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20,000 Oppositionists Expelled From the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Recent 'Cleansing'

Forces of the Fourth International Grow in the Strongest Fortress of Stalinism; "Purging" of Critics Conducted by G.P.U. Behind Backs of the Membership; Prepare Another Mass Ousting for Spring

By LEON TROTSKY

A new cleansing is being conducted in the so-called Communist party of the Soviet Union. This time it bears the modest label of a "check-up on party credentials." The difference between this purge and all those that preceded it lies in the fact that it is being effected without even the nominal participation of the party itself; no general meetings, no personal confessions, no public denunciations, no corroborating testimony. The checking machinery operates entirely behind the scenes: for, you see, this is merely a matter of "credentials." In reality approximately 10 percent of the party has been expelled as a result of this modest technical check-up. The check-up of party candidates has not been completed as yet. But already, many more than 20,000 have been ejected from the ranks of the party. Let us recall, incidentally, that this was almost the numerical strength of the entire Bolshevik party during the period when it led the proletariat to the conquest of power.

The Categories of Expelled

The January 2 issue of Pravda breaks down the figures of the expelled into the following main categories: "From Trotskyists, Zinovievists, opportunists, double-dealers, alien elements, sneak-thieves, adventurers down to spies of the foreign agencies." The list, you will observe, reproduces the general formula of all Thermidorian amalgams. It would be utterly naive to become "indignant" over the coupling of Trotskyists with sneak-thieves and spies. Every regime at loggerheads with the people persecutes, on the one hand, the revolutionists and on the other criminals. From time immemorial these two categories lived side by side in the prisons of the Czar, as they live today in the prisons of the bourgeoisie of the entire world. Kerensky in his own time swore again and again that the Bolsheviks were in collusion with black hundred gangs and German spies. Stalin remains entirely true to tradition. Instead of growing "indignant" over the statistic amalgam, let us analyze it more closely.

First of all we note the striking fact that from among the more than 20,000 expelled, the "Trotskyists" are officially assigned the first place. Does this imply that they are so large a group numerically? Or is it that the bureaucracy, after liquidating "the remnants and splinters" of Trotskyists no less than ten times, still continues to consider them as its most dangerous enemy? Both. We shall shortly prove on the basis of official statistics that the number of the expelled Bolshevik-Leninists during the last cleansing alone (the latter part of 1935) amounts to no less than 10,000, and, in effect, a great many more. The bestiality of the repressions is ample indication of the extent to which the bureaucracy fears this "category."

The Chief Opposition Force

The Trotskyists and Zinovievists are commonly lumped together in a single category by the official accounts. The Zinovievists always represented a purely Leningrad grouping, in other parts of the country they consisted of only scattered individuals, and they never had an independent political physiognomy, let alone their instability. Thus we obtain six categories of the expelled: 1) Bolshevik-Leninists; 2) Zinovievists; 3) "opportunists" (recorded here more for symmetry and camouflage; the individual reports do not mention them at all as a rule); 4) double-dealers and alien elements (former White Guards, etc.); 5) sneak-thieves and adventurers; 6) foreign spies. With slight variations these categories are repeated in the district reports, correspondence, leading articles, etc.

Before passing to the analysis of the question of the numerical strength of the Bolshevik-Leninists, we wish to point out that not a single listing of the categories of the expelled or any of the commentaries, we have examined, contains any mention either of the Mensheviks or the Social-Revolutionaries. Both these parties are politically non-existent. Their reactionary policy in 1917, as comrade Tarov

has recently so correctly pointed out, has barred them from all approach to the new generations in the city and country. And as the Yugoslav comrade Ciliga, yesterday's captive of Stalin, has stressed on several occasions, the only serious opposition in the country is that of the Bolshevik-Leninists. In other words, the opposition to Bonapartism in the Soviet Union flows not from the principles of petty-bourgeois democracy, but from the conquests of the October revolution, and marches under its banner. Let us keep this fact firmly in mind, for it is of colossal importance for the future.

After all the preceding purges and campaigns of physical exter-

Rebel Spirit Stirs Akron Gum Miners

Successful Sit-Down Strikes Impel Militant Action in Rubber Unions

By JACK WILSON
AKRON, Ohio, Feb. 10.—In a powerful display of organized strength that amazed and alarmed the tire companies, thousands of rubberworkers joined in various spontaneous "sitdowns" at the Big Three plants here during the past two weeks which had serious possibility of spreading into an industry wide strike until the workers' demands were mainly met. These "sitdowns" began at Firestone which involved 2,000 workers and brought complete victory of the union as explained in the previous issue of the New Militant. The "sitdown" idea spread to Goodyear where another 2,000 workers supported the refusal of the tire curing room to take a wage cut. Although the company failed to rescind the cut, they did not dare carry out a written order to spread the cut to plant 2 as the workers prepared to shut down the plant under leadership of the Goodyear local of the United Rubberworkers of America. Then, tirebuilders at Goodrich sat down Friday night because one of

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Trotsky Cables Denial to AP on Daily Worker Lies

Denounces Repressions Against Bolshevik-Leninists by the Stalinist Bureaucracy

Editor's Note: On January 28 Leon Trotsky sent the following cable to the Associated Press from Honefoss, Norway:

Hearst Press published the article about political persecution in the Soviet Union pretending that it was written by me. Friends cabled me requesting to know the truth of the matter through the medium of the Associated Press. I never gave any article to the Hearst press with which I have no relations whatsoever. The articles which were published or used without my knowledge (in case they really were articles of mine) are naturally not at all directed against the Soviet Union but only against the growing despotism of the ruling clique. During the last month and weeks I have received extremely important news from authentic sources concerning the terrible repressions against political prisoners whose fidelity to the Soviet Union is beyond doubt and whose only "crime" consists in criticizing the ruling bureaucracy.

A short time ago Dr. Anton Ciliga, former leader of the Yugoslav Communist party, returned from the Soviet Union where he spent more than five years in prison and exile as punishment for his critical attitude of the leadership of the Comintern. To

mination it seems almost incredible that among the various categories of the expelled—not hundreds, not thousands, but a minimum of 200,000—the Bolshevik-Leninists should be listed in the first place. How many of them were there? The Soviet press refrains cautiously from citing any totals on this score. Only in individual articles, and remarks dealing with provinces and districts do we run across direct or indirect (most often indirect) mention of the number of the expelled "Trotskyists." This is the data we propose to dwell upon.

In the Dnyeper-Petrovsk Province Khatayevich, secretary of the Dnyeper-Petrovsk province, reports in his article that during the check-

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Find WPA Head Guilty Of Murder

Workers Jury Unanimous in Verdict; NUL, WAA Leaders Speak

TOLEDO, Feb. 9.—Several hundred W.P.A. workers, who braved sub-zero blizzard weather here, were aroused to a fighting pitch today at the disclosures of the inhuman circumstances surrounding the death of Alonzo Walker, W.P.A. worker who was permitted to freeze to death on a W.P.A. project here three weeks ago. The open trial of the W.P.A. administration for murder was conducted by the W.P.A. Workers Union this afternoon at the Roi Davis auditorium. The trial was held in connection with a mass protest meeting to demand better conditions, hours and wages on the W.P.A. Arnold Johnson, executive-secretary of the National Unemployed League, and Gerry Allard, central Illinois chairman and leader of the state hunger march to Springfield, Ill., last summer, were the guest speakers.

The Physician Testifies
Some incredulity was apparent at first when Art Preis, union president, acting as prosecuting attorney stated that he was going to

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Mooney Appeals For Aid

Funds Badly Needed to Fight Activities of Calif. Frame-up Crew

County Jail No. 1, San Francisco, Calif. February 1, 1936.
Mr. James P. Cannon, New Militant, New York City, N.Y.
My dear Cannon:
On Monday, February 3, the hearing on my petition for a habeas corpus writ will be resumed before the referee appointed by the California Supreme Court. Once more that monstrous serpent—the Moonsey-Billings frame-up will crawl from its bed of slime, raise its ghastly head, display its fangs and inject its deadly poison into the blood-stream of public opinion in the hope of paralyzing it so that we may be held in prison until death.

This hearing is bringing our struggle to a new crisis where we need your moral and financial help more than ever before. We have proved that all the material evidence, all matters of identification as to our participation in the crime was pure and unadulterated perjury. We have proved that the District Attorney and the Police Department had conscious knowledge of that perjury when they presented it to the court that convicted us. We have proved that they deliberately suppressed and concealed vital evidence that would have conclusively established our innocence.

This hearing is of vital importance not because there is much hope the California State Supreme Court may grant my writ, but because it is the final step in carrying the case forward to the United States Supreme Court where there is real hope for favorable action. An Organ of Reaction
We know with positive knowledge that the Supreme Court of California itself has from the beginning been part and parcel of this monstrous frame-up. Judge F. W. Henshaw, Justice of the California State Supreme Court for more than twenty years, was driven from the bench in shame as a result of disclosures brought about through the Mooney defense. He accepted a bribe of almost a million dollars for his decision in the Fair Will Case. The Denmore diagraph report disclosed Justice Henshaw as the intellectual guiding evil genius in the Mooney frame-up. The California State Supreme Court in the 1930 hearing on Warren K. Billings application for a pardon, declared that there was no frame-up, that all the perjurers told the truth in 1916, and their later recantations and confessions of perjury were the result of the connivance of our defense committee.

(Signed) LEON TROTSKY.

New York Dressmakers Force Bosses to Terms

Miners Convention Hurls Defi at Green Ultimatum

Complete Solidarity with Industrial Union Movement Spurs Organization in Other Industries

By ARNE SWABECK
The A. F. of L. "will not tolerate within it an organization challenging the supremacy of the parent body." This ultimatum against the Committee for Industrial Organization, Wm. Green delivered in person to the United Mine Workers convention and when he got the answer he deserved, he protested and insisted that his remarks had been "unfairly" interpreted as an ultimatum. In the answer given, the seven hundred delegates voted unanimously to support the Committee for Industrial Organization and to support its policy of industrial unionism. They voted authorization to the officers to withhold per-capita tax payments to the A. F. of L. should such action be deemed necessary.

This was the high point of a remarkable convention. It was known in advance that its decisions would have an important bearing upon the outcome of the present conflict in the A. F. of L. over the industrial union issue. The convention, therefore, received the undivided attention from all sections of the labor movement and, needless to say, not the least from the A. F. of L. top bureaucracy. Crushing Defeat for Green
Wm. Green faced a supreme test. His Executive Council had demanded that the C.I.O. dissolve. He appeared before the miners' convention in the role of a patriarch presiding over the great family of trade unions, in which, he said, some of its members were in "open rebellion." Although he undoubtedly used all his powers of persuasion, he did not leave a very powerful impression. The delegates listened to him in stony silence, broken now and then by a chorus of boos. John L. Lewis on the other hand utilized to the fullest extent all his showmanship talent,

lending so much greater effect to the decisions made. In this respect the convention was magnificently staged. When Green had finished his address, John L. Lewis asked those delegates who had changed their minds because of the address to stand up. Two men stood up. Following this Lewis asked how many believed the C.I.O. should be dissolved. A lone delegate stood up. To the final question how many believed that the policies of this convention should be carried out, all delegates arose amid handclapping and cheers. After this demonstration of unanimity, Lewis was able to turn to Green and exclaim: "I trust, sir, you will carry back to your organization the answer of the United Mine Workers."

Indeed, the coal miners had given an answer thoroughly in accord with their splendid tradition as militant unionists. They spoke as members of the most powerful organization in the A. F. of L., whose expression of opinion must be accepted in earnest. No doubt the coal miners feel confident that the strength of their union has been restored; counting over 500,000 members, the union now embraces about 85 percent of all the coal miners in the country. Most typical of the recent gains is the fact that the whole of the state of West Virginia is now organized, where formerly, and particularly in Logan County, the terrorism of the coal operators and their henchmen in governmental offices for years kept the union out. Conscious of their strength, the coal miners in this convention decided also to extend the union to embrace all workmen "in and around coal processing plants." This, when carried out, would add

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Strength of Union Forces New Contract

Report Gains on Major Issues of Conflict With Employers

After weeks of negotiations breaks in negotiations and threats of strike, the bosses' association, recognizing the strength of the union, have agreed to a contract with the Joint Board of the Dressmakers, I.L.G.W.U.

While the details of the agreement are not yet public, it is understood that all gains made in the 1933 general strike are retained and in some cases improved. The main question at issue was the setting up of adequate machinery to prevent the robbing of workers by chiseling contractors. "Settlement of prices on the jobbers' premises; limitation of contractors; the unit or scientific method of settling piece rates" are reported as agreed to. At the present moment final finishing touches are being added to the agreement. Meetings have been arranged by the bosses' associations to ratify the terms. The union is in search of halls large enough to seat their entire membership for ratification meetings. While union demands for the 30-hour week and general increases in the minimum wage rate have not been met, it is expected that following the report of the negotiating committee headed by President Dubinsky and Vice-President Hochman, the terms will be accepted. The union leaders state that the complete preparations made for this strike and the enthusiastic demonstrations and mass meetings held last Friday, when the entire membership stopped work and paraded to Madison Square, Garden and other halls, had a wholesome effect on the bosses and was a determining factor in winning the agreement.

Mayor LaGuardia is attempting to claim some credit for the settlement but the dressmakers, looking at the results of the mayor's "mediation" in other cases where unions were weak, give the credit to their own solidarity and 100,000 dressmakers can't be wrong!

Laundry Strike Remains Solid In 9th Week
The militant strike of Bronx laundry workers, organized in Laundry Drivers' Local 810, now in its ninth week, is still effectively crippling operation of the plants. Despite police terror and the strikebreaking tactics of city relief authorities, the spirit of the strikers, their wives (organized in ladies' auxiliaries) and families is high and they are determined to win. The police have pursued a policy of arresting as many strikers as possible, holding them on every conceivable charge, in order to strip the picket lines of man power. To date over 150 arrests have taken place on charges ranging from disorderly conduct to kidnapping. Counsel fees and bail are draining the union treasury and support is gravely needed. The shortage of strike relief funds has compelled many of the workers to turn to Home Relief authorities for aid. Without exception their applications have been rejected since they refused to scab. But the action of city relief officials, police and reactionary judges has been unable to break the ranks of the strikers. Last Friday the union called a conference of labor organizations to obtain aid for the strikers. The union is asking all sympathizers and workers to refuse to give their laundry to the following companies: ABC, Bond, Stork, Snow-White, Sterling, Sun, Sunbright, North American, New York (Chester), Planet, Pretty, De Francis, Regent, Jummel, Manhattan, Mirrolite, Westbury-117th-bridge and Starlight laundry companies.

Meat Packers Minneapolis Unions Join In Industry Lewis Set-up

Affiliate with CIO; Fight for Unrestricted Industrial Charter in AFL
22 Locals Take First Step in Conference; 574 Represented

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 2.—The progressive unions in the packing house industry have joined forces with the national movement for industrial unionism through the formal launching of the Committee for Industrial Organization in the Packing House Industry. This action was taken by the delegates to the conference at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on February 1 and 2. The actions and recommendations of the conference delegates are to be submitted to the membership of the participating local unions for approval. It is anticipated that such approval will be quickly granted and the Committee instructed to proceed immediately to its tasks. The Committee for Industrial Organization in the Packing House Industry will direct its attention immediately toward the work of securing the affiliation of other packing house unions. All independent unions and A. F. of L. unions in the industry will be contacted by the committee. Contacts will also be sought among the unorganized packing house workers and those belonging to company unions. The first action of the committee will be to establish a research committee for the purpose of securing statistical information necessary to clearly demonstrate the need for unity of action in the industry. The information, together with other educational material will be circulated throughout all packing house centers. In the near future an official news organ will be established by the committee. Visiting committees will be sent out from time to time by the local unions, and as quickly as circumstances will permit, organizers will be sent into the field by the com-

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