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20,000 Oppositionists Expelled From the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Recent 'Cleansing'

Forces of the Fourth International Grow in the Strongest Fortress of Stalinism; "Purging" of Critics Conducted by G.P.U. Behind Backs of the Membership; Prepare Another Mass Ousting for Spring

By LEON TROTSKY

A new cleansing is being conducted in the so-called Communist party of the Soviet Union. This time it bears the modest label of a "check-up on party credentials." The difference between this purge and all those that preceded it lies in the fact that it is being effected without even the nominal participation of the party itself; no general meetings, no personal confessions, no public denunciations, no corroborating testimony. The checking machinery operates entirely behind the scenes; for, you see, this is merely a matter of "credentials." In reality approximately 10 percent of the party has been expelled as a result of this modest technical check-up. The check-up of party candidates has not been completed as yet. But already, many more than 200,000 have been ejected from the ranks of the party. Let us recall, incidentally, that this was almost the numerical strength of the entire Bolshevik party during the period when it led the proletariat to the conquest of power.

The Categories of Expelled

The January 2 issue of Pravda breaks down the figures of the expelled into the following main categories: "From Trotskyists, Zinovists, opportunists, double-dealers, alien elements, sneak-thieves, adventurers down to spies of the foreign agencies." The list, you will observe, reproduces the general formula of all Thermidorian amalgams. It would be utterly naive to become "indignant" over the coupling of Trotskyists with sneak-thieves and spies. Every regime at loggerheads with the people persecutes, on the one hand, the revolutionists and on the other criminals. From time immemorial these two categories lived side by side in the prisons of the Czar, as they live today in the prisons of the bourgeoisie of the entire world. Krensky in his own time swore again and again that the Bolsheviks were in collusion with black hundred gangs and German spies. Stalin remains entirely true to tradition. Instead of growing "indignant" over the statistic amalgam, let us analyze it more closely.

First of all we note the striking fact that from among the more than 200,000 expelled, the "Trotskyists" are officially assigned the first place. Does this imply that they are so large a group numerically? Or is it that the bureaucracy, after liquidating "the remnants and splinters" of Trotskyists no less than ten times, still continues to consider them as its most dangerous enemy? Both. We shall shortly prove on the basis of official statistics that the number of the expelled Bolshevik-Leninists during the last cleansing alone (the latter part of 1935) amounts to no less than 10,000, and, in effect, a great many more. The bestiality of the repressions is ample indication of the extent to which the bureaucracy fears this "category."

The Chief Opposition Force

The Trotskyists and Zinovists are commonly lumped together in a single category by the official accounts. The Zinovists always represented a purely Leninist grouping, in other parts of the country they consisted of only scattered individuals, and they never had an independent political physiognomy, let alone their instability. Thus we obtain six categories of the expelled: 1) Bolshevik-Leninists; 2) Zinovists; 3) "opportunists" (recorded here more for symmetry and camouflage: the individual reports do not mention them at all as a rule); 4) double-dealers and alien elements (former White Guards, etc.); 5) sneak-thieves and adventurers; 6) foreign spies. With slight variations these categories are repeated in the district reports, correspondence, leading articles, etc.

Before passing to the analysis of the question of the numerical strength of the Bolshevik-Leninists, we wish to point out that not a single blating of the categories of the expelled or any of the commentaries we have examined, contains any mention either of the Mensheviks or the Social-Revolutionaries. Both these parties are politically non-existent. Their reactionary policy in 1917, as comrade Tarov

has recently so correctly pointed out, has barred them from all approach to the new generations in the city and country. And as the Yugoslav comrade Ciliga, yesterday's captive of Stalin, has stressed on several occasions, the only serious opposition in the country is that of the Bolshevik-Leninists. In other words, the opposition to Bonapartism in the Soviet Union flows not from the principles of petty-bourgeois democracy, but from the conquests of the October revolution, and marches under its banner. Let us keep this fact firmly in mind, for it is of colossal importance for the future.

After all the preceding purges and campaigns of physical exter-

mination it seems almost incredible that among the various categories of the expelled—not hundreds, not thousands, but a minimum of 200,000—the Bolshevik-Leninists should be listed in the first place. How many of them were there? The Soviet press refrains cautiously from citing any totals on this score. Only in individual articles, and remarks dealing with provinces and districts do we run across direct or indirect (most often indirect) mention of the number of the expelled "Trotskyists." This is the data we propose to dwell upon.

In the Dnepropetrovsk Province Khatayevich, secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk province, reports in his article that during the check-

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Rebel Spirit Stirs Akron Gum Miners

Successful Sit-Down Strikes Impel Militant Action in Rubber Unions

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Feb. 10.—In a powerful display of organized strength that amazed and alarmed the tire companies, thousands of rubberworkers joined in various spontaneous "sit-downs" at the Big Three plants here during the past two weeks which had serious possibility of spreading into an industry-wide strike until the workers' demands were mainly met.

These "sit-downs" began at Firestone which involved 2,000 workers and brought complete victory of the union as explained in the previous issue of the New Militant.

The "sit-down" idea spread to Goodyear where another 2,000 workers supported the refusal of the tire curing room to take a wage cut. Although the company failed to rescind the cut, they did not dare carry out a written order to spread the cut to plant 2 as the workers prepared to shut down the plant under leadership of the Goodyear local of the United Rubberworkers of America.

Then, tirebuilders at Goodrich sat down Friday night because one of

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Trotsky Cables Denial to AP on Daily Worker Lies

Denounces Repressions Against Bolshevik-Leninists by the Stalinist Bureaucracy

Editor's Note: On January 28 Leon Trotsky sent the following cable to the Associated Press from Honefoss, Norway:

Hearst Press published the article about political persecution in the Soviet Union pretending that it was written by me. Friends cabled me requesting to know the truth of the matter through the medium of the Associated Press. I never gave any article to the Hearst press with which I have no relations whatsoever. The articles which were published or used without my knowledge (in case they really were articles of mine) are naturally not at all directed against the Soviet Union but only against the growing despotism of the ruling clique. During the last month and weeks I have received extremely important news from authentic sources concerning the terrible repressions against political prisoners whose fidelity to the Soviet Union is beyond doubt and whose only "crime" consists in criticizing the ruling bureaucracy.

A short time ago Dr. Anton Ciliga, former leader of the Yugoslav Communist party, returned from the Soviet Union where he spent more than five years in prison and exile as punishment for his critical attitude of the leadership of the Comintern. To

obtain permission to leave the Soviet Union Ciliga resorted to a hunger strike and was subjected to forcible feeding. He slashed his wrists but was prevented from suicide. Thousands of expelled members of the ruling party who protested against the growing inequality or the introduction of army-officer titles and the marshal-order, suffer under similar conditions.

Zinoviev and Kamenev, intimate collaborators of Lenin, are now imprisoned for a terrorist crime with which they had nothing whatsoever to do. Kamenev, former chairman of the Political Bureau of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, is in a cell together with 12 others. Last year an additional five years was tacked on to the original five-year sentence for his alleged participation in planning a terrorist assassination of Stalin.

The restrained and absolutely objective information related by Ciliga, Tarov and others prove the increasing antagonism developing between the bureaucracy and the population and prove the need of the bureaucracy to resort to sharper repressions in the interests of self-preservation. To say this frankly is to do a real service to the people of the Soviet Union.

(signed) LEON TROTSKY.

Mooney Appeals For Aid

Funds Badly Needed to Fight Activities of Calif. Frame-up Crew

County Jail No. 1, San Francisco, Calif. February 1, 1936.

Mr. James P. Cannon, New Militant, New York City, N.Y.

On Monday, February 3, the hearing on my petition for a habeas corpus writ will be resumed before the referee appointed by the California Supreme Court. Once more that monstrous serpent—the Mooney-Billings frame-up will crawl from its bed of slime, raise its ghastly head, display its fangs and inject its deadly poison into the blood-stream of public opinion in the hope of paralyzing it so that it may be held in prison until death.

This hearing is bringing our struggle to a new crisis where we need your moral and financial help more than ever before.

We have proved that all the material evidence, all matters of identification as to our participation in the crime was pure and unadulterated perjury.

We have proved that the District Attorney and the Police Department had conscious knowledge of that perjury when they presented it to the court that convicted us.

We have proved that they deliberately suppressed and concealed vital evidence that would have conclusively established our innocence.

This hearing is of vital importance not because there is much hope the California State Supreme Court may grant my writ, but because it is the final step in carrying the case forward to the United States Supreme Court where there is real hope for favorable action.

An Organ of Reaction

We know with positive knowledge that the Supreme Court of California itself has from the beginning been part and parcel of this monstrous frame-up.

Judge F. W. Henshaw, Justice of the California State Supreme Court for more than twenty years, was driven from the bench in shame as a result of disclosures brought about through the Mooney defense. He accepted a bribe of almost a million dollars for his decision in the Fair Will Case. The Denmore dictograph report disclosed Justice Henshaw as the intellectual guiding evil genius in the Mooney frame-up.

The California State Supreme Court in the 1930 hearing on Warren K. Billings application for a pardon, declared that there was no frame-up, that all the perjurers told the truth in 1916, and their later recantations and confessions of perjury were the result of the connivance of our defense committee.

The minority opinion of one of its members, Justice William H. Langdon, constitutes the greatest indictment ever written of any Supreme Court majority opinion.

The California State Supreme Court represents the same powerful financial and industrial reactionary force that framed us because of our loyal devotion to the trade union movement. That Court still carries on.

Frame-up Crew Still Active

Judge Henshaw, Detective Swanson, Jury Foreman MacNevin and Chief of Police White of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company are all dead. But the living frame-up crew will spread their poison through the newspapers of the nation during the month of February, crying out anew for our blood.

The unspeakable C.M. Fickert, former District Attorney by the grace of the United Railroads, who was going to use Tom Mooney's gallows as a campaign platform for the governorship in 1918, now a derelict, will be washed and dressed for his part and dragged from his long and well deserved oblivion once again to serve his God—Mammon. His chief assistant, Edward A. Cunha, who was to succeed him as District Attorney as a reward for his part in the foul frame-up will again help him with all the venom and cunning of his poisonous hatred.

Steve Bunner, Lieutenant of Police in 1916, who coached perjurer Oxman, is now a retired Captain of Police with one hundred thousand dollars in his bank account, for which he gives no explanation to public officials, now investigating charges of police graft and extortion. They dare not prosecute him, fearing he may tell all he knows

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New York Dressmakers Force Bosses to Terms

Miners Convention Hurls Defi at Green Ultimatum

Complete Solidarity with Industrial Union Movement Spurs Organization in Other Industries

By ARNE SWABECK

The A. F. of L. "will not tolerate within it an organization challenging the supremacy of the parent body." This ultimatum against the Committee for Industrial Organization, Wm. Green delivered in person to the United Mine Workers' convention and when he got the answer he deserved, he protested and insisted that his remarks had been "unfairly" interpreted as an ultimatum.

In the answer given, the seven hundred delegates voted unanimously to support the Committee for Industrial Organization and to support its policy of industrial unionism. They voted authorization to the officers to withhold per capita tax payments to the A. F. of L. should such action be deemed necessary.

This was the high point of a remarkable convention. It was known in advance that its decisions would have an important bearing upon the outcome of the present conflict in the A. F. of L. over the industrial union issue. The convention, therefore, received the undivided attention from all sections of the labor movement and, needless to say, not the least from the A. F. of L. top bureaucracy.

Crushing Defeat for Green

Wm. Green faced a supreme test. His Executive Council had demanded that the C.I.O. dissolve. He appeared before the miners' convention in the role of a patriarch presiding over the great family of trade unions, in which, he said, some of its members were in "open rebellion." Although he undoubtedly used all his powers of persuasion, he did not leave a very powerful impression. The delegates listened to him in stony silence, broken now and then by a chorus of boos. John L. Lewis on the other hand utilized to the fullest extent all his showmanship talent.

Conscious of their strength, the coal miners in this convention decided also to extend the union to embrace all workmen "in and around coal processing plants." This, when carried out, would add

lending so much greater effect to the decisions made. In this respect the convention was magnificently staged.

When Green had finished his address, John L. Lewis asked those delegates who had changed their minds because of the address to stand up. Two men stood up. Following this Lewis asked how many believed the C.I.O. should be dissolved. A lone delegate stood up. To the final question how many believed that the policies of this convention should be carried out, all delegates arose amid handclapping and cheers.

After this demonstration of unanimity, Lewis was able to turn to Green and exclaim: "I trust, sir, you will carry back to your organization the answer of the United Mine Workers."

Miners Branch Out

Indeed, the coal miners had given an answer thoroughly in accord with their splendid tradition as militant unionists. They spoke as members of the most powerful organization in the A. F. of L., whose expression of opinion must be accepted in earnest. No doubt the coal miners feel confident that the strength of their union has been restored; counting over 500,000 members, the union now embraces about 85 percent of all the coal miners in the country. Most typical of the recent gains is the fact that the whole of the state of West Virginia is now organized, where formerly, and particularly in Logan County, the terrorism of the coal operators and their henchmen in governmental offices for years kept the union out.

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Strength of Union Forces New Contract

Report Gains on Major Issues of Conflict With Employers

After weeks of negotiations, breaks in negotiations and threats of strike, the bosses' association, recognizing the strength of the union, have agreed to a contract with the Joint Board of the Dressmakers, I.L.G.W.U.

While the details of the agreement are not yet public, it is understood that all gains made in the 1933 general strike are retained and in some cases improved. The main question at issue was the setting up of adequate machinery to prevent the robbing of workers by chiselling contractors. "Settlement of prices on the jobbers premises; limitation of contractors; the unit or scientific method of settling piece rates" are reported as agreed to.

At the present moment final finishing touches are being added to the agreement. Meetings have been arranged by the bosses' associations to ratify the terms. The union is in search of halls large enough to seat their entire membership for ratification meetings. While union demands for the 30-hour week and general increases in the minimum wage rate have not been met, it is expected that following the report of the negotiating committee headed by President Dubinsky and Vice-President Hochman, the terms will be accepted.

The union leaders state that the complete preparations made for this strike and the enthusiastic demonstrations and mass meetings held last Friday, when the entire membership stopped work and paraded to Madison Square, Garden and other halls, had a wholesome effect on the bosses and was a determining factor in winning the agreement.

Mayor LaGuardia is attempting to claim some credit for the settlement but the dressmakers, looking at the results of the mayor's "mediation" in other cases where unions were weak, give the credit to their own solidarity and 100,000 dressmakers can't be wrong!

Laundry Strike Remains Solid In 9th Week

The militant strike of Bronx laundry workers, organized in Laundry Drivers' Local 810, now in its ninth week, is still effectively crippling operation of the plants. Despite police terror and the strikebreaking tactics of city relief authorities, the spirit of the strikers, their wives (organized in ladies auxiliaries) and families is high and they are determined to win.

The police have pursued a policy of arresting as many strikers as possible, holding them on every conceivable charge, in order to strip the picket lines of man power. To date over 150 arrests have taken place on charges ranging from disorderly conduct to kidnapping. Counsel fees and bail are draining the union treasury and support is gravely needed.

The shortage of strike relief funds has compelled many of the workers to turn to Home Relief authorities for aid. Without exception their applications have been rejected since they refused to scrub. But the action of city relief officials, police and reactionary judges has been unable to break the ranks of the strikers.

Last Friday the union called a conference of labor organizations to obtain aid for the strikers.

The union is asking all sympathizers and workers to refuse to give their laundry to the following companies: ABC, Bond, Stork, Snow-White, Sterling, Sun, Sun-bright, North American, New York (Chester), Planet, Pretty, De Francis, Regent, Jummel, Manhattan, Mirrolike, Westbury, Ugh-bridge and Starlight laundry companies.

Meat Packers Launch Drive In Industry

Affiliate with CIO; Fight for Unrestricted Industrial Charter in AFL

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 2.—The progressive unions in the packing house industry have joined forces with the national movement for industrial unionism through the formal launching of the Committee for Industrial Organization in the Packing House Industry. This action was taken by the delegates to the conference at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on February 1 and 2. The actions and recommendations of the conference delegates are to be submitted to the membership of the participating local unions for approval. It is anticipated that such approval will be quickly granted and the Committee instructed to proceed immediately to its tasks.

The Committee for Industrial Organization in the Packing House Industry will direct its attention immediately toward the work of securing the affiliation of other packing house unions. All independent unions and A. F. of L. unions in the industry will be contacted by the committee. Contacts will also be sought among the unorganized packing house workers and those belonging to company unions.

The first action of the committee will be to establish a research committee for the purpose of securing statistical information necessary to clearly demonstrate the need for unity of action in the industry. The information, together with other educational material will be circulated throughout all packing house centers. In the near future an official news organ will be established by the committee. Visiting committees will be sent out from time to time by the local unions, and as quickly as circumstances will permit, organizers will be sent into the field by the com-

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Minneapolis Unions Join Lewis Set-up

22 Locals Take First Step in Conference; 574 Represented

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 2.—The Industrial Union Conference called by Local 665, Miscellaneous Workers, convened Sunday morning at ten o'clock at 520 Hennepin Avenue. The meeting was opened by Swan Assarson of Local 665. Assarson briefly expressed the aims and objectives of the conference, pointing out the inevitable drift towards industrial unionism that was taking place and stated that no matter how much we attempted to avoid the question it would finally have to be settled one way or the other. He then read the proposed agenda which was as follows: Election of Chairman, election of Secretary, election of Credentials Committee of three, and Resolutions Committee of five, discussion by delegates, report of committees, other business and adjournment. Rubin Latz of Local 183, Laundry Workers, was elected chairman and Hillard Smith of 382, Auto Mechanics, was selected as secretary.

The Credentials and Resolutions Committee was then elected. After some discussion by delegates, the Credentials Committee reported that there were 46 delegates present, representing 22 local unions.

The following organizations were present, with delegates: General Drivers No. 574, Electrical Workers No. 160, Electrical Workers No. 292, Asbestos Workers No. 34, Petroleum Workers No. 19802, Twin City Federal Workers No. 1813, American Federation of Actors, Building Laborers, No. 563, Upholsterers No. 61, Woodenware Workers No. 1859, Sheet Metal Workers No. 34, Laundry Workers No. 183, Miscellaneous Workers No. 665, Photo Engravers No. 6, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.

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Rebel Spirit Stirs Akron Gum Miners

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the union men was not given a fair wage allowance when he was transferred to another machine.

A tirebuilders committee went from department to department rallying workers to their banner and thus entire production was stopped within an hour. This involved 1,500. Another shift came in at midnight and joined, doubling the number refusing to work.

A committee of two union men from each of the four shifts was selected by the workers to confer with the management. The company quickly agreed to give the worker his allowance and the men went back to work.

However, it was discovered that the company wasn't going to pay any of the workers money for the time lost during the sitdown so the entire factory again quit work.

Threats by the company to forcibly move the workers from the plant were met with jeers and the police were defied. Although the plant normally is closed over Sunday the workers prepared to remain inside until their demand for half pay was met.

When the company saw that the workers were going to keep the plant closed at all costs and would not let anyone work, it agreed to pay all the men except the tirebuilders half pay.

The tirebuilders, to show that they were willing to sacrifice for the sake of fellow-workers, accepted the proposal but the other workers refused it for over two hours although union leaders urged them to accept.

The union committee was "tricked" into accepting the proposal and recommending it to the men, some of them said later, but not many were disturbed because it was seen that a mistake this time could and would be rectified in the near future.

During the entire time of the sit-down, active union members, enthused by the fight of their leaders in the negotiations, signed up hundreds of non-union men into the bonafide union.

Union Grows After Struggle

The union at Goodyear grew after the sitdown but for just the opposite reason which brought the great increase of membership at Firestone and Goodrich locals.

Goodyear workers realized clearly that it was their lack of organization, of leadership that brought the tirebuilders defeat. Failure of the union leadership itself to utilize the situation quickly enough also left the workers without confidence and so they went to work when the Goodyear company assembled its prize strike-breakers, the Flying Squadron to do the work.

They joined the union because together with the other union workers they make a solid front and so were able to plan a 100 per cent sitdown at plant 2 which the company was afraid of. That's why the order to carry out a wage cut is still in the superintendent's office and will remain there for a while.

READY FEBRUARY

The Third International After Lenin

By LEON TROTSKY

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Miners Union Conference Hurls Defi at Green Ultimatum on CIO

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about 100,000 workers in by-product and gas and chemical plants to the organization. But the craft union officials already claim jurisdiction over skilled mechanics working in these plants. This, however, may be considered only a minor matter in view of the general conflict around the industrial union issue. While this specific action will play its part, it is the attitude of the miners' convention in regard to this larger question confronting the trade union movement today that will serve to sharpen enormously the present conflict in the A. F. of L.

No doubt John L. Lewis has also emerged considerably strengthened in the union leadership since this convention. In its most extreme form this was indicated by laudatory and uncritical statements such as those made by delegates from Logan County, West Virginia who compared Lewis to Moses, who "has led us out of the land of Egypt." But in its real essence the strengthening of the position of John L. Lewis can be motivated only by the readiness of the rank and file coal miners for industrial unionism and to accept progressive ideas. They understand the issues involved in this fight and they have proved that they are ready to make it.

In the Grand Style

John L. Lewis, however, understands also how to make the best use of his strengthened position. We need mention only the incident of the contemplated boost in salaries for the leading officials, which by the way, became a mere incident only after Lewis had had the opportunity to gauge the real sentiment of the delegates present.

The committee on officers report brought in a proposition to increase the officers' salaries by 100 percent, which would elevate the remuneration for Lewis from a "paltry" \$12,000 yearly to \$25,000. The sentiment to this proposal was well expressed by an Indiana delegate, J. W. Norris, who said: "We have miners that are going barefoot. Isn't the present salary plenty to sustain any one in a standard of

decency and health." A turbulent debate followed with a demand for a roll-call vote. But the opposition was steam-rollered; both Pat Fagan, who was in the chair at the time, and later John L. Lewis ruled this demand out of order and declared the committee's report, including the projected salary boost, adopted. The following day, however, Lewis cleverly manipulated this question to his own advantage. With a grandiloquent gesture he declined to accept the salary increase. The other officers hurried to follow in his footsteps.

Autonomy and Roosevelt

A turbulent debate ensued also on the autonomy question. In this is involved the right of the district organizations to elect their own officers against the present practice of the general officers instituting what is called provisional governments, by appointment of officials who are to work under the supervision of the general officers. On a roll-call vote this practice was sustained more than two to one. Lewis won an easy victory, but surely not, in this case, a victory for progressive ideas.

Similarly Lewis carried the day with ease lining up the convention practically unanimously for support of Roosevelt—to "go forward with Roosevelt," fighting under his banner for re-election. Undoubtedly the ease of these victories must in a large measure be attributed to the all-overshadowing issue of the fight for industrial unionism in which the delegates by their determination to support the position taken by John L. Lewis and the Committee for Industrial Organization were easily swayed to swallow a good deal more than would otherwise have been the case.

Clash with Craft Unions

On this major issue none of them made any mistake. They were able to judge also from practical experience. Last year, for example, a number of the higher, and particularly reactionary, craft union officials attempted to have the Guffey coal bill amended so that skilled mechanics, working in or around the mines, would be taken out of

the jurisdiction of the U.M.W.A. Needless to say, the miners became thoroughly aroused by this attempted raid.

This, however, is only one small example of the conflict between craft unionism and industrial unionism that is now extending deeper into the whole of the movement in every instance where actual union advance is projected. The Oil Workers Union, also represented on the Committee for Industrial Organization, recently obtained an election under the National Labor Relations Act in a campaign against a company union. Here again the higher craft union officials stepped in and attempted to have the National Labor Relations Board recognize the craft unions who claimed jurisdiction over the mechanics in this field instead of the Oil Workers Union.

Radio Workers Bolt

It will be remembered that the A. F. of L. Executive Council meeting, held in Miami recently, rejected the appeal of the radio workers' federal unions for a national charter based on the industrial form of organization. The radio workers have since decided to ignore the council's decision and to proceed to organize industrially regardless of whether or not this means expulsion from the A. F. of L.

There are similar indications that the automobile workers' union will go ahead, defy the A. F. of L. decision to segregate skilled mechanics and refuse to let the craft union chiefs raid the industrial jurisdiction which this union has already written into its constitution.

It is thus clear that great forces are already set into motion in the fight for industrial unionism. In increasing measure these forces will look toward the miners' union for leadership. And if the recently concluded convention is to be taken as an indication, the United Mine Workers is becoming conscious of its new role. Fundamentally this is the light in which the results of this convention must be viewed in order to get a full and complete understanding.

pointed out the permanency of unemployment, how the federal government uses unemployed relief as a vote-catching device, the uselessness of the projects and work under the present set-up. He emphasized the necessity for the W.P.A. workers to work together with all the other unemployed and the need for establishing complete cooperation between the trade unions and unemployed organizations.

The presence of Allard and Johnson speaking together on the same platform, although spokesmen for two different national unemployed organizations, is regarded here as of the greatest significance for the establishment of unity between the National Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance of America within the very near future. Scores of local W.A.A. members attended the union meeting despite the fact that the union is affiliated with the Lucas County Unemployed League

against which the Stalinists have been spreading a whispering campaign of the most slimy slander. They were tremendously impressed by the size and methods of the union and a number of them expressed the sentiment to union officials during and after the meeting that they were going back to their organization to demand that unity negotiations be successfully carried through at all costs immediately.

Throughout the meeting, speakers stressed the necessity for action and nation-wide unified action on the part of the W.P.A. workers and unemployed. This was the key-note of the entire proceedings. The union announced in this connection that it is calling a conference of unemployed and W.P.A. organizations of 24 Northwest Ohio counties on February 23 in Toledo to consolidate the unemployed and relief workers' forces in this large area.

Two Pamphlets

"THE ROAD FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS"

War and the Workers is written by John West. He needs no introduction to you. The Road for Revolutionary Socialists is written by Fred Zeller. He is the acknowledged leader of the French Socialist youth.

Fred Zeller was expelled from the Socialist youth organization by the agents of Leon Blum and his Old Guard some time ago, together with twelve other youth comrades. The young Socialists, however, remained supporters of the revolutionary position presented by Fred Zeller and his co-workers. They remained supporters in the continuation of the struggle for this position. How this struggle has been carried on and how comrade Zeller and his co-workers came to a revolutionary position, and came to be supporters of the Fourth International, is described in this little pamphlet. The introduction is by Leon Trotsky.



"WAR AND THE WORKERS"

The pamphlet, War and the Workers, presents a searching analysis of the nature and causes of modern war. It deals with the problem of sanctions, neutrality, and the rôle of the League of Nations. It presents a scathing indictment of the various forms of pacifism and social-patriotism and outlines a concrete program of struggle against imperialist war.

The price of this pamphlet is 10c per copy; in lots of ten or more, 7c per copy. The price of the Zeller pamphlet is 5c per copy; in lots of ten or more, 3c per copy.

Here is an opportunity. Take advantage of it.

C. P. Union Reneges On Office Workers

How the Stalinists work in the trade unions, how they substitute their own factional interests for the general interests of progressive militant trade unionism is brought out once more by their activities in connection with the lockout of eight office workers of the Margon Corporation. This company which produces doll and toy parts, has both an inside factory and an office. The workers in the factory are members of a Stalinist Metal Workers Union outside of the A. F. of L. The office workers were members of the Office Workers Union, also a Stalinist organization, but when this union liquidated they joined the B.S. & A.U. (Bookkeepers and Stenographers Union) which is affiliated to the A. F. of L.

The issue arose in connection with the discharge of two members of the office staff for their union activity. The rest of the office employees immediately showed their solidarity and demanded the reinstatement of the discharged workers. The bosses refused to reinstate them and demanded of the remaining office workers that they sign a pledge agreeing to remain at work should the factory workers strike when their agreement expired. This the office workers refused to do and were immediately locked out by the boss.

Discouraged Strike Action

In view of the fact that last year the office workers had agreed 100 percent to strike if and when the factory workers struck when the latter were negotiating their present agreement, the role of the Stalinist Metal Workers' Union in this situation becomes doubly treacherous. Instead of receiving help from the metal workers' union as they had expected, the locked-out workers were told that for them to strike at present would embarrass the factory workers since this was the slow season and because their agreement with the Margon Corp. does not expire until July.

In addition, the leaders of the Metal Workers Union sought in every way to put pressure on the Bookkeepers Union in order to prevent them from calling a strike against the Margon Corp. They have even tried to discourage the locked out workers from picketing. In a conference between the Bookkeepers Union and their organization they went so far as to say that if the union would not call a strike, they would see to it that the Stalinists in the Bookkeepers Union would "vote right," meaning that they would throw their support to the present leadership of the union.

Unfortunately for the Stalinists, the present leadership of the Bookkeepers and Stenographers Union is not ready to bargain away the principles of progressive unionism in return for votes. It is not going to permit its members to sign a "yellow dog" contract in order to oblige the Stalinists. It insists that the locked out workers be reinstated. Its policy is a clear-cut militant one of strike action.

Membership Fights "Yellow Dog"

This policy of strike was presented by the Executive Board to a special membership meeting of the Bookkeepers and Stenographers Union attended by five hundred workers. At this meeting the Stalinists were forced to retreat. Sharp criticism was leveled against the leadership of the Metal Workers Union for its attempts to prevent the strike in order to further their own narrow factional interests as opposed to the general progressive policy of waging a militant fight against the "yellow dog" contract. They did not dare at this meeting to defend the leadership of the Metal Workers Union. All they did was to whine that on the eve of a strike such an attack divided the ranks of the workers. This argument was effectively ridiculed. Various speakers from the floor pointed out that it was vital for the membership to know all the facts in connection with the impending strike. When the motion to declare the strike was put, it was unanimously carried by the 600 workers present.

The strike is now on. A mass picket line has already been thrown around the plant. The Bookkeepers Union in its fight is appealing for support from the rest of the labor movement. The B.S. & A.U. further calls upon the workers in the factory to participate in this struggle and see to it that no scabs are permitted to work. The strike must be won. The attempt on the part of this corporation to get its office employees to sign a "Yellow Dog Contract" shall be defeated!

Mooney Calls Meat Packers For Support Launch Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

about the Mooney-Billings frame-up.

Charles Goff, in 1916 a sergeant, now a captain of police, is daily doing everything within his power to seal the frame-up forever by refabricating the necessary evidence to hold together the foul conspiracy against us.

These framers are tenaciously defending their foul conspiracy and are renewing with all the vigor of their beings the rankest accusations against us to becloud the real issues. No depravity will be too low for them to stoop to in justifying the dastardly deed that has robbed us of the best years of our lives. James Brennan, assistant under Fickert and active prosecutor who railroaded "Innocent" twenty-two-year-old Warren K. Billings to the penitentiary for life, last year introduced into the California Legislature a resolution calling upon the Governor to commute our sentences to time served, thus branding us forever as "ex-convicts", "time-expired felons", "convicted murderers". That cowardly, tricky maneuver would have ended forever any hope of redressing this monstrous wrong in court.

It is only through the splendid support that you have given through these many years that we are still alive and fighting for freedom and vindication. It is only through your generous, loyal, financial help that we have been able to continue exposing this frame-up to the world.

We need funds desperately to carry through the present move we are making. We must immediately prepare a complete transcript of the hearing proceedings of over fifteen thousand pages to enable my attorneys to prepare their brief for the United States Supreme Court. We are compelled to pay for that transcript, the California Supreme Court having refused to pay such expenses for us. I know you will do your utmost to strain a point at this time to give us desperately needed financial assistance. With your continued aid I know we shall crown our struggle with victory. Without your aid we are helplessly lost.

With profound proletarian appreciation of what you have done for me through these many desperate years, I send you warmest fraternal and militant trade union greetings.

Very Sincerely,
TOM MOONEY
31921

Direct all funds and communications to: Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, Box 2475, San Francisco, Calif.

(Continued from Page 1)

mittée. The A. F. of L. Committee For Industrial Organization in Washington, D. C., will be contacted, and at all times the work of the industrial union movement in the packing house industry will be closely co-ordinated with the national movement for industrial unionism.

The Committee For Industrial Unionism in the Packing House Industry does not pretend to set itself up as a central body for the federation of packing house unions. The only requirement which it lays down for affiliation is a sincere desire for the building of industrial unionism in the industry. The principal rôle of the Committee will be to carry on an educational campaign to prove the need for industrial unionism and thus to bring organized pressure to force the American Federation of Labor to issue an unrestricted industrial union charter for the packing house industry.

The date on which this objective will be realized is governed by the developments in the national movement and by the intelligence and sincere effort which the packing house unions apply to this work. There will, however, be immediate gains for the local unions through the benefit of closer cooperation in the day by day struggle against the packing house employers.

The next conference of the Committee For Industrial Organization in the Packing House Industry will be held in Austin, Minnesota, on Saturday, February 29, and Sunday, March 1. Further information may be secured through Joseph Voorhees, Austin, Minnesota, and Lewis Clarke, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

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Our Revolutionary Heritage:

The Corn Rebellion

By Leighton Rigby

If American workers generally are unaware that in 1917 three-quarters of a million men were preparing to march on Washington and wrest the reins from the "Big Slick" and his war birds, it is only further proof that the domain of patriotism is a disenchanted realm indeed. Press files yield little concerning the Corn Rebellion; inspired histories make no mention of it; and even the venerable Dr. Beard passes it without a word. But the memory must not be lost in the darkness of the late war.

There are two reasons for the failure of the movement: timid and irresponsible leadership, and unsuitable circumstances for success. The first cause, if recognized as a fact, needs no elaboration. The second is also understandable when we consider that capitalism was firmly in the saddle, by virtue of a wartime "boom," and was further fortifying its position by deep jabs with the needle of patriotism. Even though it failed to materialize, however, the proposed march on Washington gives us reason to know that the Draft Act of 1917 was not "accepted by the people of every section."

Opposition to War

Before the press, movies, song writers and spell-binders could build up the maximum of war hysteria, there was much trouble throughout the land. I.W.W. organizers, unsound, perhaps, but ambitious, were busy on the West Coast and in the East. Thirteen hundred objectors were deported from Bisbee, Arizona, and herded into a stockade at Hermanas, New Mexico. Forest fires and bombings were blamed on those who opposed the war, whether the blame was well placed or not. Lack of organization alone prevented unrest and doubts from assuming real significance.

After the exposed portions of the country became ill with war hysteria, there still remained certain parts of the U.S. where the disease was unknown. One of these included several counties in Oklahoma and parts of neighboring states. That section provided the locale for the Corn Rebellion.

In accounts I have read of the reception of the Draft Act in Oklahoma, too much emphasis has been put upon the backwardness of the people involved. This condition has been offered as the main excuse for the mobilization against war service. Without a doubt, the fact that newspapers were not generally read and movies were seldom seen did tend to retard the growth of the war spirit among the tenant farmers of Oklahoma. But how backward were they, really?

The Burden of Oppression

It must be remembered that these people were oppressed by urban money lenders who often demanded—and got, if crops were sufficiently good—four or five times the conventional rate of interest. Also, there was little good land at the disposal of poor tenant farmers. Good crops were rare on the scrubby soil that was left after investors had taken the choice land. And there was an important result of this oppression: the poor farmers became daily more class conscious and were convinced that a capital-

ist war concerned their final interests not at all.

This class consciousness naturally turned the people toward the doctrine of Karl Marx. In several of the counties affected, the Socialist vote in 1914 was over one-third of the total cast. I do not mean to infer that this, in itself, meant a definite revolutionary trend. I merely state that if being "backward" means lacking the quality of cheering the spirit of progress while being oppressed by that same progress, these people were backward. I prefer, however, to think those people backward who are oppressed and see no glimmer of hope for relief.

The Working Class Union

Toward the middle of 1914, the Working-Class Union was organized in Arkansas. The original purpose of this organization is not known to me, but as the entrance of the U.S. into the World War came nearer, the W.C.U. began to advocate overthrow of the capitalist government in Washington. Leadership was poor from the start, but by 1917 some 35,000 farmers in Oklahoma and surrounding states alone were able to embrace the broad pattern of the Working Class Union.

The strategy to be used in connection with the march on Washington was briefly this: on a given day, the local chapters would gather and march to a specified point where they would be joined by other groups of the district. This army would set out for Washington. Along the way, the size of the army would be enlarged manifold by the addition of new recruits and previously readied groups, e.g., among the I.W.W. Barbed wire and roasted green corn would constitute the food supply.

It is true—the leaders, the fiery orators were idealists, unsound in theory. And they were also timid. Their smooth flow of words had won many to the banner of the W.C.U., but after this was done, they either demonstrated their utter incompetence to lead or ran away.

The Battle and Its Outcome

After several false starts, in August of 1917 the W.C.U. in the Oklahoma district began to mobilize. No great numbers came to one spot, but several small groups were formed. At the behest of civil authorities several posses of less than "backward" urban citizens were organized to bring the "draft dodgers" to the bar of "justice." There were a few skirmishes, but without good leadership, the case of the tenant farmers was a hopeless one. Only at Holdenville, where two members of a posse and one W.C.U. member were killed, were there serious casualties.

Several hundred members of the W.C.U. were made prisoners, and nearly a hundred were later sentenced to prison, federal or state. Those who were set free received advice in the matter of patriotism from kindly and "enlightened" judges.

The Corn Rebellion was put down. It was bound for failure from the first. But it stands as proof that class conscious American workers will not willingly fight for the interests that oppose them and beat them down.

Expel 20,000 Oppositionists from C.P.S.U. In Recent "Cleansing" Under G.P.U.

(Continued from Page 1)

ing of the documents in his satrapy, 3,648 people were expelled from the party, 8 percent of the entire organization. During the check-up, it appears, that "we succeeded in uncovering not only isolated individuals but entire counter-revolutionary Trotskyist-Zinoviev groups skulking in the ranks of the party." Khatayevich does not supply their number. But he does cite other figures: "1,500 White Guards, kulaks, members of Petlura, Makhno and other bands; 300 sneak-thieves and spectators who wormed their way into the party with forged documents." (Pravda, December 26, 1935). These two groups together comprise 1,800. In addition the article also refers obscurely to "foreign spies who penetrated into the party"; but here the reference can only be to individuals, not more than a score at the most. Subtracting the above-mentioned categories there remains to the share of Trotskyists and Zinovievists, as well as oppositionists of all types, not less than 1,000. Or is Khatayevich perhaps hiding some other categories of the expelled? Which ones? Why? But even if only a half or a third of the above number falls to the share of the "Trotskyists," even then we get a very imposing number (500 to 1,000). Naturally, this number is still purely hypothetical in character.

The Black Sea Region

In the same issue of Pravda, in a small item we find that in the Asov-Black Sea region, 4,324 people were expelled, 7 percent of the total number checked. The check-up revealed that "in several city organizations there existed counter-revolutionary Trotskyist-Zinoviev groups (the "Krasny Aksai" plant, the regional agricultural department, the fruit and grape trust)." This brief item does not state what proportion of the expelled these groups composed, but it does admit that even after the check-up "unexposed enemies" continue to crop up in the regional organizations.

20% "Trotskyists" in West-Siberia

In the West-Siberian region, 3,676 members of the party were expelled (11 percent) and 1,935 candidates (12.8 percent). Secretary Ekke writes in Pravda: "Among the expelled the largest number are kulaks and White Guards from Koleshaks armies—these constitute almost a third. Then come the Trotskyists and Zinovievists . . ." (Dec. 23, 1935). According to this statement, the Bolshevik-Leninists take the second place numerically. All the expelled, with the exception of the White Guards, fall into not more than four categories. If the ex-

pelled were divided equally among these categories, each would number more than 900. Yet Ekke himself states that the Trotskyists and Zinovievists comprise the largest group numerically next to the White Guards. Therefore, there cannot be less than 1,000 expelled Bolshevik-Leninists in the West-Siberian region alone, or approximately 20 percent of all those expelled. Says Ekke, "From the total number of Trotskyists and Zinovievists expelled from the party about one half worked in the educational institutions. . . . The Trotskyist-Zinovievist garbage (!) took particular pains to pervade the ideological sector, seeking to utilize it for propaganda." The reference here is obviously to new party members, from the student working class youth. We may concede that Siberia is an exception as regards the high percentage of Bolshevik-Leninists: the youth is being obviously subjected to the influence of the exiles (the same phenomenon, we might add, was to be observed under Czarism as well.)

Where Repression Is Strongest

In the Kharkov district out of 50,000 members, more than 4,000 were expelled. Secretary Zaitsev breaks down into categories only 2,356 cases of expulsion, checked by the highest organs. Among these are: 907—kulaks and White Guards; 594—moral degenerates and breakers of discipline; 120—bourgeois nationalists, and, finally, 120 Trotskyists. This time we are given quite a definite figure, and, moreover, without any mention of Zinovievists. If we take into consideration the fact that in Kharkov, the satrapy of S. Kossior, Petrovsky and Co., the physical extermination of the Opposition has been going on since 1923, with a bestial ruthlessness so thorough that its fame has spread throughout the entire Soviet Union, then even the modest number of 120, comprising more than 5 percent of the expelled (2,356) seems truly astounding.

It is all too clear that the bureaucracy has not and cannot have the slightest motives for exaggerating the influence of the Bolshevik-Leninists. That is why we must look upon the figures that have seeped into the press as the minimum. Moreover, since 1924, the Stalinist clique has preferred to expel oppositionists as "moral degenerates" and even as "White Guards." There can be no doubt that precisely the most influential and active Bolshevik-Leninists were expelled under these very categories: it is all the easier to make short shrift of them in the concentration camps or en route to exile.

20,000 Expelled

If we take the West-Siberia coefficient, then we would arrive at a number of not less than 40,000 expelled "Trotskyists" and Zinovievists for the entire Soviet Union. We have already stated why this number must be considered as too large. But even if we take the deliberately minimized Kharkov percentage of the expelled "Trotskyists," i.e., over 5 percent, then, out of the 200,000 expelled, we would get more than 10,000. If, finally, we take the average between the West-Siberian and Kharkov figures, then we get 20,000. In all probability the latter number would be closer to the truth.

The enormous political significance of the above data is clear enough to anyone. A question remains: Why does the bureaucracy, on the one hand, keep the total secret, while on the other, it makes public partial data which is sufficiently clear for general orientation? The answer is very simple: the bureaucracy crawls out of its skin to avoid giving publicity to the Bolshevik-Leninists, while at the same time it is compelled to broadcast a warning: Beware! "They" are many! "They" are growing! In any case, there is no longer any talk about "remnants" and "handfuls still to be crushed."

New Purge in Preparation

The Bolshevik-Leninists were and remain the most irreconcilable enemies of the bureaucracy which seeks to perpetuate its position as a ruling caste. Small wonder that the Stalinist clique assigns the first place in its amalgam lists to the "Trotskyists." They have earned this honor by their entire struggle. The very nature of the most recent purge testifies in the best and clearest possible way to the growth of their influence. The bureaucracy can no longer make short shrift of its enemies by means of the terrorized party, or even publicity before it. The public purge has been replaced by a star-chamber, i.e., it is transferred entirely into the hands of the G.P.U. Of course, the expelled, too, are placed in the same hands—for physical extermination. This method is so well adapted to the interests of the bureaucracy that Stalin has immediately projected a new cleansing: from February 1 to May 1 of the current year. Old party cards (these, it appears, have become "tattered") must be exchanged for new ones, and the instructions of the C.E.C. contain a rigid proviso that during the replacement of party cards, the secretaries, i.e., the organs of the G.P.U. must once again check the entire party personnel and issue new cards only to those who have

earned "confidence." Perhaps six months later we shall learn how many new Bolshevik-Leninists will thereby be promoted from the party to the concentration camps.

The Power of Our Program

The above cited data may perhaps appear utterly unexpected to many. We have purposely done all our computation before the reader's eyes so as to exclude the possibility of any suspicions of subjectivism or bias on our part. The whole gist of the matter lies in the fact that under the influence of the Stalinist press and its agents (like Louis Fisher and similar gentlemen) not only our enemies but also many of our friends in the West have imperceptibly become accustomed to the idea that if any Bolshevik-Leninists still exist in the U.S.S.R., then they are almost all in hard labor camps. No! That is not the case at all! The Marxist program and the great revolutionary tradition cannot be rooted out by means of police measures. To be sure, in the U.S.S.R. the Bolsheviks find it harder to work today than in any other country in the world (of greatest interest in this respect is the fresh testimony of the Yugoslav comrade Ciliga). Nevertheless, the functioning of the revolutionary mind is not suspended for a single day. If not as a doctrine, then as a mood, as a tradition, as a banner, our tendency has a mass character in the U.S.S.R. and today it is obviously drawing to itself new and fresh forces. Among the 10 to 20 thousand "Trotskyists" expelled during the last months of 1935, the representatives of the older generation, the participants in the movement of the years 1923-1928, comprise tens, perhaps hundreds, but not more. The basic mass—all are the new recruits. Moreover we must not forget that the above data applies only to the party. But there also exists the Y.C.L. with its many-millioned youth! It is precisely in their midst that unrest assumes a particularly aggravated character. It is frightfully difficult for young revolutionists to learn Leninism in the U.S.S.R. But without any doubt their level is incomparably higher than the level of the Stalinist "party." The great tradition lives on. In secret places lies hidden the old oppositionist literature. On the shelves stand the books of Marx, Engels and Lenin (they dare not proscriber them as yet.) The Soviet papers are compelled to publish news of events in the entire world. The international literature, under the banner of the Fourth International, is already a very rich one today. Our ideas and slogans penetrate into the Soviet Union through a thousand channels—in part,

through our Russian Bulletin. Thus the precious primacy of revolutionary thought is being made secure.

Under the lash of the bureaucracy, and not without direct provocation on the part of the Yagoda, Medvedev and others, isolated elements of the youth take to the path of individual terror, i.e., to the path of despair and hopelessness. The Bonapartists avidly seize upon terrorist acts in order to justify their bloody repressions of the Opposition: this method is as hoary as the ancient sordidness of privileged despots. But the main section of the revolutionary youth does not tear loose from its class to take to the road of individualistic adventures. The program of the Fourth International even though it does not promise instantaneous miracles does point the only correct and unconditionally certain way out. The growth of the Fourth International on the world arena strengthens and inspires our friends and followers in the U.S.S.R. We can state with certainty that despite the thirteen years of hounding, calumny, and pogroms, unsurpassed either in villainess or cruelty, despite capitulations and betrayals, more dangerous than the persecutions, even today the Fourth International already has its strongest, numerically largest, and most tempered section in the U.S.S.R.

No, we have not the slightest ground for falling into apathy. Progress is neither smooth nor straight. The struggle of the oppressed demands great sacrifices. But the future is ours. The latest bureaucratic purge in the U.S.S.R. is proof even to the blind: the future is ours!

L. Trotsky

Jan. 11, 1936.

P.S. Insistent mention of "spies of foreign agencies" expelled from the party during the purge deserves particular attention. Such cases are of course entirely possible. But they, by their very nature, can only be rare exceptions. An ordinary secret circular letter would have sufficed to take care of forwarding the information. But why do the newspapers keep harping about spies? The Stalinist press could never have presumed to be so bold without special instructions from above. But what is the purpose of the issued order? It can be correctly divined. During the years of Stalinist autocratic rule in the U.S.S.R. not a few foreign Communists-Oppositionists have been shot. A far greater number is languishing in solitary confinement, concentration camps and exile. Ever more news about this is penetrating abroad. Of exceptional value are the reports of A. Ciliga who recently tore free from the Stalinist chains. The bureaucracy must in some way parry these revelations, by arming its foreign lackeys with at least some semblance of an explanation. There would be nothing astonishing were the agents of the Comintern to proclaim all the foreign communists shot and arrested in the U.S.S.R. as "spies of foreign agencies." These villainies, however, will not pass scot-free. The working masses will hear the truth. The organizations of the Fourth International will be at their posts.

L. T.

The Treachery of the Spanish "Labor Party of Marxist Unity"

By LEON TROTSKY

The Spanish organization of the "Left Communists," which was always a muddled organization, merged, after countless vacillations to the right and to the left, with the Catalan Federation of Maurin into a party of "Marxist (?) Unity," on a centrist program. Some of our own periodicals, misled by this name, have written about this party as though it was drawing close to the Fourth International. There is nothing more dangerous than to exaggerate one's own forces with the aid of . . . a credulous imagination. Reality will not be restrained thereby from bringing cruel disillusion!

The newspapers report that in Spain all the "Left" parties, both bourgeois and working class, have made an electoral bloc on the basis of a common program, which, in the nature of things, differs in no way from the program of the French "People's Front" and all other fake programs of the same type. Here we find "reform of the tribunal of constitutional guarantees" as well as rigid support of the "principle of authority" (!) as well as the "freeing of justice from all influences of a political and economic order" (the freeing of capitalist justice from the influence of capital—). And more of the same. The program has in it the rejection of the nationalization of land by the bourgeois republicans members of the bloc but "in return," along with the customary cheap promises in favor of the peasantry (credits, higher prices for agricultural products, etc.), the program declares for the "recovery (!) of industry" and protection for small industry and petty merchants. Then follows the inevitable "control over banks," which, since the bourgeois republicans, according to the text of the program, reject workers' control, involves the control over banks . . . by the bankers themselves, through the medium of their parliamentary agents, like Azana and similar gentlemen. Finally, the foreign policy of Spain will be laid down

in accordance with the "principles and methods of the League of Nations." Is there anything left out? Signatories to this infamous document are the representatives of two Left bourgeois parties, the Socialist party, the Socialist Federation of Labor, the Communist party (why, of course!), the Socialist Youth (too bad!), "Syndicalist party" (Pestana) and finally the "Labor Party of Marxist Unity" (Juan Andrade).

Most of these parties stood at the head of the Spanish revolution during the years of its upsurge and they did everything in their power to betray it and trample it underfoot. The new feature lies in the signature of the party of Maurin-Nin-Andrade. The former Spanish "Left Communists" have turned into a mere tail of the "left" bourgeoisie. It is hard to conceive a more ignominious downfall!

Political Betrayal

A few months ago there was published, in Madrid, Juan Andrade's book, "The Reformist Bureaucracy and the Labor Movement," in which along with quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and other authors, an analysis is made of the causes underlying the degeneration of labor bureaucrats. Juan Andrade forwarded his book to me twice, each time with glowing dedications, in which he calls me his "leader and teacher." This fact, which under different conditions would have only made me happy: compels me at present to announce all the more decisively in public that I never taught any body political betrayal. And Andrade's conduct is nothing else but betrayal of the proletariat for the sake of an alliance with the bourgeoisie.

In this connection, it is in place to recall that the Spanish "Left Communists," as their very name indicates, posed on every appropriate occasion, as irreconcilable revolutionists. In particular, they thunderously condemned the French Bolshevik-Leninists for entering

the Socialist party. Never! Under no conditions! To enter temporarily into a mass political organization in order to carry on an irreconcilable struggle in its ranks against the reformist leaders for the banner of the proletarian revolution—that is opportunism; but to conclude a political alliance with the leaders of a reformist party on the basis of a deliberately dishonest program serving to dupe the masses and cover up the bourgeoisie—that is value! Can there be any greater debasement and prostitution of Marxism?

I.L.P. and Spain

The "Party of Marxist Unity" is a member of the celebrated London Bureau of "Revolutionary Socialist Parties" (the former I.A.G.). The leadership of this Bureau is now in the hands of Fenner Brockway, secretary of the Independent Labor Party. We have already written that, despite the antiquated and apparently incurable prejudices of Maxton and others, the I.L.P. has taken an honest revolutionary position on the question of the League of Nations and its sanctions. Each of us has read with pleasure a number of excellent articles in the New Leader. During the last parliamentary elections the Independent Labour Party refused to give even electoral support to the Laborites, precisely because the latter supported the League of Nations. In itself this refusal was a tactical error. Whenever the I.L.P. was unable to run its own candidates, it should have supported a Laborite against a Tory. But this is incidental. In any case, even talk was excluded of any "common programs" with the Laborites. Internationalists would have combined support in elections with an exposure of the crawling of the British social-patriots before the League of Nations and its "sanctions."

We take the liberty to put a question to Fenner Brockway: just what is the purport of the "International" of which he is the secretary? The British section of

this "International" rejects the mere electoral support of labor candidates, if they support the League of Nations. The Spanish section concludes a bloc with bourgeois parties on a common program of supporting the League of Nations. Is not this the extreme in the domain of contradictions, confusion and bankruptcy? There is no war as yet, but the sections of the London "International" are already pulling in just the opposite directions. What will happen to them when the ominous events break?

"Unity"—with Whom?

But let us return to the Spanish party of "Marxist Unity." How ironical is the name "Marxist Unity" . . . with the bourgeoisie. The Spanish "Left Communists" (Andrés Nin, Juan Andrade and others) have more than once tried to parry our criticism of their collaborationist policies by citing our lack of understanding of the "special conditions" in Spain. This is the customary argument put to use by all opportunists—for the first duty of a genuine proletarian revolutionist lies in translating the special conditions of his country into the international language of Marxism, which is accessible even beyond the confines of one's own country. But today there is no need of these theoretical arguments. The Spanish bloc of the tops of the working class with the left bourgeoisie does not include in it anything "national," for it does not differ in the least from the "People's Front" in France, Czechoslovakia, Brazil or China. The "Party of Marxist Unity" is merely slavishly conducting the same policy that the Seventh Congress of the Comintern foisted upon all its sections, absolutely independently of their "national peculiarities." The real difference in the Spanish policy this time lies only in the fact that a section of the London In-

*In search for justifications for their policy Maurin-Nin refer to the Spanish electoral law which makes it extremely difficult for a young party to run its own candidates. (See the resolution of the C.E.C. "Batalla," No. 234.) But this argument is worthless. Electoral technique cannot justify perfidious policy, in the shape of a common program with the bourgeoisie.

ternational has also adhered officially to the bloc with the bourgeoisie. So much the worse for it. As far as we are concerned we prefer clarity. In Spain, genuine revolutionists will no doubt be found who will mercilessly expose the betrayal of Maurin, Nin, Andrade and Co., and lay the foundation for the Spanish section of the Fourth International!

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«My Escape from Stalin's Prison» By A. Tarov

Record of a Worker Bolshevik

A few words about myself. I was born in 1896. My father was a mason, my mother, a house-keeper. I went to work at the age of 14, first as a locksmith, and then as a pressman.

Joined the Communist Party in 1917. Served on all fronts during the civil war in Trans-Caucasia: first as a rank and file soldier in the Red Army, then studied military science in the training school. Became a commander and worked in the army as organizer and leader of communist detachments.

Since 1921, in accordance with the decision of the party, I did party work as instructor and organizer, under the C.E.C. of the Trans-Caucasian C.P. I always worked among the rank and file of the party.

In 1923 I was ordered by the party to take courses in the Communist University. I attended the university three years, was kicked out for an Oppositionist speech, and sent back. But I still continued to work in the party, first as the agitprop of the district, then as secretary; later I held a responsible post in the central apparatus.

During the discussion of 1927, the bureaucratic upper-crust could no longer tolerate seeing me in the Central Committee and I was packed off into the trade union field. Here I served as chairman of the workers' committee of railroad construction crews. In 1927 I was expelled from the party for carrying on oppositionist activity, and later removed from my post.

Arrest, Exile and Prison

On September 24, 1928, I was arrested as a Bolshevik-Leninist. That same night many comrades of the Opposition were also placed under arrest. Inasmuch as on the next day the relatives and friends of the incarcerated Oppositionists massed by the hundreds at the doors of the local G.P.U., the bureaucracy was compelled, that very day, to free three quarters of the arrested Oppositionists, holding only 31 people, myself among them.

We remained one and a half months in the G.P.U. cells. Towards the end of December we were exiled to Kazakhstan—(Kizil-Ordoo). Once there, we were dispersed in the towns of Kazakhstan: I was sent to Akmolinsk; comrades Dandurov to Adbasar; comrades Fanosi and Garyakin to Semipalatinsk; comrade Seta Nazaryani to Petropavlovsk; comrade Danilev to Cherkent. (In Tiflis, seven more Georgian comrades joined us: comrades Kakaya Meleize, Khukhuya, the names of the others I do not recall).

In Akmolinsk I found L. Ginsburg, S. Andrichin, D. Arshavsky, A. Snoskarev, Arto Nurdjania and two other comrades from Leningrad whose names I cannot recall. From Osetti there came to join us comrades Zhanitnev, Khugayev, Zoloyev and Xenia Djikayev; from Baku came comrade Gasanov; from Georgia, comrades Shevashvili, Kivraya, Gogunadze and Tsintsadze; from Odessa, comrade Shura Kretyski.

Capitulators Returned to Prison
In 1930 many capitulated, and there remained only 11 of us in Akmolinsk. But the capitulators are now sitting in jail for having carried on Oppositionist activity. For example, at present in the Ver-

khni-Uralsk solitary are incarcerated former capitulators, L. Ginsburg, Popov, Pavlov and others—25 in all. They are kept apart. The prisoners' commune in the solitary refused to accept them as members because they are for the "General Line", and only against the existing internal regime.

On January 22, 1931, the anniversary of Lenin's death, the entire Akmolinsk colony of the Bolshevik-Leninists was arrested at night. Among those arrested were the following comrades: Snoskarev, Zhanitnev, Khugayev, Xenia Djikayev, Zoloyev, Gogunadze, Kieraya, Tsintsadze, Gasinov, Zinov and his wife (Kira) and myself. (On the night of their arrest, Zinov and his wife, Kira capitulated).

On the next day we were transported from Akmolinsk to the Petropavlovsk prison. In Petropavlovsk we were placed in infected cells. Together with us were also incarcerated four comrades, local worker-communists because they were members of the Opposition. I remember only one name, that of comrade Chekanov. Two of them were exiled, one to Arkhangelsk, the other to Western Siberia; the other two were sentenced together with us to three years in prison.

Infected Cells
In the Petropavlovsk prison, in the infected cells all the comrades with three exceptions (comrades Khugayev, Djikayev, and myself) contracted spotted typhus, one after another. They were transferred to the city hospital. Fortunately there were no mortalities. The moment they passed their crisis, the convalescents were shipped to the prison infirmary. On the seventh

month after our arrest we were transferred to the Verkhni-Uralsk solitary.

Just at that time, in the latter prison, the incarcerated Bolshevik-Leninists, to the number of 450, called a general hunger strike in protest against the prison regime and the arbitrary treatment of the Bolshevik-Leninists by the administration.

Ice Water

Prior to this first general hunger strike, as far back as 1930, the prison administration, with warden Bizukov at the head, used to issue orders to spray the Bolshevik-Leninists with ice water (this, in winter, in Siberia!).

The order was executed. During the hubbub, while our comrades attempted to plug up the vents in order to keep the water from their cells, the agents of the G.P.U. aimed the hose directly into the eyes of the comrades, as a result of this comrade Pogansyan lost his eyesight.

And in April, 1931, a guard fired his rifle through the bars of a cell.

The Honor Roll

I list below the imprisoned Oppositionists in the Verkhni-Uralsk solitary whose names I am able to recall:

(1) Dingelstedt; (2) Elzin; (3) Solntsev; (4) Klukov; (5) Gorodetski; (6) Kostya Khugayev; (7) Misha Khugayev; (8) Bazazyani; (9) Redazubov; (10) Aaron Papelmeister; (11) Moses Papelmeister; (12) Misha Papelmeister; (13) K. Popov; (14) Popova; (15) Rosa Smirnov; (16) Rosa Rozova; (17) Lena Danilovich; (18) Babayan; (19) Tsintsadze; (20) Socrates Gervorkyan; (21) Tsintsadze, Jr.; (22) Solovyan; (23) Khanbudakov; (24) Garmilov; (25) Meladze; (26) Minasyan; (27) Miratze; (28) Pavlov; (29) Ziloyev; (30) Fedorchenko; (31) Zhanitnev; (32) Khugayev, 3rd; (33) Kapnyov; (34) Kassel; (35) J. Drapkin; (36) Gerdovsky; (37) Stopalov; (38) Gazaryan; (39) Pogoyan (now blind, but still in prison); (40) Davydov; (41) Davtyan; (42) Dimitriev; (43) Stelinsky; (44) Demchenko; (45) Saakyan; (46) Essayan; (47) Sasoon; (48) Avryan; (49) Yakovlev; (50) Volodya Smirnov; (51) Valentin Smirnov; (52) Avedisa; (53) Golubev; (54) Zankov; (55) Sasarov; (56) Peter (a cosack); (57) Spitalnik; (58) Pestel.

Then there were three comrades

Across the Border

... One fine day I changed my clothes, rode to the railroad station, boarded a train and bade "farewell to the G.P.U. of Andri-

window, wounding comrade Essayan in the chest. During the days set for the celebration of revolutionary holidays we had sharp clashes with the prison administration. On such days we were either forbidden to take our daily walk or were beaten up for singing the Internationale.

Hunger Strike

The administration began to act a little less barbarously only after the general 18 day hunger strike of 450 Bolshevik-Leninists in the Verkhni-Uralsk solitary. But toward the end of 1931, on the occasion of Stalin's rabid attack on Rosa Luxemburg (I forget whether it was on November 20 or 21) we were subjected to a general search at night. The G.P.U. agents rushed into the cells at night and searched every nook and cranny. In the dark a desperate brawl ensued between the imprisoned Bolshevik-Leninists and the administration. Bizukov the warden of the prison received a substantial wallop on the jaw. Many of us were tied hand and foot and dragged from the cells.

from Czechoslovakia whose names unfortunately I have forgotten. One of them was a former member of the E.C.C.I., a fervent partisan of building the Fourth International (It is too bad that I forgot the name of this comrade).

(Editor's note: Comrade Tarov's memory failed him in this case. Because of the similarity in the names between the two countries, he confused Yugoslavia with Czechoslovakia. He is here referring to Yugoslav comrades Ciliga, Dedich and Draguch. Ciliga was not a member of the E.C.C.I. but working under the E.C.C.I. in the Balkan federation. See the NEW MILITANT, Jan. 25th and Feb. 8th.)

There were many, many other comrades whose names, too, I am unable to recall.

At the present time I am aware of the following colonies of exiles: a large one in Akmolinsk, where comrade Musa Joffe (the wife of the noted Soviet diplomat, A. A. Joffe who committed suicide—Ed.) is; one in Frunze (comrades Zhanitnev, Kolya Tsintsadze and others); in Uralsk—comrade Jenny and her husband (I forgot their last name). Comrade Jenny gave birth to a son in May, 1933, in the Verkhni-Uralsk solitary.

Sitting at the car window I gazed at the agents of the railways (G.P.U. who always line the platform when the trains are about

to leave. They stand with very solemn faces as if on parade).

As soon as the train pulled away from the station I tore to pieces the document issued to me by the G.P.U. From that moment, I ceased to be an exile.

I arrived at Ashkabad. My original intention was to cross the frontier over the Ashkabad mountains. But it proved unfeasible. Gangs of bandits were infesting the hills. I was advised not to try it. So I kept on riding. And when it was no longer possible to go by train, I walked on foot. After many years of close confinement, the miraculous beauty of the scene took my breath away, but I had to keep going...

The Local Population

The shore of the river is my road. It leads to the village hill-tops. After 25 verst, I come to Mussulman villages. The inhabitants are poor but they have the faces of freemen. They are badly dressed, but vigorous and merry people. They consider the Soviet power to be their own, but, in their opinion, somebody keeps hindering them, the toilers, from getting the boons of the Soviet system. They blame the spoliators and thieves who pillage the Soviet wealth and prevent the toilers from building Socialism quickly. They spoke freely about everything.

One woman said: "How can our leaders fail to understand this! Now, for instance, they proposed to us that we plant this year twice as much in these hills as we did hitherto in peace time. And in order to fulfill the plan, we began to till both our pastures and meadows. And now look, you see the result before your own eyes. Our hills have become bare, so skinny the bones alone remain. In the old days we used to grow little but we got a good deal, we fertilized the land and got good crops. To us, mountain people, pasture-lands are important. Our village used to have 1,500 cows, and 12,000 sheep. And now, only 80 cows and 350 sheep. How can we live well? And what can we grow in these hills except lentils? Is it possible that these wise people do not understand this?"

The Villagers' Opinion

"How can they?", broke in another woman very indignantly. "These people withilly-white hands think that if we plant lentils we'll get cream butter. If they did not butt in, our kolkhoz would have five times more than it has now and the State would get five times as much as it got hitherto. The kolkhoz is a good thing, particularly for us poor people, but the State says—everything belongs to me, a piece of bread is enough for you."

various dominions are treated as colonies of England.

American Capital

In these nations the basic industries are almost all carried on by U. S. capital. United Fruit handles most of Central America—not only the orchards (the chief industry), but railroads, communications, etc. Standard Fruit exploits the orchards of Mexico. The oil fields of Mexico, Venezuela, Bolivia, are chiefly in U. S. hands. The silver, copper, and gold mines of Peru and Mexico are owned and run by Cerro de Pasco and the Hearst interests. General Motors, Ford and Chrysler provide the automobiles and trucks, and build factories in Canada and assembly plants in the other countries. The sugar industry of Cuba is owned through the great New York banks. The U. S. Utilities and Communications companies operate the power, light, and communications systems. Roads and government works have been built in the period since the war primarily through the huge exportation of U. S. capital—passed on to the U. S. investors in bonds now mostly in default or fantastically depreciated. Every interstice of the economic structure of these nations is plugged with U. S. capital.

In addition, quite naturally, the basic political policies of these nations is controlled by Washington. The gloved and friendly hand of "the good neighbor" is supplemented whenever necessary by the iron of battleships and marines.

Growth of U. S. Influence

The present relationship between the U. S. and these nations has, of course, been developed over a long period of time, indeed for more than a century. Its first grandiose prophecy was the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine itself, in 1823. This, however, was much more than the young nation could have swallowed by itself in that period. It was made possible only because at that time it fitted into the plans of England, then jockeying in the European arena against the Holy Alliance of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. Since then the hegemony of the U. S. has been steadily built up, developed not by the words of diplomatic notes and public speeches, but by the actual relationship of forces among the contending powers. England has always remained the principal contender, and her superb skill and tradition in such matters, added to her dominant

The woman considered me a communist. They were not afraid of communists. The only thing they feared was the Political Department. The latter is the absolute master of the village, and rules everybody and everything in the village.

The villagers were all preoccupied with the question of the work-day. They were not interested in anything except matters relating to the kolkhoz. They did not view as their own affair everything relating to the kolkhoz. In their minds, the kolkhoz is a state enterprise managed by the Political Department, while the kolkhozniki are merely laborers, working in the kolkhoz and receiving a meager ration for their work-day. The tabulation of work-days is on display on a wall in the village reading room. The men and women in the kolkhoz crowd around the tabulation to find out who has the most work-days to her credit. They were all pre-occupied with this and, I might say, with this alone.

Came the last and decisive day. It was noon. I clambered atop a small mound, covered with fruit trees and began assiduously to study the locale. I fixed the position of the border patrols. A macadam road cut across the gardens close to the river bank. The patrols paced the road. I had to seize the opportunity—a few minutes—to make my way to the river and plunge into the water. It was impossible to take my things along.

Concerning the Mensheviks

... The centrists today do not attach any particular political importance to the existence of the Russian Mensheviks. The latter have compromised themselves in the eyes of the broad masses of the toilers by their behavior during the October revolution. And it is very difficult to restore by means of phrases the pre-revolutionary authority of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. That is why they are not much of a danger to the Stalinist regime. Our youth sees nothing revolutionary in the Mensheviks. Especially the Georgian Mensheviks. The youth see in them only the return to capitalism.

The authority of the dictatorship of the proletariat is great in the eyes of the toilers of the U.S.S.R. Stalin hides his counter-revolutionary face precisely behind the authority of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploited classes so warmly acclaim the dictatorship of the proletariat because otherwise it would be impossible to expropriate the capitalists.

In the Verkhni-Uralsk solitary there were 16-28 Mensheviks, the majority Georgians. I underscore Georgian Mensheviks because in contrast to others they hold views that are peculiar, and deeply chauvinist and have nothing in common with internationalism. They were set free; only four remaining. During the hunger strike of the Bolshevik-Leninists, on the 14th day they announced a twenty-four hour hunger strike as a protest against the arbitrary treatment of the Bolshevik-Leninists by the prison administration. I happened to engage in conversation with two Georgian Mensheviks. I came away with the conclusion that they are now gratified that one of "theirs", Djugashvili (Stalin), is in power. I also had a discussion with a Zi-

The river was broad and the current rapid. I threw away my sack and bag. I put on a military costume, but not the boots, and barefoot (I kept only my civilian costume) I walked into the open, and proceeded calmly towards the bank. No sooner did I reach the river, quickly stripped off the uniform and was about to tie on my civilian costume when a cry came from a distance: "Halt! Halt!"

With the civilian clothes in my hands I plunged into the water. The patrols, without being aware where the cry was coming from, raised an alarm and began firing. I swam under the water, keeping under as long as was possible. Whenever I stuck my head out for air, I heard rifle fire. The clothes became waterlogged and hampered my progress. In the meantime the current was rapidly carrying me away. Below was the "foreign" rock-bound shore—the river in flood tide—and should the current carry me further down I would have no chance to get to that shore. I found myself compelled to abandon my only suit, with my money in its pockets. I clambered out on the "foreign" shore, in my underwear. For a long time I lay among the reeds. I could observe the Soviet patrols approach the river bank and pick up my military uniform—they obviously thought that it was some border-patrolman who fled away...

And then I found myself once again sitting in jail, this time a "foreign" one.

He told me that the Zionists are also entering the Second International, and he himself is a former social-democrat. During the conversation, he expressed the opinion that the Menshevik social democrats committed an unpardonable mistake in the 1917 revolution, i.e., they failed to conduct a decisive policy for the conquest of power and fought against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

... Of the Mensheviks, Zionists, Dashnaks (members of the Armenian nationalist party Dashnak-Tsuntim) and others whom I ran across in exile and prison. I can say that they are not dangerous to the Stalinist regime. The Russian Mensheviks have not yet discarded their old shirts, as the social democrats abroad are trying to do. These old personalities are not harmful to Stalin. He arrested them together with the communists in order to throw a screen around his counter-revolutionary actions toward the latter. Today, Stalin is surrounded by the worst anti-proletarian elements.

In jail I met also communists who were incarcerated although they were in agreement with the "General Line." They were against the existing internal regime. (It never enters the mind of these beggars that a given regime is the result of a given policy.) The Mensheviks at least expressed their protest against the brutality practiced upon the Bolshevik-Leninists by a one day hunger strike. The followers of the "General Line" did not even do that. They did not even issue a verbal protest, but kept sitting quietly alongside us. The Red Army soldiers who, on the orders of the administration, fed us by force—even they taunted the "General Liners" for such cowardly behavior.

Mpls. Unions Join Lewis

(Continued from Page 1)

510, Barbers No. 61, Bartenders No. 152, Cap Makers No. 1865, Auto Mechanics 383, Lathers No. 190, Plasterers No. 65, Plaster Tenders No. 111.

A telegram from John L. Lewis was read to the delegates. In the telegram he expressed regret for not being able to attend and cited as his reason for non-attendance the fact that the United Mine Workers convention was now going on in Washington, D. C.

On a motion by V. R. Dunne, all delegates were pledged to go back to their organizations and secure permission to sign the organization's name to a new call that will go out shortly for a broader conference on the same question. Between the conferences it was decided to set up a semi-permanent committee who would carry on the work.

A committee of seven was elected. It will be known as the Continuation Committee for Industrial Organization. This was perhaps the most important action taken at the conference as it will set up here in Minneapolis a center and clearing-house for industrial union activity. The first meeting of the committee will be Sunday, Feb. 9. During the discussion that took place, around the question of industrial organization versus craft unions, it was shown by many delegates that there is a crying need for a more efficient type of workers' economic organization than can be organized under the craft

union set-up. The Resolutions Committee reported to the body with three resolutions, in all of which they recommended concurrence.

No. 1, introduced by Building Laborers, 563, asked for support in their strike on the Summer Field project, adopted; No. 2, introduced by Upholsterers' Union, 61, asked for support for the Struweba strikers and called upon the entire trade union movement to call a public meeting in their behalf, adopted; No. 3, introduced by Local 382, Auto Mechanics, called for the reinstatement of 574 in the Drivers' International, adopted.

Attention of the delegates was called to the coming state-wide WPA conference which will be held in General Drivers Hall, 257 Plymouth Ave. North, Saturday and Sunday, February 8 and 9. All unions were requested to send delegates.

The Resolutions Committee, in conjunction with the Continuation Committee was instructed to draw up a statement setting forth the aims and objectives of the conference to be released to the public press. The meeting adjourned at 4 o'clock.

STRIKE DANCE

Strikers at the Rothstein plant in Boro Park are running a dance and entertainment on Saturday, Feb. 22 at 8:30 P.M. in the Grand Ballroom of the Boro Park Y.M.H.A., 14 Ave. and 60 St. Auspices of Boro Park Labor Conference for the benefit of the strikers.

HIKE WITH LUMEN CLUB

To Tibbets Brook Park
Sunday February 16

Starting from Woodlawn Station 11 A.M. Friends and sympathizers are invited to come along.

U. S. IMPERIALISM AT WORK

Roosevelt Carves A Latin American Empire

By JOHN WEST

Certain recent developments in the foreign policy of the Roosevelt Administration have been receiving less than the attention they deserve. I refer specifically to a new stage openly announced by Roosevelt in his Annual Message to Congress. In that address, Roosevelt lavished a considerable oratorical effort in painting contrasting pictures of dark, war-laden, tyrannical Europe, on the one hand, and the enlightened, happy and peace-enshrined Americas on the other.

The possible inaccuracy of the picture is not important. No doubt, to an imperialist spokesman, such minor disturbances as the Chaco War (the peace treaty has not yet been signed), revolutions in Cuba, violent strikes, insurrections and dictatorial coups in Venezuela, Brazil, Chile, etc., are entirely compatible with peace as imperialism understands peace. But Roosevelt was of course speaking for more than the sake of rhetorical effect.

An "American League of Nations"?

The remarks in the Annual Message are being rapidly followed up. Feelers have gone out, looking toward a general conference of the Pan-American nations. The Administration publicity has been vague and inconclusive in stating the purpose of this conference. One report has it that an "American League of Nations" will be proposed. Another states merely that it will attempt to coordinate the various treaties between the American nations in order to provide for a general treaty system guaranteeing peace on these two continents. A third suggests a revision of the Monroe Doctrine from its present status as a "unilateral" policy of the U. S. alone to a "multilateral" declaration of policy on the part of all the American nations.

The particular character and possible results of this proposed conference are not decisive. What must be understood is that American imperialism at this time sees it fit and proper to restate publicly to the world its traditional contention that the exploitation of the

American continents is the privileged and special function of the bourgeoisie of the U. S.; and that in the "New World" all others must come a bad second.

The time is indeed propitious. Europe is occupied with grave internal crisis. England, besides being directly involved in the immediate European crisis, faces widespread disturbances throughout her colonial empire. Japan is going steadily forward in her announced policy of reducing the Far East to her province, and at the present moment neither England nor the U. S. is yet ready to challenge Japan openly. What, then, could be more appropriate than a reminder to the rest of the world from the U. S. that in the struggle for the re-division of the world—now entering the stage of armed conflict—the nations of the Americas are a closed sphere? And, when the reminder is accompanied by the greatest military and naval budget in the peace-time history of any country, it gains much more than abstract significance.

World Interests of the U. S.

It must not be imagined that by announcing proprietorship in the Americas, the U. S. is giving up interests in the rest of the world. The ravenous needs of U. S. finance-capital are not so easily satisfied. The U. S. requires also its outlets elsewhere, especially in the Far East. Japan cannot be allowed to march indefinitely without opposition—either through guns or some more "friendly" diplomatic arrangement. But the present stake in the East is not yet so high as that in the Americas; and the U. S. is not at present required to take action. Leading influence in the Americas, however, is a constant, enduring, and minimum requirement for U. S. imperialism.

The pale liberals, who like us to believe that the U. S. is not an imperialist nation in the full sense of the word, are fond of pointing to its lack of colonies—in contrast, for example, to Great Britain—to its respect for small nations, its rejection of "territorial ambitions" in noble opposition to the greedy tyrants of the Old World. Such a view is extremely useful to the

war-makers, who know that they can enlist the masses in support only of such high-sounding and idealistic purposes as the defense of democracy, freedom, the rights of the weak. And such a view is as false and treacherous as all the other phases of the betrayers.

Colonies of U. S. Imperialism

We must not be deceived by forms. A colony is not a colony, in the basic economic meaning, merely because it is called so. Many names are used: dominion, mandate, "free state," sphere of influence, "union," even kingdom and empire, are all, for example, names which England employs. A colony means in the economic sense a territory relatively undeveloped industrially which is under the economic domination of some powerful nation, which is exploited primarily by the bourgeoisie of that nation. Such economic domination carries with it inevitably a greater or lesser degree of political domination. When the government of the dominant nation controls the basic direction of the policies of the subject territory, particularly in the sphere of "foreign relations," that territory is a colony in political as well as economic fact, no matter what name may be used, no matter what the "legal" standing.

In the basic sense, Mexico, the nations of Central America many of the Caribbean islands (e.g., Cuba, Porto Rico, Santo Domingo), and to a lesser degree many of the South American countries (especially Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Bolivia), and even Canada, are part of the colonial system of U. S. imperialism.

This is a fact well known to U. S. capitalists and to the U. S. government. It is obviously revealed, in one direction, by the heavy government subsidies to the U. S. shops operating within this system, and by the extension of Pan-American Airways with the help of much greater subsidies than those given to any other air line. The War Department analyses of the relative strength of the great powers in material resources necessary to carry on the next war treat these territories as colonies of the U. S. in exactly the same sense that the

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