

c/o Sterling,  
G.E. 10, 10 Monroe St.,  
New York, N.Y., U.S.A.  
June 10, 1937

Leon Trotsky,  
Cuernavaca, Mexico, D.F.

Дорогой Товарищ Троцкий:

Когда товарищ Макс Стерлинг Вас посетил год тому назад, он Вам говорил о американском товарище, желающей работать для Вас, и которая поэтому освежила свое знание русского языка, стенографии и работе на пишущей машинке. Этот товарищ я, член Большевик-Ленинцев с 1931 года; в коммунистическом движении, с тех пор как мне было 12 лет.

Я приеду в Мексику в последние дни июля и остановлюсь с товарищем Рут Агеллофф.

Мой опыт в области русской стенографии и работе на пишущей машинке не очень широкий, но если Вы с умом воспользуетесь моими ограниченными способностями, то буду очень рада работать для Вас.

Хочу заметить, что я отличная английская стенографистка и машинистка. Об этом я говорю с уверенностью, не столько о моем опыте как секретарь товарищей Каннона, Эйберна и Свабека, но потому, что буржуазия дала мне этот "efficiency rating".

У меня есть русская и английская пишущие машинки, которые я привезу с собой.

Надеюсь жить в Мексике 2 или 3 месяца, но так как я ни с чем и ни с кем не связана в Америке, я смогу остаться настолько насколько моя работа Вам будет полезна.

Мне очень хотелось бы слышать от Вас: будет ли удобно Вам дать мне свидание по моем прибытии в Мексику?

Товарищский привет Вам, и Наталии Ивановне, также Рут и Берни Вулф,

*Tad Ulmer*

G.E.10, 10 Monroe St.,  
New York, N. Y., U.S.A.  
June 18, 1937

Leon Trotsky,  
Coahuacan, Mexico, D.F.

Дорогой Товарищ Троцкий!

Я очень благодарна Вам за  
Ваше письмо.

Я приеду в Мексику 29-ого  
июля, и в тот же день приду к Вам.

Конечно, я привезу с собой  
и русскую и английскую машинки.

Товарищский привет Вам, и  
Натали Ивановне,

*Ред Шмитц*

I am considerably flattered that you regard the  
English work to have double-fold value. Here is where  
my "national" and your international interests coincide.

2227

JUNE 2, 1938

Dear L.D.

I've been somewhat disoriented by the tragedies in my family but I'm actively back in NY and Party work. However, I still am in no mood to write and this is just a brief note to let you know that I'm helping comrade Wright in his research work for you. I will, of course, be very glad to help in any way I can (I still have my Russian typewriter) if you should have need of direct assistance from me. How is the Stalin work progressing?

PARTISAN REVIEW has not accepted the Mendelycev article as they feel that they deserve a recently written article by you. I will see comrade Burnham and discuss the further fate of the translation.

Some of the comrades who take the Transition Program very seriously are organizing a "class" in the art of defense. We will have our first meeting this Saturday and I will report to you in my next letter.

Greetings to Natalia. Thank you both for the very warm letter sent me while I was in Chicago. Regards to the whole household.

As ever, most comradely,

Roe

2228

June 9, 1938

Dear LD:

I presume Joe showed you my note regarding Ken Johnstone of England. Since then I have spoken to com. Cannon who tells me that Ken must have received your letter since he has received a letter from Ken in which he states that he would meet com. Cannon in Paris.

Comrade Harry Hilton's thoughts once again turn to realizing his dream of seeing you and, if at all possible, working for the "household". He expects to be in Mexico by the end of August. If found useful, he is ready to remain for a period of at least six months. He "prides" himself on not being married; that is, he can remain indefinitely so far as those kind of ties are concerned...

I have seen the Jewish Committee appointed by the NC - Spector, Weber, Lewitt, Hoveck - who tell me they are dividing their work: 1) Propaganda work for the Fourth International among Jewish workers; 2) Work against anti-Semitism among non-Jewish workers. Theses are drawn up and they are mapping out a few lectures but they feel that so far as the season is concerned - there is very little activity going on in summer in city radical circles - they are starting at a bad time.

No doubt you are at full speed on the Stalin book. I find the research work on it here rather interesting and almost hope that I do not land a job so that I can continue working on it.

Warmest regards to Natalia and the household.

*Russ  
Pac*

2229

June 13, 1932

Dear L.D.--

The quotations regarding the role of Ivanovitch at the London Congress sent you by Com. Wright were all taken from the original Paris edition. In looking over the new (1935) edition of the same Congress I found that as a sort of preface to the edition, there is reprinted an article about the proceedings of the Congress that Stalin supposedly wrote in 1907 in the "Bakinsky Proletary". Since this newspaper is nowhere to be gotten here, I am unable to judge whether the discovery of the article at this late date is due merely to the fact that all the resources of the Stalintern were needed to find an article of an obscure "Koba Ivanovitch", or whether the whole thing is a fabrication.

The article was too long (23 pages) to retype, (especially since tomorrow I leave for Washington for one week). However, by retyping the first section complete and a number of leading paragraphs of the rest of the article I hoped to convey a sort of resume of the article so that you could judge the style, the period in which it was supposed to have been written. Please tell me whether you consider it important for me to retype the whole article.

The stenogram of the sessions, so far as I have been able to check, are identical with those originally printed but, of course, through "biographies" of the participants at the Congress and through editorial notations, the new edition succeeds in distorting and falsifying the record. I copied the biographical notes on Rosa Luxemburg and you; a remark of Lenin and the "notation" explaining his reference to Kautsky and you as an example of how far the distortion was accomplished. Peculiarly enough there is no biographical sketch of Stalin; his name is mentioned only in Yaroslavsky's preface in which, naturally, the article of Stalin is highly recommended as an analysis of the Congress.

Please remember me to the household. Max too asks to be remembered.

*Bawa*  
*rec*

2230

2 2 3 1

July 23, 1938

Dear L.D.!

Thank you very much for your lovely note --I'm hardly out of the nightmare, and mother does not yet know! It sounds more like a melodrama than a real story, and hurts the deeper in that it is fact, not melodrama. But what is the use of dwelling on a personal situation I cannot help?

The latest tragedy and the fact that I once again had to leave for Chicago explains why I have not answered your letter dated June 29th regarding our moralist friends. I had shown it to Comrade Cannon, who said, "Is it really true Eugene Lyons appears at White Guard meetings?" We have no such information. And Pioneer Publishers assures me that their contact with Lyons consists of having invited him to speak at a symposium they conducted and having gotten from him \$25. toward the fund necessary to get Morrow's pamphlet on Spain published.

As for Dewey, no doubt you have seen the announcement in the "Appeal" that he has given the "New International" his article in criticism of yours, "Their Morals and Ours", which has indeed started a revolution among our intellectual friends who look askance at our "morals". Dewey's article, however, will be published without editorial comment, Com. Burnham told me, since the Editorial Board is divided in its opinion. I presume Com. Burnham was referring to himself who, though <sup>highly</sup> agreeing politically with your article, has "bones to pick" with its philosophic approach.

Unfortunately, I have missed all our discussion meetings and thus will have to ask Max to write you on that matter.

My warmest greetings to Natalia.

P.S. In between funerals, so-to-speak, I have managed to do a little work about the sales of the Russian Bulletin, having doubled our bundle order—even now it's only 120 copies---, gotten seven new subscriptions, and started a sympathizers' club in N.Y., through which we hope to get financial aid for the Bulletin to make it possible for it to come out on time. I enclose copy of first circular note I sent out on the matter.

I presume Com. Sara has shown you the letter the Russian comrades sent to the Bulletin, urging representation for the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists at the International Conference.

2231

22 июля, 1933 г.

Дорогие товарищи!

Мы, "Друзья Вэллетена Оппозиции", члены СРП, американской секции Четвертого Интернационала, очень заинтересованы о положении русской секции. Товарищи в Нью-Йорке, которые участвуют в распространении Вэллетена, несмотря на то, что они члены секции страны их проживания, считают себя членами русской секции. Мы об-судили вопрос о расширении базы "Друзей Вэллетена": мы желаем привлечь наших сочувственников к культурной об-ласти нашей работы. Но теперь мы хотим только от тех русских товарищей, которые члены американской секции Четвертого Интернационала.

Предполагаемый конгресс Четвертого Ин-тернационала есть вопрос, который нас интересует больше всего. С глубокой скорбью мы все чувствуем потерю Льва Седова, который был нашим представителем на конгрессах Левой Оппозиции и Четвертого Интернационала. Но мы не были бы достойны памяти Льва Седова, также как и рабо-чего дела, если бы мы не постарались удесятерить наши уси-лия продолжения работы Вольсопиков-Ленинцев и принять ак-тивное участие в обработке программы тезисов предло-жаемого конгресса 4 Интернационала. Наверное русская секция--товарищи во Франции--выбрали представителя на кон-грессе. Мы хотим подчеркнуть крайнюю важность такого пред-ставителя и твердо установить, что мы ничего общего не имеем с теми товарищами, которые считают маловажной "группой". В противоположные точки зрения распростра-няемой сталинистами, мы считаем, что наши русские товарищи за-границей составляют собой немаловажную часть сознатель-ного революционного русского движения. Мы уверены, что вы того же самого мнения, и что вы поэтому уже выбрали товарища, который примет участие и ответственность в пред-полагаемом интернациональном конгрессе.

Надеемся, что вы нам напишете кого вы избрали, как представителя русских Вольсопиков-Ленинцев; мы бы также хотели регулярно быть уведомленными о положении В-4 по всему миру. Мы же обещаем сообщить вам о положении "Друзей Вэллетена Оппозиции" в Соединенных Штатах.

С товарищеским приветом,

Рая Шпигель  
М. Левит  
И. Шульман  
Иван Дя. Урайт  
З. Вляхарь  
Н. Грина

*Handwritten signature:*  
Левит

2232



Rec. Special

OCTOBER 31, 1938

DEAR L.D.:

FIRST, LONG OVER-DUE THANKS FOR YOUR TWO VERY LOVELY NOTES. I HAVE WHIPPED THE ARTICLE ON YOU INTO SHAPE BUT HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONVINCE A BOURGEOIS MAGAZINE TO PUBLISH IT AS YET. BUT I HAVE USED IT AS BASIS FOR A SPEECH TO THE FIRST SEMI-OPEN (BEING A GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE I COULD NOT PUBLICLY ANNOUNCE MY SPEAKING ON A POLITICAL TOPIC) MEETING OF OUR BRANCH HERE. OUT OF THE 25 THAT CAME 8 YOUTHS WERE SO IMPRESSED THAT THEY ASKED TO JOIN A CLASS IN THE ORIGIN OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. I WILL THUS HAVE A CLASS OF 12 LECTURES COVERING THE PERIOD OF 1923-TO THE PRESENT. WE HOPE THAT THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE CLASS WILL INCREASE AND THAT WE WILL GAIN NEW MEMBERS (TWO NEGROES HAVE SIGNED UP) TO THIS OVER-STUFFED GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES LOCAL.

I SPENT A MOST MEMORABLE WEEK-END IN NEW YORK BECAUSE:  
1) WE HELD THE BIGGEST (OVER 1500 PRESENT) MEETING YET UNDER OUR OWN AUSPICES. (NATURALLY SUCH A BROAD COMMITTEE AS THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE COULD DRAW MORE PEOPLE BUT AS FOURTH INTERNATIONALISTS THE LARGEST WE YET DREW WAS A 1,000 TO THE SEDOFF MEETING). THE MEETING WAS BOTH AN INSPIRED ONE DUE TO YOUR EXCELLENT SPEECH (RECORDED VERY WELL INDEED) AND ALSO TO THE IMPRESSIVE WAY IN WHICH IT WAS CONDUCTED: THE YFSL'S STOOD GUARD AT THE VICTROLA, OVER WHICH HUNG A PORTRAIT OF YOU, AS IF THEY WERE ACTUALLY GUARDING YOU. WHAT A SPURT TO THE GROWTH OF OUR MOVEMENT WOULD IT BE IF WE COULD REALLY HAVE YOU IN NEW YORK! 2) THE RUSSIAN CLUB HELD ITS FIRST VECHERINKA, AT WHICH COMRADE ANTOINETTE KONIKOW WAS GUEST SPEAKER. WE NETTED \$30, BESIDES NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE BULLETIN. (I HAVE JUST SENT THE RUSSIAN BULLETIN \$40.). WE HAVE AGAIN INCREASED OUR BUNDLE ORDER TO 180 THIS TIME. SINCE I'M IN WASHINGTON THE BURDEN OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BULLETIN AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE "VECHERINKA" FELL ON THE SHOULDERS OF COMRADE SYLVIA BLEECKER. WHO IS MAKING AN EXCELLENT JOB OF IT.

WE FEEL THAT WE REALLY HAVE A BASIS FOR THE BULLETIN NOW AND COULD PUT IN ON THE MAP OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, IF -- IT CAME OUT IN TIME AND AT LEAST PART OF ITS MATERIAL WAS PUBLISHED THERE PRIOR TO ITS TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH. LOLA WRITES ME THAT WITH THE HELP THE AMERICANS ARE NOW GIVING THE BULLETIN, IT COULD COME OUT ON TIME BUT THAT YOU ARE MUCH TOO OCCUPIED TO TURN OVER TOO MUCH NEW MATERIAL TO THE BULLETIN. HAVING BEEN A MEMBER OF THE COYOACAN FAMILY, I KNOW WELL HOW MUCH WORK THERE ALWAYS AND WHAT A LITERARY CREATION OF THE SCOPE OF THE BIOGRAPHY OF STALIN MEANS IN TERMS OF WORK BUT IT REALLY IS IMPORTANT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE FAVORABLE SITUATION FOR THE BULLETIN, AND MAY I THEREFORE URGE IN A COMRADELY WAY THAT YOU YET INCLUDE THE BULLETIN IN YOUR CALCULATIONS OF CONTRIBUTIONS. FOR THE BULLETIN TO APPEAR NEW, HOWEVER, IT NEED NOT ALWAYS MEAN CURRENT ARTICLES BUT EVEN SOME MATERIAL OUT OF THE ARCHIVES THAT HAVE NEVER BEEN TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, ETC. IN THAT NO DOUBT THE COMRADES IN FRANCE OR COYOACAN COULD HELP.

HOW IS EVERYONE IN COYOACAN? PLEASE TRANSMIT MY LOVE TO NATALIA IVANOVNA. MAX SENDS YOU BOTH HIS WARMEST GREETINGS. HE IS TOO BUSY WITH ORGANIZATIONAL WORK TO WRITE AND ALSO HE FEELS

2233

(OVER)



-2-

THAT ON MOST ACTIVITIES YOU HEAR FROM OTHER SOURCES. STILL I WILL TRY TO CONVINCE HIM TO REPORT TO YOU THE NEW YORK CITY CONVENTION TO WHICH HE WAS A DELEGATE. MY REGARDS ALSO TO THE WHOLE HOUSEHOLD.

*Mexico many jerry,  
Barney  
P.D.*

*1733 Q St., N.W.  
Washington, D.C.*

P.S. I HAVE JUST RECEIVED FROM COMRADE WRIGHT YOUR REQUEST FOR MATERIAL ON STALIN BY OLMINSKY. I SHALL IMMEDIATELY GO TO THE LIBRARY AND WILL FORWARD TO YOU PROMPTLY ANYTHING I FIND.

2234



CD49 9 NEWYORK 7 1022A

7 - NOV 1936

LEON TROTSKY  
AVENIDA LONDRES 127 COYOACAN DF MEX

HEARTIEST GREETINGS TO MAN OF OCTOBER AND DEVOTED NATALIA

RAE MAX STERLING

9 38A LU

2235

2 7 3 6  
Dec. 21, 1938

Dear L. D.!

Just a few words regarding the attached Russian article. I received it from our Palestine comrades and evidently the only reason it was addressed to me rather than to the NEW INTERNATIONAL is that they saw my name in connection with the Russian Bulletin and thus thought I would understand it. I have typed it since they asked that a copy be sent to you. However, it was written so poorly, in pencil & on cheap paper that I am not sure that I got it all correctly done but for the most part it is. Since they do not enclose a return address for "underground reasons", any note that you might wish to send them will have to be sent through Comrade Aborn. Naturally I'm turning over the MS to the National Office.

What is new?

My very warmest regards to Natalia Ivanovna and the whole household.

As ever,

Yours,

*Tae*

2236

2 2 - 3 7  
April 24, 1939

Dear L.D.!

Thank you for both your kind letters.

Yes, I'm in constant correspondence with Lola and know that she will be here in the States. Naturally I've written her very warm, welcoming letters, and yours will but emphasize the fact that she will indeed be a very welcome guest. I am also getting in touch with whatever comrades I think will be of help in securing for her a transit visa. There will also be a gathering of the Russian comrades and we will no doubt invite of the NC members to help us solve the problem as to what will be the future home of the Bulletin. You will get reports from us regularly.

How do you like your new home? What are the conditions of life and work? You write so little of your needs and yet they are what interest me.

There is nothing very new here. We are finally getting James to speak here and even so routine a matter as arranging a meeting for him is, in this Jim Crow town, a problem as the Negroes will not have him because he is a "Red" and the whites will not have him because he is Negro, and of course, also "Red". But we finally did secure a hall and hope to make a successful meeting of it.

I am so fed up with this town and because my Party activities here are of necessity limited that I'm making every effort to get transferred to New York.

How does Natalia feel? Please embrace her warmly for me and greet the rest of the household.

Bawa  
Nae

2237

7 2 3 8  
May 21, 1939

Dear L. D.!

Excuse my not acknowledging receipt of your letter with the enclosed articles on the Ukrainian question and the one on the Thermidorian state. I was waiting to find out what would become of them; finally Lola stated that she would handle them insofar as she still handles the Bulletin and its home is still Paris. Lola has been having talks with Sara and others re the removal of the Bulletin to the U. S. but I do not know the final results and will need wait till I go to New York next before I will know. In any case, both important articles are now in her hands.

After a most disappointing time for the Washington Branch <sup>due to</sup> ~~in~~ the N.O.'s inefficient handling of James' meeting schedule, and the demoralization that set in after that, James suddenly appeared on the scene. Not having been informed about his scheduled meeting in time, he had wound his way up slowly through the South. He made a good many contacts with Negroes in the South so that he was invited to attend a trade union conference of Negro railroad workers in Washington, and that is how we had the luck of also hearing him. The notice was too short to arrange a public meeting but we called whom we could, and 33 people came; 10 of them were Negroes. James spoke on the situation of the international Negro. He is an excellent speaker and completely wins the confidence of the Negroes. Two of these were followers of the Bilbo (that reactionary Southern Senator who is proposing that the Negroes whom he calls "the depressing and depressed race" be repatriated to Liberia; he is getting considerable following among the Negroes whose position in this white civilized society of ours is so unbearable that any change seems to be an improvement, even undeveloped Africa) movement were so impressed by James that they invited him to speak to their meeting; James believes he can win them and many more away from the Bilbo following to the revolutionary road.

To the members James also spoke of his new thesis of a separate organization for the Negroes. I must say that I am leaning toward the idea, which is a far step away from the position I used to hold of being determinedly opposed to self-determination, etc. In my attempts to work among the Negroes in this

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7 7 3 7  
-2-

city has convinced me that their distrust of the whites is so deep-rooted that they do not bother to distinguish as to whether it is "well-intentioned" or ill-intentioned whites. Also, even those Negroes, who are very close to us and have a fair smattering of Marxism which appeals to them, still can only be aroused to activity when you speak to them of the conditions of their own race and of definite program towards their liberation. One of them, Payne, who has an IWW background and was militantly opposed to self-determination which he called another fancy word for segregation, is now listening attentively and sympathetically to James' proposals. Though he has not joined the SWP, he would be ready today to join, nay, work hard to start, a separate organization to fight for Negro rights. I believe that if we could, as the Branch will try to do, to get James down here, once a month or so, we could get a militant movement started among the Negroes.

Surely, it is all important that our NC get down to business of elaborating a thesis on the Negro question during the coming (July 4th) convention so that we have something concrete to work on; and so that, having a policy, our work isn't haphazard and different in each part of the country. I do not know whether they intend to issue such a document or issue for the edification of the members your discussions with James on the Negro question but surely pressure has to be brought to bear upon them in that respect. All too often such discussions have remained in the files of the CP...

Of the status of the Russian Bulletin I will write you again after I will have seen Lola (I believe it will be June 10). Nothing else is new here.

What is new in the household? How is Natalia Ivanovna? What is the situation with the Russian secretary?

Please give my warmest greetings to Natalia; also to Van and the other members of the household.

Peace my pyky. Kawa  
Pac.

2239



I am to be addressed: Rae Saunders, 203 W. 18th St., New York City

11/10/39

Dear L.D.!

With the help of Comrade George Matthews, the organizer of the Boston Branch of the S.W.P., I sold a set of the Russian Bulletin to Harvard University for \$100.00. As a special incentive for him, I dared promise that if the sale goes through, "the Russians" would see what they could do to get him an autographed picture of you. I know, dear Lev Davidovitch, how very busy you are and have no right to impose on your time; still your autographed picture means so much to the rank and file comrades and since it did act as an incentive for a good cause, "the Russians" would greatly appreciate it if you would autograph a picture of yourself for Comrade George Matthews and send it to him care of Konikow, 11 Keswick Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Now as to the \$100. we would like to have your advice on how to use it. That is, it had always been my understanding that when a special sale of this sort is effected the money is to go for a special purpose, as, for instance, the \$50. I had gotten from Columbia University were to have gone for issuing your article on Leon Sedoff in pamphlet form in the original Russian, of course. Now the comrades here who are taking care of the Bulletin that a single issue cost \$150., which would mean the whole lump sum is to go for one issue of the Bulletin as hardly any money comes in for subscriptions, etc. to the Bulletin. In any case, we will gladly accept your suggestion as to how to utilize these \$100.

I have just recently gotten transferred to New York; however, I am not taking over the management of the Russian Bulletin but leaving it in the hands of the comrades who have it now (except insofar as to try to promote sales of whole sets) because at this time I am concentrating all my time for work in the Negro field. In Washington I was successful in winning over 3 Negro workers to membership in our organization and have contacted as sympathizers some 6 more. New York, which is a much more important center, has succeeded in winning a few Negroes over but none in Harlem itself. I wish to devote all my spare time to work in that field then and thus must leave the Russian Bulletin to Sara and the comrades in N. Y.

What is new in the household? Max and I --during the Russian discussion -- suddenly recalled that we forgot on this anniversary of the Russian Revolution the Man of October, so, with Harry Milton, we ran a day late to telegraph you greetings. The day late is inexcusable but the warmth that attended their sending was not diminished thereby.

Remember me to Natalia and the rest of the household.

*Refused. Sunday paper*  
*RR*

2240