall and the Police placed Comrade Cannon, who was loudly protesting and denouncing their action, under arrest, but released him after the crowd had been dispersed.

This exhibition of hooliganism has aroused the utmost indignation among the rank and file Party members and sympathizers and is condemned on all sides. They have demanded another meeting for Comrade Cannon and it will be held at the Labor Lyceum on Friday, January 4.

The second public meeting of the Opposition was held in Philadelphia at Boslover Hall, Thursday, Dec. 27, with Comrade Shachtman as speaker. Profiting by the New Haven experience a strong workers' guard was on hand to protect the meeting and it was held without interference of any kind. Comrade Shachtman spoke for two and one half hours and answered questions for another hour, to the satisfaction and approval of the crowd.

The third public meeting will be held in New York City on Tuesday, January 8, at the Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Avenue.

THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMINTERN *A CRITICISM OF FUNDAMENTALS* By L. D. TROTSKY

CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE

Having inherited and restored these productive forces the workers' government is COMPELLED to import and export.

The trouble is that the draft program drives mechanically into its text the thesis of the incompatibility of modern productive forces with the national boundaries, arguing as if there were no question at all of this incompatibility. Essentially the whole draft is a combination of ready-made revolutionary theses taken from Marx and Lenin and of opportunist and centrist conclusions which are absolutely incompatible with these revolutionary theses. That is why it is necessary WITHOUT BECOMING ALLURED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY FORMULA CONTAINED IN THE DRAFT to watch closely WHITHER ITS MAIN TENDENCIES LEAD.

We have already quoted that part of the first chapter which speaks of the possibility of the victory of socialism "in one capitalist country." This idea is still more roughly and sharply formulated in the 4th chapter, saying that the:

> "Dictatorship (?) of the world proletariat . . . can be realized only as a result of the victory of socialism (?) in individual countries if the newly-formed proletarian republics establish a federation with those which have been in existence before."

If we are to interpret the words "victory of socialism" as another name for the proletarian dictatorship then we will arrive at the general statement which is irrefutable for all and which it would be necessary to formulate less dubiously. But this is not what the authors of the draft mean. By a victory of socialism, they do not mean simply the capture of power and the nationalization of the means of production but the building up of a socialist society in one country. If we were to accept this interpretation then we would receive not a world socialist economy based on an international division of labor but a federation of self-sufficing socialist communes in the spirit of blissful anarchism with the only difference that these communes would be enlarged to the size of the present national states.

This idea is still more definitely and, if this is at all possible, more grossly expressed in the fifth chapter, where hiding behind one and a half lines of Lenin's distorted article published after his death, the authors of the draft declare that the U.S.S.R.

> "possesses the necessary and sufficient MATERIAL prerequisites in the country not only for the overthrow of the nobility and the bourgeoisie but also for the COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM."

Owing to what circumstances have we secured such extraordinary historical conditions? On this point we find a reply in the second chapter of the draft:

> "The imperialist front was broken through (by the revolution of 1917) at its WEAKEST LINK, Czarist Russia."—(Our emphasis).

This is Lenin's splendid formula. Its meaning is that Russia was the most backward and economically weakest of all imperialist states. That is precisely why her ruling classes were the first to suffer shipwreck as they had forced on the INSUFFICIENT productive forces of the country an unbearable burden. Uneven, sporadic development compelled, therefore, the proletariat of the most backward imperialist country to be the first one to take power. Formerly we were told that it is precisely because of this that the working class of the "weakest link" will have the greatest difficulties in its progress towards socialism as compared with the proletariat of the advanced countries for which it will be more difficult to take power but which, having taken power long before we have overcome our backwardness, will not only get ahead of us but will carry us along so as to bring us towards the point of real socialist construction on the basis of the highest world technique and international division of labor. This was our idea when we ventured upon the October Revolution. The Party has formulated this idea ten, nay, hundreds of thousands of times in the press and at meetings. But since 1925 they are trying to displace it by an idea which is quite the opposite to that. Now we learn that the fact that Czarist Russia was "the weakest link" gives the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., the inheritor of Czarist Russia with all its weaknesses, an invaluable advantage which is no more and no less than the possession of its own national prerequisites for for the "complete construction of socialism."

Unfortunately, Britain does not possess this advantage in view of the EXCESSIVE development of her productive forces which require almost the whole world to be able to secure the necessary raw material and to dispose of her products. If the productive forces of Great Britain would be more "moderate" and maintain a relative equilibrium between industry and agriculture, then the British proletariat would apparently be able to build up complete socialism on its own island protected from foreign intervention by the navy.

The draft program divides in its fourth chapter the capitalist states into three groups: 1) "countries of highly developed capitalism (United States, Germany, Great Britain, etc.)"; 2) "countries of an average level of capitalist development (Russia prior to 1917, Poland, etc.)"; 3) "colonial and semi-colonial countries (China, India, etc.)."

Notwithstanding the fact that "Russia prior to 1917" was much closer to present-day China than to the United States, one could refrain from any serious objection to this schematic division were it not for the fact that it serves as a source of wrong conclusions in connection with other parts of the draft. Inasmuch as the countries "with an average level" are declared to possess "sufficient industrial minimums" for independent socialist construction, this is particularly true concerning countries of high capitalist development; it is ONLY the colonial and semi-colonial countries that need assistance. That is precisely, as we shall see later, how they are characterized in the draft program.

If, however, we approach the question of socialist construction only with this criterion, abstracting from other conditions such as the material resources of the country, the correlation between industry and agriculture within it, its place in the world economic system, then we will fall into new, no less gross, mistakes and contradictions. We have just spoken about Great Britain. Being no doubt a highly-developed capitalist country, it, PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THAT, has no chance for successful socialist construction within the limits of its own island. Great Britain if blockaded would simply choke in the course of a few months.

The draft program forgets the main thesis that the present productive forces are incompatible with national boundaries, from which it follows that highly developed productive forces are by no means a lesser obstacle in the construction of socialism in one country than low productive forces, although for the reverse reason, namely, if the latter are insufficient to serve as their basis, for the former the basis will prove inadequate. The law of uneven development is forgotten precisely at the point where it is most needed and most important.

The question of the construction of socialism is not at all settled merely by the industrial "maturity" or "immaturity" of a country. This immaturity is in itself UNEVEN. In the U.S.S.R., where some branches of industry are extremely insufficient to satisfy the most elementary home requirements (particularly machine construction), other branches on the contrary cannot develop under present conditions without extensive and increasing exports. Among the latter are such branches of first importance as timber, oil, manganese, let alone agriculture. On the other hand even the "inadequate" branches cannot seriously develop if the "super-abundant" (conditionally) will be unable to export. The impossibility to build up an isolated socialist society not as a Utopia, not on the Atlantide but in the concrete geographical and historical conditions of our earthly economy is determined for various countries in different ways—by the insufficient development of some branches and the "excessive" development of others. On the whole, this means that the modern productive forces are incompatible with national boundaries.

Endeavoring to prove the theory of socialism in one country the draft program makes a double, treble and quadruple mistake—it exaggerates the level of the productive forces in the U.S.S.R.; it closes its eyes to the law of uneven development of the various branches of industry; it ignores the international division of labor; and, finally, it forgets the most important contradiction inherent in the imperialist epoch existing between the productive forces and the national barriers.

8. THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NATIONAL REFORMISM AND REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALISM.

The question can be solved only on the arena of the world revolution. The new doctrine says that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state if only there would be no intervention. From here can and must follow (notwithstanding all pompous declarations in the draft program) an opportunist policy in regard to the foreign bourgeoisie. The object is to avoid intervention, as this will guarantee the construction of socialism, which is the main historical question to be solved. The task of the parties in the Comintern becomes, therefore, of an auxiliary character, namely their mission is to protect the U.S.S.R. from intervention and not to fight for the capture of power. It is of course not a question of the subjective intentions but of the objecive logic of political thought.

> "The difference here lies in the fact," says Stalin, "that the Party considers that these (internal) contradictions and possible conflicts CAN BE ENTIRELY OVERCOME on the basis of the inner forces of our revolution whereas Comrade Trotsky and the Opposition think that these contradictions and conflicts can be overcome 'only on an international scale, on the arena of the world-wide proletarian revolution'."—(**Pravda**, Nov. 12, 1926).

Yes, this is precisely the difference. One could not express better and more correctly, the difference between national reformism and revolutionary internationalism. If our internal difficulties, obstacles and contradictions, which are in the main a reflection of world contradictions, can be settled merely by "the inner forces of the revolution" without entering "the arena of the world-wide proletarian revolution" then the International is partly a subsidiary and partly a useless institution, the Congresses of which can be held once in four years, once in ten years or perhaps not at all. If we were to add that the proletariat of the other countries must protect our construction from military interventions, then the International according to this scheme, must play the role of a PACIFIST instrument. Its main role, the role of an instrument of world revolution, recedes in this connection inevitably to a backward position. And this, we repeat, is not a result of anyone's deliberate intentions, on the contrary, many points in the program show the very best intentions of its authors—but as a result of the inherent logic of the new theoretical position which is a thousand times more dangerous than the worst subjective intentions. The draft program expresses an incontrovertible idea when it says that the economic success of the U.S.S.R. constitutes an inseparable part of the world-wide proletarian revolution. But the political danger of the new theory lies in the false comparative evaluation of the two levers of international socialism—the lever of our economic achievements and the lever of the world-wide proletarian revolution. Without a victorious proletarian revolution we will not be able to build up socialism. The European workers and the workers the world over must clearly understand this. The lever of economic construction is of tremendous significance. Without proper guidance, the dictatorship of the proletariat would be weakened but its downfall would be such a blow to the international revolution from which it would take many years to recover. But the main historical difference between the socialist world and the world of capitalism depends on the second lever, and that is the world proletarian revolution. The gigantic importance of the Soviet Union lies in the fact that it is a pillar of the world revolution and not at all because it is able to build up socialism independent of the world revolution.

The economic and political problem enters the world arena. Can the bourgeoisie secure for itself a new great epoch of capitalist growth and power? Merely to deny this, depending on the "hopeless position" which capitalism is in would be simple revolutionary nonsense. "There is no absolute hopelessness" (Lenin). The present unstable class equilibrium in the European countries cannot continue indefinitely precisely because of its instability. When Stalin and Bucharin maintain that the U.S.S.R. can get along without "State" aid of the proletariat of the other countries, that is, without its victory over the bourgeoisie, because the present active sympathy of the working masses protects us from intervention, this betrays such blindness as the entire ramification of the principal mistake in general.

It is absolutely incontrovertible that after the Social Democrats had disrupted the post-war insurrections of the European proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the active sympathy of the working masses saved the Soviet Republic. The European bourgeoisie proved, during these years, powerless in waging war against the Worker's State on a large scale. But to think that this correlation of forces will continue for many years, let us say, until the final establishment of socialism in the U.S.S.R. means to display the utmost short-sightedness and a judgment of the progress of a long period by the immediate development. Such an unstable position in which the proletariat cannot take power but in which the bourgeoisie does not feel firm enough that it is the master of its own home, must a year sooner or later, be definitely decided in one way or another, either in favor of the proletarian dictatorship or in favor of capitalist stabilization on the backs of the masses, on the bones of the colonial peoples and . . . perhaps on our bones.

"There is no absolute hopelessness!" The European bourgeoisie can find a way out of its grave contradictions only through the defeats of the proletariat and the mistakes of the revolutionary leadership. But it would be correct to say also the reverse. A new boom of world capitalism (of course with the prospect of new epochs of great upheavals) is impossible if the proletariat will only be able to find a way out of the present unstable equilibrium on the revolutionary path.

> "It is necessary to prove now by the practice of the revolutionary parties," said Lenin on July 19, 1920 at the Second Congress, "that they are sufficiently conscious and organized and that they have enough contact with the exploited masses, and determination and ability to make use of the crisis for a successful and victorious revolution."—(Lenin, Vol. 1, page 264).

Our internal contradictions, however, which depend directly on the trend of the European and world struggle, may be reasonably regulated and abated by a proper internal policy based on Marxian forecast. But they can be finally overcome only when the class contradictions will be overcome, which is out of the question without a victorious revolution in Europe. Stalin is right. The difference lies precisely here, and that is the fundamental diferrence between national reformism and revolutionary internationalism.

9. THE THEORY OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY AS A SOURCE OF INEVITABLE SOCIAL PATRIOTIC BLUNDERS.

The theory of socialism in one country inexorably leads to an under-estimation of the difficulties which are to be overcome and to an exaggeration of the achievements made. It is impossible to find a more anti-Socialist and anti-revolutionary statement than that made by Stalin to the effect that nine-tenths of socialism has already been realized in the U.S.S.R. That statement seems to be suitable especially for a self-contented bureaucrat. By this one can hopelessly discredit the idea of a socialist society in the eyes of the laboring masses. The successes of the laboring proletariat are enormous if we take into consideration the conditions under which they have been attained and the inherited low cultural level of the past. But these achievements constitute an extremely small magnitude on the scales of the socialist ideal. For the worker, agricultural laborer, and poor peasant who sees that in the eleventh year of the revolution, poverty, misery, unemployment, bread lines, illiteracy, homelessness, drunkenness, prostitution, have not abated, the harsh truth and not pleasant falsehoods is necessary. Instead of telling him that nine-tenths of socialism has already been realized, we must say that by our economic level, by our social and cultural conditions, we are much closer to capitalism and a backward and uncultured capitalism at that—than to socialism. We must tell them that we will enter on the path of real socialist construction only when the proletariat of the most advanced countries will capture power; that it is necessary to work over that without folding our arms, and with the two levers at that—with the short lever of our internal economic efforts and the long lever of the international proletarian struggle.

One hears from prominent leaders of the Comintern the following arguments. The theory of socialism in one country of course, is unfounded, but it gives the Russian workers a perspective in the difficult conditions under which they labor and thus gives them courage. It is difficult to measure the depth of the theoretical fall of those who seek in the program, not a scientific basis for their class orientation, but a moral consolation. Consoling theories which do not tally with facts belong to the sphere of religion and not science, and religion is an opiate for the people.

Our Party has passed through its heroic period with a program which was entirely orientated on the international revolution and not on socialism in one country. On its programmatic banners it was written that backward Russia with her own forces will not build up socialism. The Y.C.L. has experienced the most strenuous years of civil war, hunger, cold, hard Saturday-ings and Sunday-ings, epidemics, studies on a hunger diet, numberless sacrifices, paying dearly for every step forward that has been made. The members of the Party and the Y.C.L. fought at the fronts or carried logs to the stations, not that national socialism may be built out of those logs, but because they served the cause of international revolution for which it is essential that the Soviet stronghold holds out and for the Soviet stronghold every log is important. That is how we approached the question. The conception of time has changed and shifted so that God himself does not know the extent, but the fundamental idea has remained in full force now. The proletarian, the poor peasant, the partisan and the young Communists, have shown by their conduct up to 1925 when the new evangelium was for the first time proclaimed that they were not in need of it. But it is the official who looks down towards the masses, the petty administrator who does not want to be disturbed, the officer who seeks to command under cover of an all-saving and consoling formula, that need it. It is they who think that the ignorant people need the "good tidings", that the people cannot be dealt with without consoling doctrines. It is they who cling to the false words about the "nine-tenths of socialism" as this formula sanctions their privileged position, their right to command, their right to order, their need to be free from criticisms from the "incredulous", "sceptical" people.

Complaints and accusations to the effect that the denial of the possibility of building up socialism in one country dampens the spirit and kills enthusiasm are theoretically and psychologically closely related to the accusation which the reformists have always hurled along the same line against the revolutionaries, notwithstanding the different conditions under which they come. "You are telling the workers that they cannot improve substantially their conditions within the framework of capitalist society and by this alone you kill their incentive to fight." This is what the reformists used to say. In reality, under the leadership of revolutionaries, the workers really fought for economic gains and for parliamentary reforms.

The worker who clearly understands that the fate of the Soviet Republic and hence his own entirely depends on the international revolution, will fulfill his duty in relation to the U.S.S.R. much more energetically than the worker who is told that what we already possess is nine-tenths of socialism. For "is it worth while to strive for socialism?" The reformist orientation also here as everywhere else works not only against revolution but also against reform.

* * *

In the article of 1915 dealing with the slogan of the United States of Europe, which has already been quoted we read:

> "To regard the prospects of a social revolution within national boundaries means to become the victim to the same national narrowness which constitutes the substance of social patriotism. Vaillant to the very end of his days considered France the land of social revolution and it is precisely in this sense that he stood to the end for the defense of that country. Lensch and others—some hypocritically and others sincerely—consider that a defeat of Germany means first of all a destruction of the basis of social revolution. . . In general it must not be forgotten that in social patriotism there is apart from vulgar reformism a certain tendency of national revolutionary Messiahanism which believes its own national state, whether it is by the plane of its industry or by its 'democratic' form and revolutionary conquests, is called upon to lead humanity towards socialism or towards 'democracy.' If the victorious revolution would really be conceivable within the framework of a more developed nation this Messiahanism connected with the program of national defense would have its relative historical justification. But as a matter of fact it is not conceivable. To fight for the preservation of a national basis of revolution by such methods which break up the international ties of the proletariat, actually means to undermine the basis of revolution which can begin on a national basis but which cannot be completed on that basis under the present economic and military interdependence of the European states which has never been revealed so forcefully as during the present war. This interdependence which will directly cause concerted action on the part of the European proletariat in the revolution is expressed by the slogan of a United States of Europe." (Trotsky, Volume 3, Part 1, P. 90-91.)

Proceeding from a misinterpretation of the polemics of 1915, Stalin has many times endeavored to show that by "national narrowness" Lenin was alluded to. It is hard to imagine any bigger nonsense. When I polemized with Lenin I always did so openly because I was guided only by ideological considerations. In the given case Lenin was not involved in the least. The article mentioned the people against whom these accusations were hurled by their names—Vaillant, Lensch and others. One must remember that the year of 1915 was a year of social patriotic bacchanalia and of our heated battles against it. Every question was centered on this.

The principle question raised in the quoted passage, namely, THE CONCEPTION OF THE BUILDING UP OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY AS A SOCIAL PATRIOTIC CONCEPTION was undoubtedly formulated correctly. The patriotism of the German social democrats began as a patriotism to their own party, the most powerful party of the II. International. On the basis of highly developed German technique and the high organizational abilities of the German people, the German social democrats were bent on the construction of their "own" socialist society. If we leave aside the die-hard bureaucrats, careerists, parliamentary sharpers and political crooks in general, the social patriotism of the rank and file social democrats was a result precisely of the belief in the building up of German socialism. One cannot think that the hundreds and thousands of rank and file social democrats—let alone the millions of rank and file workers—wanted to defend Hohenzollern and the bourgeoisie. No. They wanted to defend German industry, the German railways and highways, German technique and culture, and especially the organizations of the German working class, as the "necessary and sufficient" national prerequisites.

A similar process took place also in France. Guesde, Vaillant and thousands of the best rank and file party members with them, and hundreds of thousands of rank and file workers in general, believed that precisely France with her revolutionary traditions, her heroic proletariat, her high culture, her flexible and talented people, was the promised land of socialism. Old Guesde and the Communard Vaillant, and with them the thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers did not fight for the bankers or the **rentiers.** They sincerely believed that they defended the basis and the creative power of the coming socialist society. They proceeded entirely from the theory of socialism in one country and made sacrifices to this idea believing that "temporarily" this was international solidarity.

The comparison with the social patriots will of course be answered by the argument that patriotism in relation to the Soviet State is a revolutionary duty whereas patriotism in relation to a bourgeois state is treachery. This is surely so. Can there be any dispute on this question among grown up revolutionaries? But this incontrovertible idea becomes as we progress more and more a scholastic cover for a deliberate falsehood.

TO BE CONTINUED

FOREWORD

With this issue The Militant prints the fourth installment of "The Draft Program of the Communist Internation: A Criticism of Fundamentals" by L. D. Trotsky. This document, a masterpiece of Marxist-Leninist literature was submitted by comrade Trotsky to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International which finally adopted the draft program drafted by comrades Bucharin and Stalin, without any important changes. The entire validity of this timely and fundamental criticism remains in spite of the fact that it was kept from the Congress and never discussed by the delegates. The sole attention accorded it was its distribution to members of the Program Commission and a report on the document to the "Senoren-Konvent" of the Congress which immediately "settled" the issue without discussion.

A rigid control on this document was established forthwith and the few copies of the document which were distributed were recalled by the Secretariat. Our publication is an authentic copy which we have just received. It deals chiefly with the role of American Imperialism and the prospect of new revolutionary situations, the revisionist theory of "Socialism in one country," with the Chinese revolution and its lessons, and with the formation of workers and peasants parties which Trotsky, in line with Lenin, condemns in principle. Trotsky's comment on the "Third Party Alliance" with La Follette, the fight against which was led by him, will be especially interesting to American communists. The entire document will be printed in full consecutively in this and the forthcoming issues of The Militant without any changes. Its basic importance for the international revolutionary movement and the unanswerable correctness of its position on the burning problems of the Communist International make is an invaluable contribution to the Bolshevik literature of our period.

—Editor.

CLEVELAND

Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 25, 1928.

Comrade and friend:

I received a copy of your Militant and I told the bureaucracy of District Six I cannot condemn policies I have never seen in print or otherwise.

I am opposed to expulsion of Bolsheviks, as it takes ten to fifteen years to make revolutionists, providing you have the material. I received a letter today threatening expulsion. This is their third attempt. I suppose they will be successful this time. I will fight for a genuine Workers Communist Party against the disruptionist tactics that are carried on.

JOHN FOLEY.

Karl Radek's Appeal for Trotsky

To the Central Committe, C.P.S.U., Comrades!

Upon receiving the news of the illness of comrade Leon Trotsky I wrote to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee with the request that comrade Trotsky be transferred to a place where conditions will make his recovery possible. Up to this time the Central Committee has done nothing towards this end despite the fact that the reports of the consant aggravation of comrade Trotsky's illness proved to be true, and that ever-growing sections of the working class, who learned about these facts, raised the demand that an end be made to this unheard of situation.

You have expelled us from the Party and sent us away as counter-revolutionaries without reckoning that the older ones among us fought for Communism for a quarter of a century and that the younger ones were in the ranks of the October revolution from the first moment of their conscious life. This fact does not give me the right to appeal to your sentiments, but since the time when you decided on the incredible step of expelling us from the Party with an accusation which dishonors not us but those who have made it, and exiling us,—from that moment it is time that you draw the balance and render an accounting on the whole matter.

Eight months have passed since then. Eight months of the grain crisis, eight months in which the Kulak mobilized the village against the Soviet power, eight months during which the Schachty nest of the bourgeois vermin—trading under cover of the Soviet power—was disclosed. Only a blind man can fail to recognize where the danger comes from. To keep in exile those who demanded the struggle against the Kulaks is either insanity or it is conscious, guaranteed aid to the Kulak and the Schachty system.

Eight months have passed since the time of our exile. During these eight months you were forced to expel, and bring before the courts, for debauchery, for squandering, for direct connections with the class enemy, the very same ones who "saved the proletarian dictatorship from the intrigues of Trotsky, I. N. Smirnov, Muralov, Serebriakov, Smilga, Preobraschensky, Mratchkovsky." Since you knew that the masters of the Smolensk, Artemovsk, Riasan and Odessa cases were still present in droves in the Party, you were forced to call the Party, the working masses to aid in the struggle against these parasites who undermine the C. P. S. U. and the Soviet power. *Is it not madness, is it not support of these elements to keep in exile those who fought for Party democracy as the only means of clearing the Party of the disintegrating forces?* Despite your knowledge of all of this you silently tolerate the literal annihilation in exile of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Sibiriakov, exiled to *katorga* (hard labor) under the czar, was brought back to Moscow by the G.P.U. in a hopeless condition. Comrade Alski, who contracted a severe disease during his revolutionary work in China, was close to death in Narym without medical aid. Right now they are trying to transfer him from the clinic in Tomsk to Rubzovsk, where there is no skilled medical aid at hand. A loyal friend of the Party, comrade Taras Choretchko, lay unconscious with severe typhoid in Narym, in a region so encircled by swamps that no doctor was able to get through them to him. When our protests finally obliged you to transfer him to Kamen, he left—hardly able to stand on his feet—without a single cent! It took a struggle on our part to make available the few rubles with which to send his baggage after him. A revolutionist-Bolshevik, whose past can stand any comparison with yours, he must seek to recover his strength with thirty rubles (fifteen dollars) a month. We were ashamed to make these things known to the working masses, and approached only you.

The illness of Trotsky, however, has brought our patience to overflow. We cannot be silent and look on while malaria devours the strength of a warrior who served the working class for a lifetime, who was the Sword of the October Revolution. If factional interests have extinguished in you all memories of the common revolutionary struggle, then at least let simple intelligence and the facts themselves speak out. The dangers against which the Soviet republic is fighting are growing. The entire information apparatus is in your hands; you therefore know even better than we how to estimate the situation. Only those people who do not understand the struggle against the daily growing dangers can be indifferent towards the slow death of the fighting heart that is comrade L. Trotsky. But those among you—and I am personally convinced that they are not few—who think with dread of what the morrow will bring; those who bear in mind the fight against the growing dangers, must say to themselves:

Enough of this inhuman playing with the health and the life of comrade Trotsky!

They must raise the question of how to put an end to the banishment of the Bolshevik-Leninists with Trotsky at the head. They must demand in the first place that comrade Trotsky be transferred in the shortest possible time to other climatic conditions; that capable medical assistance is afforded him; that he be freed from the tormenting worry over his daily bread.

Comrades, act as swiftly as possible! Let us not suffer the shame of hundreds of thousands, who saw Trotsky on the front in the civil war, raising their voices to save him. Act, comrades, for, much as the Party worker can endure, it is beyond him to tolerate the certainty that the Party of the working class is consciously ruining in Central Asia a comrade who fought in the front ranks of the October.

I do not write this letter in order to intensify the factional struggle. I write to you so that you may be moved to put an end to a situation which has every likelihood of broadening the cleavage that you yourselves have made; of separating you still further from us; of completely alienating you from us, whose Party books have been taken, who have been stamped as counter-revolutionaries by the G.P.U. according to Article 58, but who as before still feel ourselves to be Party members and as always and despite everything will fight for the interests of the working class.

KARL RADEK.

Tomsk, Siberia. October 1928.

Vindicating the Trotsky Platform

By Martin Abern

The correctness of the policies of Trotsky and the Russian Opposition are now becoming clearer in the light of recent developments in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Trotsky cautioned the Party to beware of the encroachments of the Kulaks and Nepmen who would take heart from the Party policy which tended toward a self-sufficient, an isolated Soviet economy. He stressed a more rapid industrialization and collective and Soviet farming policy. Some of those who expelled and exiled him are today compelled to give lip service to his proposals.

"If a certain tendency becomes apparent, it is useless to raise a hue and cry when it is already too late; the alarm must be given when the tendency begins to appear and when there is still time to guard against its consequences," says comrade Kuibyshev in reporting on the Economic Situation in the Soviet Union before the Leningrad Party functionaries on September 19,1928. (See Kuibyshev report in Inprecorrs No. 71, 73, 75, October 12, 19, and 26, 1928).

Trotsky and the Russian Opposition long before and at the right time "raised the hue and cry" and gave the alarm on the very questions raised in this report of Kuibyshev.

Trotsky's industrial and agrarian program was labeled "super-industrialism", and in practice the "turtle's pace" (Bukharin) toward socialism was adopted. The Opposition pointed out the tendencies to tamper with the foreign-trade monopoly. The elaborate program submitted by Trotsky and the Russian Opposition over a year ago to the XVth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and which today retains its validity was not given to the Party Congress and was in fact suppressed.

The warnings uttered by the Russian Opposition in its platform should be read in the light of the recent declaration of Stalin, General Secretary of the C.P.S.U. In his speech before the Plenum of the Moscow Committee and Moscow Control Commission of the C.P.S.U., on October 19th, 1928, He says:

> "If certain circles among the Communists desire to keep the Party back from realizing the resolutions of the XVth Party Congress by **denying the necessity of an assault on the Kulak elements** in the rural districts, **or else demand an arrest of our industrial development** because they consider the present rate of advance fatal to the country, or if again they consider **the Government's subsidies for Soviet farms and collective farms to be impracticable** and are of the opinion that the money in question is being wasted in this way. . . or if they demand **the loosening of our foreign-trade monopoly** and so on, this means that in the ranks of our Party there are such as are anxious to **adapt the cause of our Socialist construction to the tastes and requirements of the Soviet bourgeoisie. A victory of the Right deviations within our Party would entail an enormour consolidation of the capitalists in our country.** And what would such a consolidation mean? It would mean a strengthening of the chances of a restoration of capitalism. Consequently a victory of the Right deviations in our Party would lead to the development of conditions which are requisite for the restoration of capitalism in this country."
>
> (Imprecor No. 77, Nov. 9th, 1928, P. 1439. Our emphasis.)

Thus they paraphrase the statements made by Trotsky and which they denounced as "Social Democratic" and even "Counter-revolutionary."

In the Program submitted to the XVth Party Congress, Trotsky stated that only a powerful socialized industry can help the peasants transform agriculture along collectivist lines. He called for a cessation of basing hopes upon the so-called "strong" peasant, the Kulak. Th eStalin-Bukharin group was ignoring or openly denying the petty-bourgeoisie character of peasant property and peasant industry. Trotsky said:

> "Only a suitable attention to the hired hand, only a course based on the poor peasant and his union with the middle peasant, only a decisive struggle against the Kulak, only a course towards industrialization, only a course towards class cooperatives and a class-credit system in the country, will make it possible to draw the middle peasant into the work toward socialist reconstruction of agriculture," (The Platform of the Opposition, "The Real Situation in Russia", P. 67, Harcourt, Brace and Co.

He proposed:

> "A sharply progressive tax system; state legislative masures for the defense of hired labor and the regulation of wages of agricultural workers; a correct class policy in the matter of land-division and land-utilization; the same thing in the matter of supplying the country with tractors and other implements of production." (Ibid, p. 69).

A complete program for State industry and industrial construction and electrification for the Soviet Union is presented in the chapter that follows, but in this article emphasis is laid on the agrarian and peasant policy because of the slanders and misrepresentation particularly on this point. It is only necessary to compare these quotations from the Russian Opposition program presented to the Party over a year ago with the quotations from Stalin, Kuibyshev and others to note how extreme has been the falsification of the Opposition program.

To those who, like Bukharin, labeled Trotsky's industrial program "super-industrialization", Trotsky said:

> "It is not true that the slow pace of industrialization is immediately due to the absence of resources. The means are scanty, but they exist. **What is wanted is the right policy.**" (Ibid, pp. 91-92. Our emphasis.)

Today Kuibyshev in his report, says in reply to the Right Wing which hollers "over-industrialization".

> "The requirements of our economy in the immediate future will call for great investments, if our native construction of turbines is to be raised to the desired level. This task must be realized not only from the standpoint of industrialization and of socialist development. It must be realized in view of the demands of our economy in the future. **. . . History. . . will not permit us to proceed more slowly, otherwise the very next year may lead to a series of even more serious anomalies than are apparent today."**
>
> (Report of Kuibyshev to Leningrad Party Functionaries, September 19th, 1928. Inprecorr No. 73, p. 1339, October 19th, 1928, Our emphasis.)

The ring of capitalist wolves still surrounds the Soviet Union. They are ready as always to devour the hope and inspiration of the toilers of the world, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Our duty always is in defense of the first Workers and Peasants Republic. The perspective of every worker toward the Soviet Union must be international, even as the strength of the Soviet Union must lie not in a perspective of an independent isolated development, but in a firm faith and reliance in the international proletarian revolution.

The adoption of the platform of the Russian Opposition and the reinstatement of its leaders will hasten the economic development of the Soviet Republic, will strengthen its resistance to the economic, political and military pressure of the imperialist countries, and at the same time will encourage and aid the development of the revolutionary movement on an international scale. It is the highest duty of Communists in all parties of the Comintern to fight for this.

The Right Danger in the American Party

The following is the fourth installment of the document submitted by the delegation of the Opposition in the American Party to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, in July 1928 and signed by James P. Cannon, William Z. Foster, William F. Dunne, Alex Bittelman, J. W. Johnstone, Manuel Gomez and George Siskind.

CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE

VIII OPPORTUNIST MISTAKES IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

In line with its general right wing tendencies the Lovestone group has made several serious opportunist errors, in the national election campaign of which the three following are the most outstanding:

1. In the national election program of our Party occurs the following demand: "Abolition of the Senate, of the Supreme Court, and of the veto power of the Persident."

This opportunistic proposa creates illusions regarding the reform of the capitalist state. It cultivates the false notion much of which is exerted through the Senate, the Supreme Court and the President's veto power, by liquidating these instiuions within the frame-work of capitalist society

2. Illustrative of their right wing tendencies of the Lovestone group is the letter officially sent to the Party units to direct the securing of signatures to put our Party candidates on the election ballot. The following quotations indicate the corrupting methods used in this work:

"Remember that you are out to get signatures and not converts. **This means no argument of any kind."**

"Don't ask for signatures **in the name of Communism". . .**

"If necessary you can explain that the signature **is not an obligation to vote for this Party."**

"Never state your mission to anyone but the person whose signature you wish to get, **because if you give them time to think you will get too many questions."**

"See how many more tricks you can work out for yourself and write your experiences to the National Office." (Our emphasis).

3. The general use of professional signature gatherers, and the buying of signatures, and the failure to mobilize the Party comraes for these campaigns.

This grossly opportunistic letter was condemned by the Comintern.

IX. OPPORTUNIST MISTAKES IN LABOR PARTY WORK

The Party needs a fresh and clear formulation of policy on the labor party question based upon the changed conditions and new perspectives. The following is proposed as a main outline for our perspective and policy on the labor party question.

1. The developing depression and coming crisis will create favorable conditions for mass breakaway movements from the capitalist parties which our Party must anticipate and utilize "to mobilize and to organize the workers under its banner against the capitalist offensive and against the reformist supporters of capitalism, namely, the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party of America" (C.I. April Letter).

2. It is not the task of our Party in the present period to carry on agitation campaigns and struggles for the organization of a labor party.

In view of the changed conditions (integration of Labor bureaucracy and aristocracy into capitalist machine, narrowing base of A. F. of L. and restriction to skilled workers, the organization of new unions as main task of our Party, leftward drift of masses, etc.) and the above oppotrunist errors, the labor party slogan in this period has only a general propaganda value.

3. Our Party must fight resolutely against the tendencies for a third capitalist party (Norris, La-Follette, Berger, Thomas, etc.), and strive to establish itself as the political party of the American masses.

4. The Party must carry on active campaigns for the organization of united front action with the masses from below on concrete and immediate issues of struggle against the capitalist offensive, on the political as well as economic fields. More than ever must the united front policy from below be applied by our Party in the fight against the reformists and to win the masses for the class struggle.

5. In the present period, the Party's chief means of furthering the political awakening of the American masses, is the vigorous participation and leadership in the everyday struggles, deepening the content of these struggles, **carrying out energetically the program for the organization of new unions.** In the process of these struggles the Party will establish united fronts with the masses on the political field.

6. The theory that the C.P. of the U.S.A. can make little or no gains in election campaigns until a labor party appears must be combatted vigorously.

The grave opportunist errors of the Lovestone group in the labor party work, places squarely before our Party the need of discontinuing the old labor party policy. The following are the main errors:

1. Abandoning the industrial base by failure to carry on political campaigns among the working masses in the industrial centers.

2. Orientating the struggle for independent working class political action largely on the farmers and farmer-labor movements of the Northwest.

3. Persistence in advocating the organization of workers and farmers in one Party (Farmer-Labor Party) contrary to C.I. decision.

4. Proposal to send Party members into the Socialist Party to fight for a Labor Party.

5. Reliance upon the trade union and socialist bureaucracy for the building of the labor party, criticized in the April letter of the C.I., a mistake shared in also by the minority of the Polcom.

6. Wrong conception of the role of the labor party in the class struggle ("emancipator of the working class"), noted and criticized in the Comintern letter of April.

7. Wrong conception of the relation between the Communist Party and a labor party. Reducing the Communist Party to a left wing in the labor party and farmer-labor movement (Minnesota, Alleghany county labor party.) Reducing the Party to an instrument for the organization of a labor party.

8. The Panken and Bearak maneuvers criticized by the C. I.

X. FAILURE TO BUILD THE T.U.E.L.

In numerous letters and resolutions the Comintern and Profintern have repeatedly stressed the necessity of building the Trade Union Educational League. With our Party orientating itself towards the organization of new unions the T.U.E.L. acquires added importance. It must through its general organization and industrial committees, actively proceed with the organization of the new unions. It must continue and extend its activities in building the left wing in the old unions and coordinate these with its major task of organizing the new unions.

Nothwithstanding the importance of the T.U.E.L. as a factor in the trade union work, little is being done by the Party to build it up. Party support of the T.U.E.L. is mostly mere lip service. It still remains largely a skeleton organization in most localities and industries. No efforts were made by the C.E.C. to follow up the recent national conference of the T.U.E.L. by an atcive campaign to establish local groups. The return of the Profintern and trade union delegations have not been utilized to build the T.U.E.L.

The T.U.E.L. nationally and its respective National Industrial Committees must be brougnt more prominently to the front in a leading role in industrial struggles. There is a strong tendency to push them aside and liquidate them by conducting all industrial activities directly through Party fractions. The official organ of the T.U.E.L. "Labor Unity", now neglected by the Party, must be strengthened and developed into a weekly mass organ.

XI. PACIFIST AND PETTY-BOURGEOIS LIBERAL TENDENCIES IN THE ANTI-WAR AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST WORK.

The Party manifested many pacifist and liberal deviations in its anti-war and anti-imperialist work. The following illustrates this point:

1. Calling upon the workers to protest **against the death of American Marines in Nicaragua,** and treating the **death of these** marines as of greater consequence to the American workers than the murder of hundreds of Nicaraguan rebels by American marines (Central Committee Nicaraguan Manifesto, July, 1927, never repudiated by the C.E.C. nor repudiated by the Lovestone group).
2. Tendency to obscure the independent and aggressive role of American imperialism (Lovestone group theory of American imperialism being the "catspaw" of British imperialism and its newest theory of American imperialism "supporting Japan in China").
3. Failure of the Polcom to prevent the issuance and stop immediately the use of pacifist slogans in the Nicaraguan campaign ("Enlist with Sandino", "Stop the Flow of Nicaraguan Blood") a mistake corrected lately by the Polcom.
4. Pacifist and liberal appeals to the marines (leaflets in California, Boston and elsewhere, corrected by the Polcom).
5. The tendency to build the united front in the All-America Anti-Imperialist work chiefly upon petty-bourgeois liberal elements and failure to draw labor elements into this movement, (Also corrected by the Polcom in formal decision).
6. Failure to carry on active anti-militarist work among the American forces in Nicaragua and China.
7. Pacifist ideology in work among women. "We can even stop that terrible scourge of humanity—war". (First issue New York "Working Women").

The above deviations flow from the general right wing orientation and main line of the Lovestone group.

XII. UNDERESTIMATION AND FALSE CONCEPTION OF WORK AMONG NEGRO MASSES

The problem of Communist work among the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States, the overwhelming majority of whom are workers and working farmers and their families, must be approached from the Leninist viewpoint that this most exploited and oppressed section of the population forms an immense reserve for the proletarian revolution. The main tasks are:

1. The development of a revolutionary Negro race movement led by the Negro proletariat.
2. Systematic work among Negro masses in industry.
3. Campaigns to mobilize **the white workers** for struggle in behalf of the negroes against all forms of imperialist oppression and discrimination, linking up race questions with economic questions.
4. Systematic work among the Negro masses in masses of the South, their organization for struggle against white oppression.
5. Struggle against white chauvinism in the ranks of our Party.
6. The training of a cadre of Negro Communist leaders.
7. The drawing of Negro workers into all organization campaigns.
8. The intensification of the struggle inside the existing unions.
9. The development of the influence of our Party as the leader of the struggles of the Negro masses

These are the immediate tasks of our Party.

The Lovestone majority has systematically and continuously neglected work among the Negro masses. This error is based on an underestimation of the revolutionary role of this most exploited and oppressed section of the population. This is expressed by Comrade Lovestone in his speech at the February plenum as published in the Daily Worker where he refers to the Negro farmers in the South as a **"Broad social reserve of capitalist reaction."** It is further shown by the complete absence of any reference to work among the Negro peasantry in the South in the program introduced by Comrade Pepper in the Polburo, April 30, 1928. For two and a half years the Negro work of our Party has been bankrupt. 1) The Negro organ was liquidated; 2) the organization of the Pullman porters into a Negro union was carried out by social reformists without our Party making any serious effort to establish its influence; 3) no struggle against white chauvinism in the ranks of the Party has been carried on, (such incidents as Gary, Harlem ,Detroit, are proof of this) and continuous retreating of the Party leadership before the chauvinism of the whites; 4) the last Negro program of the party written by Comrade Pepper, makes no reference to the necessity for such a campaign; 5) the Lovestone majority entirely underestimates the necessity for struggle for the mobiliaztion of the white workers in behalf of the Negro masses; 6) systematic factional corruption to conceal bankruptcy of Negro work; 7) no systematic attempt to build real communist cadre of Negro comrades; 8) orientation towards Negro petty bourgeoisie rather than towards workers and farmers; 9) failure to connect Negro work with general trade union work of the Party; 10) failure to draw Negro comrades into general Party work.

CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE

Letters from the Militants

NEW HAVEN

New Haven, Conn.,
November, 25, 1928.

Dear Comrade:

I received your bundle of 25 copies of the No. 1 of The Militant and it was just in time. Everyone of our comrades was anxious to find out what you comrades have to say about the Trotsky Opposition. The sentiment is prevalent that no matter what their attitude toward Trotsky and his followers in U.S.S.R. is, it was a great blunder to expel you three comrades here in this country.

Well, I have done my duty. I distributed The Militant among the comrades. I have been waiting for just such a turn in our Party life since the expulsion of Comrade Trotsky from the Communist Party. I was sure that sooner or later some of our leading comrades would awake to the realization what such a policy of ruthless suppression of the most militant comrades in U.S.S.R. means and where it leads to. I am sure that many comrades had the same attitude as I had. We were powerless to do anything lacking leadership. Now with your declaration in favor of the Trotsky Opposition all the supporters within the Party will be able to unite demanding the reinstatement of the expelled comrades of the Opposition in U.S.S.R. as well as in other countries.

I suppose you will not be surprised to learn that our good "loyal" D.O. of District No. 15—comrade George Siskind—distinguished himself by expelling me from the Party two days after I showed up at the Labor Lyceum with the bundle of the Militant. I was on probation all the time since last year after I failed to endorse the C.E.C. of our Party after the expulsion of Trotsky. But he went further—it is not enough for him to expel me—he is trying to give me a "black eye"—expel me "for not taking enough interest in the Party activities"... First they removed me from the District Polcom, D.E.C. and all responsible Party. positions and then they have the audacity to complain that I am not active enough in Party life. But this is their high diplomacy. They cannot deceive anybody here. The comrades here know me and my record since 1918 when I was the first to organize the original group of the left wing of the S.P., being the secretary in the Party for many years and in the D.E.C.

SAMUEL GENDELMAN

A REACTION TO GANGSTERISM

New York, Dec. 20, 1928.

Dear Comrades:

While standing in front of the Workers Center on Saturday, December 15, I saw a group of girl League members, followed by a larger group of men party members descend from the Center and begin attacking those selling The Militant.

They began tearing The Militant from the comrades selling it. While girl comrades were provoking the Opposition comrades by calling them "renegades", "counter-revolutionaries" and similar names, pushing, slapping and tearing their papers, the men attacked the Opposition from behind, who of course resisted and fought back. A group surrounded Shachtman, threatening him. I saw one Opposition comrade knocked down with a black-jack* and saw Abern struck from behind.

A very large crowd gathered and it seemed as if this would become very serious. I, with the help of a few more thinking comrades tried to get in between the two groups and intercede. I tried to show them how harmful this was for the party and sought to prevent the fight from going any further. The police arrived and this brought the fight to an end.

I then went up to the District office where Fannie Gordon, director of the Young Pioneers of New York district, called me over and said:

"I am surprised at you, comrade Justin, for your behavior downstairs. You are defending traitors."

"I am not defending the platform of the Trotsky Opposition," I said, "I thought this to be a personal fight and I tried to stop it."

"You know quite well that this was not a perosnal fight," she said, "you should know that they were sent down by the office."

I was astounded that our Workers Party should resort to the tactics of the arch-reactionaries to stifle the voice of the Opposition in our Party and League. I then sent a letter to the District Committee of the Young Workers League, resigning from the League, as well as Director of the Harlem Section of Young Pioneers. Of course I realize that this was a mistake and have recalled my resignation, but this was my reaction to the things I saw. Such fascist methods are a disgrace for communists.

Your for Communism,

JOHN JUSTIN

A WORKER TALKS TO THE BUREAUCRATS

Dear Comrades:

The following is a copy of my statement to the District Executive Council of the New York District in reply to charges:

November 12, 1928.

Comrades:

In the first place I wish to protest against the irregular procedure of denying my unit the right to try the charges against me. Instead of this the D.E.C. takes over the whole question, puts the unit aside altogether, and conducts a star-chamber proceeding. Every member of the District Executive Council conducting the trial is a party functionary. There is not a single worker from the shops among them. All of this is completely in line with the bureaucratic methods of the party leadership and its disregard of the principle of strong representation of workers from the shops in all committees. This proceeding is another act in the campaign of the party bureaucrats to expel the best proletarian fighters behind the back of the party members, giving them no opportunity to know the facts.

My position on the question under consideration is no secret as I have taken an open stand since it first arose. I will continue to take this open stand also in the future as I have a full right and duty to do as a communist.

I am absolutely opposed to the expulsion of comrades Cannon, Abern and Schachtman, of comrade Spector in Canada, of the three members of theY.W.L. in Philadelphia, Morgerstern, Lankin and Goodman, of the two members of the D.E.C. in Kansas City, Buehler and Kassen, and of the other comrades now under charges in connection with this issue. I consider all these comrades as good and loyal communists and place myself in full solidarity with them.

I have been asked during the course of the proceedings against me whether I also consider the present leadership of the party as bureaucratic. My answer is yes! This is proven particularly by the whole expulsion campaign to silence the opinions of the communist workers in the ranks. In this disruptive course they are only copying the methods used by Lewis and Sigman and it it the duty of every communist militant to fight against it.

I agree in the main with the document on "The Right Danger in the American Party" which brands the present leadership of the party as a right wing leadership and calls on the Comintern to lay the basis for its removal.

I agree with the statement to the Polcom presented by Cannon, Abern and Shachtman on October 27 in which they declare their support of the Russian Opposition. I consider this a good communist document which should be printed in the party press. Since the statement deals with the principle questions, the refusal to print it in the party press fully justified these comrades in circulating it themselves and I am proud to say that I took part in distributing it to the party members.

I have taken an active part in the Communist work in the Furriers' Union and am now under sentence of 2½ to five years in the Mineola case for this activity. I stood up as an avowed communist in my trial and will continue to take a communist attitude toward my case in court regardless of the action taken by the D.E.C. To cover up the move to expel me from the party, the bureaucrats are whispering the slander that I want to evade my communist responsibility in the Mineola case. Those who have something to conceal in their records in such questions should be the last to spread slanders against those who fought like communists.

In the party fraction of the Furriers and of the Needle Trades as a whole I have been a consistent fighter against the opportunist leaders, Shapiro, Gold, Zimmerman, Wortis and Company. My expulsion from the party will bring joy and added strength to these right wingers just as the expulsion of the other comrades referred to strengthens the right wing throughout the party. The party leadership supports these opportunists in the Needle Trades. It does not expel proven grafters like but begins the expulsion against the proletarian left wing.

I demand the reinstatement of the expelled comrades, Cannon, Abern, Shachtman, Spector, Morgenstern, Lanken, Goodman, Buehler and Kassen and the restoration of their right to express their views in the party during the party discussion.

I am in favor of the return from exile of Trotsky and the other comrades of the Russian Opposition and their reinstatement into the party.

M. L. MALKEN

THE AFFAIR ON UNION SQUARE

New York, December 14, 1928

Dear Comrade:

For Monday evenings, another woman comrade, Maria Reinl, and myself volunteered to sell The Militant at the Workers Center. Last Monday we came there at 8 o'clock. We took a stand on the sidewalk in front of the building and offered The Militant to the passersby. Presently a crowd of people gathered around us and we were soon encircled and pushed from the sidewalk toward the curb.

"Why, comrade," I said to a pushing fellow, "are you not ashamed of yourself to treat another comrade like this?" "You are not my comrade," he shouted, "you are a prostitute."

"But comrade", I said, "this is a grave insult toward a fellow worker. We can prove it to you that we are not prostitutes but workers at an honest trade, workers and good comrades and always considered as such and treated as such by fellow workers. But you comrade, are acting like the white terrorists acted in Hungary after the Revolution. They too, pushed the workers off the sidewalks in Budapest and called the proletarian workers prostitutes."

While I was thus arguing I saw my young comrade in danger. She was in the midst of a turmoil. Someone tore her newspapers away from her and called her vile names. When she remonstrated, she was hit in the face. I was afraid that she would be thrown down and trampled upon, so I took her by the arm and pulled her out of the crowd. We were then walking away from the Workers Center toward 15th Street. The crowd surging after and pushing us further. We again took a stand at 15th Street, half a block away. We saw two policemen coming towards us. "And you do this!" I called out to a fellow. "You do this against working women, against comrades?" "You are not comrades, you are prostitutes", he shouted again.

"Suppose we were prostitutes as you say, we are only two women, armed with no other weapons but a few newspapers under our arms. What fear must possess your minds that you are so terror-stricken at the sight of "The Militant"? We are going home now; not out of any fear but because we do not want to see you disgracing yourself by having us arrested."

But we will come back again and again until we find out who is injecting the poison of fascism into the body of the party. We want to find out who is the author of this organized terrorism against proletarian workers and comrades.

PAULINE GUTRINGER

* This was comrade Refugee, a fighter against the Fascisti in Italy and in America. In 1922 he was a Communist member of the Municipal Council of Trieste, Italy. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Fascisti Alliance of North America and is financial secretary of the Italian Workers Club of Harlem. He was a member of the Italian Bureau of the Workers (Communist) Party until his expulsion a short time ago for his support of the Opposition.—Ed.

THE EXPELLED

NEW EXPULSIONS

In the last issue we published the names of 50 comrades who have been expelled from the Party directly for their support of the platform of the Opposition or—as in the case of the Cleveland Comrades—on trumped-up charges arising out of their opposition to the Lovestone-Pepper leadership. We print herewith the names of 12 more comrades all of whom have taken an open stand for the Opposition. Many other comrades have also been expelled or suspended who are omitted from the list for lack of necessary specific info mation. Additional names will be published in the next issue.

CANADA

JIM BLUGERMAN.

NEW YORK

T. J. O'FLAHERTY, well-known Party journalist.

ANTHONY REFUGEE, member National Italian Bureau.

JOHN MENELLA, member unit executive committee

ANTHONY MILLETTI, Harlem Italian Unit Organizer.

BERNARDO GODINA, Harlem Italian Workers Club Secretary.

C. NONVENUTO, member Italian District Bureau.

L. PROTI, Harlem Italian Workers Club Organizer.

O. ZADRA, West Side Italian Fraction secretary.

CLARA FABIANI, member left wing ladies garment workers union.

PHILADELPHIA

MAURICE GOMBERG, Secretary nucleus B, Section 3.

CLEVELAND

JOS. KELLER, leader in Czecho-Slovak fraction.

CHICAGO

JOHN EDWARDS, brick-makers union.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

JOE ANGELO, leader of National Miners Union.

WHO ARE THE EXPELLED COMMUNISTS

(We begin publishing here the revolutionary and party records of the expelled communists. We had received this information from a large number of expelled comrades in the various districts and had prepared if for publication in this issue of The Militant when the robbery of our home took place and the material was stolen. We have asked the comrades for new copies and expect to be able to print a large number, of them in the next issue.)

JAMES P. CANNON—Member of the Central Executive Committee and Political Committee. Joined Socialist Party at Kansas City in 1908. Joined I. W. W. in 1911. Took part in the organization of Left Wing group in Kansas City in 1918. Editor of local Left Wing weekly paper, The Workers' World, in 1919. Delegate to National Left Wing Conference, New York City in June 1919 and was elected member of Labor Committee of National Left Wing. Foundation member of Communist Labor Party. First District Organizer St. Louis-Kansas City District ,1919-1920. Organized first underground Communist groups in mine field of Kansas and Southern Illinois. Electeed to the Central Executive Committee at first underground convention at Bridgman, Michigan, May 1920 and re-elected at every subsequent convention of the Party. Editor of Party legal paper, The Toiler, 1920. Delegate to Fourth and Sixth World Congresses of the Communist International and also to a number of the Sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International. National Secretary of International Labor Defense from foundation, June 1925 to October 1928.

Organizer in Akron Rubber Strike in 1913, Peoria Metal Workers Strike, Duluth and Superior Ore Dock Strike, and many others. Indicted for conspiracy in the Peoria metal workers strike in 1913 and also indicted by Federal Government for activity in strike of the Kansas Coal miners in 1919. No conviction in either case. Numerous arrests and short jail terms.

MARTIN ABERN—Member of Central Executive Committee. Joined Young Peoples Socialist League at Minneapolis in 1912 and Socialist Party in 1915. Joined I. W. W. in 1916. Served as Local Secretary Socialist Party, Minneapolis. Took part in organization of Left Wing of S. P. in Minnesota. Foundation member of Communist Party. District Organizer Communist Party of Minnesota, 1919-1920. Organizer-speaker for Friends of Soviet Russia. Elected to Central Executive Committee at first underground convention, Bridgeman, Mich., May, 1920 and member of C.E.C. almost continuously since and various times served on Political Committee. First National Secretary, Young Workers League of America, till 1923. District Organizer and Organization Secretary, Workers (Communist) Party, Chicago District, 1924-1925-1926. Assistant National Secretary, International Labor Defense, 1928. Delegate to Third Congress of Young Communist International and Fourth Congress of Communist International. Indicted twice by Federal Government during War. Served prison term, in Minnesota for refusal to register for war. Also minor jail terms.