

# NEW MILITANT

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## Jugoslav Communist Escapes from Siberia; Bares Anti-Bolshevik Terror of Stalin

### A STATEMENT OF FACT ON STALIN'S TERROR, ON MR. HEARST AND THE SUNDAY WORKER

ON OCTOBER 19 the NEW MILITANT printed the revelations of A. Tarov—Bolshevik-Leninist who escaped from Siberian exile—on Stalin's persecution of revolutionists in the Soviet Union.

Three months later, on Sunday, January 19, William Randolph Hearst, without authorization or permission from Leon Trotsky, or his American literary agents, or from us, lifted the Tarov article and Trotsky's comment on it, from the NEW MILITANT and printed it in his chain of anti-labor rags.

On the very same day, the Sunday Worker, in true Hearstian style, blared forth headlines to the effect that Leon Trotsky is an agent of Hearst, and a promise to reveal at a later date the price received for them.

There is not a modicum of truth in this slander learned from the gutter methods of Hearst himself and employed against all revolutionists. It is

meant to be a smoke-screen to divert attention from the revelations of Stalin's terror against the Leninists.

Before the entire labor movement we challenge the corrupt scribbles of the Daily and Sunday Worker to prove their assertions.

Furthermore we challenge them to disprove one single charge made in Tarov's article.

On our part we charge the Stalinists with furnishing Hearst with ammunition against the revolutionary movement.

This they do by persecuting, torturing, yes! and even murdering genuine revolutionary internationalists in the Soviet Union, men who have fought and bled in the Russian Revolution and in the Civil War and against foreign intervention.

So long as this Thermidorian repression continues, we take no responsibility for whatever effects their publication may have. The stigma for this rests upon Stalin's gangster clique as

does the almost medieval torture of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union.

On our part we will not be silent when revolutionists of unimpeachable integrity and years of service and sacrifice to the working class languish in jails, solitary confinement and concentration camps.

We propose to publish authentic information as broadly and as widely as our means permit until such a time as an aroused labor movement throughout the world will force Stalin to call a halt to his criminal course.

In this issue we publish new revelations of the persecution of Communist opponents of Stalin in the Soviet Union. The article of comrade Ciliga shows that foreign Communists as well as Russians are imprisoned and hounded by Stalin for factional reasons.

The workers of the world must know these facts.

### Revolutionists Held in Jails, Solitaries and Concentration Camps

#### Three Loyal Hungarian Stalinists, in Conflict with Bela Kun, Clapped into Jail

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The author of the following letter, former member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, comrade A. Ciliga, spent five and a half years in solitary confinement and in Stalinist exile. Comrade Dr. Anton Ciliga is at the present time not connected with any political organization.

December 9, 1935

Dear Comrades,

You have requested me to give you IMMEDIATELY, even though briefly, information on my own case, on the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists and on the penitentiaries and exile in general. Bearing in mind that the exigencies of the case demand speedy information, I will try to reply as best I can to your request, even though it may be to the detriment of a rounded-out picture. But I hope, in a following letter, to fill in the gaps of this communication.

1. I begin with the fate of the group to which I myself belonged.

In the month of May, 1930, a group of Yugoslav communists who were in Russia on a mission for the Yugoslav Communist party, were arrested at Moscow and at Leningrad by the G.P.U. The group was arrested for connection with the Trotskyist opposition. Three were incarcerated in solitary confinement in the penitentiaries of Verkh-Uralsk for three years: 1) Stanka Dragulich (Russian surname, J.V. Kovalev), former member of the C.C. of the Yugoslav C.P., leader of one of the most important Yugoslav organizations in the city of Zagreb; 2) Mustapha Deditch (Russian surname, Victor Soloviev) (Russian surname, Victor Soloviev) of Herzegovina, at Mostar; 3) Dr. Anton Ciliga, the author of these lines, former member of the P.B. of the C.P. of Yugoslavia, editor of the legal central organ of the party, "Borba," at Zagreb, and foreign representative of the C.C. of the party.

A comrade, Stephan Haeblerling (Russian surname, V. Suslov), former member of the party Committee of the province Volevodny (formerly South Hungary), at Novi Sad, was exiled for three years to the Urals. A score of our friends were exiled to, and placed under surveillance in various corners of European Russia.

Two Russian comrades, connected with us (Victor Zankov and Oreste Glibowsky), were also sent to the penitentiary of Verkh-Uralsk on November 7, 1930; we were not mentioned in the list of prisoners which was published in the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition No. 19, as the list was drawn up in October, 1930.

Comrade Tarov, who escaped from the U.S.S.R. (see his letters in the NEW MILITANT of Oct. 19, 1935), mentions our group, but because of the similarity in the names of the two countries, he made an error regarding our country of origin and wrote "three comrades from Czechoslovakia" instead of "three comrades from Yugoslavia." Another inaccuracy, concerning myself, slipped into his letter. He writes: "One of them, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, a devoted partisan of the Fourth International." My position on the Fourth International is certainly correctly stated, but I was not a member of the E.C.C.I. I was a member of the party delegation under the E.C. and I was assigned to work in the Balkan Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.

In the summer of 1931, my comrades and I participated in the hunger strike which lasted 18 days and in which over 150 prisoners participated in the penitentiary of Verkh-Uralsk. The hunger strike was provoked by rifle fire from the guards directed at the prisoners, one of whom, Gabo Essayan, was standing peacefully at his window, was wounded. The strike also had as an objective the improvement of our famine rations. The atmosphere of terror and the famine rations drove two prisoners (Vera Bergner and Victor Kravny) insane.

At the end of three years of imprisonment, in 1933, my comrades and I demanded of the Soviet authorities that they allow us to return to our homes abroad. We fasted a long time (23 days) to obtain this demand. The Soviet authorities not only refused us permission to leave, but increased our sentence by two years, without trial and without new charges. (The Soviet laws authorize the G.P.U. to renew automatically and without trial the periods of imprisonment and exile. This law is enough to make one's hair stand on end, but it is on this fact that the entire history of years of political exile in Russia is based.) Following this hunger strike we were taken out of the penitentiaries and were sent into exile in various outlying districts. I had to go to Eastern Siberia, to the city of Yenisseisk; comrade Deditch to Western Siberia, the village of Kolpachevo, department of Naryn; comrade Dragulich, to Saratov on the Volga; comrade Haeblerling was sent from city to city until he reached the Urals. Comrade Dragulich escaped and returned to his home abroad. In 1934 he was arrested on the Russo-Polish border and locked up in the secret dungeons of the Solovetzk Islands, from where, for over a year, no further news has come from him.

#### Exile Without Trial

When in 1935 we ended the second term of our exile, the G.P.U. this time extended our exile for three years without trial or new indictment. Thus a foreign-born worker or a militant worker who comes to Russia no longer has the right to leave it, he is changed into a species of eternal prisoner if he is dissatisfied with the condition of the proletariat and the general situation in Russia.

I personally was finally able to escape from Russia after two and a half years of desperate struggle in which I found myself continuously between life and death. I succeeded because I had a foreign passport, because I had a family abroad which was able to do something, and because I squarely posed the question: release or death. But my comrades have remained in exile and in dungeons—only active assistance by the European proletariat and by the democratic movement can set them free.

In the penitentiary of Yaroslavl are three members of the political bureau of the C. P. of Hungary. They support the general line of the Hungarian C. P. and of the C.I. but they are opponents within their own party of the Bela Kun group. They were invited to Moscow to discuss the controversial issues in the Hungarian party and were arrested on the spot and imprisoned in the penitentiary of Yaroslavl.

Hundreds of foreign comrades are officially in exile in the Russian provinces and actually in the status of prisoners in Russia, without the possibility of returning to their countries because of their opposition to their party or to the C.I.

On my departure, which was a deportation from Russia, the G.P.U. men robbed me, seized my scientific notes, my manuscripts, and not only my private correspondence, both Russian and foreign, but also my official correspondence with the (Continued on Page 3)

### Bakers Union Official Framed in Youngstown

#### Third Unionist Arrested in Anti-Labor Drive Led By Reactionary City Administration

By GEORGE TRUHAR

YOUNGSTOWN, O., Jan. 21.—The frame-up of trade unionists in Youngstown is being extended by the present anti-union city administration in combination with the open shoppers and the Citizens' Association. Tuesday, January 21, a militant business agent of the Bakers' Local 177 was arrested. The warrant was sworn out by a scab named Gilbert Eichenlaub.

The drive on the unions is continuing. That the reactionary labor leaders of the United Labor Congress, under the leadership of Andy Hubbard, are trying to wash their hands of the whole matter is shown by their attitude of passivity and failure to mobilize the labor movement back of the local unions under fire.

On the other hand, in order to get the support of these reactionaries, the leadership of the local unions under fire tends to soften its attack against the various forces that are out to smash militant unionism. They also tend to rely too much on the different politicians who are promising them aid, and promising to fix things up if no noise will be made.

These "fix-it" friends are the most dangerous enemies of the attacked locals, that is, Bakers' Local 177, and Drivers' Local 377.

**City Wage-Cut Drive**  
This third arrest on the charge of kidnapping and torture is really the result of trying to "fix things up." The new city administration, led by Mayor Evans and Police Chief Olson, spurred on by the Citizens' Association, is out to make a name for itself. It also wants to divert the minds of the people of Youngstown from the city's financial condition and its efforts to reduce the salaries and wages of the city employees. At present this takes the form of an attack on the trade unions, especially the Drivers and Bakers who are most militant, and who are the driving force of the fight against wage cuts.

The trials of the three arrested unionists is coming up January 22, but it is understood that they will merely be given a hearing and bound over to the ground jury.

Your correspondent, in digging up material on the situation here, in talking to various business men and city officials, has been met with a smirking smile, a wink and the comment: "We've got to pin this on somebody," because, according to them "public opinion demands it." The newspapers and all city officials take the same attitude.

**Boes Spurns U. S. Mediator**  
The Oles' Market, owned by George L. Oles, the spearhead of the campaign against the unions at this time, even refuses to meet with the U. S. conciliator sent in by the Department of Labor and is still carrying on his open-shop campaign. The unions are picketing the market, especially the Butchers and Bakers, with the support of the Drivers who refuse to deliver supplies.

The Butchers' Union attempted to get an injunction against the Oles' market to prevent them from

### Ohio WPA Union Wins Wage Rise

#### Rapid Growth, Militancy of Union Causes Many Concessions

(Special to New Militant)

TOLEDO, O., Jan. 21.—A promise of a 10 percent wage increase for common labor tentatively approved by the state WPA administration starting February 1, was given by William B. Schuchl, Lucas and Wood counties administrator, to the executive board of the WPA Workers Union, affiliated with the Lucas County Unemployed League.

The promised wage increase was secured after six weeks of an intensive drive during which hundreds of WPA workers have flocked into the union.

A number of concessions have been secured in the way of improvement of job conditions, including the obtaining of shelter-houses on open jobs, fuel for fires, etc. Meanwhile, the union is redoubting its campaign to reduce the number of work hours per month from the present 132 to 120. The 132 hour schedule represents a slight reduction of six hours over the one in effect up to January 16, a concession won in the past week by the union.

#### Militancy at High Point

Grievances on the job are mounting, and the WPA workers here are showing a desire for organization and a militancy never displayed before. Five different crews of workers have walked off jobs in a body during the past three days led by union members, have organized in the union headquarters, elected committees, and battled out their grievances. Daily the headquarters are jammed with workers who represent entire projects who

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### Utilities Brotherhood Hits Edison Layoffs

#### WPA Teachers Form Union In Minnesota

ST. PAUL, Minn., Jan. 18.—The Minnesota Emergency Teachers Association held its first annual delegate convention today in the Men's Union on the University of Minnesota campus. Sixty delegates, with practically every county in the state represented, were in attendance.

The convention adopted a constitution, declaration of principles, elected officers and an executive board of fifteen members, and laid down a plan of organization for the coming year.

Officers for the coming year are W. W. Norris, Minneapolis, president, and Dorothy Holmes, St. Paul, executive secretary.

The declaration of principles calls upon the M.E.T.A. to establish the closest relationship with those forces in Minnesota which are seeking to build a state-wide WPA organization, and to help this new organization into being. (The next statewide conference of WPA, relief organizations and trade unions will be held in Minneapolis Feb. 8-9.)

The declaration also binds the M.E.T.A. to establish immediately fraternal relations with all other similar federal teachers' groups in other states, in order to work out a common program looking towards the establishment of a permanent adult education project by the federal government.

Teachers on federal adult, workers, recreational, nursery, arts and crafts, and National Youth Administration investigations. Today the Roosevelt administration sponsors the Nye committee hearings. We were told that its purpose was to "take the profits out of war."

**Object of Investigation**  
No doubt this is still accepted widely amongst the masses as a genuine objective of the investigations. To this extent they serve to strengthen illusions in regard to

the "peace" policies pursued by the Roosevelt administration. As such they are also quite in accord with the general methods of the New Deal schemes. In a bourgeois democracy governmental policy to be successful must have popular mass support. This is something the Roosevelt administration understands particularly well. Therefore the New Deal policy was carried on under such slogans as: increasing the purchasing power of the masses; safeguarding their collective bargaining rights their minimum wage, limitations on working hours, etc. Likewise the war preparations in the Rooseveltian system must have popular slogans, such as: taking

#### Lays Power Tie-up to Undermanned Crews at Power Houses

Charges that the Consolidated Gas-Edison system has dismissed 300 more employees within the last week, and that it is thus "continuing the policy of cutting labor forces which was largely responsible for the power tie-up on Jan. 15," were made today by Mayor LaGuardia by the Brotherhood of Utility Employees.

This information was conveyed to the Mayor in a letter signed by Martin A. Wersing, president of the Brotherhood's New York regional board. Copies of the letter were sent to the several official bodies which are investigating last week's failure of electricity supply. "All evidence in connection with the power tie-up serves to confirm the opinion I voiced at that time," Mr. Wersing's complaint declared, "... that it was due to drastic weakening of the system's maintenance and inspection forces through wholesale 'lay-offs'."

#### Fired for Organization Work

"The Consolidated-Edison system continues also to discharge workers with excellent records because of their union activities. One case in point is that of P. B. Ewing and Stephen Solosy, energetic organizers for the Brotherhood of Utility Employees, who were fired last Friday. Ewing is secretary of our Equity Local 100, which has jurisdiction over Manhattan and the Bronx.

"Both men were chemists for the Consolidated Gas Company. Solosy had been employed there seven years, and Ewing five years. Both had exemplary records. When they were dropped they were told by a company union delegate that Vice-President John Stilwell of the company had said that under no

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### Morgan Coined Gold out of Workers' Blood in 1917-18 -- with Wilson's Aid

By ARNE SWABECK

In the investigations by the Nye Senatorial Commission of the part played by the House of Morgan in the last world war, the fact—previously so well known to Marxists—that the real cause of America's entrance into the war was furnished by the interests of finance capital, has now become clearly established. The quest for profits by the great financiers determined, in each decisive instance, the policy of the Wilson administration. Their fear of the loss of hundreds of millions, already invested, together with the fear of cutting off profits and prosperity for American business finally decided the issue.

The voluminous evidence introduced into the committee hearings

should remove all doubt of this fact even in the minds of the greatest sceptics. Viewed in the light of the present Roosevelt neutrality policy all this evidence should receive added attention.

On several occasions the President has chided the Wall Street bankers. Two years ago we had the Pecora investigations. Today the Roosevelt administration sponsors the Nye committee hearings. We were told that its purpose was to "take the profits out of war."

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## Fight Police In Vermont Walkout

**Marble Workers Battle Militantly After Three Month Siege**

By CYRUS RIGBY

RUTLAND, Vt.—New England, the traditional home of granite-like, rugged American individualism, was Tuesday also the scene of oppressed Yankee workers in revolt. For three months the workers of the Vermont Marble Company, of Rutland, have been out on strike. Each week their battle has been drawing closer to victory.

So close to victory, indeed, had the strikers' battle become that the company, and its vested legal allies, decided to act. Picketing had been disciplined and constant. On Tuesday morning, a gang of scabs was engaged in loading marble onto D. and H. gondola cars, which were hitched to an engine under steam. The scabs were protected by a squad of D. and H. professional gunmen (called railroad police) hidden in the cab of the locomotive. All morning a line of about 300 pickets marched back and forth along the tracks.

### The Battle

About noon two scabs, Arthur Alwill and Radcliffe Lyons, the former a company superintendent, attempted to leave the marble yard in Alwill's car, escorted by armed deputies in automobiles following. The scabs' car was stoned and forced by the pickets to halt. Immediately the deputies got out and ordered the massed workers to disperse. As soon as they began laying hands on the nearest pickets, the battle commenced.

Workers used whatever weapons came into their hands; deputies, reinforced by a torrent of new deputies that came pouring miraculously from the company office nearby, used nightsticks and blackjacks. One striker, unarmed except for his fists, was seen to fall twice under blows from a nightstick, only to get up again and pursue the fight. Women as well as men engaged in the bloody fray until the police forces began to realize they were getting the worst of it. Then the desperate guardians of capitalism put more modern weapons into action. A tear gas bomb was hurled and exploded in the midst of the workers. But the retreat, unavoidable in the face of this onslaught, was both orderly and dignified. Some strikers merely withdrew a few yards to await developments. Others marched into union headquarters to prepare for a fresh attack by the law.

### When the Smoke Cleared

When casualties were counted it was found that the working class battling average was remarkably high: 12 deputy sheriffs were sent to the hospital against 5 of the militant strikers. It was impossible to count those on both sides with more minor injuries, but those sent to the hospital were all in serious condition. Business of arresting strike leaders was begun as soon as Sheriff Schoenfeld's bomb had prepared the way for the State's Attorney's dramatic entrance on the set. Some of the ten strikers arrested were unable to walk; one was still unconscious and bleeding as he was carried forcibly off to jail.

In spite of their notorious Vermont smugness, the "disinterested" citizens of Rutland are more sympathetic with the strike than it would seem from capitalist press accounts. Reporters for the Rutland Daily Herald, for example, have attempted to stir up chauvinistic feeling against Polish workers involved in the strike—while at the same time they have been compelled to make public the arrest of two selectmen, Dwyer and Thomas, overseers of the poor, on charges of having failed to provide clothing to children of striking marble workers. Farmers and Rutland townspeople who work, as well as the smaller merchants, are generally on the side of the strikers. Larger business men, Rotarians and newspaper owners are fighting for the capitalists.

### Students Support Strike

At various times since the strike began intellectuals living in Vermont and neighboring states have come out in complete accord with the strike. Students of nearby Dartmouth College have given their support by a benefit performance of "Waiting For Lefty."

It seems to be a finish struggle and the workers are decidedly gaining ground. Reports that Gov. Charles M. Smith is to send in National Guardsmen from Montpelier were both denied and reaffirmed in Rutland on Thursday. Meanwhile the strikers were again assembling their picket lines.

### READ THE NEW MILITANT

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1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

## Developments in the Needle Trades; A Program for the Progressives

By A. J. MUSTE

Developments are taking place in the needle trades unions which are in themselves important and are also in considerable measure typical of what is taking place or will in industry generally.

When we seek to understand trends in the union movement, we have first of all to examine industrial conditions and in particular the developments in the industry in which a given union operates. What, then, is taking place in the garment industry today? For reasons which space does not permit us to go into, but among which the National Recovery Act was not the only or even the most important one, the garment industry experienced a decided upturn in 1933-4. Out-throat competition had in the closing days of the Hoover era resulted in such chaos that even the employers, at least important sections of them, were prepared to accept government "regulation" and to deal with unions in return for an opportunity to put prices up and maintain them at some level. Something like "prosperity" obtained for a couple of years.

### The Changing Situation

Gradually, however, the scene has been shifting. In the general economy of the country the basis for genuine and lasting prosperity has not been laid. There is a huge army of unemployed. The wage level remains far below that of 1929. The market remains a restricted one for every industry. The upturn which has occurred, however, causes employers to be impatient of the slight restraints to which they were subjected in the early days of the Roosevelt administration. The N.R.A. is declared unconstitutional. Even in the garment industry where the nightmare of 1930-2 is not yet entirely forgotten and N.R.A. conditions are in considerable measure "voluntarily" maintained, competition becomes ever more severe.

The urge to break all bonds—move "out of town" in order to escape union wage rates, the policy of playing off an unlimited number of shoe-string contractors against each other, etc.—becomes ever stronger. For the most part it does not yet take the form of direct and open cutting of wage rates or of a fight against the unions, but of resistance against any further concessions as to wages, hours and conditions and a steady pressure on union representatives in the shops to relax standards while formally the contract is maintained. The time when the employers will resort to the more extreme methods is probably not far distant, however.

### Union Gains

The unions in the garment industry made huge gains in 1933-4. They were instrumental in lowering hours and raising wages from the depression level. The internal controversies which had rent the unions subsided, as they have a habit of doing in a period of growth and success. Even the Old Guard and the top bureaucracy were able to put up a plausible appearance of efficiency and progressivism. Were they not making demands on the employers and getting results? Witness, in another industry, John L. Lewis even before he openly launched his crusade for industrial unionism. (We are not speaking of the essential role played by Hillman, Dubinsky, et. al. under the New Deal on which the New Militant has frequently stated its position).

There was an immense amount of organizing, administrative and educational work to be done and the officials turned to young workers, and intellectuals, Socialist party members, Lovestonites in the needle trades, etc. to assist; and the fact that these more politicized workers could give militant talks to the workers and a militant collaboration to the union was an additional recommendation in the eyes of the officials. We were supposed to be having a "revolution" under Roosevelt in 1933. On their part militants and progressives who did not hold a clear-cut and complete Marxist position (in more than name) found it fairly easy to keep their consciences quiet while not differentiating themselves from the top bureaucrats. There were workers to be enrolled, strikes to be organized. One could agitate for a labor party. Discussion over deeper implications of union policy would have to wait. Figures such as Zimmermann of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. and others less prominent, became the administration in some of the local unions.

### Test Yet to Come

We have pointed out that in the garment industry this is a transition period. The real test of the unions in the industry, and of the various elements in the unions has therefore not yet come. It will, when the employers go still further with abrogating the contract in fact even

if not in name, and presently demand substantial "concessions" in the contract itself and seek to wipe out the unions if they offer real opposition. Such a testing period these unions passed through after the war and post-war expansion, with what disastrous results for the workers is too well known. In such a period a well-organized progressive or left wing with a nucleus of revolutionary Marxists under the guidance and discipline of a revolutionary party, is needed.

Such a progressive movement does not exist in the needle trades today. We are as a matter of fact witnessing the disintegration of the old left wing forces and only the early beginnings of a new genuine left wing adapted to the needs of the coming period. The Stalinists and those under their influence are no longer a left wing force, but rather an extremely conservative one. In not a few instances in the needle trades unions they ally themselves openly with the S.P. old guards or even more reactionary elements. It is not necessary to dwell on the details. The dissipation of the left movement in the unions as a result of the insane policies pursued by the Stalinists over a period of years is, however, a factor that cannot be too strongly emphasized. The fact that it is possible for the Stalinists still to masquerade as "the real revolutionists" makes the situation more difficult. They will not fully expose themselves until the crisis in the industry and the unions is much further advanced than it is today.

### A Hot House Plant

The same holds true of the Lovestonites, for example. The so-called progressive movement under their leadership by no means constitutes a dependable left wing fighting force. It is a hot-house plant fostered by the union administration. It is not a rank and file movement born out of and hardened by the struggle over issues. For the present the Lovestonite union officials can still obscure and evade the issues. But when the conditions in the trade worsen and employers demand real and open concessions from the unions, and the Hillmans and Dubinskys are prepared as ever to help the employers "save the industry," then they will be unable to equivocate successfully, to work hand in glove with the top bureaucrats and at the same time pose as "progressives" and "Bolsheviks." And when we observe that already Lovestonite officials such as Zimmermann find it necessary to go out of their way to seek to combat the still weak forces of the Workers Party in the needle trades, we get an inkling of the course they will then take.

The fact that this is such a transition period as we have sketched accounts for the utterly confused picture presented by the various "groups" and "clubs" in the needle trades unions and the maneuvers in which they are engaging. It

largely accounts also for the extent to which the members in these unions are impressed by the Stalinist proposals for uniting groups, even though this often takes the form of unification with out-and-out right wing machine "clubs" and even on occasion the proposal that "there ought to be no groups in the union at all" which in practice always means that there be no organized force opposed to the union "machine." The members sense that something is wrong; they feel vaguely that danger threatens. But the issues are not yet sharply defined. It must be, they feel, that there are "too many groups"; let us have "unity."

No one can lay down a set of simple rules which can be applied in every specific case in this confused situation. There are, however, a few guiding ideas for the activity of the genuine progressives in this period.

### Guiding Ideas for Progressives

1. It must be frankly recognized that this is a transition period. Confusion, inability to make rapid headway, and so on, must not induce discouragement or impatience.
2. The desire of the workers for unity cannot of course be met with a negative, head-on attack. Progressives themselves must, however, not fall into the notion that the real left wing is going to be built by an attempt to fuse heterogeneous elements on any or no program. So far as possible they must wean the workers away from illusions and sentimentality about "unity in the abstract."

3. As a general thing unity with Stalinist "rank and file" groups is not a progressive step. What is progressive is to expose the role the Stalinists are playing—their capitulation to the S.P. old guard, the union right wingers, their reactionary proposals of "no groups in the union", etc. United action for specific ends to test out the genuineness of unity proposals may be resorted to. If in a given local union merger with such a group is the only way to break up the old situation and toward developing a genuine left wing, progressives must take the step in awareness of its meaning, must not regard merger as the end, as good in itself, and they must so far as possible disabuse the membership of illusions.

4. Finally, a genuine left-progressive movement is built upon issues. The issues will emerge ever more sharply. Then the various tendencies and elements in the unions will appear in their true colors. Since a new left wing must be built on the basis of a program, those advanced workers who constitute the nucleus of that left-wing must already begin to differentiate themselves in the eyes of the members from others, to become the exponents of issues as they arise, to show themselves as militant and responsible leaders in the shops, so that as the conflict deepens the members may know to whom to turn.

## "Soviet Russia and Ethiopia the Goats" Behind the Scenes

By JAMES EVANS

"Soviet Russia and Ethiopia would be the goats."

Rodney Dutcher, Washington NEA correspondent, thus predicts the results that would accompany the possible dissolution of the League of Nations in his column for January 8. As the crisis of international capitalism becomes more acute, it is certain that neither a weak feudal nor a highly developed workers' republic would be spared from aggression. When thieves face desperate extremities, they take desperate measures. Can any informed observer deny that the particular type of thieves' honor, exemplified by the League of Nations, is crumbling along with the hold that the thieves have on the world? Dutcher says rather truthfully for an employee of the capitalist press:

### Behind the Scenes

"Statesmen are constantly tempted by the idea of agreements which would preserve peace in western Europe and localize war by giving Germany a free hand to attack Russia while tossing Ethiopia to the fascist wolf. . . . There are powerful elements both in England and France which hold that destruction of the Soviet government would be a fine thing for the world. The only question among diplomats here is how influential those elements have been and may be expected to be in the backrooms of international politics."

"An alternative plan calls for an 'iron ring' around Germany, which would require appeasement of Mussolini and co-operation from Italy. The appeasement presumably would cover a benevolent Anglo-French attitude toward Italian designs on Austria."

"That alternative may yet be chosen. The British and French may have had it in mind when they tried to serve up Ethiopia on a platter to Mussolini. . . . But recent conversations between the French and the Germans have strengthened a suspicion that all hands were at least flitting with the idea that a confinement of Hitler aggression to Russia would be the best way out of it all."

"But it can be said authoritatively that Berlin is eager for an understanding with London, and that Moscow, forever worrying over the possibility of attack from Germany and Japan at the same time, is jittery."

These statements are plain and apparent to any revolutionist. Beneath all the pompous ceremonies of the League sessions, and the hypocritical oratory about sanctions, still other sessions are being held—gatherings at which the Soviet Union is discussed but to which it is not invited. And in those sessions, the sick-hat bandits drop the idealistic pose of the forum. They become business men discussing a big deal: the dismemberment of the Socialist commonwealth and the accompanying destruction of socialist tendencies throughout the world.

### Loaded Dice

Moreover, the Soviet Union is placed in the melancholy position of being a window-dressing for the contemplated attack upon its very life. Its entrance into the League gave that body an unwarranted prestige in the eyes of millions of workers. Voluntarily, Litvinoff agreed to play a game with loaded dice—for all the high-flown talk about "taking advantage of the imperialist contradictions." The Soviet government has relied upon the personal integrity of sleek diplomats instead of the revolutionary defense of the workers. It has depended upon Laval, Benes, and Baldwin to protect it against attack from the predatory system which these gentlemen uphold.

Certainly, anyone can see that the French "Popular Front" amounts only to gradual emasculation of the revolutionary movement in that powerful imperialist country. With the Popular Front staving off the inevitable reckoning through the shameful truce entered into by Thorez and Blum, Laval is free to negotiate with Hitler at one door and Mussolini at the other.

### Laval Bides His Time

When this is accomplished, the French fascists will make their bid for power, while Monsieur Laval lights his cigar with the Franco-Soviet pact. A concentrated attack upon the Soviet Union, fierce suppression of all working-class movements, will be the tragic results of the Soviet foreign policy. The "democratic nations" enulogized at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern will there relieve themselves of the painful incubus of democracy. Soldiers who might have been influenced for the proletarian revolution, had not the Comintern abandoned its propaganda in the armies, will march from their barracks to kill the toilers both of their own nationalities and of the Soviet Union. Moreover, the Soviet Union has largely forfeited the confidence of the colonial peoples by continuing to sell off to Fascist Italy.

The hour of decision has come for the international working class! There lie potent within modern society the factors for the realization of Fascism and the factors for the establishment of Communism. These are mutually antagonistic issues, not to be solved by support of international capitalist alliances and vague "united fronts" with prosperous gentlemen who say everything and mean nothing. This is the hour for social revolution! For, as this paper has repeatedly emphasized, the central issue is not Fascism versus Democracy. It is Fascism versus Communism. The workers can win only under the leadership of a party which marches unflinchingly to the historic goal of the workers. The order of the day is not the building of reformist "Labor parties" which further confuse the masses. The order of the day is the building of the revolutionary party. But the time is short!

## Relief Rolls Are Pruned In Texas

**Starvation, Graft, and Corruption Rife In State**

(Special to the New Militant)

By JAMES EVANS

DALLAS, Texas—The Texas relief authorities are attempting to appease the hordes of unemployed with a few meager victuals before desperation flares into rebellion. Adam R. Johnson, the Southern aristocrat who directs relief activities in this state, has announced that surplus vegetables still in the local commissaries would be distributed to the unemployed who have been dropped from the rolls. Lest Colonel Johnson appear to be a post-Christmas Santa Claus, it should be remembered that something has to be done with the surplus beans now that direct relief is being suspended. This form of dole will help to perpetuate the illusions of a beneficent government among the workers, causing them to think that the Lord Roosevelt will continue to scatter some manna their way.

### Pruning the Relief Rolls

Meanwhile, the relief rolls are being pruned feverishly to eliminate every individual worker who cannot comply with the intricate rulings of those who fatten on poverty. The state commission has instructed its army of local flunkies to submit a list of their clients with the reasons for retaining them on relief. Every client, certified since November 1st is being dropped from the WPA regardless of his personal circumstances. I know one young teacher, employed on an adult education project, who is entirely typical of those receiving the axe without even the formality of advance notice. This particular client has a pregnant wife, a child, his father, and his mother to support.

The case workers, who has thus turned five people into the breadline, is a woman who has never touched a broom nor picked a row of cotton in her life. When she was appointed to this position two years ago, she boasted to relief clients that she was very glad to have this employment. "I have had nothing to do but ride around and spend money," she said.

### Passing the Buck

When a project worker protests over his dismissal, the buck is passed from one official to the other. Each push-chair grafter politely contradicts the other until finally the worker abandons his appeal out of rage or sheer disgust. For as long as workers can be fooled into believing that individual officials are their friends, they will not resort to mass pressure and defeat these courteous purveyors of starvation.

The destitute members of the middle class are not required to sit with those in overalls while waiting their turn to beg for jobs. But this partiality ends at the office doors. Competent professionals, in dire need, are being denied employment on the cultural projects merely because they have attained some professional standing—although they have simultaneously lost their incomes. On one writers' project, there is not a single bona-fide writer employed, while the supervisor is a very reactionary school teacher. In fact, there are probably not a dozen qualified writers in the state who are working on any of these "literary" projects.

### From Red River to Rio Grande

Meanwhile, the old line labor leaders are attempting quickly to muffle the widespread strike sentiment. Any day may witness a spontaneous walkout of project workers, badly organized and led by men who lack strike experience. But, nevertheless, the WPA strike remains the order of the day in Texas, a strike which must be called and won through immediate coordination of all unemployed workers and progressive trade unionists. The only hope for the workers of Texas is a solid strike front from the Red River to the Rio Grande!

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## Union Hits Dismissals

(Continued from Page 1)

circumstances would they ever be taken back.

"Ewing and Solosy attracted unfavorable attention in company circles because of their work as editors of one of our publications, The Gas Man; and because in November, 1934, they were appointed to investigate the conduct of the company union's general council in behalf of the workers in the company's chemical department. Following that investigation they reported that the company union evidently had been formed to make the employees believe they had collective bargaining when this was not true."

Accompanying Mr. Wersing's letter was a copy of an affidavit by Charles Smith, a former operative for the Railway Audit and Inspection Company, a detective agency, attesting that he was assigned to shadow Solosy while the latter was employed in the chemical department of the Astoria Light, Heat, and Power Company, an affiliate of the Consolidated Gas Co. Documentary evidence also was available, the Mayor was told, to show that Ewing was shadowed by another operative from the same agency.

"In the latter part of 1935 more than 1,500 workers were dropped by the Consolidated-Edison system," Mr. Wersing's letter charged. "These additional 300 lay-offs coming on top of last week's breakdown are clearly indicative of the system's attitude of contemptuous indifference to the public safety. This action is in effect a re-statement of the system's implied contention that it alone rules the light and power industry in Greater New York, and it shows anew that the Consolidated-Edison alliance is concerned not with supplying adequate service to consumers, but in reaping as large a profit as the traffic will bear."

Copies of the Brotherhood's com-

## Ohio WPA Wins Rise

(Continued from Page 1)

have walked off their jobs and come directly in a body to the headquarters to be organized.

Reports of sentiments in the local Workers Alliance, which has consistently refused to cooperate with the union and Unemployed League in the WPA fight, due to the disruptive and slanderous tactics of the C. P. members who have invaded it, indicate that the rank and file is beginning to demand joint action with the union and the leagues.

The union is putting out a weekly paper on the jobs, the "WPA Union News," which has met with a tremendous response. Special weekly leaders' classes on unemployment and labor problems are being held by the union at the Toledo Workers School.

### Likelihood of State WPA Strike

All indications point to a tremendously rapid growth of the union, with a corresponding growth of the Unemployed Leagues. The union has achieved genuine stability and the ideological character of the membership is surprisingly advanced for such a large mass organization. The tactic of organizing the WPA workers into a separate organizational form to deal with their particular problems, while linked organizationally with the general unemployed movement, appears to be a successful one, from the results obtained here.

There is a great likelihood that the growing sentiment for joint action with the Unemployed

plaint went to Nile F. Maltbie, chairman, Public Service Commission; Maurice P. Davidson, Commissioner of Water Supply, Gas, and Electricity; John H. Delaney, chairman, Board of Transportation; John J. McElligott, Fire Commissioner; Dr. John L. Rice, Health Commissioner; and Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, regional chairman, National Labor Relations Board.

Leagues now manifesting itself in the Workers Alliance will shortly pave the way for a state-wide united front between the two organizations and the Ohio Building Trades Councils in a state-wide WPA strike.

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Editor New International

MANNY GARRETT

Editor Young Spartacus

Ausp: Philadelphia Branch, W.P.

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well known physician

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"The Government and the Unions"

Speaker:

A. J. MUSTE

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In Council Room of Local 22

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# Jugoslav Communist Bares Stalin's Anti-Bolshevik Terror

(Continued from Page 1)

consulate on the subject of my passport, without giving me any kind of document to confirm the confiscation of this material.

## The Concentration Camps

### 2. On the concentration camps.

The new and most frightful scourge for those who are persecuted politically in Russia is the concentration camp. There are many concentration camps in Russia, in every region and of varying importance. The new Pharaohs (Jailers—Ed.) in these places "educate" hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants and tens of thousands of criminals, receiving in exchange gratuitous labor. The peasant women and female criminals who are among them are sentenced to "serve" the men and are placed in the condition of practically forced prostitution.

The political prisoners are sent to my knowledge, into four camps: Ukht-Pecherski (Zyryan), Marinski (Central Siberia), Karagandinski (coal mines of Kazakhstan) and the Solovietzki Islands. In the month of December 1934, a new hunger strike broke out in the penitentiary of Verkhni-Uralsk. The prisoners demanded that an end be made of these "additional" sentences of imprisonment, and the immediate release of men arbitrarily held in this way (that is to say, two-thirds of the prisoners). The hunger strike was stopped on the thirteenth day by the dispersal of the comrades to various penitentiaries, concentration camps, and by forced feeding. Nearly 30 comrades were then sent to the concentration camps: most of them, headed by the strike committee (Theodor Dingelstedt, Joseph Krashin, Sasha Silitinski) were sent to the Solovietzki Islands. Some of them, Lado Yeuoukidze, nephew of the famous ex-secretary of the C.E.C., M. Bielov, G. Boiko, etc., to the Ukht-Pecherski camp. In the summer of 1935, almost the whole Bolshevik-Leninist colony of Central Asia (Samarkand, Chirchik, Alma-Ata, Akmolinsk, Aktoubsk, Pavlodar, etc.) were in the major part sent to the concentration camps for a five-year period. Aside from the Bolshevik-Leninists, a considerable section of anarchists, some Zionists, and a few Social Revolutionaries and social democrats are to be found in the concentration camps. The political prisoners are subject to the regular camp regime. They must live and work with the criminals. The criminals are incited against the "politicals." Tens of comrades have endured long hunger strikes, demanding the substitution of the penitentiary for the concentration camp [Vladimir Smirnov, Jr. and S. Shlip-

ski, both of the "Democratic Centralism" group (the Saprovnists), did a 35-day hunger strike for (this modest demand). Several dozen others have conducted hunger strikes for establishing a regime for political prisoners in the camps. In the struggle for this demand fatal accidents occurred in the Marinski camp (among the anarchists). A group of prisoners in the Solovki and certain individuals in the Ukht-Pecherski and Marinski camps have succeeded in obtaining a partial regime for political prisoners, but a large majority of the prisoners, principally in the Marinski and Karagandinski camps, are under the regular regime. In the Marinski camp, during summer, a group of prisoners (among them the anarchist Sandemsky) was forced to walk, or rather to run, to their jobs in the fields, which were at a distance of ten kilometers from their quarters, where they worked until late into the night.

Upon expiration of his sentence in the summer of 1935, Dingelstedt was removed from the Solovki and exiled to Alma-Ata, S. Kraskin to Turukhansk. It is necessary at all costs to secure the liberation of political prisoners from the concentration camps and to put a stop to the practice of sending them there.

## Life in the Penitentiaries

### 3. Some remarks on the penitentiaries and exile.

In the solitary confinement cells of the penitentiary of Verkhni-Uralsk is to be found at the present time the principal part of the Zinovievists (Zinoviev, Kamenev, Kukuline, Zalutski and also Smilga), also the well-known leaders of the Workers' Opposition, Shlipanikov (ill and deaf), and Medvedev, the leader of the "Democratic Centralism" group, who directed the insurrection of October 1917 at Moscow, former secretary of the C.E.C. at the time of Lenin, the old worker-Bolshevik Timopheev Saprovn (he is seriously ill and unless the European proletariat releases him from the penitentiary he will not survive his five-year term).

The Zinovievists behave generally in a capricious fashion but in varying degrees and ways. Zinoviev is busy principally with questions of Fascism (he brought a load of books on Fascism) and with the history of the Russian situation. Kamenev is 98.5 percent in agreement with the general line. Some think that everything is over and that it will be necessary to begin all over again. Kamenev has received as the outcome of a new trial a sentence which runs to ten years. The second trial was based on the charges of a plot against "himself" (that is to say, Stalin). The principal hero of the accusation was Kamenev's own brother,

## Who Are the Exiled Revolutionists In Jails and Concentration Camps?

IN HIS letter, Dr. Anton Ciliga mentions by name scores of men and women jailed and exiled and tortured by Stalin and his henchmen. Many of those mentioned by comrade Ciliga have been languishing in Stalinist dungeons for years: thus among the prisoners mentioned by him are to be found many of those listed in the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition (No. 19, March 1930) among the Bolshevik-Leninists are: Dorozenko, Victor Krayny (driven to insanity), Langer, Papermeister Pavel, S. Silitinski and others; among the "Democratic Centralists" are: Davidov, Essayan, Smirnov and others. These men have been incarcerated since 1929-1930, that is, for over six years.

Stalin persecutes not only his political opponents but their next of kin. Comrade Ciliga's references to wives, sisters, children, etc. of the prisoners denote this clearly enough. The persecution of Trotsky's son is not an exception but the rule.

Here are the records of a few of Stalin's victims: **L. B. KAMENEV:** One of the closest collaborators of Lenin. Member of the party since 1901. First arrested in a student demonstration in 1902. Worked in the Moscow Bolshevik organization. Participated in the Third and the London Congresses of the party. During the 1905 revolution worked in Petrograd up to 1908 when he was again arrested. After arrest he escaped abroad and collaborated closely with Lenin and Zinoviev. In 1913 he was ordered by the C.E.C. to Petrograd. Arrested in 1914 and exiled to Siberia. Member of the C.E.C.; Chairman of the All-Russian C.E.C.; Chairman of the Moscow Soviet (1918-1920), etc., etc.

**G. ZINOVIEV:** One of the closest collaborators of Lenin. Member of the party since 1901. Organized a Bolshevik group in Berne. In 1905 came to Petrograd where he worked in the Bolshevik faction. Participated in the London Party Congress where he was elected member of the C.E.C. on which he remained until Stalin came along. Arrested in 1908; after his arrest went abroad to collaborate most closely with Lenin (Zimmerwald; Kienthal). Returned to Russia in April, 1917 together with Lenin; after the July days went into hiding. Chairman of the Petersburg Soviet; Chairman of the Executive Committee Communist International, etc.

**THEODOR N. DINGELSTEDT:** Member of the Bolshevik party since 1910; member of the Petrograd Committee of the party during the February period of the Russian Revolution; active participant in the October Revolution. From 1923 one of the leaders

the painter Rosenfeld. There were 36

indicted, a mixed and very suspicious collection. The result was two executions (a member of the G.P.U., whose name I do not recall exactly, either Chervakov or Chernodski, and the second, a member of the Kremlin Guard). The rest were condemned to 5 to 10 years, half were transported to Verkhni-Uralsk (most of them courtiers of the Kremlin). Kamenev denied categorically that he knew anything about this affair and insisted that he saw the principal accused individuals for the first time in his life during the trial. His brother announced during the trial that thanks to his last minute arrest,

of the Left Opposition in Leningrad. Arrested at the end of 1927.

**MOUSSIA MAGID:** Member of the Bolshevik party since 1917. When Denikin's hoards raged over the Ukraine she worked in the Bolshevik underground movement. Jailed for supporting the Left Opposition.

**S. P. MEDVEDEV:** Metal worker. Member of the party since 1901 (Iskrovitz); Bolshevik since 1908. Served several sentences in jail and exile under the Czar. Participant of the October Revolution. Member of All-Russian C.E.C. since October, 1917; in 1920 Chairman of the All-Russian Trade Union of Metal Workers. Supporter of the "Workers' Opposition."

**I. T. SMILGA:** Peasant by birth; member of the Bolshevik party since 1907; twice in exile under the Czar; elected member of the C.E.C. in 1917; active participant in the civil war; member of the Revolutionary War Soviet; member of the Supreme Economic Council in 1921, etc., Jailed by Stalin in 1927.

**V. M. SMIRNOV:** Old Bolshevik; after February Revolution worked in Moscow as one of the editors of the Bolshevik paper there; active participant in the October Revolution; member of the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Moscow Soviet in October; participated in the street battles in Moscow; served in the civil war as member of the Revolutionary War Committee; in active service with the army that fought the Czechoslovak divisions and Kolchak, etc. Under Stalin's lock and key since 1927.

**SHLYAPNIKOV:** Communist; during the imperialist war worked in Petersburg and abroad under the direction of the C.E.C. establishing contacts for the center. People's Commissar of Labor after the October Revolution. Leader of the so-called "Workers' Opposition."

**VOYA VUYOVICH:** Erstwhile Secretary of the Young Communist International. Exiled for his support of the Zinoviev group.

Then there are countless others, not named by Dr. Ciliga, languishing in Stalin's Thermidorian jails. Among them, for example, is **Victor Serge**, writer and historian of the Russian Revolution, exiled not for his activities, but merely for his sympathies with Trotsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists.

**Assassination and physical extermination:** Blumkin, murdered in cold blood by the G.P.U.; Butov, driven by the G.P.U. torture to "suicide"; Kote Zingadze, denied medical attention, exiled to unbearable climate, died.

khni-Uralsk are also to be found twenty men of the Right Opposition (Slepov, Astrov, etc. Riutin was there before, I do not know if he still is). Finally, some anarchists (Barmach), S.R.'s, Zionists, social democrats, and 40 to 50 Bolshevik-Leninists.

## Who People the Solitaries?

In all, some 200 prisoners. In the penitentiaries of Chelabinsk, Yaroslavl and Soudal are to be found other groups of political prisoners of all currents. At Soudal the second leader of the "Dem-

ocratic Centralists," V. M. Smirnov, is to be found. He served his five years at Soudal in 1935; he was at liberty for half a month at Oulala (Oirat Tour) and at the present time he has been imprisoned for another five year term at Soudal. Voya Voyovitch, former secretary of the Y.C.I., is also to be found there. His wife, Budzinskaja, is at Verkhni-Uralsk (with the sister of Unsicht). Taking advantage of the change that has taken place in the prisoner personnel, the administration has again worsened the legal conditions and the rations of the prisoners. Famine rations have again been introduced, particularly in the penitentiaries of Yaroslavl and Verkhni-Uralsk. With the decrease in construction during the second Five Year Plan, unemployment has become a daily phenomenon in exile. At Yenisseisk, where I spent my last year, half of the exiles literally starved to death. The children of a new arrival to the concentration camp, M. Belov, became ill because of malnutrition and died of hunger before the eyes of all. The same news arrives from Minussinsk, in Central Asia, from the Naryn Province of Archangel. At Minussinsk, there are, at the present time, Kossior, Moussia Magid, Dorozenko, Yakoubson, the social democrat, etc. At Yenisseisk: Papermeister Pavel, Balmonchov, Grall, Doubenbaum, Kolomenko; the Viennese V. Langer (he is systematically deprived of work); the S.R.'s, Teodor Isavitch, Tsederbaum, Marc Levine, Eva V. Losman, the left S.R.'s, the brother and sister, Louissin, the Zionists, Bernstein and Kogan; the sister of Medvedev and a large number of Leningradists.

In the spring of 1935, Siberia was filled up with Leningradists. They were transported there in entire trainloads, whole families with children, wives, parents, etc. Many of them have been sent into places which are all the way north: Oudorsk, Doudinno, Vorilsk, Turakhansk, Verkhnearsk. Several tens of thousands of comrades were exiled from Leningrad. A group of women, the sister of Zinoviev, the widow of Chatski (who was shot), the sister of Kuklin, etc., are to be found in exile at Vorogod (between Yenisseisk and Turakhansk). The situation of the major part of the Leningradists is tragic. The Zinovievist functionaries haven't a very noble bearing, and deport themselves without dignity. The workers' section keeps its mouth closed, makes no requests, tells no lies to the G.P.U., doesn't fall on its knees ten times a day in order to be pardoned.

At Yenisseisk a group of Oppositionists was arrested during the summer (the Democratic Centralists Davidov and Boiko, the Bolshevik-Leninist Maksimov) and two groups of Zinovievists. The Oppositionists are accused of having en-

deavored to "sway" the Zinovievists. In the course of the affair it was shown that the G.P.U. persuaded and tried to force the Zinovievists to bear witness that the "oppositionists" had "swayed" them. The Zinovievists sent a general statement about this affair to the prosecuting attorney of the U.S.S.R. It was also discovered that the "local G.P.U." was acting in a provocative way on instructions from Moscow. At present the whole group has been in prison for three months, the hearing is over and a decision is awaited from Moscow.

## Help the Exiles!

To compel Moscow to provide work for the exiles, to eliminate the famine rations in the penitentiaries, to release political prisoners from the concentration camps, to release from exile and from dungeons and to allow the Yugoslav comrades Deditch, Dragulich and Haecherl to return abroad—these tasks leave me no peace. I think of them day and night. And I am ready to do everything in my power to relieve the fate of the hundreds of comrades with whom I spent five and a half years in prison and exile and with whose terrible situation I am so well and so directly acquainted. I think something can be achieved by the pressure of the European workers and of the democratic movement.

## 4. On political life in the solitaries, penitentiaries and in exile.

There remains too little time to enable me to describe this aspect of the situation as it warrants. It will be necessary to do it separately and a little later, in a week or two. I may say, in a few words, that at Verkhni-Uralsk the political life was very intense, a host of articles used to appear on all questions of social life in the U.S.S.R. and also on the principal question of international politics during the period 1930-33: Fascism, Germany. A series of papers appeared (written by hand), issued by all the groups, sub-groups and currents. Great discussions were held. In 1931-32, the Bolshevik-Leninist group underwent splits and lived in organizational chaos. In 1933-34 a rapprochement in opinions was reached anew and a single B.-L. collective was set up with a single paper. Several (about ten) Bolshevik-Leninists went over to the Democratic Centralists. Conflicts and splits also took place among the Democratic Centralists and among the partisans of Mynnikov, but in 1933-34 there was also a rapprochement and a "federation of left communists" was created. The views of the Bolshevik-Leninists in the penitentiaries were oriented in the same direction as those of the Opposition abroad and of comrade L. D. Trotsky.

With fraternal greetings,

A. CHILGA.

## Hangmen of Finnish Workers Pay Homage to Scandinavian 'Socialists' -- and they Reciprocate

By A. J.

OSLO, Norway.—On December 8 to 10, the annual conference of the "Scandinavian Internationale" met in Helsingfors, Finland. This outfit originated as an alliance of the Swedish, Danish and Finnish social democracies. But, for more than a year, the Norwegian Labor party has also been participating in it.

The extremely reactionary character of this "Internationale" was especially emphasized this year by the fact that the conference was welcomed not only by the Finnish social democracy, but also by the official host, the Finnish government. The latter invited their "colleagues, the messrs ministers of state," to dinner and placed the national broadcasting system at their disposal.

**Glance Into Finland's History**  
In order to make clear to the reader the full significance of this behavior on the part of the Scandinavian social democrats, it is necessary to digress for a moment into the post-war history of Finland.

During the war, the Social Democratic party of Finland grew into the strongest party in the country. It captured an absolute majority in the national elections of 1916. Thereupon parliament was not convoked. The February revolution in Russia unleashed also the revolutionary energies of the Finnish proletariat. But the "great" social democracy proved to be a Centrist conglomeration, unequal to the tasks before it.

**Social Democracy Misses Chance**

This party completely missed the most favorable moment for insurrection in November, 1917, immediately following the victorious uprising in Petrograd. It thus permitted the Finnish bourgeoisie to organize the counter-revolution with the aid of the Russian general Mannerheim and the troops of the Hohenzollerns. Only after a long period of vacillation, and amidst open sabotage from its Right wing, the social democracy also prepared for a struggle. In Southern Finland the uprising took place despite, rather than because of the Social Democratic party, which

still trusted in its strong position in parliament.

The governmental activity of the Finnish social democrats consisted of a type of passivity and indolence which is unparalleled in history. While the counter-revolution armed and organized itself openly and entirely unhampered, within the very boundaries of the "Red" South, no one even thought of taking up the offensive against the White North. In this manner the victory of the Finnish White troops, and of their allies: the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollerns, was guaranteed in advance.

### The White Terror

The White Terror of the victors ranks high at the top of the list in the history of counter-revolutions throughout the ages. Take into consideration the numerically weak population of Finland—3,402,000—and you will grasp the full weight of the following figures: Toward the end of the civil war, 90,000 workers were incarcerated in the concentration camps and jails; 16,000 workers were executed outright. In the course of four months 75,200 sentences were meted out by the Special Tribunals. The prisoners, women and children among them, were subjected to the most hair-raising atrocities by the White Finnish bands and by the White Russian and German mercenaries.

90,000 workers in the jails! At that, the statistics for all of Finland, taking in the whole year 1917, show a figure of altogether 89,000 industrial workers. In 1919 and 1920 the Finnish government had to resort to broad amnesty measures for no other reason save that otherwise the Finnish capitalists could find no labor power on the market! And yet, the wounds inflicted during the Finnish civil war have endured till this very day. Year after year finds the government exerting the sharpest form of repression against the labor movement—dissolution of organizations, arrests, workhouse sentences, etc. The statistics for the year 1932 show that 350 revolutionary workers were convicted to 800 years imprisonment in that period alone. In many cases, the penalty for par-

ticipation in the revolutionary movement amounted to as much as fifteen years imprisonment.

### Stool-Pigeon Activity

The "legal" social democracy in this country is like a dog with its tail between its legs. Somewhat in the same position as the Hungarian social democracy, which also "enjoys" Horthy's legality. And it behaves accordingly. It denounces its own radical members to the police and takes care to see that they are "brought to justice." It helps the government disband the trades unions whenever the latter are in the hands of a revolutionary majority and organizes new, yellow unions. In the winter of 1933 this party sunk so low as to propose in parliament that the Fascist defense organizations—which did the hangman's bloody work for the counter-revolution of 1918—be incorporated as a reserve army in the military apparatus.

After all this, it is clear enough that the Finnish social democrats did not invite the social democratic representatives of the neighboring countries as a demonstration against the Finnish government, but on the contrary, as a service to it. The Finnish bourgeoisie is well aware of the dangers attendant on a new world war, insofar as it is concerned. For a long time it flirted with the German-Polish anti-Soviet alliance. Of late, it is more attracted by the neutral Scandinavian position. Alliance with the rest of the Scandinavian countries (and with England) appears to be a way out for the difficult position of its Foreign Office. That is why the reactionary Finnish government took into its own bosom the international carnival rigged up by its social democratic errand boy.

### Eulogy for Butchers

As is usual on such occasions, there is a great deal of speech-making. The perorations of Swedish Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson and his Danish colleague Stauning about the attributes of the peaceful government form of democracy were remarkable enough as they resounded over the net-

works in this Finland of the Lappo terror. But Norwegian "Labor Premier" Nygaardsvold's address was even more remarkable, for he showed the awkward zeal of the parvenue. His speech grew into a veritable eulogy of the Finnish nationalists. He even went so far as to give vent to his sympathetic understanding for the suppression of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland.

Among other things, he said: "I understand the Finnish people from the viewpoint, that every people can only become great and strong when and if it builds on its own foundations and upon its own free culture."

The "Arbeiterbladet" of Oslo defends these noteworthy sentiments with the even more remarkable contention that they contain an "old socialist truism, which no socialist can contradict." If the noble Nygaardsvold had expressed these views at the time of Finland's oppression under Czarism, they might not have been an "old socialist truism" but at any rate, a petty bourgeois viewpoint of relatively progressive character. But the editorial writers of the N.A.P. overlook the fact that what may have been relatively progressive in 1916 is ultra-reactionary in 1936.

The Finnish bourgeoisie has the years 1918 behind it. That year transformed it into an extremely counter-revolutionary factor. Aside from that, the N.A.P. politicians, so belatedly solicitous about the national renaissance of Finland, have simply forgotten that the Finnish bourgeoisie has ceased to be an oppressed, and has become an oppressing bourgeoisie. It indulges in this oppression—like the Czech bourgeoisie—out of vengeance for the centuries of its own suffering—with particular intensity. Moreover, Finland cannot become "great and strong" any more "on its own foundations." Finnish nationalism

\*Lappo is the terrorist organization of the Finnish Fascists, given a free hand by the "democratic" government.

\*\*Official organ of the N.A.P.

can only lead the Finnish people into the abyss. Only the Finnish proletariat, by its revolution, can create a vigorous life for the Finnish people—within the borders of a Soviet Europe.

The policy of the London Bureau and of the S.A.P. in their approach to the N.A.P. has not been able to prevent the latter from becoming one of the most degenerate reformist parties in the Scandinavian—serving as it does, the interests of the most extreme Finnish nationalism. It must be clear to everyone by now, that collaboration with reformist leaders who take the road to a nationalistic, "Autarchy" policy in their own country, can only mean participation in their treachery. In the Scandinavian, also, the recuperation of the labor movement leads toward the building of sections of the Fourth International.

## NEW MILITANT

with which is merged  
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## NEWS FROM NORWAY

### 1. The N.A.P. and the S.A.P. International.

The Plenum of the National Committee of the Norwegian Labor Party (N.A.P.) was held in Oslo Nov. 16-18. At this session a communication from the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity (formerly known as the I.A.G. or the London-Amsterdam Bureau) came up for discussion, among other things. The communication requests the N.A.P. for information whether the N.A.P. shall continue to be regarded as a member of this bureau or not. (This, it appears, is the manner in which this bureau handles questions of international policy.) The N.A.P., which has not up to the present been disturbed by the Bureau in its evolution toward the Scandinavian type of purely reformist parties, finally felt the time had come to give up this somewhat compromising relationship.

In doing so, the N.A.P. showed that they, at any rate, take their reformist principles much more seriously than this famous Bureau takes its revolutionary shingle. The National Committee adopted the following resolution on this question: (Arbeiterbladet, Nov. 18, 1935):

"When the Norwegian Labor party began its collaboration with the independent labor parties, it did so with the object of advancing the unification of the international labor movement into a single international. The party has repeatedly declared that this is the prerequisite for its participation in the Collaboration Committee which has been set up. Of late, this Collaboration Committee has developed

more and more into an independent political organism with a program and directives all its own. Some of the parties represented in this Committee are working also for the formation of a Fourth International.

"Under these circumstances, the National Committee of the Norwegian Labor party is of the opinion that the prerequisites for the participation of the party in this form of international collaboration no longer exist. The party will nevertheless continue to work with all its might for an international unification."

### 2. "Mot Dag" (Norway) and the Sanctions Question.

The "Mot Dag" organization is affiliated to the London Bureau (S.A.P. Bureau) as a sympathizing organization. Its representative, Orslin, attended its Paris conference this year as well as its London sessions. This organization is also, as a matter of fact, represented in the Secretariat of the Stockholm Youth Bureau. In association with this outfit, the S.A.P. decided to expel the representative of the International Communist League from the Stockholm Youth Bureau. In the Nov. 9 issue of their paper, these allies of the S.A.P. take a position on the sanctions question. One quotation suffices in order to prove that the views of this organization are in no respect different from the social-patriotism of the Second and Third Internationals:

"Some revolutionary groups attack the sanctions policy because they believe that it will lead to war with Italy and to collaboration with the bourgeois-radical parties (the reference is to France—Tr.). This position causes these groups to adopt the same point of view as the Fascists, against their own will, and to commit the same mistakes as the Comintern did in its worst ultra-left period. . . . In a certain phase of this development the League of Nations can become an instrument in the interests of the working class and of peace."

It is interesting to note, also, that today this group is trying to join the N.A.P., declaring that it is in no case a political group with a distinct platform, but a "Trade Union of Intellectuals" (sic). It is obvious: opportunism knows no limits. . . .



# The War Policy of U.S. Imperialism

## NEUTRALITY LAWS AND WAR

### Pacifism versus Revolutionary Policy

By JOHN WEST

A striking indication of the depth of the war crisis is the fact that, during these first weeks of the present session of Congress, the hearings and debate over "neutrality legislation" have received more newspaper space and headlines than any other Congressional news—more even than the potentially vote-corralling Bonus. Senator Nye is becoming a name for housewives and ward-healers to conjure with. Every day brings a juicy scandal from the files of the State Department or Morgan & Co. Carter Glass plays his favorite role of ancient Roman Senator denouncing the deserters of the temple, and defends the honor of his war-time leader—who was besides, sir, a Southern gentleman—against Nye's infamous accusations. The resigning monarch of the House of Morgan smokes his big pipe, smiles jovially at reporters, and poses with his inquisitors for the cameramen.

"Neutrality" is hardly a new problem. Particularly in the United States have the conceptions of "neutrality," "neutrality policy" and "neutrality rights" had a long and checkered career. Around these conceptions have revolved the leading ideas of American foreign policy as a whole. They deserve careful analysis.

#### "Neutrality" Part of War Policy

The first and essential pre-requisite to an understanding of the concept of "neutrality" and any specific neutrality proposals or legislation is to realize that such a concept or such proposals and legislation are a **fundamental part of the war policy of the United States** (or of any other capitalist state which makes use of them). This basic fact is no doubt obscured by the attitude toward neutrality and neutrality legislation taken by Roosevelt, Nye, the liberals, the Nation, the New Republic, the Daily Worker, the New Leader, and the Socialist Call. But it none the less remains a fact for all that; and it could not be otherwise.

The business of the state is to serve the interests of capital. These interests, from time to time, reach a point of such tremendous conflict that a temporary solution can be reached only through war. Modern war is a gigantic and involved undertaking, and must be systematically prepared for over a long period of years. The most obvious part of the preparation is the building of armaments. But there is more to it than this. Speeches, laws, and declarations about neutrality are one vastly important part of the preparation.

How else could they be understood? Undoubtedly, on any account, they have something to do with the problem of war. But, we are told, they are efforts to maintain and secure peace—not at all part of the preparation for war. This, however, could be true only if peace were possible under capitalism. We know that it is not. We know that capitalism leads inevitably to war. We know that the program of every capitalist state is necessarily a war program. For the capitalist state to abandon a war program would be simply for it to abdicate, since only through war can it endure. Consequently, neutrality measures can be understood only as part of the war program of the capitalist state.

#### Who Believes Neutrality Means Peace?

Who is it that doubts this? Who believes that neutrality measures are part of a peace program? It is not Roosevelt. On Friday in his annual message he states that adequate neutrality legislation is the major task of the present session. On Monday he follows with his annual budget providing an increase of \$200 millions in the appropriation of the regular budget for military preparation—with no telling how much more will flow from relief funds. As Roosevelt knows, these are simply two sides of the same program. There is no contradiction whatever between them. It is not Hearst. He is a major champion of neutrality (in the form of "isolation.") And he also, quite naturally, is a major champion of big navies—in order, as he explains, to defend neutrality. It is not the American Liberty League, which, with all its howling for economy, never says a word about military expenditure and thoroughly concurs in the plan to have a "strong" neutrality program. It is not General Smedley Butler. In his speech to the American League at Cleveland he showed the delegates clearly enough—if they had wanted to listen—how neutral it and a modern mechanized army and navy go hand in hand together. It is not Morgan. He and the Nye Committee collaborate harmoniously in the mutual effort to work out a satisfactory neutrality program for

this country.

The New York Times, authentic voice of finance-capital, sums the matter up succinctly, Jan. 19th, in an article by Harold B. Hinton: "Neutrality, in the last analysis, must always present itself to this country as a problem in trade relations." Nor is the problem peculiarly American. Augur, the brilliant director of the Times' foreign service, somewhat grimly applies the lesson to England: "Britain will arm to the teeth not for war but for the defense of peace."

These are serious men, who know what they are talking about.

#### Chloroform for the Masses

No, it is not these who doubt that the neutrality policy of a capitalist state is part of its war program, who delude themselves with the myth that it is a "means for ensuring peace." It is, unfortunately, the masses—too trusting and too desperately eager to grasp at any straw labeled "peace"—who cherish such illusions. And the masses do so, above all, because they are deceived and confused by the horde of false "friends of peace" whose efforts spread the lies and distortions. From within and outside the working class, the pacifists and social-patriots carry forward betrayal. It is they who advise the masses: Support strong neutrality legislation, and strike a blow for peace. Which, translated, means: Support the war program of the imperialist state, and prepare for sacrifice in the coming war.

The neutrality proposals prominent at present can be divided into three major types:

#### "Freedom of the Seas"

(1) The traditional neutrality policy of the United States since its foundation has been the doctrine of "the freedom of the seas." The theory of this doctrine is that the U. S. wants peace; it wishes to avoid all "foreign entanglements"; it demands only that its nationals shall be left free to carry on trade over the high seas with any customers they may choose.

A year ago Secretary of State Hull made statements in part apparently abandoning this traditional doctrine. And there is no doubt that the publicity given its consequences in 1914-17 has made it fall into a certain public disfavor. Nevertheless it remains a cornerstone of U. S. policy. The Administration Neutrality Bill, when introduced, contained it in a modified form in the clause permitting, (i.e., demanding) "normal trade" with belligerents in all but actual war munitions. Great leeway is allowed for the definition of "normal trade," and no provision is made to shut off indirect shipment to belligerents through neutrals. It should also be remembered that increased trade with future belligerents begins in advance of actual hostilities, during the period of the rapid accumulation of war reserves—so that almost any amount of trade could in fact be defined as "normal." Even this, however, was not enough. Under the pressure of Borah and other "traditional" Senators, an amending clause has been inserted to guarantee continued full upholding of the freedom of the seas doctrine.

#### Profits, Trade and War

This doctrine is consistent and realistic. It is entirely false to believe that American capitalists want war. Like other capitalists, they want profits. They strongly prefer to gain profits peacefully, by "trade." They know that war is an expensive, hazardous undertaking, and besides they have moral scruples against it. So they ask, in all sincerity, only to carry on their trade in peace. Those nations can do the fighting, and the U. S. capitalists will stick to their profits. The comparative geographical isolation of the U. S. and its immense material resources give a semblance of plausibility to this idea, since the U. S. is not so immediately involved in international political disputes as are European nations.

But—such are the perversities of capitalist society—the laudable aim of the U. S. capitalists runs into a jam. Other nations, struggling for their political lives, cannot permit "freedom of the seas" without destroying themselves. They must have the "freedom," so far as possible, apply only to themselves, and not to their enemies. Nations fight wars in order to win them. Thus the warring nations are forced to

infringe the—entirely "reasonable"—rights of the honest neutral Uncle Sam, who asks only peace and freedom. This is naturally a severe moral—and, incidentally, financial—shock to U. S. capitalists. They can put up with it for a time, and to a certain point. But, after all, the honor of a great nation, and the profits and potential profits of its capitalists, can endure only so much. After all, economics is not everything. When honor is at stake, more vulgar considerations must go by the board.

So, with infinite regret, and a call on all classes for truly patriotic sacrifice, the war to defend the rights of the neutral and peace-loving United States is declared.

#### The Doctrine of "Isolation"

(2) The second neutrality policy now current, which has also a long history, is the program of "isolation." This is a favorite of liberals, the avowed theory of Senator Nye, and, in a somewhat different form, of Hearst. This doctrine says that "freedom of the seas" must be abandoned, since it got us into the last war and would get us into the next. The U. S. will have to isolate itself rigidly from any war situation, will have to remain in strict financial and economic quarantine, sacrificing the "war profits."

The neutrality bills now before Congress are on the whole a hybrid of this second type and the first.

The doctrine of "isolation" is a vicious and fatal myth. In terms of historical actuality, isolation for the U. S. is simply a direct impossibility. What could it possibly mean? Even if—which is also impossible—foreign commerce to warring nations could be cut off entirely, it is necessary to remember that U. S. economic enterprise is not at all confined at any time to the geographical boundaries of the nation. American capital owns or is invested in industries of all kinds throughout the world—automobile and airplane plants, oil wells and refineries, transportation and communication systems, mines, plantations, public utilities, railroads, to mention only a few. What would happen to these under the rule of "isolation"? Would U. S. capitalists sit back quietly and allow the warring nations to take them over? Would such industries also (and how?) be "forbidden" to trade with the belligerents?

#### Life-Blood of Imperialism

But what an absurdity to suppose that even commerce could be shut down. In an imperialist nation, foreign investment and trade (however small a percentage of total turnover they may represent) are essential to the functioning of capitalist economy. Without it, imperialism collapses. No class can allow

the system which supports its social position to collapse without a struggle. Uncontrollable forces would wedge through any conceivable isolationist scheme. Anyone who doubts this need only glance over recent monthly foreign trade reports during the period of operation of the temporary isolationist neutrality legislation adopted last summer.

What then is the function of isolationist neutrality propaganda? It too has a basic part to play in the war program of U. S. imperialism. The U. S. does not need to enter the coming war at the outset. The probable strategy will be to wait until the opponents are to some extent exhausted, and then to step in holding the decisive position (though a "preventive" war against Japan is not excluded).

Consequently, the rulers of the U. S. can afford the luxury of a more indirect long term preparation for the war than is possible to the hard-pressed European nations. Preparation for war means not merely building armaments, collecting reserves of material, and organizing industry. It also means, especially in the present era, the psychological and moral preparation of the masses for war. The masses must be led to see the war as "just" to accomplish this, they must be systematically deceived as to the true nature and cause of war. In such deception in this country, the doctrine of isolation plays a great part, creating the grossest pacifist illusions. By its falsification of the real position of the U. S., it hinders the development of the genuine fight against war, and directs the energy of those seeking peace into the harmless chase after a will-o'-the-wisp.

(3) The third current doctrine of neutrality is the American counterpart of the theory of "sanctions." Secretary Hull has flirted with this from time to time, but its foremost supporter in this country is the Communist party together with the organizations under its influence. This is the doctrine of Litvinov, applied by the C. I. sections within capitalist nations in the same way that Litvinov applies it as spokesman for the Soviet State.

The basic pre-requisites of neutrality legislation according to this theory, as given by the Daily Worker, Jan. 2, are: "(1) Recognition of world collective action to maintain peace; (2) branding of an aggressor; (3) lifting of arms embargo against the victim of aggression, tightening it against an AGGRESSOR; (4) arms embargoes to be extended not only to financial aid to an aggressor, but to include the MOST VITAL war materials of today—oil, cotton, copper, iron, and such other raw materials in which American supplies are decisive."

#### The "Aggressor" and Status Quo

This type of neutrality legislation is the most openly of all an integral part of a war program. Since the question of who is the "aggressor" is purely juridical and moral in character—all capitalist nations being equally involved in the international system which inevitably breeds wars—such a doctrine is merely a formulation of one possible way in which nations to whom on the whole, maintenance of the status quo is desirable, can plan to secure such maintenance. This applies above all to the Stalinist bureaucracy. The status quo is also, on the whole, desired by British and French imperialism, but they find acceptance of the extreme theory of sanctions too risky. They advocate it therefore in a diluted form.

The U. S. also wants for the time being, the status quo. But the U. S. does not so imperiously need to take dangerous steps to gain this end, nor does the U. S. isolationist tradition make a "sanctions" doctrine easy to come out with openly. However, even the present proposed neutrality legislation, nominally applying equally to all belligerents, contains something of the "sanctions" against an aggressor idea: in effect it works out to aid one or the other side, just as "freedom of the seas" in the last war acted in part as sanctions against Germany. Later on the need of U. S. imperialism to smooth the way for the declaration of war may require more openly sanctionist legislation or declarations. Roosevelt's annual message, with its attack on autocratic war-making dictatorships foreshadowed such a possibility, which would make it easy for a moral mobilization of the nation in a war against the "aggressor," against fascism, tyranny and militarism.

An examination in the concrete of proposed forms of neutrality legislation only serves to establish more unquestionably what is clear enough in general to begin with: Neutrality legislation of any sort whatever on the part of a capitalist state is and can be nothing else than one aspect of its war program. Different types of neutrality legislation are only different theories of what best serves the long-run interests of the basic war program.

What, then, are we to conclude? We can and must conclude that **advocacy and support of neutrality legislation is necessarily advocacy and support of the war program of the imperialist state.** Such advocacy and support within the working class, therefore, is a form of betrayal on the question of war. It must be exposed, fought against, and eliminated.

There is only one struggle against the revolutionary struggle against the system that breeds war, the struggle for world socialism. Let us put an end to the deadly myth that the war makers—the capitalist states—are going to be the ones to do away with that through which alone they endure. The struggle against war is nothing other than the class struggle for workers' power.

## Morgan Coined Gold Out of Workers Blood

(Continued from Page 1)

the profits out of war. Besides Wall Street can still be consoled with the comment by the New York Times on these investigations, that the "financial sensations have all been exploded, with little or no damage."

It is to be expected that the bankers like these investigations about as much as they now like the New Deal. But for Roosevelt this is one way of applying pressure for his specific aims. In his recent messages to Congress the neutrality policy stood out prominently. Yet his budget message proposed to set aside about a billion dollars for the 1936 armament expenditures.

#### A Sham Opposition

It is one thing to investigate the bankers, but it is something entirely different to take steps toward a change of the system that makes Wall Street possible. The Wilson administration also had its period of "opposition" to the bankers. On the whole much in the present situation is reminiscent of those days; and where in the decisive moments the real and the important pressure was applied has been shown very clearly by the records of the Department of State, brought out in the hearings of the Nye committee.

At a very early stage of the world war the Wilson administration was committed to a policy of strict neutrality, according to the records of the committee. When the question of loans to the allied powers by the American bankers was first broached, W. Jennings Bryan, who was then Secretary of State, formulated an adverse opinion set down in a letter of January 20, 1915, saying that "money is the worst form of contraband because it commands everything else." Wil-

son expressed the wish that such loans should not be made. Shortly thereafter, Robert Lansing, a Councillor of the Department of State, authorized the bankers to extend credits, advising them, however, not to submit the question to the government for a formal opinion. Purchases of munitions and other war material by the allied powers increased in volume at a rapid pace. From then on began the real intervention of American finance capital, and especially of the House of Morgan.

#### Morgan Turns on the Heat

Apparently following the advice of Lansing the House of Morgan carried on secret negotiations for a \$100,000,000 loan to the allied powers. But the task of changing the government policy against loans still remained, and an opportunity to do so soon came. In August 1915 there was a crisis of exchange. The pound sterling rate declined. Previously the House of Morgan had supported sterling, a policy it now suddenly abandoned it, and for obvious reasons. Bankers, including governors of Federal Reserve Districts, quickly made their presentation to the Department of State. In the language of the Nye committee, they "turned the heat on." They visualized the danger that the decline of sterling would wipe out all profits on goods sold even before it was actually delivered. Robert Lansing, now Secretary of State, wrote his famous letter to Wilson—a letter never included in Lansing's Memoirs. He estimated that for the year 1915, excess exports over imports would reach the stupendous sum of two and a half billion dollars. The pre-war average had been about half a billion. "It is estimated that the

European banks have about three and one-half billions of dollars in gold in their vaults," said Lansing. He insisted it would be disastrous to withdraw any considerable amount, and if the European countries cannot find the means to pay they would have to stop buying, thus causing a proportionate shrinkage of American export trade. "The result," said Lansing, "would be restriction of outputs, industrial depression, idle capital and idle labor, numerous failures, financial demoralization and general unrest. . . . It would therefore be necessary, according to Lansing, to adopt a policy of extending loans.

In the characteristic manner of secret diplomacy Wilson answered: ". . . we should say that 'parties' will take no action either for or against such a transaction," but that this should be orally conveyed, so far as we are concerned, and not put in writing."

The policy on war loans thus changed. The House of Morgan floated not a mere \$100,000,000 but loans totalling in excess of one billion dollars. Morgan "turned the heat on" the munition manufacturers inducing them to subscribe heavily. The House of Morgan became the sole purchasing agency for the allied powers, placing orders to the tune of a total of three billion dollars for which it received the handsome commission of \$30,000,000. Contracts for war materials were let to a total of 888 firms in which Morgan had what he described to the committee hearings as a "negligible interest." As one example of this there is the United States Steel Corporation, organized by the elder Morgan, who received a promotion fee of \$125,000,000 in cash and common stocks. This alone would suggest the degree of interest held by the House of Morgan in U. S. Steel.

Still after this change of policy on war loans and after the initial heavy deliveries of war materials to the allied powers, Wilson man-

## Danger in Scottsboro

### AN EDITORIAL

THE Scottsboro cases are in court again.

At no time since their original trial has the mass movement of protest on behalf of the nine innocent boys been at a lower ebb. At no time has the need for such a movement been greater, as the energetic attempts of trial Judge Callahan to rush the first case through to a conviction indicate.

To frustrate and expose these efforts of the prosecution and to back up the legal defense, a broad campaign of counter-pressure is imperatively necessary.

The new "Scottsboro Defense Committee" has called a meeting in New York City for January 26. This will be held, however, after the trial is over!

During the month preceding the trial, when such protests are most effective, the I.L.D. did not call a single mass meeting or demonstration in New York City specifically in support of the boys. The only such meeting held was that of January 8, called by the New York branch of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense. Conditions in the rest of the country appear to be the same.

The Committee has just published a pamphlet, "The Scottsboro Case." This pamphlet asks readers to send the Committee money. Money for defense is a good thing. Why not also ask readers to send a letter of protest to Gov. Bibb Graves of Alabama or to Lt.-Gov. Tom Knight, the vindictive prosecutor? Why not ask readers to get their organizations to adopt resolutions? Why not call for mass meetings and demonstrations throughout the country?

The pamphlet contains a four-page chronological outline of the formal developments in the case and 19 pages of Judge J. E. Horton's decision, when he set aside the second conviction of Patterson on the grounds that it was contrary to the evidence. The introduction to this material, signed by the Committee, states:

"In our judgment no one who reads Judge Horton's temperate and fair statement of the evidence can fail to conclude that the Scottsboro boys are wholly innocent of the charge of rape."

Let us not recall that when Horton issued his decision in June, 1933 the I.L.D. stated that his motive was to make it easier to kill the boys. Let us not even stop to ask why the Committee now goes out of its way to praise the judge for his "fairness" in deciding not to join a lynch party.

Let us simply ask this: how is that the jury which heard all the evidence which Judge Horton heard, concluded that the boys were "guilty"? Apparently there are exceptions to the "no one who reads" rule laid down by the Committee. And the main exception seems to be Alabama juries! With them, at least, evidence does not decide.

The "Scottsboro Defense Committee," in all its news releases, statements, etc., gives only one reason for supporting the boys: that they are innocent.

But they will never be acquitted if the fight is made simply on a legal basis.

The only sure fortress of the Scottsboro boys is the masses. Only a militant campaign of mass protest can force court and jury and the class forces behind them to heed the laws and to heed the evidence. That is the lesson of hundreds of labor cases. It is the lesson of five years of Scottsboro itself.

In calling this lesson to the attention of the Committee, we must admit that we feel uncertain of its reception. The New York Times reports, obviously after an interview with Leibowitz, that the defense is going to test the theory of winning this case by keeping radicals out of the picture.

The boys were arrested, charged, tried and convicted before a radical or a liberal or a Yankee intervened in their behalf. The cry of "Reds" is a prosecution trick. The intention of Leibowitz, which he has carried out successfully for three years thanks to the I.L.D., is to run everybody out of the case except reactionaries, and to see that the mass campaign stays at its present low ebb or sinks even lower.

Before one asks whether the Committee will be able to stop his plans, one must ask whether the Committee intends to. The Committee states that it has retained Leibowitz and his reactionary Huntsville, Ala., associate, Clarence Watts. Then is not Leibowitz's strategy the strategy of the Committee? Then how can the Committee organize a mass protest campaign?

Before it is too late and dire consequences result, we call upon the Scottsboro Defense Committee to reconsider its policy. The Scottsboro boys are in grave danger. Only a broadly organized, aggressive movement of mass protest can save them. The only victory is freedom. Leibowitz's policy will never get it.

aged to put Congress on record

against what he called the intolerable attitude of Britain's interference with the freedom of the seas. Wilson's intervention for peace at that particular time, has been characterized by Senator Clark, of the Nye committee, as an effort to "draft terms definitely to the advantage of the Allies, terms which Germany was sure to refuse, thereby opening the way for our entrance into the war on the Allies' side." Nevertheless in the presidential elections of 1916 Wilson could roll up a plurality vote on the slogan: "He kept us out of war." In reality the way had already been opened for America's entrance into the war on the side of the Allies.

#### Louising Gives Game Away

In March, 1917, Wilson proposed his fateful declaration of war, proclaimed to be the result of the loss of "lives of peaceful and innocent people," in the unrestricted submarine warfare that Germany put into effect. But in the voluminous documentation, the state correspondence and the correspondence of the international bankers, nothing of importance is said about the unrestricted submarine warfare, except insofar as its results could be used as a cover for the deliberately planned policy of entry into the war.

In this respect the cable addressed by Ambassador Page from London to the State Department, under date of March 5, 1917, is most revealing. In terse language it states the real cause for America's entrance into the war. Ambassador Page stated that the international condition was "most alarming to the American financial and industrial outlook." Page complained that the allied powers could not make shipments in gold to pay for purchases in the United States and said that: "The almost immediate danger, therefore, is that Franco-American and Anglo-American exchange will be so disturbed that orders by all the allied governments will be reduced to the lowest minimum, and there will be almost a

cessation of transatlantic trade." He felt that the pressure of this approaching crisis had gone beyond the ability of the Morgan financial agency—meaning that it was time for the U. S. government to intervene directly.

#### Page's Letter

"If we should go to war with Germany," said Ambassador Page, "the greatest help we could give the Allies would be such a credit." Further on in the same cable he added: "Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our prominent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted."

A few weeks later the United States declared war on Germany; and when it was over 120,000 American soldiers had lost their lives while another 132,700 were wounded. But according to testimony of Charles A. Beard, in his "American Leviathan," the American corporations, which became the merchants of death, filled their coffers with gold. These corporations made profits of thirty-eight billion dollars, over and above all deductions, including excess profit taxes. For them America's entrance into the war became an exceedingly lucrative business.

Thus the real causes of America's entrance into the world war are revealed. While the House of Morgan became the principal object in the investigations now about to be concluded, we do not, of course, face the problem of one individual, or some individuals, as the actual instigators of war. On the contrary. What we face is the system that inevitably produces wars; and a class, the bourgeoisie, the representatives of finance capital and of the industrial corporations, in collusion with their agents in governmental positions, that engineer the plans and preparations for war. To the working class this is the real enemy.

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