

## LENIN DAY

*"Marx's doctrines are now undergoing the same fate, which, more than once in the course of history, has befallen the doctrines of other revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for their emancipation... At the present time... the opportunists within the labor movement are cooperating in this work of adulterating Marxism. They omit, obliterate, and distort the revolutionary side of its teaching, its revolutionary soul...." Lenin.*

LIKE Marx, Lenin has been unable to escape the distortions and revisions of his "disciples." The five years that have passed since his death have witnessed the corrosive effects of adding to the sound metal of Bolshevism the base alloys supplied by the epigones. The revolutionary content and essence of Leninism has been diluted to conform with the theoretical needs of the ruling opportunist bureaucracy in the movement. The task of Bolshevism at the present time is to maintain the banner of Lenin in the face of the open and concealed attacks of the revisionists in every guise.

What was national in Lenin—his decades-long struggle to conquer power for the Russian working class and maintain it—was an integral and subordinate part of his internationalism. More than anyone else Lenin led a relentless battle against international social democracy and chauvinism, firing into its ranks the mighty artillery of Marxism, until he was able to build upon its defeat the basic structure of the international revolutionary movement, the Communist International. It was visualized by him not as an instrument whose main task it would become to defend the first workers' state from the military intervention of the capitalist wolves encircling it so that a national socialism might be "successfully" erected there, but as a world proletarian army which, while ardently and unyieldingly defending the Soviet republic as its first victory and fortress, doggedly subordinated everything to the main problem of learning and applying successfully the art of insurrection against the bourgeoisie in the rest of the world. The timely aid of the proletarian revolution in Europe, America and the East was for Lenin and remains for us the extension of the revolutionary front beyond the borders of Russia as the surest guarantee of the victory of socialism.

The genius of Lenin gave the Communist movement the weapon of the united front as a method of mobilizing the proletariat in a struggle against the bourgeoisie and its social democratic and nationalist agents, not as an excuse for alliance with these bourgeois lieutenants so that the Communist Party is converted into a brake upon the revolutionary temper of the masses, as occurred in Germany in 1923, in England in 1926 and in China in 1927. Fortunate are those false "disciples" of Lenin, the authors of the Berlin and Paris agreements of the Anglo-Russian Committee, the capitulators to Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Chin-Wei, who by their policies robbed the Communist Parties of their revolutionary independence and deprived the struggle of its genuinely revolutionary content! Lenin alive would have branded them with the same vigor and contempt that he lashed the faint-hearts and worse than faint-hearts on the eve of the Russian October.

Lenin's revolutionary wisdom gave the New Economic Policy to the young Soviet republic as an instrument of strengthening the socialist elements in the country in a period of a retarded world rev-

olutionary movement, of binding the alliance of the proletariat with the masses of the toiling peasantry. Under the regime of the epigones it is becoming a chart for steering the course of the revolution towards the right, towards the fatal magnet of the "economically powerful peasant"—the Kulak, towards a policy of concessions to foreign capital which Lenin new only to oppose.

Lenin's dictum that socialism and capitalism cannot live side by side is substituted by "assuring" conference speeches by Russia's representatives that there is no reason why these two systems cannot work together peacefully. His masterful *Theses of Instructions to Our Delegation at the Hague*, so characteristic of him in its incisive laying bare of all pacifist illusions, is discarded for the new diplomacy of Russia's agreement with the Kellogg pact which only hampers the Communist struggle to expose its hypocritical pacifist-imperialist purpose.

Lenin cautioned the Party a thousand times that the chief enemy of the working class—of which the Communist Party is an inseparable part—is opportunism. His mightiest blows were delivered against it. In the struggle against it Bolshevism took shape and developed. Today the arsenal of the temporary leaders of the Communist International is not only not directed against opportunism but against the Leninist Left, and opportunism itself has been installed in high places.

After the death of Marx, the opportunists in the Second International denounced the revolutionary fighters who remained true to Marxism as Blanquists and Bakuninists. After the death of Lenin, the opportunists in the Communist International denounce the banner-bearers of Leninism... as Trotskyists. Behind this sham cry the Stalins and Bucharians conceal their own vulgarization of Lenin's teachings. Lenin said about Marx and other great

### Cleveland Meeting Great Success

By Telephone to The Militant

CLEVELAND, Ohio, January 13.—An enthusiastic and interested audience of more than 200 workers gathered in a hall here remained until after midnight listening to a lecture by James P. Cannon, leader of the Communist Opposition, on "The Truth About Trotsky and the Russian Opposition," despite the unsuccessful attempts of the Party right wingers to disrupt the meeting and create a riot.

When the workers had quietly listened to Comrade Cannon for half an hour, the hall was suddenly invaded by upwards of 60 rowdies led by the Party district organizer, Israel Amter, champion Party wrecker of the Lovestone faction, and Schaeffer, expelled from the Party a few years ago for corruption and stealing of Party funds, who came to repay his debt to Lovestone who reinstated him into Party leadership in Cleveland.

Chairman John Foley urged everyone to maintain order but under Amter's direction the 60 rowdies began to sing at the top of their voices: "Hail, hail, the gang's all here, To hell with Trotskyism, To hell with Trotskyism" and shout their college yell: "Down with Cannon! We want Amter!" For a while pandemonium reigned.

Then the brawlers made a mass rush towards the platform, hoping to break up the meeting by pulling down the speaker. Schaeffer hit the Opposition Communist Keller on the head with the leg of a chair. The workers' guard at the meeting led by our comrade Elmer Boich, finally decided that these fakers' tactics had gone far enough and a flying wedge put the entire 60 of Amter's gang outside the hall in short order. By 9:30 P. M. the hall was cleared of the gang whom the Cleveland revolutionary workers had thus given an impromptu lesson in workers democracy. It was one of the worst defeats the Party right wing has suffered in a long time.

Comrade Cannon then continued to speak for more than 2 hours to the scores of workers who had come to hear our point of view. All questions were answered, and the interest of the workers kept the meeting going until after 12 o'clock at midnight. A strong group of Opposition Communists and supporters were consolidated at the meeting, and a good collection taken.

(The report of the meeting in the Daily Worker of January 19, 1929, is false. The Stalinites tried to cover up the chagrin of their bad defeat by wholesale lying. Workers will soon be asking in greater numbers why the "correct" position of the Stalinites has to be bolstered up by the twin pillars of falsification and gangster methods which lead to the destruction of the movement).

revolutionaries: "After their death, however, attempts are usually made to turn them into harmless saints, canonizing them, as it were, and investing their name with a certain halo by way of 'consolation' to the oppressed classes, and with the object of duping them; while at the same time emasculating and vulgarizing the real essence of their revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge." This is now true of Lenin himself.

The real essence of Lenin's revolutionary theories will not be emasculated for the Opposition led by Trotsky are their vigilant guard and most unyielding defenders. The opportunists have been unable to convince the revolutionary fighters of the world that these Bolsheviks "have betrayed Lenin", for there is no proof in existence with which to convince revolutionists.

Those who cannot defeat Trotsky and the Opposition on the basis of their present struggle are forced to resort to the miserable subterfuge of digging in the ash-heaps of history to find differences that Lenin had with Trotsky twenty years ago. And it is true that Lenin had differences with Trotsky and that Trotsky came to Bolshevism. But it is the literal truth that Lenin's differences with Trotsky prior to the October revolution and even afterwards, added all together and doubled, are as nothing compared to the divergence between Leninism and the policies and line of the present leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

Those who fight for Lenin's teachings, who are the remorseless opponents of all opportunism and revisionism, who remain international revolutionaries, are expelled from Lenin's Party, denounced and slandered. In the Soviet Union, they are imprisoned and exiled, and at the head of the exiles stands, unvanquished and still triumphant, the living leader of world Bolshevism, Trotsky.

*Trotsky in exile today is Lenin in exile! Trotsky expelled is Lenin expelled!*

It is our shame that the Lenin memorial meetings this year are transformed by the official Party apparatus into a mobilization of the revolutionary workers against "Trotskyism", against those who really defend the power and the teachings of Lenin. The opportunists have now their brief moment of mastery.

We are fortified in our convictions and in our struggle by the knowledge that the wisdom and strength of Lenin lies in the fact that he was chosen by history to make history; that he was the highest expression of the struggle of the world's most progressive class which liberates all humanity by freeing itself; that his teachings and his work have been written into the final chapter of a centuries-long world epoch. Those who fight for Leninism, for the victory of the proletarian revolution, are clearing the road that leads to a new era of history. Those who fight for the Opposition, in spite of contumely, persecution and temporary set-backs, are building the permanent, living memorial to Lenin.

The triumph of the Opposition is the triumph of Leninism!

### THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ORDERS ANOTHER BURGLARY!

As we go to press! The house of comrade James P. Cannon, during our temporary absence, was again burglarized on Monday, January 14, 1929, and a number of old private and personal documents, letters, bound *Inprekors* and books stolen. In addition money orders, bank and receipt book, and postage stamps were stolen. The responsibility for this criminal work rests directly with the Central Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party from which neither faction is exempt, either for participation or silent acquiescence. More details in the next issue of The Militant.

# Malkin and Franklin Go to Prison

THE American Frame-Up System claimed two more victims when the New York Court of Appeals confirmed the conviction of comrades Maurice L. Malkin and Leo Franklin in the famous Mineola furriers' case. These two fur workers entered Sing Sing prison on Monday January 14, 1929, to begin serving their sentences of two and one-half to five years.

Both of these new class war prisoners are rank and file fighters who have done valiant work on the picket line in the great battles of the Furriers Union. Comrade Franklin is a non-Party worker. Comrade Malkin is one of the pioneer American Communists who has been with the Party since its formation. Prior to that he was active in the I.W.W. and the Left Wing of the Socialist Party.

The imprisonment of Comrade Malkin is a heavy blow to the forces of the Opposition. He was the first Party member to enlist in the struggle for the cause of the Opposition when the "Three Generals Without an Army", standing alone, unfurled the banner of Trotsky and the Russian Opposition on October 27. Malkin was not a shame-faced sympathizer, but a soldier who fought in the open for his convictions. He was the first to distribute our statement to the Party members and the first to take a bundle of our *Militant* to sell before the Workers Center. From the beginning of this historic struggle till the day of his departure for prison he was in the forefront, one of the most active, most tireless, most devoted and courageous workers for our cause. The group of Opposition Communists which grew and became hardened into an iron solidarity under a drumfire of slander was inspired not a little by his infectious enthusiasm and unwavering confidence.

The tragic aspect of his imprisonment for the Communist movement is heightened by the fact that this loyal Communist and fighter for the labor movement was expelled from the Party by the clique of bureaucrats a few weeks before. Since then they have been very busy defaming his character. They hated this up-standing militant, who told them to their faces what he thought of them and they tried in every way to discredit him. "Renegade", "counter-revolutionist" and similar epithets were showered upon him till the very hour the prison doors closed behind him.

The Daily Worker covered itself with infamy by its deliberate sabotage of the publicity. They could not bring themselves to mention his name in the issue of January 7, which announced a protest meeting on the case, speaking only of "two fur workers who were sentenced to serve from two and a half to five years in prison." His speech at the convention of the Amalgamated Fur, Dress and Cloak Makers, the speech of a true revolutionist, and the great ovation given him by the assembled workers, was omitted entirely from the Daily Worker reports of the convention.

Those who have recently become the leaders of the International Labor Defense as a result of factional machinations have also made a shameful record in this case. They announced a protest meeting on the case for January 7, but refused to put comrade Malkin on the speakers' list, and likewise refused his request that comrade Cannon, a member of the National Executive Committee of the I. L. D. and its National Secretary from its foundation in 1925 until October of 1928, should also speak at the protest meeting. When pressed for reasons to justify such an unprecedented procedure, comrade Wagenknecht said: "The Party has decided you cannot speak." Rose Baron, New York Local Secretary of the I.L.D. said: "Neither Malkin nor Cannon can speak because of their political views."

When confronted with the declaration that comrade Malkin would attend the protest meeting called in his name and ask for the floor, they called the meeting off. A period of ten days went by, from the confirmation of the sentence on December 31, till comrades Malkin and Franklin entered Nassau County Jail on January 10, prior to transfer to Sing Sing, without a protest meeting by the I. L. D. in their behalf.

Fortunately, comrade Malkin was still free when the first public meeting of the Opposition was held at the Labor Temple on Tuesday, January 8. He spoke there and the ovation given him by the assembled workers was a warning to the factional upstarts who trifle with the great principle and tradition of solidarity with all class war prisoners.

After the mass meeting a farewell party was

given to comrade Malkin by the Opposition group, which lasted till a late hour.

We will not forget comrade Malkin. His dauntless courage in the darkest hours and the Communist spirit with which he faced the prison ordeal will remain with us as an example and an inspiration to weld our ranks more closely together and battle onward for the victory of the proletarian cause.

## FAREWELL NOTE FROM COMRADE MALKIN

Jan. 9, 1929.

Dear Jim:

I am very sorry that I did not find you home. I wanted to say Good-bye to you, Marty and Max, but I hope we will see each other soon. I am going in tomorrow at 8 A. M. so tell the bunch that they should excuse me for it.

Well, Good-bye, and always count on me in our fight. You will hear from me from my hotel, Sing Sing.

M. L. MALKIN.



Maurice L. Malkin

## Malkin's Statement

*Regarding the decision of the Court of Appeals confirming the sentence of 2½ to 5 years in prison for activity in the Furriers Strike of 1926.*

Comrades and Fellow-Workers:

"The decision of the Court of Appeals confirming the sentence of two and a half to 5 years in prison against comrade Leo Franklin and myself is another act of the judicial system proving its class character and its role as an instrument of the capitalists in their war against the workers' organizations. So our union must regard it and point it out to all workers as another proof that justice for the workers can come only from their own organized power. Our sentence, intended to terrorize the workers, can thus be turned into a means of overcoming illusions about class courts and class justice.

"Our conviction and sentence is a result of the operation of the Frame-up System by means of which many fighters for the working class have been victimized in the mad campaign of the ruling class and its governmental agencies to smash the labor movement. Mooney and Billings are serving a life sentence through the frame-up system. Our glorious martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, were done to death by it. The Centralia prisoners, the prisoners of the Passaic strike, the Ziegler miners, the previously convicted members of our own left wing in the needle trades (Furrier Samuel Kurland)—all these and many others have fallen victim to the American Frame-up System. Now it is our turn. We are rank and file fighters, but we will hold our heads up under this blow and serve our cause in prison by conduct worthy of revolutionary labor militants.

"This frame-up against us is the joint work of the employers, the State government and judicial system, the A. F. of L. machine, the right wing leaders in the needle trades and the Socialist Party. We go to prison as a direct result of this conspiracy. Every needle trades worker must be made to

understand the part of the right wing leaders and the Socialist Party in this infamous Frame-up. The workers must be shown that these elements have acted in this case, as they always do, as the direct agents of the exploiters. Every worker who supports them is supporting this class enemy.

"We put our hope and confidence in the new Amalgamated Union. We call upon all needle trades workers to rally to it and build it into a mighty power for the workers in the daily struggle and an instrument for the final liberation from the slavery of Capitalism.

"In this parting statement I want to make the following personal remark. I stood up in the court at Mineola as an avowed Communist and in all my activity as a rank and file fighter for the Union I have been animated by my allegiance to the principles of Communism and to the Communist Party which is the only party of the workers. On the eve of my departure for prison I reaffirm that stand. It is in the nature of things that Communists should be among the first to pay the price of prison, for the Communist Party fights at the head of militant workers not only in words but in deeds and this must be doubly true of those Communists who belong to the ranks of the Opposition as I do. I firmly believe that the Russian Opposition and International Opposition under the leadership of Comrade Trotsky is defending today on an International scale the true principles of Leninism, of the Russian Proletarian Revolution. I consider my adherence to the cause of the Party Opposition to be an organic part of all my revolutionary and labor activity and I reaffirm my allegiance to the Opposition now. It is very sad that this support of the Opposition has brought about the temporary expulsion of myself and other comrades from the party, and that we have been branded as "renegades" and "counter-revolutionists" by people who have little right to speak about us. In spite of all this I consider myself a member of the party and will act as such. In this, as in all other questions, I am in full solidarity with all expelled comrades of the Opposition. We are and remain Communists just the same. Our expulsion can only be temporary and the slander hurled against us will be refuted by our deeds.

"Comrades, keep up the struggle! Down with the exploiters and their Right Wing Agents! Long live the new Amalgamated Union. Long Live Communism!" Maurice L. Malkin

## ARREST PHILLY COMRADES

As we go to press, we are informed by Comrade Sol Lankin of Philadelphia that comrades Morgenstern, Leon Goodman, Kravetz and another sympathizer of the Opposition in Philadelphia were arrested for selling *The Militant* at the Daily Worker Anniversary affair on Jan. 11th. Only Opposition comrades were arrested.

While selling the *Militant*, they were attacked by party members who proposed to search them (!) Naturally, our comrades declined to be searched—a custom employed against us ordinarily only by "Dicks", D. of J. men, etc. A scuffle developed. Comrade Morgenstern, who wears glasses was struck in the eye, and the broken pieces of glass entered his eye. He was rushed to the hospital. His eye is seriously damaged, and it is not known yet whether he will be blinded in that eye.

The two sympathizers of the Opposition were bailed out by the I. L. D. But the I. L. D. took no action on our comrades so far as we have been able to find, and our comrade had to devise ways of bailing Goodman and Morgenstern out. This was finally done.

Comrade Morgenstern had been held as a material witness. In police court on Saturday Jan. 12, our comrades naturally, would not press any charges against anyone. All four were discharged. The comrades report increasing sales of the *Militant* and interest in the Opposition program.

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# The Crisis in the German Party

**H**ARDLY had the ink dried on the resolutions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern which noted the "growth" of internal consolidation in all the sections, than the racking fever of factional struggle rose to a more menacing degree than has been experienced in the Comintern for some time. The elements of a devastating crisis are at hand in their full, diseased bloom in the most important parties of the International: the German, Russian, Czechoslovak, Polish, French and American sections.

In the German Party the crisis is proceeding with unabated rapidity, and it is there that it has found its sharpest expression. For the yes-men in the various Party committees throughout the International it is the simplest thing to put their seal to the resolutions approving the official line which are sent out by the apparatus, in the hope that this will serve to dismiss the issues of the struggle and solve the problems raised by them. A flourish of the pen, a few slanderous denunciations in the press, as many expulsions and removals as are necessary to behead the minority—and a new victory for Bolshevization a la Stalin is chalked up, although the principle questions involved remain unsettled.

The crisis in the German Party was brought to a head in the notorious Wittorf-Thalmann case. Wittorf, the secretary of the Hamburg Party district, was finally expelled from the Party after the Left (Urbahns) press had for months published stories that accused Wittorf of mishandling and stealing Party funds. But we had here no ordinary case of individual corruption. Standing behind Wittorf was his factional colleague Thalmann, the chairman and leader of the Party, who, although he was fully aware of the criminal guilt of Wittorf, kept the information from the Party committee, denied his own knowledge of the facts and protected Wittorf until the overwhelming evidence finally permitted of no further concealment.

The proved complicity of Thalmann in the corruption scandal compelled the Central Committee under pressure of the right wing (Bandler group) and the "conciliators" (Ewert group), to remove him from his post as chairman of the Party, if for no other reason than to safeguard the moral and political prestige of the Party before the proletarian masses. Before Thalmann's removal by the Central Committee had properly taken effect, the Executive Committee of the Comintern ordered the Party to reinstate Thalmann to his position and attempted to force the entire attention of the Party away from his record in the scandal by raising a hue and cry against those who had exposed him, the rights and conciliators. The Comintern magnanimously excused Thalmann by saying that his silence had been in the interests of the Party, that he had tried to prevent the crippling of the "cruiser campaign" that would follow the Wittorf exposure.

But the facts entirely reject such an apology for this German agent of Stalin's faction. Thalmann not only knew of Wittorf's peculations prior to the beginning of the cruiser campaign but, armed with this very knowledge of Wittorf's guilt he had proposed him, in the Spring of 1928, as Party candidate for the Reichstag. Moreover, Thalmann not only continued to maintain factional connections, and hold meetings with Wittorf after the latter's expulsion, but he had himself partaken of the orgiastic fruits of Wittorf's thieving. Above all, the Comintern failed to explain since when it is proper for any individual to take upon himself the responsibility of "protecting" the Party or its campaign without consulting with or informing the proper committee of his self-sacrificing and heroic intentions.

The demoralizing effect of the rehabilitation (by decree only!) of Thalmann was accompanied by a violent campaign of denunciation and attack upon the Bandler-Thalheimer group and the Ewert-Gerhard group of conciliators, in short, by the spurious and hypocritical campaign "against the right danger" whose existence was only yesterday so vigorously denied by the spokesmen of the International.

This "campaign" could not hide the bitter facts of the alarming state of affairs in the German Party. Not only in Hamburg, but in other sections on the Party also similar cases were discovered—cases of material corruption which were the expression of the political corruption, which, under the Stalin-Bucharin regime, is eating the

heart out of the Communist Parties everywhere. What the Stalin leadership of the Comintern fearfully refused to recognize is that material corruption flows from a condition where the Party functionaries, appointed in one way or another from above, easily and light-mindedly succumb to material temptations because they realize that there is no control from below, from the ranks. Because they realize that the worker in the ranks has less and less to say about the policies or leadership of his Party. Because they realize that an uncomplaining and unquestioning readiness on their part to beat the drums for the faction in control; the easy-going levity with which they undersign such crimes as the decapitation, imprisonment and exile of the Russian Opposition, the Chinese and British policies of Stalin and Bucharin—that all this guarantees them protection from the delinquencies or crimes they may themselves commit. Because they realize that the condition for the continuation of Stalin's opportunist domination is the installment in power everywhere—not of tested fighters, not of revolutionists capable of objective, independent thought—but of willing martinetts with no past (or worse, a malodorous one) and no future in the movement, creatures like the Thalmanns, Neumanns, Stoeckers, Smerals, Cachins, Petrovskys, Martinovs, Lovestones and Peppers.

Bandler, who had returned to Germany after an exile of five years in Moscow, together with Thalheimer, and their group of the right, commenced a sharp struggle against bureaucracy and corruption, gaining wide support from the party membership. To a certain extent they were covered by the Ewert group. (Ewert, it will be remembered, was Comintern representative to the American Party before its 1927 convention where carrying out instructions of Stalin and Bucharin, he turned the Party over to Lovestone once more, after having helped him gerrymander one district convention after another. Incidentally, he was one of the fathers of the Menshevik Pankin policy of the Party, together with Lovestone and Weinstone.) The criticisms of the Right group were immediately answered by the Comintern and the Thalmann Central Committee with—wholesale expulsions. And it does not bode well for the German revolutionary movement when men like Bandler, Thalheimer, Frolich, Walcher and their colleagues, who are not only the last of the leaders of the old *Spartakusbund* of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, but highly qualified mass leaders and politicians, are summarily expelled from the Party, despite the errors they may have made in 1923 and today. Such a procedure is all the more reck-

less and portentous when we see that they do not stand alone but that large sections, whole Party districts, stand behind them, and have suffered their fate by the hundreds.

The line of the Bandler-Thalheimer right is not yet clear. Their platform is limited and vague in many respects. They have not said a syllable about the tremendous, burning issues raised by the Trotsky Opposition, or their attitude towards them. On the contrary, there are indications that they are being supported by the right wing (Rykov-Tomsky-Bucharin) in the Russian Party. But it is clear that thousands of the proletarians who are supporting them now do so because that is their sole "legal" means of expressing their antagonism and resentment of the bureaucratic and corrupt regime. To have supported the expelled Urbahns group, which is the best representative in Germany of the line of the Leninist Opposition, would have meant forthwith expulsion for any Party worker. In the Bandler-Thalheimer fight they thought to find this "legal" or "semi-legal" means which the bureaucratic lid had suppressed. But hundreds of these workers are now being expelled for this also. What hysterical fear of the worker-masses in the Party must impel the bureaucrats when they are obliged to take such drastic and fatal steps to halt criticism! The German Party can ill afford these luxuries of expulsion, particularly in view of the catastrophic collapse of its cruiser campaign, so rich in revolutionary possibilities; of its loss of votes in the recent municipal elections; of its loss of prestige following the Wittorf-Thalmann disgrace; of its loss in Party membership (the Berlin organization fell from 18,000 to 12,000 members in six months!); of its loss, by expulsion, of the revolutionary fighters who have rallied around our comrade Urbahns in their fight against opportunism and for Leninism.

The warning of Trotsky that the "victory" of Stalin over the Opposition merely foretold Stalin's shipwreck has been realized. The policy of bureaucratic order, of telegraphed command from Moscow, as a substitute for ideological clarity and leadership, has had its black day in the Comintern. Its fruits are evil ones. They have blossomed in crises that rend the leading and most important Parties of the International.

The blows are heavy, and the wounds are already gaping wide. For the dilettantes and adventurers everything is halcyon and as it should be. The serious Communist fighter, however, pauses to think. There is yet time to heal the wounds and restore the militant health of the body. That task belongs to the stubborn fighters. **M. S.**

## A Muddler on an American Scale -- by A. Lozovsky

(These remarks on American trade union questions by the General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions are reprinted from the Official Organ of R. I. L. U. printed in English for October.—Editor.)

Things, however, are different in the United States. Here the Central Committee instigated an opposition against the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress decisions on the American question. Even previous to the Congress there was much dissatisfaction in the Central Committee of the American Party with my sharp criticism of the erroneous attitude of the Party leadership to the Trade Union Educational League, its passivity on the question of organising unorganised workers, its incorrect attitude to the Negro workers (its incorrect attitude to the Negro workers, and the way it regarded the reactionary American Federation of Labour. This dissatisfaction was expressed in the protest of the American Communist Party C.C. against the R. I. L. U. appeal to the T. U. E. L. Conference, held in December, 1927, because in this appeal the necessity of organising the unorganised in the trade unions was stressed. This was further expressed in several articles, among which comrade Pepper's articles occupy a special place.

In "The Communist" comrade Pepper published an article to prove that American capitalism is extremely strong, that the American working class is very poorly organised, that the Party is weak, and that there are many difficulties in general in America. This is what he said also at the Congress. Comrade Pepper sees nothing but the power of American capitalism, and discovering America anew, although this discovery was made long ago, completely passed over those vital problems raised in my articles on the eve of the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress in the order of self-criticism. To befud-

dle the question still more, comrade Pepper launched the "theory" of the possible growth of the American Federation of Labour. Why did he do this? This was done in order to divert the attention of the Party from the **immediate** problem that faces us today, of organising the unorganised, to the **future** problems that will rise if the American Federation of Labour begins to grow again. All this teacup guessing had only one political meaning—instead of concentrating attention on the most urgent task to dispel the attention of the Party. I do not intend now to take up in detail Pepper's "theory" as outlined in his nine points, but will merely say that whereas comrade Pepper previously frequently lost his bearings in European affairs, today he is all at sea in American affairs. He could be truly named: the muddler of the two hemispheres.

Let us leave comrade Pepper and take up the C.C. of the American Party. The American Communist Party C. C. declared itself to be against the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress resolution on the American question. Why did they come out against this resolution? This the C.C. is concealing. When the members of the C.C. arrived in Moscow and saw that to oppose the decisions of the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress would not be very expedient, they declared in Moscow that they had long ago expressed support for the Fourth Congress decisions. It was certainly comic to find at several R. I. L. U. meetings that whereas the majority of the C.C. had expressed support for the decisions, comrades Foster, Bittleman, Cannon and Johnstone, C.C. members, declared that there was not a word on the subject to be found in the minutes of the C. C.

# The Draft Program of the Comintern

CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE

Revolutionary patriotism can be only of a class character. It begins as patriotism to the party organization, to the trade union, and rises to national patriotism when the proletariat has captured power. Wherever the workers have power patriotism is a revolutionary duty. But that patriotism must be an inseparable part of revolutionary internationalism. The invincible conviction that the main class aim even less so than partial aims cannot be realized by national means or within national boundaries, constitutes the heart of revolutionary internationalism. If, however, the final aim has been realized within national boundaries by the efforts of a national proletariat then the backbone of internationalism has been broken. The theory of the possibility to realize socialism in one country destroys the inner connection of the patriotism of the victorious proletariat with the defeatism of the proletariat of the bourgeois countries. The proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries is still on the road to power. How and in what manner it will march towards it depends fully and entirely on the question as to whether it considers the building up of socialist society, a national or an international task.

If it is at all possible to realize socialism in one country then one can believe in that theory not only AFTER the conquest of power but also "prior" to it. If socialism can be realized within the national boundaries of backward Russia, then there is the more reason to believe that it can be realized in advanced Germany. Tomorrow the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany will surely bring forward this theory. The Draft Program empowers them to do so. The day after tomorrow the French Party will have its turn. That will be the beginning of the downfall of the Comintern along the lines of social patriotism. The Communist Party of any capitalist country which will have become imbued with the idea that its particular country possesses all the "necessary and sufficient" prerequisites for the independent construction of a "complete socialist society" will in substance in no respect differ from the revolutionary social democrats who also began not with Noske but who definitely stumbled on August 4, 1914, on this very same question.

If they say that the very existence of the U.S.S.R. is a guarantee against social patriotism because in relation to a Workers' Republic patriotism is a revolutionary duty, in this one-sided utilization of a correct idea is expressed national narrowmindedness. Those who say so have in mind only the U.S.S.R., closing their eyes to the entire proletariat of the world. To lead the proletariat to the idea of defeatism in relation to the bourgeois State is possible only by an inter-national orientation in the program on the main question and by a merciless resistance to social patriotic contraband which is now still masked but which seeks to establish a theoretical nest for itself in the program of Lenin's International.

It is not yet too late to return to the path of Marx and Lenin. It is this return that opens up the only conceivable road to progress. To bring about this safety turn we address this criticism of the draft program to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.

## *The results and prospects of the Chinese Revolution—its lessons for the Eastern countries and for the whole of the Comintern*

Bolshevism and Menshevism and the left wing of German and international social democracy took definite shape on the analysis of the experiences, mistakes and tendencies of the 1905 revolution. An analysis of the experiences of the Chinese Revolution is now of no less importance for the international proletariat.

This analysis, however, has not yet even begun—it is prohibited. The official literature gives hurried arrangements of facts to suit the resolutions of the E.C.C.I., the baselessness of which has been thoroughly revealed. The draft program cuts down the sharpest points of the Chinese problem, but, in the main, perpetuates the destructive line of the E.C.C.I. on the Chinese question. Instead of an analysis of the greatest historical process, we find a literary defence of the bankrupt schemes.

## *A CRITICISM OF FUNDAMENTALS*

By L. D. TROTSKY

### 1. ON THE NATURE OF THE COLONIAL BOURGEOISIE

The draft program says:

"Temporary agreements" (with the bourgeoisie) "may be made only insofar as they will not hamper the revolutionary organization of the workers and peasants and are genuinely fighting against imperialism."

This loose statement is based on a recognition of the ability of the colonial bourgeoisie TO WAGE A REAL struggle against imperialism and at the same time NOT TO INTERFERE WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION of the workers and peasants. This is a defense and sanctioning of the entire policy in relation to the Kuomintang which the E.C.C.I. always interpreted as a "temporary agreement" whilst it was in reality a political enslavement of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. To have a clear understanding of the statement quoted above we will quote an evaluation of the colonial bourgeoisie given by Bucharin, one of the authors of the draft. Basing himself on the "anti-imperialist content" of the colonial revolutions, Bucharin said:

"The liberal bourgeoisie in China has in the course of years, and not months, played an objective revolutionary role, and then it has exhausted itself. That was not at all a 'one-day' policy of the type of the Russian liberal revolution of 1905."

Everything here is wrong from the beginning to end.

Lenin really insisted that one must strictly distinguish between an oppressed and oppressor bourgeoisie nation. From this arise the very important advantages, for instance, in relation to war between an imperialist and a colonial country. For a pacifist such a war is a war as any other; for a Communist a war of a colonial nation against an imperialist nation is a bourgeois revolutionary war. Lenin thus RAISED the national liberation movement, the colonial insurrections and wars of the oppressed nations, to the level of the bourgeois democratic revolutions, particularly of the period prior to the Russian revolution of 1905. But Lenin did not at all rank the national liberation wars ABOVE bourgeois democratic revolutions as this is now done by Bucharin, who has turned an angle of 180 degrees. Lenin insisted on a distinction between a bourgeois oppressed and bourgeois oppressor country. But Lenin nowhere raised and never could raise the question from the viewpoint that the bourgeoisie of a colonial or a semi-colonial country in an epoch of struggle for national liberation must be more progressive and more revolutionary than the bourgeoisie of a non-colonial country in the epoch of the democratic revolution. Theoretically this does not follow from anything, historically this is not confirmed. No matter how pitiful, for instance, Russian liberalism appeared to be, and no matter how much of a hybrid its left half-petty-bourgeois democracy, the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks appeared to be—it is hardly possible to say that Chinese liberation and Chinese bourgeois democracy proved to be on a higher level or more revolutionary than the Russian.

To conceive that from the fact of colonial oppression there must inevitably arise a revolutionary national bourgeoisie means to imitate the main error of Menshevism which held that the Russian bourgeoisie must be revolutionary because of the autocratic feudal yoke.

The question of the nature and policy of the bourgeoisie is determined by the entire internal class structure of a nation waging the revolutionary struggle; the historical epoch in which that struggle develops; the degree of economic, political and military dependence of the national bourgeoisie upon world imperialism in its entirety or upon one of its parts; and, finally, which is the most important, the degree of class activity of the native proletariat and the state of its connections with the international revolutionary movement.

The democratic or national liberation revolution may promise the bourgeoisie an opportunity to deepen and broaden its chance for exploitation. Independent action of the proletariat on the revolutionary arena threatens to deprive the bourgeoisie

of the possibility to exploit altogether.

Let us look at some facts.

The present inspirers of the Comintern have untiringly repeated that Chiang Kai-shek waged a war "against imperialism whilst Kerensky marched hand in hand with the imperialists and that hence it was necessary to wage an irreconcilable struggle against Kerensky, while it was necessary to support Chiang Kai-shek.

Kerensky's relations with imperialism cannot be disputed. One can go even still further back and point out that the Russian bourgeoisie "overthrew" Nicholas II with the sanction of the British and French imperialism. Not only Miliukov and Kerensky supported the war waged by Lloyd George and Poincaré, but Lloyd George and Poincaré supported Miliukov's and Kerensky's revolution against the czar, and later against the workers and peasants. Of this there can be absolutely no doubt.

But how do matters stand in this connection in China? The "February" revolution in China took place in 1911. That revolution was a great and progressive event although it was accomplished with the direct participation of the imperialists. Sun Yat Sen, in his memoirs, relates how his organization relied in all its work on the "support" of the imperialist States—either Japan, France or America. If Kerensky in 1917 continued to take part in the imperialist war, the Chinese bourgeoisie, the "national", "revolutionary" etc. bourgeoisie, supported Wilson's intervention in the war with the hope that the Entente would help to emancipate China. In 1918 Sun Yat Sen addressed to the governments of the Entente his project of economic development and political emancipation of China. There is no occasion for saying that the Chinese bourgeoisie in its struggle against the Manchu Dynasty, displayed any higher revolutionary qualities than the Russian bourgeoisie in the struggle against czarism or that there is a fundamental difference between Chiang Kai-shek and Kerensky's attitude to imperialism.

But Chiang Kai-shek, says the E.C.C.I., nevertheless fought against imperialism. To imagine this means to see facts in too brilliant a light. Chiang Kai-shek waged war against the Chinese militarists, the agents of ONE of the imperialist powers. This is not quite the same as to wage a war against imperialism. Even Tang Pin-san understood this. In his report to the Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. (it was at the end of 1926) Tang Pin-san characterised the policy of the Kuomintang center headed by Chiang Kai-shek as follows:

"In the sphere of international policy it occupies a passive position in the full meaning of that word. It is inclined to fight only against British imperialism; so far as the Japanese imperialists, however, are concerned, it is under certain conditions ready to make a compromise with them." (Stenographic Report at the Seventh Plenum).

The attitude of the Kuomintang to imperialism was from the very outset not revolutionary but opportunistic through and through. It endeavored to drive out the agents of some imperialist powers so as to compromise later with the same or other imperialist powers on more favorable terms for the Chinese bourgeoisie. That is all. One must measure not the attitude of every given national bourgeoisie to imperialism in general, but its attitude to the immediate historical tasks of the respective nation. The Russian bourgeoisie was a bourgeoisie of an imperialist oppressor nation. The Chinese bourgeoisie a bourgeoisie of an oppressed colonial country. The overthrow of feudal czarism was a progressive task in old Russia. The overthrow of the imperialist yoke is a progressive historical mission in China. But the attitude of the Chinese bourgeoisie in relation to imperialism, the proletariat and the peasantry, was not more revolutionary than that of the Russian, but, if you wish, even more vile and reactionary.

TO BE CONTINUED

**CABARET AND DANCE**  
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and  
**THE PROLETARIAN**  
Organs of the Communist Opposition  
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# Lenin's Last Words to the Party

*The Testament of Lenin Sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Suppressed by the Stalin Regime.*

**B**Y the stability of the Central Committee, of which I spoke before, I mean measures to prevent a split, so far as such measures can be taken. For, of course, the White Guard in Russkaya Mysl (I think it was S. E. Oldenburg) was right when, in the first place, in his play against Soviet Russia he banked on the hope of a split in our party, and when, in the second place, he banked for that split on serious disagreements in our party.

"Our party rests upon two classes, and for that reason its instability is possible, and if there cannot exist an agreement between those classes its fall is inevitable. In such an event it would be useless to take any measures or in general to discuss the stability of our Central Committee. In such an event no measures would prove capable of preventing a split. But I trust that is too remote a future, and too improbable an event, to talk about.

"I have in mind stability as a guarantee against a split in the near future, and I intend to examine here a series of considerations of a purely personal character.

"I think that the fundamental factor in the matter of stability—from this point of view—is such members of the Central Committee as Stalin and Trotsky. The relation between them constitutes, in my opinion, a big half of the danger of that split, which might be avoided, and the avoidance of which might be promoted, in my opinion, by raising the number of members of the Central Committee to fifty or one hundred.

"Comrade Stalin, having become General Secre-

tary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand Comrade Trotsky, as was proved by his struggle against the Central Committee in connection with the question of the People's Commissariat of Ways of Communication, is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities—personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee; but also by his too far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.

"These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might, quite innocently, lead to a split; if our party does not take measures to prevent it, a split might arise unexpectedly.

"I will not further characterize the other members of the Central Committee as to their personal qualities. I will only remind you that the October episode of Zinoviev and Kamenev was not, of course, accidental, but that it ought as little to be used against them personally as the non-Bolshevism of Trotsky.

"Of the younger members of the Central Committee, I want to say a few words about Bucharin and Piatakov. They are, in my opinion, the most able forces (among the youngest), and in regard to them it is necessary to bear in mind the following: Bucharin is not only the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the Party, but also may legitimately be considered the favorite of the whole party; but his theoretical views can only

with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxist, for there is something scholastic in him (he never has learned, and I think never has fully understood, the dialectic).

"And then Piatakov—a man undoubtedly distinguished in will and ability, but too much given over to administration and the administrative side of things to be relied on in a serious political question.

"Of course, both these remarks are made by me merely with a view of the present time, or supposing that these two able and loyal workers may not find an occasion to supplement their knowledge and correct their one-sidedness.

"December, 25, 1922.

"Postscript: Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the Comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority—namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may seem an insignificant trifle, but I think that from the point of view of preventing a split and from the point of view of the relation between Stalin and Trotsky which I discussed above, it is not a trifle, or it is such a trifle as may acquire a decisive significant.

"LENIN.

"Jan. 4, 1923."

## The New Needle Trades Workers' Union

**T**HE recent formation of the new Needle Trades Industrial Union marks a turning point in the protracted struggle in the needle trades and is a step of great historic significance for the American labor movement as a whole. The policy of organizing the unorganized into new unions, of answering the destruction of the old unions by the bosses and the reactionaries with the formation of new unions under left wing leadership, will be given here its test of fire.

Under the present conditions and relation of forces the prerequisites for the success of this policy are greater in the Needle Trades than in any other industry. It is there that the party and left wing have the broadest and most conscious support of the working masses, the product of the advanced class consciousness of these workers and of the active leadership of the Party and left wing in mighty struggles. It is in the needle trades also that the treason and the bankruptcy of not only the old-line reactionaries, but of the so-called "socialist" labor leaders has been most clearly demonstrated in practice. The left wing has shown itself to the masses here as the sole leader and organizer of the daily struggle as well as the herald of the coming fight for liberation from the yoke of capitalism.

The Needle Trade Industrial Union faces the gigantic task of building anew on the ruins of the old organizations. It was the destruction of the old unions in the Fur and Ladies Garment trades which placed the formation of the new union categorically on the agenda. This destruction was accomplished by the united front of the Bosses, the A. F. of L., the police and the "Socialist" betrayers. The smashing of the once powerful Furriers Union and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the loss of union standards, the intensified exploitation and the general worsening of the lot of the workers are the direct fruit of this reactionary united front. The unceasing exposition of this incontestable fact is one of the most necessary phases of the task of building the new union.

An accessory cause of the setbacks the workers received and of the failure of the left wing to deal heavier and more decisive blows to the bosses and their labor agents has been the stubborn opportunism, the illusions and vacillations of the left wing leaders. The stratum of this leadership, Gold, Zimmerman, Wortis, etc., constitute a faction whose practices have been a constant obstacle to the development and execution of a fighting Communist policy which alone is able to mobilize the fur resources of the masses for their struggle. Al-

most every opportunist prejudice from craft union conceptions to the theory that a struggle cannot be carried on against the bosses and the right wing leaders at the same time, from a complete misapprehension of the class role of the police (to speak mildly!) to illusions regarding deals with this or that group of fakers, has found expression in the course of this faction of leaders. To this can be added the survivals of odious trade union bureaucratic and "business agent" relations with the rank and file. The struggle for a true Communist policy—the only fighting policy—was and is a struggle against the tactics and policies of this group.

The formation of the New Union is late. It was indicated by the whole situation months ago. The delay was due solely to the conservatism of the Party leaders in the needle trades in which, as in all their costly opportunist blunders, they were fully supported by the opportunist leadership of the Party which turned the whole control over to them in a conscienceless factional bargain, entrenched them in every way, shielded them from criticism and stifled the opposition movement of the rank and file Communist fighters in the needle trades. The amalgamation of the two left wing unions and the formation of the new union was forced upon them by the Opposition in which fight we had a united front with the Foster group. The party leadership, of which the faction of Gold and Zimmerman are the trade union representatives, resisted, held back and sabotaged to the last. It was only the unceasing fight of the combined opposition, the correctness of which was being proven by events, which brought about the amalgamation and the organization of the new union even at this late day.

The workers will pay for this delay as they have to pay for every opportunist error of leadership. The new union begins its career with handicaps and difficulties that might have been avoided.

These handicaps, however, can soon be overcome by a vigorous policy in the ensuing period. The step taken is an indubitably correct one. Indeed, it was the only step consistent with a fighting policy under given circumstances. By it, the heroic workers of the needle trades who have written glorious pages of labor history in the recent years, again attract the attention of the labor movement as a whole. The conscious workers throughout the entire country look to them again to prove that the left wing is invincible, that it is able to turn the destruction of the old unions into a rejuvenated movement on a sounder basis. Their victory in the great battle to establish their new

union will be a victory for the American working class and will have a great effect on its future.

There is no need to minimize the enormous difficulties in their path. A Communist policy will enable the left wing to triumph over them. The bosses will fight them by every means: therefore an education of the masses on the class role of the police, a mobilization of the masses against them and a ruthless war on all illusions about them. The right wing socialist fakers will fight them: therefore an unceasing exposure of their hypocritical "peace" manoeuvres, and an education of the masses to hate and distrust them as agents of the bosses.

Every conscious worker must support the new Needle Trades Industrial Union with all his strength. This means for the Communist militants within the union a two-fold task: on the one hand to fight in the vanguard of the Union against the employers and their labor agents; on the other hand to firmly organize the forces of the Communist left wing within the Party fraction and thereby irresistibly steer the new union on the path of revolutionary tactics in all its activities and struggles.

## Appeal to the Convention

New York, N. Y. January 12, 1928.

To the Central Executive Committee,  
Workers (Communist) Party of America,  
Comrades:

We hereby send you notice of our intention to appeal to the forthcoming Convention of the Party against the expulsion of all the comrades standing on the Platform of the Opposition.

We desire to appear personally at the Convention to present our Appeal. This is in accordance with the Party Constitution and with the established practices and traditions of the movement. The decision of the Political Committee on our expulsion recognized this right. Even the trades union bureaucracy, whose expulsion methods you have copied, have also recognized the right of expelled members to present their appeals in person to the Conventions. A case in point is the recent Convention of the Carpenters' Union where comrade Rosen was given the floor to appeal against his expulsion.

Please notify us of the time and place of the Convention sessions where our appeal will be heard:

James P. Cannon.  
Arne Swabeck

Martin Abern  
Max Shachtman

# 'William Randolph' Lovestone and 'Abe' Pepper Expose Us

ON December 27, 1928, four days after the burglary of our apartment which was reported in the last number of *The Militant*, the *Daily Worker* announced that the

"Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party has come into possession of a whole series of documents, letters, statements, telegrams and other material revealing a national and international conspiracy on the part of the Trotsky-Cannon group to split the American section of the Communist International."

They promised, on the basis of these stolen documents, to "expose" our connections with the Urbahns group in Germany, the *Contre le Courant* group in France, with Radek, with groups in Czechoslovakia, Austria and even in China; and further, with Max Eastman, Ludwig Lore, Frederick N. Sard, the Austrian government (why only the Austrian?) and the Coolidge administration!

On January 8, 1929, came the belated "exposures" in the best style of the Jewish Daily Forward, the photostatic reproductions and the rest of the pharaphernalia acquired in the finishing schools of yellow journalism, which are always counted on to impress people irrespective of their merit, truth or validity.

Contrary to the policy of the *Daily Worker* in ignoring "exposures" and accusations of another kind recently made by the Forward, we propose to answer every point, giving the accusations, the insinuations and the facts. We said, in reply to the announcement of the exposures,

"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."

Let us now check up.

1. **We have connections with Opposition groups abroad.** The most casual reading of *The Militant* would already have indicated that we are not only in contact with the Russian Opposition, but with the Opposition groups in other countries that stand upon their platform and fight for its victory. We have never even attempted to conceal this. On the contrary, we have attempted to strengthen our connections with those elements throughout the international Communist movement who are fighting against opportunist bureaucracy and for the Leninist line and will continue to do so.

2. **We have connections with Max Eastman and are selling Trotsky's "The Real Situation in Russia" translated by him.** In the second issue of *The Militant* we not only gave a favorable review of the book, but we announced that it is sold by us. Our attitude towards Eastman has been and is that he is an honest revolutionary intellectual who has done a great service to the Communist movement by translating and publishing the suppressed works of the Russian Opposition. For this he deserves the praise and not the condemnation of the Communist workers. The attempt to brand him as a renegade and counter-revolutionist is only a part of this world-wide campaign of unscrupulous bureaucrats who defame everyone who defends the cause of Trotsky and the Russian Opposition. Our estimate of his theoretical writings, "Marx, Lenin and the Science of Revolution" and our points of difference with him will be set forth in a review which will appear in an early issue of *The Militant*.

With a Hearstian flourish, they print a letter given us by Eastman to the publishers of Trotsky's book, asking that we be permitted to see the clipped reviews of it in the capitalist press. It has only served to help us get crushing proof of the unanimity with which the bourgeois press condemns the platform and views of Trotsky and the Opposition. We will make this proof available to our readers in subsequent issues.

3. **We have connections with Lore.** Not a single document is adduced to prove this statement, since none exists. There is only the request of comrade Urbahns to us that we try to get Lore to send him to the *Volkszeitung* in exchange. Our attitude towards groups and individuals is determined entirely by principle and political considerations and not at all by the pronouncements of the Party bureaucrats. We stand on the platform of

the Russian Opposition, on Russian and International questions, from which our views flow. Our American platform proceeds from this. We have no political relations with Lore and his group. The differences we have with him and his differences with us, are matters of public knowledge. Our "exposers" fail to tell, however, what they know very well: that Lore has criticized us in the *Volkszeitung* and set forth his different viewpoint some time ago.

4. **We have connections with Frederick N. Sard.** This is a piece of fakery worthy of Hearst's worst days. We have never met Mr. Sard, and do not know him from Adam. His actual "connection" with us can be seen from his letter to the *Daily Worker* which they do not print, a copy of which is printed below. Mr. Sard, it appears, is the director of "Schubert Week" and his chief interest is in music, about which we profess very little knowledge. Perhaps one of the specialists in the *Freiheit Gesangs Verein* will inform us what political significance and ideology is reflected in the compositions of Schubert and whether it indicates a right or a left deviation. We know nothing and care less about about Mr. Sard's alleged connections with the present Austrian republic. We do know, however, that one of our accusers was an active war correspondent for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy under the last of the Viennese Habsburgs, Emperor Franz Joseph. . . .

5. **We have connections with "out and out bourgeois individuals" because a subscription was sent in for Amos Pinchot!** The *Freiheit*, since so many of its writers received their journalistic training directly under the supervision of Abe Cahan, even goes a step further and write: "Last Tuesday, the *Daily Worker* published a series of documents about the American Trotskyites which demonstrate that they are allied with big capitalists who give them money to carry on their propaganda against the Communist Party." One must have lost all self-respect, honor and sense of shame to be able to attack the yellow Forward in one column and imitate it in the next.

We might suggest here that the *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit* be prevented from becoming the laughing stock of the world Communist movement and the working class generally. Will our terrified "exposers" please explain to us what political significance lies in the fact that among the subscribers to the *Daily Worker* are listed the Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Fleet, U. S. S. Seattle; the Archbishop W. H. Francis of the Catholic Church, Fred R. Marvin of the Keymen of America; National Association of Manufacturers; J. M. Patterson of the Chicago Tribune and Liberty Weekly; and Warner Brothers, the movie magnates? Does it perhaps mean that the *Daily Worker* is being subsidized in its struggle against "Trotskyism" by the allied business men of the country, the talking movies, the Chicago Tribune, and the Pope of Rome? And that it intends to use "our navy" to prevent Trotsky from coming here to capture the American Party?

Why not? Our "exposure" is as good as theirs any time!

6. **We have connections with none other than Coolidge himself!** On the very day that this unbelievably infamous charge was made, one of our Opposition fighters, comrade Malkin, prepared to proceed to serve his term in the government prison for his activities in the class struggle. Coolidge certainly has not fulfilled his part of the bargain. Not only has he failed to send us any money, or even to subscribe to *The Militant*, but he has neglected to send a pardon for comrade Malkin. We feel that this indicates a break in the line-up of "international conspiracy".

\* \* \*

The methods used during the entire "exposure" bids fair to carry the *Daily Worker* to the level of the *Graphic*, the *American* and the *Forward*. They are the methods of cheap, two-cent sensationalism, falsification, and political bankruptcy which have nothing in common with a correct line for a revolutionary proletarian journal. For reckless and careerist adventurers there is nothing wrong in playing with the existence and reputation of a working class organ. For the serious workers, these methods will only serve to promote skepticism regarding material appearing in the *Daily Worker*.

When they find the *Daily Worker* deliberately faking them on controversies in the movement it is inevitable that their skepticism will be transferred to its other contents.

## THE LETTER THE DAILY WORKER DID NOT PRINT

216 East 15th Street,  
New York, January 5th, 1929.

Editor, *Daily Worker*.

My attention has been called to an article in your issue of December 27th, in which I am referred to as a co-worker with Mr. Cannon and Mr. Eastman. As this is completely at variance with the facts, I beg to ask for space in which to submit the facts.

First: I do not know nor have I ever met Mr. Cannon.

Second: I have never met Mr. Eastman and know him only through his books which I hold in esteem.

Third: I am nor have I ever been a member of any political party.

Fourth: My interest in social and political issues is purely theoretical. I have studied economic determinism and the history of the theory, and have written on it. I believe that the materialistic conception of history is a powerful instrument for a correct understanding of world-events.

In September last, I wrote to Mr. Max Eastman proposing the formation of a historical society comprised of scholars whose freedom of thought is not inhibited by university connections. I had in mind the objective discussion of economic theory without reference to any action, political or otherwise. And I did not conceal my admiration for Trotsky, who, in my opinion, is the ablest living theorist and whose writings warrant the largest distribution among students of problem. I have always believed that the Russian situation requires a man of genius and that Stalin is a man of talent. In point of mental and executive capacity I consider Trotsky his superior; but these are personal opinions, held by one who has no affiliations or alliances of any kind, and who is totally unfamiliar with internecine struggles in your party or in any other party.

Finally, I submit the fact that my practical activities are restricted to the field of music. I organized and directed both the Beethoven and Schubert centennials. As Schubert was a Viennese, it was merely a formal courtesy to arrange for the presentation albums of masterworks to the American government from the Austrian government. I have no connections with international political groups or individuals, and the Schubert centennial has not the slightest political aspect either here or abroad. My work in music has nothing to do with my intellectual pursuits.

Respectfully,

FREDERICK N. SARD.

## Towards a Weekly

We are making every effort through *The Militant* to acquaint the Party members and the workers generally with the truth about Trotsky and the policies of the Russian Opposition. This is a big and important task. The suppressed documents, theses, letters of Trotsky, Radek, and other leaders of the Opposition Communists are being translated from the French, German and Russian for publication in *The Militant* and in pamphlet form at prices which the average workers can afford.

At the same time, *The Militant* proposes to develop also into a general organ of the international class struggle, and to deal particularly with the problems facing the American working class and the Workers (Communist) Party. We are aiming to become a weekly paper in the forthcoming weeks. To accomplish this aim will require the support of the comrades, sympathizers and workers. This job of building a revolutionary paper in the United States has been accomplished before; and we have full faith that the workers will help to make this possible again.

The SUSTAINING FUND of *The Militant* has been started to maintain and build *The Militant* into a weekly. We ask every supporter and worker to do his bit by making a contribution, and by pledging himself to pay a stipulated amount of money regularly to the SUSTAINING FUND. If a large enough number of workers will do this, and a number are already doing so, we will soon be able to come out as a weekly and thereby increase our propaganda and education among the workers on the basic issues and problems of the international working class.

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THE MILITANT  
Box 120, Madison Square Station  
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# The Right Danger in the American Party

CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE

## XIII. OPPORTUNIST ERRORS IN COOPERATIVE WORK

The Cooperative work of the Party in New York, the largest district, has been and still is characterized by gross opportunism and virulent factionalism. The Cooperative work (United Workers' Cooperative) has been based on building and finance cooperatives which in turn are based on speculation in real estate, etc. These enterprises are now in a financial crisis which threatens to discredit the Party. The extreme right wing which united with non-party elements against the party, refused to accept C.E.C. decisions, has been placed in control of the organization and encouraged even by the Polcom members of the Lovestone group in impermissible violation of party procedure.

The worker members of the cooperative, both party and non-Party are demoralized and discouraged.

In spite of the continual struggle of the minority against it, the Lovestone group refuses to abandon or even criticize this disastrous policy.

The cooperative section of the Comintern should conduct a thorough investigation of this enterprise and officially inform the Party of its findings and conclusions.

The work of the Party in the cooperatives is exceedingly weak. The party has no program for cooperative work.

The work of the Party in the consumers cooperatives in the North-West and Mass., is carried on without any direction from the centre.

## XIV. DENIAL OF RIGHT DANGER AND MILITANT ATTACK AGAINST LEFT

In the face of all these facts, the Lovestone majority not only fails to take the necessary steps to change its policy and to acknowledge and correct the errors, but it militantly and persistently denies the existence of right tendencies and right elements in the Party. It has consolidated itself into a closely bound faction with all the prominent former members of the Lore group and with the right wing in the Needle trades and has given up all struggle against their opportunist errors. Neither the political report nor the resolution of the May plenum contained a single word regarding the right danger in the party and not a single word has been published to explain to the party the right errors pointed out by the E.C.C.I. and similar errors cited here.

At the same time the majority concentrates its whole fire against the left, against the comrades who criticize the opportunist errors and try to bring the line of the party into accord with the policy of the C. I. It demagogically distorts and misrepresents the position of the minority, falsely attributing to it a fantastic over-estimation of the radicalization of the American workers and an opposition to work in the old unions. In this manner it sets up a false issue and wages a war against it as a cloak for its opportunist policies and practices. Comrades responsible for opportunist errors are shielded from criticism and protected in the most responsible positions while those criticizing the policy of the party from the left are continuously attacked and discriminated against in the assignment of party duties. (For example the appointment of Comrade Poyntz, a former leader of the Lore group as head of the women's work, failure to correct her opportunist errors in this sphere and many other appointments of a similar character). The denial of the right danger and the concentrated fire against the minority are a component part of the opportunist policy of the Lovestone group.

The many errors which have been criticized by the E.C.C.I. have been errors to the right without exception. The denial of the existence of right dangers by the Lovestone group is in effect a denial of the position of the letter of the E.C.C.I.

## XV. THE REJECTION OF SELF-CRITICISM

Leninist self criticism is one of the greatest necessities of our party to enable it to learn from its mistakes and to clarify its policy.

The whole party has been guilty of failure to criticize itself in the Leninist method, and its ideological development has been thereby greatly retarded. Diplomacy, the covering up of errors, the reconciling of conflicting viewpoints on "unanimous" resolutions, passing resolutions for the record which are never carried out, the con-

The following is the last 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.

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cealment of weaknesses and failures and the gross and bombastic exaggeration of achievements in party reports, the failure to explain errors in such a way as to educate the party — these practices foreign to a communist organization, amount to a deep-seated disease in the American Party which can be cured only by the inauguration of a ruthless and thorough-going course of genuine Bolshevik self-criticism.

The Lovestone majority rejects such a course and resists all attempts to introduce criticism which goes to the heart of the Party errors and shortcomings. It systematically practices diplomacy with the Party members, refuses to tell them the truth about its mistakes, and denounces all criticism of its policy as factionalism.

The "self-criticism" of the Lovestone majority is a caricature. It consists of a formal acknowledgement of the most obvious shortcomings of the Party without establishing their nature, cause and responsibility for them and taking steps to overcome them. The most serious errors of the leadership are concealed from the Party or only formally admitted even in cases where the C.E.C. has intervened to correct them. The great opportunist errors in the Panken case, the attitude to the Socialist Party and the Labor Party, which were pointed out by the E.C.C.I. in a special letter, have never been explained to the party members whose ideas on these questions have been derived from the propaganda of the C.E.C. on the basis of the false position.

A decisive struggle against diplomacy and evasion and for the inauguration of a course of Bolshevik self-criticism in all aspects of Party work is a prerequisite for a correction of the errors and the setting of the Party on the right track.

## XVI. RIGHT WING INTERNAL FACTIONAL REGIME

The Lovestone group has consolidated with the former following of Lore into the right wing of the Party against the present minority and conducts a factional regime in support of its opportunist policy. The secretaryship, the Org. Department, the Agitprop Dept., the W.I.R., the Council for Protection of Foreign Born, all foreign language bureaus, all party press, and all districts except two minor ones, are in the control of the Lovestone group, which as a matter of policy, sacrifices mass work for internal factional expediency. (Fractional composition of Profintern delegation, trade union delegation, mining campaigns in anthracite, Pittsburgh, Illinois, Ohio; shoe campaign Massachusetts; automobile campaign Detroit, New York, I.L.D.; Secretary Jewish Section I.L.D.; Secretary New York needle trades; factional removal of Comrade Swabeck one of the most qualified organizers in the Party, as district organizer in Illinois, which resulted in greatly weakening the mining campaign and a loss of membership in the district; discrimination against Comrade Aronberg in favor of right wingers; arbitrary removal of Comrade Dunne from Profintern Executive; factional campaign against T. U. E. L., and I. L. D.; persecution and removal of Comrade Costrell; removal of Shachno Epstein as Freiheit editor; systematic exclusion of competent comrades of the minority from leading Party positions.)

## THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF LOVESTONE GROUP

The social origin of the Lovestone group leadership is petty bourgeois. It has built around and attracted to itself a circle of more or less prosperous petty bourgeois elements. A number of these elements, some of them non-party, know the inner workings of the party, enjoy privileges that are denied even to political committee members of the opposition and exert an influence upon the Party of an unhealthy character. The upper stratum of the Lovestone group leadership is composed mainly of a special type of intellectual developed by New York City College, and graduating from it or similar institutions into leadership of our Party, without appreciable experience in the class struggle. The connections of the Lovestone group with

dilettante elements, and their allowing these elements special privileges creates a feeling of resentment in the ranks of the proletarian members.

The decisive element of the Lovestone leadership is composed of comrades who were students, teachers, artists, philanthropic society and commercial investigators, insurance agents, etc., before their rise to leadership of our Party.

## XVII. SUMMARY AND PROPOSALS

The Party has extended its influence among the workers during the past year, but has not taken advantage of the opportunities offered by the favorable objective situation. It has succeeded in leading a number of important struggles but has failed to consolidate its influence in organizational form.

The period ahead, which will be one of growing unrest and struggle of the workers offers exceptional prospects for the Party. With correct policies and leadership the Party will be able to take advantage of the opportunities to popularize itself more widely as the leader of the workers in the daily fight to fulfill its vanguard role in broadening the struggles of the workers, developing their political implications, and hastening the process of their development toward revolutionary struggle.

The main danger to the proper carrying out of this revolutionary task in this period comes from the right, and the line of the Lovestone leadership is a right line and contrary to the C.I. policy as shown in the foregoing pages. A continuation of the present opportunist line will endanger the Party's prospects and hamper its development as the revolutionary leader of the masses.

The C.I. must thoroughly examine the situation and give a clear statement of policy on the main tasks of the Party. The opportunist line must be corrected and the basis laid down for the reorganization of the Party leadership in such a way as to insure the carrying out of the line of the Comintern.

To this end we propose the following measures:

1. The sending of an Open Letter to the Party for the purpose of educating the Party on the policies and tasks and mobilizing the membership for executing the policies.
2. The authorization of the holding of a Party convention within two months after the end of the National Election Campaign.
3. Provision for the holding of a full and free discussion on the Party problems and tasks prior to the Party convention.

4. A thorough consideration of the Party apparatus and a redistribution of the Party forces. Qualified comrades now factionally excluded or relegated to minor positions to be drawn directly into the Party apparatus. A reconsideration of the whole question of District Organizers and the Language Bureaus, is especially necessary in those important industrial districts where the main task of the Party pointed out by the C.I.—the organization of the unorganized into new unions—must be applied.

A reorganization of the staff of the Daily Worker and the language press to strengthen its Communist political quality and to provide for the drawing into the staff of politically qualified editorial workers from the present minority.

## AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE EXPELLED OPPONENTS

The Lenin Bund, the left Communist Opposition in Germany led by comrade Hugo Urbahns, which stands on the platform of the Russian Opposition, has sent out a call to all revolutionary organizations and to all Communist Opposition groups expelled from the Comintern for their viewpoint, for a conference. The conference, according to the call, is to consider the working out of an international campaign for the liberation of the imprisoned and exiled Russian Bolsheviks, foremost among whom are L. D. Trotsky, Karl Radek, Christian Rakovsky, Smilga and others. The conference will be held either in Aachen, Germany, or Lutich, Belgium, on January 20, 1929.

## HENRY CORBISHLY RELEASED!

The doors of the Menard, Illinois, penitentiary recently swung open to release Henry Corbishly who had finished the term he served for his unflagging devotion to his class. Henry Corbishly, a Communist fighter and leader of the left wing miners' forces in Southern Illinois, was framed up together with a group of other miners in Zeigler, Illinois, where he had long been a thorn in the side of the coal operators and their agents, the Ku Klux Klan and the Farrington labor fakers. We greet the return of this fighter to active work in the class struggle. All efforts united now to force the release of the three other fighting miners who still remain in Menard prison!

# Letters from the Militants

## A LETTER FROM A MINERS' LEADER

Springfield, Ill., Dec. 19, 1928.

Dear Comrade:

Your letter of the 15th received today. I am very glad to note your attitude in regards to the reactions of some comrades towards the Party as a Party. I pointed out this wrong point of view at our last unit meeting when two comrades attacked the Party because the Pol-com has expelled Cannon and others.

You remember that at the last unit meeting I made a motion that the unit protests against the expulsion of Comrade Cannon, etc., and demanded the reinstatement of all these comrades. The whole unit was in favor except Shimkus who spoke against, yet this motion never came to a vote, because Plott realizing the position he was in prolonged the discussion for so long and words flew back and forth so fast that nothing was done except to have another discussion meeting the following Sunday. But for some reason there was no Party meeting the following Sunday.

As you probably already know I have been suspended from the Party for three months for holding the Trotsky position at the last unit meeting. Now at the last unit meeting from which Plott gathered his so-called evidence, my position was solely a protest against expulsions, asking for more information, protesting that both sides be heard on this question. The expulsion doesn't bother me; I am used to them, but its effects on the new members is going to react very bad and not to the best interests of the Party.

George Maurer came down to see me last week and spent a whole day in Springfield. First proposal he made to me was that I vote for the minority resolution and appeal my case to the C. E. C. This I refused to do because I disagree with the resolution on the question of Trotsky. Second, that I should refrain from voting on all resolutions and make a speech, on discipline, right of the C. E. C. to expel, etc. This too I refused to do because it means lulling the membership to sleep and not taking a Communist stand at all. I told him that I would fight for reinstatement of the expelled comrades.

But now after reading the Program of Trotsky from the book that you sent me I feel that I must take another step forward and fight for the Trotsky position and program. I had some doubts, because of lack of facts, now I am convinced after giving some time to the writings of not only Trotsky, but Lenin and Stalin and others.

At the meeting Sunday we will of course fight for the motion of protest and reinstatement but also I am going to take up the program of Trotsky and fight for it too. Best regards to Glotzer and Zalsko.

Fraternally

JOE ANGELO

## Our N. Y. Mass Meeting

An audience of five hundred workers filled the large hall of the Labor Temple on Tuesday night, January 8, and listened with absorbed attention to a more than two-hour speech delivered by comrade Jame P. Cannon, editor of *The Militant* and leader of the expelled Communist Opposition, on "The Truth About Trotsky and the Russian Opposition." This splendid turn-out, far exceeding the most optimistic expectations, was achieved in the face of an official boycott by the Party apparatus and with almost no advertising of the meeting.

The workers manifested the keenest interest during the course of the speech in the array of facts, documents and arguments presented by comrade Cannon, much of which they had heard for the first time. Strong applause greeted the name of comrade Trotsky, particularly when the speaker declared that a Leninist line would be carried through in the Soviet Union and the Comintern only if and when Trotsky and his colleagues would be reinstated as the legitimate leaders of world Bolshevism. When the speaker took up point by point the record of falsification, distortion and slander against Trotsky, bringing it down to recent day by pointing out how the official apparatus had even compelled the director of the Russian film "Ten Days that Shook the World" to omit the picture of Trotsky from every scene, the audience, many of whom had seen the film and the petty trick, again applauded vigorously.

After the lecture many questions were asked and all of them were answered by the speaker. To the great satisfaction of the audience, comrade Cannon tore to shreds the "big exposure" of the *Daily Worker* in response to questions on the matter.

As is reported elsewhere in this issue, comrade Maurice L. Malkin, now in Sing Sing prison, spoke before Comrade Cannon and was given a warm welcome and ovation. Numbers of his friends and comrades from the Furriers' and needle-trades workers were on hand throughout the meeting. Comrade Martin Abern acted as chairman for the meeting.

In New Haven, January 4, comrade Cannon spoke for the second time on the Russian Opposition at the Labor Temple. The first meeting had

## THE EXPELLED

The bureaucrats are continuing with their expulsion policy, and wherever a worker in the Party raises his voice in defense of the platform of the Russian Opposition, or against the expulsion course, he is forthwith expelled or suspended from the Party himself. The "ideological campaign" against the Opposition is more truly a campaign of ideological terrorization. Nevertheless, true to their convictions, we continue to hear of additional workers who have taken a stand for our position even though it involved the temporary loss of their membership card. The latest expulsions and suspensions include the following:

### CANADA

H. POPPER	D. QUARTER
J. HURWITZ	C. KRAMER
M. CLAREMONT	W. SHAINAK
C. STARKMAN	MAURICE QUARTER

In addition to these comrades suspended by the Party in Toronto, 20 others, members of the Young Communist League, have received the same fate. Their names will appear in future issues. Most of the suspended workers are active in the needle trades union.

### NEW YORK

PHILIP SHULMAN, member Left Wing I.L.G.W.U., Local 35.

BERNARD LUECK, Organizer Unit 2 F, expelled August 1928.

### PHILADELPHIA

JOE LESACK, Y.W.L., member Carpenters Union.

NATHAN SHANKER, Financial Secretary Sheet Metal Workers Union.

### ST. LOUIS

SAM CURTIS, Sub-D. O., Y. W. L.

### WHO ARE THE EXPELLED COMMUNISTS

MAURICE SPECTOR—Entered Toronto Young Socialist League in 1914. Removed as editor of student paper in 1916 for anti-war activity in University of Toronto. As national executive committee member of Social Democratic Party in 1918 he introduced resolution for affiliation to Third International. Helped liquidate Social Democratic Party and form underground groups. Delegate to the first underground convention of Communist Party and Workers Communist Party group in Canada which established Workers Party. Elected to C. E. C. and appointed editor of Canadian Worker, official organ, in 1921. Constantly a member of C. E. C. of Communist Party of Canada since then. Delegate to Fourth World Congress of Comintern in 1922-23. Elected chairman of Party following the Third and Fourth Conventions. Editor of Canadian Labor Monthly, Party theoretical monthly, from inception. Delegate to Sixth World Congress of C. I. and elected member of Executive Committee of Comintern.

MAX SHACHTMAN—Joined Workers Council in 1921 prior to its merger into Workers Party at December 1921 convention. Elected member of National Executive Committee of Young Workers League in 1923, member of National Bureau and Secretariat until 1927 when entire work transferred to the Party. Editor of official organs of League, Young Worker and Young Comrade, in 1923-4-5. Director League's anti-militarist work 1923-7. League delegate to Plenum of Young Communist International in 1925. Editor of Labor Defender, organ of International Labor Defense, 1926-1928. Member of National Executive Committee of I. L. D. since November 1927. Delegate to Second Congress of International Red Aid in 1927. Elected alternate to Central Committee at 1927 convention of Party.

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been broken up by the police after the official party rowdies had tried to create a riot. This time more than sixty workers listened to comrade Cannon speak to the very end without much disturbance. When a dozen of the Party squad, who had announced a rival meeting, on the same night, which flopped, entered the hall they began to try to repeat their tactics of the previous meeting. They were led by Robert Kling, who, although he has recently returned from the U.S.S.R. evidently learned nothing about workers' democracy. Unfortunately for Kling, however, he and his rowdies were quickly put into their place along the wall where they remained for ten minutes and then left the meeting.

Comrade James P. Cannon, is now out on a short tour of the main cities. He will visit Cleveland, Chicago and Minneapolis. In Cleveland and Minneapolis public meetings have been arranged. In all cities, comrade Cannon will hold special meetings with the Opposition forces. A more extended tour is being planned following the national convention of the Party if our demand for reinstatement is rejected.

### OPPOSITION MEETING IN BOSTON

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

### A REVOLUTIONIST AGAINST GANGSTERISM

(This letter was written to an expelled Opposition comrade by comrade Pippan, an active revolutionary worker in Italy where he was a Provincial Secretary of the miners' union, and was violently persecuted by the fascists. He is one of the leading Communists among the Italian workers in the United States, active in the anti-fascist movement, and is at present Paterson organizer of the National Textile Workers Union. Publication of the letter is authorized in its concluding paragraphs).

Paterson, N. J., Dec. 19, 1928.

Dear Refugee:

Only today did I hear the news of the serious fight which took place last Saturday in front of the New York Workers Party district headquarters, between the Trotskyist faction to which you belong, and several members of our Party, in which fight you had some disagreeable experiences.

In deplored profoundly the actions of my Party comrades, I feel it my duty to deny any part in the responsibility of those who cultivate the vain illusion that the triumph of a given tactical viewpoint in the Party can ever succeed through personal violence practiced on the dissenting elements.

It is my personal opinion that in the conflict of political principles and ideas, one must maintain oneself strictly within the sphere of personal respect, a respect which must coincide with a strict observance of liberty of opinion among comrades.

Some time ago, during the Italian district meeting in which the Trotskyist question was discussed, and after, I openly expressed my disapproval of the unfortunate remark made by comrade Markoff to the effect that the Trotskyist faction is destined to outdo Mussolini.

This statement is, in my opinion, completely wrong, and it made a very bad impression when it was launched in the midst of many of us who suffered the consequences of fascist reaction in Italy. This general impression shows to what absurdities the factional struggle has been carried, and how the spirit of many comrades has become imbued with this poison; and all this is painful to see. I personally do not believe in the definition of Trotskyism given by comrade Markoff.

Returning to the deplorable actions of the Communist comrades last Saturday, I believe that they are really poor Communists, who, instead of honoring their party, discredit it before the very masses that we have won after many struggles and sacrifices.

In assuring you of my personal solidarity, I am fully conscious of the seriousness of writing a letter of this kind. I believe my conscience will have nothing to reprove me for, if, by authorizing you to make any use you may wish of it, we may bring to the factional struggle a spirit more worthy of the cause we are all fighting for.

GIOVANNI PIPPAN.

## 'Hot Spur Harry' George

Prince: That ever this fellow should have fewer words than a parrot, and yet the son of a woman! His industry is up-stairs and down-stairs; his eloquence the parcel of a reckoning. I am not yet of Percy's mind, the Hotspur of the North; he that kills me some six or seven dozen of Scots at a breakfast, washes his hands, and says to his wife, "Fie on this quiet life! I want work," "O my sweet Harry," says she, "how many hast thou killed today?" "Give my roan horse a drench," says he, and answers, "Some fourteen," an hour after, "a trifle, a trifle."

—King Henry the Fourth, Part I, Act II, Sc. IV.

Comes now our bloodthirsty friend Harrison George, draws his sword for the fray and in one swift charge kills off the entire Trotsky movement in the United States, including the I. W. W., Cannon, Lore, Eastman, and Trotsky himself, as deluders of the American workers and their most insidious enemies. All this in one article ("The I. W. W. Moves Backward") in the current issue of *Labor Unity*. Then he sitteth down, picking his teeth with his lance, and murmurs deprecatingly: "A trifle, a trifle. Fie on this quiet life. I want work." Then our modern Hotspur Harry goes on to say:

"We must here insert a remark on another characteristic of the I. W. W. in which it approximates the character of the A. F. of L. The reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. expels Communist workers from its ranks, so does the supposed-to-be-revolutionary I. W. W. Both have openly carried out such expulsions without disguise when they judged it possible to do so. Both, when the backfire of the rank and file began against such expulsions . . . have continued such expulsions under subterfuge charges. The writer was 'suspended' without a hearing by the I. W. W. General Executive Board in 1926 on the charge of 'circulating literature outside the regular channels' or words to that effect."

May we timidly ask this stalwart warrior why it is that not only the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. expel Communist workers; that others, "when the backfire of the rank and file began against such expulsions . . . have continued such expulsions under subterfuge charges"; that he has himself endorsed the expulsion of these Communist workers from his own organization, the Workers (Communist) Party of America? We say "timidly" because our teeth rattle with fear at the awful wrath of this mighty swordsman who can fight on two fronts, or three or three hundred with equal vigor. Mayhap we will be completely annihilated by him in the next issue of the non-Party *Labor Unity*; or mayhap, just because we have asked him he will reply like Falstaff:

What, upon compulsion? 'Zounds! an I were at the strappado, or all the racks in the world, I would not tell you on compulsion. Give you a reason on compulsion! If reasons were as plenty as blackberries I would give no man a reason upon compulsion, I.