

Cuban Repressions Maintained with Aid of U.S.

Mendieta Regime Vies with Machado in Terror Record

Bolshevik-Leninists Among the Victims of Savage Government Attacks

(Continued from Page 1)
 put into practice a series of laws of a fascist nature, such as the prohibition of strikes, trade unions, the suppression of working class propaganda. They have also prohibited the right of free speech, assembly, etc. These series of laws concocted by the Mendieta and Batista regime that do away with all democratic rights and puts the working class of Cuba into a position known only in countries of outright fascist nature.

The Emergency Tribunals have meted out sentences ranging from six months to ten years to members of the Bolshevik Leninist party, and have condemned militants of our trade unions for the only crime of having a union book on their person. At present we have about thirty comrades of the party, almost all of them outstanding political and trade union leaders, in prison. Together with the rank and file of our unions a total of nine hundred workers have been imprisoned. Of this number at least sixty are women. These figures refer only to the city of Havana.

Apart from those mentioned above hundreds of students and petty bourgeois revolutionists have been imprisoned. The conditions of repression are indubitably much more violent now than in the terrible years of the Machado dictatorship. Apart from imprisonment, the number of assassinated workers mounts daily.

The Strike

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

Our party, conscious of the weak state of working class organization, centered all its forces on fortifying the previously established Committee of Proletarian Defense (the united front) so that the general strike would have a centralized leadership and would have a chance for victory. But in this proposal we found a clear opposition, on the one side from the Stalinist party, which, desiring to maintain its own hegemony, called the strike separately from the Committee, and from the other side—the leaders of the students and the petty-bourgeoisie who wanted to hurriedly precipitate the movement.

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

Marital Law

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

only party that can lead the Cuban masses to victory.

Organizing the Workers

To understand our problem the special characteristics and the social composition of the Cuban people must be taken into consideration. In Cuba, proportionately speaking, the proletariat is very small, and only in the big cities does it present a picture of cohesion and militancy in its economic struggles. The political struggles of the proletariat are only of recent origin (the C. P. was organized in 1925, but until 1929 had no influence on the working masses). The proletariat of the sugar factories, although it had participated in strikes since 1914, really embarked on its major struggle only during the years 1924-25 and after the fall of Machado. They are, in general, an unstable group. The sugar worker is engaged in industry only during three or four months of the year, the rest of the year he loaf and begs in the nearby towns. Agricultural peonage on the sugar-cane and tobacco plantations, where work is generally spread throughout the year is of considerable scope. They work under terrible conditions. Notwithstanding their low cultural level and lack of class consciousness, however, they are amenable to organization as was proved in the four months of the Grau San Martin government when there was a certain modicum of democratic rights. The other determining factor in the social composition of Cuba is the petty bourgeoisie. But the Cuban petty bourgeoisie is different from their prototypes in other countries in that they have no economic base of their own. They are not rooted in small businesses, small industry and small property, but live exclusively as employees of the state. They can properly be termed as a petty-bourgeois bureaucracy.

Middle Class Parasite

The origin of this anomaly derives from the specific interests of American imperialism in Cuba. The chief industries (sugar, tobacco, transportation) belong to U. S. capital. Wholesale commerce belongs to the Spanish bourgeoisie. After the war of independence the Amer-

ican mediator, faithful to the policy of imperialist penetration impeded the rehabilitation of the Cuban petty-bourgeoisie, tricking them into dependence on the budget of the new born republic. Beginning with the government of Charles Magoon in the second intervention of the U. S., the national budget grew daily with the sole object of nourishing the growing petty-bourgeois bureaucracy. With the prosperity occasioned by the high price of sugar during the world war, everything went well, but the collapse of prices starting in 1921 caused a reduction of the budget despite the loans contracted in the North American markets to prevent such an expediency.

The effects of the crisis were felt most severely by the parasitical petty-bourgeoisie. Displaced from their bureaucratic positions they soon descended to the ranks of the degenerate lumpen-proletariat. At the crossroads of life and death, the most courageous nucleus took up the struggle and there arose a number of militant organizations of the petty-bourgeoisie. First of them was the ABC which began under Machado with a democratic program, arriving lately into an ideology of open fascism. After the fall of Grau San Martin, the Revolutionary Party of Cuba, which the latter led, appeared to express the desires of the petty-bourgeoisie, but the relative consolidation of the reactionary Mendieta and their little faith in the electoral process made this social stratum, in open desperation, seek as its only way out, insurrection. Then it turned toward the revolutionary organization, "Young Cuba", led by Antonio Gutieras, secretary of interior in the Grau San Martin cabinet.

Gutieras' Position

The organization "Young Cuba" is in essence an amalgamation of heterogeneous forces of the petty-bourgeoisie of all kinds; conservatives, centrists, lefts. Its program has as a basic point the "anti-imperialist" struggle and puts forward a broad reformist program in favor of the working masses. Gutieras had a broader outlook than his followers. He had an internationalist perspective for the Cuban revolution. In order to achieve this objective he intended to call a Continental Congress in Mexico of all the left parties and he expressed a great interest in inviting all the sections of the International Communist League on the American continent as he had communicated to our party.

But in the first days of this month Gutieras was taken by surprise by the army, as he was embarking for Mexico, near the city of Matanzas. He was assassinated together with the Venezuelan colonel, Carlos Aponte.

The death of Antonio Gutieras creates a different situation in the Cuban political scene. Our penetration in the ranks of "Young Cuba", the sympathy that its members feel for our party opens up good perspectives for our organization. The petty-bourgeoisie will not stop in its insurrectionalist intentions. For them it is a question of life and death; but here rises a brilliant opportunity for the proletarian party to show its abilities at leadership. On the other hand the terrible situation that confronts the Cuban proletariat will drag the petty-bourgeoisie into an insurrectionalist movement that may arise. If our party can mobilize its forces and put itself in the position of a vanguard, where its voice will be heard by the masses, then we can say that the revolution is saved.

But under the conditions that prevail work is very difficult. Our party lacks financial resources, cannot legally publish its press, cannot legally conduct any campaign to collect funds, and must therefore turn to the proletariat of other countries in requesting immediate help. This appeal is especially addressed to the North American proletariat with whom we are united through common bonds of exploitation.

North American comrades: you who have the possibility, even within the capitalist system, to build your organizations, have before you the task of assigning funds immediately for the help of your Cuban comrades. Your help is necessary if the Bolshevik-Leninist party is to be able to fulfill its mission. We feel certain that a response will be forthcoming.
 Havana, May 13, 1935.

What to Attend

BROWNVILLE
 Dance and Watermelon Eating Contest
SATURDAY, JULY 13, 8:30 P.M.
 1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn
Friday, July 19, 8:00 P.M.—House Party and social for benefit of New Militant, 51 Morton Street (F. Norman). Auspices: East Side Branch No. 2, W. P. Admission 10c.

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

Old Guard Hammers Militants As N.C. of Socialist Party Meets

National "Militant" Caucus Breaks Up — Hoan and Thomas Backslide

(Continued from Page 1)
 lowers of the N.E.C. (incidentally, this N.E.C. committee has been boycotted by the Old Guard, who refuse to supply it with information, documents, facilities) and thereupon, as proof positive to all labor fakers and money-bags who might have some doubts about the respectability of the N.E.C., Hoan and Thomas launched a real campaign against the left wing workers in the party.

They passed a resolution making membership in the party incompatible with advocacy of "armed insurrection"; the Old Guard promptly used the resolution to expel revolutionary workers; and the net result of the year's struggle is that the Old Guard is more solidly in the saddle than ever before, and the only blows which have been delivered by the N.E.C. are blows to the left. Querulous complaints about the Old Guard, wordy statements about their crimes, but decisive action against the leftward-moving workers—this is Norman Thomas' record since the Detroit convention.

What, meanwhile, has happened to the New York Militants, under the leadership of Murray Baron and Jack Altman, and their allies, the "Chicago left," led by Maynard Krueger and Clarence Senior—these "revolutionary socialists," who came to the Detroit convention with a printed program (which they never brought to the floor). Despite their support of the shady ambiguities of the Declaration of Principles, the socialist militants had a splendid opportunity to crystallize a real left wing in the Socialist Party. The spectacle of the disloyalty of the Old Guard and the cowardice of the N.E.C. made it possible for the militants to secure a hearing from thousands of socialist workers. But the whole strategy of the Militant leaders led in an opposite direction.

"Cadre Builds Program"

A revolutionist says: "The program builds the cadre": hammer out your principles and win adherents by fighting for your principles. The Militant leaders said: "The cadre builds the program": i.e., they, plus Thomas and Hoan, plus the trade union bureaucrats who, they hoped, could be induced to break with the Old Guard, plus anti-New York sentiment in the West and South, plus anyone who would come along for whatever reason—in short, a bloc having no other program than anti-New York, had to be maintained at any cost. This unprincipled line of the Militants could lead in only one direction: capitulation on every issue to Thomas and Hoan, who themselves have no principled differences with the Old Guard.

So far, indeed, has this surrender by the Militants gone, that on the eve of the N.E.C. meeting, at which the retreat before the Old Guard will in all likelihood develop into a flat acceptance of the Old Guard on their own terms—on the eve of an open alliance between Hoan and the Old Guard, with Thomas "going along for the sake of unity"—the year's record of the Militants does not show a single instance of criticism of the N.E.C.

The Socialist Call, organ of the Militants, has only rarely criticized the Old Guard, and never said a word about the cowardly actions of the N.E.C. It has even suppressed the fact that the Old Guard has refused to invite or receive the N.E.C. for this week's meeting. Instead of coming out with a declaration that the Old Guard's report is the central issue before the N.E.C., the Socialist Call, after listing other points on the agenda, says that "it is expected" that the Old

Guard issue will "also" be discussed. Not a word about Thomas' blows to the left; on the contrary, after the last N.E.C. meeting made advocacy of "armed insurrection" incompatible with party membership, the Militant leaders went around explaining that this was a clever tactical move by Thomas, that it only applied to public statements by socialists to non-socialists, and they tried to hide the fact that the Thomas decision applied to the socialist press, to socialist meetings, and to socialists anywhere and everywhere. Though Hoan revealed at the last N.E.C. meeting that he was getting ready to make a deal with the Old Guard, the Militants made no criticisms of him. In other words, on the eve of the N.E.C. meeting, the Militants are completely identified in the eyes of the party rank and file with the N.E.C.

Instead of gaining ground by these tactics, the Militants have already lost considerably. Their so-called national caucus has disappeared: the "Chicago left," which revolved around the national office, has so completely identified itself with Hoan that its leader, Krueger, was attacked by left wing delegates at the recent Illinois convention; the "western Militants," around Andrew Biemiller, have found a resting place in the Milwaukee machine; the Massachusetts "left wing" has just held a harmony convention with the right wing.

Pessimism Among "Leaders"

Some Militants privately recognize this situation—but draw from it the conclusion that their weakness means they must still further submit to the N.E.C. To the argument that they should have built a broad caucus organization (they refused to do this because the Old Guard would seize upon it as "an issue"), with democratic election of steering committees, etc. (they refused this because it meant an open stand for a factional organization), with all decisions submitted for rank and file approval (they refused this because they didn't know what they would do the next day since they were tied to the chariot wheels of the N.E.C.), etc.—to all such arguments they mournfully answer: "Yes, we did wrong, but it's too late to change that now."

Too late! The pessimism of leaders, undoubtedly will affect part of their following, who will simply drop out of the party. And anyone who will not fight within his own party will not be recruited into another party; that is one of the lessons of 1921. No one will gain from such defeatism. It is certainly not too late. The onward march of Fascism, the lessons of Germany, Austria and Spain, have smashed the complacency of thousands of socialist workers; and as they survey the new August 1914 being jointly prepared by the Second and Third Internationals in France, they are more ready to break with reformism than they have been for years. They want to fight the Old Guard but they don't know how.

The leftward-moving socialist workers have to learn that the way to fight is to fight on the basis of clear-cut principles. Let them seriously turn to an examination of the principles of the main currents in the labor movement, and they will find that the only revolutionary program is that of the Workers Party. In the Declaration of Principles of the Workers Party they will find their principled basis for the struggle against reformism and its centrist allies of today and tomorrow. On the basis of a program the cadres are built: that is the first lesson the socialist workers must learn.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

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

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

D. J. E., LOS ANGELES—
 Question: How can you expect the proletarians to manage a government when they cannot even manage themselves?

Answer: If one were to follow the logic of this reasoning, the capitalist would not be able to manage their state power. On the average, the members of the capitalist class, particularly today when they play practically no role in the productive process, are people of very ordinary intelligence, and, because of their mode of living, are for the most part too incompetent to even arrange for their own food and clothing. Nevertheless, they rule society through special organizations whose officers are their agents and who supply for a price of one sort or another, the ability needed to perform the necessary functions for the class rule. In other words, the ruling class has its work done for it by special representatives drawn from its own and other classes.

Despite the fact that there are certain qualitative differences, the same applies to the proletariat when it becomes the ruling class. It is true that there is much ignorance, illiteracy, etc., among the proletarian masses, a condition which capitalist exploitation has fostered and developed in order to maintain and perpetuate itself, a state of affairs requiring that the proletariat also set up its special organs of class domination. The revolutionary party thus becomes a necessity in order to rule for the working class as well as to seize the power in its name.

There is a fundamental historical difference, however, between the ruling apparatus of the proletariat and of the capitalist class. The organs through which the latter exerts its rule, for example, the banks, press, chambers of commerce, etc., develop along with the system itself, as component parts of it, and no special effort, no sacrifice, which lies outside of their money making routine is required by the capitalists, in order to build up the foundations of their rule. The party of the proletariat, however, does not evolve naturally out of the development of the class itself but must be built alongside of it. Such a party can be constructed only by those who are able and willing to exert the necessary effort and make the needed sacrifices.

APPLICATION REJECTED

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

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.

DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
 5 Washington Square North
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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

The War for Colonies

The general world crisis of capitalism of 1907 produced or rather intensified the fierce life and death struggle for colonies among the advanced imperialist countries. Each country hoped to prolong the existence of the system of exploitation at home by attaining and exploiting larger controlled markets abroad. Thus the crisis of capitalism was transformed into the first world war in 1914. This war was preceded by "skirmishes" in various parts of the globe, particularly in Africa. In the so-called Moroccan crisis of 1911, the needs of German imperialism forced the Kaiser into the notorious Agadir incident that almost precipitated the war at that time.

Now again the general crisis of capitalism has sharpened all antagonisms and posed more sharply than ever before the contradiction between highly developed productive forces and closely restricted markets. To secure access to new markets the great powers find it necessary to prepare for war, one against the other, so as to break the grip of their rivals on the more desirable colonies. Japan proceeds steadily, as yet unchecked, with plundering of China—and America looks on waiting the opportune moment for intervening. Germany looks first of all to the East of its borders, to the Ukraine and to Central Europe, for the expansion that will save its capitalism from complete decline.

Italy has turned to an African adventure in Ethiopia for its share of plunder. In a general way Mussolini's attack on this African semicolon may well be compared with the Agadir incident as the prelude to the second world war. It is not enough for fascism to prevent revolution at home with its complete destruction of the capitalist system of exploitation by the proletariat; that represents only the political condition for the continued existence of the bourgeoisie. Fascism knows no other way to solve its economic dilemma than the same methods pursued abroad that it pursues at home. Capitalism cannot exist without resort to plunder and warfare.

Ethiopia and the Powers

Italy did not begin its wolf's leap at Ethiopia without first securing the consent of England and France. All the present sham of British opposition and its "sounding out" the other powers in the League of Nations concerning the application of economic penalties and "sanctions" to put a stop to Italy's further measures, is characterized even in the capitalist press as so much face-saving for its own masses. Of course it is also intended to wring

other concessions from Mussolini for the British lion. What these are will probably not be known for some time. But one can hazard the guess, knowing the direction of English diplomacy at this time, that England is trying to separate Italy from France in order the better to exert pressure on isolated France to split it away from the Soviet Union. A crusade against the Soviet Union would be least dangerous to England—or so its ruling class supposes—and would enable England to "recover" by becoming the workshop for supplying the needs of a war-torn Europe.

The abrupt and chilling reply of Roosevelt to the appeal of Ethiopia for the application of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris illustrates not merely that this country, under bourgeois rule, is no more interested in peace than any of the other powers, but that it is to the interest of America also not to become involved in complications in Europe and Africa when the ruling class here is forced to concentrate its entire attention on the knotty problem presented by Japanese penetration of China. Furthermore Italy's move at this time is a blow at Japan, just beginning its thrust toward Africa through Ethiopia. American capitalism is therefore somewhat sympathetic towards Mussolini.

Civilizing Ethiopia

The fascist leader, Il Duce, who found it unnecessary to hide his aims and methods when it was a matter of knifing the Italian proletariat, now employs the usual imperialist hypocrisy of carrying civilization to the conquered colony. Mussolini, enslaver of the entire Italian working class and the most hunger-stricken peasantry of Europe, will be the "Abraham Lincoln" of Ethiopia. He will "free" the large number of slaves held in bondage by the exploiting rulers of Abyssinia. He will "free" them from their present masters to place master and slave alike under the yoke of Italian capitalism. That is all that the bourgeoisie can carry to the colonies—a system of exploitation more intense, more cruel and costly in human life than any previous system. It is only the world proletariat that can bring real civilization to the colonies.

When the workers throw off the yoke of capitalism at home, they will at the same time strike off the chains of the colonial peoples. The proletarian revolution will not only destroy the bourgeois exploiters at home, but will aid in the destruction of the colonial ruling classes, feudal or bourgeois. It is as much the task of the workers to accomplish the freedom of the colonial peoples as their own.

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LECTURE
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 What is the connection between the new slanderous attack and Stalin's Campaign Against the Bolsheviks in Russia?
 —The Social-Patriotic Policy of the French Communist Party?
 —The Right Wing Swing of the American Communist Party?
 —The growth of the movement for the Fourth International in France, Holland and the United States?
 Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
 Editor, The New Internationalist
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 At IRVING PLAZA
 Irving Place and 15th Street, New York
 Questions and discussion in Jewish and in English
 Auspices: New York District, Workers Party of the U. S.