

'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 paraphernalia 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 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 Hapsburgs, 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 writes: "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 Keyman 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 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.

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 acknowledgment 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 opportunistic 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 secretariatship, 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. (Factional composition of Profinintern 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 Swabek 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 Profinintern 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 OPPOSITIONISTS

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 unflinching 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!