

Head of Young Communist International to French Socialist Youth: "If war occurs against the U.S.S.R. and you make your revolution, you will be traitors."

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Old Guard Pounds Militants As Socialist Party N.C. Meets Right Wing Riding High; National "Militant" Caucus Breaks; Hoan with Waldman; Thomas Attacks Left U.S. Aids Terror of Mendieta Aggression in Ethiopia Mooney Wins New Hearing The National Executive Commit-Under this steady barrage, their **Il Duce Moves** State Confesses to tee of the Socialist party is con-vening for its quarterly meeting of the compromise after another and Brutal Regime Slays **Shall Ethiopia Perish?** vening for its quarterly meeting ful compromise after another, and **Destruction of For Conquest** n New York, July 13-15. and Jails Scores when their proposals have been The most important point on its thrown back in their faces, have re-Evidence agenda is the report of the "Com- treated still further. The Old of Workers In September Against Italian Fascism, Negroes Are Fighting mittee of Inquiry and Mediation," Guard has given to the capitalist appointed at the last meeting to press a series of statements declar-**Battle of World Proletariat** solve the internecine struggle in ing they refuse to abide by the Right on the heels of the de-SAN FRANCISCO.-The Califor-New York City. convention decision on the Declar-

nia state supreme court has consented to hear new testimony through a referee on Sept. 3 to prove that Tom Mooney is innocent of the crime for which he has spent 19 years in San Quentin prison.

The court made this concession of the famous labor prisoner, asked a writ of habeas corpus.

proceeding.

cago left," the New York "Militant" Attorneys John Finerty of Wash- group, and Norman Thomas' folington, D. C., Frank P. Walsh of lowers made a horse-trading com-New York City, and George T. Dav- bination which captured the N.E.C. is of San Francisco unsuccessfully | The theoretical excuse for this captried to force the court to produce ture of power was the passage of Hoan decided to act. They . . Mooney for the hearing. The law- a Declaration of Principles which, yers held that the court could not couched in deliberately ambiguous waive Mooney's right to be present, phraseology, enabled the "Militants" but the judges asserted that it is to claim it was a "revolutionary Party so that the matter may be an unwritten law of the court that document," while Norman Thomas adjusted with as little dispute as the petitioner does not have to ap- and Dan Hoan could assert it was possible" (Thomas)! pear personally in a habeas corpus traditional socialism

Old Guard Position Clear

The Old Guard will have no cen-"If, in the future, Mooney's presis necessary, he will be trist ambiguities, but demands a ence brought here and all his rights frank avowal of unashamed loyalty safeguarded," Chief Justice Waste to the capitalist state and its desaid. mocracy. The Old Guard served

notice at Detroit of war to the Over strenuous protests of the death against the Declaration and three lawyers, the court refused to sit to hear the testimony. A special ipled intransigeance, refusing to referee will be appointed for this accept any of the compromises ofpurpose. Testimony will take three fered it by the N.E.C. Systematic weeks, Mooney's attorneys asserted.

"This court, in light of its past York and upstate; lifting of charrulings, is going to have to reverse ters of anti-Old Guard locals long itself to hear our evidence, and enough to secure a majority of the therefore the whole court should hear the case," Finerty contended.

State Destroys Evidence The state, in effect, confessed League from their headquarters in to the "Trotskyist" organization, that it had destroyed some of the the Rand School and the organiza- were brought to trial in Warsaw. most vital defense evidence. When tion of a rival youth organization Without any proofs submitted, they Mooney's lawyers asked that the under Old Guard leadership; sys- were condemned to especially sev state be directed to bring to the tematic onslaughts in the Forward ere prison terms: one woman to September hearing the negatives of and the New Leader; alliance with five years in prison, three of the acthe pictures which showed Tom and the most corrupt A. F. of L. bu- cused to four years, and three to Anna Money on a roof a mile from reaucrats to put pressure on the three years each. the scene of the crime, the answer N.E.C. (the United Hebrew Trades, came: "The negatives have disap- for example, passing a resolution public, in his act of indictment, peared !

During the arguments before the ciples); organization of inter-state skyism" which he described as court, Atty.-Gen. William Cleary conferences of Old Guard state or- much more dangerous than official ernment. Apart from this there is reiterated former statements to the ganizations to set up programs in communism which merely wants to the urban police, controlled by the competition with the N.E.C.- in "defend the U.S.S.R.", whereas the municipal government, which is a effect that the state will oppose

opponents.

The N.E.C. is exiled to the Bronx ation of Principles. When the con or Queens, the City Central Comvention decision was supplemented mittee, under control of the right by a referendum which gave a mawing, having refused to act as host jority for the Declaration, the Old to their national leadership. Guard merely reiterated its stand. This meeting takes place one The answer of Norman Thomas

year after the national convention and Dan Hoan was ... to propose when Mooney's attorneys, on behalf at Detroit, when the Milwaukee to have the N.E.C. make changes machine of Mayor Hoan, the "Chi- in the Declaration! When, "after agreement was almost reached," a Norman Thomas recently revealed. the Old Guard refused to compre mise and continued to violate the party's principles, Thomas

> "appointed a committee to consider suggestions of changes well in advance of the next convention of the

and

Then, at the last meeting of the N.E.C., instead of carrying on a struggle against the Old Guard, they appointed a committee to MEDIATE between the slugging Old Guard and the battered fol-

(Continued on Page 3)

has carried on its fight with princ- Heavy Prison Terms expulsions of left wingers, in New Polish "Trotskyites"

GENEVA (ICL). - Information City Central Committee; forcible has just been received here that at expulsion of the New York branch- the beginning of the month of May, es of the Young Peoples Socialist nine persons, accused of belonging

denouncing the Declaration of Prin- dwelled on the character of "Trot-

The attorney general of the re-

portation of the liberal U.S. delegation from Cuba comes the sensational report, printed herewith, of assassination, wholesale arrests and horrible persecution of workers and revolutionists by the militarist regime of Cuba. This reactionary clique, emulating "Butcher" Machado, has suppressed all trade union and political organizations and prohibited the right of free speech, press and assemblage. This terror proceeds with the open support of the Roosevelt Administration through its Ambassador Jefferson Caffrey.—Ed.

By R. S. DE LA TORRE

The proletariat of Cuba is today onfronted with a situation in many ways similar although more difficult than in other colonial or imperial ist countries. The government of Mendieta which rose to power under the pressure of the United States Ambassador, Jefferson Caffery, has been converted into a most efficient instrument of imperialist oppression. In order to accomplish this destructive mission against the aspirations of the oppressed mass-Given to Group of es, the government has organized the largest oppressive machinery ever known in Cuba, under the leadership of Batista, commander of the army. It extends over every

inch of the country, from the large cities to the most remote sugar plantations.

The army of Cuba (a country that has no national frontiers) eaches the exorbitant numbers of 18,000 soldiers, with a budget of \$18,000,000 which is in effect a greater expenditure per soldier than any country in either Europe or America. To this we have to add a few thousand more technical and secret intelligence service men devoted exclusively to political persecution of all those persons and organizations opposed to the gov-

The devouring flames of war are burning on two continents. In Northern Asia, the troops of Japanese imperialism continue their relentless drive to the west and the south in order to assuage the ruling caste's rapacious appetite for an empire in Siberia and China. Afraid of bringing to its feet a powerful people's movement that might mean its own, end, the pitiable Chinese bourgeoisie dampens the ardor of resistance of the masses and retreats precipitately before the Japanese invader.

. And now the plains and mountainsides of Ethiopia are being approached as the scene of the Fascist war upon the last of even semi-independent countries on the African continent. Tens of thousands of Mussolini's troops, equipped with the most modern machinery of warfare, are on the march against the Ethiopians, determined to subdue them as once Eritrea and Somaliland were subdued-to accomplish now with the Fascist legions what they failed to do in the war upon Abyssinia towards the end of the last century.

The invasion is now generally recognized as inevitable. All talk about conciliation, about a peaceable settlement of the dispute, has been nothing more-it is now clear-than so much verbiage behind which Mussolini was taking all the measures necessary to dispatch to Africa an army which, when it reaches its full strength, will number some 200,000 men. From the Netherlands comes the official announcement that the Italo-Ethiopian Conciliation Commission has finally decided to adjourn its sessions indefinitely, after having met for two weeks, without coming to a conclusion. The whole matter is now referred to . . . the League of Nations.

And the League of Nations? What is to be expected from this "great instrument for peace"? Approximately the same result that was produced by it in the case of the war in the Gran Chaco; approximately the same result that was produced by it in the case of the appeal of ravished China against the brutal invasion by Japan.

For years the League of Nations has been advertized to the world as the only, "even if not entirely satisfactory" agency for the preservation of world peace. Each time it encountered a situation which brought new discredit upon it, it took care to take some new action which would restore its failing credit in the eyes of the masses. For a time, the assembled imperialist bandits covered their bristling armor with the solemn pledges of the Kellogg Pact which "renounced" aggression as an instrument of national policy. Where is the

Kellogg Pact today—the pact to which both Italy and Ethi-

opia were signatories? A scrap of paper, a fraud, a decep-

(Continued on Page 4)

White Man's Burden'

Alibi for Fascist Exploitation

By MARTIN A. GLEE The situation with regard Ethiopia grows more tense daily. Whereas it could be stated a few days ago that Italy's penetration inco the kingdom of the Negus would not start until October; today reliable reports have it that operations will more than likely begin a month sooner.

As the usually well-informed Mr. Frederick T. Birchall of the Lonlon bureau of the Times buts it:

"The last hope of averting a military attack by Italy upon Ethiopia faded out today." His reference is to the fact that the meeting of the conciliation commission appointed by the League of Nations proke up when the Italian delegaion refused so much as to listen to the statements of the Ethiopian delegate who insisted on establishing the fact that Ual Ual, the scene of the first clash, was within Ethiooian territory.

Il Duce Ready for Action

So far as Italy is concerned the negotiations are over and dead. Il Duce is now completely occupied with the strengthening of his forces n Africa, building his army up to about 250,000 (already about 150,-000 Italian soldiers are encamped n Eritrea and Italian Somaliland). Moreover, Italy is compelled to prepare a sufficient water supply or drinking purposes, provision its African commissaries with food and medical supplies and continue road mprovements for military purposes. For this she is compelled to wait a month or two longer. Besides, the rainy season will not begin subsiding until the early fall.

All of which means that Italy is prepared to strike now. The reply of Washington to the Ethiopian note was grist to Mussolini's mill. The apparent change of front or the part of England, in reconciling herself to the Italian adventure, can possibly be explained by the fact that Italy has assured Great Britain that it will not deflect the 3 Leading Members of North waters of Lake Tsana toward its own territory and that it is ready to assume treaty obligations to Dakota C.P. Resign; Join W.P. that effect.

Mooney's release even if perjury is proven.

"Mooney must prove not only perjury, but that it was committed with the knowledge and connivance of the state officials," was Cleary's assertion.

Finerty jumped to his feet with the statement:

"Two years ago, in Mooney's trial on an indictment remaining against him, Matthew Brady, district attorney of San Francisco, admitted the witnesses in Mooney's first trial had been impeached as perjurers. For the state to admit that it was not bound by that admission will bring down upon the attorney general of California another castigation at the hands of the U. S. Supreme Court."

By Nat'l Unemployed League A BILL To limit the hours of labor, to provide additional appropriations for public works, and for the relief of the unemployed and to establish a system of unemployment and social insur-

union rate of wages wherever said Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Senrate exceeds \$30.00 per week.

ate and House of Representatives Finerty and his associates said of the United States of America Sec. 3. Be it further enacted that they have 18 witnesses to give in Congress assembled that the that the Secretary of Labor is testimony. Two of the most im- maximum hours of labor of those hereby authorized and directed to portant witnesses are seriously ill, employed by the government of the provide for the immediate establish and will testify only through depo- United States, state, county, municment of a system of unemployment sitions. They are John McDonald, ipal and other governmental units and social insurance for the purwaiter, who has admitted he per- in the United States and of those pose of providing insurance for all workers and farmers unemployed Little Diana Didn't Save jured himself when he placed Moon- employed for wages by an employer ey at the scene of the 1916 bomb- in industry, mining, transportation, through no fault of their own in amounts equal to average local ing, and F. E. Rigall, who can agriculture, domestic, technical. wages. Such insurance shall be prove that Frank Oxman, now dead, clercial and professional service, who was one of the main witnesses and all other occupations, shall be administered by workers and farm against Mooney and Billings, per- 30 hours per week. ers and controlled by them under Sec. 2. Be it further enacted rules and regulations prescribed hard and be thrifty.

that the sum of 10 billion dollars by the Secretary of Labor in con-Wagner Bill Ignored in Akron

carrying forward a program of visions of this Act, through unempublic works. AKRON, Ohio, July 8. - Enact-(1) The monies available or to ment of the Wagner strike-breaking be appropriated for the purposes of bers of workers' and farmers' or think of pennies and dimes. For ganized and built by the workers labor disputes bill provoked little this bill shall be expended within ganizations. Funds for such insur- her mother, who's the divorced wife and farmers of this country. attention among rubberworkers one year from the date of its enance shall hereafter be provided at of a big banker, has just received here, even conservatives realized it actment.

was but a futile gesture of the gov- $\frac{1}{1}$ (2) The objects for which the ernment to pretend having an in- money available or to be appropriterest in labor's welfare. ated under this act shall be spent

jured himself.

year, Goodrich and Firestone con- low rental homes; an up to date, tinued to exist without a murmur fully equipped county hospital in of protest from the A. F. of L. bu- every county; modern libraries and over. No tax or contribution in her vacation if she spends her ize and lead the workers of Amerireaucrats. Meanwhile uncertainty recreational centers in every city was evident among union workers and county; rural electrification; over progress towards establishing and elimination of grade crossings. an international union as Washing-(3) No monies available or to be ton A. F. of L. headquarters with-appropriated under this act shall held word, for no apparent reason, be spent for military or naval purof a convention call. poses.

like a battering ram, against their this point that the big press dwelled in its court reports.

week.

mere department of the general these and a hundred other ways the "Trotskyists" "aim at inflaming the Old Guard has hammered away, entire world." It's above all on staff of the army, cooperating loyally in the persecution of all the oppositionists. As a general rule, the soldiers as well as the police, are recruited from the most degen-Workers' Security Bill Drafted erated social strata, from the lum-

pen proletariat of the cities and the hungry peons of the countryside. They are paid very generously and given all kinds of privileges, thus assuring their unconditional

(4) The hours of labor under submission to the government all projects established under this In order to round out the oppresbill shall be not more than 30 per sive apparatus, directed essentially against the working class, they (5) The compensation of all have created Emergency Tribunals those employed under the provisions whch judge all matters of a politof this act shall be not less than ical nature. These tribunals have \$30.00 per week and the prevailing

(Continued on Page 3)

Fresh evidence of the revulsion | national basis, as advocated by the of revolutionary workers to the latest acts of treachery by the Stalin bureaucracy is contained in the statement of resignation of three leading militants in the North Dakota District from the

Communist Party. Excerpts from their statement quitting the C. P. and joining the Workers Party are printed below.—Ed.

Flaxton, N. D. Workers Party of U.S.

We feel that we owe it to our We have finally become convinced former comrades and associates in after due and careful investigation the C.P.U.S. to state frankly, that and mature consideration of all the we arrived at the decision stated above, after due and careful investigation and mature consideration, being fully aware of the implications and results. This deci-

sion is based upon the open and plain repudiation and betrayal of alism by the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. under the domination of the Stalin leadership and bureaucracy. . . .

Then follows a condemnation of For that task, and we are conthe ruinous theory of "Socialism in vinced after careful and mature of employers, and it is the sense of gate's court for expenses for little consideration, that the Workers

communique. It concludes with the

"These successive acts of betraval by the Third International and the C. P. of the Soviet Union, forces the steps we have taken."

ists to follow our example.

tablishment of the Fourth International to organize and lead the workers of the world on an inter-

one country," and its destructive results throughout the world-from Party of the U.S., already organ China through to Germany and culminating with the Stalin-Laval

following statement:

CHARLES E. TAYLOR ASHBEL INGERSON MARY INGERSON

Wants Only a "Crumb"

Italy will probably attempt to connect its colonies bounding Eth-Workers Party and other groups of iopia on the north and south by revolutionists in other countries building a railroad and highway with which it is affiliated, we withacross the Ethiopian kingdom. This drew our membership in and sever will greatly facilitate Mussolini's our connections with the Commun-"civilizing" invaders reaching the ist party, U.S.A., section of the capital, Addis Ababa, and taking Communist International, and subcomplete control. Few more calmit our application for membership lous exhibitions of imperialistic in the Workers Party of the U.S., methods of conquest could be cited and agree to submit to its discipline unless one were to go back to the and to support the party to the Boer War. One of the jingoes for best of our abilities. We call upon the Italian Fascist press puts it all honest and sincere revolutionneatly and unhypocritically when he declares that "justice would require Britain, possessing the world's

greatest colonial empire, to stand aside when Italy attempts to obtain a small crumb left over from Britain's gargantuan meal."

The "small crumb" is Ethiopia. Despite the hypocritical talk of Washington that it expects the matter to be ironed out between the the world revolution, of internation- parties involved and that it sees no cause for alarm, Cornelius Van H. Engert, a shrewd expert of U.S. imperialism in the Far East has been shipped from his post in Egypt to become Charge d'Affaires and Consul General at Addis Ababa.

The question of Ethiopia comes up in the next day or two in the House of Commons in London. France is still standing by Italy. Germany and Japan look on with hawk-like attention.

The backward colonial country of Ethiopia stands like a sparrow with clipped wings surrounded by hunthe necessity and justification for gry cats on all sides and its one friend whom it has a right to rely on, the Soviet Union, does nothing because of a conservative bureaucracy at its top. Litvinov, in the League of Nations, remains silent!

EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT FIRST STEP TO DAILY

the expense of the Government and an approved order from a surro-

Congress that funds to be raised by Brenda Diana.

insurance be less than \$10 per week

(Continued on Page 2)

plus \$3 for each dependent.

the Government shall be secured by Forty five thousand dollars is all ized by honest and capable revolu-Strong company unions at Good- shall be the provision of modern taxing inheritance and gifts, and by she gets to spend in the next 18 tionists, and now functioning, is taxing individual and corporation months. Her dresses will cost her such a vanguard party of the workincomes of \$5,000 per year and \$5,500; she'll be able to get by on ing class, that can and will organany form shall be levied on work- \$5,250 carefully; and on \$900 for ca for the seizure of power and the ers for the purposes of this Act. music lessons she may be able to building of Socialism on an inter-

In no case shall the unemployment | pick up a tune or two. national basis. And being fully Only one item is really small and convinced of the necessity of the eseconomical. Brenda will spend just The benefits of this Act shall be \$375 for Christmas presents and charitable contributions!

Thrift Pays New York City Comrade:

A Dime But Inherits facts that the Communist Party of \$30,000 A Year the United States, and the Third International dominated and consti-NEW YORK .--- It pays to work tuted as it is now, cannot and will

not organize and lead the workers Fourteen-year-old Brenda Diana of this country or the world, for be appropriated for the purpose of formity with the purposes and pro- Duc Frazier of New York can tell or to the seizure of power and the you that-and she can tell you building of socialism on an interployment insurance commissions that thrift brings its own rewards, national basis. Another vanguard composed of the rank and file mem- though she's never had to work or party of the proletariat must be or



Relief . . .

An FERA survey of Baltimore's Chicago C.P. Makes 1550,000 unemployed showed only 8 cases where people refused to work "without legitimate reason," this phrase applying to men who refused to scab and to those who refused to work at less than union rates. . . An ad for a salesgirl in a New York evening paper attracted 1,000

applicants by 6 A.M. the following morning. By 9 o'clock the crowd was so dense that the plate glass store front gave way. . . . Berry growers complain that the unemployed will not go to work. In North Carolina the highest average net earning of berry pickers is 35c a day. Workers are quartered in barns in most cases entirely lacking in sanitary facilities, twenty room. . . . General Hugh Johnson, recently appointed relief administrator for New York City, states his views: "Whenever a worker gets a chance to take a private job, even it it pays less than he is getting on relief, he should he made to take the private job"... E. P. Haliburton, Oklahoma oil magnate, has banned from employment in his reed relief. . . . In Oregon single men

o relief are forced to live in camps and work on public projects for maintenance and one dollar a week spending money. . . . Sixty-five year old Callie Fancy, on relief in Little for Social Justice," asking that the Rock, Ark., could not eat the canned beef provided her because she had no teeth. Relief officials found her a job with a dentist the purpose of holding a public there is no justification for any folwhere she could "work out" a set of false teeth. . . . Using an "atti-

tude test," Dr. E. A. Rundquist of Minneapolis found that the average person on relief felt no inferiority complex but that his economic position bred radicalism. . .

meeting.

Imperialism . . .

Mussolini's war with Abbysinia is scheduled to begin when the couragement, Italy's birthrate has declined steadily during the past ten years. . . . Great Britain protests that health conditions in Liberia (literally a U.S. protectorate) are so bad that it is a source of infection for the rest of Africa. Monrovia, the capital, is overrun with rats and bubonic plague which is kept from spreading only because the city has no harbor. Govern- ited States of America' will ask ment officials raid the interior for slaves which they sell to Spanish and French provinces. Harvey Firestone gave the nation a brief period of prosperity by hiring natives at 25c a week on his rubber plant-

in general and the C. P. of the U. S. in particular is to prevent the advance of Fascism, and for that end to fight for Father Coughlin's Go to Bat right to obtain a public meeting place where he may expound his views which up to the present was characterized by the C. P. as nothing else but potential fascism if not lear fascisn

In Black on White Many of the workers of Chicago when reading the bourgeois Daily News wondered how it happened that the "Communist Party sought leave to file an intervening petition in Coughlin's behalf -- an ironical note in view of the priests attack on Communism." Judge Kelly attempted, unbeknown to himself, to save the C. P. from the embarrassment of being recorded in the court CHICAGO .- The workers of Chi- files when he first denied leave to

Touching Plea

for Coughlin

By F. X. FERRY

ago who were greatly interested the C. P. to intervene, telling the in following the contortions and lawyer representing the C. P. that tig-zags which up to the present he was too late. Later, however, ime represent the policy of the 8th the court relented and permitted District of the Communist Party the attorney to file an appearance and who saw many surprising in the case; and thus the historical things perpetrated under the flag of finger, warning the C. P. to keep Stalinism-even those were sur- out, at least from the written reprised when the bourgeois press of cords, was not observed. The C.P. July 2 headlined in black letters of the U.S. is on record in the Su-"Red Party Joins Coughlin's Suit." perior Court of Cook County under persons cating and sleeping in one The workers shared the surprise of No. 35S 8879, as an intervening pethe bourgeois press which pointed titioner in which they joined with out ironically in the Chicago Trib-| Coughlin in asking the Court that une, the Daily News and the Daily the Park Commissioners be ordered Times that the Communist Party of to rent Soldiers Field to the priest America sought to join in a law- whom the C. P. labelled the "Radio suit on behalf of Coughlin against Hitler of the United States."

Of course, it may be that Earl The story began when Attorney Browder does not know anything Samuel Ettelson, former Insull at- about Chicago, but there is no questorney and the former city attorney | tion about it that some of the big finery anyone who has ever accept- of Chicago during the administra- lights must have been informed tion of the famous "America first" since the political genius of the C. Mayor Thompson, filed a suit in the P., Bob Minor, was seen around Superior Court of Cook County on headquarters on the first day of behalf of the Detroit priest, Cough- July, that is, one day before the lin, and of his organization "Union petition was filed. The workers have seen the C. P.

> Chicago Park Board be ordered to in action more than once and they rent the Stadium, or as it is known, have seen it going through a whole the Soldiers Field to Coughlin for series of united front tactics so C. P. "Enforces the Constitution"

board was that the Stadium is not the "united front from below" and to be rented for the purpose of the latest help extended to Father holding controversial meetings, be Coughlin is undoubtedly not cut of tions. They pointed out that the performed together with Father field is to be used for sport and Divine (Father Divine is God), and interesting to note that the one congeneral educational purposes as it is surely not out of line with the cerned most in that he brought, the singing festivals, etc. The hearings tragic role which the C. P. of Ger- question up at all for discussion, rainy season ends. Meanwhile he in the court were continued a num- many played in the famous refer- Randolph of the Sleeping Car Brothis collecting insults to justify it. In the court were continued a num- many played in the famous refer- Randolph of the Sleeping Car Bro "Italy needs room for expansion," points were decided and after a former of least in former in former in the state in former of least in former in the state in the s says he. . . In spite of every en- points were decided and after a forces at least in efforts, with the petition of the Huey Long faction Hitlerites to oust the Socialist gov- dolph reiterated his plea for the and of his "Share the Wealth Club" ernment of Prussia.

for permission to intervene on behalf of Coughlin was denied. On July 2, the Chicago Tribune Russian Stalinist Emissaries Sent to France to Win International and join in sympa-Coughlin's Fight for Field" and that formal notice was served on Coughlin's attorney and on the counsel for the Park Commissioners that Kessarov: The minority of the the "'Communist Party of the Un-Socialist youth will be defeated if permission of Judge James Joseph it continues on its present course Kelly to file an intervening petition of action, not knowing exactly what in the case." The Chicago Tribune it wants. A minority is built for obtained some information on the struggle, failing that it becomes dematter from the attorney represent- moralized, its leadership disinteing the Communist Party to whom grates, and it loses the masses. You ations. . . The United States Sen- the vicious bourgeois paper refers are not yet ready to fuse with the ate passed a bill which makes it to as "the mouthplece of the Reds" Young Communists; that will leave illegal to pursue, shoot, shoot at, and who identified his clients as you a free hand. Should you bekill, capture, trap, collect or other- "having an organization in Illinois come a sympathetic organization of wise willfully molest or disturb the and a headquarters in Chicago" and the Young Communist International described the organization as fol. you will retain the prerogative of lows: "'The Communist Party of tendencies and internal factions. the United States of America is an If you should fuse with the Y. C. organization made up of workers, we will propose that you accept industrial and agricultural, small our program without reservations, people were killed celebrating the farmers, professionals, intellectu- because we do not permit factions als and such other sections of the in our movement. We do not force population who are opposed to ex- anyone to join our organization but ploitation of the toiling workers by once there he belongs unreservedly. From our point of view tendencies a handful of the rich.'" The C. P. attorney assured the are detrimental to the unity of our ings dismissed the charges but ac- Chicago Tribune that "his friends organization. Our rule is the folcused Prof. Robert Morse Lovett of and associates really are hostile to lowing: before accepting a decision being "unloyal to the spirit and father Coughlin for a number of there is a discussion, then everyone letter of the Constitution of the reasons," but nevertheless, as he must abide by it-a strict and indis-United States" because he engaged stated in his petition, "we are in- pensable discipline. Unity with the in activities in defense of civil lib-terested in the performance by pub- Y. C. will be possible only on the

The Color Line in the A. F. of L.

TheNegro&AmericanLabor

Discrimination against Negroes | tional unions if they maintain the in the American Federation of La- color bar. Reginald J. Johnson of bor has always represented one of the National Urban League warned the nost ignominious features in that "dual unions, company unions the organized labor movement of and anti-A. F. of L. unions among Negroes would take shape unless

this country. At the convention of the A. F. of the policy of discrimination were L. held in San Francisco last Octo- discontinued. One or two preliminary meetings ters raised the question of discrim- a hearing will finally take place in assembled delegates. It might be this year where Randolph and othinteresting to observe that Negroes ers will present their case. picketing the convention for the National Association for the Ad-

vancement of Colored People were membership to Negroes by constituarreste**d**. Randolph's resolution called for them by various rituals which the expulsion of "any union which violates the constitution of the A. bring up a Negro for membership.

F. of L. by maintaining the color | Still others, having no outright proline." It might be pointed out, here, visions excluding Negroes, yet in that despite his "radical" gesture practice see to it that few if any at the convention it is well known are admitted. In still other unions that Randolph has worked hand-in- the Jim Crow system of Negro loglove with Green and Co., who have cals prevails. tacitly condoned race discrimina-

tion. Fearing a show of hands, Pres. W. L. Hutchinson of the Carpenters union quickly introduced an of the N.A.A.C.P.: amendment calling on William Green to appoint an investigating committee to report on the whole matter to the next convention.

After some debate this amendment was finally adopted. Chairman of the committee on the Negro question is John E. Rooney of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Assn. The secretary is John Brophy of the United Mine Workers of America.

No Negro on Committee

The other three members of the ommittee are John W. Garvey, International Hod Carriers; Jerry L. Hanks, Journeyman Barbers and T. ance of War Employees. It is again At the hearing held July 9, Ran-

necessity of disciplining Interna-

President of the International Stage Employees and Motion Pcture Op- Coast Dockers President of the International Stage erators, thus continuing the familar policy of evasion." Defy Ryan at iar policy of evasion." as brought out by Mr. Johnson at the hearing and culled from the of discrimination against Negroes New York Times, July 9, 1935:

local of the painters' union in Atlanta, according to Mr. Johnson, were told that their leader was a Communist. They withdrew the leader and then again applied. This time, he said, they were informed

by the District Council of the Paint-Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Por- of the committee have been held but ers' Unions that the hod-carriers held this week in New York promwere forming a union and that their ination for discussion among the Washington sometime in July of members should apply to that or- if advance indications can serve as ganization.

"The applicants responded that they were skilled painters and not A number of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. absolutely deny hod-carriers. Then the secretary of ing manifestations in numerous A. tional provisions. Others exclude pledge members of the union not to quest for a local union charter. refused, the witness explained.



tion in A. F. of L. unions. After same example of crass discrim- without discrimination because of hearing the resolution the commit- ination against Negroes in A. F. age, sex, race, or color, religious or bership to oust the president, Jotee on organization recommended of L unions and of the policy of political opinion, or affiliation, whenon-concurrence, but a loud chorus evasion if not outright chauvinism ther they be industrial, agriculturof "NO' greeted the recommenda- of the leadership of the American al, domestic. or professional work-Federation of Labor. We quote at ers, for all time lost. No worker length from the 25th annual report shall be disqualified from the bene-

Outright Discrimination

tion Picture Operators of New York at the particular trade and locality, City, as to hours of work, general or at any unreasonable distance working conditions, rates of pay from home. to the colored section of Manhattan. that pending the establishment of gates to the international conven-It was pointed out that the employment of Negro union operators was ance profided for under this Act, restricted to theatres patronized Congress shall authorize to be apprincipally by Negroes and that propriated out of any money in the

ing forced to accept working conditions and wages unacceptable elsewhere within the union's jurisdiction and in violation of the NRA code. The A. F. of L. was asked to promptly correct these abuses. Late in November President Green re plied that it was impossible to interfere in the internal affairs of affiliated national or international unions except upon their consent, and referred the Association to the their main objective.

(Continued from Page 1) It is of some merit here to cite extended to workers and farmers

fits of this Act because of refusal to

work in place of strikers, at less "On october 31 the attention of than normal or trade union rates, President Green was called to the under unsafe or unsanitary condicomplaints of discrimination against tions, or where hours are longer Negro members of Local 306, Mo- than the prevailing union standards

the system of unemployment insur-

they were not permitted to work in treasury not otherwise appropriatcircuit houses; that they were be- ed, the sum of 5 billion dollars to since their famous strike is unfor each dependent.

WOOSTER, Ohio, - A dramatic five-minute strike of thirty tele-Telephone Co. office here won for

"Negroes who tried to enter a Propose Progressive **Measures**; Wants New Leadership

> The convention of the International Longshoremen's Association ises to have some stormy sessions a measure of judgment.

Since the upswing in business such conflicts have found increasthe International Painters Brother- F. of L. unions. In the longshorehood suggested that they send the men's union it is particularly adusual \$15 fee to accompany the re- vanced. There is a fairly distinct division of right and left, the form-This they did and a charter was er represented in the main by the

international officials and their supporters and the latter by the Pacific Coast delegation headed by Harry Bridges.

West Coast Against Ryan This delegation declares openly

that it has come to the convention instructed by the West Coast memseph Ryan and to fight for a new leadership. This course of action is based on direct experiences, dating back to the Pacific Coast maritime strike and the San Francisco general strike of last year. Ryan took some flying trips to the coast, not to support the strike but to connive with the employers and to break it up.

A high sense of solidarity has prevailed ever since. The popularity of Bridges is attested by the Sec. 4. Be it further enacted fact that in the elections of deletion he snowed under his conservative opponent by a vote of 1,759 to 129.

But the greatest gain scored by the Pacific Coast longshoremen provide for all the unemployed cash | doubtedly expressed in the creation relief at the rate of not less than of the waterfront federation ex-\$10 per week for each unemployed tending through all the ports from worker or farmer, and \$3 additional Seattle to San Diego. It comprises the unions of all the waterfront workers

The Pacific Coast delegation proposes that the convention adopt this phone operators of the Ohio Bell form of organization in all ports. It proposes a national uniform them a ten percent pay increase- agreement for all ports and joint control of hiring halls.

proposed that we leave the Second have the advantage over us of hav-SocialistYouthforPatriotismandagainstMarxism their state of mind. If we do what

they want, what will be our relayour autonomy. You are twentyfive years behind the Germany of tion, exactly, with the Young Com-1908. And once autonomy is ob- munist International? Will we be obliged to apply all its decisions or tained, what will you do? It is a little to soon to form an organiza- will we have a certain amount of independence? Will we have the tion sympathetic to the Young Communist International. On the other possibility of forming factions? Our hand it is not enough to confine movement is young, we are organyourself to the strengthening of the izing ourselves, we must first win over the Young Socialists and the united front. Socialist Party; we have no other

(At this point, Memeton raises

lower of the C. P. to be very much surprised. They may feel satisfied The point of view of the park that the theory of "Social-Fascism," they on political or economic ques- line with the circus which they C. Carroll, Brotherhood of Mainten-

INTRODUCTION

Towards the end of April the Young Socialists of France had the very doubtful pleasure of meeting two representatives of international Stalinism, Chemodanov, Secretary of the Young Communist International and Kossarov, Secretary of the Russian Comsomols. Their trip to France had a decidedly reactionary aim. As is so clearly revealed in the report of the negotiations published below, they came to inject the virus of Stalinism into the young socialists, to line them up behind the General Staff of the French Army, to derail them from the track of revolution and to prepare the socialist couth to accept the fate of cannon fodder in th cating that their organization adopt a social-patriotic position. Thus Chemodanov declares in the course of the negotiations: "IF WAR OCCURS AGAINST THE U.S.S.R. AND YOU MAKE YOUR REV-OLUTION, YOU WILL BE TRAITORS." This statement was made three weeks before the Stalin-Laval Communique!

American Eagle. . . .

Patriotism . . .

In the Revolutionary War 4,044 Americans lost their lives: 4.290 Fourth of July in the last 30 years. . . . The Illinois Senate Committee investigating allegations that students at the University of Chicago were subjected to subversive teachertics. His only son was killed in lic officers of their official duties basis of the above. the battle of Belleau Wood. . . . reports of the investigation which rights." was inspired by Walgreen, the druggist. Not a word was said about Court Case 22585 against the Walgreen Drug Co. for adulterating medicines and tonics. The company was found guilty. . . .

Commerce&Industry...

large, extra large, mammoth, giant, jumbo, colossal, and super-colossal. . . . Cheese manufacturers in Wis- his stuff. offering the two magazines clubbed citizens and workers." at a bargain price. . . .

Sunday, July 14 - Beach Party, what similar but not quite as clear place; thanks to democracy Lissanrades invited.

and in the enforcement of the Con- Lissansky: It is only thanks to Chicago newspapers were filled with stitution and laws protecting public democracy that I who was expelled for having participated in the Am-

sterdam-Pleyel conferences (the A "Fascist Attack" on Coughlin Of course, it is very hard to say Stalinist international united fronts whether the Communist Party of with themselves on war and fasthe United States actually identifies cism which were held in the twiitself with the petition presented on light of the "third period"-Ed.) its behalf by its attorney, but if it can speak here today. The situation

does, it is more than interesting for is becoming increasingly revolution-To boost trade the British Asso- the workers to know that the at- ary. The comrades believe that ciation of Cotton Manufacturers torney for the Communist Party they will be able to continue their Young Socialist International? In your perspectives. Do you want to paring for war. How shall we Party; the Young Communists have to the following sizes: medium, obtaining working-class and more consciousness by creating an organclass audiences in which to peddle In this manner we will be in agreement with the left elements of the

To be sure, the attorney for the party and the international and we ounce of cheese to be served with support of his petition in which who still evince a party patriotism. every 25c meal. . . . Maxwell Stew- they support the prayer of Father What we propose is almost a desart, Associate Editor of The Nation, Coughlin that the court should give perate solution: 1935 is not 1917. was arrested for picketing the of him the right of using the Soldiers You have thirty million sympathizprotest to the refusal of officials to it is stated that "any denial of the feated your capitalism. If we disployees. . . . The current issue of Fascist attack against the right of to hesitate for we are not entirely The Nation carries a full page ad freedom of speech and assembly of in agreement.

.Chemodanov: Thanks to the extheory concerning Fascism some- this evening could have taken are against factions.

Equally interesting is the first part of the conversation in which the young socialists evince a horror of the stifling internal regime of the Y.C.I. Any reference to recent history will show how barren is the statement that the Stalinists believe in discussion first before arriving at a decision

The young socialists participating, Lissansky, Memeton, Ranvier, and Fred Zeller, are leading militants in the Seine organization and members of the "Revolutionary Socialist Youth" group. It is interesting to note that a few days after these conversations took place Fred Zeller declared in the Seine District Committee of the young socialists on April 29: Up till now we were social democrats, they (the Bolshevik-Leninist group) Leninists. They were right in defending against us all the positions they believed correct." And on May 5, Lissansky said in part: "If we expel them (the B.-L.) we would be submitting to the external influence of the Young Communists."-Ed.

the dictatorship of the proletariat; threatening to cut off all financial we do in that case? The revolu- been discussed in the U.S.S.R. too; we do not collaborate with the assistance to his organization. It tion is not made on command; you I am only giving you my personal bourgeoisie. If there are factions, is hardly different here. If you will not make it today nor on the opinion. But the Communists did in whose interest do they struggle: stand in the way of the party they day of the mobilization because not accept the united front because those of the bourgeoisie or of the will not play the democratic game there will then no longer be any the U.S.S.R. needed it; the workers revolution? For us a faction weak- with you. Don't be so sure of your- organizations. If war comes, the in every country need it. The forens our ranks.

announced at a trade luncheon that states that "many Communist work- action without being expelled, to do Sweden the Socialists are collabor- win out in the youth movement, in struggle against it? By meetings? not abandoned the anti-militarist the Prince of Wales wears cotton ers would like to hear Father as the minorities did during the ating with the bourgeoisie in the the Party and then in the Interna-By gatherings? A hell of a lot struggle, etc. If there is a war underwear. Wool manufacturers Coughlin, not only to listen to him, war. It is possible, if events are government and are against the tional? That is a remote objective. Fascism worries about that. Paper against the U.S.S.R. the workers countered with the information that but to expose his anti-workingmen with us, to regroup the left elements united front; similarly in Norway, Everywhere in the Y. S. there is to stays paper, whereas gases and air- will want to defend it and they King George wears "woolies" ideas." It s undoubtedly true that as our Belgian and Spanish com- Denmark and Czechoslovakia. One be found a tendency favoring unity. planes are being manufactured, will defend it arms in hand. In bought by Queen Mary. . . Cali- Coughlin will appreciate the help rades have done. It is therefore of the leaders of the Swedish Young Is your aim then to form an interfornia prunes are graded according extended to him by the C. P. in more possible to raise their class Socialists, Valenken, said: 'If nego- national mid-way between the Sec- confronted with the countries who and Russia, the U.S.S.R. will be in tiations with the Young Commun- ond and the Third? That is a diffi- are struggling for peace: France no special danger; no country can particularly Communist working- ization sympathetic to the U.S.S.R. ists are opened we will leave the cult and unfruitful task. There is and the U.S.S.R. Second International.' In Spain the another road: change the leadership Ranvier: For us, the enemy is be a world war and the workers

withdraw from the reformist Social- al; remove Ollenhauer. You will German. We do not believe, in any S.R. a law requiring two thirds of an C. P. becomes also theoretical in will be able to retain the comrades ist International and are for the then be the leadership. And then case, that the youth must follow united front; similarly in France what? What are our basic differ- their fascism against German fas- lusionists is the organization of the and in Belgium (where the leaders ences? The theory of Marx has cism. If we allow our pre-fascist masses. The mistake many Young are neither for nor against the un- been translated into life over one- government to arm, then we allow Socialists make is neglecting the ited front; we cannot understand sixth of the globe, etc. . . If there the fascist morale to develop; our struggle for the conquest of the unfice of The American Mercury in Field for a public meeting because ers and the prestige of having deyoung socialists are acting in the against the U.S.S.R. It will not be ly anti-militarist. If we allow the Catholic; they are allowed to go grant collective bargaining to em- use of Soliders Field is in itself a cuss as equal to equal we are likely interests of the young workers, a war between imperialists but be- militarist spirit to develop, the rev- their own way under the influence contrary to the young Socialists of tween classes. Where will the olution will no longer be possible. of the enemy. If we do not work Sweden. If we struggle for the Young Socialists be in such an We cannot bind ourselves to our among them, the enemy will. Peace

their position concrete.

"There is another question: if task of the working class itself." for the purpose of utilizing existing "Will you be expelled from your Boro Park Branch. Meet at the as that concerning Social-Fascism, sky was reinstated. But we must party? Possibly. In Argentina the you feel yourself to be very weak Therefor, the workers must rise contradictions; the bourgeoisie has 1st Aid Station on Ocean Park- because now they believe, at least not lose sight of the differences be- Young Socialists were dissolved. In it is useless to form an independent against their own fascism and thus good relations with us but we must way at 11 A.M. sharp. All com- in their intervening petition in Chi- tween the Socialist and the Com- Belgium the leaders brought pres- organization. The essential quescago, that the duty of the workers munist organizations. We stand on sure to bear on Godefroy (leader of tion, however, is the struggle for Zeller: Comrade Chemodanov has it.

he question of "National Defense" perspectives. Can we ex and the foreign policy of the Soviet selves from it now? That is impossible. Union.)

"What is the foreign policy of Chemodanov: As far as Russia is concerned I can say that we have the U.S.S.R.? For a long time it made our revolution; but we want refused to join the League of Nait on a world scale. . . . In present | tions, that is, when there were revconditions your entrance into the olutionary possibilities in Germany, Young Communist International in Austria and in Spain. On the would be complicated and inoppor- other hand, the social democracy tune. Practically, we must arrive believed in the usefulness of the at the point where the united front | League of Nations: the Russians now have created a spirit of patriturns to action.

WILL BE TRAITORS. A war provoked against the U.S.S.R. can be simultaneously directed against the U.S.S.R. and France; if there is such a war, it will be one of Ger-

"WAR? IF WAR OCCURS otism among the workers and they AGAINST THE U.S.S.R. AND YOU are obliged to utilize the contradic-MAKE YOUR REVOLUTION, YOU tions between the imperialist states. I do not at all agree with Chemodanov: we do not want to place ourselves underthe orders of our bourgeoisie for the defense of the U.S.S.R.

Chemodanov: The question of the man fascism against communism. revolutionary basis; our aim is Belgian Young Socialists-Ed.), The comrades ask us: what must foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. has self. The question of expulsion is comrades must participate in it. eign policy of the U.S.S.R. does "What has happened in the not so important. What counts are German fascism is arming and pre- not influence the course of the withstand the Soviet Union; it will

Young Socialists have voted to of the Young Socialist Internation- international fascism, French and will all be on the side of the U.S.

Kossarev: The problem for revounited front we must exclude those eventuality? In the middle-of-the- own imperialism under cover of de- is the aim of the foreign policy of Apparently the C. P. has a new istence of a tendency, the meeting who are against it; that is why we road? With us? They must make fending the U.S.S.R. "The emanci- the U.S.S.R., but besides it is also pation of the working class is the necessary to be able to maneuver

SATURDAY, JULY 13, 1935



NEW MILITANT

Mendieta Regime Vies with Machado in Terror Record

Bolshevik-Leninists Among the Victims of Savage Government Attacks

(Continued from Page 1) tion known only in countries of our comrade Cresencio Freire, head worker is engaged in industry only outright fascist nature.

son. At present we have about stein, who was executed at Santiaical and trade union leaders, in Galvez and others. prison. Together with the rank and file of our unions a total of imprisoned. Of this number at ures refer only to the city of Havana

Apart from those mentioned repression are indubitably much wore expelled from the country. ible years of the Machado dictatorship. Apart from imprisonment, the number of assassinated workers mounts daily.

The Strike

In the month of March the forces of the working class, united around the Committee of Proletarian Defense, under the influence of the leaders of the University of Havana, and under the pressure of the relative numerical weakness is the the war of independence the Ameroppositionist petty bourgeois organizations, which have an appreciable influence on certain sections of the working class (street-car, railway, printers) embarked on a general political strike that was supported by almost all the state employees, paralyzing all the activities of the governmental offices.

Our party, conscious of the weak state of working class organization, centered all its forces on fortifying the previously established Committee of Proletarian Defense (the united front) so that the general strike would have a centralized leadership and would have a chance for victory. But in this proposal we found a clear opposition, on the one side from the Stalinist party, hegemony, called the strike separ-

and shot at strikers wherever they put into practice a series of laws dared assemble. The headquarters of the proletariat are only of recent of a fascist nature, such as the of all working class organizations prohibition of strikes, trade unions, were raided, sacked and demolished. 1925, but until 1929 had no influthe suppression of working class Our trade union center, the Havana propaganda. They have also pro- Federation of Labor, was raided, all proletariat of the sugar factories, hibited the right of free speech, as- its furniture destroyed, its docu- although it had participated in sembly, etc. These series of laws ments taken and all present were strikes since 1914, really embarked concocted by the Mendieta and Bat- arrested and beaten. The govern- on its major struggle only during ista regime that do away with all ment acknowledges a total of thirty the years 1924-25 and after the fall democratic rights' and puts the dead, though in reality the number of Machado. They are, in general, working class of Cuba into a posi- is much higher. Among the dead is an unstable group. The sugar

of the baker's union, the student | during three or four months of the The Emergency Tribunals have leader, Armando Feito and the year, the rest of the year he loafs meted out sentences ranging from leader of the Cuban Revolutionary and begs in the nearby towns. Agsix months to ten years to members Party, Enrique Fernandez, who was ricultural peonage on the sugarof the Bolshevik Leninist party, and a member of Grau San Martin's cane and tobacco plantations, where have condemned militants of our cabinet. After the strike the mili- work is generally spread throughtrade unions for the only crime of tary tribunal sentenced to death the out the year is of considerable having a union book on their per- young revolutionist, Jaime Green- scope. They work under terrible thirty comrades of the party, al- go de Cuba, and condemned to life low cultural level and lack of class most all of them outstanding polit-imprisonment comrade Eduardo consciousness, however, they are amenable to organization as was proved in the four months of the

The strike, lacking a central leadership which the Bolshevik Grau San Martin government when nine hundred workers have been Leninist party tried to give it, there was a certain modicum of couldn't resist the formidable at democratic rights. The other deleast sixty are women. These fig- tack of reaction, and ended in fail- termining factor in the social comure. Thousands of workers and position of Cuba is the petty bourthousands of public employees lost geoisie. But the Cuban petty bour-

tion.

their jobs. The government decreed geoisie is different from their protoabove hundreds of students and the dissolution of all trade unions types in other countries in that petty bourgeois revolutionists have and accelerated the sentencing of they have no economic base of their been imprisoned. The conditions of the arrested. All foreign militants own. They are not rooted in small businesses, small industry and small more violent now than in the terr- The new public employees are property, but live exclusively as forced to join the Military Re- employees of the state. They can properly be termed as a petty-bourserves, assuring thereby their strict control by the government. The geois bureaucracy.

Middle Class Parasitic persecution becomes more intense daily. Our comrades confined in The origin of this anomaly de the Pententiary of Isla de Pinas are rives from the specific interests of has as a basic point the "anti-imforced to work in the swamps and American imperialism in Cuba. The perialist" struggle and puts forward the quarries surrounding the prison. chief industries (sugar, tobacco, Under such conditions our young transportation) belong to U. S. capand weak party is compelled to ital. Wholesale commerce belongs

MARCH OF EVENTS -By JACK WEBER -

The War for Colonies other concessions from Mussolini

for the British lion. What these to our party. The general world crisis of cap- are will probably not be known for talism of 1907 produced or rather intensified the fierce life and death guess, knowing the direction of prise by the army, as he was emstruggle for colonies among the ad- English diplomacy at this time, that barking for Mexico, near the city of the trade union bureaucrats who, answer: "Yes, we did wrong, but vanced imperialist countries. Each England is trying to separate Italy Matanzas. He was assassinated tocountry hoped to prolong the exisence of the system of exploitation exert pressure on isolated France Carlos Aponte. at, home by attaining and exploitto split it away from the Soviet ng larger controlled markets Union. A crusade against the So- creates a different situation in the would come along for whatever drop out of the party. And anyone abroad. Thus the crisis of capitalism was transformed into the first ous to England-or so its ruling tion in the ranks of "Young Cuba," which, desiring to maintain its own world war in 1914. This war was class supposes and would enable the sympathy that its members feel

only party that can lead the Cuban ican mediator, faithful to the pol-icy of imperialist penetration impeded the rehabilitation of the Cu-

Organizing the Workers ban petty-bourgeoisie, tricking them To understand our problem the into dependence on the budget of special characteristics and the social composition of the Cuban peo- the new born republic. Beginning with the government of Charles ple must be taken into considera-In Cuba, proportionately Magoon in the second intervention of the U.S., the national budget speaking, the proletariat is very small, and only in the big cities grew daily with the sole object of nourishing the growing petty-bourdoes it present a picture of cohesion and militancy in its economic geois bureaucracy. With the pros-

struggles. The political struggles perity occasioned by the high price of sugar during the world war, everything went well, but the colorigin (the C. P. was organized in lapse of prices starting in 1921 caused a reduction of the budget ence on the working masses). The despite the loans contracted in the North American markets to prevent

such an expediency. The effects of the crisis were felt most severely by the parasitical petty-bourgeoisie. Displaced from and Thomas launched a real camtheir bureaucratic positions they paign against the left wing workers soon descended to the ranks of the in the party. degenerate lumpen-proletariat. At

most courageous nucleus took up ible with advocacy of "armed inthe struggle and there arose a num- surrection"; the Old Guard promptber of militant organizations of the ly used the resolution to expel revpetty-bourgeoisie. First of them was olutionary workers; and the net Grau San Martin, the Revolution- delivered by the N.E.C. are blows ter led, appeared to express the

desires of the petty-bourgeoisie, but ments about their crimes, but dethe relative consolidation of the reactionary Mendieta and their little faith in the electoral process made this social stratum, in open desperation, seek as its only way

out...insurrection. Then it turned toward the revolutionary organization, "Young Cuba", led by Antonio Guiteras, secretary of interior in the Grau San Martin cabinet.

Guiteras' Position The organization "Young Cuba" s in essence an amalgamation of heterogeneous forces of the pettybourgeoisie of all kinds; conserv atives, centrists, lefts. Its program a broad reformist program in favor of the working masses. Guiteras had a broader outlook than his work, which, notwithstanding its to the Spanish bourgeoisie. After followers. He had an internationalistic perspective for the Cuban revolution. In order to achieve this objective he intended to call a Continental Congress in Mexico of

all the left parties and he expressed a great interest in inviting all the ections of the International Communist League on the American

continent as he had communicated But in the first days of this

some time. But one can hazard the month Guiteras was taken by surfrom France in order the better to gether with the Venizuealan colonel,

The death of Antonio Guiteras viet Union would be least danger- Cuban political scene. Our penetra-

Old Guard Hammers Militants AsN.C. of Socialist Party Meets National "Militant" Caucus Breaks Up - Hoan and Thomas Backslide

(Continued from Page 1) Guard issue will "also" be dislowers of the N.E.C. (incidentally, cussed. Not a word about Thomas' this N.E.C. committee has been blows to the left; on the contrary, boycotted by the Old Guard, who after the last N.E.C. meeting made refuse to supply it with informa- advocacy of "armed insurrection" tion, documents, facilities) and incompatible with party memberthereupon, as proof positive to all ship, the Militant leaders went labor fakers and money-bags who around explaining that this was a might have some doubts about the clever tactical move by Thomas. that it only applied to public stateresectability of the N.E.C., Hoan ments by socialists to non-Socialists, and they tried to hide the fact that the Thomas decision applied to

They passed a resolution making the socialist press, to socialist meetthe crossroads of life and death, the membership in the party incompatings, and to socialists anywhere and everywhere. Though Hoan revealed at the last N.E.C. meeting that he was getting ready to make a deal with the Old Guard, the the ABC which began under Ma- result of the year's struggle is that Militants made no criticisms of chado with a democratic program, the Old Guard is more solidly in him. In other words, on the eve of conditions. Notwithstanding their arriving lately into an ideology of the saddle than ever before, and the N.E.C. meeting, the Militants open fascism. After the fall of the only blows which have been are completely identified in the eyes of the party rank and file with ary Party of Cuba, which the lat to the left. Querulous complaints the N.E.C. Instead of gaining ground by

revolved around the national office,

about the Old Guard, wordy statecisive action against the leftwardmoving workers-this is Norman called national caucus has disappeared: the "Chicago left," which Thomas' record since the Detroit convention.

What, meanwhile, has happened has so completely identified itself to the New York Militants, under with Hoan that its leader, Krueger, was attacked by left wing delegates the leadership of Murray Baron at the recent Illinois convention: and Jack Altman, and their allies, the "Chicago left," led by Maynard the "western Militants", around Andrew Biemiller, have found a Krueger and Clarence Senior ---"revolutionary socialists," resting place in the Milwaukee mathese who came to the Detroit convention chine ; the Massachusetts with a printed program (which wing" has just held a harmony they never brought to the floor). convention with the right wing. Despite their support of the shady Pessimism Among "Leaders"

ambiguities of the Declaration of Principles, the socialist militants nize this situation-but draw from had a splendid opportunity to crysit the conclusion that their weaktallize a real left wing in the Soness means they must still further cialist Party. The spectacle of the submit to the N.E.C. To the argudisloyalty of the Old Guard and the cowardice of the N.E.C. made it possible for the militants to secure a hearing from thousands of so cialist workers. But the whole strategy of the Militant leaders led in an opposite direction.

"Cadre Builds Program"!

A revolutionist says: "The program builds the cadre": hammer rank and file approval (they reout your principles and win adher- fused this because they didn't know

The Militant leaders said: "The they, plus Thomas and Hoan, plus such arguments they mournfully they hoped, could be induced to it's too late to change that now." break with the Old Guard, plus Too late! The pessimism of leadanti-New York sentiment in the ers, undoubtedly will affect part of West and South, plus anyone who their following, who will simply

reason-in short, a bloc having no who will not fight within his own other program than anti-New York, party will not be recruited into an-had to be maintained at any cost. other party; that is one of the les-

Question Box By A. WEAVER =

N. H., BIRMINGHAM-

Question: In the "Draft Program of the Communist International" Trotsky states that the Stalinists, by the theorem of "Socialism in One Country,' adopt the same theoretical ground . . . of the Social Democratic theoreticians as a whole" except that "they turn the Social Democratic evaluation inside out". What does he means by this?

Answer: Basing themselves upon the formula of Marx: "No Social formation disappears before all the productive forces have developed for which it has room," and applying it to a single state, the Social Democracy claimed, in their criticism of the Bolsheviks, that the latter had no historical right to seize power in Russia since that country did not have the material prerequisites for the construction of a Socialist society. To this the Bolsheviks, under Lenin, replied: while it is true that Russia, by itself, does not have the material requirements for the construction of a classless society, nevertheless, WORLD capitalism as a whole does have these material forces; the revolution in Russia, whose economy is part of world economy, took place because WORLD capitalism broke at its weakest link. Like the Social Democrats, the proponents hese tactics, the Militants have alof "Socialism in One Country" also ready lost considerably. Their socast entirely aside the international perspective of Lenin, and merely counterpose to the assertion that the Soviet Union does not have the necessary material resources for the completion of a Socialist society the claim that the country does have such material forces. They therefore stand on the same theoretical ground as the Social Democracy in that they search for historical justification for the Russian revolution in the productive capacity of a single state.

Some Militants privately recog-D. J. B., LOS ANGELES-

"left

Question: How can you expect the proletarians to manage a government when they cannot even manage themselves?

ment that they should have built Answer: If one were to follow a broad caucus organization (they the logic of this reasoning, the refused to do this because the Old capitalists would not be able to Guard would seize upon it as "an manage their state power. On the issue"), with democratic election of average, the members of the capsteering committees, etc. (they reitalist class, particularly today fused this because it meant an open when they play practically no role stand for a factional organization). in the productive process, are peowith all decisions submitted for ple of very ordinary intelligence, and, because of their mode of living, ents by fighting for your prinpiples. what they would do the next day are for the most part too incompetent to even arrange for their own since they were tied to the chariot cadre builds the program": i.e., wheels of the N.E.C.), etc.--to all food and clothing. Nevertheless, they rule society through special organizations whose officers are their agents and who supply for a price of one sort or another, the ability needed to perform the neck essary functions for the class rule. In other words, the ruling class has its work done for it by special representatives drawn from its own and other classes. Despite the fact that there are preceded by "skirmishes" in various England to "recover" by becoming for our party opens up good per- This unprincipled line of the Mili- sons of 1921. No one will gain certain qualitative differences, the same applies to the proletariat when IT becomes the ruling class. imperialism forced the Kaiser into the appeal of Ethiopia them it is a question of life and have no principled differences with sons of Germany, Austria and It is true that there is much ignore the Spain, have smashed the complac- ance, illiteracy, etc., among the So far, indeed, has this surrender ency of thousands of socialist work-Now again the general crisis of bourgeois rule, is no more interest. On the other hand the terrible situmaintain and perpetuate itself, a state of affairs requiring that the geoisie into any insurrectionalist a flat acceptance of the Old Guard ready to break with reformism than proletariat also set up its special movement that may arise. If our on their own terms—on the eve of they have been for years. They organs of class domination. The revolutionary party thus becomes a necessity in order to rule for the working class as well as to seize The leftward-moving socialist workers have to learn that the way the power in its name. There is a fundamental historical clear-cut principles. Let them serdifference, however, between the The Socialist Call, organ of the jously turn to an examination of ruling apparatus of the proletariat Militants, has only rarely criticized the principles of the main currents and of the capitalist class. The collect funds, and must therefore the N.E.C. It has even suppressed ary program is that of the Work- press, chambers of commerce, etc., turn to the proletariat of other the fact that the Old Guard has ers Party. In the Declaration of develop along with the system itcountries in requesting immediate refused to invite or receive the N. Principles of the Workers Party self, as component parts of it, and help. This appeal is especially ad- E.C. for this week's meeting. In- they will find their principled basis no special effort, no sacrifice, which found it unnecessary to hide his dressed to the North American pro- stead of coming out with a declar- for the struggle against reformism lies outside of their money making ists, in order to build up the foun-C., the Socialist Call, after listing gram the cadres are built: that is dations of their rule. The party of North American comrades: you other points on the agenda, says the first lesson the socialist work- the proletariat, however, does not evolve naturally out of the development of the class itself but must be built alongside of it. Such a party can be constructed only by those who are able and willing to exert the necessary effort and make the needed sacrifices.

proletarian masses, a condition which capitalist exploitation has

PAGE

ately from the Committee, and from the other side-the leaders of the students and the petty-bourgeoisie who wanted to hurriedly precipitate the movement.

Under these conditions, the workers spontaneously, and under no contralized leadership, threw themselves into one of the most extraordinary strikes known in the history of the Cuban proletariat. They joined with the state employees in order to obtain for them security of their jobs (in Cuba every faction that takes power redivides the jobs by displacing the old employees.)

Martial Law

The government immediately mobilized all its machinery. A state of war was declared, thus putting into the hands of the military the power of judging of all acts of sabotage resulting from the strike. For three days complete terror reigned. All inhabitants were required to remain at home after nine o'clock. Even in broad daylight it was considered a criminal offense for more than two people to be seen walking together. The police and military hordes thronged the streets

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parts of the globe, particularly in the workshop for supplying the spectives for our organization. The tants could lead in only one direc- from such defeatism. Africa. In the so-called Moroccan needs of a war-torn Europe. crisis of 1911, the needs of German the notorious Agadir incident that for the application of the Kellogg- death; but here rises a brilliant op the Old Guard.

almost precipitated the war at that Briand Pact of Paris illustrates not portunity for the proletarian party time.

capitalism has sharpened all antag- ed in peace than any of the other ation that confronts the Cuban pro- the retreat before the Old Guard by the Second and Third Internaonisms and posed more sharply than powers, but that it is to the interever before the contradiction be- est of America also not to become tween highly developed productive involved in complications in Europe forces and closely restricted mark- and Africa when the ruling class party can mobilize its forces and an open alliance between Hoan and want to fight the Old Guard but ets. To secure access to new mark- here is forced to concentrate its enets the great powers find it neces- tire attention on the knotty probsary to prepare for war, one against | lem presented by Japanese penetra-

the other, so as to break the grip tion of China. Furthermore Italy's the revolution is saved. of their rivals on the more desir- move at this time is a blow at able colonies. Japan proceeds stead- Japan, just beginning its thrust ily, as yet unchecked, with plunder- toward Africa through Ethiopia. party lacks financial resources, caning of China-and America looks on American capitalism is therefore not legally publish its press, cannot the Old Guard, and never said a in the labor movement, and they organs through which the latter exwaiting the opportune moment for somewhat sympathetic towards legally conduct any campaign to word about the cowardly actions of will find that the only revolution- erts its rule, for example, the banks, intervening. Germany looks first Mussolini.

of all to the East of its borders, to the Ukraine and to Central Europe, Civilizing Ethiopia

for the expansion that will save its The fascist leader, Il Duce, who capitalism from complete decline. Italy has turned to an African aims and methods when it was a letariat with whom we are united ation that the Old Guard's report and its centrist allies of today and routine is required by the capitaladventure in Ethiopia for its share matter of knifing the Italian prole- through common bonds of exploita- is the central issue before the N. E. tomorrow. On the basis of a proof plunder. In a general way Mus- tariat, now employs the usual im- tion.

solini's attack on this African semi- perialist hypocrisy of carrying civcolony may well be compared with ilization to the conquered colony. the Agadir incident as the prelude Mussolini, enslaver of the entire in the capitalist system, to build to the second world war. It is not Italian working class and the most your organizations, have before you enough for fascism to prevent rev- hunger-stricken peasantry of Eu- the task of assigning funds immediolution at home with its complete rope, will be the "Abraham Lin- ately for the help of your Cuban destruction of the capitalist system coln" of Ethiopia. He will "free" of exploitation by the proletariat; the large number of slaves held in the Bolshevik-Leninist party is to be that represents only the political bondage by the exploiting rulers of able to fulfill its mission. We feel condition for the continued exis- Abyssinia. He will "free" them certain that a response will be

tence of the bourgeoisie. Fascism from their present masters to place forthcoming. knows no other way to solve its eco- master and slave alike under the nomic dilemma than the same meth- yoke of Italian capitalism. That ods pursued abroad that it pursues is all that the bourgeoisie can carry at home. Capitalism cannot exist to the colonies-a system of exwithout resort to plunder and warploitation more intense, more cruel and costly in human life than any previous system. It is only the

Ethiopia and the Powers world proletariat that can bring

Italy did not begin its wolf's leap real civilization to the colonies. at Ethiopia without first securing When the workers throw off the the consent of England and France. yoke of capitalism at home, they All the present sham of British op- will at the same time strike off the Friday, July 19, 8:00 P.M.-House position and its "sounding out" the chains of the colonial peoples. The other powers in the League of Na- proletarian revolution will not only tions concerning the application of destroy the bourgeois exploiters at economic penalties and "sanctions" home, but will aid in the destructo put a stop to Italy's further tion of the colonial ruling classes, measures, is characterized even in feudal or bourgeois. It is as much the capitalist press as so much the task of the workers to accomface-saving for its own masses. Of plish the freedom of the colonial

course it is also intended to wring peoples as their own.

comrades. Your help is necessary if

Havana, May 13, 1935.

What to Attend

BROWNSVILLE Dance and Watermellon Eating Contest

SATURDAY, JULY 13, 8:30 P.M. 1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn Party and social for benefit of New Militant, 51 Morton Street (F. Norman). Auspices: East Side Branch No. 2, W. P. Admission 10c.

Beginning with the next issue all What to Attend" notices must be in the hands of the Editor no later than Tuesday noon.

petty-bourgeoisie will not stop in tion: capitulation on every issue to It is certainly not too late. The

The abrupt and chilling reply of its insurrectionalist intentions. For Thomas and Hoan, who themselves onward march of Fascism, the les-

merely that this country, under to show its abilities at leadership, by the Militants gone, that on the ers; and as they survey the new letariat will drag the petty-bour- will in all likelihood develop into tionals in France, they are more put itself in the position of a van- the Old Guard, with Thomas "going they don't know how. guard, where its voice will be heard along for the sake of unity"-the by the masses, then we can say that year's record of the Militants does not show a single instance of criti- to fight is to fight on the basis of

> But under the conditions that cism of the N.E.C. prevail work is very difficult. Our

who have the possibility, even with- that "it is expected" that the Old ers must learn.

LECTURE The Truth About "Trotskyism"

What is the connection between the new slanderous attack and --Stalin's Campaign Against the Bolsheviks in Russla? -The Social-Patriotic Policy of the French Communist Party? -The Right Wing Swing of the American Communist Party? -The growth of the movement for the Fourth International in France, Holland and the United States?

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor, The New International

WEDNESDAY, JULY 17th at 8:00 P.M.

At IRVING PLAZA Irving Place and 15th Street, New York

Questions and discussion in Jewish and in English Auspices: New York District, Workers Party of the U.S. APPLICATION REJECTED

The West Coast District Committee of the Workers Party has rejected the application of Lillian Monroe for membership in the Party. Evidences of complete collaboration with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy in the San Joaquin Valley and of a disregard for the political party in the field of union activity, coupled with an unreliability have conclusively proven that her membership is impossible.



SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT



By the same token, it is when

bureaucracy gets the upper hand in

the revolutionary party itself, when

a reign of repression is established

there, that corruption enters into

the whole of the proletarian dicta-

torship: it becomes a caricature of

the workers' democracy. This is

the crime which the present Stalin

regime has perpetrated. Party, de-

mocracy was crushed. The utterly

un-Marxian conception of an abso-

lutist party, a mystical something,

standing above the working class,

which could do no wrong, which

needed no checks upon itself what-

ever, arose. In the final analysis

NIEW

with which is merged THE MILITANT Published weekly by the New Militant Publishing Co., 55 East 11th Street, New York City Phone. ALgonquin 4-9058

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"Progressive"

How history plays pranks on names and makes a mockery of shibboleths is strikingly revealed in a recent issue of the "Progressive Miner," organ of the Progressive Miners of America.

In it is reproduced an article by Eugene Talmadge, the governor of Georgia called the "Cruel Scarcity Policy" which is published under a picture of the Governor and the following note by the editors:

"The following from an article by the governor is charged, by some people, with being political propaganda, and by others with being an attempt to whitewash his labor record.

"We are not familiar with Gov. Talmadge's labor record, nor his intentions in writing this article; but we are absolutely sure that every word contained therein is absolutely true, and that the writer being a Democratic governor deserves a lot of credit for this clear-cut expose of the vicious un-Christian and un-American New Deal agricultural program."

Can it be that the editor of the Progressive Miner is really ignorant of the labor, or more correctly anti-labor, record of Talmadge of Georgia? Is he really unaware that the lowest textile wages in the country obtain in Georgia? Did he fail to see the headlines during the textile strike of 1934 which proclaimed Talmadge as the first governor to call out the militia against the mill workers? Doesn't he know that this southern bourbon bears the unenviable honor of being the first to introduce the Nazi concentration camp in the United States for the purpose of subduing and subjugating rebellious working men?

We can hardly believe it. Every suckling in the labor movement has marked the cross over this reactionary: labor enemy No. 1. The editor of the Progressive Miner, we are certain, is willfully closing his eyes and the eyes of his readers to the union-smashing policies of Talmadge. Opposition to militancy and left wing forces and tactics have driven the leaders of the P.M.A. into a loving embrace with the worst reactionaries in the country. They have, however, one thing in common: they pose as progressives until the issues become too hot.

And what does Talmadge say? First, a space does not permit us to deal with in this editorial. Finally, the conclusion printed in large, bold-face type:

of the world, ringing with challenge against imperialist aggression, ever vigorously articulate in behalf of the oppressed and exploited peoples, of the hundreds of millions of brown and black and yellow serfs of imperialism. That voice is now stilled! The Stalinist press is filled with delirious joy when it reports that M. Maxim Litvinov is chairman of this or that session of the Council of the League of Nations. It has not yet reported that he has uttered a single vigorous note of protest against the infamous villanies of Mussolinito say nothing of a criticism of that ally of Fascist Italy in the Ethiopian expedition, a Fascist regime in the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Neither Kellogg nor Laval, Henderson nor Litvinov, can cover up the true and quintessential nature of the League of Nations. The "thieve's kitchen of Geneva" remains what it Geneva is improbable," writes the New York Times. "The League is in the worst dilemma fate, but the League itself is preparing to reand the conflict in the Chaco to settle itself."

far from hopeless, and the prospects for the provided they do not mind being self." Fascist regime far from guaranteed. So far kicked out of a job, seeing their the hopeless campaign of the little Napoleon to smash Germany led to the uprising of the satisfy the imperialist lust of a degenerate Czar was succeeded by the St. Petersburg Soviet of clamoring for the heads of the criminals who had sent them to die on foreign plains.

And when he thinks of Sadowa, let him reing point. member also that this is 1935 and not 1894. Ethiopia is not weaker, but stronger. Even though it is matched against an army of far superior technical strength, its own forces have an infinitely higher morale. They are if only we can maintain our econo- ism, unemployment, war-that is to fighting for their own independence, for their mic system based on free enter- say, those who want to abolish the national integrity. And no longer are they armed merely with primitive spears and knives. We do not refer here to the comparatively in- maintain the capitalist system the majority under which we now significant fact that the Ethiopians now have a few thousand rifles and some mcahine guns. plagiarism of the facts long ago adduced in They have at their command-if they will but radical circles which marshall figures depicting summon them to their aid-the millions upon unless the workers and their allies primarily, as has been repeatedly cotton and live-stock destruction by the AAA millions of other natives of the Dark Continent prevent-in the effort to maintain demonstrated in revolutionary perwho have produced fabulous wealth for world itself destroy every vestige, every iods, upon the extent to which the other imperialist powers. But they have allies. Their allies are the the time when capitalism can main- the U. S. during and for some time Italian workers and peasants who are under the make concessions to the workers, in France during and after the the Fascist lash, but who await only the mo- better the standard of living, is Great French Revolution. It took ment when their taskmasters have encountered past. Now it maintains itself only four years of Civil War in these such difficulties as will enable the masses to by taking away even such conces- United States to smash the slaveattack them from the rear. Their allies are the workers of the entire world whose foe is the workers of the entire world, whose foe is But obviously if the masses have representing a new class had been imperialism with the same bitterness and vigor protest and self-expression, any and there was a considerable interas their African brothers. Their allies are the workers or farmers union, party, ruption of normal activities. It is African masses themselves. Before the first press,-then no matter how peace- thus that social change of a funda-Italian shot is fired, the black and brown masses of the entire continent must be aroused in offer resistance. They will try to argument for setting the clock back tailment of democratic rights for a sacred war against world imperialism and fight for mere existence. But this the south and the Berber in the north joins ism. Therefore it wipes out "dem- are not among those who raise pious" hands and masses rifle and spear with all the farmers' organization and political other imperialist slaves of Africa, then not only party, degrades the intellectuals, Italy, but France, and England, and Spain and hounds and destroys minority and Portugal-all the assassins and exploiters groups It is not by maintaining of the African peoples, will have couse to trem- capitalism that we can maintain July Issue of New ble for their empires and to regret the day they aroused the fettered titan. Therein lies the hope of the Ethiopian people, on whose side we stand together with every honest and conscious working man and woman. Therein, further, is clearly implied our elementary duty. The Washington government has piously and impartially refused to furnish arms to "either side." It is, you see, neutralthat is, it will help neither the heavily armed butcher nor the virtually unarmed victim. We are not "neutral." Heart and soul we are with the Ethiopian people in their defensive war against the Fascist invader. Heart and soul we are with the Italian masses who have languished for thirteen years in the great prison which the Fascist despots have erected, and from which they are now being conscripted to fight those with whom they have no quarrel, nor can have. ors? Time was when the voice of the Soviet the courageous battlers against the enslave-

A Reply to Liberal Critics of Bolshevism The Position of the Workers Party on Proletarion Dictatorship

and Worker's Democracy in Light of Recent Events

(Continued from last issue) By A. J. MUSTE

First of all we may observe that The Workers' State is a dictator- a tragic menace to the well-being while it is true that we do not have France, which is at the same time the ally of that it can only be misleading and have those it. But it is instantiat to conceal to the entire future of humanitysilly to talk as if we did have, those it. But it is important to under- is not the proletarian dictatorship, who in these days are so vociferous- stand the sense in which the term nor the mistakes and excesses which ly proclaiming the joys of life under is here used, and Marxists have not it may have committed, nor the

American democracy as contrasted always been too careful and accuwith the repressions and horrors rate on this point. So long as there party in the Workers' State. So under "dictatorship whether Fascist are classes, every government is in long as classes exist, government or Communist," are unquestionably essence a dictatorship-of the ruling will be in essence dictatorship. was: an association of imperialist bandits for unrealistic and sentimental in their class over whatever other classes Human beings are nowhere infallthe preservation of capitalist slavery through- view of the United States. We there may be. Whether at a given lible. Without a disciplined, devot out the world. "Any impromptu activity at know that the ordinary worker and moment, however, this rule expessfarmer does not have this sense of es itself as an open and avowed elements the accomplishment of the perfect liberty and profound happi- dictatorship, resorts to open and modern revolutionary task is inconnesss. Millions of them are free- extensive terrorism, etc., depends of its career and sees no way out.... Not only free to spend their youthful powers upon whether this is necessary to have the French and the British abandoned a in a few years on the chain-gang in the ruling class. The facts are humble fellow-member of the League to her the production line in a mass-prod- clearly suggested in that sentence uction factory; free to eke out an of our Declaration of Principles existence "in the midst of plenty" which says: "The political forms new that policy of postponement and masterly by means of a puble works job at of capitalist society (monarchy, inactivity that left China at Japan's mercy the Rooseveltian "security wage" of democracy, military dictatorship, four to twelve dollars per week; fascism) are only the means by free to organize, strike, picket, vote which the actual dictatorship of the Notwithstanding, the case for Ethiopia is the ticket of their choice and so on, controlling minority expresses it-

The political expression of the as the latter is concerned, it would be well for families suffer privation, getting proletarian dictatorship is the Sothis murderous Bonapartist regime which seeks dubbed over the head, thrown into viet or Workers' State. Workers of to solve its ever-increasing problems at home by foreign aggression, to remember Sodar by foreign aggression, to remember Sedan, not reached any such proportions sional-will be organized on a func-Port Arthur and . . . Sadowa. The senseless here as in many other countries, tional basis into Workers Councils. slaughter of the French masses in 1870 in that there is here no such daily and Through the Councils functioning in hourly peril of invading armies a democratic manner, under the as many nations have to face, that | control of their membership, the at the moment there is no force workers will have a much more Parisian masses and the establishment of the which can remotely threaten the direct and simple way of sharing immortal Commune. The wanton destruction continuence of the exististing gov- in the determination of the policies of tens of thousands of Russian peasants to ernment. Then recall that every which affect their well-being than edition of every paper brings fresh they have under the farcical elecstories of clubbing, gassing, jailing, toral system which exists in the U. shooting, murdering of men and wo- S. today. Furthermore, in a country 1905, just as Kerensky's adventures on the men trying to assert the right to with the resources and the techniwestern front in 1917 was followed by the great organize and bargain collectively cal equipment of the U.S. an im-Bolshevik revolution. The present lord of in conservative trade unions. Then mediate improvement of the standthe Palazzo Chigi might well recall at this time ask to what extent civil liberties and of living and relief from insethe fate of his equally audacious predecessor, are a realized anyth in "democratic" italist brakes upon production were the prime minister Crispi, who fell from power United States. Consider the econo- released, and this too would have and into disgrace when the streets of Italy mic, political and social disabilities the psychological effect of liberawere filled with embittered soldiers returned under which millions of Negroes tion on the masses now haunted by from the humiliating defeat of Sadowa and labor. Consider the plight of the the spectre of insecurity and en-Jews and of "foreigners" in a nat- slaved to fear.

ion where economic tension is as **Dealing with Enemies** yet a far distance from the break-It is true that parasites will be

disfranchised in the Workers' State Freedom and Fascism and that repressive measures will It is, furthermore, a fallacy to be used against those who conspire suppose that we can retain the to overthrow the new regime and measure of freedom we now possess, bring back the horrors of capitalprise and our political democracy dictatorship of the majority over against both Fascism and Commun- the minority and bring back the ism. It is precisely the attempt to dictatorship of the minority over which leads under modern condi-live. The extent and the character tions with fatal precision to the of these repressive measures, and resort to Fascism. Capitalism it- the length of time during which self, the present ruling class, will- they may be enforced, will depend

ment of well-being and of freedom. or external, of the Workers' State. Bureaucratic Regime What causes us to protest and The Workers' State shudder-what constitutes indeed

ship. As Marxists we believe that of the masses in the modern world, dominant role of the revolutionary ed, heroic party of the vanguard ceivable

this can only end in a personal dic-The crime of the Stalin regime is tatorship. That is what exists in that it has abandoned and destroythe Third International and its ed the organization principle or parties today. But such a party, which the revolutionary party must resting now upon an insecure and be built and thus has corrupted the artificial basis, serving essentially party and transformed the prole not the working class but a bureautarian dictatorship into a caricature cracy, will crush out democracy also of workers' democracy. No greater in the Soviets, the unions, etc. crime than this can be committed

The Stalin regime has been forced for it means the corruption of those instrumentalities by which alone the masses can be liberated and a higher stage in human development achieved.

to an ever more vicious suppression of party democracy and workers' democracy, because its basic aim of building Socialism in one country s anti-Marxian and wrong. It had

being

Democratic Centralism to attempt to crush all opposition Democratic centralism is the oramong revolutionists both inside ganization principle of the Leninist and outside the Soviet Union, be-Precisely because there cause if the opposition had had any party. must be the severest discipline in means of expression the emasculataction and because the Party takes ion of the Communist Parties thruupon itself the role of leadership out the world which was the inof the workers in the greatest evitable result of this policy would crises, its own inner life must be not have been tolerated. On this, free, democratic, vigorous. The however, space does not permit us clearest, straightest Marxian think- to dwell here.

ing is required; but that involves We of the Workers Party who the right of criticism; and that raised and raise no protest against cannot exist where there is represnecessary repressive acts of the Workers State against its class ene-

mies, within and without, do raise A healthy revolutionary party which is based on democratic cen- our voices with all our might tralism will seek to establish its against the terrorism now leadership over the mass organiza- exercised in an intensified degree against revolutionists, against those tions of the workers whether be who are for the Workers' State in fore, during or after the revoluthe Soviet Union but who are polittion, not by cheap political trickery, ical opponents of of Stalin and his not by forced and mechanical henchmen. We protest against these cesses, not by clever yet futile persecutions because this policy attempts to "capture" organizacorrupts the revolutionary party ions, but by what may be rightly itself and so undermines the Workcharacterized as democratic methers' State, which has been the beaods. It gains influence in the uncon light of inspiration to the workions e.g. by the correctness of the ens of the entire world. It, furtherpolicies which its members set more, casts discredit upon and corforth, by the persuasiveness with rupts the entire revolutionary movewhich they argue for them, by their devotion to the day to day work of ment throughout the world.

From our Leninist point of view the organization, by the sacrificial ve can also criticize, not the and heroic role they are prepared to play in strikes and similar crisprinciple of repressive measures es. It is in substantially the same against class enemies, but the manmanner that a revolutionary party ner in which the principle is applied in the Soviet Union under the with a democratic inner regime Stalin regime. A bureaucracy restgains and maintains its influence ing on an insecure foundation. over the mass organizations, the Soviets or Workers Councils, once the maintaining itself more and more, workers and their allies have taken therefore, on a basis of fear and physical force, cannot carry out power.

Now a vanguard party of this such measures as the collectvization

"And the party in power should return to the principles of its founders and fulfill the promises of its platform to eliminate unnecessary and extravagant governmental bureaus and reduce the cost of government."

In short, Talmadge's is not one whit better than any die-hard tory who speaks for the Chamber of Commerce.

At least this much should be elementary for a progressive. But the Progressive Miner thinks otherwise: "we are absolutely sure that every word (in Talmadge's article) is absolutely true. . . ."

And they call themselves "progressive"! What's in a name!

Shall Ethopia Perish?

(Continued from Page 1) tion, in other words, it is now what it was originally intended to be.

From its very inception, the League of Nations was given a high credit rating by the acting and would-be socialist ministers of the world. No less powerful a pillar of the Second International than Arthur Henderson, the leader of the British Labor Party, adorned its sessions and set its tone. Now that the Italian imperialists are preparing the brutal rape of a far weaker foe, where are the spokesmen of the Second International, the Messrs. Henderson and Vandervelde and all their political kinfolk? What is their League of Nations doings, what does it intend to do, and what do they propose it shall do?

A year ago, the Stalinists drove the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. The selfadmittedly beloved leader of the world proletariat, Stalin, told Walter Duranty that the League of Nations was at least a little bump in the road that would prevent war and help strengthen the "peace-loving" countries to preserve world order. What is the Stalin-Litvinov section of the League of Nations doing to defend the Ethiopian people from enslavement to the bastard descendants of the Roman emper-Union was heard in the most obscure hamlets ment of Ethiopia!

Then a good deal of specious reasoning which imperialism. By themselves, the Ethiopians between the based destruction from cutoide and way is the mass organizations. Inumerous other policies in a sound as they are by the active or passive support of establish an open and brutal dic-ments within. Life was not alto-

> their foe, who have cause to hate and harry any freedom at all, any means for elected by parliamentary methods, ful, legal, respectable, meek they mental character is effected. The the U.S. that the workers' state --if that could be done. And, in them but, while it functions as a protests or shed crocodile tears will assure and continually extend when the Soviet Union takes whatever measures may be necessary aganst the class enemies, internal under capitalism.

> > democracy and escape dictatorship. Those who declaim against "red International Out terror" and present imposing lists of its victims and catalogues of its

social and psychological effects need The July issue of the New Interalso to be reminded over and over national is just off the press. The again not only of the numerous in- long awaited article by Trotsky on stances of "white terror" and the Thermidor and Bonapartism in reabominable excesses of Fascism, lation to the Soviet Union is printed but of that most colossal and ob- in full. In this article comrade scene terror of all-war. War which Trotsky revises the previously conin its modern form is the natural fused conception implied by Thermand inevitable by-product of capital- idor and gives terminological con-

ist-imperialist rivalries, which kills creteness to the term. It is an exmillions of its victims, itself abro- tremely interesting study of historgates all civil liberties and makes ical contrasts between episodes Playing," dealing with the question the individual the puppet of an ab- transpiring today in the Soviet of war. The article deals primar solutist state if indeed it does not Union and those in the period of ily with slogans against war. And denvive him of his reason altogether. Thermidorian reaction during the here comrade West takes up the This is, however, only the negat-|great French Revolution.

ive side of the case. If we could A very timely and penetrating indeed offer the workers, farmers analysis of Centrism is contained and the professional and technical in the article, "Centrist Alchemy groups only a choice of terrors in or Marxism?" which deals with the

the future, they could hardly be road toward the Fourth Interna-Throughout the length and breadth of the blamed for emulating Hamlet and tional and the centrist brakes apcountry, in every labor organization, let the clinging desperately to those ills pied thereto by the Socialist Workvoice of the American masses be heard in un- they have under so-called democ- ers Party of Germany. The fact measured condemnation of the cowardly Fas- racy rather than flying to evils that the S.A.P. has given lip-service cist butchers, in unmistakable solidarity with at the sevent to the idea of building a Fourth alist does offer a positive alter- thing in its centrist nature to delay

native to the mases-an enhance- that process is here acidly exposed. BUILD THE WORKERS PARTY. struggle.

imperialism. By themselves, the Ethiopians in a solution of the basest destruction from outside and upon are no match against the Italian forces, backed racial and national prejudices, will the counter-revolutionary move-them are hy the active or pressive support of the set of the set of the basest destruction from outside and upon it match against the imperial set of the set of th it will be rejected. On the other the workers and their enemies a tatorship. Why? Simply because gether peaceful and comfortable in hand, it can afford, indeed it will false conception of what the proleordinarily encourage a democratic tarian dictatorship really means.

life in, will seek to educate, the **Our** Position mass organizations because it is

We of the Workers Party thus well aware that in the long'run it have the answer, as neither the is precisely as they are enlightened that the masses will follow them, hypocritical reactionary defenders of "American constitutional liberthe capitalists today, will do all in ties," nor the liberals of various their power to keep them ignorant shades, nor the social-democrats, and confused. A Leninist revolunor the Stalinists have, to the ques, tionary party will do just the option of freedom in the modern posite. Thus our Declaration of world. The alternatives before the Principles can assure the masses in workers and farmers and before those artists and professionals who are concerned about freedom to create and express are not limited to Fascism and the corrupt version for their own liberation. When the Bantu in threatens the existence of capital-wiew of all that has been said, we dictatorship against enemies who of the proletarian dictatorship which Stalin offers, and the sham may want to restore capitalism, democracy which obtains in some far more democratic rights to the countries today under capitalism, masses than ever accorded to them but which cannot be maintained if capitalism remains. There is the

other alternative of an uncorrupted and genuine workers' democracy under the leadership of a revolutionary party organized under the principle of democratic centralism and based upon revolutionary inter-

The road to genuine democracy is not away from, but back to Marxism and Leninism: not away from but back to revolutionary internationalism; not away from but through the proletarian dictatorship, i.e. workers' democracy. This

Fascism and capitalist "democracy" ticle by John West, "The Bands Are are directed by the parties of the Fourth Intenational.

In pursuing this course we are also the sole effective champions of ubiquitous slogans: Against War humanity, of any idealism worthy of the name in the modern world, and Fascism and Defend the Soviet Union and dissects them to show and of world peace. For a social the positive and negative features order in which human dignity can inherent in them-as bare slogans. be maintained and not constantly trampled in the mire, in which the An article on Greece, book re creative energies of mankind can views and excerpts from the inter national press conclude the conexpress themselves and not be end-

essly suppressed and thwarted, is possible only if capitalism is de-SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE stroyed, and this deliverance can come only as the result of victory of the workers in a revolutionary

NEW MILITANT

tents of this issue.

Of domestic significance is the analysis of the recent Supreme Court decision with regard the NRA in an article by comrade Swabeck entitled "The Passing of the NRA."

Also, away from the international arena for the moment, is the critical exposition of the great Toledo strike by comrade A. J. Muste. An article on the coming struggles in railroads by A. Weaver concludes that portion of the magazine dealing with internal affairs in the country today.

is the road to which the masses oppressed in varying degrees under Of special importance is the ar

nationalism.