

# NEW MILITANT

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## Milliners Stoppage Settled

### Trimmers Suffer Cut As Contract Is Made Behind Closed Doors

As we go to press some of the millinery workers in New York are returning to their shops, while others await orders from the union and the settlement committee.

About 15,000 ladies headwear workers filed out yesterday morning from the uptown, midtown and downtown shops in a stoppage called by the union here. Two halls were filled to capacity.

The millinery workers had a preliminary shake-up a few months ago when the manufacturers threatened the union with a general lock-out. Since then a number of sizeable concerns left New York, thereby swelling the ranks of the unemployed. Because of the general scarcity of work and the unprecedented number of unemployed there was a deep-going interest in the negotiations and in the agreement.

**Trimmers Lose Out**  
Agreements were signed with two associations and many independent shops. The settlements involved the following branches: operators, blockers, cutters and trimmers. The conditions of the first three branches remained the same as in the old agreement while the trimmers who constitute a majority in the trade lost one fourth of an hour in overtime pay.

The administration of the Millinery Union greeted the membership to an original method of procedure. There wasn't a single provision made for discussion of the agreement before ratification, either at the chairmen and chairladies meeting of two weeks ago, or at the two general membership meetings on February 4. A new method of bureaucratic control over a union! There were many dissenting voices among the trimmers who suffered by the compromise with the manufacturers. Even during the life of the NRA, the trimmers received time-and-a-half for overtime. Now with the union agreement they are entitled to only 25 cents extra per hour for overtime. But they were submerged by a well-organized and well-oiled bureaucratic machine.

**Another NRA**  
The orations of the officers of the union, including President Zaritsky, were petty, superficial and primarily shop talk. They lacked inspiration and fighting spirit. Zaritsky's announcement about his new creation of a "union NRA" fell flat. Nobody was interested, and why should they be? One lesson the millinery workers have long ago learned: whatever they get will be only through their own organized effort and not because of any outside force or benevolent individuals. The president called his latest creation a "Gentlemen's Board" consisting of two "liberal" and "honest" men, who previously served on a Labor Relations Board, and one professor, who is all good intentions.

In spite of all these shortcomings, the stoppage had a number of advantages. First and foremost—the display of organized strength of the millinery workers. This union doesn't make a practice of calling regular membership meetings, mass meetings or any other kind of collective demonstration. The revision of the conditions in the shops brought to the surface many evils existing therein, and emphasized the need of more attention and stricter control. It gave the workers a new start to begin a drive for the improvement of working conditions. It undoubtedly created a spirit of closer cooperation between the different branches that work side by side in the shops.

**They Will Organize**  
These scattered voices who were unable to make their opposition heard or felt in this stoppage will eventually combine in an organized force to fight against the undemocratic methods of the leadership of the Millinery Union. They will find a way to voice their opinions during the life of the agreement, when it is under consideration and even during a stoppage, or a strike.

It is interesting to note that the nominal opposition that has existed for the last few years in the millinery trade under the name "Rank and File Committee" (a Stalinist stooge organization) which in the "third period" called for strikes over the heads of the officialdom, could not be heard even in whispers during this stoppage.

## Furriers Strike Is Scotched

### Gold Forces Wretched Agreement on Union No Closed Shop

**By J. RABINOWITZ**  
The new agreement signed between the Furriers union and the employers in New York clearly revealed that the only concern of the Stalinists in the leadership of the union is "respectability," to curry favor with the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and the bosses even at the price of sacrificing the last pretense of struggle.

**Surrenders Closed Shop**  
The union has surrendered its demand for a closed shop, entitling the bosses to fire workers after the six months of equal division of work. In addition the demand for a labor bureau was abandoned, which empowers the boss to hire whomever he chooses. A major concession was made when the clause in the last agreement, providing for an unemployment insurance fund, paid for by the bosses and administered by the union, was completely omitted in the new agreement.

The agreement provides for a ten percent wage increase, equal division of work for six months of the year, no firing of shop chairmen before March 1, 1937, only two bosses to be permitted to work in the shop, agreement to be binding in case of removal of firm from the city, equal wages for women.

Compared with conditions prevailing in other sections of the needle industry, this agreement is the worst. Furthermore, this agreement was signed at the very time the I.L.G.W.U. is fighting for a renewal of its own contract. A very encouraging token, indeed, for the dress bosses in their present conflict with their own workers. The bosses could desire no better negotiator "for" the workers than Ben Gold.

The furriers have written many heroic pages in the struggle for union conditions, enjoying the best conditions in the needle industry until internal strife and division in the ranks destroyed a considerable part of their past gains. But with the union reunited, it was the hope of the furriers that the time had come to wage a determined fight for the closed shop and for conditions that would at least equal the standards of the other needle trades unions. But the policy of struggle is today alien to the Stalinists who now head the union.

**The Pot of Gold**  
In presenting the agreement to the membership meeting held at Mecca Temple on Tuesday, Feb. 4, Ben Gold brought all his demagogic tricks into play to make the fur-

(Continued on Page 4)

## 700 in N. Y. Mass Meet Protest Stalin's Terror

### Vote for Resolution Calling for Committee To Probe Charges Made by Ciliga and Tarov

NEW YORK, Feb. 2.—A packed hall of over 700 people in Irving Plaza roared an enthusiastic "Aye" to a resolution protesting Stalin's anti-Bolshevik repressions and calling for a committee to investigate the Daily Worker frame-up against the NEW MILITANT and Leon Trotsky.

With the same overwhelming approval the audience endorsed the sending of a cablegram of solidarity and confidence in its name to comrade Leon Trotsky in view of the slanderous charges made against him in the Stalinist scandal sheet.

The speakers at this meeting, comrades Cannon and Muste, called to protest Stalin's terror in the Soviet Union, lashed out against the murderous treatment accorded to Bolshevik-Leninists and the attempt to cover it up in the U. S. by a miserable frame-up.

A. J. Muste, in a stirring talk, answered objections made by many uninformed workers who concede the truth of our exposures of the Stalin clique but who believe the publication of such facts has a deleterious effect on the Soviet Union itself. He pointed to the method employed by reactionary trade union bureaucrats who accuse progressives of injuring the trade unions by making known the crimes and misrule of the leading cliques. "Stop the persecutions," Muste urged, "and you will thereby deprive the capitalist press of ammunition against the Workers' Republic."

He was followed by comrade James P. Cannon who explained the fundamentals of the Soviet state as the greatest labor organization in the world, fayed the destruction of the Communist party, the Soviets and the trade unions and the degeneration introduced into it by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Comparing the revolutionary measures of self-protection utilized under Lenin with the reactionary terror of Stalin under which the

best revolutionists are hounded, jailed, tortured and exiled, he exclaimed "Stalin is destroying the Russian revolution for there can be no revolution without revolutionists." But police terror can never vanquish the great ideas of Leninism. He concluded, "they live on in the prisons, the solitary confinement cells and Siberian exile!" Prolonged cheering and applause greeted the conclusion of the speech and the meeting ended with the singing of the Internationale.

The following is the resolution adopted:

"We, over 700 New York workers in mass meeting assembled, vigorously protest against the frightful hounding of revolutionists by the Stalin bureaucracy in the Soviet Union;

"We declare that the terror campaign against the true defenders of the Soviet Union seriously undermines the workers' state and aids the forces of counter-revolution;

"We call for the immediate cessation of these persecutions and the release of all revolutionists now in Stalin's Siberia;

"We protest the dastardly attempt of the Daily Worker to cover up this repression by linking the great co-worker of Lenin, Leon Trotsky, with the reactionary Hearst;

"We add our voices to the request that Roger Baldwin undertake the formation of a committee for an investigation of the charges of the Daily Worker against Leon Trotsky and the NEW MILITANT;

"We, furthermore, call upon all genuine supporters of the Soviet Union, workers and intellectuals, to support the demand for an international investigation by an accepted pro-Soviet committee of the charges of Tarov and Ciliga concerning Stalin's anti-Bolshevik repressions."

## NEXT WEEK!

Two highly important articles, one by Leon Trotsky and another by A. Tarov, dealing with the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union, will appear in the next issue of the NEW MILITANT.

The article by comrade Trotsky is one of the most heartening and inspiring that has come from his pen on the Soviet Union in recent times. In it he takes the figures printed in the Russian Stalinist press on the recent party "cleansing" in the Soviet Union and submits them to a searching analysis. His conclusions, after removing every possible charge of exaggeration or partiality, prove that the Bolshevik-Leninists in

the Soviet Union have become a mass force and at the same time the biggest and most tested section of the Fourth International.

The new article by Tarov gives further information on the conditions of the Bolshevik-Leninists in exile and prison in the Soviet Union, the names of the most outstanding personalities and a vivid narration of Tarov's escape over the border.

Watch for the next issue! Order extra copies and bundles in advance! Make sure that this issue of the paper finds its way into the hands of all our friends and sympathizers!

## Hunger Stalks Poor Texas Farms As Roosevelt Plans Take Effect

(Special to the New Militant)  
By JAMES EVANS

DALLAS, Tex.—The farmers of this the leading agricultural state are becoming virtual serfs with land rentals sky-rocketing. Roosevelt's Troika may have been dispatched neatly, after it had served its original purpose of helping to put capitalism on its feet. But the AAA backfire is evident in the spectacle of homeless families trudging the roads, and of abandoned schoolhouses in once populous communities. I have seen barefooted children, hitchhiking with their parents on the cold roads, begging scraps of food at hot dog stands—wandering continually until they meet eventual death from starvation.

While Roosevelt, Bankhead, and Wallace seek means to pay benefits due to landlords, the tenant farmers and the small owners are being turned adrift like abandoned mules. In every county, there is a frantic struggle to rent any land that has not been retired from cultivation—on whatever terms the landlords may care to offer. These gentlemen are demanding enormously increased payments and crop shares before they will sign any contracts.

**Two Generations**  
In Crosby county, on the South Plains, more than 250 families are without farms or any other prospects of making livings for the coming season. The farmers of this area experienced drought on top of the AAA during 1934. When the western part of the state was opened

for settlement, a generation ago, the original agrarians were induced to emigrate by the railroad companies who promised them cheap land. Manfully, they fought the ranch owners who wished to preserve the region for grazing purposes. Year after year, they cultivated the soil and developed it into an important farming territory. Now, the second generation finds itself dispossessed and penniless.

Those who migrate to the cities find neither jobs nor relief awaiting them. Realtors are taking advantage of the heavy influx to raise the house rentals; and, in one town of which I know, it has become almost impossible to find any vacant dwellings. In other towns, old houses are being torn down both to discourage emigration and to exact higher rents from employed workers. Over one thousand houses have been destroyed in the city of Wichita Falls alone. Homeless croppers, stranded on the outskirts of the larger places, are building squallid "tent cities" and living from putrid deposits of garbage.

**Unspeaking Misery**  
In many cases, rural families are being forced to "double up" with relatives who have not yet been evicted. When it is recalled that Southern rural families are generally large and that the diets are generally inadequate, one can visualize the intensified misery that comes from this forced adjustment. Fifteen or twenty people may be found living in some three-room shanty,

since the advent of Roosevelt II. It would be rather surprising if pellagra and tuberculosis did not show marked increases because of this crowding of large numbers into insufficient accommodations.

The small farmers are in the position of fowls with their heads already laid on the blocks. Many of them had been counting on the AAA benefits to settle their debts, although their tenant neighbors never had much ground for such illusions. Since the suspension of the AAA the bankers and merchants have descended upon these small farmers like packs of wolves. The official farm debt conciliation committees are collapsing because the farmers have demanded that the committees pay less attention to the interests of debtors. The committee chairmen, generally lawyers, are now insisting that the farmers arrange "individual settlements" of their debts. A group of farmers in Rains county fell for this line, only to be foreclosed upon collectively.

To date, there have been no "penalty sales" conducted by the farmers themselves, as in the West and Middle West. But the Southern Tenant Farmers Union is constantly increasing its membership in Texas, with the locals meeting underground in the Black Belt. The Texas histories do not mention the fact, but this state has witnessed an unbroken series of agrarian struggles, characterized by the usual brutality of landlords toward tenants.

## Pekin Strike Called Off; Paralyzes City in Fight To Remove Police Chief

### Motor Products Strike Enters its Third Month

#### Detroit Auto Workers Battle Bravely Against Motor Dynasty, Police Terror, Dillon Sabotage

DETROIT, Jan. 30.—The strike in Detroit at the Motor Products plant is entering into its third month. This desperate battle, beginning as a controversy over wages, has developed into an epic struggle to conquer the right to unionism in the automobile industry.

The class-conscious automobile manufacturers saw the threatening danger facing all of them if the strike proved successful, and without a moment's hesitation or delay,

the "big three" declared a truce and banded together with the independents to destroy the common foe. Ford ordered new dies made for instrument panels to relieve the Motor Products management of any embarrassment because of the strike. Hudson began using mouldings from scab shops; Packards used rolling machines moved over from the Motor Products plant, etc.

#### Motor Barons Unyielding

The automobile barons, determined that their industry shall not be tainted with any part of unionism, resorted to the most violent methods to crush the strike and stamp out with iron any hopes the automobile workers may harbor about organizing. Five days after the strike was called, the Motor Products Co. joined the National Metal Trade Association. The Motor Products firm, it is reliably reported, has been heavily subsidized by Chrysler and Ford since the inception of the strike, with the latter directing the strategy of the manufacturers' movements. The "line" is the familiar one he employed in the controversy with General Johnson during the golden days of the Blue Eagle:—Don't talk, don't answer questions, don't negotiate with anybody—Just old on tight and keep things in your own hands. The two federal conciliators sent in by the Department of Labor were given the runaround until they threw up their hands in despair and left for Washington; absolutely no negotiations have been contemplated since the N.M.T.A. has taken over the reins. The manufacturers are simply "ignoring" the strike.

**An Augury of Future Battles**  
Concomitant, they have unleashed the most violent terror seen in Detroit since the Ford massacre 5 years ago. An imposing army of mounted police, squad cars and motor cycle details patrol the plant gates daily, harass and attack the strikers in an attempt to break their spirit and crush their morale. The mounted police enter inside the plant gates; the squad cars carry the scabs to work and police are stationed in the plant proper to browbeat and terrorize the scabs working inside! Mayor Coughlin insists the reign of terror is necessary for the preservation of peace.

This pioneering skirmish in the great struggle to establish auto unionism, furnishes a foretaste of what ferocious labor struggles await (Continued on Page 2)

**Workers Sit Tight**  
The mass protest caught both the company and the union leaders unawares. When shift changing time came at 6 p. m. and the workers refused to leave the factory, word was passed around of the seriousness of the situation.

Night workers coming to the plant joined in the movement and likewise sat down at the tirebuilding machines. Meanwhile, the milling rooms, and other departments whose work leads up to the actual building of the tires were forced to shut-down.

The effect of the action is comparable to the effect of the closing of the Toledo Chevrolet transmission (Continued on Page 2)

## Labor Skate Disbands Militant San Diego City Labor Council

By Richard Fraser  
SAN DIEGO, Calif., Feb. 2, 1936—

The San Diego Labor movement during the past few weeks has been suffering from a severe attack of growing pains. Joseph Casey, Pacific Coast A. F. of L. Organizer, top bureaucrat, is the principle pain. Arriving in town three weeks ago he proceeded, as an opener, to dissolve on a technicality the entire Labor Council during its weekly session on Jan. 15.

Since that time there has been complete chaos throughout the local labor movement due to the bureaucratic gangsterism used by William Green's latest "personal representative, Casey, in his attempt to break up the Federated Trades Council.

**Progressives Gain Control**  
Through a gradual process the more progressive elements have been shifting into the Federated Trades Council until last Fall they were able to muster an overwhelming majority in the election, sweeping out the reactionary control. At the State Convention of the A. F. of L. held here last Fall the delegates from San Diego unions almost

to a man stood solidly with the bloc which raised a cry for industrial unionism that was heard throughout the A. F. of L. Harry Steinmetz, of the Teachers Union was installed as the progressive President of the local Federated Council. Since that time there has been a constant organizational drive which had many of the elements of an authentic left wing movement.

And then came Casey! This attack is the continuation of a vicious campaign of reactionaries started a short time ago by Green through his agent, Meyer Lewis, in his attempted "purge" of the militant Minneapolis Unions. The next point of attack is the West Coast where the voice of the rank and file is beginning to be heard. The San Diego Federated Trades Council and the West Coast local of the Seamen's Union are being attacked simultaneously.

#### An Open Shop Town

San Diego is a notoriously open shop town, the boast of the Chamber of Commerce to Eastern industrial-

### Green Succeeds Where Bosses and Tear-Gas Were Powerless

**BULLETIN**  
Maintaining his San Francisco strikebreaking record, William Green stepped into the Pekin strike in order to club it over the head. A representative of Green persuaded or coerced the unions to call off the strike before an agreement could be reached in the distillery strike. It goes without saying, that Police Chief Donahue, the Mayor and the employers were overjoyed.

February 5, 1936.  
Pekin adds its name to San Francisco and Terre Haute, to a new tradition and weapon of American labor forged in recent years—the general strike.

This small mid-western city (population 17,000) on the outskirts of the Illinois coal fields is feeling the power of aroused and enraged workmen.

Industrial paralysis grips the town. Nothing moves, plants are shut down, stores and banks are closed, the streets are deserted. A new power is superseding the capitalist city administration—the general strike committee which gives "permission" as to what necessities, milk and fuel are to be delivered, which closes down drug stores and "allows" pharmaceutical departments to fill out prescriptions.

The workers of Pekin, and through them the workers of the rest of the country, will begin to grasp the might of organized labor. More than that, they will begin to see in vague outlines the workers' government of the future.

**Causes of the Strike**  
The general strike at Pekin grew out of the soil of economic and political conditions. As far back as August of last year a conflict ensued between the union and employers at the American Distilling Company over the firing of a union engineer. A strike followed and the struggle simmered until about a week ago when Chief of Police Harry Donahue and his deputies hurled tear gas into the picket line before the plant.

Labor solidarity rose to counter the attack. The Pekin Trades and Labor assembly protested the strike-breaking efforts of Mayor W. E. Schurman for his "settlement" efforts and demanded the removal of the chief of police. Failure to comply with these demands brought on the strike.

Braving the sub-zero weather, crews of pickets are patrolling the city, enforcing the closure order on shops and plants and preventing unauthorized deliveries. The strike ranks are swelling: 600 workers at the Corn Products Refining Co. voted to join the general strike; pickets prevented the night shift from entering the Fleishman plant—the manager yelled out but he was powerless against the workers' determination.

**Looking for Plug-Uglies**  
Donahue is at his wits end in seeking devices to break the strike. The forces of the Trades and Labor Assembly, militant and aggressive, admittedly outnumber and outweigh those of the police department.

"What this town needs," he says as so many reactionaries have said before him, "is a vigilante committee of about 100 tough citizens." Unfortunately, the underworld of Pekin, Ill., has not yet reached the proportions of that of Chicago or St. Louis, otherwise Donahue would have found comrades to enforce "law and order" for him.

Meanwhile in Peoria, seven miles away, where negotiations have failed, seven companies of militiamen have been held in readiness for several days awaiting a call to go into Pekin to break the strike.

Why the hesitancy? Is it because the authorities believe the very presence of armed men in Peoria would overawe the strikers? Or do they fear a reception for the militia such as was accorded them in Toledo a year and a half ago? Or are they awaiting a convenient provocation, some frame-up instigated by the chief of police?

Whatever the reason may be, the delay in sending the troops to Pekin is testimony to the power of the general strike and a sign of the combustibility of the labor situation which the bosses and authorities fear to ignite.



## The Wolf at the Millionaire's Door

## THE POOR RICH

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Business is picking up again . . . where it left off when last heard from just before the nose-dive into the misery and privations of the last six years.

With millions unemployed, factories shut down, bankruptcy abroad, the farmers impoverished, etc. Great Truths remained unspoken. It was forgotten that this was the best of all possible worlds; that the rich begot profits as a reward for their initiative, honesty and diligence while the poor got all that was coming to them for being lazy, for cultivating vices instead of virtues, and their incapacity to seize an opportunity to rise in the world. Business' great service to Humanity was forgotten. All of its self-sacrifice and nobility. All of its toil and tribulations. All forgotten!

## The Unkind Era

Demagogues sang a different tune to the millions out of work, and the millions being pauperized. Fallacy after fallacy was propagated. A New Deal was dangled before those who thought they suffered from the Old Deal. A lot of unkind things were said about Business. But that was long ago. The demagogues have done their work, kept the people amused with promises to make them forget how they were being squeezed until profits could start rolling in again. Now it seems that profits are actually rolling in. Business, so long in the background, is raising its voice again to tell all the Bill Joneses, Smiths and you and me who have been deluded by demagogues just where we are, and where we got off.

By way of inaugurating the new year and the "new era," the New York Sun lets loose the Voice of Business in a monster Special Issue. On page 2 of this issue we are reminded of the Supreme Truth of Business:

## "It's Your Own Fault"

"You and I know from actual experience that nine out of ten of the poor . . . remained so because of their refusal to accept their opportunities and because of their own vices. We know that nine out of every ten, rich, middle class or poor, who have made a go of things have done so because of their initiative and honesty."

During the depression a fallacy became widespread that an insignificant minority of the rich owned the world, keeping the millions of Bill Joneses to starve and slave in it. A most dangerous fallacy. So the very first article is entitled:

## "Two Percent Control the Wealth! What of It—If They Do?"

This article reminds and teaches Bill Jones not only about the moral abyss between the rich and the poor, but also about "the wide distinction between control and ownership" or, as the subtitle reads: "He Learns, Too, Where Billions Grow and Who Gets Them."

There is a "great difference" between control and ownership. Yes, indeed. Two percent only "control" the wealth of this country. What could be more democratic than such control? One "controller" for every fifty "recipients"! That's better than in the army, to say nothing about jails. This two percent makes billions sprout and passes them out to the Bill Joneses (that's anonymous for you and me). On page 2, Business supplies a chart which proves it, and on page 3, Mr. P. S. Arkwright blurts it out in so many words:

Bill Jones Gets Every Nickel  
"Another oft repeated fallacy is that 'the workers' share of the national income has been steadily decreasing.' This, too, is untrue. The workers' share in the national income moved from 38% in 1850 to 65% in 1929. In 1931 and 1932, it equalled 75% to 80% of the income actually produced, and was even more in the case of manufacturing and related industries. . . ."

There you have it in black and white. Business makes billions grow only in order to distribute them to the poor, lazy, vicious and otherwise immoral working men. Well, indeed, can the spokesmen for business fling back in the teeth of its maligners the charge that Business, a two percent minority, runs the country as it suits its purposes and interests. There are charts and speeches and articles by the score to prove the virtue of Business. And to top it all, Business gets less and less for its remarkable "control" of the country's wealth:

## The Poor Rich

"Another oft repeated fallacy is that corporation profits increase faster than workers' wages. This is likewise untrue. . . ." (p. 3)

It is untrue that the poor are getting poorer and the rich richer. Mr. Arkwright has statistics to prove that it is the rich who are getting poorer, while the poor get all (or almost all) the billions.

During the depression a great ado was made about profits. You'd think there was nothing but profit for capitalists. As a matter of fact the "nominal ownership of capital" hardly pays at all. Profits are largely a myth. Bill Jones does not know this. Of course not. Bill is not only immoral and lazy but ignorant to boot. But Prof. Allyn

Young, a great man and scholar, knows all about profit and loss. And Business agrees with Prof. Young, and vice versa:

"Prof. Allyn Young, one of our greatest economists, used to say that he doubted whether, taking all enterprise together, there was such a thing as profit; that losses equalled profit over a reasonable rate of interest" (page 5).

## Losses for Bosses

Thus, business makes billions grow where only grass grew previously; Business passes the billions on to the Joneses, and gets nothing in the end for it. . . . Hard to believe, harder to understand, but there it is. The New York Sun has a whole issue that proves it. There are charts testifying to it. Professor Young says so. Experience verifies it. Take the case of the Chrysler Corporation. On page 40, this great corporation submits a public account of how it grew billions for a period of ten years, and what happened to these billions. Labor got billions in wages, Business got millions in profits, and in the end Chrysler's losses just about equalled the profit.

Statistics are very complicated and boring, but statistics prove this to the hilt.

## Chrysler's Misfortune

In ten years the Chrysler Corporation grew two and a half billion dollars; and today it hasn't a penny of it left. It was all distributed. And here is how:

1) \$1,790,000,000 went for materials, general expenses and advertising. "The greater part (of this amount) went into jobs and wages of workers in industries supplying the automobile manufacturing industry" (p. 40; our emphasis). In other words, the above sum was largely spent to pay wages "indirectly." Indirect wages, as it were.

2) In addition to this huge sum which went to pay workers "elsewhere," Chrysler paid "directly to Chrysler Corporation's employees . . . nearly \$400,000,000" (p. 40). Direct wages.

3) On top of this, there "was expended for additional facilities for the increased volume of business \$111,000,000." And, in the nature of things, again "a large part of this \$111,000,000 . . . provided work to many individuals employed by vendors of these supplies" (p. 40). In short, Bill Jones got that too.

4) The taxes took—\$71,000,000. What Bill Jones did not get, his (Jones's) government grabbed, to pass it on to him in the way of schools, hospitals, and other services.

Add these four items, and what do you get? \$2,462,000,000. Out of an income of some \$2,500,000,000, only \$38,000,000, or just about 1 1/2 percent remained for the corporation. Chrysler grew billions, Jones gathered the harvest.

## Out of Its Own Pocket

Assuredly Mr. Arkwright (who writes in general on page 3 about the activities that Chrysler reports in particular on page 40) knew what he was saying when he delivered his address at the University of Georgia. If anything, Mr. Ark-

wright was too mild in his estimate of the workers' share in the income actually produced in the manufacturing and related industries. The workers' share in the Chrysler Corporation income is so close to 99.9 percent that it hurts the corporation even to talk about it. The corporation merely gritted its teeth and shut up and proceeded to pay profits. With the \$38,000,000 it had left, the corporation proceeded to pay out to the "bondholders \$84,000,000," and the stockholders "approximately \$79,000,000." In other words, the corporation paid out a cool \$125,000,000 out of its own pocket. It paid profits at a loss, paying out, according to its own balance sheet (p. 40) some 163 million in profits, thus losing \$125,000,000 in the process. To paraphrase Prof. Allyn, "taking the Chrysler enterprise over a period of ten years, there is no such thing as profit: losses just about equal profit."

## Operating for Philanthropy

This just about makes Chrysler a prospective bankrupt. But Chrysler does not complain. No. The corporation proudly points out that these dividends are "paid out of earnings which, through prudent management, the corporation has been able to set aside, after paying the cost of operating the business." (p. 40)

Moreover, according to its own statement, "few corporations in the United States have been able to maintain such consistent returns to investors throughout the last ten years" (p. 40). Obviously, the other corporations in this country are traveling even faster on the road of making profits equal losses than Chrysler. They operate their enterprises, it seems, only to keep pumping billions into the hands of the shiftless Joneses.

## Soak the Poor

"Sound finance today obviously calls for the lowering of rates of taxation in the higher brackets and a real stiffening of the rates in the lower brackets accompanied by a reduction of the exemptions. But a combination more unattractive politically can scarcely be conceived. There is danger (hear! hear!) that if the task is faced at all some device which throws the added burden of taxation less obviously on those with small means will be preferred. . . ." (p. 5).

Justice, to say nothing of sound finance demands that the poor (or as Mr. May mildly calls them "those with small means") who receive the bulk of the billions should pay the bulk of the taxation. But as Mr. May admits, the rantings of demagogues to say nothing of the greed, selfishness and immorality of the Joneses make it impossible to approach the question openly and on a sound basis. Danerous subterfuges must be resorted to in stead.

Such are the dangers and miseries and hypocrisies of American Big Business.

We are no humanitarians, but even from that standpoint it would be the height of humanitarianism to put Business out of its misery, and silence its Voice once and for all. It is a big but necessary job. And there is only one way to do it: overthrow capitalism, voice and all; and establish the workers' state. The sooner the workers get down to their own business the better.

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## Detroit Motor Strike Enters Its Third Month in Face of Heavy Odds

(Continued from Page 1)

the industry and indicates the preparations necessary to be made by the unions when they embark seriously on this epic struggle.

Because the Green-Frey crowd have been wasting time for the last two years, the Motor Products strikers now find themselves isolated in their fight and find it impossible to spread the strike. They are paying for the criminal lethargy and betrayals of the Collins-Dillon-Green gang. The policies of this gang do not merely prevent strikes; they only localize them, isolate them when they do occur and make it easy for the manufacturers to crush these sporadic outbursts. It is an open secret that the A. F. of L. is pursuing a deliberate policy of just "staying" in the field to prevent the formation of any independent unions which would take over the job of organizing the industry. Ten, fifteen years ago this infamous scheme might have succeeded in its aims; unfortunately Green and Frey were born too late. The current is running against them.

Before a serious battle with the manufacturers can be envisaged, a bold, nation-wide organizing campaign must be undertaken involving the Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, the South Bend and Milwaukee districts, simultaneously. An organizing fund of large proportions must be raised and a crew of experienced organizers placed in the field. The manufacturers will ruthlessly isolate any local strike without regard to cost or loss of profits. Any important strike must therefore stop production of at least one of the "big three."

## Dillon to the Bosses' Rescue

Even though the strikers are isolated and find themselves, to-date, unable to spread the strike to other plants, and the manufacturers have the aid of the government officials, the police and the press, the N.M.T.A. would very likely have completely failed in its efforts to break the strike, were it not for the timely and generous aid of the champion union buster in the industry, Francis J. Dillon, Pres. of the United Automobile Workers of America.

The Motor Products strike was first called on Nov. 15th by the Automotive Industrial Workers of America (Coughlin Union). The 1400 members of this organization walked out solidly to a man; the 200 members of the M.E.S.A. in the tool and dye departments walked out in sympathy and the two A.F. of L. unions in the plant, the Metal Polishers and the Auto Workers, followed suit. The strike was thus 100 percent effective and the Motor Products plant shut down tighter than a drum. The management met with the union representatives and offered some wage increases. The committee insisted upon their original demands. The management arranged a meeting with the union representatives a day or two later to attempt to reach a satisfactory agreement at that time. To all appearances it looked as if an agreement would be concluded in short order and the strike quickly settled.

## "Smash the Strike"—Says Green

At this juncture the A. F. of L. "Brain trust" in Washington got the "jitters." A few weeks before the three independent unions federated: the next thing heard was an organization campaign at the Motor Products plant. Now a strike is called, the walkout 100 percent effective, the plant shut down and to all appearances a decisive victory in the offing. The prestige the independent unions would command in the event of victory might shatter all the possibilities for the A. F. of L. Auto International. They recognized in the strike the authentic voice of the workers in the mass production industries crying aloud for a new Unionism, industrial in structure, democratic in form and militant in its policies. If they

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could only beat down the spirit and initiative of these workers if they could only wipe out their hopes, then their moth eaten unionism of a hundred years ago might still survive and with God's aid they might patch it up somehow with Lewis, Dubinsky and Hillman. The word went out:—"Send the A. F. of L. men back to work; smash the independent unions and break the strike." The weaker their position, the more peremptory and domineering became the "papal bulls" of the bureaucracy.

Dillon was in dilemma. Undoubtedly, from Detroit, even he could see the step proposed was risky and fraught with great danger. But what could he do? Commanding no respect in Detroit, he could not afford to lose the support of Washington. Like the steady old wheel-horse that he is, he dutifully, although somewhat painfully, went through the prescribed paces. On Nov. 20th, a statement appeared in the press over his signature that the "Motor Products strike is the most ill-advised and unpopular strike ever called in Detroit." He predicted that it would "flop" and announced that he would "negotiate his men back to work."

## A Disgraceful Spectacle

On Nov. 25th, the A. F. of L. auto members, apparently in accordance with a prearranged plan, assembled in front of the A. F. of L. Motor Products local headquarters. Shortly before starting time they moved in a mass towards the factory entrance, escorted by mounted policemen, scout cars, and patrolmen. Leading the procession were McDonald and Isard, A. F. of L. organizers and Ed. Hall, General Secretary of the A. F. of L. Auto International. The A. F. of L. members passed through the picket line while the A. F. of L. officials draped themselves around the entrance until they were through the gate. The strike Bulletin that day characterized this scene as "a new low in working class betrayals."

With the exception of the A. F. of L. men, (300-400 men) the strike front held solid. Dillon failed in his attempt to start a back-to-work stampede. His efforts on behalf of the manufacturers, however, were not entirely wasted. The A. F. of L. men walking through the picket lines created confusion and hysteria in the strike ranks; the local phalanx was broken. After Lieutenant Dillon had executed the flank maneuver, the manufacturers began wheeling their heavy artillery to the front for an open, head-on attack. All negotiations were promptly broken off with the independent unions; Chrysler and Ford stepped into the picture, the N.M.T.A. took over the leadership of the strike. Approximately a thousand scabs were imported and the police was ordered to stop all picketing.

## Changed Conditions

In by-gone days, the A. F. of L. craft unions scabbed on many strikes conducted by independent unions, as part of a deliberate policy to wipe out "dual" unions. Dozens of union officials ordered their men to walk through picket lines. Strikes were thus broken and the officials kept their position and their prestige, apparently, did not suffer. Times, however, have changed. A unionism based upon a minority of skilled craft workers when the supply of skilled labor was limited and unemployment almost unknown, who advanced their own interests at the expense of the whole working class is far different than the new unionism with a membership of mass production workers in industries where skilled lines are practically obliterated and the constant threat of unemployment hangs over their heads.

The independent unions, headed by the Mechanics Educational Society of America, promptly directed a withering fire at Dillon and spread the story of his apostasy to every part of the country, while a steady drum fire was kept up calling for the establishment of a joint strike

committee for the successful conduct of the strike. In two weeks time, the pressure upon Dillon grew unbearable. Resolutions condemning his action poured into the Detroit office from all parts of the country. On Dec. 8th., he packed his suitcases and rushed off to Washington for further advice. Daylor and Parry of the Motor Products Strike Committee left for Washington the same day to lay their case before William Green and to secure if possible the support of the Committee for Industrial Unionism. At a conference Daylor and Parry held with Dillon at his hotel room in Washington, Parry asked Dillon:

"Let me ask you a simple question, are you going to bring your men out on strike?"

Dillon replied, "God damn it, No! I never intended to and I do not intend to now!"

## Green Retreats Under Fire

But the Grand Schemers at Washington realized things had gone too far. The tide is simply not running with the craft unionists these days. It is slowly beginning to penetrate the skulls of Frey and Green that they cannot do the things today which they considered normal years ago. This strike as the battles of the drivers in Minneapolis and the Maritime workers of the West coast, reveals with burning clarity the drive and urge of the workers in the mass production industries for a new unionism. The split in the top ranks of the American Federation of Labor, with one section of it forming the Committee for Industrial Unionism did not inaugurate this movement; the Committee is merely a reflection of the deep and profound revolt, which has started from below in the ranks of the workers themselves against the old and corrupt craft unionism. Green and his crowd realized they must daw back as they were already badly compromised and were facing a break in the leadership of the Auto International itself, with Homer Martin, the Vice-Pres. of the International swinging over to the Lewis camp.

Dillon returned to Detroit and after a little more fumbling and hedging, the A. F. of L. local voted to strike and all A. F. of L. members were called out on the picket line. By this time, however, the situation had gotten out of hand and was completely out of Dillon's control. The "support" of Dillon came two months too late.

## Union Launches Counter Attack

The strike is now being conducted by a joint strike committee of the independent unions and the A. F. of L. All strike meetings are held under joint auspices and addressed by the speakers of both organizations. The manufacturer's campaign of terrorization was answered by the launching of an organization campaign by both the independent unions and the A. F. of L. to some of the key unorganized plants in Detroit. Whatever may be the immediate outcome of the struggle, the Motor Products strike has already earned an honorable place in the pioneering work for the New Unionism. If the strike does not accomplish another thing, it will already have recorded a brilliant achievement, in uniting the forces of the automobile workers and bringing the day nearer of one powerful union in the automobile and auto parts industry.

On the background of the decline of American economy and its inevitable effects upon the conditions of the millions of workers in the key industries of the country, the events in Detroit became a harbinger of the decisive struggles in store for the near future and their consequences. Only a new unionism, militant, aggressive and class conscious can cope with the titanic scope of the work involved in organizing the workers of the mass production industries. The movement for that unionism has already begun. The Motor Products strike brings the day nearer when that unionism will actually appear.

## Labor Skate Disbands Militant San Diego City Labor Council

(Continued from Page 1)

ists. That there are industries in search of a cheap labor market is natural after the strike waves of the past two years. The Real estate agents were able to convince the executive of the Consolidated Aircraft Corp. of Buffalo, which encountered a long and costly strike last year, that San Diego was the place where labor was cheapest and most efficient. This is only in keeping with the tradition of Southern California real estate agents.

The coming of the Consolidated Aircraft Corp. to San Diego late last year whetted their appetites, and casting about them they found a growing Progressive Labor movement which would be harmful to the attractive power of San Diego as a scab city.

That additional pressure has been exerted upon the reactionary union bureaucrats can be said with complete assurance.

After having dissolved the Federated Trades Council with a twist of the wrist and not a few plug-nuglies hanging around for moral sup-

port, Casey ordered that the delegates be elected in a different manner. It is important to note that the next week, even after Casey had done all the packing of unions he was able (this was considerable) plus intimidation, threats, etc., progressives were returned in even greater number than they had been previously.

## The Race with Time

At present Casey is stalling for time, which is made possible by the fact that many of the Progressives still cherish illusions about getting redress through appealing to Green and the Executive Council. Although this illusion is quite natural for relatively uninitiated workers, for the Progressives it may prove their undoing.

In time Casey will be able to use all the tricks he has learned from his father, who was a bureaucrat when Joe was an infant, and from Tobin under whom he served to demoralize the rank and file. In time Casey may be able to muster sufficient support from reactionary in-

## AkronBarons Concede

(Continued from Page 1)

plant last spring which bottled up all motor production by that company.

The 2,500 workers sat down at the machines in two twelve hour shifts, keeping anyone else from touching them. Women in nearby departments joined the movement.

## Company Tries Obstinacy

Of course, the company scorned even talking to a union committee at first. They also gave Sherman Dalrymple, United Rubber Workers president, a run-around.

But as the workers stood firm, united 100 percent, with non-unionists and unionists in solid agreement, and as workers in plant 2 began talking of a "sitdown" the company shifted its position.

It met with the workers committee but flatly refused to consider reinstatement of the unionist. The union was just as tough in its refusal to tell the men to return to work until the issue was settled.

So the union prepared to keep the workers in the factory during the weekend, meanwhile calling a general meeting Sunday afternoon to consider what action to take.

Naturally, considerable agitation for closing the entire plant and pulling a bona-fide strike began to develop, and the company doesn't have its spring replacement tires produced yet.

## Force Wages for "Strike"

Thus the company was forced to agree to reinstate the unionist, although it made its proposition to the union secretary rather than the union committee as a whole in an effort to save its face.

Not only that, but the company agreed to pay every worker who sat down at his machine half of his wages during the entire cessation of work! Obviously this was to placate the hard feelings of the workers towards this autocratically-run company.

The victory brought additional results within a day. Over 100 workers rejoined the union.

The "pace" maker who precipitated the struggle was a company pet sent into the department to build a higher number of tires than the average so that the company could introduce another wage cut by demanding higher average production. This is the typical form of company anti-labor activities in departments.

## BULLETIN

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Feb. 1.—Quickly adopting the successful strategy of Firestone workers, pitmen and tire builders at Goodyear sat-down at their jobs last night in protest against a 10 percent wage cut.

Over 250 pitmen started the shut-down that paralyzed all tire production and brought 2,000 workers to their banner within a few hours. Again the movement was spontaneous!

A "rank and file" committee elected by the workers met with Fred Cramer, personnel manager and H. T. Gillan, production superintendent but refused to go back to work pending settlement.

The company retaliated by closing the gates to workers coming in at the midnight shift throwing the main parts of the huge factory into darkness.

The Goodyear local shop committee was to meet today to decide the course of the United Rubber Workers. Strong demand that the union lead a Goodyear-wide strike which would involve 15,000 workers is expected to be made.

ternationals which will put pressure on local unions to change the relationship of forces.

However at the present time the rank and file is solidly behind the progressives and if they will learn a lesson or two from Minneapolis. If they will choose the road of boldly combating Casey together with the rank and file, of daring to stand out decisively for a policy keeping the Federated Trades intact, they will find that Casey, who have been easily vanquished and the road ahead made clearer.

There are many dangers in the path of the progressives, however, not the least of which is Stalinism. As usual the Stalinists are playing the ostrich with the newly acquired fetishism of "legality" and "constitutionality", offering nothing to the situation and contributing to the confusion of the militants. They feel that Green upon hearing of the mischief Black Sheep Casey is doing, will immediately look up that clause in the Constitution and straighten every thing out to the satisfaction of the "subversives"! With such preparation, upon finding that Green and the Constitution will back up Casey on every point, many of the progressives may receive such a shock as to react incorrectly, alienate the rank and file, and cut themselves off.

However, the ideas of the class struggle are penetrating the ranks of the progressives which, if they take root in time, will assure the San Diego labor movement a fight to the finish with bureaucracy and reaction.



## The People's Front as Applied in China - 1927

### Hitherto Unpublished Document Reveals Betrayal of Revolution Through This Policy

**Editor's Note:** We publish below, in part, the minutes of the Chinese Sub-Committee of the Executive Committee of the Communist International held in Moscow in May 1927. These minutes have been published for the first time in French by Albert Treint, former member of the E.C.C.I. and leader of the French Communist party.

The reader will clearly see "how things happened." The Stalinist leadership, in its endeavor to safeguard the interests of their bourgeois allies, the landed nobility among the generals, curbed the peasant insurrection, the rising of the oppressed.

The bourgeois, after having triumphed over the reactionaries with the aid of the exploited workers and peasants, drowned in blood the revolt of the peasants and the workers' insurrection.

The document below shows the tremendous responsibility borne by Stalin for the defeat of the Chinese Revolution. This document should be of especial value today when the People's Front propaganda of the Communist party and its actual realization in France repeats in broad outline, if not in detail, the Kuo Min Tang policy in China.

#### Analytic Report by Albert Treint

The Chinese Sub-Committee was composed of Bukharin, Ercoli, and Treint. Stalin, who was summoned by phone by Bukharin, took a decisive part at the end of the meeting.

Bukharin reported on the situation in China. The peasants are beginning to forcibly seize the land. This is frightening the Wuhan government (Left bourgeois government—Ed.). If we do not curb the agrarian movement, we will lose our left allies and it will become impossible to win a majority in the Kuo Min Tang. On the other hand, by curbing it, we will enlarge our influence in it; and when we will have become more powerful, we will go beyond our present allies and we will also have much more than we desired.

Treint: Maintains that the problem is not whether to sacrifice all the allies of the proletariat but of knowing which one to sacrifice: the insurgent peasants or the left national bourgeoisie. We will no more be able, tomorrow than today, to make the revolution in China by means of the constitutional decisions adopted in the Kuo Min Tang. The bourgeoisie will attempt to annihilate us by force of arms before we have been able to win a solid majority.

The discussion between Bukharin and Treint continued for some time, each of the disputants maintaining his position. Ercoli does not speak. He is obviously restrained, for if he leans towards Treint's thesis he hesitates to oppose the leadership of the Russian party.

Bukharin, finding himself in a critical position, demands that the sub-committee hear Stalin.

While Bukharin is out telephoning, a conversation ensues between Treint and Ercoli, in which the latter goes as far as to say that the policy pursued in China and the methods employed in the International are incompatible with the formation of a revolutionary vanguard.

Stalin arrives. He declares himself in agreement with Bukharin. Treint does not take the real situation in China into consideration. To fall to take a position at the present time against the peasant revolts would be to set the left bourgeoisie against us. That would mean civil war. But the armed Chinese are composed out of mercenaries and we do not dispose of adequate financial resources to have them on our side.

Treint remarks that the mercenary soldiers, by and large, are ruined peasants who will desert to participate in the division of the land if we support the agrarian revolution. It is not a question of paying them with money but of allowing them to pay themselves in kind at the expense of the landed proprietors.

Stalin declares that this thesis is correct in general but that it cannot be applied in the present situation. The left bourgeoisie is still powerful. Its armies will not disband in the twink of an eye and we will then be defeated in civil war before the insurgent agrarians are able to connect with the proletarian insurrection. Stalin reads several telegrams from Borodin showing that the leadership of the Kuo Min Tang has decided to struggle against the agrarian revolution even at cost of a split with the Third International. Stalin concludes: It is not a question of knowing whether the views of Treint are correct in general but of knowing whether they can be applied in the present situation. To fight or to maneuver? That is the question to be resolved. The sub-committee must give a clear answer.

Treint: We must fight!

Stalin: To fight now means certain defeat. By maneuvering we gain time and the possibility of becoming stronger and fighting later on in conditions where victory can be counted on.

Treint: I do not think that defeat is certain today. If we side against the agrarian risings, we will not have the peasants with us later; and the proletarian revolu-

tion, which cannot triumph without their support, will be relegated to the Greek Calends.

Stalin: One can maneuver without compromising anything. The agrarian revolution frightens the Kuo Min Tang only in the degree that it directly injures its members as well as the officers of its armies. I propose to send instructions to Borodin to oppose the confiscation and division of the land belonging to the members of the Kuo Min Tang or to the officers of the National Army.

Treint: A real revolution will know how to regard such "taboos."

Bukharin: Why not? Besides there are no methods of doing otherwise.

Treint: And if, which is inevitable, the peasants in revolt pass beyond the limitations set by Stalin, must we also support the bourgeois leadership of the Kuo Min Tang which will not fail to resort to violence to make its will respected?

Bukharin: We are a revolutionary party and we have no fear of employing violence. We must utilize every method to put our decisions into effect.

Treint: That was the policy of the Marquis de Bouille against the French revolution in 1792, it cannot be the policy of our revolutionary international in 1927.

Stalin: Bukharin carries the matter to its extreme logical conclusions. But things will not happen that way. We possess sufficient authority over the Chinese masses to make them accept our decisions. Once again I pose the question: To fight or maneuver?

Treint: I do not know the situation in China well enough to be certain that it would be impossible to maneuver without suffering a defeat. Let us admit that the maneuver is necessary and possible, which does not appear at all certain, then the maneuver must remain a maneuver.

Ercoli: Of course!

Treint: Then, I demand that we oppose all attempts of the Wuhan government and the Kuomintang by force of arms to make respected the limitations of the agrarian revolution and that very strict instructions in this sense be attached to the directives which Stalin proposes to send to Borodin.

Stalin: We are basically in agreement; but it is useless to send instructions relating to this problem. I repeat that we have enough authority in China over the masses not to need to utilize coercion.

Ercoli: Since Stalin has declared himself in basic agreement, I believe that Treint can place his confidence in comrade Stalin.

Treint: You are the majority, you can decide what you like; but if the supplementary instructions which I have requested are not sent to Borodin, I will make public my reservations before the plenary session of the Executive.

Bukharin: The minority must be disciplined. I demand that comrade Treint renounce his plan (to make public his reservations—tr.).

Stalin and Ercoli signify their agreement.

Treint: So serious a question is involved here that no force on earth will prevent me from formulating my reservations in such a manner that they will be heard. Or, are you going to employ physical violence against me?

Stalin: Don't get dramatic.

With these words the session adjourned.

Not long after the sending of Stalin's directives to Borodin, Tang Pin Shan, Communist minister of agriculture in the Kuo Min Tang, accepted the command of a military expedition against the agrarian revolution. The scandal was so great that Stalin had to send a telegraphic counter-order. Tang Pin Shan yielded with joy and ease. But the bourgeoisie had taken a step further. The Chinese peasants were defeated and the Chinese revolution annihilated.

A month before, the working class, then master of Shanghai, had refused Chiang Kai-shek's troops entry into the city. Stalin lifted this ban by a telegraphic order. Once inside Chiang Kai-shek closed the halls of the party

# Anton Ciliga Describes Wrecking of Yugoslav C.P.; Tells of Opposition Struggle in the Soviet Union

## 1. Pages From Internal Life in Yugoslavia

In the years from 1925 to 1929 a strong colony of Yugoslavia Communists (about 120) gathered gradually in Moscow. In most cases they were responsible party activists; men with considerable revolutionary record, experienced and tempered in underground activity. These were not emigres (with few exceptions) but in their overwhelming majority men who had been temporarily ordered to Moscow for party work. They arrived in Moscow from their active work in the Yugoslav party and were to return there. In the overwhelming number of cases they were workers.

Among these activists a sharp factional struggle was waged between the supporters of the Right and Left groups of the Yugoslav Communist party. From 1926 to 1928, Moscow "entrusted" the leadership of the Yugoslav C. P. to the Right group (S. Markovitch) but in view of the fact that the more revolutionary elements predominated among those who came to Moscow, the Lefts were always very strong. During the above mentioned period the Right party leadership (the Political Bureau) had managed to compromise itself to such a degree that the late plenum of the C.E.C. of the party (winter, 1927-28) removed the old Political Bureau and elected another, a Left Bureau (or, rather, a semi-left).

But the C.E.C. was reckoning without its host. The host at that time was—Bukharin, Gorkich, Manuilsky, and they annulled the decision of the C.E.C., dissolved the so-called Left Bureau, and since it was utterly impossible to restore the old Right leadership, they did something much worse.

The triumvirate of Bukharin-Gorkich-Manuilsky recruited some sort of a crew that had never had anything in common with the Yugoslav movement, some adventurers from all the five continents, and sent them as fully empowered emissaries ("mandatories") into the country. In order to complete this mockery of the Yugoslav party, this gang was entitled a "workers' leadership"; as a matter of fact, a couple of honest workers were included to serve only as props and victims (e.g. comrade Djuro Djakovitch-Bosnich who was later murdered by the Yugoslav reaction). In order to facilitate the conquest of the Yugoslav flock by these Magi from the East, nobody from the Moscow party activists was permitted to leave for Yugoslavia. They did more than that. Anybody who was in the least "suspect" in Yugoslavia itself was shipped to Moscow under various pretexts.

In short, the "mandatories functioned." They already envisaged themselves as complete victors and—that is more important—within a month or so, or a half-year, or a year they, who were people without any background in any sort of a

movement, would soon be in possession of a record so necessary for underground activity. And a career a world career in the Comintern, would be open to them. Everything would have gone smoothly had their fate depended upon Moscow alone. But, sad to say, Belgrade also has a word or two to say in Yugoslavia.

And in Belgrade a military-Fascist overturn took place on January 6, 1929, and there ensued a bloody Balkan extirpation of every sort of opposition. A genuine underground activity now became necessary and the need was for men capable of going to their doom without the flicker of an eye. The "mandatories" were panic-stricken, terrified. They, like all adventurers, had estimated much too lightly their chances of success and of a career. Now what was in question were not their careers but their heads.

And then there occurred an unheard-of and a most infamous catastrophe. At this critical moment "the best section" of the mandatories left the party, the Y.C.L. and the workers' movement in general to their fate and fled as fast as legs, railways, and airplanes could carry them from Yugoslavia to Moscow. This squad of deserters was headed by the ideologist of the entire "course"—Gorkich. That is the way the "best of them" behaved. Those who were a little worse remained in Yugoslavia and passed into the service of the police. And the worse ones, it turned out, had been provocateurs all the time; they had insured themselves from both sides at the very outset.

Among them was the chief "mandatory"—one Brezovich. It is worth while to tell a little on him, because Brezovich is not an accidental figure in the present day Cominterns. Brezovich, as is well known, had also been a member of the Political Bureau of the Chinese, Japanese, French, and many other parties. At a given moment, the bureaucratic degeneration facilitates the passage to provocateurs.

The spirit of bureaucratic Byzantinism reigning throughout the entire Comintern makes it easy for the provocateurs to worm their way to the tops. Brezovich never took any part in the Yugoslav workers' movement. During the world war he was captured by the Russian troops. During the N.E.P. he turned up in the Communist party, and after the annihilation of the Zinoviev opposition he made a career in Leningrad, becoming a district agitprop (in charge of agitation and propaganda). From there Gorkich-Bukharin-Manuilsky shipped him to Yugoslavia, placing in his hands the entire organizational and technical apparatus of the party. And in 1928 at the Sixth World Congress he was promoted to the Senior Convent (the ranking mem-

bers) of the Congress despite the fact that in accordance with the decision of the plenum of the C.E.C. of the Yugoslav C.P. an old worker had been slated for the post. In order to prepare completely for their machination, Gorkich-Bukharin-Manuilsky organized the matter in such a way as to delay the arrival of this worker to the Congress (he spent days waiting in one of the border cities for permission to depart) while the scoundrel Brezovich appeared in Moscow even prior to the Congress, and in this way, as if of necessity, he was elected to the Convent. As we see, Brezovich's progress indicates a very characteristic lawfulness. . . .

Gorkich saved his hide. He had managed, together with Manuilsky, to pass in time to the service of Stalin. A few others also saved themselves. In their case, the matter was settled without a catastrophe: their careers were not broken off. But, in return, the Yugoslav workers' movement was betrayed into the hands of bestial reaction, it was disarmed and disorganized. In order to cover up their desertion, Gorkich and other leaders of the Comintern afterwards calmly sent tens and hundreds of men to their doom. In 1929-1933 the same thing was repeated in Yugoslavia which had occurred previously, but on a much larger scale, in China, and that which was perpetrated earlier and later in a number of other countries. When the working class will finally call the guilty to an accounting, it will be the day of dreadful judgment—a judgment not so much of the Gorkiches, Manuilskys and Co.—for they are only pitiable flunkies—as of the true masters, the true organizers and inspirers of all the extirpations and defeats of the international revolutionary movement from 1922-23 on: the Political Bureau of the C.P.S. U., the Bureau of the chief bureaucracy.

The unprecedented cowardice and villainess of the "Comintern leadership" after January 6, 1929 aroused a fearful indignation among the Moscow Yugoslav activists, especially among the Left group which numbered over 50. Among them, and at their head were the Trotskyist Opposition group numbering about 10, and working semi-illegally among the "national left." The Yugoslav national left, which arose back in 1921 on the basis of the demand for underground organization and activity and which grew in strength somewhat on the national and peasant questions, was and is still distinguished by its complete "national narrowness."

It is unable and it refuses (fundamentally) to tie up its own questions and struggle with the questions and struggles of other left groups of the former Comintern. The Yugoslav "Lefts" delude themselves with thinking that by such conduct they do not ruin themselves to impotence; and that by

pursuing this "tactic" they do not give the trump cards to the Rights but prepare their own coming to party power with the assistance of and through the Comintern.

The Opposition group of Bolshevik-Leninists was formed only in 1928 in Moscow after the experience of the kulak bread strike, after becoming disillusioned with the Salinist "self-criticism" and disagreeing with the struggle "on two fronts." This opposition group, as has been said, headed the dissatisfaction which flared up sharply and elementally against the conduct of the "Comintern leadership," and at a general meeting in February, 1928, a resolution condemning this conduct received more than 90 votes as against five who voted for the leadership and who defended the leadership of this representative.

## 2. The Struggle for the Right to Depart

In May, 1930, a sort of conference of our group took place in Moscow. I came from Leningrad to this conference in Moscow. At the conference we worked out theses and outlined our work. In its views, in all its internal shadings, our group belonged to the extreme left wing of the Bolshevik-Leninists, and on some questions drew close to the Democratic Centralist group. These theses spoke of the necessity of advancing the slogan of a new party after the 16th Congress (in the summer of 1930) which rejected the appeal of the Opposition; of the task of "reform" by revolutionary methods; of the turn from "propaganda to agitation"; of the propaganda and preparation of economic strikes (because the industrialization is being effected at the cost of terrible exploitation of the proletariat); in event of the economic strikes taking place, to advance, subsequently, political slogans as well (the return of the Opposition from exile, and of L. D. Trotsky from abroad).

A few Russian comrades were members of our group (Glybovski, Zankov and others) and we had some contacts with factories and a small apparatus. The group consisted of a live center; of members who did not participate in the center and of candidates; and then there were also sympathizers, "liberals" who helped the group in various ways. At that time I had prospects of sending certain important Comintern material to comrade Trotsky abroad.

Immediately after the conference our group (the center) was arrested. It was established that an individual who served as the contact between our group and the district and the Moscow center had for some time been a provocateur (obviously, in order to escape exile). Members who did not participate in the center and candidates remained untouched because the provocateur did not know them but,

tive and reporter of the Comintern, this petty Bessarabian "son of a noble" who took refuge on Soviet shores. . . .

After such a demonstrative condemnation of the Comintern "leadership," the latter assumed a counter-offensive through the medium of a Commission of the "C.E.C. of the C.P.S.U. and of the Comintern" (headed by the notorious former Menshevik, Popov). Forty were censured; twenty were sent into "party" exile; three were expelled for "one year" from the party. A section of our opposition group remained in Moscow (Haebeling, Zankov, Glybovski and others); another section (Dragulich, Dadich and myself) went to Leningrad; a third section elsewhere. This took place in the summer and autumn of 1929.

Instead, a number of innocent bystanders were arrested (several Yugoslavs and one girl, a Swedish Y.C.L'er). They were under suspicion because of some sort of external clue, i.e., they looked suspicious. Instead of a meeting with the representative of the Moscow center, the provocateur organized an interview for me with another agent of the G.P.U. I discussed our theses with him, and certain aspects of transmitting the above mentioned material to comrade Trotsky.

Immediately before the arrest we were seized by alarm, sensing the danger. One of us, comrade Dragulich worked as a latheman at the "Elektrosila" plant and was on night shift at the time and therefore escaped arrest that evening; he went into hiding and was arrested only three months later. During this time he managed to take a trip to Moscow and contact, among others, the Spanish comrade Nin and to inform him about the arrest of our group. But we had no previous contacts with comrade Nin, nor, indeed, did we keep up contact with several others (out of cautiousness); soon thereafter comrade Nin himself was deported from the U.S.S.R. and comrade Dragulich was arrested (during his arrest at night, on a street in Leningrad, the agents of the G.P.U. fired at comrade Dragulich when he attempted to flee from them). As for myself, although at that time I did think it necessary to demand permission to leave, I did not strive energetically enough for it. So many things were still unclear to me: both what is and whither things were heading; how reaction would take shape in the future, and how it had originally come about and what were the laws governing the Russian revolution. . . .

—A. CILIGA.  
(Subsequent issues will carry the continuation of comrade Ciliga's article.)

## Revolutionary Defeatism in Practice in the Ruhr in 1923

Several years after the war the French industrialists were in possession of iron, but they had no coal. And without coal there is no method of transforming iron into steel.

The iron magnates looked greedily at the riches of the Ruhr (Germany), which had in its soil the very thing which would permit the French steel mills to operate at full blast.

The Comite des Forges (heavy industry monopoly in France) demanded this coal!

These "hidden material interests," cloaked by Poincare with deceptive words about security, peace, the maintenance of civilization, provoked the invasion and the occupation of Westphalia and the Ruhr.

#### Plan of Action Formulated

The mass of the people accepted this marauding expedition. In the name of the proletariat, the Communist party and the Communist Youth in this period proclaimed its opposition to this new threat of war. In Germany, in the grip of nationalism and misery, the presence of French soldiers could not but ignite new causes of conflict.

The delegates of the French and German proletariat met in Essen (Germany) for action amongst the proletarian masses. They formulated a plan of struggle against their respective governments. The task was not simple, propaganda for fraternization was difficult. It was necessary to struggle energetically against the chauvinist wave.

At the beginning of January, 1923, the French troops, penetrating into German territory, were astonished to read posters on the walls calling upon them to fraternize.

This was the first time in history that the method laid down by Lenin

and the trade unions, imprisoned and tortured the militants. Some of them were even burned alive in the furnaces of the locomotives at Chapel. Stalin's "revolutionary" general had revealed himself to be the Gallifet of the Chinese Com-mune.

was applied in a conscious way.

By splendid strikes and demonstrations in March, 1923 the German workers carried out their class duty. Heroes of the fraternization, they fell under the fire of the French soldiers.

**Appeal to the Soldiers**  
On May 1, the "Echo de la Ruhr" issued an appeal to the French workers:

**French Soldiers!**

**Comrades!**

Greetings from the workers of the Ruhr on the 1st of May, the holiday of the international proletariat. Brothers of the lower Rhine: Your exploiters, your politicians are trying to incite you against the German workers. Falsely, they tell you that you are going to the Ruhr to fight Stinnes and Co. The pockets of our industrialists are no more filled than those of your Schneiders and Loucheurs. The exploited are the workers of the Ruhr and you, French soldiers. Above the capitalist struggle, we cry out to you: "Long live international solidarity of all workers, those who wear overalls as well as those in uniform! Long live the common struggle of the workers of Germany and France against their exploiters and against imperialism! Down with militarism!"

The commander ordered the posters torn down. The soldiers refused. General Degoutte censored all news bearing on the fraternization of the French and German workers.

In October, 1923 all the exploited awaited feverishly the German revolution.

"We lived through many agonizing hours," says a witness and hero of the drama. "We others, the French soldiers often posed this question: Are we going to be the undertakers of the German revolution?"

#### Fraternization Propaganda

Leaflets, posters, meetings, papers, everything was utilized as an antidote to the chauvinist poison.

The army of the Ruhr began to disintegrate!

Poincare let loose a ruthless repression. About 200 arrests were made: German workers, wives, young girls, civilians, French soldiers and sub-officers were imprisoned.

But fraternization triumphed over the repression!

In Geisenkachen, a mutiny took place in a French aviation camp. Ten soldiers were arrested. In Neustadt, the 28th regiment of sharpshooters refused to fire on the German unemployed who had occupied the City Hall. In Duisburg, a patrol of Belgian soldiers placed themselves at the head of a demonstration, singing the Internationale.

In a frenzy, Poincare ordered all Communist headquarters raided and occupied. The German comrades were sentenced to more than 100 years of prison.

#### Repression and Evacuation

In the trial at Mayence, after a parody of justice, in true military style, tens of years of prison sentences were passed out (R. Soeray, 10 years; Harduin, Lemire, Lingat, 2 years; the civilians Benkovick, Ben, Lekhal, Dyshe, Fife, etc. . . .).

But this did not in the least subdue the spirit of fraternization, which did more for the evacuation of the Ruhr than a hundred sittings of the League of Nations.

This fraternization was splendidly organized by the Communist youth of France as of Germany and the Ruhr.

Let us remember their example at this time when the Y.C.L. of today is immersed in social-patriotism and in all likelihood has never even heard of the famous events of the Ruhr.

And let us learn well from the example of our French and German brothers in 1923 for it may not be long distant when we will be called upon to follow in their footsteps.

**READ THE NEW MILITANT**

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## "The Press Is the Collective Organizer" --Lenin

One of the most powerful weapons of a revolutionary Party is its press. Without literature which expresses the ideas and program of the party very little substantial progress can be made. On every important issue confronting the American working class such as the war danger, trade union problems, unemployment, the Soviet Union, the Party must get its program before the working class.

Especially today with the bankruptcy of the two old internationals, the second and the third, is it necessary to bring the revolutionary doctrines of the Fourth International before as large an audience as possible.

The war in Ethiopia, which threatens to engulf the whole of humanity, poses before the working class a life and death struggle. The social patriotic position of both the Socialist and Communist parties in the face of the coming war necessitates redoubled effort on the part of the Fourth Internationalists to meet the tide of social chauvinism which will sweep the nation at the outbreak of war.

For the task of educating the vanguard in the principles of revolutionary Marxism a strong press must be built which will issue pamphlets and books on the fundamental problems of the day.

Pioneer Publishers is making a beginning in this direction with the publication of THE SELECTED WORKS OF LEON TROTSKY, at popular prices within the reach of every worker.

The publication of this material upon which the movement for the Fourth International is based, will be of incalculable value to the Party in its work of preparing the American workers for the struggles to come.

In these works are to be found a record of the whole disastrous policy of the Comintern in the last

ten years; the struggle of the Russian Communist Party; the suicidal policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy with regard to the peasantry; the disagreements over such burning problems as National Minorities, Industrialization, the alliance with the Kuomintang which destroyed the communist movement in China, the Anglo-Russian Committee, the catastrophe in Germany, etc.

The first volume of the SELECTED WORKS OF LEON TROTSKY. The Third International After Lenin—fully annotated, will be ready in January. It will be a large volume of 400 pages, cloth bound, and will sell for the phenomenally low price of \$1.50.

Every worker who is interested in obtaining this great work is urged to send in his advance order immediately to Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

#### LEWIS ROBS THE TREASURY

John L. Lewis gave another evidence of his "progressivism" by steamrolling a \$13,000 increase in pay for himself from \$12,000 to \$25,000 in the closing session of the miners convention. Other cronies of Lewis on the executive Board also had their rake-off doubled.

This sentiment of the rank and file toward this grand steal was grimly expressed by an Indiana delegate, J.W.Norris: "We have miners that are going barefoot. Isn't the present salary plenty to sustain any one in a standard of decency and health?"

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## The Wall Is Cracking

AFTER long years the wall behind which Stalin perpetrates his infamies on his revolutionary opponents and critics is beginning to crack and the terrible truth is making its way to the international working class. The escape of the heroic Tarov established for the first time a direct line of communication from the solitary cells and concentration camp. Now Ciliga, former member of the political bureau of the Communist party of Yugoslavia has emerged from the living grave to report that foreign communists as well as Russians are hounded, persecuted and imprisoned if they venture to disagree with Stalin. The revelations concerning the "on of Trotsky and his wife reveal that the "genial leader" celebrates the "irrevocable victory of socialism" by seizing relatives of those political opponents who are out of his reach and holding them as hostages. It indeed he is still holding them and has not done away with them. General impressions of the Stalinist terror against the Bolsheviks are now being supplemented by detailed facts. It is our task to make these facts known to the class-conscious workers, the real friends of the Soviet Union, and thereby to hasten their intervention.

The most timely and appropriate step that can be taken now is to agitate for the sending of an impartial commission to the Soviet Union to investigate the conditions of the revolutionary political prisoners there and to make a public report of their findings. The Sunday Worker explained that Tarov's accusations have already been refuted by "impartial observers" from foreign countries. That, of course, is a fake. The glowing reports of interested "Friends of the Soviet Union," who make up their reports in Moscow hotels and never go near the solitary confinement cells and concentration camps, are not worth the paper they are written on. We speak of an authoritative commission of reputable people who are known for their integrity and incorruptibility as well as for their publicly expressed pro-Soviet attitude. Will such a commission be permitted to enter the Soviet Union and interview the prisoners? If not, the mere refusal will be a confession of guilt which every class-conscious worker will understand.

Along with the agitation for a commission to visit the Soviet Union we must demand the alleviation of the conditions of the prisoners and do something to provide material support for the persecuted victims of Stalin's terror and their families. Money is needed for comrade Tarov to ensure his safety in Europe. Means must be found to relieve the hardships of the Bolshevik prisoners and exiles who are deprived even of the necessary crust of bread by their vengeful tormentors. The revolutionary prisoners in Stalin's jails and concentration camps are the richest capital of the revolution. The conservation of their lives is for the international proletariat an act of self-defense. Honest, class-conscious workers of all tendencies have an interest at stake in this matter of the Soviet political prisoners. They ought to cooperate in organizing this work and pushing it forward.

## For the Unity of Unemployed

PERMANENT mass unemployment brings new problems and new forms of labor organization. In the years since the beginning of the crisis the necessity for distinct organizations of the unemployed and part time workers has become increasingly evident, and it is equally evident that such organizations, in order to function with the maximum effectiveness and to promote the class solidarity of the workers, must be an integral part of the general labor movement.

The necessity of this close relationship and co-operation between the organizations of the unemployed and the established trade unions has been especially emphasized by the launching of the federal public works program and the part-time employment of a great number of workers previously unemployed. This cooperation, in turn, is greatly facilitated by the strong organization of the unemployed and part-time workers and their unification everywhere in a single body on a permanent basis.

The unification of the unemployed movement is undoubtedly the next step in the line of progressive development in this field. Whatever the original reasons for the formation of separate organizations of the unemployed there is no justification now for further division. The interests of the unemployed and of the labor movement in general imperatively call for unity.

The unity negotiations between the National Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance of America have offered the best prospect for the combination of all the organized unemployed in a single national organization. The unification of the two largest and most compatible organizations would undoubtedly lay the basis for a general assimilation of the various independent local and state bodies and the Unemployed Councils and provide a powerful stimulus to the further organization of the unorganized. A united national organization thus constituted would reinforce the trade union movement and contribute to the strengthening of the position of all the workers, employed and unemployed.

The failure of the WAA and the NUL up till now to come to an agreement for the unification is all the more to be regretted in view of the immense new possibilities that would be opened up before a united movement. The fact that general agreement exists as to the policies of the unemployed movement reduces possible disagreements to questions of organization and administration, questions which in the

nature of the case, while important, are decidedly secondary.

In the face of the urgent need for unity, which overshadows all other considerations, leaders who haggle endlessly over these points for reasons of personal ambition or narrow organization patriotism stand self-condemned. This method of struggling for "leadership" is futile anyway. In a broad democratic movement—and the unemployed movement by its very nature cannot be anything else if it is to grow and thrive—those individuals will eventually arrive at the posts of leadership who are qualified to lead. Even organizational maladjustments which may be accepted by the more conscientious leaders for the sake of unity will eventually be rectified in due time in the normal course of development.

We especially urge the leaders of the National Unemployed League, among whom are members of the Workers Party, to take this broad view of the situation and to push forward the unification. This course should be taken even at the cost of organizational concessions demanded by the WAA which may be out of line with the relation of forces between the two organizations. That is the way to serve the interests of the unemployed masses at the present juncture. In any case, the members of the Workers Party in both organizations, as the champions of labor solidarity and the opponents of splits in the economic movement, are duty-bound to fight for the unity of the NUL and the WAA against any who may try to obstruct it and to insist that it be consummated without delay.

## The New Labor Press

THE labor awakening signaled by the waves of militant strikes under the Roosevelt administration is beginning to find expression in another form which has its own significance. Headed by the Northwest Organizer, weekly organ of Local 574 at Minneapolis and the brightest trade union paper in the country, in one locality after another new trade union papers representing progressive and militant unionism are springing up. The last few weeks have witnessed the appearance of three other new papers.

The Unionist, published by the Union of All Workers at Austin, Minn., where it dominates the big Hormel packing plant, emerges from its old form as a mimeographed bulletin into a full-sized printed paper. Youngstown Truck Drivers Local 377, following the example of its famous brother local at Minneapolis, brings out a small paper, The Union Guide, to fight the frame-up prosecution of its leaders and to promote the cause of progressive unionism. At Toledo, Local 4 of the Mechanics Educational Society, fresh from a victorious strike in the auto accessory plant, is bringing out its own paper, The Industrial Unionist.

Despite technical and editorial shortcomings these new labor papers are all distinguished by one quality that marks them off sharply from the traditional old-line monstrosities of conservatism and dullness humorously called the "labor press"; the new papers are alive. They breathe the spirit of struggle and militancy. They contain live news of the struggle in their own localities and elsewhere. And running through all of them like a red thread is to be seen a line which is irreconcilably opposed to the line of the conservative and reactionary labor papers which are so often run as small rackets and instruments of betrayal.

The new trade union papers are harbingers of the coming day when the new unionism, the authentic movement of militant American labor, will come into its own and speak in its own voice. A real labor press is a power. In time of strike and stress even the smallest local sheet can be expanded into a daily with the most telling effect, as was demonstrated at Minneapolis during the great strike. The publication of even a small paper often requires great efforts and sacrifices from a comparatively small group of militants. We know this to be the case with several of the new papers we have mentioned. But the results are certain and the objective is worth all the effort ten times over. We wish success to all the new labor papers we have enumerated and to others which, it is to be hoped, will soon follow in their path.

## Socialist Call and Daily Worker

THE Trotsky-Hearst frame-up of the Stalinists and their slander system in general got a severe jolt from the editorial in the Socialist Call in which Trotsky's standing as a revolutionist and his right to criticize the Stalin regime are vigorously defended. The Call bluntly states that the Daily Worker owes Trotsky an apology, and then adds an ironical postscript: "Are we to assume that the Stalinists, too, have lost any idea of journalistic propriety?" That can safely be assumed.

The position taken by the Socialist Call on the controversy over the Soviet political prisoners distinguishes it favorably from the reformist Socialist press of Europe which suppresses all references to Stalin's persecutions of the Bolsheviks—they know all about it and have no objection—as well as from the New Leader and the Forward which utilize the revelations in order to discredit the Soviet Union in the manner of Hearst. The Call takes a pro-Soviet position and, at the same time, defends the right of revolutionists to criticize the bureaucracy.

But one remark in the editorial, if taken literally, strikes a decidedly false note: "We are not concerned with the truth of the statements in these (Trotsky's) articles." It is possible that this is meant simply to separate the issue of the Stalinist slander frame-up—which the Call condemns out of hand—from the accusations of Trotsky and Tarov. The questions should be separated. But the second is far more important than the first, and revolutionists cannot remain indifferent to it.

The persecution of Bolsheviks strikes a blow at the Soviet Union. Those who believe Tarov's story should raise their voices in protest. If one doubts the truth of Tarov's statements he should call for an investigation by an impartial, pro-Soviet committee to establish the facts. But to say that one is "not concerned" with the truth of the accusations—if that is what is really meant—is to express indifference to one of the most burning problems of the Soviet Union, the fate of the genuine revolutionist within its borders. No serious revolutionist in any country can maintain such an attitude.

"revolutionist" is the following, delivered passionately and earnestly: "We Communists will never give up our American flag to Al Smith's Liberty League, or the Hearsts, and we always have an American flag at our meetings in remembrance of the Bill of Rights which assures life, liberty and happiness to all." (!)

Avail yourself of the combination New Militant, New Internationalist subscription offer. 52 issues of the paper and 12 issues of the magazine can be had, through this offer, for \$2.00.

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## A Cry of Protest from A Siberian Exile Camp

## Letter of 13 Bolsheviks, Written in 1934, Comes to Light for First Time

We publish below an authentic document, shocking in its revelations of the tortures to which the Stalinist bureaucracy daily submits the best Russian and foreign revolutionists, when the latter come to the U.S.S.R. We make this letter public (written in Jan., 1934) only after great delay because one of the comrades, with whom it deals, has only recently managed to make his way abroad. But the letter retains its full force today because two out of the three Yugoslavs mentioned, and hundreds and thousands of other revolutionists are still in prison and exile in the same conditions so candidly described in this letter of protest. (I.C.L. Press Service.)

## To Akulov, Attorney General of the U.S.S.R., Moscow:

On November 28, 1933, the Yugoslav comrade Ciliga, who spent three years in the political solitary at Verkhni-Uralsk, made an attempt at suicide, in the offices of the central bureau of the G.P.U. by slashing his veins. The agents of the G.P.U. succeeded in bandaging the comrade whose blood flowed freely, despite his resistance, and of saving him from death by medical care, although he did lose a great deal of blood.

This attempt at suicide took place at the central offices of the G.P.U., where Ciliga had been taken and after his sudden arrest while he was under medical treatment at Krasnoyarsk, in order to forcibly transport him from Krasnoyarsk to Yeniseisk, even before his treatment was finished. This tragic attempt at suicide by a revolutionary Communist, former member of the Political Bureau of the Yugoslav C.P., who for a number of years carried on his shoulders the full weight of Yugoslav reaction, was not the result of a sudden outburst of despair and of weakness of character, but an act of deliberate protest in the revolutionary struggle, the raison d'être of his life.

The entire past of comrade Ciliga and the system of repressions and persecutions with which the G.P.U. had surrounded him, demonstrate the truth of this contention.

Hounded by Bourgeoisie and Stalin Three Yugoslav Communists, comrades Ciliga, Dedich and Dragulich who had been able to withstand the repressions of the the Yugoslav bourgeoisie, came to the U.S.S.R., which they considered, like so many hundreds and thousands of other proletarian revolutionists abroad, to be their socialist fatherland. These three comrades were active functionaries of the Yugoslav C.P. Dedich had been the secretary of the District Committee of the party in a large work-

ers' community. Dragulich was a member of the Central Committee of the party and Ciliga a member of the Political Bureau and on the staff of the central legal organ of the party. All three were hated for good cause by the Yugoslav government, all three could expect the most vicious terror from the Yugoslav bourgeoisie.

These comrades, who found a cruel exploitation of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. and who had become convinced of the betrayal of the leading group, of its betrayal of the proletarian revolution, joined the opposition and soon shared the fate of the Russian Communists who carry on an unceasing struggle for the proletarian revolution and who, in the U.S.S.R., are also punished for it as they are in other countries by prison, by condemnation to life in concentration camps, by moral and physical abuse, by exile to the remotest corners of Eastern Siberia, to the province of Naryn, to the favorite places where Czarist Russia loved to send its prisoners.

## The Hunger Strike

The three comrades, sentenced in 1930 to three years imprisonment were transferred to solitary confinement at Verkhni-Uralsk and cut off not only from the proletarian movement of their own country but also from their families and friends.

What the Yugoslav authorities failed to do, was accomplished by the government of Stalin and Molotov. Comrade Ciliga and the two other Yugoslav comrades, became the victims of the Soviet prison system, a system of provocation calculated to the meanest detail, which in the Spring of 1931 in the large Communist collective in the political solitary of Verkhni-Uralsk, numbering 176 persons, led to a hunger strike of 18 days duration as a protest against the shots fired through the window of a prisoner (Essayan) who was seriously wounded. Ciliga and his comrades who participated in the hunger strike, together with many Russian communists who suffered all sorts

of humiliating beatings, were placed in chains and the water hose turned on them, as was the custom in the solitary of Verkhni-Uralsk.

## Arbitrary Extension of Sentences

Ciliga and his comrades were becoming acquainted with a new reality, existing only in the U.S.S.R. and unknown to the Communists active in bourgeois-fascist Europe. In the U.S.S.R. every prisoner, on the termination of his sentence, may see it prolonged for a new indefinite period: for a term one, two, three years or more without the prisoner being indicted, heard or judged in any fashion, whatsoever. There are many examples of Communists, who through the practice of the Russian prisons have had their sentences prolonged perpetually. The prison term of the Yugoslav Communists (three years) expired in May 1933. Seriously suffering from isolation from the Communist movement of their country, the three Yugoslav Communists decided at this very moment to demand at any cost, the right to return to Yugoslavia, where, despite the danger which threatened them, they could function in the ranks of the struggling proletariat. The comrades demanded to be sent to Yugoslavia and announced that they would struggle to obtain this right by every means without eschewing the most extreme methods like the hunger strike and suicide. The reply of the G.P.U. was the order to transport them to another political solitary, in order to remove the possibility of their securing support in their struggle from the large important Communist collective, imprisoned for years in the solitary at Verkhni-Uralsk.

## Ciliga's Heroic Protest

Comrade Ciliga was separated from his friends (the fate of the other Yugoslav comrades is not known to us) and thrown into a dungeon of the prison at Chelabinsk, where he carried on a hunger strike lasting 23 days to obtain the right to return to his home in his country. But the leading group in the U.S.S.R., which betrayed the cause of the revolution in his country, is at the same time indifferent when it comes to strengthening the ranks of the international proletariat by intrepid, strong and tested revolutionists. Moreover, it prefers its own government methods in regulating their affairs to the Communists who struggle against the international bourgeoisie.

In reply to comrade Ciliga's hunger strike the G.P.U. informed him that his sentence would be extended two more years. Following this comrade Ciliga imperatively demanded his freedom, or else he would commit suicide as a protest

against the extension of his sentence. The G.P.U., fearing that the international proletariat might find out about the death of the Yugoslav Communists, tortured in the prisons of the U.S.S.R., freed comrade Ciliga and sent him into exile to far off Eastern Siberia.

## Siberian Exile

But that in no way changed the situation of comrade Ciliga, since he was placed in the same conditions of absolute isolation as in the political solitary. Under the present Soviet regime exile means only that they continue their estrangement from life, but in different conditions. Separation from friends, from family, the impossibility of carrying on correspondence, which is intercepted by the local agents of the G.P.U. and in the greatest part destroyed or disappears without a trace. Repeated raids, frequent arrests without reason or charges—all of this makes of the places of exile, concentration camps with just a shred of freedom. And comrade Ciliga, sent into the waste lands of Eastern Siberia, and seeing no other prospect than of being transferred to a still more distant corner, finally tried to carry out his threat of suicide.

## "We Hold You Responsible..."

In making these facts known to you, we draw your attention to the fact that the life of comrade Ciliga is still in danger, although this time his attempt at suicide failed. Since the main demand of comrade Ciliga has received no satisfaction, we send you this warning and we hold you fully responsible for the system of provocations of the G.P.U. and of its intent to physically exterminate the Communists among whom comrade Ciliga is one of the victims. You are entirely responsible for the subsequent fate of comrade Ciliga who belongs to the international working class and who must be given the opportunity of returning to its ranks. We declare that the international working class will one day know the fate of comrade Ciliga and the other Yugoslav Communists although the treacherous policy of the leading group thrusts them into the remotest places. We call upon you to issue an order to the G.P.U. to put an end to the systematic persecutions against the Yugoslav Communists, comrades Ciliga, Dedich, Dragulich and to give them permission to go abroad, since they are illegally and forcibly held in the U.S.S.R.

SIGNED: Bobinski, Volkov, Gourovskaya, Delinshchili (?), Korkina, Ida Lemelman, Plomer, Rapoport, Simbirski, Sotnikov, Shapiro, Fedorov, Chiklin.

Yeniseisk, January, 1934.

## February Issue of New International Out Soon

The February NEW INTERNATIONAL will be out soon.

Among the material contained in this issue, the article on the Stakhanovist movement will probably attract the most immediate attention. Written by one of our Russian comrades, N. Markin, the facts presented are fully authenticated by references to information that appeared in the press of the Soviet Union. In each instance exact data is given, presenting on the whole a picture of this movement not previously known in this country, which should be of special interest also to all the readers of the NEW MILITANT.

An interview with Leon Trotsky, appearing in this issue, will no doubt be considered by many readers as its special feature. We can readily agree. The interviewer is a member of the British I.L.P., who recently made a visit to Norway, and in the course of his discussions with comrade Trotsky put a number of questions to which he received specific and quite elaborate answers. While the questions and the answers were concerned in the main with problems facing the I.L.P., they are all of much more than mere partisan interest since they touch upon some of the most fundamental aspects of tactics and strategy of the revolutionary movement.

Comrade John West takes up in this issue the question of organic unity. Since the Seventh Comintern Congress this question appears to have been transferred into the

realm of reality; the Stalinists, at any rate, have become ardent proponents of organic unity with the Socialist parties. While the actual consummation of such organic unity may still be doubtful and not at all solved by the mere formula of unity that usually appears so attractive to the average worker, it devolves upon the Marxists to give the answer to this Stalinist proposal. This is what comrade West has undertaken to do in his article. His analysis is presented with usual thoroughness.

An article by comrade Swaback is devoted to the question: Does the A. F. of L. Face a Split? No doubt this subject is of sufficient importance to deserve serious comment as well as to be, at this moment, of more than ordinary interest to our readers.

Among the other material carried in the February issue of the NEW INTERNATIONAL two articles deserve special mention. One of them, written by Felix Morrow, deals with the spirit of the American Constitution and the other is a continuation of the discussion by comrade Novack on the role of the American intellectuals.

We present in this issue also a new contributor, comrade Erich Wollenberg. During a number of years, but prior to the Stalinist "third period," he was the leader of the military sector of the German Communist party. His contribution to the February issue analyzes the question of: Just Wars in the Light of Marxism.

## Fur Strike Called Off

(Continued from Page 1)

riers swallow the contract. The echoes of class-collaboration resounded throughout his entire speech; a strike, he declared, means suffering for the workers, ruin for the bosses and is bad for the industry (!) generally. Don't worry, he consoled the workers, some day we'll have a Farmer-Labor party and it will reform the rotten capitalist system.

Members of the Progressive Unity Group and other rank and file workers criticized the agreement and the leadership of the union responsible for it. They pointed out that it was presented to the membership as an accomplished fact and there was nothing to be done but to accept it since the leadership had not prepared for a strike.

It was common knowledge in the fur market and well known to the bosses (see their organ, "Women's Wear") that the leadership of the union did not intend to strike and this, of course, made the bosses all the more arrogant.

## The Stalinists' Record

In the six months the Stalinists have been at the helm of the united Furriers Union, they have induced a spirit of apathy among the workers and suppressed all sparks of militancy in their ranks. They re-introduced a system of craft locals instead of the industrial form of organizations which the right wing leaders dared not do in their bold moments. They made deals with unprincipled individuals, surrounded themselves with an apparatus of yes-men, including some Old Guard Socialists, a window dressing for their actions. The prestige of the Stalinists as a militant force in the trade union movement is today little but a dim memory. The furriers must recognize in them a force for evil only, a brake on the workers' struggle, ready for anything including class-collaboration indistinguishable from any of the old line A. F. of L. bureaucrats. Even the red paint has worn off. They must draw the proper lessons for the future.

## DANCE

SATURDAY NIGHT FEB. 15th  
at 320 East 14th Street  
New York City  
Auspiess: Branch 1, W. P.

## Dance

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Friday Eve. Feb. 28

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## SHADES OF LENIN!

BOSTON.—Ushered in by a hysterical campaign in the Hearst Boston American, appealing to all patriotic Bostonians to prevent the meeting, the people of this city were astounded by a spectacle of patriotism and flag-waving under the guise of a Lenin memorial meeting held recently by the C. P. at Symphony Hall.

In a truly American setting, without a single decoration of Communist origin, District Organizer Frankfeld read a twenty-minute speech, whose theme was that

throughout the land there were no better, more loyal Americans to be found than in the flock of Stalin. In introducing the following speaker, a C. P. member, he carefully addressed him as "Mr." Moore to the amusement of the audience.

The high note of the meeting was a talk by that eminent American patriot, Earl Browder, who essayed the despicable and pathetic task of trying to justify the social-patriotism of the C. P. as sanctioned by Lenin! Among many other remarks of a similar stripe by this