

NEW MILITANT

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

VOL. 2, NO. 8 [WHOLE NO. 60]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1936

PRICE 3 CENTS

Mass Action Forces Amnesty In Spain

Dutch Gov't Clamps Down on Revolutionary Party, RSAP, for Anti-Imperialist Campaign

Fourth Internationalists Strike Back as Police Raid Homes, Party Printshop, Confiscate Issue of 'Nieuwe Fakkelt', Party Organ

Dutch imperialism is cracking down on our sister party, the Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party of the Netherlands. Court procedure has been instituted against the party and its organ, De Nieuwe Fakkelt and copies of the February 1 issue have been confiscated. The printing office of the party has been searched as have the homes of officers and some of the active members.

The R.S.A.P. replied to this attempt of the Dutch reactionaries, supported also by the so-called "Democrats" in the Colyn cabinet, by putting in "Emergency Apparatus" into action and promptly getting out a special two-page issue of February 1, number 37-A to replace the confiscated No. 37. At the mast-head of this extra edit'ion of the Nieuwe Fakkelt stands the defiant challenge to the reactionary foe: of the working class: "I was, I am and I will be!"

The immediate occasion for the attack of the Netherlands Department of Justice on the Nieuwe Fakkelt was an article appearing in the January 24 issue and dealing with the poverty, starvation and tuberculosis in the East Indian possession of Dutch imperialism. Like every other imperialist government the Netherlands government is extremely nervous about the danger of revolt in colonial possession which, as capitalism cranks up, must be exploited ever more extremely and brutally. The government accordingly sensitive to reveal one of this extreme exploitation and repression in the colonies. Besides, articles of this kind tend to draw together into alliance those two foes of imperialism, the exploited colonial peoples on the one hand, and the exploited proletariat in the home country, on the other hand. By no means, therefore, must information of this kind be permitted to see the light of day.

The cartoon in the extra edition of the Nieuwe Fakkelt represents a caption in which "Freedom of the Press Lies Buried." The decoration in the margin consist of reproductions of the Dutch equivalent of the dollar sign. The caption of the cartoon quotes ironically a well-known Dutch folk song which speaks of the people "living free and blithe on Holland's precious soil."

Only Shadow of Democracy Left

The leading editorial states: "Of democracy in the Netherlands scarcely a shadow remains after two and a half years of the Colyn government. We have never expected anything else. In a crisis the Dutch bourgeoisie has broken with its past. With unseemly haste it has come forward with its program which unloads the results of the capitalist crisis on the shoulders of the broad masses. The bourgeoisie asks help from the government by way of loans, on the one hand, and reduction in unemployment insurance and other social benefits for the masses, on the other hand.

"At the same time the class government also takes political precautions. Traditions of freedom and toleration, yes, indeed! But everything has its limits, and these limits are now reached when the bourgeoisie, finding itself in ever deeper perplexity, becomes frantic."

Burying the Bourgeois Tradition

The editorial then recalls the struggle of the Netherlands against Spanish oppression in the 17th century, the battles against Napoleon in the beginning of the 19th century and other historical occurrences to which the liberals of the Netherlands have looked back for generations with pride. "But the sons of the battlers for freedom in the past who specialize on what they call national recovery know no greater concern today than the complete annihilation of the rights and liberties which a rising and strong middle class once struggled to obtain."

"Despite the swift attack from a nervous imperialist cabinet, the Nieuwe Fakkelt is here! Without any loss of time support was rallied to our 'Emergency Apparatus' and 6,000 copies of this special issue run off and their distribution begun." The editorial calls for renewed financial support, renewed activity of the party in all directions, and for the revolutionary overthrow of Dutch imperialism.

Vigilantes Prosecute Militants

Leader of Cal. Tar-Feather Mob Sues Victims for Assault and Battery

By ERNEST BESIG
Director, A.C.L.U., N. Cal. Branch
SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Feb. 16.—Jack Green and Sol Nitzberg, Santa Rosa tar and feather victims, have been made defendants in a \$2,500 damage suit filed in the Superior Court of Sonoma County, charging them with assault and battery. The plaintiffs in the case include Fred Cairns, alleged leader of the tar mob, and Harold G. Campbell, said to be a resident of Petaluma. Cairns is a defendant in two federal court damage suits brought by Nitzberg and Green which followed as an aftermath of the tar and feather party on August 21. Federal Judge Roche recently denied Cairns' motion to dismiss Green's suit and a new motion to transfer the case to the Sacramento federal court will shortly come on for a hearing.

The complaint in the present suit alleges that Cairns and Campbell went upon the highways in Sonoma County of August 21 for the purpose of detecting and apprehending such persons as might in Plaintiff's presence be engaged in the commission of crimes and offenses against the persons or property of residents and tax payers of said County. It is claimed that while they were on the streets of Santa Rosa, Green and Nitzberg "did pull, push, jerk, jostle and strike Plaintiff's... threatened to

(Continued on Page 4)

FRISCO CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL CALLS FOR RELEASE OF MINI

SAN FRANCISCO.—A resolution calling upon the California parole board to release Norman Mini and his seven fellow prisoners was passed unanimously by the Central Labor Council last week.

Norman Mini, overworked in the jute mill at San Quentin, collapsed on the job last week. Latest reports indicate that his condition is not critical.

The eight Sacramento criminal syndicalism prisoners, sentenced

from one to fourteen years, come up before the parole board on February 25th to have their sentences set. They have been in jail about a year. San Francisco's Labor Council called upon the board to set the sentences at the minimum.

The action of the central body was taken in labor circles here as a repudiation of Paul Scharrenberg, reactionary secretary of the state federation, who recently attacked the National Sacramento Appeal Committee's fight for the prisoners.

Another Enemy of Labor Enters Presidential Race

Landon "Balanced Budget" at Expense of Workers, Unemployed and Poor Farmers

By JAMES EVANS
An evasive little Kansas politician is getting a great deal of publicity nowadays. Whenever one picks up a capitalist newspaper, there is some mention of Governor Alf Landon as a presidential possibility. Landon is continually compared to the somewhat lamented Cal Coolidge, who was certainly anything besides a walking brain-storm; but who had the good fortune to serve as chief executive while American capitalism was enjoying a temporary boom.

If Landon should be the Republican nominee, every attempt will be made to capitalize upon popular discontent by his campaign managers. Some slogan such as the "Back to normalcy" cry of 1920, or the "Keep Cool with Coolidge" motto will be used to trick the eleven million unemployed into voting Republican. Landon himself will be portrayed as the greatest exceptive genius who ever banged on empty dinner-pails for votes. At the same time, he will be praised to the Chamber of Commerce as the man who balanced the budget in Kansas.

No Friend of Labor

This man, Landon, is no friend of the workers. I have lived in Kansas, and I know that the main accomplishment of the genial Alf was to enlarge the bread-lines. When Landon assumed office in 1933, the wages of all state employees were immediately reduced 25 percent. The dismissal of an equal percentage of these employees resulted in a stretch-out system for those remaining on the job. The precedent created by the Governor caused a sharp drop in wages and private employment all over the state.

At a time when the condition of Kansas workers and farmers was insufferable, Landon refused to consider any system of state relief. The entire obligation of feeding the hungry was turned over to local county administrators. During 1934, the 105 counties of Kansas appropriated the total of less than two million dollars to feed several hundred thousand starving people. Evidently, Governor Landon gave the county officials the wink when he passed the buck to them.

"Balancing the Budget"

Then came another of the periodic droughts to which the Middle West is subject. Kansas farmers watched their cattle drop from lack of grass and water. The local merchants discontinued credit, and the bankers swooped down on the mortgaged lands like carrion crows. This was no concern of Alf's with several million saluted away. He continued to "balance the budget."

But in a pinch, one group of the ruling-class can always be depended upon to protect a similar, if opposing, group. Federal Relief Administrator Harry Hopkins growled in his buttons, but saw that relief money went to Kansas. During the crucial period of 1934, \$30,000,000 in relief checks, plus a large amount of AAA funds, went to insure "order" in that state. Mr. Hopkins had helped Alf balance his budget, thus indirectly bettering the latter's chances as a presidential candidate.

Once again well imagine what would happen to the unemployed of the nation if Landon were to become president. The very slight relief benefits, now conferred after fierce struggles, would be automatically discontinued.

Ficketts Blockade Akron Co.

Threat of Injunction as Lines Stay Solid in Walkout

BULLETIN
AKRON, Ohio, Feb. 21.—Good-year Tire plants remained idle here as large mass picket lines blockaded all gates and kept scabs at bay. Officials, unable to break through the line, in action for four days, have applied to the courts for an injunction. Sheriff James T. Flower declared his readiness to violently smash through the lines in case of a favorable court decision.

By JACK WILSON
AKRON, Ohio, Feb. 16.—Rubber workers at Goodyear threatened to strike this week unless the company took back seventy-five Plant-2 workers layed off last week, thus bringing the crises throughout the tire industry to another open flare-up.

Already the company was forced to swallow its statement that 137 workers who lead the latest "sit-down" at Plant 2 last Friday were permanently fired.

The plant, which ordinarily runs on Saturday and Monday, was closed down by the company until Tuesday, 6 a.m. in the hope that the workers could be pacified in the meantime.

Instead, workers flocked to the headquarters of the Goodyear local of the United Rubber Workers of America, and joined solidly into the growing movement to stop lay-offs and wage cuts once and for all through a strike.

"Calling the Bosses' Hand"

The last "sitdown" was joined by 2,000 firebuilders at Plant-2 and drew sympathetic "sitdowns" from all other departments which have another 2,000 men.

When the company threatened to fire the entire third shift department, a rubberworker took the floor in the factory and told the personnel manager, Fred Cline, "You've been ordering us workers around for a long time, now it's our turn."

The company announced that the 137 men on that shift, "ring leaders" were fired. But when the entire plant made preparations to strike on Saturday, the company officials called the company union together and "negotiated" a rehiring of the men.

One for All, All for One!

A union committee meets Monday at 1 P.M. with the management to demand the rehiring of the 75 men. If the company refuses, the rubberworkers at a mass rally Monday night will vote on shutting down the plant Tuesday morning.

At a rally Sunday afternoon, over 1,000 workers voted their sentiment for strike by cheering speak-

(Continued on Page 4)

Government Compelled To Release 30,000

Following the stormy upsurge of the Spanish masses, which marked the most dramatic return to self-confident activity to be witnessed in the world labor movement in years, the Azana government was today compelled to sign an amnesty decree which will effect the release of some 30,000 class war prisoners.

The thousands of men and women confined to capitalist dungeons in Spain were victims of the revenge taken by the ruling class for the heroic uprising of the masses in October 1934 in defense of their rights threatened by the clerical-fascist reaction.

The imposing demonstrations which forced the amnesty are an encouraging indication that the Spanish masses are unwilling to allow their militant sentiments to be wiped out by parliamentary illusions disseminated by their leaders following upon the impressive electoral victory over the reaction.

Force State Wide WPA Wage Rise

Ohio Pay Increase Laid to Organizations

By ART PREIS
TOLEDO, Feb. 18.—In an attempt to forestall state-wide strike action

of the W.P.A. workers of Ohio, Carl Watson, W.P.A. head, today announced a 10 percent pay boost for all categories of W.P.A. workers in the state.

The increase is retroactive thru February 16.

Announcement of the pay rise came within three days following the issuance of a twenty-four county conference call to W.P.A. workers and the Unemployed Leagues in Northwest Ohio to organize a wide-spread move to gain the increase and other concessions. The call was issued by the W.P.A. Workers Union of Lucas County and the Lucas County Unemployed League, and the conference will be held February 23 in Toledo.

Pressure from all over the state by project and unemployed organizations forced through the increase. A conference of the Ohio Workers Alliance in Columbus last Saturday, with a reported representation from twenty-one counties agreed to take a strike poll if the pay boost was not immediately effected. The combined activities and threat of action on the part of the Unemployed League, Workers Alliance and W. P. A. unions throughout the state is acknowledged by the W.P.A. administration and daily press to have won the increase.

The Blade Concedes Victory

The Toledo Blade stated today: "The announcement of the pay raise, it is expected, may avert a strike of W.P.A. common labor threats of which have been heard not only here but throughout the state. The Workers Alliance and

(Continued from Page 3)

Nearly two years of reactionary repression have failed to quench the revolutionary spirit of the Spanish workers and peasants. Last Sunday's general elections, the first opportunity the masses have had to register their irreconcilable opposition to capitalism, resulted in an overwhelming vote for a new social order. While the bourgeois-reformist character of the program of the "Peoples Front" for which the votes were cast is an affirming commentary on the leaders of the workers' parties who signed it, the significance of the election to the masses was expressed by their coming out on the streets to take the first fruits of their victory by freeing all political prisoners.

The resemblance of the present situation to that of 1931 is obvious. Then, too, a coalition of bourgeois-republicans and Socialists formally held power. One present difference is that, by entering a coalition for the elections, the bourgeois republicans gained for themselves the lion's share in parliamentary representation. In 1931 the bourgeois republicans had a comparatively small number of deputies; the Socialists were the largest single force in parliament. The present agreement for the election gave the Republican Left of Azana and the Republican Union of Martinez Barrios a majority of the deputies. On the first returns the bourgeois Republicans had 110 deputies, the Socialists, 81. Thus the workers' parties voluntarily subordinated themselves to their bourgeois allies, who represent an insignificant section of the Spanish population.

The resurgence of the Spanish proletariat has drawn into political life for the first time the masses of workers and peasants, who on principle abstained in all previous elections. The women also came out in unprecedented numbers. The temper of the masses is indicated by the fact that during the election campaign Largo Caballero had to assure his audiences that the coalition with the bourgeoisie was merely a "tactical expedient" and that the election would be merely a stepping stone to a Soviet Spain. However, reports from Spain indicate that the Socialists are planning to support their bourgeois allies in the new cabinet. In any event Caballero will have to repudiate the "Peoples Front" electoral program before the Socialist leadership can take the road of struggle.

While the capitalist press carries alarmist reports from Spain that capitalists and aristocrats are fleeing the country, the Spanish communist press editorials, as reported here in the Spanish-American press, indicate little fear of anything more than a parliamentary overturn. Even the organ of the Catholic leader, Gil Robles, confines itself to a demand that the present cabinet remain in office until the March 1 run-off of closely contested seats. On Wednesday the labor and left-republican press had not yet commented on the elections, although by that date it was definitely ascertained that the "Peoples Front" had a clear majority.

The only directives issued by the workers' parties were exhortations to their followers not to create disorder! When the workers in many cities attempted to translate their victory immediately into action by releasing the 30,000 political prisoners rotting in the dungeons, newly-elected Communist and Republican deputies went into the streets to urge the masses to disperse.

Stallard publicists here and abroad spoke of the Spanish situation as a "revolutionary crisis." This is correct enough. But such an estimate calls for decisive mobilization of the proletariat for a revolutionary offensive, instead of the parliamentary cretinism of the "Peoples Front". However, the Daily Worker cable from Moscow of February 18 shows that the So-

(Continued on Page 4)

THE STALIN FRAME-UP MILL AT WORK

Editor's Note: The following letter was sent by L. D. Trotsky to Olav Scheffo, connected with the newspaper "Soerlandet," one of the organs of the Norwegian Labor Party, now being violently attacked by the Norwegian Stalinists for daring to defend Trotsky against the slander campaign of Stalin-Yagoda. The contents are self-explanatory.

January 30, 1936

The local Stalinist paper "Arbeideren"—central organ of Stalinist C.P. has just published a dispatch that Trotsky is waging a war against the Soviet Union, in an alliance with Hearst, the American newspaper magnate, a world famous thief and ally of Hitler. According to this dispatch, I published a series of articles in the Hearst press under my own name. One day before the "Arbeideren" published this sensation, I received a cable from New York, from my friends there, dealing with the fraud perpetrated by Hearst. I sent immediately following cable to Cannon in N.Y.:

PUBLICATION OF TAROV ARTICLE BY HEARST COMMON PRESS GANGSTERISM STOP BUT IMPUDENCE OF HEARST NO EXCUSE FOR CRIMES OF STALIN CLIQUE STOP GAVE

STATEMENT TO ASSOCIATED PRESS UNDERSIGNED

At the same time I gave a statement to the A.P.

It is most highly interesting that the small "Arbeideren" was immediately apprised by cable from N.Y. about my alleged articles, i. e., the fraud perpetrated by Hearst. It is self-evident that the other papers of the Comintern were even more simply instructed on this matter, so that they could do their best or worst. This shows that involved here is not only Hearst's press trust, but another and much more important "trust".

To make my thoughts clear to you, I will cite another instance: On July 20, 1931 a Polish newspaper "Kuryer Codzienny" gave a prominent display to a leading article allegedly signed by me. This article was a forgery concocted from a few small quotations from an article of mine combined with several of the crudest inventions and supplements by the forger.

The Moscow Pravda immediately published an enormous facsimile reproduction of this article under the heading: "Pilsudski's New Aid". At the same time this article was printed somewhere in "New York City" by an arch-reactionary newspaper. Thereupon I sent a

brief note to Pravda demanding a retraction of its own report, in order not to impede the Russian workers and peasants. In any case, in the Bulletin of Russian Opposition (of which I am the editor) and in many other papers, I not only disproved this matter but also proved that the "Kuryer Codzienny" obtained the forgery through an agent of the GPU UPON ORDERS FROM MOSCOW, in order thus to obtain sensational material for a campaign of slander.

Matters are not much different today. The revelations of Tarov and Ciliga are highly embarrassing to the Stalinists, for they involve not theoretical or political discussions but hard and irrefutable facts. These facts come all the less prominently to the Stalinists because in the course of the recent months ACCORDING TO THE DATA IN THE MOSCOW PRESS not less than 10,000 (in reality many more) Bolshevik-Leninists have been expelled from the party—i. e., naturally, placed under arrest, and sent to concentration camps, exile etc.

Are we perhaps dealing here with the enemies of the Soviet Union? You may rest assured that in the hour of greatest danger when 99 per cent of the so-called "Friends of the S.U." and perhaps a goodly

half of the Soviet bureaucracy will betray the October Revolution on these men who were arrested will be its truest defenders. Their "crime" precisely lay in their desire to save the October revolution from infamy and degeneration, namely, they were against the social inequality that is growing sky high, against the intolerable pressure on the workers, against the introduction of ranks into the Red Army headed by the Marshals, etc.

To parry these unpleasant revelations Moscow must find some means of diversion, for they are not in position to operate with facts and political arguments. They tried to implicate me in the Kirov affair; they failed, because the terroristic act of Nikolaiev, directed by the G.P.U. took a very serious turn. The bullet was fired before Yagoda and Medved could place under arrest the organization on they themselves controlled. Then they tried the matter of the Zeller postcard. Again, without much success. From now on they intend to let it be known that whoever speaks about the abominable crimes of the Moscow bureaucracy is a brother-in-arms of Hitler. It is self-understood that the world react on will try to put to use every revelation,

Even when the mild Maxton casts a sharp word against the Labor Party in Parliament, the Dichtors applaud ironically. Are these grounds for Maxton to keep quiet?

In order that reaction be unable to make use of the villainies of the Stalin clique, the villainies must cease and not the revelations.

I do not know whether Hearst lifted certain of my articles directly from the Russian Bulletin or whether his "assistant" who may well be an "assistant" of the G.P.U. at the same time has concocted some sort of a series of articles for him. The gist of the matter is hardly altered thereby. I will try to present Hearst for fraud or literary theft. But this will not alter anything. Hearst's rascality is not a mitigating circumstance for the crimes of the Moscow Bolsheviks.

Since the "Arbeideren" also makes mention of my personally in its new exposure, I am supplying you with this information which is completely at your disposal. You can make any use of it you may deem necessary.

At the same time I am sending a copy of this note with the self-same aim to the foreign editor of the "Arbeiderblad".

Left Wing Group Gains in Phila Needle Trades Union

Stalinists and Lovestonites Support Administration; Sabotage United Front

PHILADELPHIA.—Local Phila. ILGWU passed thru one of the most exciting elections ever held in its history. This election, an emergency election granted by the G.E.B. in order to eliminate, if possible, a bitter factional fight between two office-seeking elements, which threatened the very existence of the organization.

The conditions of the workers in the shops, as a result, were going from bad to worse. All sorts of union violations were taking place. Wage cuts, lengthening of hours, discrimination against active and militant workers was a daily occurrence, but the officials were too busy establishing their power in the office to do anything.

The Stalinist "Rank and File Committee" together with the Lovestonite "Progressives," were supporting the administration against the remnants of the old Reiberg regime, who sought to regain control of the union by assuming the role of fighters for better conditions for the workers in the industry.

Although, when Reiberg was manager, he fought bitterly against groups, his followers imitated the soft wing and organized themselves into a committee, held meetings outside of the union, and instructed their members to carry out their policy. Hence, their members, who were in the majority in the cotton local Executive controlling also the delegation to the Joint Board, kept up a continuous struggle against the other faction which dominated the majority of the Joint Board. In spite of the fact that the Cotton Local is the largest local, it is a minority on the Joint Board, since representation on that body is not on a proportional basis. The fight in the Joint Board finally reached a point where the cotton delegation walked out of its meeting and the other faction took advantage of the situation to expel them.

A Disgraceful Squabble

The Reiberg group immediately got to work in the cotton Executive and sent a committee to the G.E.B. which was to meet in Cleveland. A few days later a membership meeting of the cotton local was broken up and police were called in. The Stalinists and Progressives added to the general disorder, by lining up with the manager, who refused to permit the chairlady (a Reiberg follower) to open or conduct the meeting.

The general membership, ignorant of the squabble, did not participate in this disgraceful performance, many left in disgust.

Meanwhile, a new group has sprung up. They called themselves the "Militants." Although many of the members are not only new to the movement, but to unionism, the group already shows promise of a future genuine left wing.

"Militants" Issue Leaflet

A leaflet was issued by the group exposing both factions, that were bringing ruin and demoralization into the union, calling on the workers to get rid of these cliques, by demanding new general elections on a more proportional basis. The leaflet aroused great interest. Simultaneously, the "rank and file" committee handed out a circular, in which they further showed their line-up with the administration by asking for the election of a new cotton delegation to the Joint Board as the only solution.

However, because of the interest aroused among the workers in the shops, the "Militants" were urged to get together with other progressive elements on the basis of their leaflet.

A conference was called in which the "Militants" and the "rank and file" committee participated. The Progressives were invited but did not show up.

The "Militants" proposed a united front to demand general elections, as a means of ridding the union of the two right wing and reactionary factions and to establish a real progressive leadership and policy in the union.

"Impractical" . . .

The "Rank and File" delegation replied that it was impractical to make such demands, since the constitution provides for elections every two years; the administration had only been in office one year and they were not ready to agree that it should be kicked out. They were the lesser evil, in spite of wage cuts, etc. Get rid of the main evil, the Reiberg faction, by electing a new joint board delegation. Besides, a general election would certainly not be granted by the national office. No agreement was reached and the conference was disbanded.

A few days later a telegram was received, granting new general elections. A committee appointed by the Cleveland G.E.B. to investigate the critical Phila. situation found that an emergency existed in the union and since the constitution provides for such cases, special elections were granted.

Although the majority of the joint board offered some resistance, the election machinery was immediately set into motion by the G.E.B. committee who were here to supervise the proceedings. Everything was put through very quickly eliminating the time periods set by the constitution.

No sooner was the meeting opened than the "Militants" were put on trial. They were asked why they had formed a separate group. The delegation was fully aware of the reason for this question. Already branded as "Trotskyites" everywhere especially by the Stalinists and if they did not state this openly the "Militants" were well aware of the meaning of this question. They therefore refused to be provoked into a discussion insisting that the question before the body was the coming elections, that time was pressing, that a united front must be set up in order to defeat the right wing. Thereupon an attack was launched upon the leadership of the "Militants" in order to drive a wedge between the new members and those who had helped organize the group.

This attack which consisted of the typical lies and slanders of the Stalinists and their Lovestonite henchmen had the opposite effect from the one intended. These new members left with the feeling that these people no longer represent a healthy left wing policy in the union and a new left wing movement must be built.

The Stalinist Line-up

The following night, at a membership meeting of the cotton local, with great ballyhoo, the Stalinists elected a majority on the "Elections-Objections" committee and for a time it looked as if they would sweep the elections. A tremendous campaign ensued. In the few days before the elections, slates were handed out and the line-up of the groups was exposed to everyone. The Stalinists and the Lovestonites were definitely lined up with the faction in control of the office, which in many respects is more reactionary than the Reiberg group. The cutters local issued their slate bearing the very interesting title "Vote for the People's Candidate."

On the day of the elections the whole C.P. machinery was mobilized behind their candidates. Workers were told not to vote for the "Militants." But the results of the elections brought out some very interesting figures.

"Militants" Gain

In spite of lack of forces to do the necessary work and other obstacles, such as the newness of the group, the "Militants," running independently, received one-third of the vote, electing two members to the executive of the cotton local where they hold the balance of power. The elections further demonstrated the correctness of the analysis of the "Militants" in their offer for a united front.

The "Rank and File" and "Progressives" with all their work and deals with the office faction, just managed to squeeze through some of their candidates, including the business agent of the Cotton local. But they constitute a minority in the Cotton Executive since the Reiberg group was able to elect all their candidates, the Executive consisting of nine Reiberg supporters, two "Militants" and eight Stalinists and their followers.

The former administration was reelected, of course, with the help of the "Rank and File" and their followers and are therefore stronger than ever. The situation remains as before. Already the Stalinists are talking of liquidating groups.

A genuine left wing must be built in the needle trades and the "Militant" group has taken the first step in this direction.

SUBSCRIBERS ATTENTION!

If the number following your name on the wrapper is

60

your subscription has EXPIRED. We urge you to send in your renewal by return mail, thus insuring the receipt of your copy without interruption.

PAUL LUTFINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTFINGER, M.D.

5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays
and Holidays.

Social Patriotism Routed in Debate Between YCL-YPSL on War Question

Shamefaced, apologetic, ever on the defensive, recognizing the unpopularity of its position before an audience of revolutionary youth, Stalinism clutched at a wordy veil to hide its social patriotic ugliness at the debate on war held in St. Nicholas Palace on February 14th.

Its representative, Gil Green, National Secretary of the Young Communist League, had the onerous task of defending pacifism, reformism, and chauvinism against a champion of revolutionary policies in the struggle against war, Gus Tyler, spokesman for the Young Peoples Socialist League. What an ironic twist of history! How strange to see the organization emerging from the split of 1919 speaking in the tones of Kautsky and the spirit of Noske and Scheidemann! How gratifying to see an organization still formally tied to the Second International proudly raising the banner of Liebknecht and Lenin!

Second Edition Social Patriots

Listening to Green as he read a prepared speech, utterly lacking in fire or forcefulness, the writer could hardly escape the impression that no one was more unconvinced than the speaker himself. We say this not out of generosity or condescension with Gil Green—for revolution exists there can only be against those who use the words of Lenin and Marx to mobilize the masses for imperialism. What is interesting for us is that the social-patriots of the second edition lack even that modicum of sincerity and conviction displayed by their infamous forebears of 1914. They, at least, thought that in defending the capitalist fatherland they were defending the socialist institutions, the trade unions, the party, the cooperatives. Their contemporary prototypes know that they are defending only . . . Stalin. What an inglorious end of Lenin's Comintern!

Tyler's job was therefore an easy one and as he lashed at Stalinism with the whip of revolutionary Marxism, Green could only whine and plead: "Don't be impractical . . . and fatalistic . . . and passive . . . please let's unite." He only neglected to add his main concern: "They are watching me in Moscow." Unites the defenders of sanctions with the opponents of the capitalist fatherland with the internationalists, the spokesmen of class peace and coalition governments with the partisans of civil war with the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the lion with the lamb, the fire with the water!

The debate begins. Wounded by the phonograph Green lides from contradiction to contradiction. The record might be called: The Dance of the Confused Social Patriots. The tune starts in a low key, for its first notes are the only true ones and it hates to have them heard: Capitalism is the cause of war, only its abolition will also end war. But immediately the key is changed: "Yes, war can be stopped.

united action of the toilers can stop war." How? By revolution, by overthrowing the system that breeds war? No, "that is the passive, negative attitude of the Yipsels which flows from a fatalistic attitude. We need a practical attitude, one which utilizes every means for peace."

What are these means? The class struggle pursued to its goal, class war which will strike a death blow at imperialism? Hardly. Pacifist methods and a pacifist program: "Against the R.O.T.C., withdraw U.S. troops from China, abolish the Monroe Doctrine, for disarmament, for the prohibition of subsidies to arms manufacturers, against gag-laws, for the popularization of the achievements of the Soviet Union and the rallying of the toilers for its defense." A good program with everything but the class struggle in it, choked with illusions, calculated to promote war in the shortest possible time.

In Case of an Alliance . . .

The pacifist twaddle of his chest, Green got down to "cases." All talk about a possible military alliance between the Soviet Union and the imperialist U. S.—music of the future, "incredible," but suppose the "incredible" does happen, what will be the policy of Stalinism then? Listen to Green: "In such a war our primary aim is to insure the victory of the Soviet Union . . . and this defense of the Soviet Union demands more than merely turning the imperialist war into a civil war." Implicit in this remark is the support of the capitalist government of this country in the event of such a war. What else can it mean, especially when Green took pains to characterize the war of 1914-1918 as an imperialist conflict, and the approaching one as a struggle between imperialism and socialism. What else can it mean when Green pointed out that the principal means of struggle in such a war would be not "strikes or revolution because it is impossible to answer war with a strike or revolution"—but the "expulsion of the predatory aims of U. S. imperialism."

Realizing that he was approaching the danger zone, Green began to shift the issue. An impassioned defense of military alliances followed; even Lenin is quoted. Not whether the working class should support its own bourgeoisie if allied with the Soviet Union, but whether the Soviet Union can utilize imperialist contradictions, this was how Green distorted the issue. And his quotation from Lenin: the letter to the American workers where the latter defends his utilization of the military assistance of the French officer, de Lubersac. Of course, he overlooked the other quotations from Lenin, in which he mercilessly flayed the traitor for supporting the capitalist fatherland on the pretext that the Soviet Union was in danger.

Tyler's Speech

In comparison with this rambling, dodging, and hurdle-jumping, Tyler's speech was easy to follow:

THE MANAGER'S CORNER

One of our subscribers, who signs himself "Anti-Fascist," wrote to us the other day as follows:

"Enclosed find the renewal of my subscription to the New Militant. I'm sorry I haven't been able to renew it sooner, but the Daily Worker's 'left' endorsement of Hearst's latest raid on the working class's press, impelled me, as a left wing Socialist, and one, therefore, anxious to defend whatever proletarian liberties remain to borrow the money post-haste, in order to contribute at least that bit on one front, against this combined attack on the organized working class."

No comment is required on a letter of this character; it peaks for itself. It is a fine example worthy of emulation. That we have a number of comrades who are eager to support our press and to work actively for its extension is verified also by the participation in our subscription drive. We have now almost reached the 500 mark. But, as we have said before, we are still a good distance from our goal.

Two of our party branches, branch 8 in New York City and the Salt Lake City branch, have reached their quota of new subscriptions. Branch 1, New York City, has turned in not less than 81 new subscriptions, coming very near toward reaching its quota of 90. The branches in Philadelphia, Los Angeles and Austin, Minn., are similarly reaching near toward their quota.

This is all very encouraging; but there is also a negative side to our report. For example, some branches have not yet succeeded in obtaining a single new subscription. In this respect Allentown heads the list and what is worse, this is a branch with very good mass contacts and consequently with very good possibilities to obtain new subscriptions. Other branches which have very good contacts and very good possibilities

Not at all utilized, or at least not sufficiently utilized are the Pittsburgh, Detroit and Toledo branches. Their returns in the drive for new subscriptions are still entirely too low to appear very encouraging.
The standing in the subscription campaign to date is as follows:
City Quota. Turned in
Akron, Ohio..... 20 9
Albert Lea, Minn..... 10 1
Allentown, Pa..... 30 8
Austin, Minn..... 10 8
Berkeley, Cal..... 10 5
Boston, Mass..... 25 7
Charleston, W. Va..... 5 1
Chicago, Ill..... 50 18
Cleveland, Ohio..... 25 9
Columbus, Ohio..... 10 2
Detroit, Mich..... 25 2
Dickson City, Pa..... 5 1
Fargo, N. Dakota..... 10 1
High Point, N. C..... 5 2
Kansas City, Mo..... 10 2
Los Angeles, Cal..... 25 15
Minneapolis, Minn..... 75 17
Mount Carmel, Pa..... 5 4
Newark, N. J..... 20 4
New Castle, Pa..... 10 2
New Haven, Conn..... 10 2
New York City..... 400 306
(Branch 1 90 81)
(Branch 2 40 11)
(Branch 3 75 41)
(Branch 4 30 13)
(Branch 5 20 15)
(Branch 6 15 11)
(Branch 7 15 3)
(Branch 8 10 12)
(District 100 119)
Philadelphia, Pa..... 20 14
Pittsburgh, Pa..... 25 1
Plentywood, Mont..... 10 1
St. Louis, Mo..... 10 10
Salt Lake City..... 10 2
San Francisco, Cal..... 20 4
San Diego, Cal..... 10 2
Springfield, Ill..... 5 2
Toledo, Ohio..... 25 2
Utica, N. Y..... 5 3
Washington, D. C..... 10 3
Youngstown, Ohio..... 10 1
Cities not listed..... 45 44
Total1,000 486

in the basic issues of the debate his position was clear and unambiguous. It was as it should be when revolutionary policy confronts social-patriotism. First, the great lesson of 1914, of which he said, in truth, that the C.I. had forgotten, or rather was repeating its worst mistake. In that war he declared the social democracy had betrayed, by supporting the fatherland under the guise that this fatherland was protecting the interests of a "small nation." He pointed to the British socialists supporting their government because of Belgium, the Russian socialists because of Serbia. Now the C.I. had appropriated this policy by substituting the name of the Soviet Union. How shall war be answered once begun: by class struggle action leading up to strikes and revolutionary civil war.

"What will the Communists be doing?" he asked. They will be for the war if the Soviet Union is involved. And in the interests of this policy they will be compelled to break the strikes carried on by revolutionists since these will impede a successful outcome to the war. The logic of the Stalinist position will lead them to vote for a war with Japan, to vote for the military budget and they will become Jingo No. 1.

An the Soviet Union Here Tyler made a telling point. In 1918 the American Socialist Albert Lee had voted for a Liberty loan in the New York Board of Aldermen on the grounds that a revolutionary regime had been established in Russia and since both America and Russia were at war with Germany it was necessary to support this measure in the interests of Russia. This drew a severe rebuke from the S. P. But, wouldn't Green favor such an action as Lee's, wouldn't he be opposed to the measure?

He continued, laying bare the fake of a war of democracy versus Fascism. In case of war, the "democratic" nations would turn Fascist, or at least all civil liberties would be suppressed as the experience of the last war showed. A quotation from Marty, a leader of the French C.P. was read which clearly established this dictatorial tendency on the part of "democratic" capitalist governments. "Anybody," Tyler concluded the point "who raises the question of a war between a democratic France and a Fascist Germany is either a faker or a fool."

Wars for national liberation are another alibi that the Stalinists use to explain their treacherous policy. Tyler correctly countered with Lenin's position, that no capitalist nation in the present epoch can conduct a progressive war, that the characterization of the central European nations as oppressed nationalities and Germany as the imperialist aggressor would lead the C.I. to support of the capitalist governments of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Bulgaria, Rumania, Latvia, etc., etc., etc.

"Beacon or Burden"

Finally the issue that proved to be the high point of the debate. In his first presentation Green had demagogically played on the pro-Soviet tendencies of the audience by asking Tyler whether he considered the Soviet Union a beacon to the international working class or a burden. Tyler properly jeered this Stalinist artifice to turn the debate off its proper tracks and put him on the spot. But, in all truth, it must be said that Tyler's answer was only partially correct.

He asked whether the A. F. of L., the craft unions and the German social democracy, respectively were beacons or burdens. How was it possible to pose the question that way? What Tyler failed to say was that the Stalinist bureaucracy must be differentiated from the Soviet Union as such just as the trade union bureaucracy must be from the trade unions; that the Stalinist bureaucracy is more than a burden, it is a brake, a reactionary influence on the international working class and upon the Soviet Union; that the Sov et state must be distinguished from its bureaucratic incubus. This was implicit in all his foregoing criticisms and attacks on the policy of the C.I., but he failed to make the point as crystal clear as it should be.

All of the major arguments of Tyler had been put in the form of questions to Green, who in turn danced around them in each of his two rebuttals. But twice as he rose to speak shouts of "answer the question!" came from many parts of the hall. His mealy-mouthed replies, his maudlin appeal to sentiment about the "communists in jail," his abuse of Lenin's ideas for social-patriotic purposes were properly nailed by Tyler. In the latter's one rejoinder in the debate his hammering on the questions was so strong that Green was forced to admit that in case of a Soviet-American alliance in a war with Japan the Stalinists had a "two-fold aim" neither of which would be to overthrow the American bourgeoisie. And the answers to the questions: "Time alone will prove who is correct. . ."

"Our Line's Been Changed Again"

The Daily Worker has taken its cue. Hathaway is making up for lost time—his job as editor of the Daily is at stake. So all the scribbles are mobilized for a daily fire against the Left Socialists and the "Trotskyists." Orders are orders—and they are to be found in the current issue of the Communist International (January 1936).

Kuusinen's report to the president of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, "No Grounds for Self-Satisfaction," is a criticism of the mistakes and shortcomings in the application of the Seventh Congress line on the united front. "In the past years, many Communists replaced business-like (!) criticism of Social Democracy with mere denunciation. Now it happens that the necessary serious business-like criticism is replaced by silence."

Even worse than silence is the charge against the Daily Worker. Kuusinen cites the Daily's praise of Otto Bauer as a leader for working class unity; its suggestion

Hathaway Made the Scape Goat

Kuusinen's criticism of the Daily Worker is elaborated upon by "R." in a review of the October issues of the paper. The reviewer states that "the (Socialist) Call is rarely criticized" and then repeats Kuusinen's criticisms on Bauer, etc.

However, the chief aim of the review is to establish that the line of the Daily on the Lewis movement—criticized by Kuusinen—was not the line of the Central Committee of the Communist party. In a word, Hathaway's line was in conflict with that of Browder and Foster!

The reviewer quotes Browder and Foster on the Lewis movement and adds: "But this policy as stated by Comrades Foster and Browder was not carried out by the Daily Worker." Simple! Not quite! The Daily articles under attack were in the October issues (the last article cited is of October 26). Foster and Browder's "line" was presented one month later (printed in the Daily, Nov. 28 and 29, respectively).

St. Gottwald Attacks 'Trotskyite' Dragon

K. Gottwald, Czechoslovakian stalino-patriotic chief, is the latest of the brave knights of Stalinism to undertake a scurrilous attack on "Trotskyism." The attack takes the form of a plea to Otto Bauer to keep clear of "Trotskyism"—with which he is already apparently tainted!

"Is it not clear that anyone who is found in the neighborhood of Trotskyism, is open, whether he wants it or not, to the danger of being lost forever to the working class cause?"

Is it not clear that Otto Bauer, in his own interests, ought to ponder this question very seriously?" asks Gottwald, who is interested in Bauer's welfare.

The occasion for the article is Bauer's review of Boris Souvarine's book on Stalin wherein he speaks critically of the Soviet regime and of the "personal dictatorship of Stalin." (Souvarine is not a "Trotskyist." See review of his book in "N. L.", December 1935.)

This immediately reveals Bauer's "Trotskyite counter-revolutionary 'hoop'! Admiration for Stalin's work—expressed by Bauer—is not sufficient, cries Gottwald, either you accept "unconditionally" everything going on in the Soviet Union or . . . you are a counter-revolutionary Trotskyite!

Let us appear to be exaggerating, we will quote some choice bits from the revived religious theory of the "indivisible whole."

"The entire Soviet Union of today is one indivisible whole the indivisible accomplishment of many millions and tens of millions carried out under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin. And this is how it must be taken, as one indivisible whole, and not eclectically on the lines of: 'I like this and I don't like that'!" (Emphasis in original.)

And further: ". . . Stalin and the Soviet Union are indissolubly bound together."

Is Bauer a "Trotskyite" No one but the most recent recruit of Stalinism can answer in the affirmative. Bauer's attitude toward the Soviet Union is in fundamental agreement—and has been practically since the Russian Revolution—with the Russian Mensheviks. It is nothing new. It is, as it has always been in sharp conflict with "Trotskyism", that is, Leninism.

that the American S. P. follow the road of Bauer and the progressive forces among the Socialists including the Russ an Mensheviks.

The Daily "gave way . . . to opportunistic backsliding" which has nothing in common with the recommendations of the Seventh Congress on differentiated tactics" when it made a hero out of John L. Lewis.

The critic further informs the readers that the "Trotskyite danger" demands "constant vigilance and activity. This is especially true for Denmark, the Scandinavian countries in general, in Holland . . . and it is necessary in other countries to react more actively than hitherto to Trotskyite slander, for such slander, though issued at first by Trotskyites themselves, is frequently spread by all kinds of 'Left' Social-Democrats and Socialists." For example, adds Kuusinen, Otto Bauer repeats the "lander" of Boris Souvarine against Stalin. This speech is the source for the new campaigns.

No evidence is given to show that there was a conflict between the Daily line and the Central Committee in October!

But what happened by Nov. 28 to make Foster and Browder so critical of Lewis? Most likely, Kuusinen's criticism of the Daily delivered on November 20 had already reached the Central Committee!

The aim of the review can be seen when "R." writes:

"It must be stated that the examples given from the Daily Worker are departures from the line of policy, and do not characterize the activities of our Central Committee, the party as a whole or even most of the work of the Daily Worker. The Central Committee must, however, take measures to strengthen the carrying out of the Seventh Congress line in the Daily Worker."

Hathaway is made the scapegoat! Another verse can be added to the song: Our line's been changed again!

sequently level at these theses was, not against its essential features but its reference to the "terroristic dictatorship" in the Soviet Union.

In reality however it is not Bauer who is under attack by Gottwald: it is "Trotskyism" which, officially denounced by the Stalinists as dead ever since 1924, is now making its way in the ranks of the left wing socialist workers.

And so every occasion must be found to heap slander and calumny. . . in many countries Trotskyism has become a direct branch of the police and supplies the latter with numerous agents provocateurs and spies to fight against the revolutionary movement," states Gottwald, without even attempting to give (that is, manufacture) evidence to substantiate this dastardly lie.

As Gottwald's party votes for military credits and for the bourgeois president Benes, as all the parties of the Third International prepare to become recruiting agents for imperialism, their main attack is against those who struggle against social patriots and for proletarian internationalism.

The renewed attack on "Trotskyism" in the Soviet Union as in the capitalist world is testimony to the growth of the ideas of revolutionary Marxism. The Daily Worker recommends Gottwald's article to the Left Socialists. On this score, we are in agreement with the Daily: the Socialist workers will learn that calumny and slander is merely the cover for treachery; that Stalinism demands of everyone joining its fold blind obedience, unconditional servility to the leader: Stalin.

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 \$5,400,000.

Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick benefit payments from \$225 to \$900—to men and women, according to classes.

Monthly assessments from 45c to \$2.10.

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

"Assassination" by Postcard, or the New Stalinist Frame-up

Use Incident in Effort to Deport Leon Trotsky

Under the screaming headline: "Death to Stalin! Slogan Raised by French Trotskyist," the Saturday issue of the Daily Worker (February 15) reprints a facsimile of a postcard, as "evidence" of a Trotskyist plot to assassinate Stalin "himself."

Driven to the wall by the revelations of Tarov and Ciliga, and by their inability to continue their own Trotsky-Hearst frame-up, Browder, Budenz and Co. now seek to hide behind "evidence just received from France."

More than four months ago (on November 6, 1935) Fred Zeller (secretary of the Socialist Youth Alliance of the Seine District) sent a postcard to a young friend of his, a Stalinist.

This "incident" was made the subject of a rabid campaign by the Stalinists throughout all European countries, particularly Norway, the only country that offered Trotsky the right of asylum. But it was at that time hardly mentioned in America, because the fraud was so obviously patent, that it was hopeless to try to foist it upon the American workers. Elsewhere in this issue we print Zeller's own answer published months ago in France. Below we reprint the use made of the "postcard incident" in NORWAY:

On December 12, 1935, Arbeideren the central organ of the Norwegian C.P. came out with a sensational

headline charging a "death plot" against Stalin, and citing the plot as "freshly arrived postcard from France." The Norwegian Stalinists (upon instructions from Moscow) first charged that Trotsky's agitation "culminates in the propaganda for terrorist attacks against the Soviet Union and its leaders and is aimed above all against the greatest leader of the world proletariat in our time, Stalin." The Norwegian pen prostitute then proceeded to translate the postcard, and to charge Zeller with "calling for the murder of Stalin."

Then, followed the revealing comment: "It was no accident that the conspirators in the plot against Kirov were former members of the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Kamenev Opposition, who came forward as the agents of Fascism and counter-revolution..."

"This is the same Trotsky whose books are now being issued by a Socialist Publishing Society in Norway."

"This is the same Trotsky whose interviews are being featured in the headlines of the Labor Party press."

"How long more will the Norwegian workers tolerate this?"

"What has the Socialist Youth in Norway to say about the fact that expelled members of the French Socialist Youth are using Oslo as the base for their open propaganda

to murder the leaders of the Soviet proletariat?

"What has the Central Bureau of the Norwegian Labor Party to say? 'What has the Norwegian Government to say?'"

The Stalinists in Norway did not have to wait long for their answer. On December 16, 1935, Oslav Scheffo, in a leading article in The Soerlandet, one of the organs of the N.L.P., said the following:

"Under the headline: 'Trotsky's Henchman etc.' last Friday's issue of Arbeideren prints an article which it is impossible to characterize as it deserves without resorting to harshest epithets." Scheffo then quotes from the Arbeideren, and comments as follows:

"We believe that the Arbeideren and the Communist Party of Norway will be given to understand in unmistakable terms what the N.L.P. thinks of the type of journalism that they have perpetrated in their paper. Even though the knowledge of the French language is not so wide spread among workers as might enable them to understand absolutely that the expression 'Tod ueber' (a mort) in reality means 'Away with!' 'Down with!' they are nevertheless in a position to see clearly whether Trotsky... had planned the murder of Stalin, would have dealt with such a conspiracy in an ordinary postcard."

"We brand the man who wrote this article in the Arbeideren as an unconscionable rascal. He knows very well what he is perpetrating. He knows well that a full-blooded revolutionist like Trotsky is a ruthless opponent of assassination and

individual terror. He also knows very well that no one who really contemplates murder plots would put them down on a postcard... And what is the aim of the article? Yes, its aim is to make the Norwegian workers believe in a lie, and to mislead them. Moreover, the aim is to compel the Norwegian Labor Government to place Trotsky under arrest."

"Well, gentlemen, neither will happen."

"Neither the Norwegian workers, nor the Norwegian Labor Government are so easily made fools of, as the central organ of the C.P. obviously believes."

"But this article will not remain without consequences. One of its consequences will be that the indignation against the C.P. and the distrust in the honesty and sincerity of the Communists which are already so widespread in the Labor Party will become only strengthened and even more widespread. We said before and we repeat again: It is impossible to have any dealings whatsoever with people who set out deliberately to mislead the workers. Against such people we declare War, and only War!"

Small wonder, that after such an answer to their initial attempt in Europe, the Stalinists in America preferred not to make months ago of the "photostatic evidence from France."

Hearst Frame-up Used in Norway

But meanwhile, the Daily Worker here did find itself compelled to parry the revelations of Tarov and Ciliga in the NEW MILITANT. The Trotsky-Hearst amalgam was

concocted, and it is not at all accidental that it was immediately cabled to the picaune Arbeideren in Norway, to supply the Norwegian agents of Stalin with "fresh" sensations to use in their local slander campaign, and in their drive to expel Trotsky from his asylum in Norway.

This is not the first time that the Stalinists resorted to frame-ups, in their hatred and persecution of revolutionists.

To mention only one, years ago, in July, 1931, the Polish rag "Kuryer Codzienny" carried a patent fraud on its front pages, purporting to be an article by Trotsky. The Moscow Pravda immediately reprinted a facsimile of this article under the headline: "Pilsudski's New Agent." Trotsky established that this article was concocted and supplied to the Polish reactionary rag by an agent of the G.P.U. It is the obvious intention of the usurping Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow today to reply to the revelations of its bestial persecutions of revolutionists in the Soviet Union by its charge that the Opposition and all its spokesmen are assassins, "agents of Hitler," of foreign espionage, and of counter-revolution.

We want to know: Upon whose orders was Hearst supplied with the articles lifted from the NEW MILITANT? Were they the same people who were behind the Polish frame-up in 1931? Were they the same people who send "photostats" from France to America, while other "photostats" are being sent from America to Norway?

Fred Zeller Uncovers Real Motive of Campaign

By FRED ZELLER
(From Revolution, Organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth of France)

For the last two weeks the Central committee of the Young Communist League has redoubled its slanders against the Young Socialists of the Seine District. They "pounced" on a little postcard which I sent from Oslo to an old army friend, comrade Robert Fol, secretary of the 18th Section of the Y.C.L. By this method they hope to mobilize a few "naive" souls for physical struggle against us. Tens of thousands of leaflets have been distributed announcing that I am a Trotskyist and want... imagine, to assassinate Stalin! This last minute discovery is so coarse and stupid that they must be completely lacking in arguments against us to launch such a campaign of slander on the basis of a personal card addressed to a friend. Besides, sincere communists and socialists find it an exaggeration to give such publicity to a joke at which they were the first to laugh.

Allow me to remark in passing that the communists were a good deal less violent about me when they were trying to make use of me to start a Stalinist faction in the Young Socialists.

(If l'Avant Garde—organ of the French Y.C.L.—persists in its campaign I may be obliged to enlarge on this point.)

What the Drudges Feared

But why all these hysterical slanders and lies?

Guyot, Lechaux, Graujon, Ancelle and the other leaders of the Y.C.L. are not idiots. They are simply drudges doing their eight hours a day. They know very well that at any moment they may be ordered to make a "new turn" and that they will have to obey. I know enough of their past to substantiate such a statement. But for several months they have been aware that the Y.C.L. has ceased to be a true revolutionary youth organization and that the Y.C.L. is liquidating it into a "movement of the younger generation of Frenchmen."

The only danger facing them and the Stalinist policy is the Revolutionary Entente of the Socialist Youth of the Seine.

We alone, in reality, are ripe for fusion with the Communist Youth on the basis of revolutionary Marxism as embodied in their old formula. But it is also only us that they attack with the greatest violence because in reality the Young Communists have abandoned the path of revolution and thrown their glorious and heroic past to the winds. That is the truth and that is what they are trying to hide at any price.

Besides my visit to Trotsky had a political significance. Not that the Seine Young Socialist Federation is Trotskyist! There is no such thing as Trotskyism! And there are no Trotskyists! There is only the revolutionary policy carried on by revolutionary militants and that's all.

"Proofs?" Where are the "Proofs?" What the Young Communists fear above all is the information I might bring back after an interview with Lenin's loyal collaborator.

Like everyone else we once really believed that Trotsky was an agent of the counter-revolution, a politician living in a mansion surrounded with flunkies, secretaries, etc. I wanted to know the truth and for months I asked Guyot and Michaud to give me the "proofs" that the "Trotskyists" were policemen and government agents. Several times we went to 120 rue Lafayette to get facts and documents. I even said to Guyot, "If you really have irrefutable proof about them I personally will demand the expulsion of the guilty ones from our ranks." They put me off innumerable times, saying that they were preparing a complete file on the subject, but they never managed to bring us the slightest palpable proof, the smallest document, the tiniest scrap of paper, because in reality they had nothing, nothing, nothing to show us!

Maurice Thorez announces that I have been vacationing in Trotsky's "mansion." What a miserable slander.

In a little village lost in the mountains I saw the little wooden house in which the great strategist of the October Revolution, the founder and organizer of the Red Army has rented two rooms for himself and his wife Natalie, the admirable and faithful companion of his magnificent life. (Two little rooms, which besides were cold.) In this house where they reside they have a bedroom and a little office. No "flunkies," no "secretaries." Natalie takes care of the house and helps the "old man" to arrange the newspapers and magazines he receives from all over the world every day.

I expected to see an arrogant man, full of hatred. I found a man, sometimes grave, sometimes brightening when he spoke of his heroic struggle at the side of Lenin and "the bolshevik old guard" in the seizure of power by the workers and peasants. I expected to see a man filthy with money; Trotsky is poor.

Trotsky on Stalin

I expected to hear him speak of Stalin with blind hatred... not at all. He hates Stalin no more than the others because for him his struggle against the bureaucracy is not and cannot be reduced to a miserable personal quarrel. For him, his expulsion from the country, where he organized the armed struggle of the workers against feudal Czarism is the result of a profound movement among the masses, exhausted by a heroic struggle and the retreat of the workers on an international scale.

I sought to find a discouraged and sour man. I saw a tired and sick man, but full of confidence and faith in the revolutionary destiny of the world working class. I saw a tireless worker, following the daily rise of fascism with anguish, and with joy the progress of the workers who are learning little by little that the two internationals have collapsed and who are reorganizing themselves on the basis of revolutionary Marxism for a real offensive against imperialism.

Above all I found a man hunted by the governments and their police over the whole world and suffering terribly from his inability to be physically active in the service of the revolutionary workers.

With what admiration and what fervor, Trotsky spoke of Lenin.

Why They Hate Trotsky

Then I understood the Stalinist hatred of Trotsky. But truth and justice will triumph. Sooner or later when the great uprising comes, the exploited workers of the world will do him justice and give him the place in the history of the last years of the workers movement that he has held with so much grandeur and beauty amid the worst physical and moral suffering.

That is what they were afraid I would say. I say what I think. Henceforth the leaders of the Y.C.L. want to prevent me from speaking by violence. The socialist bureaucracy wants to strangle us but you don't know us. We shall stand up against the pack and we will not give way an inch before the agents of Stalin, no more than before the agents of Vandervelde. You lick the boots of the reactionaries and you want to bar the revolutionary militants from the struggle. What infamy!

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

mountains I saw the little wooden house in which the great strategist of the October Revolution, the founder and organizer of the Red Army has rented two rooms for himself and his wife Natalie, the admirable and faithful companion of his magnificent life. (Two little rooms, which besides were cold.) In this house where they reside they have a bedroom and a little office. No "flunkies," no "secretaries." Natalie takes care of the house and helps the "old man" to arrange the newspapers and magazines he receives from all over the world every day.

I expected to see an arrogant man, full of hatred. I found a man, sometimes grave, sometimes brightening when he spoke of his heroic struggle at the side of Lenin and "the bolshevik old guard" in the seizure of power by the workers and peasants. I expected to see a man filthy with money; Trotsky is poor.

Trotsky on Stalin

I expected to hear him speak of Stalin with blind hatred... not at all. He hates Stalin no more than the others because for him his struggle against the bureaucracy is not and cannot be reduced to a miserable personal quarrel. For him, his expulsion from the country, where he organized the armed struggle of the workers against feudal Czarism is the result of a profound movement among the masses, exhausted by a heroic struggle and the retreat of the workers on an international scale.

I sought to find a discouraged and sour man. I saw a tired and sick man, but full of confidence and faith in the revolutionary destiny of the world working class. I saw a tireless worker, following the daily rise of fascism with anguish, and with joy the progress of the workers who are learning little by little that the two internationals have collapsed and who are reorganizing themselves on the basis of revolutionary Marxism for a real offensive against imperialism.

Above all I found a man hunted by the governments and their police over the whole world and suffering terribly from his inability to be physically active in the service of the revolutionary workers.

With what admiration and what fervor, Trotsky spoke of Lenin.

Why They Hate Trotsky

Then I understood the Stalinist hatred of Trotsky. But truth and justice will triumph. Sooner or later when the great uprising comes, the exploited workers of the world will do him justice and give him the place in the history of the last years of the workers movement that he has held with so much grandeur and beauty amid the worst physical and moral suffering.

That is what they were afraid I would say. I say what I think. Henceforth the leaders of the Y.C.L. want to prevent me from speaking by violence. The socialist bureaucracy wants to strangle us but you don't know us. We shall stand up against the pack and we will not give way an inch before the agents of Stalin, no more than before the agents of Vandervelde. You lick the boots of the reactionaries and you want to bar the revolutionary militants from the struggle. What infamy!

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we boldly proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: **No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France! Long live the international proletarian revolution!**

WPA Wage Raise Won

(Continued from Page 1)

W.P.A. Workers Union have been demanding the increase. They have demanded also that hours of work be changed and that no lost time on the jobs be made up."

An article in today's Toledo News Bee declared, "The increase authorized by Dr. Carl Watson, state WPA director, eliminates the threat of a state-wide W.P.A. workers strike."

Possibilities for such a strike, however, have not been eliminated but enhanced by the victory. The winning of this concession has pointed the road of militant action to the W.P.A. workers of this state as the means of gaining further concessions. Confidence in organization and workers' action has been heightened. The fear of mounting lay-offs, discrimination, and generally bad working conditions, and the knowledge that further pay-booster can be won by fighting organized action, has evoked a genuine response in the WPA workers in this part of the state, and a highly successful conference is expected this coming Sunday by the WPA Workers Union. Response to the conference call has already come from numerous towns and counties where the workers are crying for a real fighting union.

Unity the Vital Need

The need for unity of the Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance is strikingly emphasized by the developments in this state. It is generally admitted that such unity been established several months ago, this increase and other concessions would have been won long ago by a solid state-wide fighting front. The bickering and factional back-biting which has been largely the cause for keeping thousands of unemployed and projects workers from joining either organization. As the NEW MILITANT has been pointing out for the past two months, for both organizations to permit further sabotage of unity on a correct program through the actions of a few individuals at this crucial period would show a criminal lack of responsibility toward the real needs and desires of the unemployed and relief workers of this nation.

reference is expected this coming Sunday by the WPA Workers Union. Response to the conference call has already come from numerous towns and counties where the workers are crying for a real fighting union.

Unity the Vital Need

The need for unity of the Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance is strikingly emphasized by the developments in this state. It is generally admitted that such unity been established several months ago, this increase and other concessions would have been won long ago by a solid state-wide fighting front. The bickering and factional back-biting which has been largely the cause for keeping thousands of unemployed and projects workers from joining either organization. As the NEW MILITANT has been pointing out for the past two months, for both organizations to permit further sabotage of unity on a correct program through the actions of a few individuals at this crucial period would show a criminal lack of responsibility toward the real needs and desires of the unemployed and relief workers of this nation.

reference is expected this coming Sunday by the WPA Workers Union. Response to the conference call has already come from numerous towns and counties where the workers are crying for a real fighting union.

Unity the Vital Need

The need for unity of the Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance is strikingly emphasized by the developments in this state. It is generally admitted that such unity been established several months ago, this increase and other concessions would have been won long ago by a solid state-wide fighting front. The bickering and factional back-biting which has been largely the cause for keeping thousands of unemployed and projects workers from joining either organization. As the NEW MILITANT has been pointing out for the past two months, for both organizations to permit further sabotage of unity on a correct program through the actions of a few individuals at this crucial period would show a criminal lack of responsibility toward the real needs and desires of the unemployed and relief workers of this nation.

reference is expected this coming Sunday by the WPA Workers Union. Response to the conference call has already come from numerous towns and counties where the workers are crying for a real fighting union.

Unity the Vital Need

The need for unity of the Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance is strikingly emphasized by the developments in this state. It is generally admitted that such unity been established several months ago, this increase and other concessions would have been won long ago by a solid state-wide fighting front. The bickering and factional back-biting which has been largely the cause for keeping thousands of unemployed and projects workers from joining either organization. As the NEW MILITANT has been pointing out for the past two months, for both organizations to permit further sabotage of unity on a correct program through the actions of a few individuals at this crucial period would show a criminal lack of responsibility toward the real needs and desires of the unemployed and relief workers of this nation.

reference is expected this coming Sunday by the WPA Workers Union. Response to the conference call has already come from numerous towns and counties where the workers are crying for a real fighting union.

Unity the Vital Need

The need for unity of the Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance is strikingly emphasized by the developments in this state. It is generally admitted that such unity been established several months ago, this increase and other concessions would have been won long ago by a solid state-wide fighting front. The bickering and factional back-biting which has been largely the cause for keeping thousands of unemployed and projects workers from joining either organization. As the NEW MILITANT has been pointing out for the past two months, for both organizations to permit further sabotage of unity on a correct program through the actions of a few individuals at this crucial period would show a criminal lack of responsibility toward the real needs and desires of the unemployed and relief workers of this nation.

reference is expected this coming Sunday by the WPA Workers Union. Response to the conference call has already come from numerous towns and counties where the workers are crying for a real fighting union.

Unity the Vital Need

The need for unity of the Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance is strikingly emphasized by the developments in this state. It is generally admitted that such unity been established several months ago, this increase and other concessions would have been won long ago by a solid state-wide fighting front. The bickering and factional back-biting which has been largely the cause for keeping thousands of unemployed and projects workers from joining either organization. As the NEW MILITANT has been pointing out for the past two months, for both organizations to permit further sabotage of unity on a correct program through the actions of a few individuals at this crucial period would show a criminal lack of responsibility toward the real needs and desires of the unemployed and relief workers of this nation.

reference is expected this coming Sunday by the WPA Workers Union. Response to the conference call has already come from numerous towns and counties where the workers are crying for a real fighting union.

Unity the Vital Need

The need for unity of the Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance is strikingly emphasized by the developments in this state. It is generally admitted that such unity been established several months ago, this increase and other concessions would have been won long ago by a solid state-wide fighting front. The bickering and factional back-biting which has been largely the cause for keeping thousands of unemployed and projects workers from joining either organization. As the NEW MILITANT has been pointing out for the past two months, for both organizations to permit further sabotage of unity on a correct program through the actions of a few individuals at this crucial period would show a criminal lack of responsibility toward the real needs and desires of the unemployed and relief workers of this nation.

reference is expected this coming Sunday by the WPA Workers Union. Response to the conference call has already come from numerous towns and counties where the workers are crying for a real fighting union.

Unity the Vital Need

The need for unity of the Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance is strikingly emphasized by the developments in this state. It is generally admitted that such unity been established several months ago, this increase and other concessions would have been won long ago by a solid state-wide fighting front. The bickering and factional back-biting which has been largely the cause for keeping thousands of unemployed and projects workers from joining either organization. As the NEW MILITANT has been pointing out for the past two months, for both organizations to permit further sabotage of unity on a correct program through the actions of a few individuals at this crucial period would show a criminal lack of responsibility toward the real needs and desires of the unemployed and relief workers of this nation.

reference is expected this coming Sunday by the WPA Workers Union. Response to the conference call has already come from numerous towns and counties where the workers are crying for a real fighting union.

Unity the Vital Need

The need for unity of the Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance is strikingly emphasized by the developments in this state. It is generally admitted that such unity been established several months ago, this increase and other concessions would have been won long ago by a solid state-wide fighting front. The bickering and factional back-biting which has been largely the cause for keeping thousands of unemployed and projects workers from joining either organization. As the NEW MILITANT has been pointing out for the past two months, for both organizations to permit further sabotage of unity on a correct program through the actions of a few individuals at this crucial period would show a criminal lack of responsibility toward the real needs and desires of the unemployed and relief workers of this nation.

reference is expected this coming Sunday by the WPA Workers Union. Response to the conference call has already come from numerous towns and counties where the workers are crying for a real fighting union.

Unity the Vital Need

Rumanian "Peoples Front" Finds 'Democracy' in Military Dictatorship

BUCHAREST—Following the 3rd period of adventurist policy—whose culminating point was reached in the bloody events at Grivitz (1)—the resolution adopted in February 1935 by the C.C. of the Rumanian Communist Party marked a new turn: this time in a completely opposite direction: the party founded in the opportunist swamp. In this resolution it is said that the party must struggle for the formation of a united front and of a broad people's front, against the bosses' attacks, war and fascism."

Let us skip over the question of the "United Front" for the moment. This revolutionary tactic, clearly formulated by the 3rd and 4th Congresses of the C.I. and which more over the Stalinists have stripped of all its fighting content, serves them only in order to better shuffle up the cards so as to mask the rotten turn: the complete abandonment of the class struggle which has since been replaced by a new criterion: the status quo on all fronts.

The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie gives way to an alliance from above with the most corrupt democrats for the preservation of the present regime (a military dictatorship) against fascism, revolutionary actions are replaced by legal actions on the pretext that it is necessary to "utilize legality"; and, in the legal press, in order not to frighten the "democratic" allies, the Marxist term "proletariat" is replaced by the vague term (so dear to the fascists) of "laboring people!" In its content the illegal press distinguishes itself in no way from the legal press, except if it be by still more reactionary language.

"Traces" of Democracy

To obtain the alliance with the bourgeois "democratic" politicians in the "struggle" against Fascism, the People's Front became the defender of the existing regime in Rumania, that is, of the military dictatorship which serves it, which condemns the workers to repression and complete misery. For this purpose they have discovered in it... traces of democracy! (2) Yesterday these gentlemen were shouting that there was a fascist regime in Rumania, and, on the orders of Moscow, today, microscope in hand, they discover "traces" of democracy to justify their putrid bloc with such odious personal ties as M. Dobresco, former mayor of Bucharest, or M. Petre Pandrea, the living example of the political "chameleon" (3).

Practically speaking, the People's Front has been realized only partially. The "unitaries" have rejected it, by opposing to it the proletarian united front" (4) The social democrats, in basic agreement with the communists on the question (collaboration with bourgeois parties) but not desiring joint action with them at any cost (despite the efforts of the communists who have made all the concessions to obtain their adherence) have rejected the People's Front counterposing to it the "democratic front" (that is joint action of the "democratic" parties without the communists). The Peoples Front in Rumania consists of the alliance of the Communist Party with some of the elements of the National-Peasants Party (they sought to involve the leaders such as Mihalache, etc. but to date without success), the "Jun-tanists", the party of George Brat-

iano, and diverse "democratic" personalities.

Supplication to His Majesty

Let us now observe the People's Front in action. The first action undertaken was the securing of amnesty for political prisoners, instead of embarking on a campaign of vigorous agitation in the ranks of the proletariat, they substituted legal action for this revolutionary struggle. People such as Mm. Ella Negruzi, "foremost woman lawyer" (as the Balkan Correspondence—C.I. organ—recently proudly called her) supported by "all the democratic forces of the country" began a campaign of supplication to King Carol for the amnesty of political prisoners on the June 8th celebration (5). Thus even if amnesty had been granted

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

Published weekly by the New Militant Publishing Co., 55 East 11th Street, New York City.

Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES P. CANNON Editor

Subscription Rates: In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c six months. Canada and foreign: \$1.50 per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle rates: 2c per copy. Vol. 2, No. 6 (Whole No. 58)

How Stalinism Prepares For War

ONCE again, on a world scale, Stalinism launches a vast attack on the "impotent, bankrupt sect" of the Trotskyites. The degenerate scoundrels of the Comintern haul once more into action their lumbering armament of lie, corruption and slander—the sole weapons now left in their rusted and decayed storehouse of treachery and betrayal.

What a thankless and contradictory task they have, these cynical betrayers, trying hopelessly to cover their apostasy with the cloak of Marxist phrases and invocations to Lenin! On page one they must prove to the workers that the Trotskyites are wholly impotent, isolated, without influence, and falling to pieces. And on page 2, 4, 6 and 8 they must expose Trotskyism as the main danger to the working class, and the spearhead of the counter-revolution. A strange impotence, to have such power! A very curious isolation, when such a barrage is needed for protection against it!

And, alas, how often must these grave-diggers lower the coffin, heap on the earth, and pronounce the final malediction! It is a restless corpse they deal with here! Year after year it is buried deep; and, unfailingly, year after year, in truly Biblical fashion, it rises again to haunt the charnel-house of Stalinism. All the incantations of the Comintern priests, all their drawn-out medieval curses, with bell and book, cannot lay this unruly spirit to rest. No grave they dig can be deep enough to hold it.

For what they so desperately strive to bury is nothing else than the living soul of the revolution itself. And for such a task all the might of the Comintern is as powerless as the whining of a disgruntled shopkeeper.

This is the real meaning of the attack on "Trotskyism."

The present campaign, in all its deep implications, must be clearly understood, and the lesson drawn. It has its source, as articles in recent issues of the NEW MILITANT have disclosed, in the Soviet Union itself, in the very heart of Stalinism. There, in the party purge which has followed the Seventh Congress, comrade Trotsky shows that no less than 20,000 Bolshevik-Leninists—"Trotskyists"—were discovered with the party rank. And a new purge is scheduled for this Spring.

From the Soviet Union the campaign is being extended throughout the world. It has hit this country with full force during the last week, prepared for by the "Hearst and Trotsky" slander, editorial and special articles shower their filth—under the age-old theory that if enough filth is thrown, some will be bound to "tick"—wherever this Hydra-monster, "Trotskyism," shows one of its rampant heads. And, in this wonder world, we discover from the Daily Worker that the taint of Trotskyism has now touched Norman Thomas, Otto Bauer, Herbert Zam, Gus Tyler, and, apparently, the entire editorial board of the Socialist Call. The Communist party, that friend of humanity and (as the Daily Worker puts it) of "the entire family," with its "oligarchs" care for its newly discovered Socialist comrades, feels itself called upon to issue a kind fatherly warning—and even something of a scolding—to the erring children, against the plague which threatens them. After all, they were social-fascists only yesterday; they can hardly be expected to have attained the ripe wisdom of those who have had the long years under the guiding inspiration of the Great Teacher and Leader.

It is necessary to distinguish and analyze both the method and the fundamental content of the present campaign against "Trotskyism."

The method is directly borrowed from the method of the Hearst anti-Red campaign, which in turn is modelled on the method of bitter reactionaries from time immemorial. Hearst is an enemy of "reds"—i.e., of revolutionists. But it is naturally impossible for him to carry on a truthful campaign against them, on the basis of what revolutionists actually believe and do. If he tried that, the bulk of his readers (who are predominantly working-class and lower middle class) would gradually be won over to the side of the revolutionists by Hearst's own propaganda. Consequently, his campaign must be based throughout on lies, not on truth. What Hearst must do is to try to set up in his reader a psychological and emotional antagonism against "reds". This, in

part, he accomplishes by lumping together as "reds" not only revolutionists (about whom he prints nothing but lies), but also every kind of criminal, murderer, irresponsible demagogue, labor faker, bandit, moral degenerate, crackbrained atheist, etc. Through this he hopes that his readers will develop the same emotional attitude toward "reds" that they have toward murderers, degenerate, and bandits. He would like his readers to believe that these are all "reds," and that all "reds" carry on these sorts of activities.

In an exactly similar manner, Stalinism tries to build up an emotional frenzy against Trotskyism. About genuine "Trotskyists," the Stalinists print nothing but lies—if they printed the truth, their own followers would be led toward "Trotskyism." They never, on any occasion, substantiate any charges with fact or even attempted proof, or with political analysis. They never do so, because, of course, that would be as impossible as for Hearst to substantiate his charges against "reds" in general. The Stalinists then go on to lump together, in the same paragraphs with "Trotskyists," White Guards, fascists, police spies, foreign interventionists, agents provocateurs, the murderer of Kirov, nihilists—in short, any scoundrel whom all honest workers naturally hate and despise. In this way the Stalinists hope that the workers will carry over that hate and contempt to the "Trotskyists" who are listed in the same sentence. Fortunately, workers are not so stupid and uncritical as they appear to be in the eyes of the cynical bureaucrats of the Comintern.

But the content of the present campaign is far more important than the methods which are being used. This content can only be understood as part of the preparation of the Comintern for the betrayal of the working class in the coming war.

The truth of the matter is this: The great historical events of the past three years, combined with the war crisis, are making their deep imprint on the international proletariat. A revival of revolutionary consciousness is emerging with increasing rapidity. At the same time, as authoritatively summed up in the Seventh Congress, Stalinism has gone over to social-patriotism, and is preparing for betrayal in the war. But such betrayal cannot be successfully carried out unless Stalinist social-patriotic ideas dominate ideologically the advanced workers in the "democratic" countries. Consequently, Stalinism must drive forward post-haste in its attempt to engulf the advanced strata of the labor movement.

However, the reviving revolutionary consciousness resists more and more powerfully the Stalinist policy of betrayal. It refuses to accept the Comintern doctrine that to be a friend of the Soviet Union means to be a lackey of Stalin's. It realizes ever more clearly that Stalinism itself is in the forefront of the enemies of the Soviet Union, and that to be a true friend of the Soviet Union means to be an enemy of Stalinism. It is resolved not to fight for imperialism in the war, no matter what the pleas or threats of Stalin. Stalinism understands that its war policy can succeed only by a liquidation of the revolutionary development, or at the least by capturing it before it is fully clarified, by turning it aside into the treacherous channel of the Comintern.

The present campaign against "Trotskyism," fundamentally understood, is one aspect of this effort to liquidate the revolutionary development, to turn it aside, to harness its potential energies to the cannons of imperialism.

Neither we nor comrade Trotsky claim any proprietary right to the system of ideas which the Comintern labels "Trotskyism." The ideas that are now being attacked are the basic ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin; they are, in short, the theories, principles, and tactics of the revolutionary movement. What Stalinism is now attacking is not merely the Workers Party nor the French Bolshevik-Leninists nor any other group or party. Its attack is launched against revolutionary Marxism, against the ideas of revolutionary Marxism, whenever, however, under whatever form they appear. And it could not be otherwise: Stalinism knows that the victory of the ideas of revolutionary Marxism within the working class means the end and death of Stalinism.

Above all on the war question. How clear it is! Wherever, from whatever source, appear revolutionary criticism of Stalinist social-patriotism, the demand for the Leninist policy of revolutionary defeatism, the refusal to subordinate the working class movement to the imperialist League and imperialist France, Great Britain and the United States, at that source are a med the barbs of the Stalinists. And the label "Trotskyist"? True enough, Trotsky, and we in solidarity with him, proudly hold these principles—against imperialism on every front, against social-patriotism in every form, for revolutionary defeatism—as ours. And they are the principles likewise of Lenin and of Marx. They are the principles for which all revolutionists have fought, and will continue to fight. They are the principles of revolutionary Marxism, of the world revolution.

The career of Stalinism is drawing toward its historic close. The war will reveal it to the working class in all its poisoned corruption. The revolution, in its irresistible advance, which obstacle can only delay but never barricade, will sweep it aside, like dead ashes, from its path.

Stalinists Return to Old Love in China, Gen'l Feng

Ally and Butcher of 1927 Revolt Is Seen as Hero of 1936 Peoples Front

By LO SEN

On February 14 the Daily Worker published a "special cable" from Shanghai under the heading: "Feng Proposes Reorganization; Christian General Asks Kuomintang Decision for Defense."

"Declaring China must not flinch from boldly meeting foreign aggression and must decide to fight for national existence, Feng Yu-hsiang, 'Christian General,' made a report today before a meeting of 700 state employees and members of the Kuomintang Party in Nanking, capital of China.

"Feng is a member of the Political Bureau of the Kuomintang and has participated in groups opposing Chiang Kai-shek within and without the Kuomintang."

By not adding a single word more about Feng, his whole past record and role, his previous relations with the Comintern, the Daily Worker advertised the Stalinists' readiness, once more, to form a "united front" with this many-hued militarist who "has participated in groups opposing Chiang Kai-shek."

Preparing today to launch a new "bloc of four classes" in China, coddling and fondling Fang Cheng-wu, Hu Han-min, Feng Yu-hsiang and their ilk, the Stalinists, with cold, hard cynicism would like to blot from memory the whole tragic past of the Chinese Revolution. They would like to dissolve from history the clotted blood of the workers and peasants who paid with their lives for Stalin's "united front" with the Feng Yu-hsiangs nearly nine years ago. After all, it would perhaps not be such a difficult job if the Daily Worker had only its own readers to deal with. Most of them don't even know a Chinese revolution ever took place!

Revolt in Stalinist Ranks

But in dumping hastily not only the more distant past but even the whole disastrous period of peasant Soviets in Central China, a period during which, Wan Min informed us at the Seventh C.I. Congress, "many of our comrades did not understand and do not understand the new situation which has arisen in China in recent years", the Stalinist cynics cannot so easily hurdle the barriers of history.

Chinese workers, whose brothers, uncles and fathers and comrades died under the lash of the Feng Yu-hsiangs, remember with abiding bitterness the fruits of the "bloc of four classes" of 1925-27. That is one of the main reasons why the Stalinist party has never been able since to re-establish itself as the party of the Chinese proletariat. But not only among the workers—even among the remaining handfuls of the ranks of the Chinese Stalinist party, the "new line" is not being swallowed without protests and defections.

Our comrades report from China that revolt is simmering in the Stalinist ranks at the current attempt to initiate the "new line" for a new "national united front" with the same people who smashed that same united front nine years ago.

Member of Chiang's Gov't

Feng was one of the chief of these. He is today a ranking member of Chiang Kai-shek's Government in Nanking—another fact which the Daily Worker conveniently forgets to record! He is again seeking to build up his sadly depleted political capital by mouthing a few phrases against imperialism. The words are barely out of his mouth before the Stalinists leap to throw their arms around his neck and promise a complete blotting of his past if he will once more make a deal with them.

Why? The answer is contained in one more sentence of the Daily Worker report: Feng demanded that China make "a definite decision as to which nations are friends and which foes of China." Who can tell? Maybe Feng will favor, once more, an alliance with the Soviet Union. Nothing in his past, even his previous espousal of such an alliance and his subsequent "betrayal," can prevent Stalin, Dimitroff, Wan Min, Browder and Co. from embracing him once more—no matter what it means to the Chinese proletariat.

Who and what is Feng Yu-hsiang? Let us repeat here for those whose memories are conveniently short or otherwise inadequate the record of his past.

General Soft on Jesus

Feng is a militarist who rose to power in China's northwest shortly after the Great War. By a series of timely and shrewd betrayals of his superior officers and allies, he became for a time, in 1924, the ruling militarist in Peking. He appeared then in the world's headlines as the "Christian General" who taught his soldiers the homely virtues of rustic simplicity. He had learned from foreign missionaries in Szechwan in his early years how to sing hymns.

But in 1924 Feng learned that what he lacked in spiritual plety, Moscow made up in generosity. He shed his Christian skin and

joined the ranks of that peculiar species cultivated in China by Stalin and Bucharin—the Bolshevized militarist. The Holy Grail proved no match for Russian arms, Russian money, Russian advisers. Feng was quickly converted to the idea that a Russian gun in hand was worth a dozen haloes in the hereafter, especially when military reverses in 1925 cut him off from all other sources of munition supply.

The Moscow Build-up

In 1926 he went to Moscow and there quickly learned all the new catchwords. They were even easier to remember, perhaps, than the Lord's Prayer. He had himself and his henchman, Yu Yu-jen (now head of the Nanking Control Yuan) photographed in the midst of admiring, backslapping Moscow functionaries. In Moscow on July 19, 1926, Feng predicted "new battles and new victories awaiting the future of the Chinese nation." He even remembered to call "special attention" to the "labor and peasant movement taking place throughout China" and announced his conviction "that in the future the proletariat will ultimately gain a victory in China." On August 19, in an interview with Pravda, Feng promised that his army would fight for "the emancipation of the nation" and the "consummation of the national revolution."

For years, while he could still get arms elsewhere, Feng had refused to throw in his lot with the Kuomintang. "But when he visited Moscow," marvelled a contemporary Japanese observer, "the Christian General allowed himself to be a disciple of Lenin before any one was aware of it." (Fase: Soviet Policy in the Orient, Peking, 1927, p. 327).

Stalin Gives Him Arms

It was all immensely easy, pleasant—and profitable. Overcome with admiration for Feng's revolutionary conversion and valor, Stalin plied him with the arms he wanted and sent him back to China to do or die, as he said he would, for the revolution.

Back among his soldiers, Feng proclaimed on September 17, 1926: "I am the son of a laborer" and announced that it would henceforth be the object of his armies "to awake the masses... sweep away the traitorous military clans, break down imperialism and secure the freedom and independence of China."

Feng had thus become a full-fledged recruit in the ranks of Stalin's "reliable allies," joining in that estimable company such heroic revolutionary fighters as Chiang Kai-shek, Hu Han-min, Tang Sheng-chih and Wang Chiu-wei. Secure behind Tungkwang Pass in the great northwest, Feng gathered to himself the arms and ammunition which flowed in a steady stream of caravans down from Urga. He listened politely to his Russian advisers and bided his time.

No Criticism of Feng Allowed

It was not long in coming. While he waited the Northern Expedition swept to the Yangtze. Chiang Kai-shek, who earlier had also learned how to unlock the doors of Russian arsenals, entered Shanghai and there, with base ingratitude, "betrayed" Stalin. He "betrayed" not his own class interests but the faith which Stalin-Bukharin & Co. had taught the Chinese workers and peasants to have in him. Tang Sheng-chih and Wang Chiu-wei, in Wuhau, had also "betrayed"—although this was not yet officially admitted in Moscow. There had not yet been time to elaborate a formula which would fix responsibility for their "defection" on shoulders other than Stalin's. But there was still Feng. He, surely, would come like Lachinvar out of his western stronghold and save the day for the "revolutionary Kuomintang." He was a solid man, Feng, close to the soil. He would not betray. Was he not even now reiterating by radio his undying fealty to the "revolutionary Kuomintang"? (Even Vincent Sheehan, who saw practically nothing, saw the immense, uncritical faith of the Stalinists in Feng!) News despatches reaching Moscow faintly suggesting that Feng was reader to deal with Chiang Kai-shek than with Wuhau were indignantly refused publication. Feng was the first trump.

To suggest that he would fall down on the job was nothing but rank "liquidationism." What is worse, it was Trotskyism! That annoying thorn, Trotsky, was issuing warnings in Moscow that faith in Feng meant nothing but a repetition of the experiment with Chiang Kai-shek. (See Trotsky's note of May 28, 1927: Problems of the Chinese Revolution, p. 123-24).

The Butcher Gets to Work

A few days later, Trotsky's warnings were crushingly confirmed by events. Feng let Wuhau spend its forces in a fruitless battle with the Northerners on the fields of Chumiatien in Honan and then came down from Tungkwang pass, occupied Honan and became the arbiter of the

struggle between Chiang and Wuhau. In a conference at Chengchow on June 14 with the Wuhau leaders, he agreed with them on one point only: the workers, peasants and Communists must be crushed. (See Fischer, Soviets in World Affairs, II:669, or Anna Louise Strong's China's Millions, p. 62 et seq.)

But beyond this principled agreement, Feng wanted no further truck with Wuhau. He wanted strong allies from whom he could filch advantages, not weaklings from whom he had nothing more to gain, not even by further timely betrayals. At the conference complaints and titles were exchanged. Exactly one week later Feng crossed the province to Hsuechow where he struck an immediate bargain with Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang was now a man worth betraying. On June 22, 1927, Feng issued a denunciation of Wuhau where, he said, "merchants, traders, factory owners and landlords were oppressed by the laborers and peasants" and served an ultimatum on Wuhau for the complete elimination and extermination of the Communists. (See China Weekly Review, July 2, for text). Lachinvar had fallen down on the job.

In his subsequent career Feng did indeed betray Chiang at the first opportunity. He fought a bloody civil war against him in 1930, made a few futile stabs in 1933 at being "anti-Japanese", and this year made a new deal with Chiang which brought him back into the councils of the Kuomintang at Nanking. His latest statement, as reported by the Daily Worker, indicates a new shuffle in the rivalry for power, a new bid for popular support, which the C.I. stands ready to drum up, if it can.

Feng, Through a Stalinist's Eyes

Are Chinese workers, are honest revolutionists still in the C.P. ranks going to accept Feng once more as an "ally"—"against imperialism"? In 1928, Chin Chiu-pei (known in the International as Strachov: he

was executed by Chang Kai-shek in Fukien in May, 1935) bitterly drew the balance of the game played with Feng:

"Feng Yu-hsiang," he wrote, "is a chapter for himself. A few months after his formal entry into the Kuomintang he began to execute workers and peasants. In September, 1927, he ordered the execution of 300 striking textile workers. When the workers of the Peking-Hankow Railway, having received no wages for 12 months, attempted to press for payment, he had an unknown number of them executed. He has been even more brutal in his actions against the peasantry in Honan." (Imprecorr, Aug. 17, 1928).

Chiu Chiu-pei was one of the leaders of the C.P. who ching to the Comintern after 1927 despite its gross betrayal of the Chinese revolution. Would he today, if he were alive, swallow whole a new alliance with this butcher, or with this butcher's satellites and subordinates, men like Fang Chen-wu? Perhaps. Stalin sm poisons the blood in men's veins.

Fourth International Forces Grow in China

But Chinese workers, who may this very day be standing on the threshold of a new revival after nine years of react on following their terrific defeat, will not take it so readily. They are not alone or without guidance. The Communist League of China is gathering strength and extending its influence at a rapid pace, although it is still small.

A new six-page bi-weekly printed mass paper, "Struggle" has made its appearance in Shanghai under the banner of the Communist League of China. With the Communist League, the Chinese section for the Fourth International, lies the hope for the future of the Chinese revolution, not with the Stalinists and their blood-stained allies.

Pickets Ti-up Akron Plant

(Continued from Page 1) er after speaker who said, "Either we all go back to work Tuesday, or none of us."

The rubberworkers in other Akron plants and of course Goodyear Plant-1 are watching closely each move and it appears very probable that if a picket line is formed at Plant-2, every plant in the city will be closed.

The workers' grievances at the shops can be summarized around these points. They demand:

- Workers' Demands
1. Abolition of Flying Squads.
2. Abolition of the company union-company formed seal organizations.
3. Restore wage cuts of recent weeks.
4. Rehire laid-off men.
5. A 30-hour week.
6. Union recognition.
7. No more speed-up

The latest Goodyear "sitdown" came with dramatic swiftness that took the company by complete surprise and brought wide support to the workers, union and non-union.

'We'll Stop at 3'

Lay-off notices were being explained to grumbling workers on fourth shift by a company man when a worker shouted, "We'll stop work at 3!"

Other workers took up the cry and chanted, "We'll stop work at 3!" Soon half of Plant-2 was shouting the slogan in unison while company officials fumed in rage.

Three o'clock came and everyone sat down at their machines as though by pre-arranged plans. Actually it was spontaneous.

The company agreed to talk to a committee selected by the men and composed mainly of unionists. A conference was scheduled at 1 p.m. the next afternoon.

Plant Closed

Meanwhile the company announced and newspapers shouted that the "sitdown" was over. Of course, the company refused to take back the men.

The news came just as the third shift, composed of ten-year service men, were ringing in for work. The entire department sat down immediately and were joined by the curving and mill rooms.

Realizing the seriousness of the situation, the company refused to let the fourth shift come into work because they knew it would join the "sitdown." Instead the plant was closed.

Acting much quicker than in the last "sitdown", union officials called department meetings and most of the workers concerned came and joined the union in addition to recording their sentiment for strike unless the 75 men were rehired.

Scabs Ineffective

Plant-1 workers, smarting under the defeat of two weeks ago when their "sitdown" was broken, are expected to join in the strike movement immediately, thus involving 15,500 employes.

Telephone from various unions during the Goodyear conference gave assurance of complete support and joining with the strike, if it is called.

Naturally, complete shutdown of the plants is assured by a strike even though some workers do not join the movement for the key departments are 100 per cent unionized and very militant.

Even though scabs were brought into the plant, the highly technical nature of the key jobs which involve over 80 per cent of the employes, would make it impossible for them to handle the machinery and build tires!

The danger of the situation is in the refusal of the union leaders or their inability to understand the significance of the passing events and prepare consciously for the inevitable strike.

Unless this is remedied quickly, the magnificent fight of the workers will be diverted into pessimism and defeat for they must have correct leadership immediately to utilize the situation or various company moves will smash the movement.

Curb Rising Of Spaniards

(Continued from Page 1) viet press limits its estimate to such terms as, that the "masses are prepared to defend their democratic liberties", "girding to fight for the improvement of the life of the workers," etc. The Soviet press is an accurate indicator of the line the Stalinists will take. Above all, no revolution in Spain! No interference with the balance of power! Maintenance of the status quo! Socialism in one country—and no other!

For the second time in five years, history is presenting to the Spanish proletariat an opportunity to overthrow the capitalist-clerical regime. The possibilities of the revolution of 1931 were squandered by the Socialist and Socialdemocratic leadership. This same bloc which together with the Stalinists has entered the "Peoples Front" is again handing the power over to the bourgeois republicans and paving the way for speedy return of the reaction.

Repudiation of the spurious and demagogic program of the "Peoples Front" Workers' Committees of act on, democratically elected in the factories, tenements and villages, to repel every threat of reaction and to compel the liberation of the political prisoners. Only such slogans, corresponding to the needs of the hour, can effectively organize the power of the working class, and remove the center of the struggle from the parliamentary theatre to the field and factory.

Already the workers are spontaneously moving in that direction. But they require the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard. The fate of Spain hangs upon the forward or under fire of such a general staff.

Prosecute Cal. Militants

(Continued from Page 1) kill and murder them, and shot "at Plaintiffs with a double barreled shot gun."

In consequence of the alleged acts, the Plaintiffs claim that they "were rendered tired, sore and lamed... sustained severe shock and injuries to their nervous systems," but were not permanently injured.

As a further element of damages, it is alleged that in consequence of the alleged assault, "a large group of persons known as Communists," became embittered against Plaintiffs and refused to do business with them and that many of them removed from the County of Sonoma "to parts unknown to Plaintiff."

The complaint was verified by Campbell on November 21, but no attempt was made to serve either of the defendants until last week. Sol Nitzberg, Petaluma chicken rancher, was served on February 13, but process servers have thus far been unable to locate Green.

Ernest Besig, Northern California director of the American Civil Liberties Union, whose attorneys are representing Green and Nitzberg, characterized the suit as "ridiculous". "After six months," said Mr. Besig, "we suddenly discover that Green and Nitzberg are charged with the commission of certain offenses. In spite of extensive re-

porting of the Santa Rosa incident, nothing ever appeared in the public press about these alleged attacks on Cairns and Campbell. And if these men were assaulted, why did not they seek to have their assailants arrested? I suppose we'll next have a suit for damages because

one of the vigilantes hurt his hands while bending Green and Nitzberg, or because he was injured while applying the tar and feathers. "This is suit," declared Mr. Besig, "emphasizes the need for a public investigation of the Santa Rosa outrage."

Dance

Friday Eve. Feb. 28

IRVING PLAZA HALL

15th Street at Irving Place

MUSIC BY

HARLEM RYTHM MAKERS

PROFESSIONAL ENTERTAINMENT

REFRESHMENTS

TICKETS IN ADVANCE 75c, AT DOOR \$1