

SEMI-MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE OPPOSITION GROUP IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

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

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LETTER TO THE RUSSIAN WORKERS

Dear Comrades:

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

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

The "Armed Struggle" Slander

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

By L. D. Trotsky

The Strength of the Soviet Power

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

COM. TROTSKY
on Jay Lovestone
Foster, Pepper and
Our Tasks Today!
--In the Next Issue

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

You must not forget that the overwhelming

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

at
Redifer Hall

30 N. WELLS STREET

on
Sunday, May 19, 1929

AT 8 P. M.

SPEAKERS:

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

AUSPICES: Chicago Communist Opposition Group

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

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

The Banishment from Russia.

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

Lenin's Testament

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

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