NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

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The Wall Is Cracking

A FTER long years the wall behind which Stalin perpetrates his infamies on his revolutionary opponents and critics is beginning to crack and the terrible truth is making it; way to the international working class. The escape of the heroic Tarov established for the first time a direct line of communication from the solitary cells and concentration camp). Now Ciliga, former member of the political bureau of the Communist party of Jugoslavia has emerged from the living grave to report that foreign communists as well as Russians are hounded, persecuted and imprisoned if they venture to disagree with Stalin. The revelations concerning the on of Trotsky and his wife reveal that the "genial leader" celebrates the "irrevocable victory of socialism" by seizing relatives of those political opponent; who are out of his reach and holding them as hostages, if indeed he is still holding them and har not done away with them, General impressions of the Stalinist terror against the Bolsheviks are now being "upplemented by detailed facts. It is our task to make. these facts known to the clars-conscious workers, the real friends of the Soviet Union, and thereby to hasten their intervention,

The most timely and appropriate step that can be taken now is to agitate for the sending of an impartial commission to the Soviet Union to investigate the conditions of the revolutionary political prisoners there and to make a public report of their findings. The Sunday Worker explained that Tarov's accusations have already been refuted by "impartial observer" from foreign countries. That, of course, is a fake. The glowing reports of interested "Friends of the Soviet Union," who make up their reports in Moscow hotels and never go near the solitary confinement cells and concentration campa are not worth the paper they are written on. We speak of an authoritative commission of reputable people who are known for their integrity and incorruptibility as well as for their publicly expressed pro-Soviet attitude. Will such a commission be permitted to enter the Soviet Union and interview the prisoners? If not, the mere refusal will be a confession of guilt which every class-consciou; worker will understand.

Along with the agitation for a commission to visit the Soviet Union we must demand the alleviation of the conditions of the prisoner; and do something to provide material support for the persecuted victims of Stalin's terror and their families. Money is needed for comrade Tarov to ensure hi safety in Europe. Means must be found to relieve the hardships of the Bolshevik prisoners and exiles who are deprived even of the necessary crust of bread by their vengeful tormenters. The revolutionary prisoners in Stalin's jails and concentration camps are the richest capital of the revolution. The conservation of their lives i; for the international proletariat an act of self-defense. Honest, class-conscious worker of all tendencles have an interest at stake in this matter of the Soviet political prisoners. They ought to cooperate in organizing this work and pushing it forward.

For the Unity of Unemployed

P ERMANENT mass unemployment brings new problems and new forms of labor organization. In the years since the beginning of the crisis the necessity for distinct organizations of the unemployed and part time workers has become increasingly evident, and it is equally evident that such organizations, in order to function with the maximum effectiveness and to promote the class solidarity of the workers, must be an integral part of the general

The necessity of this close relationship and cooperation between the organizations of the unemployed and the established trade unions has been especially emphasized by the launching of the federal piblic works program and the part-time employment of a great number of workers previously unemployed. This cooperation, in turn, is greatly facilitated by the strong organization of the unemployed and parttime workers and their unification everywhere in a single body on a permanent basis.

The unification of the unemployed movement is undoubtedly the next step in the line of progressive development in this field. Whatever the original reasons for the formation of separate organizations of the unemployed there is no justification now for further division. The interests of the unemployed and of the labor movement in general imperatively call for unity.

The unity negotiations between the National Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance of America have offered the best prospect for the combination of all the organized unemployed in a single national organization. The unification of the two largest and most compatible organizations would undoubtedly lay the basis for a general assimilation of the various independent local and state bodies and the Unemployed Councils and provide a powerful stimulus to the further organization of the unorganized. A united national organization thus constituted would reenforce the trade union movement and contribute to the strengthening of the position of all the

workers, employed and unemployed. The failure of the WAA and the NUL up till now to come to an agreement for the unification is all the more to be regretted in view of the immense new possibilities that would be opened up before a united movement. The fact that general agreement exists as to the policies of the unemployed movement reduces possible disegreeements to questions of organization and administration, questions which in the

pature of the case, while important, are decidedly secondary.

In the face of the urgent need for unity, which overshadows all other considerations, leaders who haggle endlessly over these points for reasons of personal ambition or narrow organization patriotism stand self-condemned. This method of struggling for "leadership" is futile anyway. In a broad demoits very nature cannot be anything else if it is to grow at the posts of leadership who are qualified to lead. Even organizational maladjustments which may be accepted by the more conscientious leaders for the sake of unity will eventually be rectified in due time

in the normal course of development. We especially urge the leaders of the National Unemployed League, among whom are members of the Workers Party, to take this broad view of the situation and to push forward the unification. This course should be taken even at the cost of organizational concessions demanded by the WAA which may be out of line with the relation of forces between the two organizations. That is the way to serve the interests of the unemployed masses at the present juncture. In any case, the members of the Workers Party in both organizations, as the champions of labor solidarity and the opponents of splits in the economic movement, are duty-bound to fight for the unity of the NUL and the WAA against any who may try to obstruct it and to insist that it be consummated without delay.

The New Labor Press

HE labor awakening signalized by the waves of militant strikes under the Roosevelt administration is beginning to find expression in another form which has its own significance, Headed by the Northwest Organizer, weekly organ of Local 574 at Minneapolis and the brightest trade union paper in the country, in one locality after another new trade union papers representing progressive and militant unionism are springing up. The last few weeks have wit- and after his sudden arrest while for the proletarian revolution and without eschewing the most exnessed the appearance of three other new paper.

The Unionist, published by the Union of All Workers at Austin, Minn., where it dominates the big Hormel packing plant, emerges from its old form as a mimeographed bulletin into a full-sized printed paper. Young town Truck Drivers Local 377, following the example of its famous brother local at Minneapolis, brings out a small paper. The Union Guide, to fight the frame-up prosecution of its leaders and to promote the cause of progressive unioni m. At Toledo, Local 4 of the Mechanics Educational Society, fresh from a victorious strike in the auto accessory plant, is bringing out its ownpaper, The Industrial

Despite technical and editorial shortcomings these new labor papers are all distinguished by one quality in the revolutionary struggle, the movement of their own country but binsk, where he carried on a hunger ing to its ranks. We declare that that marks them off sharply from the traditional old- raison d'etre of his life. line monstrosities of conservatism and duliness humorously called the "labor press"; the new papers are alive. They breath the spirit of struggle and persecutions with which the G.P.U. the government of Stalin and Molo- the U.S.S.R., which betrayed the Communists although the treachermilitancy. They contain live news of the struggle in their own localities and elsewhere. And running through all of them like a red thread is to be seen Hounded by Bourgeoisie and Stalin the victims of the Soviet prison when it comes to strengthening the places. We call upon you to issue a line which i irreconcilably opposed to the line of the conservative and reactionary labor papers which are so often run as small rackets and instruments

The new trade union papers are harbingers of the coming day when the new unionism, the authentic U.S.S.R., which they considered, numbering 176 persons, led to a munists who struggle against movement of militant American labor, will come into like so many hundreds and thou- hunger strike of 18 days duration international bourgeoisie. its own and speak in its own voice. A real labor sands of other proletarian revolu- as a protest against the shots fired press is a power. In time of strike and stress even tionists abroad, to be their socialist through the window of a prisoner the smallest local sheet can be expanded into a daily fatherland. These three comrades (Essayan) who was seriously that his sentence would be extended with the most telling effect, a was demonstrated at were active functionaries of the wounded. Ciliga and his comrades two more years. Following this Minneapolis during the great strike. The publication Yugoslav C. P. Dedich had been who participated in the hunger comrade Ciliga imperatively deof even a small paper often requires great efforts the secretary of the District Com- strike, together with many Russian manded his freedom, or else he and sacrifices from a comparatively smal group of mittee of the party in a large work- communists who suffered all sorts would commit suicide as a protest | Yennisseisk, January, 1934. militants. We know this to be the case with several of the new papers we have mentioned. But the results are certain and the objective is worth all the effort ten times over. We wish success to all the new labor papers we have enumerated and to others which, it is to be hoped, will soon follow in their

Socialist Call and Daily Worker

THE Trotsky-Hearst frame-up of the Stalinists and their slander system in general got a severe jolt from the editorial in the Socialist Call in which Trotsky's standing as a revolutionist and his right attract the most immediate atten- may still be doubtful and not at to criticize the Stalin regime are vigorously defended. The Call bluntly states that the Daily Worker owes Trotsky an apology, and then adds an ironical postscript: "Are we to assume that the Stalinists, too. have lost any idea of journalistic propriety?" That

can safely be assumed. controversy over the Soviet political prisoners dis- picture of this movement not pre- His analysis is presented with usual The position taken by the Socialist Call on the tinguishes it favorably from the reformist Socialist viously known in this country, thoroughness. press of Europe which suppresses all references to which should be of special interest Stalin's persecutions of the Bolsheviks-they know also to all the readers of the NEW is devoted to the question: Does the all about it and have no objection—as well as from MILPTANT. the New Leader and the Forward which utilize the revelations in order to discredit the Soviet Union in appearing in this issue, will no tance to deserve serious comment membership as an accomplished the manner of Hearst. The Call takes a pro-Soviet doubt be considered by many read- as well as to be, at this moment, of fact and there was nothing to be position and, at the same time, defends the right of ers as its special feature. We can more than ordinary interest to our done but to accept it since the

revolutionists to criticize the bureaucracy, But one remark in the editorial, if taken literally, a member of the British I.L.P., who strikes a decidedly false note: "We are not concerned recently made a visit to Norway, in the February issue of the NEW with the truth of the statements in these (Trotsky's) and in the course of his discussions INTERNATIONAL two articles dearticles." It is possible that this is meant simply to with comrade Trotsky put a numseparate the is ne of the Stalinist slander frame-up ber of questions to which he re- written by Felix Morrow, deals -which the Call condemns out of hand-from the ceived specific and quite elaborate with the spirit of the American accusations of Trotsky and Tarov. The questions answers While the questions and Constitution and the other is a conshould be separated. But the second i far more the answers were concerned in the tinuation of the discussion by comimportant than the first, and revolutionists cannot main with problems facing the I.L. rade Novack on the role of the

remain indifferent to it. The persecution of Bolsheviks strikes a blow at mere partisan interest since they the Soviet Union. Those who believe Tarov's story touch upon some of the most fundashould raise their voices in protest. If one doubts mental aspects of tactics and tac- Wollenberg. During a number of the truth of Tarov's statements he should call for an tics and strategy of the revolution- years, but prior to the Stalinist investigation by an impartial, pro-Soviet committee ary movement. to establish the facts. But to say that one is "not concerned" with the truth of the accusations-if that this issue the question of organic Communist party. His contribution is what is really meant-is to express indifference to unity. Since the Seventh Comintern to the February issue analyses the one of the most burning problems of the Soviet Union, | Congress this question appears to | question of : Just Wars in the Light the fate of the genuine revolutionist; within its have been transferred into the of Marxism. borders. No serious revolutionist in any country can

maintain such an attitude,

SHADES OF LENIN!

Boston American, appealing to all found than in the flock of Stalin, American Flag at our meetings in patriotic Bostonians to prevent the In introducing the following speak. remembrance of the Bill of Rights Guardia proved abortive. The were astounded by a spectacle of addressed him as "Mr." Moore to piness to all." (!) patriotism and flag-waving under the amusement of the audience. the guise of a Lenin memorial meet- The high note of the meeting

munist origin. District Organizer patriotism of the C. P. as sanctioned \$2.00. speech, whose theme was that marks of a similar stripe by this SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT working men and women. Many of since the heydey of the NRA.

Frankfeld 'read a twenty-minute by Lenin! Among many other re-

'revolutionist" is the following. delivered passionately and earnestly: "We Communists will never BOSTON.-Ushered in by a hys- throughout the land there were no Smith's Liberty League, or the

ing held recently by the C. P. at was a talk by that eminent Ameri: New Militant, New International occur between this writing and regulation of the system of price can patriot. Earl Browder, who es. subscription offer. 52 issues of the Monday, the strike date, the walk- settlement. In a truly American setting, sayed the despicable and pathetic paper and 12 issues of the magazine out is expected to close every dress without a single decoration of Com- task of trying to justify the social can be had, through this offer, for shop in the city.

A Cry of Protest from A Siberian Exile Camp

cratic movement—and the unemployed movement by Letter of 13 Bolsheviks, Written in chains and the water hose turned tence. The G.P.U., fearing that the and thrive—those individuals will eventually arrive 1934, Comes to Light for First Time

We publish below an authentic document, shocking in its revelations of the tortures to which the Stalinist bureaucracy daily submits the best Russian and foreign revolutionists, when the latter come to the U.S.S.R. We make this letter public (written in Jan., 1934) only after great delay because one of the comrades, with whom it deals, has only recently managed to make his way abroad. But the letter retains its full force today because two out of the three Yugoslavs mentioned, and hundreds and thousands of other revolutionists are still in prison and exile in the same conditions so candidly described in this etter of protest. (I.C.L. Press Service.)

To Akulov, Attorney General of the U.S.S.R., Moscow:

slav comrade Ciliga, who spent of the Political Bureau and on the three years in the political solitary staff of the central legal organ of perpetually. The prison term of at Verkhni-Uralsk, made an attempt for good cause by the Yugoslav years) expired in May 1933. Serat suicide, in the offices of the government, all three could expect lously suffering from isolation from central bureau of the G.P.U. by the most vicious terror from the the Communist movement of their slashing his veins: The agents of Yugoslav bourgeoisie. the G.P.U. succeeded in bandaging great deal of blood.

ment was finished. This tragic at-Political Bureau of the Yugoslav carried on his shoulders the full prisoners. weight of Yugoslav reaction, was not the result of a sudden outburst

the truth of this contention.

ers' community. Draguich was a ever. There are many examples member of the Central Committee of Communists, who through the On November 28, 1933, the Yugo- of the party and Ciliga a member practice of the Russian prisons the party. All three were hated the Yugoslav Communists (three

These comrades, who found the comrade whose blood flowed cruel exploitation of the proletariat freely, despite his resistance, and in the U.S.S.R. and who had beof saving him from death by medi- come convinced of the betrayal of cal care, although he did lose a the leading group, of its betrayal of the proletarian revolution, joined This attempt at suicide took the opposition and soon shared the place at the central offices of the fate of the Russian Communists G.P.U., where Ciliga had been taken who carry on an unceasing struggle he was under medical treatment at who, in the U.S.S.R., are also pun-Krasnoyarsk, in order to forcibly ished for it as they are in other transport him from Krasnovarsk to countries by prison, by condemna-Yenesseisk, even befoe his treat tion to life in concentration camps, by moral and physical abuse, by tempt at suicide by a revolutionary exile to the remotest corners of Communist, former member of the Eastern Siberia, to the province of Narym, to the favorite places where C.P., who for a number of years Czarist Russia loved to send its

The Hunger Strike

The three comrades, sentenced in

of humiliating beatings, were placed against the extension of his sensolitary of Verkhni-Uralsk.

Arbitrary Extension of Sentences coming acquainted with a new rade Ciliga and sent him into exile reality, existing only in the U.S.S. to far off Eastern Siberia. R. and unknown to the Communists active in bourgeois-fascist Europe. In the U.S.S.R. every prisoner, on the termination of his sentence, may see it prolonged for a new indefinite period: for a term one. two, three years or more without the prisoner being indicted, heard or judged in any fashion whatsohave had their sentences prolonged

country, the three Yugoslav Communists decided at this very moment to demand at any cost, the right to return to Yugoslavia, where, despite the danger which threatened them, they could function in the ranks of the struggling proletariat. The comrades demanded to be sent to Yugoslavia and announced that they would struggle to obtain this right by every means at Verkhni-Uralsk,

Ciliga's Heroic Protest

of despair and of weakness of char- 1930 to three years imprisonment from his friends (the fate of the for the subsequent fate of comrade acter, but an act of deliberate pro- were transferred to solitary con- other Yugoslav comrades is not Ciliga who belongs to the internatest of an active fighter, deprived finement at Verkhni-Uralsk and cut known to us) and thrown into a tional working class and who must of the possibility of participating off not only from the proletarian dungeon of the prison at Chelia- be given the opportunity of returnalso from their families and friends, strike lasting 23 days to obtain the the international working class The entire past of comrade Ciliga What the Yugoslav authorities right to return to his home in his will one day know the fate of comand the system of repressions and failed to do, was accomplished by country. But the leading group in rade Ciliga and the other Yugoslav had surrounded him, demonstrate tov. Comrade Ciliga and the two cause of the revolution in his coun- ous policy of the leading group other Yugoslav comrades, became try, is at the same time indifferent thrusts them into the remotest Three Yugoslav Communists, system, a system of provocation ranks of the international proleta- an order to the G.P.U. to put an comrades Ciliga, Dedich and Dra- calculated to the meanest detail, riat by intrepid, strong and tested end to the systematic persecutions guich who had been able to with which in the Spring of 1931 in the revolutionists. Moreover, it prefers against the Yugoslav Communists, stand the repressions of the the large Communist collective in the its own government methods in comrades Ciliga, Dedich, Draguich Yugoslav bourgeoisie, came to the political solitary of Verkhni-Uralsk, regulating their affairs to the Com- and to give them permission to go

In reply to comrade Ciliga's hunger strike the G.P.U. informed him

on them, as was the custom in the international proletariat might find out about the death of the Yugoslav Communists, tortured in the Ciliga and his comrades were be- prisons of the U.S.S.R., freed com-

Siberian Exile

But that in no way changed the situation of comrade Ciliga, since he was placed in the same conditions of absolute isolation as in the political solitary. Under the present Soviet regime exile means only that they continue their estrangement from life, but in different conditions. Separation from friends. from family, the impossibility of carrying on correspondence, which is intercepted by the local agents of the G.P.U. and in the greatest part destroyed or disappears without a trace. Repeated raids, frequent arrests without reason or charges-all of this makes of the places of exile, concentration camps with just a shred of freedom. And comrade Ciliga, sent into the waste lands of Eastern Siberia, and seeing no other prospect than of being transferred to a still more distant corner, finally tried to carry out his threat of soicide.

"We Hold You Responsible. . ."

In making these facts knewn to you, we draw your attention to the treme methods like the hunger fact that the life of comrade Ciliga strike and suicide. The reply of is still in danger, although this time the G.P.U. was the order to trans- his attempt at suicide failed. Since port them to another political soli- the main demand of comrade Ciliga tary, in order to remove the possi- has received no satisfaction, we bility of their securing support in send you this warning and we hold their struggle from the large im- you fully responsible for the system portant Communist collective, im- of provocations of the G.P.U. and prisoned for years in the solitary of its intent to physically exterminate the Communists among whom comrade Ciliga is one of the vic-Comrade Ciliga was separated tims. You are entirely responsible abroad, since they are illegally and forcibly held in the U.S.S.R.

SIGNED: Bobinski, Volkev, Gourovskaya, Dehinachvilli (?), Korkina, Ida Lemelman, Plomper, Rapoport, Simbirski, Sotnikov, Shapiro, Feodorov, Chikin.

February Issue of New International Out Soon

TIONAL will be out soon.

hanovist movement will probably consumation of such organic unity presents are fully authenticated by tractive to the average worker, it peared in the press of the Soviet the answer to this Stalinist propo-

readily agree. The interviewer is readers. P., they are all of much more than American intellectuals.

The February NEW INTERNA- | realm of reality; the Stalinists, at any rate, have become ardent pro-Among the material contained in ponents of organic unity with the this issue, the article on the Stak- Socialist parties. While the actual tion. Written by one of our Rus- all solved by the mere formula of sian comrades, N. Markin, the facts unity that usually appears so atreferences to information that ap- devolves upon the Marxists to give Union. In each instance exact data [sal. This is what comrade West is given, presenting on the whole a has undertaken to do in his article.

An article by comrade Swabeck A. F. of L. Face a Split? No doubt An interview with Leon Trotsky, this subject is of sufficient impor-

Among the other material carried serve special mention. One of them,

new contributor, comrade Erich "third period," he was the leader of Comrade John West takes up in the military sector of the German

NEWS FLASH!

give up our American Flag to Al makers are making final prepara- the first time. tions for a general strike which terical campaign in the Hearst better, more loyal Americans to be Hearsts, and we always have an will involve over 100,000 workers. Frantic last-minute efforts of La

be bluffed.

As we go to press the dress them will march in picket lines for

Dressmakers in New Jersey and Connecticut will be asked to cooper-

The union is fighting for an inmeeting, the people of this city er, a C. P. member; he carefully which assures life, liberty and hap-bosses remained recalcitrant and crease in wages to meet the rising the union refused to allow itself to standard of living and a reduction in hours. They are also demanding Avail yourself of the combination | Unless unforseen developments a limitation of contractors and a

At this writing 20,000 workers Square Garden in one of the biggest Thirty-three halls, hired for the are expected to overflow Madison urpose, will teeem with striking strike meetings this city has seen

Fur Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

riers swallow the contract. The of class-collaboration re sounded throughout his entire speech; a strike, he declared, means suffering for the workers, ruin for the bosses and is bad for the indusitalist system.

Members of the Progressive Unity

Group and other rank and file in them a force for evil only, a workers criticized the agreement and the leadership of the union responsible for it. They pointed out that it was presented to the any of the old line A. F. of L. buleadership had not prepared for a strike. It was common knowledge in the fur market and well known to the bosses (see their organ, "Women's Wear") that the leadership of the union did not intend to strike and this, of course, made the bosses all the more arrogant,

The Stalinists' Record

In the six months the Stalinists have been at the helm of the united Called Off Furriers Union, they have induced a spirit of apathy among the workers and suppressed all sparks of militancy in their ranks. They reintroduced a system of craft locals instead of the industrial form of organizations which the right wing leaders dared not do in their boldest moments. They made deals with unprincipled individuals, surrounded themselves with an appatry (!) generally. Don't worry, he ratus of yes-men, including some consoled the workers, some day Old Guard Socialists, a window we'll have a Farmer-Labor party dressing for their actions. The and it will reform the rotten cap- prestige of the Stalinists as a militant force in the trade union movement is today little but a dim memory. The furriers must recognize

brake on the workers' struggle, ready for anything including classcollaboration indistinguishable from reaucrats. Even the red paint has worn off. They must draw the proper lessons for the future.

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