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

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

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

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

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

There is not a modicum of truth in this slander learned from the gutter methods of Hearst himself and employed against all revolutionists. It is meant to be a smoke-screen to divert attention from the revelations of Stalin's terror against the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The workers of the world must know these

## Revolutionists Held in Jails, Solitaries and Concentration Camps

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

(Copyright, Jan., 1936, by New Militant Publishing Co. Reproduction in whole or part without permission from the publishers forbidden.)

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

December 9, 1935

Dear Comrades,

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

1. I begin with the fate of the? were in Russia on a mission for the obtain this demand. grad by the G.P.U. The group was sentence by two years,

the party. A comrade, Stephan Haeberling Russian surname, V. Suslov), forer member of the party Committee of theprovince Voievodiny (formerly geons of the Solovietzki Islands, South Hungary), at Novi Sad, was exiled for three years to the Urals. further news has come from him. A score of our friends were exiled to, and placed under surveillance in

various corners of European Russia. Two Russian comrades, connected with us (Victor Zankov and Oreste Glibowsky), were also sent to the penitentiary of Verkhni-Uralsk on November 7. 1930; we were not mentioned in the list of prisoners which was published in Stephen Solosy, energetic organiz- tion No. 19, as the list was drawn the Bulletin of the Russian Opposiup in October, 1930.

Comrade Tarov. who escaped from the U.S.S.R. (see his letters in the NEW MILITANT of Oct. 19, 1935), mentions our group, but because of the similarity in the names "Both men were chemists for the of the two countries, he made an Consolidated Gas Company. Solosy error regarding our country of orihad been employed there seven gin and wrote "three comrades company-union delegate that Vice- self. slipped into his letter. He the Communist International, a devoted partisan of the Fourth International." My position on the Fourth International is certainly are three members of the political correctly stated, but I was not a bureau of the C. P. of Hungary. member of the E.C.C.I. I was a They support the general line of member of the party delegation under the E.C. and I was assigned to work in the Balkan Secretariat of but they are opponents within their the E.C.C.I.

In the summer of 1931, my comrades and I participated in the the Hungarian party and were arthey are also quite in accord with hunger strike which lasted 18 days the general methods of the New and in which over 150 prisoners in the penitentiary of Yaroslav. participated in the penitentiary of was provoked by rifle fire from the provinces and factually in the one of whom, Gabo Essayan, who out the possibility of returning to ment of our famine rations. The (Vera Berguer and Victor Krayny) notes, my manuscripts, and not only

group to which I myself belonged. thorities that they allow us to re-In the month of May, 1930, a turn to our homes abroad. We group of Jugoslav communists who fasted a long time (23 days) to Jugoslav Communist party, were authorities not only refused us perarrested at Moscow and at Lenin- mission to leave, but increased our arrested for connection with the trial and without new charges. in the penitentiaries of Verkhr - without trial the periods of impris-Uralsk for three years: 1) Stanka onment and exile. This law is Draguitch (Russian surname, J.V. enough to make one's hair stand Kovalev), former member of the on end, but it is on this fact that C.C. of the Jugoslav C.P., leader of the entire history of years of one of the most important Jugo- political exile in Russia is based.) 300 more employees within the slav organizations in the city of Following this hunger strike we last week, and that it is thus "con- Zagreb; 2) Mustapha Deditch were taken out of the penitentiaries and were sent into exile in vari torces which was largely respons-ible for the power tie-up on Jan.

T Hubbard, are trying to wash their and to live up to the agreement starting February 1, was given by LaGuardia by the Brotherhood of LaGuardia by the Brotherhood of LaGuardia by the Brotherhood of Narym. lines, former member of the P.B. of Kolpachevo, department of Narym; This information was conveyed the C.P. of Jugoslavia, editor of comrade Draguitch, to Saratov on to the Mayor in a letter signed by the legal central organ of the the Volga; comrade Haeberling was Martin A. Wersing, president of party, "Borba," at Zagreb, and the Brotherhood's New York reforeign representative of the C.C. of reached the Urals. Comrade Draguitch escaped and returned to his home abroad. In 1934 he was arrested on the Russo-Polish border and locked up in the secret dunfrom where, for over a year. no

### Exile Without Trial

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

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

own party of the Bela Kun group. They were invited to Moscow to discuss the controversial issues in rested on the spot and imprisoned

Hundreds of foreign comrades

On my departure, which was a my private correspondence, both At the end of three years of im Russian and foreign, but also my

(Continued from Page 3)

## Bakers Union Official Framed in Youngstown Union Wins

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

By GEORGE TRUHAR

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

The drive on the unions is continuing. That the reactionary labor

leaders of the United Labor Congress, under the leadership of Andy using scabs or non-union workmen, by their attitude of passivity and 1936. failure to mobilize the labor movement back of the local unions under Uptown Bakery.

On the other hand, in order to forces that are out to smash mili- his union activity and the notoriety tant unionism. They also tend to which he received on his arrest. rely too much on the different politicians who are promising them if no noise will be made.

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

City Wage Cut Drive This third arrest on the charge of kidnapping and torture is really may result. the result of trying to "fix things up." The new city administration, and Bakers who are most militant, | meeting. and who are the driving force of the fight against wage cuts.

but it is understood that they will cox, is a member. merely be given a hearing and The Citizens Association, that bound over to the ground jury.

material on the situation here, in publicity for a mass meeting for talking to various business men Thursday, Jan. 17, and the chief and city officials, has been met with of police and the mayor were a smirking smile, a wink and the scheduled to speak. 45 people comment: "We've got to pin this on turned out for the meeting! body," because, according to The newspapers and all city officials 377, has appeared and is being well take the same attitude.

Boss Spurns U. S. Mediator George L. Oles, the spearhead of have endorsed the paper. the campaign against the unions at |

One of the defendants arrested Lucas County Unemployed League. on the fake kidnapping and torture get the support of these reaction- charge, Mike Hornyak, was disits attack against the various in the press that it was because of the union.

The various concerns where officials of the different unions are aid, and promising to fix things up employed are insisting that these employees resign from their offices

in the unions. The Bord Company, which has a cotnract with the city for sewage disposal, is violating its contract most flagrantly. The union is trying to prevent this and a strike

Committee Funks on Union

The committee of prominent citiled by Mayor Evans and Police zens, which local union 377 called Chief Olson, spurred on by the into being to investigate the charges Citizens' Association, is out to make of racketeering and gansterism leva name for itself. It also wants to elled aninst them, held a secret divert the minds of the people of meeting January 21 and advised Youngstown from the city's finan- the leaders of the union to postpone cial condition and its efforts to rethe investigation until the trial of duce the salaries and wages of the January 22, or later. It also adcity employees. At present this vised against any publicity. Dr. I. takes the form of an attack on the E. Philo resigned from the committrade unions, especially the Drivers tee publicly, but appeared at the

Unionists should look with sus picion on the actions of this inves-The trials of the three arrested tigating committee, as the head of unionists is coming up January 22, the Ciitzens' Association, Dr. Wil-

strike-breaking, union-busting body, Your correspondent, in digging up was given headlines and front-page

The second issue of "The Union them "public opinion demands it." Guide," organ of Drivers' Local received by the local unions. Bakers Union Local 177 and Com-The Oles' Market, owned by mon Laborers' Union Local 125

this time, even refuses to meet with ing place, the WPA workers are has now become clearly established. the U.S. conciliator sent in by the also on the move, and are being The quest for profits by the great Department of Labor and is still organized into the Hod Carriers, financiers determined, in each decarrying on his open-shop campaign. Building and Common Laborers cisive instance, the policy of the The unions are picketing the mar- Union Local 125. This is a new Wilson administration. Their fear ket, especially the Butchers and local, organized about six weeks of the loss of hundreds of millions, Bakers, with the support of the ago, and it already has a member- already invested, together with the Drivers who refuse to deliver sup- ship of 500. They have been recog- fear of cutting off profits and prosnized by the WPA authorities and perity for American business finally widely amongst the masses as a Likewise the war preparations in insane. The Butchers' Union attempted have the right to have fires at the decided the issue. to get an injunction against the project sites and covers for trucks The voluminous evidence intro- tions. To this extent they serve to popular slogans, such as: taking prisonment, in 1933, my comrades official correspondence with the Oley market to prevent them from that haul men to and from work. duced into the committee hearings strengthen illusions in regard to

# Ohio WPA Utilities Brotherhood

Rapid Growth, Militancy of Union Causes Many Concessions

(Special to New Militant)

TOLEDO, O., Jan. 21.—A promise of a 10 percent wage increase for common labor tentatively approved Workers Union, affiliated with the attendance.

The promised wage increase was secured after six weeks of an inaries, the leadership of the local charged by the Armour Company, tensive drive during which hundreds board of fifteen members, and laid bodies which are investigating last unions under fire tends to soften whose management openly declared of WPA workers have flocked into

> A number of concessions have heen secured in the way of improvethe obtaining of shelter-houses on executive secretary. open jobs, fuel for fires, etc. Mean-

### Militancy at High Point

Grievances on the job are mountbody during the past three days eral government. led by union members, have organ-(Continued on Page 2)

# Hits Edison Layoffs WPA Teachers Lays Power Tie-up to Un-Trotskyist opposition. Three were incarcerated in solitary confinement G.P.U. to renew automatically and

# Form Union

ST. PAUL, Minn., Jan. 18.-The Minnesota Emergency Teachers Association held its first annual deleby the state WPA administration gated convention today in the which was to run until May 1, William B. Schmuhl, Lucas and Minnesota campus. Sixty dele-Wood counties administrator, to gates, with practically every county Strikes are also going on in the the executive board of the WPA in the state represented, were in

tution, declaration of principles, gional board. Copies of the letter elected officers and an executive down a plan of organization for the

coming year. W. W. Norris, Minneapolis, presi- the opinion I voiced at that time.

campaign to reduce the number of closest relationship with those forces wholesale 'lay-offs.' work hours per month from the in Minnesota which are seeking to present 132 to 120. The 132 hour build a state-wide WPA organizaschedule represents a slight reduc- tion, and to help this new organization of six hours over the one in tion into being. (The next state- ers with excellent records because effect up to January 16, a conces- wide conference of WPA, relief of their union activities. One case sion won in the past week by the organizations and trade unions will in point is that of P. B. Ewing and be held in Minneapolis Feb. 8-9.)

fraternal relations with all other Friday. Ewing is secretary of our ing, and the WPA workers here are similar federal teachers' groups in Equity Local 100, which has jurisshowing a desire for organization other states, in order to work out diction over Manhattan and the and a militancy never displayed a common program looking towards Bronx. before. Five different crews of the establishment of a permanent workers have walked off jobs in a ladult education project by the fed-

their grievances. Daily the head-stration educational projects are who represent entire projects who nesota Emergency Teachers Associa- company had said that under no ber of the Executive Committee of

### dermanned Crews at Power Houses

Charges that the Consolidated In Minnesota Charges that the Consolidated Gas-Edison system has dismissed tinuing the policy of cutting labor (Russian surname. Victor Soloviev)

Utility Employees. were sent to the several official week's failure of electricity supply.

"All evidence in connection with Officers for the coming year are the power tie-up serves to confirm ment of job conditions, including dent, and Dorothy Holmes, St. Paul, Mr. Wersing's complaint declared. . . that it was due to drastic The declaration of principles calls weakening of the system's maintenwhile, the union is redoubling its upon the M.E.T.A. to establish the ance and inspection forces through

> Fired for Organization Work "The Consolidated-Edison system continues also to discharge work-The declaration also binds the ers for the Brotherhood of Utility M.E.T.A. to establish immediately Employees, who were fired last

Teachers on federal adult, work- years, and Ewing five years. Both from Czechoslovakia" instead of ized in the union headquarters, ers, recreational, nursery, arts and had exemplary records. When they "three comrades from Jugoslavia." elected committees, and battled out crafts, and National Youth Admini- were dropped they were told by a Another inaccuracy, concerning myquarters are jammed with workers eligible for membership in the Min-President John Stilwell of the writes: "One of them, former mem-(Continued on Page 2)

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

By ARNE SWABECK

viously so well known to Marxists —that **the real cause** of America's entrance into the war was furnished While the above events are tak- by the interests of finance capital,

In the investigations by the Nye Senatorial Commission of the part played by the House of Morgan in the fact proshould remove all doubt of this the "peace" policies pursued by the policy all this evidence should re- Deal schemes. In a bourgeois demo-

On several occasions the Presi-Roosevelt administration sponsors "take the profits out of war."

Object of Investigation

cracy governmental policy to be successful must have popular mass bankers. Two years ago we had the Roosevelt administration underwere told that its purpose was to the purchasing power of the masses; safeguarding their collective bar-No doubt this is still accepted limitations on working hours, etc. genuine objective of the investiga- the Rooseveltian system must have (Continued on Page 4)

Verkhni-Uralsk. The hunger strike are officially in exile in the Russian dent has chided the Wall Street support. This is something the guards directed at the prisoners status of prisoners in Russia, with-Pecora investigations. Today the stands particularly well. Therefore was standing peacefully at his win- their countries because of their the New Deal policy was carried dow, was wounded. The strike also opposition to their party or to the the Nye committee hearings. We on under such slogans as: increasing had as an objective the improve- C.I. atmosphere of terror and the fam- deportation from Russia. the G.P.U. goining rights their minimum wage, ine rations drove two prisoners men robbed me, seized my scientific

and I demanded of the Soviet au-

Are Pruned

Corruption Rife

In State

(Special to the New Militant)

By JAMES EVANS

lief authorities are attempting to

ted to the unemployed who have

been dropped from the rolls. Lest

Colonel Johnson appear to be a

should be remembered that some-

thing has to be done with the sur-

dole will help to perpetuate the

illusions of a beneficent govern-

ment among the workers, causing

them to think that the Lord Roose-

velt will continue to scatter some

Pruning the Relief Rolls

Meanwhile, the relief rolls are

being pruned feverishly to eliminate

every individual worker who cannot

comply with the intricate rulings of

those who fatten on poverty. The

state commission has instructed its

army of local flunkies to submit a

list of their clients with the reasons

for retaining them on relief. Every

client, certified since November 1st

is being dropped from the WPA

regardless of his personal circum-

stances. I know one young teacher,

employed on an adult education

project, who is entirely typical of

tice. This particular client has a

pregnant wife, a child, his father,

The case workers, who has thus

turned five people into the bread-

line, is a woman who has ne**ve**r

touched a broom nor picked a row

of cotton in her life. When she was

appointed to this position two years

ago, she boasted to relief clients

that she was very glad to have this

employment. "I have had nothing

to do but ride around and spend

Passing the Buck

over his dismissal, the buck is passed

from one official to the other. Each

plush-chair grafter politely contra-

dicts the other until finally the

worker abandons his appeal out of

The destitute members of the

doors. Competent professionals, in

dire need, are being denied employ-

ment on the cultural projects merely

because they have attained some

professional standing - although

they have simultaneously lost their

incomes. On one writers' project,

there is not a single bona-fide writer

employed, while the supervisor is a

very reactionary school teacher. In

fact, there are probably not a dozen

qualified writers in the state who

are working on any of these "liter-

From Red River to Rio Grande

Meanwhile, the old line labor

leaders are attempting quickly to

muffle the widespread strike senti-

ment. Any day may witness a

spontaneous walkout of project

workers, badly organized and led

by men who lack strike experience.

But, nevertheless, the WPA strike

remains the order of the day in

Texas, a strike which must be called

and won through immediate co-

ordination of all unemployed work-

ers and progressive trade unionists.

The only hope for the workers of

Texas is a solid strike front from

the Red River to the Rio Grande!

When a project worker protests

money," she said.

and his mother to support.

manna their way.

DALLAS, Texas—The Texas re-

### Fight Police In Vermont Walkout

Marble Workers Battle [Militantly After Three Month Siege

By CYRUS RIGBY

the traditional home of granite- dustrial conditions and in particular like, rugged American individu- the developments in the industry in alism, was Tuesday also the scene which a given union operates. of oppressed Yankee workers in re- What, then, is taking place in the volt. For three months the workers garment industry today? For reaof the Vermont Marble Company, sons which space does not permit of Rutland, have been out on strike. us to go into, but among which the Each week their battle has been drawing closer to victory.

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

#### The Battle

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

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

### When the Smoke Cleared

When casualties were counted it was found that the working class batting average was remarkably troversies which had rent the unions high: 12 deputy sheriffs were sent to the hospital against 5 of the doing in a period of growth and militant strikers. It was impossible to count those on both sides with the top bureaucracy were able to more minor injuries, but those sent put up a plausible appearance of to the hospital were all in serious strike leaders was begun as soon as Sheriff Schoenfeld's bomb had prepared the way for the State's Attorney's dramatic entrance on the set. Some of the ten strikers arrested were unable to walk; one was still unconscious and bleeding as he was carried forcibly off to jail.

In spite of their notorious Vermont smugness, the "disinterested" citizens of Rutland are more sympathetic with the strike than it would seem from capitalist press officials turned to young workers, accounts. Reporters for the Rutland and intellectuals, Socialist party Daily Herald, for example, have members, Lovestonites in the needle attempted to stir up chauvenistic trades, etc. to assist; and the fact feeling against Polish workers in that these more politicalized workvolved in the strike—while at the ers could give militant talks to the same time they have been compelled workers and a militant collaboration to make public the arrest of two to the union was an additional re selectmen, Dwyer and Thomas, overseers of the poor, on charges of having failed to provide clothing having a "revolution" under Rooseto children of striking marble workers. Farmers and Rutland townspeople who work, as well as the smaller merchants, are generally on the side of the strikers. Larger it fairly easy to keep their conbusiness men, Rotarians and newspaper owners are fighting for the liating themselves from the top capitalists.

### Students Support Strike

At various times since the strike began intellectuals living in Vermont and neighboring states have come out in complete accord with the Zimmerman of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. strike. Students of nearby Darth-land others less prominent, became mouth College have given their the administration in some of the support by a benefit performance of local unions.

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

READ THE NEW MILITANT

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D. DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D. 5 Washington Square North 1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays

and Holidays.

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

By A. J. MUSTE

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

trends in the union movement, we RUTLAND, Vt. - New England, have first of all to examine in-National Recovery Act was not the only or even the most important ed a decided upturn in 1933-4. closing days of the Hoover era reemployers, at least important seccouple of years.

#### The Changing Situation

Gradually, however, the scene has been shifting. In the general econnot been laid. There is a huge army of unemployed. The wage level remains far below that of 1929. The market remains a restricted one for every industry. The upturn which has occurred, however, causes employers to be impatient of the slight restraints to which they were subjected in the early days of the Roosevelt administration. The N.R.

A. is declared unconstitutional. Even in the garment industry where the nightmare of 1930-2 is not yet Workers used whatever weapons entirely forgotten and N.R.A. concame into ther hands; deputies, reditions are in considerable measure 'voluntarily" maintained, competition becomes ever more severe.

The urge to break all bondsmove "out of town" in order to escape union wage rates, the policy of playing off an unlimited number of shoe-string contractors against each other, etc.— becomes ever the contract is maintained. The time when the employers will resort to the more extreme methods is probably not far distant, however.

### Union Gains

The unions in the garment industry made huge gains in 1933-4. They were instrumental in lowering hours and raising wages from the depression level. The internal consubsided, as they have a habit of trades unions and the maneuvers the conflict deepens the members ing destruction of socialist tend- day is the building of the revolution- with those in overalls while waitsuccess. Even the Old Guard and efficiency and progressivism. Were Busines of arresting they not making demands on the employers and getting results? Wit ness, in another industry, John L Lewis even before he openly launch ed his crusade for industrial union ism. (We are not speaking of the essential role played by Hillman, Dubinsky, et. al. under the New Deal on which the New Militant has frequently stated its position).

There was an immense amount of organizing, administrative and editors of one of our publications, sistently refused to cooperate with educational work to be done and the commendation in the eyes of the officials. We were supposed to be velt in 1933. On their part militants and progressives who did not hold a clear-cut and complete Marxist position (in more than name) found sciences quiet while not differentbureaucrats. There were workers to be enrolled, strikes to be organized. One could agitate for a labor party. Discussion over deeper implications of union policy would have to wait. Figures such as

### Test Yet to Come

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

OPEN FORUM Given by the Lumen Club The Role of Intellectuals in the Labor Movement" Speaker: MARTIN GLEE Sunday, Jan. 26, 8:30 P.M. 28 E. 14th Street, 4th floor Admission Free

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT | Copies of the Brotherhood's com- | National Labor Relations Board.

lutionary party, is needed.

Such a progresive movement does not exist in the needle trades today. We are as a matter of fact witnessing the disintegration of the old left wing forces and only the early So close to victory, indeed, had one, the garment industry experienc beginnings of a new genuine left wing adapted to the needs of the coming period. The Stalinists and those under their influence are no been disciplined and constant. On sulted in such chaos that even the longer a left wing force, but rather an extremely conservative one. In tions of them, were prepared to not a few instances in the needle accept government "regulation" and trades unions they ally themselves to deal with unions in return for openly with the S.P. old guardists an opportunity to put prices up and or even more reactionary elements. maintain them at some level. Some It is not necessary to dwell on the thing like "prosperity" obtained for details. The dissipation of the left movement in the unions as a result of the insane policies pursued by the Stalinists over a period of years is, however, a factor that cannot be omy of the country the basis for that it is possible for the Stalinists more difficult. They will not fully expose themselves until the crisis in the industry and the unions is much further advanced than it is

#### A Hot House Plant

The same holds true of the Lovestronger. For the most part it does from the unions, and the Hillmans open cutting of wage rates or of a to help the employers "save the sistance against any further con- to equivocate successfully, to work cessions as to wages, hours and con- hand in glove with the top bureauditions and a steady pressure on crats and at the same time pose union representatives in the shops as "progressives" and "Bolsheviks." to relax standards while formally And when we observe that already Lovestoneite officials such as Zimmerman find it necessary to go out of their way to seek to combat the still weak forces of the Workers Party in the needle trades, we get

Jnion Hits

(Continued from Page 1)

"Ewing and Solosy attracted un-

favorable attention in company

circles because of their work as

The Gas Man; and because in No-

to investigate the conduct of the

behalf of the workers in the com-

pany's chemical department. Fol-

lowing that investigation they re-

dently had been formed to make

the employees believe they had col-

Accompanying Mr. Wersing's let-

er was a copy of an affidavit by

Charles Smith, a former operative

for the Railway Audit and Inspec-

tion Company, a detective agency,

attesting that he was assigned to

shadow Solosy while the latter was

ment of the Astoria Light, Heat,

the Consolidated Gas Co. Docu-

mentary evidence also was avail-

able, the Mayor was told, to show

that Ewing was shadowed by an-

other operative from the same

Mr. Wersing's letter charged.

ing on top of last week's break-

ment of the ssytem's implied con-

hear."

system's attitude of contemptuous action

ported that the company union evi- the leagues.

taken back.

Dismissals

circumstances would they ever be have walked off their jobs and come

vember, 1934, they were appointed in the WPA fight, due to the dis-

company union's general council in the C. P. members who have in

lective bargaining when this was Union News," which has met with

employed in the chemical depart- union, with a corresponding growth

and Power Company, an affiliate of union has achieved genuine stabili-

"In the latter part of 1935 more with their particular problems,

than 1,500 workers were dropped while linked organizationally with

by the Consolidated-Edison system," the general unemployed movement,

down are clearly indicative of the the growing sentiment for joint

This action is in effect a re-state- plaint went to Nile F. Malthie,

tention that it alone rules the light | sion; Maurice P. Davidson, Com-

and power industry in Greater New | missioner of Water Supply, Gas,

York, and it shows anew that the and Electricity; John H. Delancy,

Consolidated-Edison alliance is con- chairman, Board of Transporation;

cerned not with supplying adequate John J. McElligott, Fire Commis

service to consumers, but in reaping sioner; Dr. John L. Rice, Health

as large a profit as the traffic will Commissioner; and Mrs. Elinore

"These additional 300 lay-offs com- from the results obtained here.

if not in name, and presently de largely accounts also for the extent mand substantial "concessions" in to which the members in these the contract itself and seek to wipe unions are impressed by the Stalinist out the unions if they offer real proposals for unifying groups, even opposition. Such a testing period though this often takes the form of these unions passed through after unification with out-and-out right the war and post-war expansion, wing machine "clubs" and even on with what disastrous results for the occasion the proposal that "there workers is too well known. In such ought to be no groups in the union a period a well-organized progressive at all" which in practice always or left wing with a nucleus of re- means that there be no organized volutionary Marxists under the force opposed to the union "machguidance and discipline of a revo- ine!" The members sense that something is wrong; they feel vaguely that danger threatens. But the issues are not yet sharply defined. It must be, they feel, that there are

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

'too many groups"; let us have

### Guiding Ideas for Progressives

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

stoneites. for example. The so- not a progressive step. What is procalled progressive movement under gressive is to expose the role the their leadership by no means con- Stalinists are playing-their capstitutes a dependable left wing itulation to the S.P. old guard, the fighting force. It is a hot-house union right wingers, their reactionplant fostered by the union admin- ary proposals of "no groups in the istration. It is not a rank and file union", etc. United action for spemovement born out of and hardened cific ends to test out the genuineness by the struggle over issues. For of unity proposals may be resorted the present the Lovestoneite union to. If in a given local union merger officials can still obscure and evade with such a group is the only way the issues. But when the conditions to break up the old situation and in the trade worsen and employers toward developing a genuine left demand real and open concessions wing, progressives must take the step in awareness of its meaning, as good in itself, and they must so fight against the unions, but of re- industry," then they will be unable far as possible disabuse the membership of illusions.

4. Finally, a genuine left-progressve movement is built upon issues. jittery.' The issues will emerge ever more sharply. Then the various tendan inkling of the course they will the nucleus of that left-wing must is discussed but to which it is not workers can win only under the as workers can be fooled into believ-The fact that this is such a tran- selves in the eyes of the members sik-hat bandits drop the idealistic unflaggingly to the historic goal of their friends, they will not resort to sition period as we have sketched from others to become the exponents pose of the forum. They become the workers. The order of the day mass pressure and defeat these accounts for the utterly confused of issues as they arise, to show business men discussing a big deal: is not the building of reformist courteous purveyors of starvation. picture presented by the various themselves as militant and respons- the dismemberment of the Socialist "Labor parties" which further con-"groups" and "clubs" in the needle ible leaders in the shops, so that as commonwealth and the accompany- fuse the masses. The order of the middle class are not required to sit

Ohio WPA

(Continued from Page 1)

directly in a body to the headquar-

Reports of sentiments in the local

Workers Alliance, which has con

the union and Unemployed League

ruptive and slanderous tactics of

vaded it, indicate that the rank

and file is beginning to demand

joint action with the union and

The union is putting out a week-

ly paper on the jobs, the "WPA

n tremendous response. Special

weekly leaders' classes on unem-

ployment and labor problems are

being held by the union at the

Likelihood of State WPA Strike

All indications point to a tre-

mendously rapid growth of the

of the Unemployed Leagues. The

ty and the ideological character of

the membership is surprisingly ad-

vanced for such a large mass or-

ganization. The tactic of organiz-

ing the WPA workers into a sepa-

rate organizational form to deal

appears to be a successful one.

.There is a great likelihood that

chairman, Public Service Commis-

M. Herrick, regional chairman,

with the

Unemployed

Toledo Workers School

ters to be organized.

### "Soviet Russia and Ethiopia the Goats" Relief Rolls

By JAMES EVANS

"Soviet Russia and Ethiopia would be the goats."

uary 8. As the crisis of international capitalism becomes more acute, it is certain that neither a weak feudal nor a highly developed workers' republic would be spared from desperate measures. Can any informed observer deny that the particular type of thieves' honor, exemplified by the League of Nations, that the thieves have on the world? these gentlemen uphold. Dutcher says rather truthfully for an employee of the capitalist press: Behind the Scenes

"Statesmen are constantly tempted by the idea of agreements which would preserve peace in western Europe and localize war by giving Germany a free hand to attack Russia while tossing Ethiopia to the Fascist wolf. \*\* \*There are powerful elements both in England and France which hold that destruction of the Soviet government would be a fine thing for the world. The French Fascists will make their bid al politics.

Austria.

least flirting with the idea that a to sell oil to Fascist Italy. confinement of Hitler aggression to of it all.

not yet take the form of direct and and Dubinskys are prepared as ever must not regard merger as the end, ly that Berlin is eager for an understanding with London, and that the establishment of Communism. Moscow, forever worrying over the These are mutually antagonistic possibility of attack from Germany issues, not to be solved by support and Japan at the same time, is of international capitalist alliances

encies and elements in the unions neath all the pompous ceremonies the hour for social revolution! will appear in their true colors. of the League sessions, and the Since a new left wing must be built hypocritical oratory about sanctions, emphasized, the central issue is not on the basis of a program, those still other sessions are being heldadvanced workers who constitute gatherings at which the Soviet Union Fascism versus Communism. The rage or sheer disgust. For as long already begin to differentiate them-invited. And in those sessions, the leadership of a party which marches ing that individual officials are

the Workers Alliance will shortly

pave the way for a state-wide unit-

ed front between the two organiza-

Philadelphia

LENIN - LIEBKNECHT

LUXEMBOURG

**Memorial Meeting** 

SUNDAY, JAN. 26, 8:15 P.M.

Grant Fraternity Hall

1626 Arch Street, 3rd floor

Speakers:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor New International

MANNY GARRETT

Editor Young Spartacus

Wirs Rise tions and the Ohio Building Trades Councils in a state-wide WPA

strike.

Loaded Dice

Moreover, the Soviet Union is placed in the melancholy position of Starvation, Graft, and workers. imperialist contradictions."

Certainly, anyone can see that the French "Popular Front" amounts only to gradual emasculation of the post-Christmas Santa Claus, it revolutionary movement in that the Popular Front staving off the plus beans now that direct relief inevitable reckoning through the is being suspended. This form of shameful truce entered into by Thorez and Blum, Laval is free to negotiate with Hitler at one door and Mussolini at the other.

Laval Bides His Time

The hour of decision has come

For, as this paper has repeatedly Fascism versus Democracy. It is

DR. OSCAR TROPP well known physician Friday, Jan. 24, 8:30 P.M. 1776 Pitkin Ave., nr. Stone

"The Government and the Unions"

Speaker:

in Council Room of Local 22

232 West 40th St., N. Y. C.

### Liebknecht-Luxemburg Anniversary

LECTURE AND DANCE

8:30 P.M.—Speech by NATHAN GOULD, National Secretary S.Y.L., on "The Life and Work of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg." Short musical program. 9:30 P.M.—Dancing, refreshments. Good band.

SATURDAY EVENING, JANUARY 25, 1936 320 East 14th Street, N. Y. C. Hat check 25c Auspices: Spartacus Vouth League, N. Y. District

### WAR AND THE WORKERS By JOHN WEST

A forty-eight page pamphlet for the price of 10c; in lots of ten or more 7c.

Here is an excellent pamphlet explaining in a popular style the causes of imperialist wars in the present epoch, the role of pacifism and social reformism. It gives the Marxian answer to many questions that have arisen out of the present war developments, sanctions, the League of Nations, etc.

Send your orders to the NEW MILITANT, 55 East 11th St., New York, N. Y.

Rodney Dutcher, Washington NEA being a window-dressing for the correspondent, thus predicts the contemplated attack upon its very results that would accompany the life. Its entrance into the League possible dissolution of the League gave that body an unwarranted of Nations in his column for Jan-prestige in the eyes of millions of Voluntarily, Litvinoff agreed to play a game with loaded dice—for all the high-flown talk about "taking advantage of the The appease the hordes of unemployed Soviet government has relied upon with a few meager victuals before desperate extremities, they take the personal integrity of sleek di- desperation flares into rebellion. plomats instead of the revolutionary Adam R. Johnson, the Southern defense of the workers. It has aristocrat who directs relief actividepended upon Laval, Benes, and ties in this state, has announced Baldwin to protect it against attack that surplus vegetables still in the simple rules which can be applied is crumbling along with the hold from the predatory system which local comissaries would be distribu-

When this is accomplished, the

only question among diplomats here for power, while Monsieur Laval is how influential those elements lights his cigar with the Franco-Sohave been and may be expected to viet pact. A concentrated attack be in the backrooms of internation upon the Soviet Union, fierce suppression of all working-class move-"An alternative plan calls for an ments, will be the tragic results of 'iron ring' around Germany, which the Soviet foreign policy. The would require appeasment of Mus- "democratic nations" eulogized at the solini and co-operation from Italy. Seventh Congress of the Comintern 3. As a general thing unity with The appeasment presumably would will there relieve themselves of the Stalinist "rank and file" groups is cover a benevolent Anglo-French painful incubus of democracy. Solattitude toward Italian designs on diers who might have been influenced for the proletarian revolution, "That alternative may yet be had not the Comintern abandoned may have had it in mind when they march from their barracks to kill those receiving the axe without tried to serve up Ethiopia on a the toilers both of their own nationplatter to Mussolini. But recent alities and of the Soviet Union. conversations between the French Moreover, the Soviet Union has and the Germans have strengthened largely forfeited the confidence of a suspicion that all hands were at the colonial peoples by continuing

Russia would be the best way out for the international working class! There lie potent within modern "But it can be said authoritative | society the factors for the realizaand vague "united fronts" with These statements are plain and prosperous gentlemen who say everyapparent to any revolutionist. Be-thing and mean nothing. This is

ing their turn to beg for jobs this partiality ends at the office

Brownsville Open Forum "Sex and the Class Struggle" Speaker:

**OPEN FORUM** 

LOCAL 22, I.L.G.W.U.

A. J. MUSTE THURSDAY, JAN. 30, 6 P.M.

Ausp: Philadelphia Branch, W.P. SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

### WORKERS Protect Yourselves Against the

ary" projects.

Hazards of Life. Join the WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S. 1884-1935

Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers, About 50,000 members organ ized in 350 branches. Reserve

**\$3,4**00,000. Death benefit graded accord ing to age at entry. Sick benefit payments from \$225 to \$900—to

men and women, according to Monthly assessments from 45c

o \$2.10. For further information apply

to Main Office:

714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y

### Communist Bares Stalin's Anti-Bolshevik Jugoslav

(Continued from Page 1) consulate on the subject of my pass-

#### of document to confirm the confiscation of this material. The Concentration

#### Camps 2. On the concentration camps.

scourge for those who are persecuted | taining a partial regime for politpolitically in Russia is the concen- | ical prisoners, but a large majority tration camp. There are many con | of the prisoners, principally in the centration camps in Russia, in Marinski and Karagandiski camps, every region and of varying impor- are under the regular regime. In tance. The new Pharaohs (jailers the Marinski camp, during summer. -Ed.) in these places "educate" a group of prisoners (among them hundreds of thousands of workers the anarchist Sandemisky) was and peasants and tens of thousands forced to walk, or rather to run, to of criminals, receiving in exchange their jobs in the fields, which were gratuitous labor. The peasant wo- at a distance of ten kilometers from men and female criminals who are their quarters, where they worked among them are sentenced to until late into the night. "serve" the men and are placed in the condition of practically forced

of December 1934, a new hunger of Verkhni-Uralsk. The prisoners demanded that an end be made of these "additional" sentences of imprisonment, and the immediate release of men arbitrarily held in tiaries and exile. this way (that is to say, two-thirds Central Asia (Samarkand, Chem. survive his five-year term). kent, Alma-Ata, Akmolinsk. Aktou- The Zinovievists behave generally the painter Rosenfeld. There were 36 the "catastrophe" was barely khni-Uralsk are also to be found binsk, Pavlodar, etc.) were in the in a capitulatory fashion but in indicted, a mixed and very suspilarented. This famous brother was twenty men of the Right Opposi- Yenisseisk and Turakhansk). The major part sent to the concentra- varying degrees and ways. Zino- clous collection. The result was sent to another place. He is not tion (Slepkov, Astrov, etc. Riutin Aside from the Bolshevik-Leninists, tions of Fascism (he brought a load a considerable section of anarchists, some Zionists, and a few Social history of the Russian situation. Revolutionaries and social demo- Kamenev is 98.5 percent in agree of the Kremlin Guard). The rest about ten years, but was sent to a tration camps. The political prist think that everything is over and half were transported to Verkhni- north aisle of the penitentiary, oners are subject to the regular that it will be necessary to begin that it will be necessary to be nec work with the criminals. The crim- ceived as the outcome of a new categorically that he knew anything stein who was scientific collaborainals are incited against the "polit- trial a sentence which runs to ten about this affair and insisted that tor at the Military Academy. She dured long hunger strikes, demand- on the charges of a plot against viduals for the first time in his of the penitentiary of Yaroslav and Sousdal are to be

ski, both of the "Democratic Centralism" group (the Sapronovists) did a 35-day hunger strike for this modest dentand]. Several dozen port, without giving me any kind others have conducted hunger strikes for establishing a regime for political prisoners in the camps. In the struggle for this demand fatal accidents occurred in the Marinski camp (among the anarchists). A group of prisoners in the Solovki and certain individuals in the Ukht-Pecherski and Marin-The new and most frightful ski camps have succeeded in ob-

Upon expiration of his sentence in the summer of 1935, Dingelstedt was removed from the Solovki and The political prisoners are sent. exiled to Alma-Ata, S. Kraskin to to my knowledge, into four camps: Turukhansk. It is necessary at all Ukht-Pecherski (Zyryan), Marinski costs to secure the liberation of po-(Central Siberia), Karagandinski litical prisoners from the concen-(coal mines of Kazakstan) and the tration camps and to put a stop to Solovietzki Islands. In the month the practice of sending them there.

### strike broke out in the penitentiary Life in the Penitentiaries

3. Some remarks on the peniten-

In the solitary confinement cells of the prisoners). The hunger strike of the penitentiary of Verkhniwas stopped on the thirteenth day Uralsk is to be found at the present by the dispersal of the comrades to time the principal part of the Zinovarious penitentiaries, concentra- vievists (Zinoviev, Kamenev. Kuktion camps, and by forced feeding. line, Zalutski and also Smilga), Nearly 30 comrades were then sent also the well-known leaders of the to the concentration camps: most Workers' Opposition, Shliapnikov of them, headed by the strike com- (ill and deaf), and Medvedyev, the mittee (Theodor Dingelstedt, Jo- leader of the "Democratic Central seph Krashin, Sasha Slitinski) were ism" group, who directed the insursent to the Solovietzki Islands. rection of October 1917 at Moscow, Some of them. Lado Yenoukidze, former secretary of the C.E.C. at nephew of the famous ex-secretary the time of Leniu, the old workerof the C.E.C., M. Bielov, G. Boiko, Bolshevik Timophee Sapronov (he etc., to the Ukht-Pecherski camp. is seriously ill and unless the Eu-In the summer of 1935, almost the ropean proletariat releases him whole Bolshevik-Leninist colony of from the penitentiary he will not

view is busy principally with quest two executions (a member of the to be found at Verkhni-Uralsk, For of books on Fascism) and with the exactly, either Cherviakov or Cher- anything about this affair, Kamenment with the general line. Some Tens of comrades have en- years. The second trial was based he saw the principal accused indispent five years in the secret part the penitentiaries of Chelabinsk, ing the substitution of the peniten- "himself" (that is to say, Stalin). life during the trial. His brother fore coming to Verkhni-Uralsk. found other groups of political

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

scores of men and women jailed and exiled and end of 1927. tortured by Stalin and his henchmen. Many of those mentioned by comrade Ciliga have been languishing in Stalinist dungeons for years: thus among the prisoners mentioned by him are to be found many of those listed in the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition (No. 19, March 1930) among the Bolshevik-Leninists are: Dorochenko, Victor Krayny (driven to insanity), Langer, Papermeister Pavel, S. Slitinski and others; among the "Democratic Centralists" are: Davidov, Essayan, Smirnov and others. These men have been incarcerated since 1929-1930, that is, for over six

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

Here are the records of a few of Stalin's victims: L. B. KAMENEV: One of the closest collaborators of Lenin. Member of the party since 1901. First arrested in a student demonstration in 1902. Worked in the Moscow Bolshevik organization. Participated in the Third and the London Congresses of the party During the 1905 revolution worked in Petrograd up to 1908 when he was again arrested. After arrest he escaped abroad and collaborated closely with Lenin and Zinoviev. In 1913 he was ordered by the C.E.C. to Petrograd. Arrested in 1914 and exiled to Siberia. Member of the C.E.C; Chairman of the All-Russian C.E.C.; Chairman of the Moscow Soviet (1918-1926), etc., etc.

G. ZINOVIEV: One of the closest collaborators of Lenin. Member of the party since 1901. Organized a Bolshevik group in Berne. In 1905 came to Petrograd where he worked in the Bolshevik faction. Participated in the London Party Congress where ne was elected member of the C.E.C. on which he remained until Stalin came along. Arrested in 1908; port of the Zinoviev group. after his arrest went abroad to collaborate most closely with Lenin (Zimmerwald; Kienthal). Returned to Russia in April, 1917 together with Lenin; jails. Among them, for example, is Victor Serge, after the July days went into hiding. Chairman of writer and historian of the Russian Revolution, Committee Communist International, etc.

THEODOR N. DINGLESTEDT: Member of the October Revolution. From 1923 one of the leaders able climate, died.

were condemned to 5 to 10 years, common cell (No. 57, third tier,

IN HIS letter, Dr. Anton Ciliga mentions by name of the Left Opposition in Leningrad. Arrested at the

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

S. P. MEDVEDIEV: Metal worker. Member of the party since 1901 (Iskrrovitz); Bolshevik since 1903. Served several sentences in jail and exile under the Czar. Participant of the October Revolution. Member of All-Russian C.E.C. since October, 1917; in 1920 Chairman of the All-Russian Trade Union of Metal Workers. Supporter of the "Workers' Opposi-

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

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

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

VOYA VUYOVICH: Erstwhile Secretary of the Young Communist International. Exiled for his sup-

Then there are countless others, not named by Dr. Ciliga, languishing in Stalin's Thermidorian the Petersburg Soviet; Chairman of the Executive exiled not for his activities, but merely for his sympathies with Trotsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Assassination and physical extermination: Blum. Bolshevik party since 1910; member of the Petrograd kin, murdered in cold blood by the G.P.U.; Butov, Committee of the party during the February period driven by the G.P.U. torture to "suicide"; Kote of the Russian Revolution; active participant in the Zingadze, denied medical attention, exiled to unbear-

#### was there before, I do not know if G.P.U., whose name I do not recall his categorical refusal to know he still is). Finally, some anarchists (Barmach), S.R.'s, Zionists, nodski, and the second, a member ev received not only an increase of

shevik-Leninists.

In all, some 200 prisoners. In

social democrats, and 40 to 50 Bol-

### Who People the Solitaries?

another five year term at Sousdal. them. The Zinovievists sent a genin the prisoner personnel, the ad- group has been in prison for three the legal conditions and the rations decision is awaited from Moscow. of the prisoners. Famine rations have again been introduced, particularly in the penitentiaries of Yaroslav and of Verkhni-Uralsk. With the decrease in construction during the second Five Year Plan, unemnomenon in exile. At Yenisseisk, Kolomenko; the Viennese V. Langer (he is systematically deprived 4. On political life in the soliof work); the S.R.'s, Teodor Isaie- tarles, penitentiaries and in exile. vitch Tsederbaum, Marc Levine, sister of Medvedyev and a large ly and a little later, in a week or number of Leningradists.

Leningradists is tragic. The Zinovievist functionaries haven't a very selves without dignity. The workers' section keeps its mouth closed, the G.P.U., doesn't fall on its knees ten times a day in order to be par-

At Yenisseisk a group of Oppositionists was arrested during the oriented in the same direction as summer (the Democratic Central- those of the Opposition abroad and ists Davidov and Boiko, the Boltiary for the concentration camp The principal hero of the accusa- announced during the trial that There she partly lost her power of prisoners of all currents. At Sous- groups of Zinovievists. The Oppo-[Vladimir Smirnov, Jr. and S. Slip- tion was Kamenev's own brother, thanks to his last minute arrest, speech. In the penitentiary of Ver- dal the second leader of the "Dem- sitionists are accused of having en-

ocratic Centralists," V. M. Smirnov, | deavored to "sway" is to be found. He served his five ists. In the course of the affair it years at Sousdal in 1935; he was was shown that the G.P.U. perat liberty for half a month at Oula- suaded and tried to force the Zinola (Oirat Tour) and at the present vievists to bear witness that the time he has been imprisoned for "oppositionists" had "swayed" Voya Voyovitch, former secretary eral statement about this affair to of the Y.C.I., is also to be found the prosecuting attorney of the U.S. there. His wife, Budzinskaia, is S.R. It was also discovered that at Verkhni-Uralsk (with the sister the local G.P.U. was acting in a of Unschlicht). Taking advantage provocative way on instructions of the change that has taken place from Moscow. At present the whole months, the hearing is over and a

### Help the Exiles!

To compel Moscow to provide work for the exiles, to eliminate the famine rations in the penitenployment has become a daily phe tiaries, to release political prisoners from the concentration camps, where I spent my last year, half to release from exile and from of the exiles literally starved to dungeons and to allow the Jugodeath. The children of a new ar- slav comrades Deditch, Draguitch rival to the concentration camp, M. and Haeberling to return abroad— Belov, became ill because of malnuthese tasks leave me no peace, I trition and died of hunger before think of them day and night. And the eyes of all. The same news I am ready to do everything in my arrives from Minussinsk, in Central power to relieve the fate of the Asia, from the Narym Province of hundreds of comrades with whom Archangel. At Minussinsk, there I spent five and a half years in are, at the present time, Kossior, prison and exile and with whose Moussia Magid, Dorochenko, Ya- terrible situation I am so well and koubson, the social democrat, etc. so directly acquainted. I think At Yenisseisk: Papermeister Pavel, something can be achieved by the Balmonchov, Grall, Doubenbaum, pressure of the European workers and of the democratic movement.

There remains too little time to Eva V. Losman, the left S.R.'s, the enable me to describe this aspect brother and sister Louissin, the of the situation as it warrants. It Zionists, Bernstein and Kogan; the will be necessary to do it separatetwo. I may say, in a few words, In the spring of 1935, Siberia that at Verkhni-Uralsk the political was filled up with Leningradists. life was very intense, a host of They were transported there in en- articles used to appear on all questire trainloads, whole families with tions of social life in the U.S.S.R. children, wives, parents, etc. Many and also on the principal question of them have been sent into places of international politics during the which are all the way north: Ob- period 1930-33: Fascism, Germany dorsk, Doudinno, Vorilsk, Turak- A series of papers appeared (writhansk, Verkhneiarsk. Several tens ten by hand), issued by all the of thousands of comrades were ex- groups, sub-groups and currents. iled from Leningrad. A group of Great discussions were held. In women, the sister of Zinoviev, the 1931-32, the Bolshevik - Leninist widow of Chatski (who was shot). group underwent splits and lived the sister of Kuklin, etc., are to be in organizational chaos. In 1933found in exile at Vorogod (between 34 a rapproachement in opinions was reached anew and a single situation of the major part of the B.-L. collective was set up with a single paper. Several (about ten) Bolshevik-Leninists went over to noble bearing, and deport them the Democratic Centralists. Conflicts and splits also took place among the Democratic Centralists makes no requests, tells no lies to and among the partisans of Myasnikov, but in 1933-34 there was also a rapprochement and a "federation of left communists" was created. The views of the Bolshevik-Leninists in the penitentiaries were of comrade L. D. Trotsky.

A. CILIGA.

## Hangmen of Finnish Workers Pay Homage to Scandinavian Socialists' -- and they Reciprocate a vigorous life for the Finnish people—within the borders of a Soviet Europe.

By A. J.

OSLO, Norway.—On December 8 | in parliament. to 10, the annual conference of the in Helsingsfors, Finland. This out- of a type of passivity and indolence fit originated as an alliance of the which is unparallelled in history. Swedish, Danish and Finnish social While the counter-revolution armed democracles. But, for more than and organized itself openly and en-

acter of this "Internationale" was offensive against the White North. it behaves accordingly. It de-Finland. especially emphasized this year by In this manner the victory of the nounces its own radical members the fact that the conference was Finnish White troops, and of their to the police and takes care to see understand the Finnish people from welcomed not only by the Finnish allies: the Romanoffs and the Hoh- that they are "brought to justice." social democracy, but also by the enzollerns, was guaranteed in ad- It helps the government disband can only become great and strong official host, the Finnish govern- vance. ment. The latter invited their "colleagues, the messrs ministers of state," to dinner and placed the national broadcasting system at their disposal.

### Glance Into Finland's History

In order to make clear to the reader the full significance of this behavior on the part of the Scanof the following figures: Toward 1918—be incorporated as a reserve dinavian social democrats, it is necessary to disgress for a moment into the post-war history of Fin-

During the war, the Social Democratic party of Finland grew into the strongest party in the country. the Special Tribunals. The prison- against the Finnish government, torial writers of the N.A.P. over-It captured an absolute majority in ers, women and children among but on the contrary, as a service to look the fact that what may have the national elections of 1916. ers, women and condition among but on the contrary, as a service to them, were subjected to the most it. The Finnish bourgeoisie is well been relatively progressive in 1916. voked. The February revolution in Finnish bands and by the White a new world war, insofar as it is Russia unleashed also the revolu-Russian and German mercenaries. concerned. For a long time it years 1918 behind it. That year letariat. But the "great" social democracy proved to be a Centrist conglomeration, unequal to the tasks before it.

Social Democracy Misses Chance This party completely missed the rection in November, 1917, immedirising in Petrograd. It thus per-

The governmental activity of the fifteen years imprisonment. "Scandinavian Internationale" met Finnish social democrats consisted a year, the Norwegian Labor party tirely unhampered, within the very in the same position as the Hunga- to give vent to his sympathetic unhas also been participating in it. boundaries of the "Red" South, no rian social democracy, which also derstanding for the suppression of The extremely reactionary char- one even thought of taking up the

### The White Terror

The White Terror of the victors throughout the ages. Take into population of Finland-3,402,000— which did the hangman's bloody and you will grasp the full weight work for the counter-revolution of the end of the civil war, 90,000 army in the military apparatus. workers were incarcerated in the hair-raising atrocities by the White aware of the dangers attendant on is ultra-reactionary in 1936.

most favorable moment for insur- sures for no other reason save that of its Foreign Office. That is why an oppressed, and has become an ately following the victorious up- could find no labor power on the took into its own bosom the intermitted the Finnish bourgeoisie to flicted during the Finnish civil war social democratic errand boy. organize the counter-revolution have endured till this very day. with the aid of the Russian general | Year after year finds the govern-Mannerheim and the troops of the ment exerting the sharpest form of Mohenzollerns. Only after a long repression against the labor move- there is a great deal of speech- foundations." Finnish nationalism period of vacillation, and amidst ment-dissolution of organizations, making. The perorations of Swedopen sabotage from its Right wing, arrests, workhouse sentences, etc. ish Prime Minister Per Albin Hanthe social democracy also prepared The statistics for the year 1932 son and his Danish colleague tion of the Finnish Fascists, given for a struggle. In Southern Fin- show that 350 revolutionary work- Stauning about the attributes of a free hand by the "democratic" land the uprising took place de- ers were convicted to 800 years' the peaceful government form of government. spite, rather than because of the imprisonment in that period alone. democracy were remarkable enough

movement amounted to as much as terror. But Norwegian "Labor to the N.A.P. has not been able to Stool-Pigeon Activity

The "legal" social democracy in this country is like a dog with his ter are in the hands of a revolutionary majority and organizes culture." ranks high at the top of the list new, yellow unions. In the winter in the history of counter-revolutions of 1933 this party sunk so low as to propose in parliament that the consideration the numerically weak Fascist defense organizations —

### **Eulogy for Butchers**

As is usual on such occasions, Social Democratic party, which In many cases, the penalty for par- as they resounded over the net-

still trusted in its strong position | ticipation in the revolutionary | works in this Finland of the Lappo\* was even more remarkable, for he showed the awkward zeal of the parvenue. His speech grew into a .. "enjoys" Horthy's legality. And the Swedish-speaking minority in

the trades unions whenever the lat- when and if it builds on its own foundations and upon its own free

The "Arbeiterbladet"\*\* of Oslo defends these noteworthy sentiments with the even more remarkable contention that they contain an "old socialist truism, which no socialist can contradict." If the noble Nygaardsvold had expressed these views at the time of Finland's After all this, it is clear enough oppression under Czarism, they concentration camps and jails; that the Finnish social democrats might not have been an "old social-16,000 workers were executed out- did not invite the social democratic ist truism" but at any rate, a petty right. In the course of four months representatives of the neighboring bourgeois viewpoint of relatively 75,200 sentences were meted out by countries as a demonstration progressive character. But the edi-

90,000 workers in the jails! At firted with the German-Polish anti- transformed it into an extremely that, the statistics for all of Fin- Soviet alliance. Of late, it is more counter-revolutionary factor. Aside land, taking in the whole year attracted by the neutral Scandina- from that, the N.A.P. politicians, 1917, show a figure of altogether vian position. Alliance with the so belatedly solicitous about the 83,000 industrial workers. In 1919 rest of the Scandinavian countries national renaissance of Finland, and 1920 the Finnish government (and with England) appears to be have simply forgotten that the Finhad to resort to broad amnesty mea- a way out for the difficult position nish bourgeoisie has ceased to be otherwise the Finnish capitalists the reactionary Finnish government oppressing bourgeoisie. It indulges in this oppression-like the Czech market! And yet, the wounds in national carnival rigged up by its bourgeoisie—out of vengeance for the centuries of its own sufferingwith particular intensity. Moreover. Finland cannot become "great and strong" any more "on its own

\*Lappo is the terrorist organiza-

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

can only lead the Finnish people into the abyss. Only the Finnish proletariat, by its revolution, can

The policy of the London Buro and of the S.A.P. in their approach Premier" Nygaardsvold's address prevent the latter from becoming one of the most degenerate reformist parties in the Scandinaviasserving as it does, the interests of the most extreme Finnish nationalism. It must be clear to everyone by now, that collaboration with reformist leaders who take the road to a nationalist, "Autarchy" policy in their own country, can only mean participation in their treachery. In the Scandinavias, also, the recuperation of the labor movement leads toward the building of sections of the Fourth Interna-

### NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

Published weekly by the New Mili-St., N. Y. C. Phone: ALgon, 4-9058. Entered as second class mail matter

JAMES P. CANNON: Editor Subscription rates: In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c per six party began its collaboration with months; Canada and foreign \$1.50 the independent labor parties, it per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle did so with the object of advancing rates: Two cents per copy

SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1936 Vol. 2, No. 4 (Whole No. 56)

READ THE NEW MILITANT | laboration Committee has developed

THE CONTRACT OF THE ASSETS ASSESSED ASSESSED.

**NEWS FROM NORWAY** 

ternational.

The Plenum of the National Com-Party (N.A.P.) was held in Oslo Nov. 16-18. At this session a com- the formation of a Fourth Internamunication from the International Buro for Revolutionary Socialist Unity (formerly known as the I.A. G. or the London-Amsterdam Buro) came up for discussion, among other things. The communication requests the N.A.P. for information whether the N.A.P. shall continue to be regarded as a member of this bure or not. (This, it appears, is the manner in which this buro handles questions of international policy.) The N.A.P., which has not up to the present been disturbed by the Buro in its evolution toward the Scandinavian type of purely reformist parties, finally felt the time had come to give up attended its Paris conference this this somewhat compromising rela- | year as well as its London sessions. tionship.

In doing so, the N.A.P. showed that they, at any rate, take their tant Publishing Co., 55 Bast 11th reformist principles much more seriously than this famous Buro fit, the S.A.P. decided to expel the takes its revolutionary shingle. The at the Post Office at New York, N. National Committee adopted the Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. following resolution on this ques-(Arbeiterbladet, Nov. 18. tion 1935):

"When the Norwegian Labor the unification of the international labor movement into a single International. The party has repeatedly declared that this is the prerequisite for its participation in SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT the Collaboration Committee which has been set up. Of late, this Col-

1. The N.A.P. and the S.A.P. In- | more and more into an independent political organism with a program and directives all its own. Some mittee of the Norwegian Labor of the parties represented in this Committee are working also for

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

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

The "Mot Dag" organization is affiliated to the London Buro (S.A. P. Buro) as a sympathizing organization. Its representative, Orsing, This organization is also, as a matter of fact, represented in the Secretariat of the Stockholm Youth Buro. In association with this outrepresentative of the International Communist League from the Stockholm Youth Buro. In the Nov. 9 issue of their paper, these allies of the S.A.P. take a position on the sanctions question. One quotation suffices in order to prove that the views of this organization are in no respect different from the socialpatriotism of the Second and Third Internationals:

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

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

### The New International

IN BOUND VOLUME

All the issues of the NEW INTERNATIONAL that have appeared to date, from the first issue of July, 1934 up to and including the issue of December, 1935, are now being bound in durable and beautiful cover. In reality it will be volume one and two together in one bound volume.

The price is \$3.00 for this bound volume, sent to you postpaid. Those who desire to obtain a bound volume will please forward the amount so that the order can be placed right away with the bookbinder. Send your order to the NEW INTERNATIONAL, 55 East 11th Street, New York, N. Y.

## The War Policy of U.S. Imperialism NEUTRALITY LAWS AND WAR

Pacifism versus Revolutionary Policy

By JOHN WEST

A striking indication of the depth of the war crisis is the fact that, present session of Congress, the an article by Harold B. Hinton: moral—and, incidentally, financial able isolationist scheme. Anyone hearings and debate over "neutralnewspaper space and headlines than country as a problem in trade reto a certain point. But, after all, reports during the period of operaany other Congressional news-more even than the potently vote-coralling Bonus. Senator Nye is becoming director of the Times' foreign serva name for housewives and ward- ice, somewhat grimly applies the After all. economics is not everyheelers to conjure with. Every day brings a juicy scandal from the files of the State Department or Morgan defense of peace." & Co. Carter Glass plays his favorite role of ancient Roman Senator what they are talking about. denouncing the desecrators of the temple, and defends the honor of his war-time leader-who was besides, sir, a Southern gentleman-against Nye's infamous accusations. The state is part of its war program, resigning monarch of the House of who delude themselves with the Morgan smokes his big pipe, smiles myth that it is a "means for ensuring jovially at reporters, and poses with peace." It is, unfortunately, the his inquisitors for the cameramen.

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

#### "Neutrality" Part of War Policy

The first and essential pre-requisite to an understanding of the concept of "neutrality" and any specific the war program of the imperialist the im neutrality proposals or legislation is the coming war. to realize that such a concept or such proposals and legislation are a fundamental part of the war policy ent at present can be divided into of the United States (or of any other capitalist state which makes use of them.) This basic fact is no doubt obscured by the attitude policy of the United States since toward neutrality and neutrality its foundation has been the doctrine legislation taken by Roosevelt, Nye, of "the freedom of the seas." The boundaries of the nation. American terpart of the theory of "sanctive by Notice the North N the liberals, the Nation, the New Republic, the Daily Worker, the New Leader, and the Socialist Call. But it none the less remains a fact for it demands only that its nationals plants. oil wells and refineries, is the Communist party together all that; and it could not be other-

The business of the state is to ers they may choose. serve the interests of capital. These interests. from time to time, reach Hull made statements in part apa point of such tremendous conflict that a temporary solution can be doctrine. And there is no doubt quietly and allow the warring nareached only through war. Modern that the publicity given its contions to take them over? Would trality legislation according to this trayal on the question of war. I war is a gigantic and involved sequences in 1914-17 has made it such industries also (and how?) be theory, as given by the Daily must be exposed fought against undertaking, and must be system- fall into a certain public disfavor. "forbidden" to trade with the belatically prepared for over a long Nevertheless it remains a a corner ligerents? period of years. The most obvious part of the preparation is the building of armaments. But there is more troduced, contained it in a modified to it than this. Speeches, laws, form in the clause permitting, (i.e., and declarations about neutrality are one vastly important part of the preparation.

count, they have something to do off indirect shipment to belligerents italist economy. Without it, impersuch other raw materials in which other than the class struggle for with the problem of war. But, we through neutrals. It should also lialism collapses. No class can allow American supplies are decisive." are told, they are efforts to maintain be remembered that increased trade and secure peace—not at all part of with future belligerents begins in capitalism leads inevitably to war. defined as "normal." Even this, capitalist state is necessarily a war pressure of Borah and other "trathrough war can it endure. Con- freedom of the seas doctrine. sequently, neutrality measures can be understood only as part of the war program of the capitalist state.

#### Who Believes Neutrality Means Peace?

believes that neutrality measures prefer to gain profits peacefully, are part of a peace program? It is by "trade." They know that war is not Roosevelt. On Friday in his an expensive, hazardous undertakannual message he states that ing, and besides they have moral adequate neutrality legislation is scruples against it. So they ask, in the major task of the present all sincerity, only to carry on their session. On Monday he follows with trade in peace. Those nations can his annual budget providing an in- do the fighting, and the U.S. capcrease of \$200 millions in the ap-litalists will stick to their profits. propriation of the regular budget The comparative geographical isofor military preparation-with no lation of the U.S. and its immense telling how much more will flow material resources give a semblance from relief funds. As Roosevelt of plausibility to this idea, since knows, these are simply two sides the U.S. is not so immediately inof the same program. There is no volved in international political contradiction whatever between disputes as are European nations. them. It is not Hearst. He is a major champion of neutrality (in capitalist society—the laudable aim the form of "isolation.") And he of the U.S. capitalists runs into a also, quite naturally, is a major jam. Other nations, struggling for champion of big navies—in order, as their political lives, cannot permit he explains, to defend neutrality "freedom of the seas" without de-It is not the American Liberty stroying themselves. They must League, which, with all its howling have the "freedom," so far as posfor economy, never says a word about military expenditure and | not to their enemies. Nations fight thoroughy concurs in the plan to have a "strong" neutrality program. the warring nations are forced to It is not General Smedley Butler. In his speech to the American League at Cleveland he showed the delegates clearly enough—if they had wanted to listen-how neutral ity and a modern mechanized army and navy go hand in hand together. It is not Morgan. He and the Nye Committee collaborate harmoniously in the mutual effort to work out a satisfactory neutrality program for

this country.

The New York Times, authentic matter up succinctly, Jan. 19th, in dom. This is naturally a severe would wedge through any conceivmust always present itself to this can put up with it for a time, and over recent monthly foreign trade lations." Nor is the problem peiu- the honor of a great nation, and the tion of the temporary isolationist liarly American. Augur, the brilliant profits and potential profits of its neutrality legislation adopted last lesson to England: "Britain will arm thing. When honor is at stake, more to the teeth not for war but for the

These are serious men, who know

### Chloroform for the Masses

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

The neutrality proposals prominthree major types:

#### "Freedom of the Seas"

(1) The traditional neutrality its foundation has been the doctrine theory of this doctrine is that the capital owns or is invested in in- tions". Secretary Hull has flirted U. S. wants peace; it wishes to dustries of all kinds throughout the with this from time to time, but its what best serves the long-run inavoid all "foreign entanglements"; shall be left free to carry on trade transportation and communication with the organizations under its in We can and must conclude that over the high seas with any custom-A year ago Secretary of State

parently abandoning this traditional stone of U. S. policy. The Administration Neutrality Bill, when indemanding) "normal trade" with down. In an imperialist nation, GRESSOR; (4) arms embargoes to myth that the war makers—the How else could they be under- for the definition of "normal trade," turnover they may represent) are the MOST VITAL war materials of through which alone they endure. Undoubtedly, on any ac- and no provision is made to shut essential to the functioning of cap- today-oil, cotton, copper, iron, and The struggle against war is nothing the preparation for war. This, advance of actual hostilities, during however, could be true only if peace the period of the rapid accumulation were possible under capitalism. We of war reserves—so that almost any know that it is not. We know that amount of trade could in fact be We know that the program of every however, was not enough. Under the program. For the capitalist state ditional" Senators, an amending to abandon a war program would clause has been inserted to guaranbe simply for it abdicate, since only | tee continued full upholding of the

### Profits, Trade and War

realistic. It is entirely false to damage. believe that American capitalists want war. Like other capitalists. Who is it that doubts this? Who hey want profits. They strongly

> But—such are the perversities of sible, apply only to themselves, and wars in order to win them. Thus

BORO PARK OPEN FORUM "The People's Front" Speaker MAX SHACHTMAN Friday, January 31, 8 P.M. Boro Park Labor Lyceum 42nd St. and 14th Ave. Brooklyn, N. Y.

voice of finance-capital, sums the Sam. who asks only peace and free struggle. Uncontrollable forces "Neutrality, in the last analysis. -shock to U. S. capitalists. They who doubts this need only glance

capitalists, can endure only so much. summer. vulgar considerations must go by So, with infinite regret, and a

sacrifice, the war to defend the rights of the neutral and peaceloving United States is declared.

#### The Doctrine of "Isolation"

(2) The second neutrality policy now current, which has also a long | Consequently, the rulers of the U.S. history, is the program of 'isola- can afford the luxury of a more inthe avowed theory of Senator Nye. war than is possible to the hardsacrificing the "war profits."

sary to remember that U.S. econo wisp. at any time to the geographical of neutrality is the American counworld-automobile and airplane foremost supporter in this country terests of the basic war program,

### Life-Blood of Imperialism

belligerents in all but actual war foreign investment and trade (how- be extended not only to financial capitalist states—are going to be munitions. Great leeway is allowed ever small a percentage of total aid to an aggressor, but to include the ones to do away with that

| infringe the entirely "reasonable" | the system which supports its so--rights of the honest neutral Uncle cial position to collapse without a

What then is the function of isolationist neutrality propaganda? the war program of U.S. imperialcall on all classes for truly patriotic enter the coming war at the outset. wait until the opponents are to some in holding the decisive position (though a "preventive" war against Japan is not excluded).

itself rigidly from any war situa- ical and moral preparation of the tion, will have to remain in strict masses for war. The masses must financial and economic quarantine, be led to see the war as "just" To accomplish this, they must be sys-The neutrality bills now before | tematically deceived as to the true Congress are on the whole a hybrid nature and cause of war. In such a war against the "aggressor" of this second type and the first, deception in this country, the doc-The doctrine of "isolation" is a trine of isolation plays a great part, itarism. vicious and fatal myth. In terms creating the grossest pacifist illuof historical actuality, isolation for sions. By its falsification of the real the U.S. is simply a direct impossiposition of the U.S., it hinders the ility. What could it possibly mean? development of the genuine fight Even if—which is also impossible— against war, and directs the energy foreign commerce to warring nations of those seeking peace into the could be cut off entirely, it is neces- harmless chase after a will-o'-the-

Worker, Jan. 2, are: "(1) Recogni- and eliminated. tion of world collective action to There is only one struggle agains But what an absurdity to suppose bargo against the victim of aggres- the struggle for world socialism that even commerce could be shut sion, **tightening** it against an AG- Let us put an end to the deadly

This type of neutrality legislation is the most openly of all an integra! part of a war program. Since the question of who is the "aggressor" is purely juridical and moral in character-all capitalist nations being equally involved in the internationl system which inevitably breeds wars—such a doctrine is merely a formulation of one possible way in which nations to whom on the whole, maintenance of the

The "Aggressor" and Status Quo

status quo is desirable, can plan to secure such maintenance. This applies above all to the Stalinist bureaucracy. The status quo is also, on the whole, desired by British and French imperialism, but they find acceptance of the extreme theory of sanctions too risky. They advocate it therefore in a diluted

The U.S. also wants for the time It too has a basic part to play in being, the status quo. But the U.S. does not so imperiously need to ism. The U.S. does not need to take dangerous steps to gain this end, nor does the U.S. isolationist The probable strategy wil be to tradition make a "sanctions" doctrine easy to come out with openly extent exhausted, and then to step However, even the present proposed neutrality legislation, nominally applying equally to all belligerents contains something of the "sanc tions against an aggressor"idea: in effect it works out to aid one or the tion." This is a favorite of liberals, direct long term preparation for the other side, just as "freedon. of the seas" in the last war acted in part and, in a somewhat different form, pressed European nations. Prepar- as sanctions against Germany. of Hearst. This doctrine says that ation for war means not merely Later on the need of U.S. imperi-'freedom of the seas" must be building armaments, collecting re- lialism to smooth the way for the abandoned, since it got us into the serves of material, and organizing declaration of war may require last war and would get us into the industry. It also means, especially more openly sanctionist legislation next. The U.S. will have to isolate in the present era, the psycholog- or declarations. Roosevelt's annual message, with its attack on autocratic war-making dictatorships foreshadowed such a possibility. which would make it easy for a moral mobilization of the nation in

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

against fascism, tyranny and mil-

What, then, are we to conclude? systems, mines, plantations, public fluence. This is the doctrine of Lit- advocacy and support of neutrality ntilities, railroads, to mention only vinov, applied by the C.I. sections legislation is necessarily advocacy a few. What would happen to these within capitalist nations in the and support of the war program of under the rule of "isolation"? same way that Litvinov applies it the imperialist state. Such advo-Would U.S. capitalists sit back as spokesman for the Sovet State. cacy and support within the work-The basic pre-requisites of neu- ing class, therefore, is a form of be-

> maintain peace; (2) branding of an war: the revolutionary struggle aggressor; (3) lifting of arms em- against the system that breeds war workers' nower.

# Danger in Scottsboro

THE Scottsboro cases are in court again.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Morgan Coined Gold Out of Workers Blood

(Continued from Page 1)

This doctrine is consistent and been exploded, with little or no

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

### A Sham Opposition

it commands everything else." Wil- billion. "It is estimated that the to the allied powers, Wilson man- mum, and there will be almost a SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

son expressed the wish that such the profits out of war. Besides loans should not be made Shortly Wall Street can still be consoled thereafter, Robert Lansing, as with the comment by the New York | Councillor of the Department of Times on these investigations, that | State, authorized the bankers to exthe "financial sensations have all tend credits, advising them, however, not to submit the question to the government for a formal opinion. Purchases of munitions and ers like these investigations about other war material by the allied powers increased in volume at a rapid pace. From then on began the real intervention of American finance capital, and especially of the House of Morgan.

### Morgan Turns on the Heat

Apparently following the advice of Lansing the House of Morgan carried on secret negotiations for a \$100.000.000 loan to the allied It is one thing to investigate the powers. But the task of changing bankers, but it is something en- the government policy against tirely different to take steps toward loans still remained, and an oppora change of the system that makes tunity to do so soon came. In Aug-Wall Street possible. The Wilson ust 1915 there was a crisis of ex- heat on" the munition manufactur- stricted submarine warfare, except administration also had its period change. The pound sterling rate de- ers inducing them to subscribe insofar as its results could be used of "opposition" to the bankers. On clined, Previously the House of heavily. The House of Morgan be as a cover for the deliberately the whole much in the present situ- Morgan had supported sterling, a came the sole purchasing agency for planned policy of entry into the war ation is reminiscent of those days; | policy it now suddenly abandoned it | the allied powers, placing orders to | and where in the decisive moments and for obvious reasons. Bankers, the tune of a total of three billion sed by Ambassador Page from Lon the real and the important pressure including governors of Federal Re-dollars for which it received the don to the State Department, under was applied has been shown very serve Districts, quickly made their handsome commission of \$30,000, date of March 5, 1917, is most reclearly by the records of the De-presentation to the Department of 000. Contracts for war materials vealing. In terse language it states partment of State, brought out in State. In the language of the Nye the hearings of the Nye committee, committee, they "turned the heat which Morgan had what he de trance into the war. Ambassador At a very early stage of the on". They visualized the danger world war the Wilson administra- that the decline of sterling would as a "negligible interest." As one condition was "most alarming to tion was committed to a policy of wipe out all profits on goods sold strict neutrality, according to the even before it was actually delivrecords of the committee. When the ered. Robert Lansing, now Secrequestion of loans to the allied pow- tary of State, wrote his famous leters by the American bankers was ter to Wilson—a letter never includfirst broached, W. Jennings Bryan, ed in Lansing's Memoirs. He estiwho was then Secretary of State, mated that for the year 1915, ex- interest held by the House of Mor- danger, therefore, is that Francoformulated an adverse opinion set cess exports over imports would gan in U.S. Steel. down in a letter of January 20, reach the stupendous sum of two 1915, saying that, "money is the and a half billion dollars. The preworst form of contraband because war average had been about half a heavy deliveries of war materials will be reduced to the lowest mini-

tending loans.

secret diplomacy Wilson answered: we should say that 'parties'

not put in writing." were let to a total of 888 firms in the real cause for America's en-

on war loans and after the initial ders by all the allied governments

and one-half billions of dollars in against what he called the intolergold in their vaults," said Lansing. able attitude of Britain's interfer-He insisted it would be disastrous ence with the freedom of the seas. to withdraw any considerable am- | Wilson's intervention for peace at ount, and if the European countaint that particular time, has been charagency—meaning that it was time tries cannot find the means to pay acterized by Senator Clark, of the for the U.S. government to interthey would have to stop buying, Nye committee, as an effort to thus causing a proportionate "draft terms definitely to the adshrinkage of American export vantage of the Allies, terms which trade. "The result," said Lansing, Germany was sure to refuse, there-'would be restriction of outputs, by opening the way for our enindustrial depression, idle capital trance into the war on the Allies' and idle labor, numerous failures, side." Nevertheless in the presidenfinancial demoralization and gener- tial elections of 1916 Wilson could al unrest . . . . "It would there | roll up a plurality vote on the slo- | added: "Perhaps our going to war fore be necessary, according to gan: "He kept us out of war." In is the only way in which our prom-Lansing, to adopt a policy of ex-reality the way had already been inent trade position can be mainopened for America's entrance into In the characteristic manner of the war on the side of the Allies. Lousing Gives Game Away

will take no action either for or his fateful declaration of war, pro- ican soldiers had lost their lives against such a transaction.' but claimed to be the result of the loss while another 182,700 were wounthat this should be orally conveyed, of "lives of peaceful and innocent ded. But according to testimony of so far as we are concerned, and people," in the unrestricted subma- Charles A. Beard, in his "American rine warfare that Germany put into The policy on war loans thus effect. But in the voluminous doc- tions, which became the merchants changed. The House of Morgan umentation, the state correspondfloated not a mere \$100,000,000 but ence and the correspondence of the gold. These corporations made proloans totalling in excess of one bil-international bankers, nothing of fits of thirty-eight billion dollars. lion dollars. Morgan "turned the importance is said about the unrelover and above all deductions, in-In this respect the cable addresscribed to the committee hearings Page stated that the international example of this there is the United the American financial and indus-States Steel Corporation, organized trial outlook." Page complained by the elder Morgan, who received that the allied powers could not a promotion fee of \$125,000,000 in make shipments in gold to pay for cash and common stocks. This purchases in the United States and alone would suggest the degree of said that: "The almost immediate American and Anglo-American ex-Still after this change of policy change will be so disturbed that or-

European banks have about three aged to put Congress on record cessation of transatlantic trade." He felt that the pressure of this approaching crisis had gone beyond the ability of the Morgan financial

### Page's Letter

"If we should go to war with Germany", said Ambassador Page, the greatest help we could give the Allies would be such a credit." Further on in the same cable he tained and a panic averted ...

A few weeks later the United States declared war on Germany; In March, 1917, Wilson proposed and when it was over 120,000 Amer-Leviathan," the American corporaof death; filled their coffers with cluding excess profit taxes. For them America's entrance into the war became an exceedingly lucrative business.

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

Stalin's Terror Against Bolsheviks { Sunday Evening 8 P. M. Feb. 2 • Irving Plaza Hall • 15 Street at Irving Place \$

JAMES P. CANNON A. J.MUSTE