

NEW MILITANT

Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

VOL. 1, NO. 43

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

WAR CENTER SHIFTS TO EUROPE

Green - Woll Forces Suffer Heavy Setback At AFL Convention

Rift Among Fakers Gives Industrial Unionism an Opportunity; Red Resolution May Fail to Pass

The fortunes of battle ebb and flow at Atlantic City in the most exciting convention of the American Federation of Labor since the war.

Plan Fight For Herndon

Georgia Negro Is Given "Death" Sentence on Chain Gang

The refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court to rehear the case of Angelo Herndon has given added importance to the work of the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense.

In addition to holding a conference in New York on October 19, the Committee is planning a variety of activities to push the signing of petitions and to increase the pressure on Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia for the release of Herndon.

The Slam at Woll Thus the drama was heightened, which undoubtedly was just what

MUSTE SPEAKS ON A. F. OF L. CONVENTION A. J. Muste will speak on "Lessons of the Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L." on Sunday evening, October 27 at Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place and 15th Street, N.Y.C.

Lewis wanted. His first and most important resolution, which after his reading of it was referred to the Resolutions Committee, would forbid any officer of the A. F. of L. from holding membership or office in the National Civic Federation, the peace-between-capital-and-labor organization founded by Mark Hanna, which in recent years, with Matthew Woll as acting president and the notorious Ralph Easley as secretary, has specialized in red-baiting and other forms of extreme Toryism.

That his shot took effect in a vital spot was indicated when only a few hours later Woll announced that he had resigned from the National Civic Federation! Never, at least in the past 30 years has a leader of Woll's prominence in the A. F. of L. "lost face" so swiftly and thoroughly.

Not only was this a blow at the craft unionists' position but Lewis' stroke also served to discredit the "red baiting" proposals of Woll and Company and the indications now are that the two-thirds vote necessary to pass the amendment to the A. F. of L. constitution barring all "Communists" from membership will not be obtained, and that at best the old guard will be able to put over some comparatively mild resolution against the "reds."

Industrial Unionism Edged Out On the other hand, as the NEW MILITANT predicted last week, the advocates of a clear-cut resolution for industrial unionism in the mass production industries proved too optimistic in their expectation that they could get a majority in this



Partners in Social-Patriotic Betrayal

The Stalinists find yeoman support in their battle for sanctions in the New Leader, New York organ of the Old Guard Socialists. The New Leader, an old hand at reformism, gives a much clearer theoretical and practical explanation of the sanctions policy than the novice Daily Worker.

"With the exception of small extremist groups who take the Trotskyist position that the Socialist parties and labor must reject any cooperation with democratic governments and the League of Nations in its efforts to curb Fascist Italy, organized labor throughout the world through its political and economic organizations has taken a determined stand in favor of sanctions and armed resistance, if need be, to the war policies of Mussolini and Hitler, placing itself squarely behind the League. . . .

isolationists, embracing the Trotskyist position . . . fail to see the issue in this light."

Here is a clear and unshamed exposition of the social democratic position on war, manifested at present in support of government sanctions. Before we deal with it in detail it is important to note: The social democratic betrayers who have moved not one inch from the traitors' role of 1914, now at the approach of a new 1914, distinguish themselves in this fundamental question only from "the small extremist Trotskyists."

A military writer once remarked that "war is merely the continuation of politics by other means." Add to that the dictum that "Politics is merely the extension of economics on another plane," and you have the basis for a Marxian analysis of the war question.

In the period of imperialism, the present period, the economies of the various capitalist nations are in constant conflict in their efforts to

expand. No matter what political form they may take these economic conflicts never cease for a moment. Now they take the form of a "peaceful" struggle for markets, now a diplomatic struggle, now a warlike struggle. Politics is merely the outward form of this struggle which, change as it may, cannot do away with the struggle.

War is one of the political forms of this struggle. War is not some exceptional phenomena, it is simply the logical outcome ("the extension") of the struggle. In the imperialist epoch war is almost unending; sometimes in the form of mere diplomatic threats, sometimes in the form of economic boycotts, sometimes as colonial expeditions, sometimes as open large scale war.

The treachery of both the Stalinists and the social democrats begins when they regard war as some extraordinary event, some political phenomena apart from and exceptional to the ordinary run of political

Britain - Italy Threaten War For Control of The Mediterranean

N. Y. Mass Meet On War Crisis

In response to the grave danger of a new imperialist war flowing from the League of Nations policy of sanctions and the need for solidarity with the Ethiopian people against Italy's robber war, the New York District of the Workers Party has called a mass rally for Sunday evening, October 20, at Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place and 15th Street.

Maurice Spector, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and one of the pioneers of the present movement for the Fourth International, will be the main speaker.

France Caught Between Two Fires; Germany Waits Opening

The flare-up in Ethiopia is rapidly taking on the proportions of a world conflagration. Inside of less than a month the smokescreen behind the colonial "incident" has cleared up and the real contenders in the struggle have become fully revealed. It is now evident that we are confronted not merely with a case of national rape but with a major inter-imperialist struggle.

Great Britain and Italy are at each other's throats in a fight for control of the Mediterranean.

Fascist Italy at last embarked upon the conquest of the much heralded new Roman Empire. For more than one reason, Il Duce's decision is irrevocable. The Mediterranean is the indispensable gateway to empire. British imperialism, in control of the Mediterranean for generations, must maintain control of the route to her plundered possessions in India, Australia and Far East as a matter of self-preservation.

Japs Plotting China Grab

Threat of U.S. War Over Market Snatch During African Trouble

By LO SEN

Echoes from Ethiopia, bringing nearer to Europe the thunder of a new imperialist world war, have already resounded ominously against the troubled sounding board of Asia: Japanese imperialism, in the full stride of its own expansion on the Asiatic continent, has displayed its readiness to squeeze the last drop of advantage out of Europe's preoccupation with the crisis precipitated by Mussolini's African "adventure."

The "utilization" of imperialist contradictions is by no means, unfortunately, the exclusive monopoly of "realistic" Stalinist bureaucrats. Events of the past week along the China coast and at the Soviet-Manchukuo frontier already offer sufficient assurance that the crisis cannot develop much further in Europe without leading to new explosions in Asia.

Japan Moves In

Great Britain, as part of her hurried preparations to counter Italy's African advance, has transferred practically her entire Asiatic fleet from its China station to the Mediterranean and Red Sea ports. The response of Japanese imperialism was so prompt as to be almost automatic. A strong Japanese flotilla dropped anchor in the harbor of Swatow, a Kwangtung port in the

Faced with a national economy declining to ever new lows and the first symptoms of internal rebellion, the Fascist dictatorship has grasped at the Ethiopian adventure with the frenzy of a drowning man grabbing for a straw. That the blackshirts were not unaware of the impending clash with the British colossus is evidenced by the fact that from the first day of the invasion the entire Italian press has been conducting a systematic agitation against England, largely as a protective measure to stiffen the backbone of their own hosts in preparation for the worst eventuality.

England Acts Rapidly

The cagy statesmen at Downing Street have likewise worked overtime to check the desperate offensive of the Fascist upstarts. Without any serious opposition they have cloaked their campaign for imperial self-preservation with the moral authority of the League of Nations. They have even involved France—for whom, as the major beneficiary of the Versailles system, Italy is just as important an ally as England—in a policy of sanctions against Mussolini carried through with such speed and sweep as to leave the diplomats of the Quai D'Orsay in an extremely embarrassing position. They have countered Mussolini's invasion and the troop movements of the Fascist General Staff with the complete militarization of Egypt and their other colonial possessions in Africa and with the greatest naval concentration in the Mediterranean since the last world war. The battle lines between the two imperialist powers have been drawn. Both sides are prepared to plunge wildly into the new holocaust.

The French imperialists, whose whole system of security hinges today upon the task of bringing about an Italo-British rapprochement, have been left floundering in the midst of an internal crisis. Rome has rejected any and all suggestions of retreat. The British have refused Laval's mediation in the naval conflict. The French bourgeoisie is thrown into a terrific turmoil by the diplomatic dilemma. The cabinet of M. Laval is due for a fall in the midst of the strife between the pro-British and the pro-Fascist factions.

The rest of the European nations are drawn into the same vortex of conflicting currents. Nazi Germany maintains a "neutrality" that has its eye peeled for the prospects of entering the fray with an attack in the direction of its formidable Eastern neighbor. Japan is threatened

Tarov Relates Torture of Real Bolsheviks in Stalin's Prisons

By A. TAROV

Hundreds and thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists are languishing in Stalinist prisons. Only yesterday I was one of them, and together with them I underwent every conceivable brutality at the hands of the Stalinist jail keepers. Today I find myself in a semi-capitalist country, a "free man." Sad to say, it seems to me that there is no free spot for a revolutionist on our planet. But for better or worse, today I have the opportunity to speak out publicly in protest against the Stalinist usurpers. My duty as a revolutionist obliges me to turn to the world proletariat with an appeal for help to free from the Stalinist jails the devoted and true revolutionists, the martyrs—the Bolshevik-Leninists. The world proletariat must learn that the land of Soviets as such is perishing imperceptibly, for Soviet power is unthinkable without a party of active and self-reliant Communists. That is why the struggle for a genuine Communist party, the struggle against the usurpers and the plebeian regime is a struggle for the salvation of the Soviet system from fatal degeneration.

To acquaint the working class with the condition of the Bolshevik-Leninists in the U.S.S.R. under the Stalinist regime, I intend to sketch briefly my own personal experience, in its unvarnished form. On June 30, 1934 I escaped from exile, from the city of Andijan, having in view

conquests and of the socialist construction, and at the same time I underscored the need for joint action on the part of all communists against the advancing Fascist reaction.

The "Reward" for Capitulation

After sending this telegram to the Central Committee, I awaited an answer which would free me from paragraph 58, and restore my party rights. Legally, to be sure, I had not been sentenced under this paragraph by any judge. But in reality, I was condemned to jail and exile for life. I had spent four years in jail, three in exile. Throughout this time I saw no living soul except the examining magistrate of the G.P.U., and the warden. The examining magistrate, as a rule, would go through a formal examination, and the turnkey would lock and unlock the door of my cell whenever it became urgently necessary. I was "sentenced" to solitary confinement without any material evidence whatever. My room had been searched three times—and absolutely nothing was found. Never-

theless I was arrested and committed to jail. Any one who is a Trotskyist—must sit in jail or exile. Should one renounce the Opposition, then one obtains a "minus," i.e. the right to live in the U.S.S.R., "minus" all the key centers of the country. To some degree this would constitute an improvement. For instance, one might be transferred from Northern Siberia to Southern Siberia.

Rank and file Oppositionists are ruthlessly tortured while given the advice to renounce their views. After an examination the magistrate before pronouncing the sentence offers the defendant that he renounce the views of the Opposition. And when in answer I gave a categorical refusal, it was my good fortune to hear in the sentence all the conceivable and horrendous epithets: ". . . for anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, counter-revolutionary, and other unseemly activities. . . ." I served my last sentence on January 22, 1934 — a three year prison term in the chief jails of the G.P.U.—but, nevertheless, I was

"freed" only after a 14-day hunger strike, i.e., I was sent into exile. . .

The Oppositionists who were imprisoned in the Verkhne-Uralsk penitentiary, about 150 in number—there had been 485 of us in this prison, but many were transferred to other jails until only 150 remained there—went on a hunger strike in protest against the additional new prison terms. Prior to the hunger strike, in the summer of 1932, a Commission headed by a female, one Andreyev, arrived from Moscow to Verkhne-Uralsk in order to improve the "conditions" of the imprisoned Communists. To all those who had served their time in solitary confinement, she added new terms. In a single day 103 men were given a new sentence for the term of two years. This was the sole accomplishment of this commission for "improving the conditions" of the Bolshevik-Leninists imprisoned in the Verkhne-Uralsk penitentiary. We had received no prior visits from any commission. We had demanded this commission

(Continued on Page 2)

NEXT WEEK The series on the Socialist Party and the program of the Socialist "Militants" will be continued next week with an article on the "Militants" answer to the Bauer-Zyromski thesis on war and the S.P. National Executive Committee's resolution on the war danger.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

A.V.D., NEW YORK—Question: The Lovestonites (see the "Workers Age" of Oct. 12) claim that the accusation that the C.I. can be guilty of an "August 4th" in its war position is unjustifiable because of the "distinctions between the limitedly false war position of the C.I. and the unlimitedly false war position of the Labor and Socialist International" and because of "the very existence of the U.S.S.R. as the base of the world revolution, as a class state constructing socialism. . . ." What is there to this?

Answer: Lovestone is in the position of the marriage broker who was attempting to interest a young man in marrying a certain young girl. The youth, beauty, and financial resources of the young lady were so promising that the young man became suspicious and insisted that there was a catch to the proposition. After at first denying that there was the least matter with the girl, the broker, under the pressure of further questioning, finally admitted that the girl did have a slight failing, the slightest of failings; she was a wee bit, only the least bit . . . pregnant. So with the Communist Party (Opposition). The C.I.'s war position is false, but only "limitedly" false.

An examination of Lovestone's ideas as to what constitutes a "limitedly false" position is interesting. We quote from the above mentioned issue of Workers Age where he makes the following four points:

Point 1: "The C.I.'s errors are limited only to the field of a mixed war; the L.S.I.'s errors pervade all types of wars today. . . ." This is tantamount to saying that the C.I. will betray the workers only in those countries which may be the temporary ally of the Soviet Union, whereas the Second International betrays the workers in all countries. The contention is false, however. It is impossible to betray the workers in certain countries and maintain a revolutionary position in others at the same time.

Point 2: "With the C.I. beginnings (???) of dangers towards national defense practices are strictly limited, may be resorted to for a time as a means of helping the U.S.S.R. False and harmful as the recourse to such tactics of helping the U.S.S.R. are, their motive is totally different from that of the motive animating international Social Democracy. . . ." In order to replace Marxism with psychology, Lovestone distorts the truth miserably. When the Socialist Party of Germany voted to support the war credits in 1914, they also claimed that it was necessary to do so to prevent the proletarian organizations from being destroyed; i.e., the betrayal of the proletariat by the Stalinists in the "interests" of the proletarian state stands on precisely the same level as the betrayal of the proletariat by the social democracy in the "interests" of the proletarian organizations. None of the socialist parties have ever openly advocated that the workers support imperialism. They were "motivated" by the need of defending "democracy" against Prussian militarism, or against Czarist autocracy, etc., etc. Today the Stalinists are "motivated" by the need of defending the "remnants of bourgeois democracy" against fascism, etc. Hell, for the proletariat, is paved with such "motives," which are identical in the Stalinist and social democratic bureaucracies: Each proceeds from the point of view of its own special interests.

Point 3: "Even in this deviation, the C.I.'s approach, the Comintern's viewpoint is international, while the attitude of the L.S.I. is thoroughly nationalist, dyed-in-the-wool social chauvinist." This is truly a remarkable statement, which, if it has meaning at all, can only mean that the Stalinists are betraying the proletariat on an international, i.e., on a wholesale scale, whereas the social democracy is doing it piece meal.

Point 4: "The C.I. is guilty of attempting a distortion, for a brief period (???) of sound principle; the L.S.I. is definitely committed to a completely false principle in the entire question of war." What, in politics, is the distinction between a betrayal over a "brief" or over a long period of time? Only a Jesuit could answer this. What Lovestone is attempting to claim, as indicated by the word "beginnings" in his Point 2, is that the C.I.'s "distortion," in principle, began with its present war position, a conclusion which naturally flows from his contention that the errors of the C.I. to date were limited to some incorrect tactics.

Insafar, however, as the betrayal of the workers by the C.I. can be compared to the "August 4th" of the Second International, this occurred over two years ago with the capitulation before Hitler in Germany. The C.I.'s war position is thus not the first but one of a series of betrayals.

Nor does Lovestone's reference to the Soviet Union as quoted in your question make his position any

Buffalo WPA Workers Out On Restrike

Pauper Wage Levels Drive Men to More Militant Struggle

By CYRUS RIGBY
BUFFALO, N. Y.—The expressed policy of relief officials to "wait watchfully" and "starve out" the Buffalo WPA strikers last week came to grief through a new and inexorable solidarity of the unemployed. Women and children not only attended the meetings but also came out on the picket lines to march beside their husbands and fathers. A strike meeting held on October 7 was attended by well over 1,000 workers.

Sargeon G. Johnson acted as chairman and among the many speakers were William F. Sidman, chairman of the strike committee, and Thomas Dixon of Chicago. A pledge was made by those present to carry on the fight until they should win a living wage for themselves and families.

Police Brutality
During the week police tactics became more and more brutal, although the almost too passive actions of the pickets gave them excuse for only bullying instead of the murderous skullcracking for which Buffalo police are notorious. Mounted police would ride along the picket lines and reach over to snatch off the strike slogans pinned on the workers' chests and sleeves. Then the officer would slap the hapless picket square across the face several times before urging his horse toward him until the worker retreated. Women who remained on the picket line were subjected to the same intimidating treatment. But in spite of threats and official violence the strikers stood firm in their determination not to starve.

A local organization, the Citizens Unemployed Relief League, had previously been formed and this body sent a wire to President Roosevelt protesting against the use of stoolpigeons against them as well as against the conditions which made the strike inevitable. The Administration's reply was a warning that all workers who did not show up on their respective jobs on Oct. 11 would be deprived of all relief. The ultimatum was issued by Daniel W. Streeter of ERB who further attached a number of conditions impossible for the workers to accept. Some jobs had been operated all week by scabs under police protection, but on these jobs there were always about as many cops as ERB or WPA workers.

Streeter's insulting public threat frightened a few strikers into returning to their jobs on the date of the deadline. Most of them, however, remained only long enough to persuade others to join the walk-out. A few hundred actually resumed work. That evening relief officials and police announced to the press that the strike had been broken.

No Settlement At All
But none of the conditions which forced the strike had been settled. It was still necessary for workers to accept the starvation wages of \$55 a month, so their temporary return to work was without meaning and shortlived as soon as they realized that it meant continuation of utterly impossible living conditions. Within a few hours the walkout began again, this time taking hundreds more than on previous days.

On Monday 500 workers from the Lackawanna slag pit, which was the first job where women as well as men picketed the week before, dropped their tools and marched in a body to the nearest relief job in Buffalo proper. Here they began mass picketing and were able to persuade most of the workers on that project to join them before police intervened with the use of clubs. The effectiveness of mass picketing and flying squadrons, however, had been proved during the days before, so now the strike had reached the point where the workers were ready to employ modern methods of strike warfare. The second WPA strike in New York State continues!

The existence of the Soviet Union as a workers' state has not prevented the Stalinist betrayals. The existence of the Hitler regime is sufficient proof of this. On the contrary, the bureaucracy, by usurping the prestige of the October revolution, and cloaking itself with it, has had a comparatively easy time of deceiving the workers. It is only by his identification of the workers' state with the Stalinist bureaucracy that Lovestone can conclude as he does.

The actors and the staging are different but otherwise there is difference between the betrayals of the Second and of the Third Internationals, and Lovestone merely makes the feeble attempt at finding a distinction in favor of the latter in order to justify his attempt to crawl back into it.

RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE EIGHT PAGE NEW MILITANT!

INT'L YOUTH BUREAU COLLAPSES

German S.A.P. Centrists Expel I.C.L. Youth Representative

Following is an account by the representative of the International Communist League of the ill-fated attempt to set up a new youth international, through the medium of the International Youth Bureau and in common with various centrist organizations. Its disruption and final extinction, in actual fact, can be laid directly at the door of the S.A.P. whose life work has become the struggle against the Fourth International even if the most opportunist and even treacherous alliances are necessary for this purpose. It can confidently be asserted that the death of the Youth Bureau is merely a setback—its experience was rich in lessons—for the forces of the Fourth International are everywhere gathering in size and importance. —Ed.

By W. HELD

The International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth was founded in February 1934 at the International Youth Conference at Laren, Holland, then at Lille (in reality, Brussels). There were represented at the conference: the I.C.L. youth, the Spartacus Youth League of the United States, the two Dutch youth organizations of the O.S.P. and the R.S.P., not yet united at this time, the German S.J.V. (affiliated to the Socialist Workers Party, S.A.P.); the Young Workers of Norway (N.A.P.) and the Norwegian Mot Dag group. Immediately after its opening, the conference was dissolved by the Dutch police and the foreign participants arrested. Four German emigre participants were expelled to Germany, the others deported to Belgium. Two of the comrades, Bobzien and Liebermann, delivered to Germany, were in the meantime condemned to long prison terms.

(It goes without saying that our solidarity with these comrades and the struggle for their liberation will be carried on as before with all our energy despite the liquidation of the youth bureau.) After the expulsion, the remaining delegates convened in Brussels. The discussion, in the main, took place between the representatives of the S.A.P. and the I.C.L., the latter struggling primarily for a clear and precise expression in favor of a new international of the youth in the framework of the Fourth International. After some ardent debates on this question, two passages along this line were added to the resolution proposed by the German S.J.V. But we, on our side, committed a serious error. The arrests and the joint expulsion from Holland had produced a conciliatory spirit and we failed to implement the declarations of the S.J.V. for the new international with the necessary organizational guarantees. We accepted the creation of the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations with Stockholm as headquarters. The Secretariat was composed of a representative of the German S.J.V., the Swedish S.J.V. and the I.C.L. (It is true the Swedes were not themselves present at the conference, although their acceptance was confirmed by the representatives of the German S.J.V. and by the Mot Dag group). The Young Workers of Norway had left the conference before the resolutions were adopted and later displayed hostility to the creation of the Youth Bureau.

Sabotage from the Start
After the arrival of the I.C.L. representative in Scandinavia he discovered that the Swedes had no intention at all of taking any responsibility for the Secretariat and that they opposed with all their might the residence of the I.C.L. representative in Stockholm. The German S.J.V. had also forgotten the conciliatory spirit of the Brussels conference and supported the Swedes in their negative attitude. They suggested the absurd proposition of scattering the Secretariat over three distant cities, separated from each other by several days of travelling and concentrating the practical work in the hands of the representative of the German S.J.V. This we categorically refused. Finally a compromise was found. The work of the Secretariat was concentrated in another Scandinavian locality and the Mot Dag group of Norway, an organization friendly to the Swedish Youth, was instructed to represent the latter. The work of the Secretariat went on—always hampered by internal conflict. In the autumn of 1934, for example, at a session of the Bureau at Copenhagen, the representative of the S.J.V. with the assistance of the Mot Dag group and the Swedish S.J.V., tried again to remove the I.C.L. from the Secretariat.

However, these internal conflicts did not reach their peak until after the pitiful conference of the International Community of Labor of the S.A.P. in February, 1935 in Paris, where the S.A.P. for the first time openly expressed its hostility to the Fourth International. It is true that Brandt as the representa-

tive of the Youth Bureau endeavored to fill up the breach by voting for the resolution presented by the Dutch delegates in favor of the New International as well as for the opposite resolution of the S.A.P. However, in the discussion he did not fail to join in the trades of the S.A.P. against the Fourth International. This attitude brought forth protests from the organizations affiliated to the I.C.L. A motion was presented to reorganize and enlarge the secretariat by a representative of the R.S.J.V. (the organization emerging from the unity of the two Dutch organizations), and the Bolshevik-Leninist youth fraction of the French Socialist Youth. Following this the Secretariat of the Youth Bureau decided to convene a session of the Bureau to deal with these questions, with the participation of all the organizations affiliated to the Bureau.

Betrayal Intervenes
In the meantime, however, it was impossible to continue the work of the old Secretariat for another reason. The coming to power of the Norwegian Labor Party had completely unmasked the opportunist character of the Mot Dag group. The Norwegian Labor Party in power carried on a completely bourgeois policy similar to that of the Swedish and Danish social democrats. Instead of fighting the monstrous treachery of the N.A.P., which previously had taken on a radical coloration, and instead of organizing the opposition, the Mot Dag group sought a "theoretical" justification of the betrayal. Besides they declared their agreement with the Stalin-Laval declaration and with the preparation of the union sacree by the French Stalinists. It was therefore no longer possible to collaborate with this group. Horrified by this degeneration, the representative of the German S.J.V. swung to the left by signing, together with the I.C.L. representative, a letter to the Swedish S.J.V., calling upon the latter to disavow its Mot Dagist representative in the Youth Secretariat. The Swedes did not reply to this letter and consequently the work of the Secretariat was suspended. Once again they called for a session under the chairmanship of the Swedish Youth and once again, as before, it was postponed. In the meantime the Swedes did not show any inclination to terminate their friendship with Mot Dag and proved this fact on every occasion (collaboration of the Mot Dag people in the Swedish press, etc.) But the representative of the German S.J.V. also changed his mind by placing in the background the struggle against Mot Dag and once again turning on the I.C.L. In an interview which helped to prepare the session of the Secretariat with the Swedish Youth he declared that the differences between the I.C.L. and the S.J.V. were of a more deep-going character than those between the S.J.V. and Mot Dag.

On August 18 the session of the Secretariat was finally held. The representative of the German S.J.V. again opposed placing the question of the Mot Dag group as the first point on the agenda and insisted that they deal with the differences between the I.C.L. and the Youth Bureau. He stated that the version of his statement as quoted above to be inexact in this form. He had wanted to say that the differences on the one hand with the I.C.L. and on the other with Mot Dag existed on two entirely different planes. But the entire proceedings of this session of the Secretariat gave confirmation to our version.

Touching Solidarity
The representative of the I.C.L., speaking on the first point of the agenda, believed necessary a reorganization of the youth movement in the framework of the Fourth International and demanded that the Youth Bureau sign the Open Letter

for the Fourth International. He demanded the immediate expulsion of Mot Dag and the reorganization of the Secretariat, since the situation had become absolutely impossible through the refusal of the Swedish organization to take responsibility for the Secretariat in Stockholm. The delegate of the German S.J.V. replied by a furious and subjective attack against the I.C.L., surpassing even the fantastic lies of the S.A.P. pamphlet, "Trotskyism or Realistic Revolutionary Policy." Finally he posed the following conditions to the representative of the I.C.L.: To disassociate itself from the attacks of the I.C.L. press against the Youth Bureau and to sever its connections with the work of the International Youth Secretariat of the I.C.L. The Mot Dagist present (to repeat again: this organization is in agreement with the reformist policy of the Norwegian Labor Party as well as with Stalin's French policy) declared its accord with the speech of the representative of the German S.J.V. against the I.C.L. And besides it had to be the representative of this notorious organization to pretend that the I.C.L. is ruining the workers' movement! Similarly the chairman of the Swedish S.J.V. limited his few remarks to approving the speech of the delegate of the S.A.P. Then the representative of the I.C.L. once more took the floor to say among other things:

The Bolshevik Position
"I especially enjoyed the remarks of the representative of Mot Dag because he demonstrated in a convincing fashion that every opportunist and treacherous group can hide behind the struggle of the S.A.P. against the I.C.L. I completely solidarize myself with the attacks of the I.C.L. against the present policy of the majority of the Secretariat. By the same token I am responsible for the policy of the Secretariat of the I.C.L. youth. I am ready to admit an error in the fact which occurred in the section dealing with the Youth Bureau in the article 'Centrist Alchemy or Marxism?' appearing in No. 5 of Unser Wort and the July issue of the NEW INTERNATIONAL. The Youth Bureau was not founded with the N.A.P. but with Mot Dag, which organization has the disadvantage of meaning nothing with regard to the N.A.P., while the N.A.P. represents almost the entire Norwegian working class. As for the political side the articles were 100 percent correct. If the Youth Bureau continues to work in its present manner it will only be another edition of the Amsterdam Bureau, whose work has only now been so strikingly characterized by P. J. Schmidt, till now its secretary. The most obvious example proving the correctness of our attacks is given by this session itself. The German S.J.V. delegate could find not a word against Mot Dag and calmly accepted the Mot Dag repetition of the S.A.P. arguments. It has completely solidarized itself with the Swedes although they maintain a close friendship with Mot Dag; it defends the Swedes against the attempts of 'disloyal' factional work on the part of the I.C.L. But the S.A.P. itself uses its connections in the Dutch R.S.A.P. and the Workers Party of the United States to develop a poisoned propaganda and to carry on factional work against the champions of the Fourth International. 'Loyalty' to the Right and struggle against the Left, that is the real character of the S.A.P. I found in re-reading the manifesto against the war danger, proposed by the German S. J. V. among other things that the centrism of Fenner Brockway, Kilboom, etc., is not criticized. To this, the representative of the S. J.V. replied: But Fenner Brockway is with us. Finally we have

Los Angeles reports arrangements for a lecture on the War Danger, a banquet and social, and a lecture on the Seventh Comintern Congress on November 15-16-17 respectively in connection with the Shachtman tour. Fresno and San Diego are also clamoring for meetings. An effective "Sacramento" (N.S.A.C.) united front committee, including the Socialist Party, Y.P.S.L., I.W.W., Workers Party and Spartacus, has been organized. Unions are to be contacted, literature is being distributed and plans for the mass meeting are under way.

The Kansas City branch has also taken steps to organize an N.S.A.C. committee and is assigning comrades to contact the unemployed organizations in Kansas City in order to establish cooperation with the National Unemployed League in demonstrations and other activities.

Comrades of Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown, New Castle and possibly other branches in the state of Ohio are holding a conference in order to establish cooperation in carrying on educational work and mass meetings in that territory during the coming season.

The Boston branch has opened new headquarters in an attractive room in the heart of the city. The first public meeting was held on Friday, October 11, with a lecture by A. J. Muste on "Social Patriotism vs. Revolutionary Defeatism."

The Utica, N. Y., branch of the Workers Party had a formal opening of its new headquarters on October 13. An open forum, to be this year as it was last a weekly discussion meeting, marked the occasion. Comrades Cyrus Rigby and Peter Hansen are to alternate as chairman and other W.P. members sell Marxist literature at all meetings. One unusual feature of the meetings is that both Stalinists and S. Pers not only attend but actively participate.

The branch plans soon to inaugurate study classes in the rudimentary principles of Marxism, as well as in subjects such as American labor history. No definite date has yet been set, however, for opening of the classes.

The Boston branch has opened new headquarters in an attractive room in the heart of the city. The first public meeting was held on Friday, October 11, with a lecture by A. J. Muste on "Social Patriotism vs. Revolutionary Defeatism."

Outcome of SAP's Fight Against Forces of the 4th International

a clear answer. "The Fourth International" is not a 'scheme' for us as the S.A.P. so assiduously spreads, but the touchstone which distinguishes the revolutionary Marxists from the Centrists in all other questions as well. To pronounce oneself today for the Fourth International means also to take a position for the arming of the proletariat, for the insurrection and for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Fenner Brockway, etc., are opponents of the insurrection as well as of dictatorship. It is clear that against such opinions we know only unremitting struggle."

On the conclusion of this speech the representatives of the Swedish S.J.V. and the German S.J.V. declared jointly that the continuation of collaboration with the representative of the I.C.L. to be impossible. The latter left the session. Mot Dag, the Swedish S.J.V. and the German S.J.V. continued in full agreement.

Significance and Prospects
If one takes into consideration the recent expulsion of our French comrades from the French Socialist Youth, our expulsion from the Youth Bureau assumes special significance. Our comrades were expelled because of their struggle against national defense. And today the S.A.P., in collusion with the Mot Dag organization, which approves the treachery of Stalin in France, expels us from the Youth Bureau.

Practically speaking, with the expulsion of the I.C.L. the Youth Bureau has been buried. What remains is the Swedish S.J.V., which in fact is not interested in the international work and whose only "activity" in the Youth Bureau consisted in hindering international work; the small Mot Dag group; perhaps a small group in Rumania; and the illegal German S.J.V. The whole thing is less than nothing. While the work to reorganize the proletarian youth movement on the basis of the Open Letter for the Fourth International, which up to now bears the signatures of the Dutch R.S.A.P., the W.P.U.S., the W.P. of Canada, the Bolshevik-Leninist group of the S.F.I.O. and the I.C.L., and in which new groups from all parts of the world are continually joining, the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations, born in a transitional period, has passed from the scene. Long live the youth section of the Fourth International, the world party of the revolutionary proletariat!

CHANGES IN SHACHTMAN TOUR ITINERARY

- Toledo—Sunday, Oct. 20.
- Detroit—Monday, Oct. 21.
- Chicago—Tuesday to Sunday, Oct. 22-27.
- Davenport—Monday, Oct. 28.
- Albert Lea—Tuesday, Oct. 29.
- Austin—Wednesday, Oct. 30.
- Minneapolis—Thursday to Saturday, Oct. 31 to Nov. 2.
- Fargo—Sunday, Nov. 3.
- Williston—Tuesday, Nov. 5.
- Plentywood—Wednesday, Nov. 6.
- Salt Lake City—Saturday, Nov. 9.
- San Francisco—Monday to Wednesday, Nov. 11-13.
- Los Angeles—Friday to Monday, Nov. 15-18.
- Kansas City—Sunday, Dec. 8.
- St. Louis—Monday, Dec. 9.
- Springfield—Tuesday, Dec. 10.
- Columbus—Thursday, Dec. 12.
- Akron—Friday, Dec. 13.
- Pittsburgh—Saturday, Dec. 14.
- Charleston—Sunday, Dec. 15.
- Washington—Tuesday, Dec. 17.
- Allentown—Wednesday, Dec. 18.

WORKERS

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

Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose: to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers.

About 50,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserves \$3,400,000.

Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick benefit payments from \$360 to \$900—to men and women, according to classes.

Monthly assessments from 45c to \$2.20.

For further information apply to Main Office: 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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

SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT CAMPAIGN FUND. GET SUBSCRIPTIONS.

LEFT JABS

LOVESTONE'S SPEECH AT THE 7th WORLD CONGRESS . . .

Under the streamer "Lovestone's Speech at Madison Square Garden" the Workers Age prints a speech which they claim Lovestone would have delivered at the C.P. membership meeting if Browder had given him permission. Again the Workers Age scored a scoop. Spurred to action by the enterprise of the Lovestone paper we have secured an equally imaginary speech which Lovestone would have delivered at the 7th World Congress if Stalin had but crooked his little finger in his direction.

In the report of the Madison Sq. Garden "speech" the following statements by Lovestone appeared: "At the outset I must underscore with greatest emphasis that the leadership of the Communist Party is to be commended for granting us the right to address you here tonight. . . . I want to assure you that I will not abuse the privilege granted us by speaking long. . . . It is with profoundest regret that we are compelled to say that the Seventh Congress has, either by way of omission or commission failed to check this serious right danger in the Comintern. Believe us, dear comrades, it is not as carping critics, not as chronic kickers that we now sound the alarm," etc., etc.

etc. After reading this and more of the same kind it was not too difficult to write the account of Lovestone's appeal to the Seventh World Congress.

LOVESTONE'S APPEAL . . .

"I want to humbly thank the Communist International with our dear comrade Stalin, best disciple of Lenin, at the head (loud laughter from all parts of the hall, shouts: "You'll have to learn to sing better than that") for the privilege of begging forgiveness for my errors. I now pledge support to our great leader Stalin who has always been correct. (loud laughter and shouts: "You're a bit late with that, fellow. How can we trust you?") I have always fought against Trotskyism. I expelled the American Trotskyists. I sent gangs to raid their homes." (Browder interjects: "How about your robbery of our National Office?" delegates: "Thow him out!") . . . Chairman Darcy: "Is there any delegate here who wants Lovestone to continue?" All shout: "No!" Lovestone kneels in silent prayer.

WOMEN'S DEB DENOUNCES LOVESTONE . . .

Martha Stone, leader of the working women of America, takes the floor and denounces the right opportunist Lovestone who had opposed the decisions of the great leader Stalin. (Congress cheers for 45 minutes. Japanese delegates shout "Banzai!" British delegate: "Hear, hear.") Lovestone jumps on a chair and sings: "One, two, three, four, who are we for—S-T-A-L-I-N, Stalin! Rah! Rah! Rah!" (Ed. Note: The Lovestone group actually did this at the 1929 convention of the Communist Party held in New York.) Lovestone begs for a chance to work in the C.I., with Stalin at the head.

STALIN TAKES THE FLOOR . . .

As Stalin arose to speak the Congress went into its usual two-hour orgy of applause and singing. Stalin: "Many comrades have made mistakes. (Radek interjects: "Quite right!") Mistakes will be made in the future by other comrades, big mistakes. (loud applause.) We must always correct mistakes. Self criticism is necessary to our party. We tried, dear comrades, to correct the mistakes of Lovestone. You know how crystal pure were my intentions. (Stachel: "How true, how profound.") Comrades, can we trust Lovestone? No, dear comrades, we cannot trust Lovestone. Does that mean, comrades that he cannot work in our party? No, comrades, that does not mean that he cannot work in our party. I propose that he be given work in the Communist Party of the United States. I propose that he be put in charge of Hathaway's People's Front election campaign on the Eastern Coast of New York City. Now Lovestone posh von, posh von! (Russian for scat.)" Lovestone backs out from the hall bowing low repeatedly and crying: "Thank you, comrade Stalin, thank you dear comrades. Down with Trotskyism. Thank you, comrade Stalin."

A FEW MORE SUGGESTIONS . . .

Following the great acclaim with which the reading public received "Lovestone's Speech at Madison Sq. Garden if He Had Been There" we suggest some new titles to the editor of the Workers Age. Lovestone's Radio Speech at Valley Forge; Lovestone's Speech at Caesar's Funeral; Lovestone's Inaugural Address as President. Any ingenious comrade can add to this list, to his heart's content.

SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT CAMPAIGN FUND. GET SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Tarov Relates Horror of Prison and Exile Under Stalin Regime

MARCH OF EVENTS

RENEWED MENACE TO CHINA

Japan will not miss its opportunity to make further inroads into China while the other imperialists are preoccupied with the Ethiopian situation. There is every indication that Japanese imperialism is preparing more extended operations for plundering China. A series of extraordinary meetings of the Japanese army and navy commanders and the diplomatic corps are in progress. One meeting is to take place in Dairen October 13 to 15. A second in which the various consular officials in China are to receive instructions from the army is scheduled for October 16 in Shanghai. A final gathering of all army commanders to work out details of the next steps in the seizure of China, is also planned in Shanghai for Oct. 20 and 21. The pronouncements of the Japanese Military Attache in China, Maj. Gen. Isogaya, provide several keys to what is intended. A "final" settlement of the North China problem is first on the agenda. The Kuomintang government is told plainly what is expected of it by its imperialist ally. "We do not want to provoke a crisis in North China but we hope that the Chinese will themselves make all the necessary changes to assure the establishment of authority with a responsible person at the head who would have Japan's confidence. . . . However, should a crisis arise which would endanger the lives of foreigners, Japan will be ready to make sacrifices to take the necessary steps for establishing a strong North China regime." What this means is the setting up of an extended puppet state to include the five provinces north of the Yellow River: Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shensi and Shantung, all now under Japanese control.

WHICH THEATRE OF WAR?

There have been previous indications that Japan wishes to add to its present booty Outer Mongolia. This territory is not nearly so important economically as Manchuria. But its control by Japan would determine the main theatre of war in the coming struggle against the U.S.S.R. Manchuria is too close to Japan to suit the Japanese strategists. Soviet aircraft are a menace not to be neglected. The seizure of Outer Mongolia would permit greater safety to the attack from the northwest corner of Manchuria, from the railroad line running from Hailar to Manchuli, on Chita, the most important railroad junction in Eastern Siberia. Chita is the point at which the main line of the Transiberian Railroad (to Vladivostok) joins the branch line to Manchuli. The seizure of Chita would cut off communication with the Maritime Provinces over this railroad and would make the main seat of war the territory about Lake Balkal. Already special Japanese divisions in full war strength, with large numbers of tanks and armored cars are concentrated about Hailar. The latter is an important air base. The military railroad from Jehol Province to Dolonor was built to

ATTACK ON SOUTH CHINA

The plundering of China is not to be confined to North China alone. The situation at Swatow threatens to become the pretense for the beginning of Japanese invasion into South China. Already all shipping to this port is forced to pass between two lines of Japanese cruisers and destroyers, holding the harbor in a tight grip. The Japanese object to the tax imposed by the Canton militarists on rice imported into Kwantung Province which raises only a two months supply of this necessity for thirty-five million people. The Japanese have been smuggling tremendous quantities of cheap Siamese rice into the province. The seizure of a small quantity of this smuggled rice has precipitated the issue, Japan claiming a violation of the treaty permitting only the national import tax, not involved here. By this pretext Japanese imperialism seeks to gain control of the vast trade of the East River District of Kwantung. At the same time this is a blow at the Canton militarists whose military machine is based on the so-called agricultural tax. The Chinese are entreching along a fifty mile front in Kwantung expecting momentarily an ultimatum, to be immediately followed by invasion. The reactionary bandit-generals of Canton will hardly organize any real resistance to Japanese encroachments, no more than the "central" Kuomintang leaders, Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Ching-Wei. On the contrary, these corrupt betrayers of the Chinese enter into competition to become the first to sell out to the imperialists. The other imperialist powers are greatly disturbed at the present situation, seeing in it not only the potentialities of another Shanghai incident, but also a fresh move of Japanese militarism. American warships have been sent to Swatow to take care of "American interests."

Shachtman Phil. Meeting

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Oct. 15.—Warming up for his national tour, comrade Max Shachtman opened the season for the Workers Party educational forum here last Sunday evening with a lecture on "The Truth About Trotskyism." The speaker dealt very effectively with Olgin's slanderous pamphlet, "Trotskyism, Counter-Revolution in Disguise," exposing all the falsity and rottenness of the fight against the living leader of world Bolshevism and the ideas of revolutionary Marxism. A mass of evidence was produced, much of it from Olgin's own writings, to expose the Trotsky baiting campaign. The audience was attentive and asked many questions. Comrade Shachtman summed up and spoke of the need for a new revolutionary International of the working class.

International Workers School

55 EAST 11th STREET, N. Y. C.
Second Year—Fall 1935. Beginning October 21, 1935.

- ORGANIZATION PRINCIPLES**—Martin Abern. Monday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Eight sessions. This course will analyze party structure and methods of work. Open only to members of the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League.
- FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF MARXISM**—Ben Berkeson. Monday, 8:40-10:10 P.M. Eight sessions. An elementary course which will trace the basic economic and political features of capitalist society, the development of the modern class struggle, the need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the dictatorship of the working class and the role of the revolutionary party.
- PROGRAMMATIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORKERS PARTY**—J. G. Wright. Wednesday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Seven sessions. An advanced course which will analyze the contradictions of the imperialist epoch, the rise and degeneration of the Second and Third Internationals, the struggle against Fascism and war, the working class struggle for power and the need for the Fourth International.
- CURRENT TRENDS IN AMERICA, TRADE UNION AND POLITICAL**—A. J. Muste. Wednesday, 8:40. Eight lectures. Lectures on the A. F. of L., unionization in the basic industries, the capitalist political parties, the third party movements, the Socialist and Communist parties.
- THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF KARL MARX**—Rubin Grote. Thursday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Seven sessions. An advanced course which will consider the origins and social roots of Marxism, the materialist conception of history, Marxist economics, the class struggle and the political party, theory of the state and working class internationalism.
- STATE AND REVOLUTION**—J. Weber. Friday, 8:40-10:10 P.M. Eight sessions. The course will deal with the origin and development of the state from the earliest times to present day capitalism. A detailed discussion of the capitalist state machinery, the attitude of the working class towards the capitalist state and the role of the workers' state.

Fees: \$1.00 per course, 50c payable at time of registration. For information, write to: International Workers School, 51 East 11th Street, New York City.

(Continued from Page 1)

ourselves, in protest against the bestial treatment of the prison administration. We were often beaten, the guards fired their guns through our cell windows, with the result that one of our comrades, Yessayan was shot in the chest. We demanded a commission, but, as a rule, we were refused.

The Hunger Strike

Then, 485 imprisoned Communists went on a hunger strike that lasted 18 days. A Commission arrived, transferred the "active prisoners" to other penitentiaries, and exiled the wounded Yessayan to Siberia. Thus, it "improved" our position. And then, another Commission came next year and extended our sentences. For this reason all of us who were imprisoned in the Verkine-Uralsk penitentiary went on a hunger strike, in protest against this unheard of lawlessness. We began the strike on December 11, 1933. On December 20 the hunger strikers were dragged from their cells—in order to search the latter. Then they began feeding us by force. Unheard of scenes took place, desperate fights broke out between the jailers and the hunger-strikers. The latter were in course ignominiously beaten up. In our exhausted condition we were subjected to forced feeding by means of rubber tubes. The treatment was indescribable: thick rubber hose was shoved down our throats, the strikers were dragged into the "feeding cell" like dead cattle. There was not a single case of surrender.

On the 15th day of the strike our strike committee decided to discontinue it because many of the famished Communists tried to commit suicide. One of the G.P.U. functionaries from the Ural District appeared in the penitentiary and threatened the starving Communists with transfer to the Solovskiy Islands. Our comrades, of course, drove him from their cells. The decision of the committee to call off the hunger strike was accepted by all the strikers unanimously. The G.P.U. representative was compelled to make a verbal promise (for some reason he refused to put it in writing) that all those who had served their sentences would be freed. Since my sentence terminated on January 22, 1934, I was transferred to the cell of those about to be "freed."

On January 22, I was consequently set "free." Under a close guard, I was shipped to Central Asia, under the jurisdiction of the Central-Asiatic G.P.U. We arrived in Tashkent, there being two of us—myself and comrade Zhanntev. In Tashkent we were lodged in jail; the next day, after stubborn protests, we were exiled, without being sentenced. Zhanntev to the city of Frunze, myself to Andijan. And, then, in March, I sent a telegram to the Central Committee about my readiness to give up Oppositionist activity. Two months elapsed without an answer. I sent a special letter to the Central Committee. Another two months went by, and again there was no answer. Both in the telegram and in the letter I made no mention whatever as to my views. I did not consider my views and position to be "counter-revolutionary," as is usually stated by the captulators, but I emphasized that I would cease ideologic and organizational struggle against the leadership. In short, from my communications the Central Committee and the G.P.U. could conclude that the leadership under the pressure of the Opposition had not betrayed the revolution as yet, and had even corrected its mistakes on certain points. And what was most important now was to purge the party apparatus of the debris of bureaucracy, and to wage a struggle against advancing Fascism by combined forces of the Communists and revolutionary forces in the U.S.S.R. and the whole world.

Torn From His Family

My renunciation of the Oppositionist struggle was sincere. Even at the present time I still hold to this point of view. From 1933, after the victory of Fascism in Germany, I took the position that all the communist and revolutionary forces of the entire world had to be united against the Fascist reaction, no matter what the cost, without regard to the internal differences between proletarian organizations, no matter how serious these might be. This is the point of view that I defended among the comrades. But under no condition would I agree to solidarize with the bureaucracy, as I emphasized in my letter of April, 1934 to the Central Committee. I always held and still hold the standpoint of a stubborn and merciless struggle against the brazen bureaucracy which has usurped the rights of our party. My sincere letter and telegram to the C.E.C. and the G.P.U. were assumed, however, by the bureaucracy to be the first step of an ignominious capitulation. The miserable bureaucrat considered that I had become worn out in prisons and exile during the long years, torn away from my family, my wife and child, that I could bear up no longer and was ready at last to kneel before the G.P.U. pleading for mercy. The miserable bureaucrat overlooked that in my letter I asked no mercy, but demanded the restoration of my party rights. The miserable bureaucrat evidently attached no importance to my words when I said, "I cannot fool the party, I am not a bystander, I am a revolutionist and I am unable to serve passively in order to keep my belly full. I was an active communist—I still am and will remain one; there isn't anything or anybody in this world that can sever me from my genuinely communist convictions; I considered and still consider the views of Trotsky and his followers to be genuine communist views. These views are a direct continuation of the views of Marx and Lenin."

The "Interview"

"Tell me, please, do you consider your views counter-revolutionary, or don't you? In your opinion, is the Opposition and its activities counter-revolutionary or no? Do you think that Trotsky, for example, is the leader of the counter-revolutionary vanguard of the bourgeoisie, or don't you?" In answer I went into a detailed exposition of my views as to the Opposition, headed by Trotsky, and in turn I asked such questions as, "And, what do you say, dear comrade, are these views of mine counter-revolutionary? Do you consider counter-revolutionary our Oppositionist work from 1923 up to 1930 against the Right opportunist tendency in the Party? Indeed, in 1930 Centrism also began to fight against the Rights. Is one to consider this struggle counter-revolutionary too? As regards Trotsky, in my opinion, he is the most unswerving revolutionist de-

Given Long Terms Without A Trial Revolutionists Are Beaten and Shot

voted to the cause of the world proletariat. I consider him my ideological companion and comrade, I have no wish to fool the party, I can not consider as counter-revolutionary the revolutionary views of the Opposition."

My interlocutor would sit mum, with his head on his chest. Incidentally, this chap was a fine fellow with some brains. But apparently he had had little occasion to listen to Oppositionists themselves, but he had heard a great deal about them from the official sources. . . . I had an identical conversation with one of the representatives of the local section of the G.P.U. I remarked, among other things: "What is your opinion of such an act of lawlessness as this: I have passed six months in exile already without any sentence being passed, after serving a three year prison term." The assistant chief of the G.P.U. in answer pulled out from a drawer some kind of a paper and read me a new sentence, three years in exile. But for some unknown reason he refused to allow me to read the sentence myself. This, of course, was a common trick on the part of the apparatus hirelings. They probably wished to scare me with a new sentence so as to make me switch on the Opposition. Here I became completely convinced that these miserable functionaries had long ceased being communists, that I had to deal with a gang of hard-boiled bureaucrats who were incapable of understanding the integrity of sincere revolutionary words. Nevertheless I decided to go to Moscow, and personally speak with the upper crust of the party apparatus, in order to find out at last precisely what it represents, what sort of people were they who shriek about revolution and socialism and communism and compel me to consider my purely communist views as counter-revolutionary. In May I sent a telegram to the C.E.C. with a request for permission to go to Moscow to have some personal interviews concerning my case. This time I sent a telegram, with an answer prepaid. But it was useless—there was no answer. My attempts to gain permission to go to Moscow for personal interviews were not crowned with success. Then I decided to go without any permission. En route it became all too clear to me that no one would listen to me in Moscow, and that I would be immediately arrested for having fled from exile. I had no recourse left, except to escape abroad.

functionary became confused when I refused categorically. I told him, "Up to now I fought against the C.E.C., and I fought according to all the rules of the Opposition; I assume the responsibility of this struggle against the leadership without proceeding from considerations of my own personal welfare. I have in mind the necessity of a joint struggle on the part of all the revolutionary forces of the proletariat against the advancing counter-revolution. I cease the struggle not because I am in agreement with the opportunistic views of the bureaucratic upper-crust of the party, but because I hope our party will still succeed in restoring its rights and drive the brazen usurpers from its ranks."

But whom are you telling this to? The apparatus bureaucracy, of course, well understood my letters and telegrams. That is why it refused to reply to my application. I remained in exile, without any new sentence having been passed on me. For some how or other, the government finds it difficult, without even a false document, to sentence one of its citizens to some sort of punishment. The tasks of the party bureaucracy boils down to isolating and torturing the Oppositionists until they publicly turn into so many rags, i.e., into miserable, political bystanders. The bureaucrat just does not want you to be a real communist. He has no need for it. He finds it harmful, and mortally dangerous. The bureaucrat does not want a self-reliant communist, he wants miserable dunks, grafters, and bystanders of the worst type. That's what he needs. He does not want a Communist party, he tolerates only the name in order to use it for his usurping aims. Sad to say, the bureaucracy has attained its goal in many cases. Many Oppositionists were unable to withstand the harsh and interminable isolation—and they capitulated. But in my case, the bureaucracy made a mistake.

Communist Despite All!

In jail, in exile, and emigration I remained what I was, a Communist, a devoted defender of the Soviet power and of the socialist construction. The land of the Soviets is my fatherland, in the socialist sense of the term. Under a different rule, under the rule of the enemies of the proletariat it would be alien to me. I am always ready to the last moment of my life to fight for the land of the Soviets. Is it conceivable that under a genuine proletarian rule the struggle against bureaucrats, thieves, and plunderers who unscrupulously appropriate Soviet wealth and who are the cause for ruining hundreds of thousands in hunger and cold—is it conceivable that a struggle, or even a mere protest against these scoundrels would be considered a counter-revolutionary crime? For my fight was for internal proletarian party democracy; I fought for a Leninist program, and Leninist statutes of our party. I fought and will continue to fight against a self-appointed leadership, and a party apparatus bound by mutual oath. For, according to the statutes of our party, the elected party, trade union and Soviet organs must be re-elected annually from top to bottom. But what do we see today? The post of party secretary has become a sort of speciality. If, for example, a Kahyani had served 8 years as secretary in the C.E.C. of Georgia until the membership would no longer tolerate him not only as the secretary of the Georgian C.E.C. but in the party as a whole, then this specialist in the craft of General Secretaryship departs from Tiflis, on the good counsel of the supreme authorities of course, and hies himself to Alma Ata, again as General Secretary of Kazakhstan. And a Mirzoyan belongs to the same species as Kahyani—from Baku to Ural'sk as the secretary of the District Committee. It is precisely for this reason that the party leadership feels itself absolutely under no obligation to party masses who presumably elected him. They recognize only supreme authority of the upper crust of the party apparatus. Hence flows the shameful servility and the shameful mutual covering-up of the bureaucratic upper-crust. Of course, under these conditions the party mass puts no trust in the leadership. As regards the non-party working class masses, the latter see the party only in the shape of the apparatus, and put no trust in the Communist Party as a whole. Hence flows the administrative pressure upon the party and the working class. That is why all falls, Solovskiy Islands and exile areas are crammed today with party and non-party workers. And there is no need to talk about the peasants.

A Bureaucrat and a Communist

Never in my life have I run across so malicious and cynical a functionary as the assistant chief of the local G.P.U. section, Margolin by name, who, after reading my telegram to the C.E.C. and the G.P.U. addressed me as follows: "Now, what can you tell us about your organization? Who was the leader of the Opposition movement in the Caucasus? Where did you function actively? We must make it hot for these Trotskyists." The miserable

is being written in the official press, and so much pother made by outstanding officials—as if they, too, are not loth to struggle against bureaucracy. But in reality, let some one dare point a finger at a bureaucrat—and it is prison, or exile, or, at any rate, unemployment. And do any of you know what it means to be unemployed under the present regime? It means outright ruin for the family of the unemployed. He wanders from one office to the next, and is refused everywhere, despite the fact that suitable work is available. Everywhere every conceivable personage finds employment, there are jobs for thieves and swindlers. But there is no job for a man who comes out against the bureaucracy.

Destroying the Revolution

At party and workers' meetings the assembled are in complete apathy. They have to be almost driven to meetings. Not only non-party but even party workers are very reluctant to go to meetings. At the meetings, "hold" speeches can be made only by the party and trade union parrots. They can be so bold as to always and everywhere praise the leadership, beginning with Stalin, and then down the line according to rank. Then a resolution is presented, and the assembled are terrorized by labelling as counter-revolutionists anyone who dares to object even to a single point in the resolution. Naturally, such a situation in the country tends to discredit the authority of the Soviet power and of the Revolution. The party leadership has despotically terrorized the entire party. In the party there is a complete lack of the conscious party discipline which was once the pride of our party. Barracks discipline reigns in the party, a mechanical fulfillment of orders. Hence, it is easily understandable why all sorts of grafters, charlatans, and shady characters of every description—thieves of the "gentleman" type—feel very much at ease and are very bold in the party, the Soviet, and trade union apparatuses, and consider it their native duty to look upon Soviet wealth as their own "property." And who is there to supervise them? Who is there to punish them for the plundered national resources? The rank and file communists? Sad to say, the latter have been frightened by prisons and the Solovskiy Islands, where languish for many long years the boldest communist and non-party workers, under lock and key, behind bars. Is it really possible that the world proletariat will maintain silence while in the land of the So-

vipts the imprisoned communists hang out the red banner from their cell-bars on the anniversaries of the October Revolution, and the turnkeys rip it down with rakes? . . .

Even the Infants Persecuted

Unfortunately I am unable here to dwell on all the abominations perpetrated in the Soviet prisons under the regime of the usurpers. I will depict only a single scene that I witnessed. In the Petropavlovsk prison, in a small cell, some 25 cubic meters in volume, are lodged 35 women, eight with suckling infants. The cell is ventilated by a peep-hole. I shall never forget those tiny emaciated bodies—I saw them through the peep-hole of our cell. The children stood in line, clasping their mothers' bosom in order to obtain their infinitesimal ration of fresh air at the peep-hole. Let the world proletariat look upon this brand of shame on the faces of the jail-keepers of the plebsitary regime. Is it conceivable that there were no communists in this city? Is it possible that they remained uninterested in the jails of their city where thousands were suffering from hunger, cold and filth? Wasn't there a prosecuting attorney? One is ashamed even to mention this title. There were! They were all there! Even a member of the Central Committee was in this city at the time—Mikoyan, by name. His picture was printed on the front page of the local paper. But Mikoyan was a personage in transit, his arrival could serve only as the signal for arresting an additional hundred women with suckling babes. One can refrain from mentioning Mikoyan. But what were the local communists doing? Nothing! They have no independent voice. They haven't the right to think. For example, if a suckling babe is in the hands of an arrested working or a peasant woman, then it means that the baby is guilty, it must sit in its mother's lap in a small cell with 35 women, and stand in line for "fresh" air.

The brazen bureaucracy of the Stalinist regime will label my words counter-revolutionary. Let them label them as they will. My duty is to tell the truth, and only the truth, for truth is the most dependable weapon in the hands of the proletariat against its enemies. Indeed, if all the working class organizations told only the truth and nothing but the truth, then the victory of the world proletariat over its enemies would have been assured long ago.

A. TAROV.
August 4, 1935

Plenum Meets; Plans A Campaign Against War

The third plenary meeting of the National Committee of the Workers Party, held at New York October 4-9, adopted resolutions on the main party problems and issued the call for the second convention of the party which is to convene December 26 at New York. The intensive discussion which has been taking place in the party ranks since the June meeting of the N. C. is to be continued at membership meetings and in the party internal bulletin until the convention.

The plenum held open sessions with the New York party members and numerous delegations from other cities in attendance. Party opinion on the main questions, which has crystallized in the course of the three-months' discussion, was reflected also in a strong consolidation of the leadership at the plenum. All the important political resolutions presented by the Political Committee were adopted by a vote of 18 to 2.

Comrades Stamm and Oehler were similarly isolated on the general resolution dealing with tactics and methods of building the party and our attitude toward opponent organizations. The resolution on the internal situation drew attention to the repeated violations of party discipline committed by the Oehler-Stamm group and the repeated censures and warnings of the political committee and the protests of party branches against their disruptive course. The resolution specifically provided that the opposition comrades are to be assured full party democratic rights in the pre-convention discussion as hitherto. Their resolutions and articles are to be published in the internal bulletin for the information of all party members and they are to be given adequate time to present their point of view in the branch and general membership discussion meetings. As a further safeguard of the rights of the minority, elections to the party convention are to take place on the basis of proportional representation. At the same time the plenum resolution gave the Oehler-Stamm group a final warning that further violations of discipline and acts of disruption and disloyalty to the party will not be tolerated.

The first point on the agenda was devoted to a discussion of the Leninist position on the war situation and the preparation of the party to meet the test of war. Party activity in the next period is to be organized around a campaign on the question of war, public agitation being supplemented by intensive study and discussion in the party ranks. In addition to the public statement issued by the plenum the Political Committee was instructed to prepare material for the branches in the campaign.

Following the plenum the party is swinging into action through its campaign on the war question and in other fields, while also carrying forward intensive discussion in preparation for the December convention.

Extended discussion took place on the subject of international relations and the struggle for the Fourth International which stood as the second point on the agenda. The resolution of the Political Committee, adopted by a vote of 18 to 2, declared in favor of an international conference to proclaim the establishment of the Fourth International and expressed full solidarity with the International Communist League and the R.S.A.P. of Holland in their common struggle toward this goal. The tactics of the Bolshevik-Leninists in entering the French Socialist Party were specifically endorsed. The proposal of comrades Oehler and Stamm to "condemn" the tactics of the Bolshevik-Leninists in this respect, already rejected by the overwhelming majority of the party in the pre-

vious discussion, was likewise rejected by the plenum. The reference to our French comrades as "capitulators" was branded as impermissible slander which has nothing in common with the attitude of the Workers Party.

CHICAGO MEETING
"ETHIOPIA—
Beginning of a New World War"
Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
SUNDAY, OCT. 27, 2:30 P.M.
Capitol Bldg., Room 412
189 No. State Street.
ADMISSION FREE
UNEMPLOYED 15c
Aus: Chicago branch of W. P.

