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WAR CENTER SHIFTS TO EUROPE

Green - Woll Forces Suffer Heavy Setback At AFL Convention

Rift Among Fakers Gives Industrial Unionism an Opportunity; Red Resolution May Fail to Pass

By A. J. MUSTE

The fortunes of battle ebb and flow at Atlantic City in the most exciting convention of the American Federation of Labor since the war.

While the convention is still in progress as we go to press and a definitive evaluation must wait until its close, certain assertions can safely be made as a result of the events of the last couple of days. The rift in the leadership between the Green-Woll and Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky, etc. forces is out in the open. There will be a more open and intense struggle between various tendencies in the Federation during the coming year than at any time since the early 1920's. Thereby genuine progressive and militant elements are given a magnificent opportunity, if they know how to take advantage of it.

The old guard received a stunning blow when John L. Lewis arose in the dramatic fashion he knows so well how to use and asked (after the regular time for presenting resolutions had expired) for unanimous consent to introduce two resolutions. Amid electric tension two die-hard old guard leaders, Wharton of the Machinists and Covelski of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, objected unless the resolutions were first read.

The Slam at Woll

Thus the drama was heightened, which undoubtedly was just what

MUSTE SPEAKS ON A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

A. J. Muste will speak on "Lessons of the Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L." on Sunday evening, October 27 at Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place and 15th Street, N.Y.C.

Lewis wanted. His first and most important resolution, which after his reading of it was referred to the Resolutions Committee, would forbid any officer of the A. F. of L. from holding membership or office in the National Civil Federation, the peace-between-capital-and-labor organization founded by Mark Hanna, which in recent years, with Matthew Woll as acting president and the notorious Ralph Easley as secretary, has specialized in red-baiting and other forms of extreme Toryism. The Lewis resolution was, of course, aimed primarily at Woll himself, leading spokesman and strategist of the old line craft unionists in the convention. To smear Woll as one primarily identified with an organization outside the labor movement and against which a deep resentment existed at least in many of the unions, and thereby to deprive the craft unionists of their right to claim that they are the only simon-pure pillars of trade unionism, was Lewis' aim.

That his shot took effect in a vital spot was indicated when only a few hours later Woll announced that he had resigned from the National Civil Federation! Never, at least in the past 30 years has a leader of Woll's prominence in the A. F. of L. "lost face" so swiftly and thoroughly.

Not only was this a blow at the craft unionists' position but Lewis' stroke also served to discredit the "red baiting" proposals of Woll and Company and the indications now are that the two-thirds vote necessary to pass the amendment to the A. F. of L. constitution barring all "Communists" from membership will not be obtained, and that at best the old guard will be able to put over some comparatively mild resolution against the "reds."

Industrial Unionism Edged Out

On the other hand, as the NEW MILITANT predicted last week, the advocates of a clear-cut resolution for industrial unionism in the mass production industries proved too optimistic in their expectation that they could get a majority in this

(Continued on Page 4)

Plan Fight For Herndon

Georgia Negro Is Given "Death" Sentence on Chain Gang

The refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court to rehear the case of Angelo Herndon has given added importance to the work of the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense. It was stated yesterday by Mary Fox, secretary of the newly formed defense body which includes representatives of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, the General Defense Committee, the International Labor Defense and several other defense bodies.

In addition to holding a conference in New York on October 19, the Committee is planning a variety of activities to push the signing of petitions and to increase the pressure on Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia for the release of Herndon. The Committee has already issued a pamphlet, "Wisdom, Justice and Moderation—Motto of the State of Georgia," which tells the story of the Herndon case. Copies may be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Ave., at 2 cents each.

The Herndon case deserves the support of all militant working-class elements. Tried under an old "slave insurrection" law, Herndon was convicted for the crime of organizing white and black unemployed together in Atlanta and fighting for better relief. His conviction was a blow at organized labor and all elements who dare challenge the existing social order of the Jim Crow South.

The U. S. Supreme Court hides behind technicalities in order to evade the real issue. This body, which some people praised so highly for its attitude in the Scottsboro case, lines up in the Herndon case with the Bourbon rulers of Georgia. The latest Supreme Court decision is really a sentence of death against Herndon, since few if any people have ever lived through 20 years on a Georgia chain gang.



Partners in Social-Patriotic Betrayal

The Stalinists find yeoman support in their battle for sanctions in the New Leader, New York organ of the Old Guard Socialists. The New Leader, an old hand at reformism, gives a much clearer theoretical and practical explanation of the sanctions policy than the novice Daily Worker. It is in the New Leader that the real basis, purpose, and effect of the sanctions policy is made all too clear. We quote from the issue of October 12:

"With the exception of small extremist groups who take the Trotskyist position that the Socialist parties and labor must reject any cooperation with democratic governments and the League of Nations in its efforts to curb Fascist Italy, organized labor throughout the world through its political and economic organizations has taken a determined stand in favor of sanctions and armed resistance. It need be, to the war policies of Mussolini and Hitler, placing itself squarely behind the League. . . .

"Only small groups of utopian

isolationists, embracing the Trotskyist position . . . fail to see the issue in this light."

Here is a clear and unshamed exposition of the social democratic position on war, manifested at present in support of government sanctions. Before we deal with it in detail it is important to note: The social democratic betrayers who have moved not one inch from the traitors' role of 1914, now at the approach of a new 1914, distinguish themselves in this fundamental question only from "the small extremist Trotskyists."

A military writer once remarked that "war is merely the continuation of politics by other means." Add to that the dictum that "Politics is merely the extension of economics on another plane," and you have the basis for a Marxian analysis of the war question.

In the period of imperialism, the present period, the economies of the various capitalist nations are in constant conflict in their efforts to

expand. No matter what political form they may take these economic conflicts never cease for a moment. Now they take the form of a "peaceful" struggle for markets, now a diplomatic struggle, now a warlike struggle. Politics is merely the outward form of this struggle which, change as it may, cannot do away with the struggle.

War is one of the political forms of this struggle. War is not some exceptional phenomena, it is simply the logical outcome ("the extension") of the struggle. In the imperialist epoch war is almost unceasing; sometimes in the form of mere diplomatic threats, sometimes in the form of economic boycotts, sometimes as colonial expeditions, sometimes as open large scale war.

The treachery of both the Stalinists and the social democrats begins when they regard war as some extraordinary event, some political phenomena apart from and exceptional to the ordinary run of political

(Continued on Page 4)

Britain - Italy Threaten War For Control of The Mediterranean

N. Y. Mass Meet On War Crisis

In response to the grave danger of a new imperialist war flowing from the League of Nations policy of sanctions and the need for solidarity with the Ethiopian people against Italy's rubber war, the New York District of the Workers Party has called a mass rally for Sunday evening, October 20, at Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place and 15th Street.

Maurice Spector, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and one of the pioneers of the present movement for the Fourth International, will be the main speaker.

Japs Plotting China Grab

Threat of U.S. War Over Market Snatch During African Trouble

By LO SEN

Echoes from Ethiopia, bringing nearer to Europe the thunder of a new imperialist world war, have already resounded ominously against the troubled sounding board of Asia: Japanese imperialism, in the full stride of its own expansion on the Asiatic continent, has displayed its readiness to squeeze the last drop of advantage out of Europe's preoccupation with the crisis precipitated by Mussolini's African "adventure."

The "utilization" of imperialist contradictions is by no means, unfortunately, the exclusive monopoly of "realistic" Stalinist bureaucrats. Events of the past week along the China coast and at the Soviet-Manchukuo frontier already offer sufficient assurance that the crisis cannot develop much further in Europe without leading to new explosions in Asia.

Japan Moves In

Great Britain, as part of her hurried preparations to counter Italy's African advance, has transferred practically her entire Asiatic fleet from its China station to the Mediterranean and Red Sea ports. The response of Japanese imperialism was so prompt as to be almost automatic. A strong Japanese flotilla dropped anchor in the harbor of Swatow, a Kwangtung port in the

(Continued on Page 4)

France Caught Between Two Fires; Germany Waits Opening

The flare-up in Ethiopia is rapidly taking on the proportions of a world conflagration. Inside of less than a month the smoke-screen behind the colonial "incident" has cleared up and the real contenders in the struggle have become fully revealed. It is now evident that we are confronted not merely with a case of national rape but with a major inter-imperialist struggle.

Great Britain and Italy are at each other's throats in a fight for control of the Mediterranean.

Fascist Italy at last embarked upon the conquest of the much heralded new Roman Empire. For more than one reason, Il Duce's decision is irrevocable. The Mediterranean is the indispensable gateway to empire. British imperialism, in control of the Mediterranean for generations, must maintain control of the route to her plundered possessions in India, Australia and Far East as a matter of self-preservation.

Faced with a national economy declining to ever new lows and the first symptoms of internal rebellion, the Fascist dictatorship has grasped at the Ethiopian adventure with the frenzy of a drowning man grabbing for a straw. That the blackshirts were not unaware of the impending clash with the British colossus is evidenced by the fact that from the first day of the invasion the entire Italian press has been conducting a systematic agitation against England, largely as a protective measure to stiffen the backbone of their own hosts in preparation for the worst eventuality.

England Acts Rapidly

The easy statesmen at Downing Street have likewise worked overtime to check the desperate offensive of the Fascist upstarts. Without any serious opposition they have cloaked their campaign for imperial self-preservation with the moral authority of the League of Nations. They have even involved France—for whom, as the major beneficiary of the Versailles system, Italy is just as important an ally as England—in a policy of sanctions against Mussolini carried through with such speed and sweep as to leave the diplomats of the Quai D'Orsay in an extremely embarrassing position. They have countered Mussolini's invasion and the troop movements of the Fascist General Staff with the complete militarization of Egypt and their other colonial possessions in Africa and with the greatest naval concentration in the Mediterranean since the last world war. The battle lines between the two imperialist powers have been drawn. Both sides are prepared to plunge wildly into the new holocaust.

The French imperialists, whose whole system of security hinges today upon the task of bringing about an Italo-British rapprochement, have been left floundering in the midst of an internal crisis. Rome has rejected any and all suggestions of retreat. The British have refused Laval's mediation in the naval conflict. The French bourgeoisie is thrown into a terrific turmoil by the diplomatic dilemma. The cabinet of M. Laval is due for a fall in the midst of the strife between the pro-British and the pro-Fascist factions.

The rest of the European nations are drawn into the same vortex of conflicting currents. Nazi Germany maintains a "neutrality" that has its eye peeled for the prospects of entering the fray with an attack in the direction of its formidable Eastern neighbor. Japan is threatened

(Continued on Page 4)

Tarov Relates Torture of Real Bolsheviks in Stalin's Prisons

By A. TAROV

Hundreds and thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists are languishing in Stalinist prisons. Only yesterday I was one of them, and together with them I underwent every conceivable brutality at the hands of the Stalinist jail keepers. Today I find myself in a semi-capitalist country, a "free man." Sad to say, it seems to me that there is no free spot for a revolutionist on our planet. But for better or worse, today I have the opportunity to speak out publicly in protest against the Stalinist usurpers. My duty as a revolutionist obliges me to turn to the world proletariat with an appeal for help to free from the Stalinist jails the devoted and true revolutionists, the martyrs,—the Bolshevik-Leninists. The world proletariat must learn that the land of Soviets as such is perishing imperceptibly, for Soviet power is unthinkable without a party of active

is why the struggle for a genuine Communist party, the struggle against the usurpers and the plebeian regime is a struggle for the salvation of the Soviet system from fatal degeneration.

To acquaint the working class with the condition of the Bolshevik-Leninists in the U.S.S.R. under the Stalinist regime, I intend to sketch briefly my own personal experience, in its unvarnished form. On June 30, 1934 I escaped from exile, from the city of Andijan, having in view

conquests and of the socialist construction, and at the same time I underscored the need for joint action on the part of all communists against the advancing Fascist reaction.

The "Reward" for Capitulation

After sending this telegram to the Central Committee, I awaited an answer which would free me from paragraph 58, and restore my party rights. Legally, to be sure, I had not been sentenced under this paragraph by any judge. But in reality, I was condemned to jail and exile for life. I had spent four years in jail, three in exile. Throughout this time I saw no living soul except the examining magistrate of the G.P.U., and the warden. The examining magistrate, as a rule, would go through a formal examination, and the turnkey would lock and unlock the door of my cell whenever it became urgently necessary. I was "sentenced" to solitary confinement without any material evidence whatever. My room had been searched three times—and absolutely nothing was found. Never-

theless I was arrested and committed to jail. Any one who is a Trotskyist—must sit in jail or exile. Should one renounce the Opposition, then one obtains a "minus," i.e. the right to live in the U.S.S.R., "minus" all the key centers of the country. To some degree this would constitute an improvement. For instance, one might be transferred from Northern Siberia to Southern Siberia.

Rank and file Oppositionists are ruthlessly tortured while given the advice to renounce their views. After an examination the magistrate before pronouncing the sentence offers the defendant that he renounce the views of the Opposition. And when in answer I gave a categorical refusal, it was my good fortune to hear in the sentence all the conceivable and horrendous epithets: "... for anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, counter-revolutionary, and other unspeakable activities. . . ." I served my last sentence on January 22, 1934 — a three year prison term in the chief jails of the G.P.U.—but, nevertheless, I was

"freed" only after a 14-day hunger strike, i.e., I was sent into exile. .

The Oppositionists who were imprisoned in the Verkhne-Uralsk penitentiary, about 150 in number—there had been 485 of us in this prison, but many were transferred to other jails until only 150 remained there—went on a hunger strike in protest against the additional new prison terms. Prior to the hunger strike, in the summer of 1932, a Commission headed by a female, one Andreyeva, arrived from Moscow to Verkhne-Uralsk in order to improve the "conditions" of the imprisoned Communists. To all those who had served their time in solitary confinement, she added new terms. In a single day 103 men were given a new sentence for the term of two years. This was the sole accomplishment of this commission for "improving the conditions" of the Bolshevik-Leninists imprisoned in the Verkhne-Uralsk penitentiary. We had received no prior visits from any commission. We had demanded this commission

(Continued on Page 2)

NEXT WEEK

The series on the Socialist Party and the program of the Socialist "Militants" will be continued next week with an article on the "Militants" answer to the Bauer-Zyromski thesis on war and the S.P. National Executive Committee's resolution on the war danger.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

A.V.D., NEW YORK—
Question: The Lovestones (see the "Workers Age" of Oct. 12) claim that the accusation that the C.I. can be guilty of an "August 4th" in its war position is unjustifiable because of the "distinctions between the limitedly false war position of the C.I. and the unlimitedly false war position of the Labor and Socialist International" and because of "the very existence of the U.S.S.R. as the base of the world revolution, as a class state constructing socialism. . . ." What is there to this?

Answer: Lovestone is in the position of the marriage broker who was attempting to interest a young man in marrying a certain young girl. The youth, beauty, and financial resources of the young lady were so promising that the young man became suspicious and insisted that there was a catch to the proposition. After at first denying that there was the least matter with the girl, the broker, under the pressure of further questioning, finally admitted that the girl did have a slight falling, the slightest of failings; she was a wee bit, only the least bit . . . pregnant. So with the Communist Party (Opposition). The C.I.'s war position is false, but only "limitedly" false.

An examination of Lovestone's ideas as to what constitutes a "limitedly false" position is interesting. We quote from the above mentioned issue of Workers Age where he makes the following four points:

Point 1: "The C.I.'s errors are limited only to the field of a mixed war; the L.S.I.'s errors pervade all types of wars today. . . ." This is tantamount to saying that the C.I. will betray the workers only in those countries which may be the temporary ally of the Soviet Union, whereas the Second International betrays the workers in all countries. The contention is false, however. It is impossible to betray the workers in certain countries and maintain a revolutionary position in others at the same time.

Point 2: "With the C.I. beginnings (???) of dangers towards national defense practices are strictly limited, may be resorted to for a time as a means of helping the U.S.S.R. False and harmful as the recourse to such tactics of helping the U.S.S.R. are, their motive is totally different from that of the motive animating International Social Democracy. . . ." In order to replace Marxism with psychology, Lovestone distorts the truth miserably. When the Socialist Party of Germany voted to support the war credits in 1914, they also claimed that it was necessary to do so to prevent the proletarian organizations from being destroyed; i.e., the betrayal of the proletariat by the Stalinists in the "interests" of the proletarian state stands on precisely the same level as the betrayal of the proletariat by the social democracy in the "interests" of the proletarian organizations. None of the socialist parties have ever openly advocated that the workers support imperialism. They were "motivated" by the need of defending "democracy" against Prussian militarism, or against Czarist autocracy, etc., etc. Today the Stalinists are "motivated" by the need of defending the "remnants of bourgeois democracy" against fascism, etc. Hell, for the proletariat, is paved with such "motives," which are identical in the Stalinist and social democratic bureaucracies: Each proceeds from the point of view of its own special interests.

Point 3: "Even in this deviation, the C.I.'s approach, the Comintern's viewpoint is international, while the attitude of the L.S.I. is thoroughly nationalist, dyed-in-the-wool social chauvinist." This is truly a remarkable statement, which, if it has meaning at all, can only mean that the Stalinists are betraying the proletariat on an international, i.e., on a wholesale scale, whereas the social democracy is doing it piece meal.

Point 4: "The C.I. is guilty of attempting a distortion, for a brief period (???) of sound principle; the L.S.I. is definitely committed to a completely false principle in the entire question of war." What, in politics, is the distinction between a betrayal over a "brief" or over a long period of time? Only a Jesuit could answer this. What Lovestone is attempting to claim, as indicated by the word "beginnings" in his Point 2, is that the C.I.'s "distortion," in principle, began with its present war position, a conclusion which naturally flows from his contention that the errors of the C.I. to date were limited to some incorrect tactics.

Insofar, however, as the betrayal of the workers by the C.I. can be compared to the "August 4th" of the Second International, this occurred over two years ago with the capitulation before Hitler in Germany. The C.I.'s war position is thus not the first but one of a series of betrayals.

Nor does Lovestone's reference to the Soviet Union as quoted in your question make his position any

Buffalo WPA Workers Out On Restrike

Pauper Wage Levels Drive Men to More Militant Struggle

By CYRUS RIGBY

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The expressed policy of relief officials to "wait watchfully" and "starve out" the Buffalo WPA strikers last week came to grief through a new and inexorable solidarity of the unemployed. Women and children not only attended the meetings but also came out on the picket lines to march beside their husbands and fathers. A strike meeting held on October 7 was attended by well over 1,000 workers.

Sargeon G. Johnson acted as chairman and among the many speakers were William F. Sidman, chairman of the strike committee, and Thomas Dixon of Chicago. A pledge was made by those present to carry on the fight until they should win a living wage for themselves and families.

Police Brutality
During the week police tactics became more and more brutal, although the almost too passive actions of the pickets gave them excuse for only bullying instead of the murderous skullduggery for which Buffalo police are notorious.

Mounted police would ride along the picket lines and reach over to snatch off the strike slogans pinned on the workers' chests and sleeves. Then the officer would slap the hapless picket square across the face several times before urging his horse toward him until the worker retreated. Women who remained on the picket line were subjected to the same intimidating treatment. But in spite of threats and official violence the strikers stood firm in their determination not to starve.

A local organization, the Citizens Unemployed Relief League, had previously been formed and this body sent a wire to President Roosevelt protesting against the use of stoop pigeons against them as well as against the conditions which made the strike inevitable. The Administration's reply was a warning that all workers who did not show up on their respective jobs on Oct. 11 would be deprived of all relief. The ultimatum was issued by Daniel W. Streeter of ERB who further attacked a number of conditions impossible for the workers to accept. Some jobs had been operated all week by scabs under police protection, but on these jobs there were always about as many cops as ERB or WPA workers.

Streeter's insulting public threat frightened a few strikers into returning to their jobs on the date of the deadline. Most of them, however, remained only long enough to persuade others to join the walk-out. A few hundred actually resumed work. That evening relief officials and police announced to the press that the strike had been broken.

No Settlement At All
But none of the conditions which forced the strike had been settled. It was still necessary for workers to accept the starvation wages of \$55 a month so their temporary return to work was without meaning and shortlived as soon as they realized that it meant continuation of utterly impossible living conditions. Within a few hours the walkout began again, this time taking hundreds more than on previous days.

On Monday 500 workers from the Lackawanna slag pit, which was the first job where women as well as men picketed the week before, dropped their tools and marched in a body to the nearest relief job in Buffalo proper. Here they began mass picketing and were able to persuade most of the workers on that project to join them before police intervened with the use of clubs. The effectiveness of mass picketing and, flying squadrons, however, had been proved during the days before, so now the strike had reached the point where the workers were ready to employ modern methods of strike warfare. The second WPA strike in New York State continues!

stronger. The existence of the Soviet Union as a workers' state has not prevented the Stalinist betrayals. The existence of the Hitler regime is sufficient proof of this. On the contrary, the bureaucracy, by usurping the prestige of the October revolution, and cloaking itself with it, has had a comparatively easy time of deceiving the workers. It is only by his identification of the workers' state with the Stalinist bureaucracy that Lovestone can conclude as he does.

The actors and the staging are different but otherwise there is difference between the betrayals of the Second and of the Third Internationals, and Lovestone merely makes the feeble attempt at finding a distinction in favor of the latter in order to justify his attempt to crawl back into it.

RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE EIGHT PAGE NEW MILITANT!

INT'L YOUTH BUREAU COLLAPSES

German S.A.P. Centrists Expel I.C.L. Youth Representative

Following is an account by the representative of the International Communist League of the ill-fated attempt to set up a new youth international, through the medium of the International Youth Bureau and in common with various centrist organizations. Its disruption and final extinction, in actual fact, can be laid directly at the door of the S.A.P. whose life work has become the struggle against the Fourth International even if the most opportunist and even treacherous alliances are necessary for this purpose. It can confidently be asserted that the death of the Youth Bureau is merely a setback—its experience was rich in lessons—for the forces of the Fourth International are everywhere gathering in size and importance. —Ed.

By W. H. WELD

The International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth was founded in February 1934 at the International Youth Conference at Laren, Holland, then at Lille (in reality, Brussels). There were represented at the conference: the I.C.L. youth, the Spartacus Youth League of the United States, the two Dutch youth organizations of the O.S.P. and the R.S.P., not yet unified at this time, the German S.J.V. (affiliated to the Socialist Workers Party, S.A.P.), the Young Workers of Norway (N.A.P.) and the Norwegian Mot Dag group. Immediately after its opening, the conference was dissolved by the Dutch police and the foreign participants arrested. Four German emigre participants were expelled to Germany, the others deported to Belgium. Two of the comrades, Bobzien and Liebermann, delivered to Germany, were in the meantime condemned to long prison terms. (It goes without saying that our solidarity with these comrades and the struggle for their liberation will be carried on as before with all our energy despite the liquidation of the youth bureau.) After the expulsion, the remaining delegates convened in Brussels. The discussion, in the main, took place between the representatives of the S.A.P. and the I.C.L., the latter struggling primarily for a clear and precise expression in favor of a new international of the youth in the framework of the Fourth International. After some ardent debates on this question, two passages along this line were added to the resolution proposed by the German S.J.V. But we, on our side, committed a serious error. The arrests and the joint expulsion from Holland had produced a conciliatory spirit and we failed to implement the declarations of the S.J.V. for the new international with the necessary organizational guarantees. We accepted the creation of the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations with Stockholm as headquarters. The Secretariat was composed of a representative of the German S.J.V., the Swedish S.J.V. and the I.C.L. (It is true the Swedes were not themselves present at the conference, although their acceptance was confirmed by the representatives of the German S.J.V. and by the Mot Dag group). The Young Workers of Norway had left the conference before the resolutions were adopted and later displayed hostility to the creation of the Youth Bureau.

Sabotage from the Start
After the arrival of the I.C.L. representative in Scandinavia he discovered that the Swedes had no intention at all of taking any responsibility for the Secretariat and that they opposed with all their might the residence of the I.C.L. representative in Stockholm. The German S.J.V. had also forgotten the conciliatory spirit of the Brussels conference and supported the Swedes in their negative attitude. They suggested the absurd proposition of scattering the Secretariat over three distant cities, separated from each other by several days of travelling and concentrating the practical work in the hands of the representative of the German S.J.V. This we categorically refused. Finally a compromise was found. The work of the Secretariat was concentrated in another Scandinavian locality and the Mot Dag group of Norway, an organization friendly to the Swedish Youth, was instructed to represent the latter. The work of the Secretariat went on—always hampered by internal conflict. In the autumn of 1934, for example, at a session of the Bureau at Copenhagen, the representative of the S.J.V. with the assistance of the Mot Dag group and the Swedish S.J.V., tried again to remove the I.C.L. from the Secretariat.

However, these internal conflicts did not reach their peak until after the pitiful conference of the International Community of Labor of the S.A.P. in February, 1935 in Paris, where the S.A.P. for the first time openly expressed its hostility to the Fourth International. It is true that Brandt as the representa-

tive of the Youth Bureau endeavored to fill up the breach by voting for the resolution presented by the Dutch delegates in favor of the New International as well as for the opposite resolution of the S.A.P. However, in the discussion he did not fail to join in the tirades of the S.A.P. against the Fourth International. This attitude brought forth protests from the organizations affiliated to the I.C.L. A motion was presented to reorganize and enlarge the secretariat by a representative of the R.S.J.V. (the organization emerging from the unity of the two Dutch organizations), and the Bolshevik-Leninist youth fraction of the French Socialist Youth. Following this the Secretariat of the Youth Bureau decided to convene a session of the Bureau to deal with these questions, with the participation of all the organizations affiliated to the Bureau.

Betrayal Intervenes
In the meantime, however, it was impossible to continue the work of the old Secretariat for another reason. The coming to power of the Norwegian Labor Party had completely unmasked the opportunist character of the Mot Dag group. The Norwegian Labor Party in power carried on a completely bourgeois policy similar to that of the Swedish and Danish social democrats. Instead of fighting the monstrous treachery of the N.A.P., which previously had taken on a radical coloration, and instead of organizing the opposition, the Mot Dag group sought a "theoretical" justification of the betrayal. Besides they declared their agreement with the Stalin-Laval declaration and with the preparation of the union sacree by the French Stalinists. It was therefore no longer possible to collaborate with this group. Horrified by this degeneration, the representative of the German S.J.V. swung to the left by signing, together with the I.C.L. representative, a letter to the Swedish S.J.V., calling upon the latter to disavow its Mot Dagist representative in the Youth Secretariat. The Swedes did not reply to this letter and consequently the work of the Secretariat was suspended. Once again they called for a session under the chairmanship of the Swedish Youth and once again, as before, it was postponed. In the meantime the Swedes did not show any inclination to terminate their friendship with Mot Dag and proved this fact on every occasion (collaboration of the Mot Dag people in the Swedish press, etc.) But the representative of the German S.J.V. also changed his mind by placing in the background the struggle against Mot Dag and once again turning on the I.C.L. In an interview which helped to prepare the session of the Secretariat with the Swedish Youth he declared that the differences between the I.C.L. and the S.J.V. were of a more deep-going character than those between the S.J.V. and Mot Dag.

On August 18 the session of the Secretariat was finally held. The representative of the German S.J.V. again opposed placing the question of the Mot Dag group as the first point on the agenda and insisted that they deal with the differences between the I.C.L. and the Youth Bureau. He stated that the version of his statement as quoted above to be inexact in this form. He had wanted to say that the differences on the one hand with the I.C.L. and on the other with Mot Dag existed on two entirely different planes. But the entire proceedings of this session of the Secretariat gave confirmation to our version.

Touching Solidarity
The representative of the I.C.L., speaking on the first point of the agenda, believed necessary a reorganization of the youth movement in the framework of the Fourth International and demanded that the Youth Bureau sign the Open Letter

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Tarov Relates Horror of Prison and Exile Under Stalin Regime

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

RENEWED MENACE TO CHINA

Japan will not miss its opportunity to make further inroads into China while the other imperialists are preoccupied with the Ethiopian situation. There is every indication that Japanese imperialism is preparing more extended operations for plundering China. A series of extraordinary meetings of the Japanese army and navy commanders and the diplomatic corps are in progress. One meeting is to take place in Dairen October 13 to 15. A second in which the various consular officials in China are to receive instructions from the army is scheduled for October 16 in Shanghai. A final gathering of all army commanders to work out details of the next steps in the seizure of China, is also planned in Shanghai for Oct. 20 and 21. The pronouncements of the Japanese Military Attache in China, Maj. Gen. Isogaye, provide several keys to what is intended. A "final" settlement of the North China problem is first on the agenda. The Kuomintang government is told plainly what is expected of it by its imperialist ally. "We do not want to provoke a crisis in North China but we hope that the Chinese will themselves make all the necessary changes to assure the establishment of authority with a responsible person at the head who would have Japan's confidence. . . . However, should a crisis arise which would endanger the lives of foreigners, Japan will be ready to make sacrifices to take the necessary steps for establishing a strong North China regime." What this means is the setting up of an extended puppet state to include the five provinces north of the Yellow River: Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shansi and Shantung, all now under Japanese control.

WHICH THEATRE OF WAR?

There have been previous indications that Japan wishes to add to its present booty Outer Mongolia. This territory is not nearly so important economically as Manchuria. But its control by Japan would determine the main theatre of war in the coming struggle against the U.S.S.R. Manchuria is too close to Japan to suit the Japanese strategists. Soviet aircraft are a menace not to be neglected. The seizure of Outer Mongolia would permit greater safety to the attack from the northwest corner of Manchuria, from the railroad line running from Hailar to Manchuli, on Chita, the most important railroad junction in Eastern Siberia. Chita is the point at which the main line of the Transsiberian Railroad (to Vladivostok) joins the branch line to Manchuli. The seizure of Chita would cut off communication with the Maritime Provinces over this railroad and would make the main seat of war the territory about Lake Baikal. Already special Japanese divisions in full war strength, with large numbers of tanks and armored cars are concentrated about Hailar. The latter is an important air base. The military railroad from Jehol Province to Dolonor was built to

aid the penetration into Outer Mongolia. But the attack on Outer Mongolia can only mean the prelude to war against the Soviet Union.

ATTACK ON SOUTH CHINA

The plundering of China is not to be confined to North China alone. The situation at Swatow threatens to become the pretense for the beginning of Japanese invasion into South China. Already all shipping to this port is forced to pass between two lines of Japanese cruisers and destroyers, holding the harbor in a tight grip. The Japanese object to the tax imposed by the Canton militarists on rice imported into Kwantung Province which raises only a two months supply of this necessity for thirty-five million people. The Japanese have been smuggling tremendous quantities of cheap Siamese rice into the province. The seizure of a small quantity of this smuggled rice has precipitated the issue, Japan claiming a violation of the treaty permitting only the national import tax, not involved here. By this pretext Japanese imperialism seeks to gain control of the vast trade of the East River District of Kwantung. At the same time this is a blow at the Canton militarists whose military machine is based on the so-called agricultural tax. The Chinese are entreching along a fifty mile front in Kwantung expecting momentarily an ultimatum, to be immediately followed by invasion. The reactionary bandit-generals of Canton will hardly organize any real resistance to Japanese encroachments, no more than the "central" Kuomintang leaders, Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Ching-Wel. On the contrary, these corrupt betrayers of the Chinese enter into competition to become the first to sell out to the imperialists. The other imperialist powers are greatly disturbed at the present situation, seeing in it not only the potentialities of another Shanghai incident, but also a fresh move of Japanese militarism. American warships have been sent to Swatow to take care of "American interests."

Shachtman Phil. Meeting

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Oct. 15.—Warning up for his national tour, comrade Max Shachtman opened the season for the Workers Party educational forum here last Sunday evening with a lecture on "The Truth About Trotskyism."

The speaker dealt very effectively with Olgin's slanderous pamphlet, "Trotskyism, Counter-Revolution in Disguise," exposing all the falsity and rottenness of the fight against the living leader of world Bolshevism and the ideas of revolutionary Marxism. A mass of evidence was produced, much of it from Olgin's own writings, to expose the Trotsky baiting campaign. The audience was attentive and asked many questions. Comrade Shachtman summed up and spoke of the need for a new revolutionary International of the working class.

International Workers School

55 EAST 11th STREET, N. Y. C.
Second Year—Fall 1935. Beginning October 21, 1935.

- ORGANIZATION PRINCIPLES**—Martin Abern.
Monday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Eight sessions.
This course will analyze party structure and methods of work. Open only to members of the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League.
- FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF MARXISM**—Ben Borkeson.
Monday, 8:40-10:10 P.M. Eight sessions.
An elementary course which will trace the basic economic and political features of capitalist society, the development of the modern class struggle, the need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the dictatorship of the working class and the role of the revolutionary party.
- PROGRAMMATIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORKERS PARTY**—J. G. Wright.
Wednesday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Seven sessions.
An advanced course which will analyze the contradictions of the imperialist epoch, the rise and degeneration of the Second and Third Internationals, the struggle against Fascism and war, the working class struggle for power and the need for the Fourth International.
- CURRENT TRENDS IN AMERICA, TRADE UNION AND POLITICS**—A. J. Muste.
Wednesday, 8:40. Eight lectures.
Lectures on the A. F. of L., unionization in the basic industries, the capitalist political parties, the third party movements, the Socialist and Communist parties.
- THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF KARL MARX**—Rubin Grote.
Thursday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Seven sessions.
An advanced course which will consider the origins and social roots of Marxism, the materialist conception of history, Marxian economics, the class struggle and the political party, theory of the state and working class internationalism.
- STATE AND REVOLUTION**—J. Weber.
Friday, 8:40-10:10 P.M. Eight sessions.
The course will deal with the origin and development of the state from the earliest times to present day capitalism. A detailed discussion of the capitalist state machinery, the attitude of the working class towards the capitalist state and the role of the workers' state.

Fees: \$1.00 per course, 50c payable at time of registration.
For information, write to: International Workers School, 51 East 11th Street, New York City.

(Continued from Page 1)

ourselves, in protest against the bestial treatment of the prison administration. We were often beaten, the guards fired their guns through our cell windows, with the result that one of our comrades, Yessayan was shot in the chest. We demanded a commission, but, as a rule, we were refused.

The Hunger Strike

Then, 485 imprisoned Communists went on a hunger strike that lasted 18 days. A Commission arrived, transferred the "active prisoners" to other penitentiaries, and exiled the wounded Yessayan to Siberia. Thus, it "improved" our position. And then, another Commission came next year and extended our sentences. For this reason all of us who were imprisoned in the Vorikine-Uralsk penitentiary went on a hunger strike, in protest against this unheard-of lawlessness. We began the strike on December 11, 1933. On December 20 the hunger strikers were dragged from their cells—in order to search the latter. Then they began feeding us by force. Unheard of scenes took place, desperate fights broke out between the jailers and the hunger-strikers. The latter were of course ignominiously beaten up. In our exhausted condition we were subjected to forced feeding by means of rubber tubes. The treatment was indescribable: thick rubber hose was shoved down our throats, the strikers were dragged into the "feeding cell" like dead cattle. There was not a single case of surrender.

On the 15th day of the strike our strike committee decided to discontinue it because many of the famished Communists tried to commit suicide. One of the G.P.U. functionaries from the Ural District appeared in the penitentiary and threatened the starving Communists with transfer to the Solovskiy Islands. Our comrades, of course, drove him from their cells. The decision of the committee to call off the hunger strike was accepted by all the strikers unanimously. The G.P.U. representative was compelled to make a verbal promise (for some reason he refused to put it in writing) that all those who had served their sentences would be freed. Since my sentence terminated on January 22, 1934, I was transferred to the cell of those about to be "freed."

On January 22, I was consequently set "free." Under a close guard, I was shipped to Central Asia, under the jurisdiction of the Central Asiatic G.P.U. We arrived in Tashkent, where being two of us—myself and comrade Zhanntev. In Tashkent we were lodged in jail; the next day, after stubborn protests, we were exiled, without being sentenced. Zhanntev to the city of Frunze, myself to Andijan. And, then, in March, I sent a telegram to the Central Committee about my readiness to give up Oppositionist activity. Two months elapsed without an answer. I sent a special letter to the Central Committee. Another two months went by, and again there was no answer. Both in the telegram and in the letter I made no mention whatever as to my views. I did not consider my views and position to be "counter-revolutionary," as is usually stated by the capitalists, but I emphasized that I would cease ideologic and organizational struggle against the leadership. In short, from my communications the Central Committee and the G.P.U. could conclude that the leadership under the pressure of the Opposition had not betrayed the revolution as yet, and had even corrected its mistakes on certain points. And what was most important now was to purge the party apparatus of the debris of bureaucracy, and to wage a struggle against advancing Fascism by combined forces of the Communists and revolutionary forces in the U.S.S.R. and the whole world.

The bureaucratic leadership evidently deemed it offensive to reply to such a communication. No answer came from Moscow. But the local department of the G.P.U. sent its own agents who plied me with the following questions:

The "Interview"

"Tell me, please, do you consider your views counter-revolutionary, or don't you? In your opinion, is the Opposition and its activities counter-revolutionary or no? Do you think that Trotsky, for example, is the leader of the counter-revolutionary vanguard of the bourgeoisie, or don't you?" In answer I went into a detailed exposition of my views as to the Opposition, headed by Trotsky, and in turn I asked such questions as, "And, what do you say, dear comrade, are these views of mine counter-revolutionary? Do you consider counter-revolutionary our Oppositionist work from 1923 up to 1930 against the Right opportunist tendency in the party? Indeed, in 1930 Centrism also began to fight against the Rights. Is one to consider this struggle counter-revolutionary too? As regards Trotsky, in my opinion, he is the most unswerving revolutionist de-

Given Long Terms Without A Trial Revolutionists Are Beaten and Shot

voted to the cause of the world proletariat. I consider him my ideological companion and comrade. I have no wish to fool the party, I can not consider as counter-revolutionary the revolutionary views of the Opposition."

My interlocutor would sit mum, with his head on his chest. Incidentally, this chap was a fine fellow with some brains. But apparently he had had little occasion to listen to Oppositionists themselves, but he had heard a great deal about them from the official sources. . . . I had an identical conversation with one of the representatives of the local section of the G.P.U. I remarked, among other things: "What is your opinion of such an act of lawlessness as this: I have passed six months in exile already without any sentence being passed, after serving a three year prison term." The assistant chief of the G.P.U. in answer pulled out from a drawer some kind of a paper and read me a new sentence, three years in exile. But for some unknown reason he refused to allow me to read the sentence myself. This, of course, was a common trick on the part of the apparatus hirelings. They probably wished to scare me with a new sentence so as to make me switch on the Opposition. Here I became completely convinced that these miserable functionaries had long ceased being communists, that I had to deal with a gang of hard-boiled bureaucrats who were incapable of understanding the integrity of sincere revolutionary words. Nevertheless I decided to go to Moscow, and personally speak with the upper crust of the party apparatus, in order to find out at last precisely what it represents, what sort of people were they who shriek about revolution and socialism and communism and compel me to consider my purely communist views as counter-revolutionary. In May I sent a telegram to the C.E.C. with a request for permission to go to Moscow to have some personal interviews concerning my case. This time I sent a telegram, with an answer prepaid. But it was useless—there was no answer. My attempts to gain permission to go to Moscow for personal interviews were not crowned with success. Then I decided to go without any permission. En route it became all too clear to me that no one would listen to me in Moscow, and that I would be immediately arrested for having fled from exile. I had no recourse left, except to escape abroad.

Torn From His Family

My renunciation of the Oppositionist struggle was sincere. Even at the present time I still hold to this point of view. From 1933, after the victory of Fascism in Germany, I took the position that all the communist and revolutionary forces of the entire world had to be united against the Fascist reaction, no matter what the cost, without regard to the internal differences between proletarian organizations, no matter how serious these might be. This is the point of view that I defended among the comrades. But under no condition would I agree to solidarize with the bureaucracy, as I emphasized in my letter of April, 1934 to the Central Committee. I always held and still hold the standpoint of a stubborn and merciless struggle against the brazen bureaucracy which has usurped the rights of our party. My sincere letter and telegram to the C.E.C. and the G.P.U. were assumed, however, by the bureaucracy to be the first step of an ignominious capitulation. The miserable bureaucrat considered that I had become worn out in prisons and exile during the long years, torn away from my family, my wife and child, that I could bear up no longer and was ready at last to kneel before the G.P.U. pleading for mercy. The miserable bureaucrat overlooked that in my letter I asked no mercy, but demanded the restoration of my party rights. The miserable bureaucrat evidently attached no importance to my words when I said, "I cannot fool the party, I am not a bystander, I am a revolutionist and I am unable to serve passively in order to keep my belly full. I was an active communist—I still am and will remain one; there isn't anything or anybody in this world that can sever me from my genuinely communist convictions; I considered and still consider the views of Trotsky and his followers to be genuine communist views. These views are a direct continuation of the views of Marx and Lenin."

A Bureaucrat and a Communist

Never in my life have I run across so malicious and cynical a functionary as the assistant chief of the local G.P.U. section, Margolin by name, who, after reading my telegram to the C.E.C. and the G.P.U. addressed me as follows: "Now, what can you tell us about your organization? Who was the leader of the Opposition movement in the Caucasus? Where did you function actively? We must make it hot for these Trotskyists." The miserable

functionary became confused when I refused categorically. I told him, "Up to now I fought against the C.E.C., and I fought according to all the rules of the Opposition; I assume the responsibility of this struggle against the leadership without proceeding from considerations of my own personal welfare. I have in mind the necessity of a joint struggle on the part of all the revolutionary forces of the proletariat against the advancing counter-revolution. I cease the struggle not because I am in agreement with the opportunistic views of the bureaucratic upper-crust of the party, but because I hope our party will still succeed in restoring its rights and drive the brazen usurpers from its ranks."

But whom are you telling this to? The apparatus bureaucracy, of course, well understood my letters and telegrams. That is why it refused to reply to my application. I remained in exile, without any new sentence having been passed on me. For some how or other, the government finds it difficult, without even a false document, to sentence one of its citizens to some sort of punishment. The tasks of the party bureaucracy boils down to isolating and torturing the Oppositionists until they publicly turn into so many rags, i.e., into miserable, political bystanders. The bureaucrat just does not want you to be a real communist. He has no need for it. He finds it harmful, and mortally dangerous. The bureaucrat does not want a self-reliant communist, he wants miserable dunks, grafters, and bystanders of the worst type. That's what he needs. He does not want a Communist party, he tolerates only the name in order to use it for his usurping aims. Sad to say, the bureaucracy has attained its goal in many cases. Many Oppositionists were unable to withstand the harsh and interminable isolation—and they capitulated. But in my case, the bureaucracy made a mistake.

Communist Despite All!

In jail, in exile, and emigration I remained what I was, a Communist, a devoted defender of the Soviet power and of the socialist construction. The land of the Soviets is my fatherland, in the socialist sense of the term. Under a different rule, under the rule of the enemies of the proletariat it would be alien to me. I am always ready to the last moment of my life to fight for the land of the Soviets. Is it conceivable that under a genuine proletarian rule the struggle against bureaucrats, thieves, and plunderers who unscrupulously appropriate Soviet wealth and who are the cause for ruining hundreds of thousands in hunger and cold—is it conceivable that a struggle, or even a mere protest against these scoundrels would be considered a counter-revolutionary crime? For my fight was for internal proletarian party democracy; I fought for a Leninist program, and Leninist statutes of our party. I fought and will continue to fight against a self-appointed leadership, and a party apparatus bound by mutual oath. For, according to the statutes of our party, the elected party, trade union and Soviet organs must be re-elected annually from top to bottom. But what do we see today? The post of party secretary has become a sort of speciality. If, for example, a Kahyani had served 8 years as secretary in the C.E.C. of Georgia until the membership would no longer tolerate him not only as the secretary of the Georgian C.E.C. but in the party as a whole, then this specialist in the craft of General Secretaryship departs from Tiflis, on the good counsel of the supreme authorities of course, and hides himself to Alma Ata, again as General Secretary of Kazakhstan. And a Mirzoyan belongs to the same species as Kahyani—from Baku to Uralsk as the secretary of the District Committee. It is precisely for this reason that the party leadership feels itself absolutely under no obligation to the party masses who presumably elected him. They recognize only the supreme authority of the upper crust of the party apparatus. Hence flows the shameful servility and the shameful mutual covering-up of the bureaucratic upper-crust. Of course, under these conditions the party mass puts no trust in the leadership. As regards the non-party working class masses, the latter see the party only in the shape of the apparatus, and put no trust in the Communist Party as a whole. Hence flows the administrative pressure upon the party and the working class. That is why all jails, Solovskiy Islands and exile areas are crammed today with party and non-party workers. And there is no need to talk about the peasants.

I do not intend to go into the controversies between the Opposition and the leadership, but I think it necessary to say a few words on the question of the struggle against bureaucracy about which so much

is being written in the official press, and so much pother made by outstanding officials—as if they, too, are not loth to struggle against bureaucracy. But in reality, let some one dare point a finger at a bureaucrat—and it is prison, or exile, or, at any rate, unemployment. And do any of you know what it means to be unemployed under the present regime? It means outright ruin for the family of the unemployed. He wanders from one office to the next, and is refused everywhere, despite the fact that suitable work is available. Everywhere every conceivable personage finds employment, there are jobs for thieves and swindlers. But there is no job for a man who comes out against the bureaucracy.

Destroying the Revolution

At party and workers' meetings the assembled are in complete apathy. They have to be almost driven to meetings. Not only non-party but even party workers are very reluctant to go to meetings. At the meetings, "hold" speeches can be made only by the party and trade union parrots. They can be so bold as to always and everywhere praise the leadership, beginning with Stalin, and then down the line according to rank. Then a resolution is presented, and the assembled are terrorized by labelling as counter-revolutionists anyone who dares to object even to a single point in the resolution. Naturally, such a situation in the country tends to discredit the authority of the Soviet power and of the Revolution. The party leadership has despotically terrorized the entire party. In the party there is a complete lack of the conscious party discipline which was once the pride of our party. Barracks discipline reigns in the party, a mechanical fulfillment of orders. Hence, it is easily understandable why all sorts of grafters, charlatans, and shady characters of every description—thieves of the "gentleman" type—feel very much at ease and are very bold in the party, the Soviet, and trade union apparatuses, and consider it their native duty to look upon Soviet wealth as their own "property." And who is there to supervise them? Who is there to punish them for the plundered national resources? The rank and file communists? Sad to say, the latter have been frightened by prisons and the Solovskiy Islands, where languish for many long years the boldest communist and non-party workers, under lock and key, behind bars. Is it really possible that the world proletariat will maintain silence while in the land of the So-

victs the imprisoned communists hang out the red banner from their cell-bars on the anniversaries of the October Revolution, and the turnkeys rip it down with rakes? . . .

Even the Infants Persecuted

Unfortunately I am unable here to dwell on all the abominations perpetrated in the Soviet prisons under the regime of the usurpers. I will depict only a single scene that I witnessed. In the Petropavlovsk prison, in a small cell, some 25 cubic meters in volume, are lodged 35 women, eight with suckling infants. The cell is ventilated by a peep-hole. I shall never forget those tiny emaciated bodies—I saw them through the peep-hole of our cell. The children stood in line, clasping their mothers' bosom in order to obtain their infinitesimal ration of fresh air at the peep-hole. Let the world proletariat look upon this brand of shame on the faces of the jail-keepers of the plebsitary regime. Is it conceivable that there were no communists in this city? Is it possible that they remained uninterested in the jails of their city where thousands were suffering from hunger, cold and filth? Wasn't there a prosecuting attorney? One is ashamed even to mention this title. There were! They were all there! Even a member of the Central Committee was in this city at the time—Mikoyan, by name. His picture was printed on the front page of the local paper. But Mikoyan was a personage in transit, his arrival could serve only as the signal for arresting an additional hundred women with suckling babes. One can refrain from mentioning Mikoyan. But what were the local communists doing? Nothing! They have no independent voice. They haven't the right to think. For example, if a suckling babe is in the hands of an arrested working or a peasant woman, then it means that the baby is guilty, it must sit in its mother's lap in a small cell with 35 women, and stand in line for "fresh" air.

The brazen bureaucracy of the Stalinist regime will label my words counter-revolutionary. Let them label them as they will. My duty is to tell the truth, and only the truth, for truth is the most dependable weapon in the hands of the proletariat against its enemies. Indeed, if all the working class organizations told only the truth and nothing but the truth, then the victory of the world proletariat over its enemies would have been assured long ago.

A. TAROV.

August 4, 1935

Plenum Meets; Plans A Campaign Against War

The third plenary meeting of the National Committee of the Workers Party, held at New York October 4-9, adopted resolutions on the main party problems and issued the call for the second convention of the party which is to convene December 26 at New York. The intensive discussion which has been taking place in the party ranks since the June meeting of the N. C. is to be continued at membership meetings and in the party internal bulletin until the convention.

The plenum held open sessions with the New York party members and numerous delegations from other cities in attendance. Party opinion on the main questions, which has crystallized in the course of the three-months' discussion, was reflected also in a strong consolidation of the leadership at the plenum. All the important political resolutions presented by the Political Committee were adopted by a vote of 18 to 2.

The first point on the agenda was devoted to a discussion of the Leninist position on the war situation and the preparation of the party to meet the test of war. Party activity in the next period is to be organized around a campaign on the question of war, public agitation being supplemented by intensive study and discussion in the party ranks. In addition to the public statement issued by the plenum the Political Committee was instructed to prepare material for the branches in the campaign.

Extended discussion took place on the subject of international relations and the struggle for the Fourth International which stood as the second point on the agenda. The resolution of the Political Committee, adopted by a vote of 18 to 2, declared in favor of an international conference to proclaim the establishment of the Fourth International and expressed full solidarity with the International Communist League and the R.S.A.P. of Holland in their common struggle toward this goal. The tactics of the Bolshevik-Leninists in entering the French Socialist Party were specifically endorsed. The proposal of comrades Oehler and Stamm to "condemn" the tactics of the Bolshevik-Leninists in this respect, already rejected by the overwhelming majority of the party in the pre-

vious discussion, was likewise rejected by the plenum. The reference to our French comrades as "capitulators" was branded as impermissible slander which has nothing in common with the attitude of the Workers Party.

Comrades Stamm and Oehler were similarly isolated on the general resolution dealing with tactics and methods of building the party and our attitude toward opponent organizations. The resolution on the internal situation drew attention to the repeated violations of party discipline committed by the Oehler-Stamm group and the repeated censures and warnings of the political committee and the protests of party branches against their disruptive course. The resolution specifically provided that the opposition comrades are to be assured full party democratic rights in the pre-convention discussion as hitherto. Their resolutions and articles are to be published in the internal bulletin for the information of all party members and they are to be given adequate time to present their point of view in the branch and general membership discussion meetings. As a further safeguard of the rights of the minority, elections to the party convention are to take place on the basis of proportional representation. At the same time the plenum resolution gave the Oehler-Stamm group a final warning that further violations of discipline and acts of disruption and disloyalty to the party will not be tolerated.

Following the plenum the party is swinging into action through its campaign on the war question and in other fields, while also carrying forward intensive discussion in preparation for the December convention.

CHICAGO MEETING "ETHIOPIA"

Beginning of a New World War

Speaker:

M A X S H A C H T M A N
SUNDAY, OCT. 27, 2:30 P.M.
Capitol Bldg., Room 412
189 No. State Street.
ADMISSION 15c
UNEMPLOYED FREE
Aus: Chicago branch of W. P.

Trade Unions Merge In France

By H. F. ROBERTS

The recent fusion of the two big French trade union federations, the C.G.T. (reformist) and the C.G.T.U. (Stalinist), which took place in line with the Comintern's efforts to dismember itself of its Third Period baggage, has given a new impetus to the negotiations underlying the organic unity of the French Socialist and Stalinist parties, as a first step toward the merging of the two Internationals. The final plunge of the Stalinists into the swamps of reformism and the social patriotism following the Seventh Congress has cleared the path toward organic unity of all political obstacles, such as, for example, revolutionary principles.

The fusion of the two trade union organizations took place on the basis of the complete abdication by the Stalinists of all revolutionary political activity in the union ranks. A disavowal of factional activity was demanded in advance by the labor fakers Jouxhaux and was readily made by the Stalinist bureaucrats who announced that the Stalinist workers' political activity would be strictly outside the unions! Speculation concerning the possibility of struggles between opposing political tendencies within the unified trade union confederation is answered by Marcel Gilton, secretary of the French Stalinist Party, with the remark:

One Happy Family Now!

"The unhappy past will not have been without its lessons. The trade union movement, it seems, has cured itself of the anarcho-syndicalism which was one moment in its history. . . . Comrade Jouxhaux (the equivalent to Comrade William Green)—H.F.R. said: 'In the diversity of temperaments, in the diversity even of ideas, unity can be realized and maintained.' This is our absolute conviction." (Emphasis by Gilton, l'Humanite, October 2.) The "one moment" of trade union history is past and the Stalinist bureaucrats have arrived at a common "absolute conviction" with Jouxhaux as a basis for trade union unity. Thus the Stalinists arrive at their real spiritual home.

The same features characterize the course toward the organic unity between the two parties. The Stalinist party misses no opportunity now to push forward the idea of unity, and on their part, the Socialist bureaucrats are seeking guarantees that the fundamental principles of revolutionary Marxism will be left by the wayside on the path to unification. This question is frankly and unashamedly posed by Lebas in a recent article in Populaire, central organ of the French Socialist party.

Stalinists to Swallow Everything
Lebas, remarking that the trade union fusion "will facilitate, if not precipitate" political unity, recalls to the Stalinists the text issued by the latter last June as a basis for

C.P. Gives Up Political Activity at Reformists Bidding

the unification of the two parties. From this text he quotes the following passage:

"The unified party of the proletariat, seeking to combat and destroy the capitalist system, generator of misery and wars, cannot admit any policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. None of its members can participate in a capitalist government. Its parliamentary representative has the duty to refuse to vote for military credits destined to prepare imperialist wars," etc.

Now, says Lebas, "it is permissible to ask whether the Communist Party doesn't believe it necessary to modify somewhat its first text."

8 PAGES ON NOV. 7

For the eighteenth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution the NEW MILITANT will appear in a special eight-page edition. It will be a fore-runner to the regular eight page weekly to appear soon.

Several feature articles tracing the important lessons of this great revolutionary act of eighteen years ago and dealing with the world shaking events of today, especially the all-overshadowing issue of new imperialist wars and the duties and tasks of the revolutionary movement, are in preparation for this issue. It should furnish an inspiration for new strides toward the building up of a stronger revolutionary press.

This is the particular duty now before us. Our ideas become a power when translated into action in the living movement of the proletariat. Our message must therefore reach wider fields. Only the Fourth Internationalists are maintaining a consistent revolutionary position in the face of the developing wars of imperialist aggression and the horrors of Fascism. The NEW MILITANT is our main instrument in making this position clear to wider masses and extend the revolutionary influence amongst them.

We propose that this announcement be the signal for a large-scale subscription drive. Start out right now with the zeal of true fighters for an invincible idea. We have set for ourselves an immediate goal of 1,000 new subscribers by the time of the second Workers Party convention, to be held December 26, and a corresponding increase in bundle sales. No more effective greeting could be given to the convention

Since that text was issued, he goes on, "two important political facts have intervened. First there was the Congress of the Communist International and the vote on the Dimitroff report whose conclusions sensibly modified, I believe, the position of the Communist parties toward coalition governments. Secondly, there was the formation of the Popular Front into which all the parties and fractions of republican bourgeois parties may enter for common anti-Fascist action. From this new action necessarily results a new Communist policy." (Emphasis mine—R.F.R.) And this policy, concludes Lebas with perfect justice, can scarcely be reconciled with the quoted paragraph from the Stalinist draft for a common declaration. He puts the question squarely. I quote the balance of his article:

"Exceptional Tactics" Throw Over Marxism

"Two things of importance are

of a revolutionary party than to attain this immediate goal. The funds coming in for the new subscriptions and for the enlarged bundle sales will put the campaign for the eight-page weekly over the top. The extended circulation will form a solid basis ensuring its future existence.

We ask the party branches to go to work without delay. We ask our sympathizers and the readers of the NEW MILITANT to pitch in and help. When all shoulders are put to the wheel we can reach this immediate goal.

The party branches and the bundle agents should order an extra supply of this special eight-page anniversary edition as a first step toward increased bundle sales. It will be off the press the week before Nov. 7 and reach all cities in time for the anniversary. The special distribution of this issue should be used as a means for new contacts to gain new readers and obtain regular subscriptions.

Above all, we want all forces to concentrate during this period mentioned on the job of building up a far wider circulation for the NEW MILITANT. It is the way to bring the campaign for the regular eight-page weekly to a real climax. Let the subs come rolling in and the rest will be easy. Let all go to work in this great job in the manner that only revolutionary fighters can do.

PHILADELPHIA FORUMS

The Workers Educational Forum holds meetings every Sunday at 8:15 P.M. at Grand Fraternity Hall, 1626 Arch Street. The schedule of coming weeks is as follows:

Oct. 27: Karl Lore on "The A. F. of L. Convention."

expressed (in this paragraph): (1) Prohibition for the unified party of tomorrow to pursue any policy of collaboration with the bourgeois parties, and even more especially of collaboration taking the form of participation in a capitalist government. (2) Refusal of military credits, of credits for colonial conquests and the whole of the budget.

"A Socialist can ask me: What objection have you to this?"

"For me, none, or almost none. These two imperative ideas are found in the charter of the Socialist party founded in 1905. But the founders of the party were careful to foresee the possibility of exceptional circumstances, creating for the proletariat and its Party an exceptional situation justifying an exceptional tactic. They also introduced into the charter this simple phrase: 'Even in the case of exceptional circumstances, the elected representatives of the party cannot involve the party without its consent.' Which means that the policy of the party, even in such a case, is fixed only by the party itself."

"Doesn't the Communist Party believe that this phrase or a similar one should have its place in the charter of tomorrow?"

"Doesn't the Communist Party agree that it cannot maintain the text of the unity charter presented to us at a time when it is making the greatest effort to extend to the whole country the policy of rapprochement of the working class parties and the bourgeois republican parties for the fight against Fascism and to conserve democratic liberties?"

"Doesn't the Communist Party consider," asks Lebas finally, "that the common struggle against the decree laws . . . poses the question of a coalition government to which it would be impossible to reply in the negative?"

The Way Is Cleared

"In any case, the Communist International recently in session at Moscow itself posed this question and by Dimitroff's report answered it in a favorable sense. The stronger then the reasons for us to believe," Concludes Lebas, "that the Communist Party will not maintain too absolutely its text at the forthcoming commission, whose work will thereby be facilitated." (Populaire, Oct. 2. Emphasis inserted.)

And we may be sure that Lebas has put the matter in a nutshell. The Stalinist call for unity of the two Internationals is a call for the submergence and rejection of intransigent proletarian independence, of the concept of class struggle and revolutionary defeatism—in short, of revolutionary Marxism. The logic of their course will not even permit them to maintain these principles in words. No prediction could be safer than the prophecy that the French Stalinists will submit without murmur to the principles of Vandervelde, Blum, Lebas & Co. For such submission is now the sanctified "line" of the International which once, long ago, knew the leadership of Lenin.

Green-Woll Suffer Big Setback

(Continued from Page 1)

convention. The Woll-Frey-Wharton forces rallied by 18,025 to 10,826, the majority report of the Resolutions Committee which reaffirms the San Francisco decision of last year. This decision permits the Executive Council to issue international charters to workers in such industries as rubber and automobiles but specifies that the craft unions of the Federation retain jurisdiction over the skilled craftsmen in these industries. The effect is instead of setting up a genuine industrial union to put the unskilled and semi-skilled into a "restricted industrial union" and to separate the skilled workers from them and from each other in a dozen or more craft groups.

Analysis of the role of Lewis and Company in developing government-sponsored unionism on which, incidentally, reactionaries such as Woll and Frey made acute observations in the convention, must wait for our next issue. Suffice it here to make

Italo British War Looms

(Continued from Page 1)

ing a new offensive in the Far East. It is only a matter of time before all of Europe will be sucked up by the struggle.

Where Are the Facts?

The irony of the whole situation is best reflected by the fate of the various "Facts." There is the "Fact of the Four," to which both England and Italy are signatories. Now null and void. There is the Anglo-French Entente. And there is the Franco-Italian Pact. Either one or the other is due for the scrapheap shortly. Then there is the Franco-Soviet Pact. In the light of the other experiences what value can any realist attach to it?

The fate of Europe is at stake. The Soviet Union is in danger. It is only a matter of time before the waves of war will reach our shores.

The most recent experiences confirm more than ever the realism and the correctness of the Marxist policy for the working class. The whole course of events dictates to the workers:

An immutable distrust of the imperialist governments, their "peace pacts," their League of Nations, their "sanctions."

A determined struggle against imperialism war by the only means possible—the revolutionary defeat of the imperialist governments. A consistent fight against the agents of the imperialists in the ranks of labor—the social-patriots of all stripes.

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Lewis Tirade Reflection of Rank and File Militancy

one important point. Lewis is nothing if not a shrewd politician. He seeks power. He does not cast himself in the role of a martyr making a splendid but futile fight for lost causes. When, therefore, Lewis now delivers a bitter and devastating attack on one of the pillars of the Federation, Matthew Woll himself, when he deliberately and publicly widens the breach between the old guard and other elements, when he shouts from the housetop what hitherto has been whispered only behind closed doors by any prominent Federation leader, namely, that the A. F. of L. is "a total failure" under its present leadership, when he who was an unswerving supporter of Tory Republicanism under Coolidge and Hoover, flirts with the idea of a labor party, when he who in the past has hounded progressives, not to speak of radicals in his own union more bitterly than any other international president, now protests against one of Matthew Woll's proposals to protect the Federation from "reds" as simply part of a general movement throughout the country against all "progressive and liberal thought,"

it can mean only one thing:

Lewis knows that the sentiment of the rank and file in his own union and among the workers generally is such that anyone who now seeks power and influence among the workers must cast himself in the role of a progressive and fighter, even a "radical"!

The vote on the craft union resolution already referred to indicates that the old guard is far from locked. It would be dangerous for genuine progressives to cherish any illusions about a smooth road ahead. It would be downright suicidal to get a false conception of the role Lewis himself will play—for them to regard him as basically a friend rather than as a much more subtle and powerful enemy than the mere has-beens, Woll and Green. But the indications which this convention has given of how astute and hard-boiled labor politicians gauge the spirit of insurgency among the workers, plus the fact of a rift in the A. F. of L. leadership such as have never before occurred in all the 55 years of its history, opens wide the door for a mighty advance in building the left wing in the various unions and in the A. F. of L. as a whole.

Take the offensive! Press the fight. Be bold, be bold, be thrice bold. That is what the Atlantic City convention says to the militants.

Japanese Plot China Grab

(Continued from Page 1)

very heart of the British "sphere of influence" and a virtual ultimatum to the Chinese authorities over a local tax matter may prove the starting point for Japan's long dreamed-of and long heralded extension of her continental drive into South China, for decades the balm of British imperialism.

At the same time "incidents" are once again taking place along the Soviet-Manchukuo frontier. Troops have clashed and casualties have been recorded. According to a Soviet protest delivered in Tokyo, Japanese and Manchukuo forces crossed the Soviet frontier no less than three times since October 6, provoking sharp skirmishes with Red Army border guards. Neither "side," according to press reports, expects "serious consequences" in the immediate future. But the recrudescence of these "incidents" at this particular time indicate that Japan stands poised to strike as soon as events in Europe draw the U.S.S.R. into a holy war for the defense of the Versailles system and of democracy.

U. S. Imperialism Trains Its Guns

It is because of this situation in the Far East that the "neutrality" of the United States consists prim-

arily in the maintenance of its entire battle fleet in Pacific waters. It was in 1915 that Japan, taking advantage of the World War situation, forced her famous "Twenty-one Demands" on China. American pressure after the war forced a Japanese retreat from the positions gained. But since 1931 Japanese imperialism has extracted from China far more than her Twenty-one Demands of 1915 ever asked for. For this American imperialism will sooner or later have to have an accounting and a settlement with Japan.

If the further development of events in Africa and the Mediterranean bring a forcible settlement of all outstanding international disputes once more onto the order of the day, the Wall St. head office of U. S. Imperialism Inc. will keep the European situation in hand but the strong-arm squad, Marines and all, will go to work in the Pacific. And any reader of the Daily Worker in these weeks may be sure that when that time comes, the American lackeys of the Stalinist bureaucracy will be calling upon the boys to unlimber their guns and to give it to that reactionary-Fascist-feudal Mikado and his generals for the defense of peace, of democracy and of the Soviet Union!

Partners in Social-Patriotic Betrayal

(Continued from Page 1)

ties. The New Leader article continues under the head "Sanctions Do Not Mean War." This is precisely the thesis of the Stalinists who, like the Socialists, are obliged to cover up their first concrete step toward the support of imperialist war behind a denial of its existence.

The Socialists are as hard pressed to prove that sanctions do not mean war as the Stalinists. To quote:

"Sir Norman Angell, winner of the Nobel Peace prize, replied to the objection that sanctions mean war with the words: 'Sanctions do not mean war—they insure peace.'"

Further on: "The Joint Anti-war Committee of the Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions . . . declared it was even more obvious today 'that only the energetic policy of collective security demanded by the two internationals in their resolution of September 6 can still preserve peace.'"

The article continues with a list. The American Federation of Labor, the New Zealand Federation, the Japanese Federation, all approve the sanctions policy of the League. But nowhere is there one single argument to show why sanctions do not mean war!

There are no arguments. All the Socialist ghoulies of the dead Second International can do is to point with pride to the extent of their betrayal and gloat. But gloating does not make treachery any the less treachery.

The article concludes: "Those who oppose the policy of

the Labor and Socialist International in this crucial matter and who seek to interfere with the application of this policy by urging opposition to the stand of the League of Nations and advocating revolution in democratic countries when they may be confronted with the necessity of taking up arms against the fascist dictatorships are, whether they know it or not, doing the work of Mussolini and Hitler."

This is in complete agreement with the Stalinists, who have stated that the French workers would be traitors if they made their revolution in the midst of a Franco-German war.

The basis of this line in both cases is the same. It lies in this case in the failure of the social democrats to combat fascism . . . their policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie having crippled the workers and handed them over to the fascists, the social democrats, instead of purging their movement of compromise, pass even further over into the camp of the bourgeois and appeal to the democratic bourgeois governments to overthrow the fascist bourgeois governments. The fact that the very democratic governments they are appealing to are already themselves tottering on the edge of fascism seems to make no impression on the social democratic dunderheads. That they appeal to the enemy of the working class, the bourgeoisie, to perform the tasks that the working class alone can perform, is an index of their bankruptcy.

The Stalinists have to be a little more cautious about their approach to social-patriotism, to the support of the bourgeois government in its imperialist war moves. They conceal their social patriotism behind an even greater fog of phrases, misstatements and equivocations. But the direction of the movement is the same. It is safe to say that unless some earlier catastrophe overtakes them the Stalinists will line up 100 percent with the social democrats and the bourgeois governments, of the democratic countries at least (and of the fascist countries which are allied with the governments which the Stalinists consider most democratic). In the next war,

Take the issue of the Daily Worker of October 8: On the front page

in a box we find the following slogans: "Withdraw the Italian Troops from Ethiopia! For Collective Economic Sanctions! No Arms to Italy! No Embargo On Arms to Ethiopia! Close the Suez Canal!"

During the Russian revolution the Bolsheviks appealed to foreign soldiers to withdraw and throw down their arms—but they did not appeal as an enemy power, but as a workers' government, as a deadly enemy not of the soldiers, but of their officers and their bourgeoisie. They appealed to the foreign soldiers not to desert a cause, but to enter the service of a higher cause. This propaganda was effective.

Today the Stalinists appeal to the Italian workers to withdraw, but at the same time they support the bourgeois governments of enemy powers (by appeals to enemy governments to apply sanctions!) Their propaganda falls upon the ears of the Italian soldiers with exactly the same effect of propaganda from the British government directly! And it is just as easy for the Italian officers to dispose of it as enemy propaganda. That is why the correct slogan for withdrawal in juxtaposition with the incorrect slogan for sanctions, military and economic, from Great Britain and the League, becomes perfectly useless. Unless you follow a true and complete internationalist line no amount of phrase mongering can have any effect. The Stalinists may think they are pretty smart supporting the democratic British government and calling for the overthrow of the Fascist Italian government . . . but actually, they are reduced to complete and bankrupt ineffectuality.

On the last page a streamer editorial concludes with the words: "All peace loving people and opponents of war should demand that Roosevelt follow up his latest proclamation by calling a special session of congress to amend . . ." etc., etc.

Recall once more that war is not caused by the evil intention of single capitalists; it is the inevitable law of a functioning capitalist economy. The imperialist capitalist economy is driven to expand; this expansion drive is reflected in a political drive for markets; this political drive is always more or less belligerent, and may at any

moment break out into open warfare, which is only an "extension" of "peacetime" politics.

Now what sense is there in this appeal to "all peace loving people?" None. As a matter of fact, almost every man in the country, with the exception of a few adventurers, is a peace lover. Ask an army general, a president, a senator, a bank head—they are all peace lovers by their own admission. But they are supporters of the capitalist regime, hence they are forced to support the wars which are its living manifestation. The Daily Worker by appealing to all peace loving people is simply confusing the issue, which is not between peace lovers and war lovers (show me an avowed war lover) but between capitalists and proletarians; between supporters of the capitalist regime and its incessant open and concealed warfare and enemies of the capitalist regime and its warfare. When the Daily Worker appeals to peace lovers to stop war it is appealing to capitalists, to army generals, government figures, fascists (for they profess to love peace too!) to overthrow the capitalist regime! For that is the only way peace lovers or anybody else will ever stop war.

Like the social democrats the Stalinists appeal to the capitalist government to stop war. The British Labor Party is ready to support "our government" in its efforts to maintain peace. The Stalinists are ready, indeed they call upon Roosevelt and congress, to support capitalist measures to "stop" war.

Now it is possible that a capitalist government may stop open war for a short period . . . but only because that government does not consider the time ripe for war. For instance: it is conceivable that Roosevelt, like Wilson, might keep us out of the war for a year or two . . . but only in order better to prepare for the war when it comes.

The treachery of the social democrats and the Stalinists lies not in the fact that Roosevelt can't stop war for a year or so, but in the fact that they teach the workers not to rely upon themselves who, as enemies of the capitalist system can alone really put a stop to war, but upon Roosevelt, Congress, and a host of peace lovers who only love peace as long as peace lasts. The majority of so-called peace lovers, love capitalism infinitely more than they love peace, hence they can never be relied upon to put a stop to the wars that are the natural

manifestation of capitalism in action. When war comes the whole mob of peace lovers become just as ardent war lovers . . . and the workers whom the Daily Worker and the New Leader have taught to look to these peace lovers are easily led into the maelstrom.

October 9—From an article by Marguerite Young of the Daily Worker Washington bureau: "Secretary of State Hull's announcement today that the United States has warned Rome not to bomb or injure American lives or property in case of military operations at Addis Ababa was received today as another indication that mass anti-war sentiment is finding its mark in the Roosevelt administration."

Here we have the same misdirection of the workers' attention away from their own struggle against war to the maneuvers of the capitalists in preparation for war. This is an especially brazen example; brazen or stupid, it is hard to say. So anxious are the Stalinist lackeys to register a victory for their treacherous war policy that they seize upon the slightest incident and magnify it all out of proportion.

Secretary of State Hull, it seems almost superfluous to remark, it only following the ordinary diplomatic procedure in warning Rome not to damage American imperialist lives and property in Ethiopia. Last week we remarked on the "forcing" policy of the Daily Worker, whereby they will soon be forcing themselves into an imperialist army. This week we have another example . . . the Daily Worker has forced the Secretary of State of an imperialist government to protect its imperialist property!

Where does all this lead? It leads the Daily Worker to an eventual campaign of forcing the United States into a war with Italy (or Germany, or Japan, or any other power that threatens the Soviet Union). The Stalinists have stated that they are ready to support wars of democratic states against fascist states (Stalin-Laval pact, "defend the remnants of bourgeois democracy," etc.). It is possible merely to support war. During the last war the centrist Socialists of the brand of Kautsky and MacDonald may be said merely to have supported the war. They did not campaign actively for war, at times they even criticized it, but they did not campaign against the war.

The Stalinists indicate their intention not merely to support the

war, but to actively campaign for it! Up to the last minute before the last war the future centrist socialists took a revolutionary position on war. But the Stalinists, already before the war, are forcing the question. If any value can be placed on the pre-war comparison of the Kautskys with the pre-war position of the Stalinists we must conclude that the latter are preparing for a recruiting campaign unrivaled in the history of socialism, even surpassing the efforts of capitalist recruiting agents! What else is to be concluded from the vain boast of having forced the Secretary of State, the very leader of all the forces of reactionary imperialism, to protect American imperialist property?

October 11—An editorial on sanctions: "Now the A. F. of L. can add its might and weight for such action (sanctions)—by endorsing the resolution before it, urging the Roosevelt government to act with the League of Nations on collective economic sanctions."

The Stalinists encourage the A. F. of L. to follow the same treacherous path—support the Roosevelt government, they advise. It is just possible that this advice will ultimately filter down to the ranks and have some influence on the membership. If the "red" Stalinists support the "peace" moves of the government there must be something to the government peace policy. Indeed if there were any opposition to support of the Roosevelt government in the ranks, the rotten bureaucracy could use the Stalinists as an example to force support of the government.

It is in just this situation that

the stupidity of the argument of some Stalinists, who still have a grain of class consciousness left, becomes evident. We will support the government now, they say, but when it turns in another direction, toward war with the Soviet Union, we will oppose it.

This the Stalinists consider to be another smart trick, like their policy of supporting the British imperialist government and at the same time calling for insurrection in the Italian army. It is just as treacherous. For by advising the workers to support their bureaucracy and their government the Stalinists bring those workers under the leadership of that bureaucracy and that government—they teach the workers to look up to and rely on that bureaucracy and government.

And when in the future these extra smart Stalinists decide to change their line again they will find that the workers no longer are under their influence . . . the workers will be under the influence of the bureaucracy and the government, under the "influence" of the officers in the army.

Not only do the Stalinists advise the workers to support the Roosevelt government, but they advise them to support the League of Nations. The League of Nations is no more than the sum of its parts, it is an association of international robber imperialists. If one imperialist government is a reactionary force, how reactionary is a league of fifty-two capitalist governments? The League is the International Burglars' Union, no more, no less. It has not changed one whit since the day Lenin called it "the Thieves Kitchen of Geneva."

Mass Meeting

EIGHTEEN YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Speakers:

JAMES P. CANNON ARNE SWABECK
A. J. MUSTE MAURICE SPECTOR

Thursday, November 7th -- 8 p. m.

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