

Hypocrisy and Machine Guns

By Bertram D. Wolfe

There is no country in the world where the banks have so much direct influence over foreign policy, where the State Department and the armed forces are so openly used in the interests of the bankers, or which intervenes more openly and brutally in the affairs of its supposedly sovereign neighbors, than the United States. At the same time there is no country in the world that is as hypocritical, as smug and pharisaical, in the covering of its spurred and booted brutality with high-sounding honey-dripping phrases.

The government of the United States is always doing unwanted "favors" for the nations of Latin America. While it is unable to clean up gangsterism in New York and Chicago, it is unselfishly "lending" its Marines to unwilling and unhappy neighbors. It is always ready to lend a hand in administering a custom house or a railroad, providing a military naval or fiscal "adviser," "supervising" an election, overthrowing or setting up a government, "giving" a loan, mortgaging a country, "restoring" order, safeguarding property, suppressing "banditry," "developing" natural resources, spreading civilization and Christianity.

In occupying the Haitian Republic the United States Marines killed over 3,000 badly armed and unarmed Haitians (see U.S. Senate Investigation of Haitian Occupation), but of course they were killed for their own good. The Wall Street government at Washington is always ready to do

for the USSR as a measure in the unemployment crisis. The Party does not even conduct a systematic propaganda about the fundamental aspects of unemployment, about its relations to the capitalist system as such. Nothing! Only collecting signatures and farcical "demonstrations".

The workers are left leaderless in the struggle against unemployment. Betrayal—futility—hopeless narrowness. That is what they meet in the various sections of the labor movement. No wonder that the tendencies to passivity among the workers are not overcome, that the workers are not awakened to action. What the American worker needs today above everything else is: real Communist leadership, knowing the needs of the masses and responding to them, able to tie up the struggle for the most immediate demand with the struggle for Socialism.

In a coming issue of Revolutionary Age we will present the analysis of the unemployment situation and the program of action put forward by the Communist Party (Majority Group). —Editor.

such favors to any country that is unable to resist the kindness; the Marines are maintained for such unselfish purposes, while the State Department is kept going merely to drip crocodile tears and inform the incredulous world that "it hurts us more than it does them."

WORDS AND DEEDS

On February 6 our saintly Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, made a carefully prepared statement of



7,000 words on American foreign policy in Latin America in which he asserted that:

"The general policy of the United States during the past century toward the republics of Latin America has been characterized by a regard for their rights as independent nations which, when compared with current international morality in the other hemisphere, has been as unusual as it has been praiseworthy."

On the same day that this statement of fulsome self-praise and holier-than-thou hypocrisy was issued, the State Department also made a public announcement that the Marines would stay in Nicaragua at least for another year or two and are

"to be distributed at such strategic points as Managua, Ocatul, Leon, Chinendega, Matagalpa and Bluefields. . . . This situation is expected to continue at least until a definite decision is reached concerning the building of the projected Nicaraguan canal. . . ."

"As a result of Mr. Stimson's recent conference, Nicaragua is to obtain a credit of approximately \$1,000,000 in New York which will be used for the guard (Nicaraguan National Guard controlled and officered by officers of the United States Marines—BDW) and for the construction of public works" (military roads and railroads needed incidentally to building the Canal, developing American

industrial activity and invading and controlling the country).

A news dispatch from Managua in the same issue of the *New York Times* that reported Stimson's speech in New York announced new offensive operations of the United States Marines against the "bandits" of the National Revolutionary Army. Thus Stimson's words measured up against the deeds of the State Department and the Navy.

WHY THE FLOW OF WORDS?

The deeds are nothing new. But why so many words? Why is the "colossus of the North" so anxious to explain itself? Why the self-praise? the Pecksniffian hypocrisy? the denunciation of "current international morality in the other hemisphere"? the "declaration of the United States versus Europe"?

The secret of the sudden garrulousness of the Secretary of State is to be found in the fact that that prince of salesmen, the super-drummer of Britain, Edward Albert, Prince of Wales, is now on a tour of Latin America, receiving and giving decorations, making and listening to speeches, protesting friendship for Latin America, opening a British Empire exhibit, not somewhere in the British Empire but in Buenos Aires, cornering markets and spheres of investment arranging trade treaties and agreements and creating a backfire against American imperialism in the interests of British Industries Limited.

Hence it is that Stimson suddenly feels the urge to justify America's ruthless policy of corruption and invasion, with 7,000 words of broadcasted hypocrisy. But words are at best thin covering for a mailed fist and the gauntlet shows thru at every point.

America's "policy, in its general conception, has been a noble one." The Monroe Doctrine "was an assertion of their individual rights as independent nations. . . . a declaration of the United States versus Europe—not of the United States versus Latin America. . . . I do not close my eyes to the occasional dark spots. . . . but the most serious of these charges were directly attributable to the influence of slavery."

It's queer how the Secretary can see the "dark spots" occasioned by the drive of the slave power for more land (Texas, the Mexican War) but is incurably myopic about the dollar-drive of the money power of Wall Street. None so blind as those who will not see!

"Between the republics," continue the words of the Secretary, "our in-

PRESENT PERSPE

The Situation in the Labor Movement Upheaval—Problem

by S. K. V

Bombay, Jan. 7, 1931.

Half a year ago the official Communist press of Europe announced the establishment of "Soviets" in several places in India—Sholapur, Peshwar, etc. Still earlier, already in the spring of 1929, there were published reports regarding street fights in Bombay "under the red flag of Communism and with the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat." In short, it was maintained that an acute revolutionary crisis had matured in India and that the working class was quite prepared for the situation. A revolutionary crisis does indeed exist now but it is not so acute that it cannot be overcome by British imperialism with the willing aid of the Indian bourgeoisie. What is more remarkable, however, is the political immaturity of the working class, even of its most advanced sections. This negative factor seriously affects the objective possibilities of the situation.

THE SITUATION IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Since the local outbreaks, interpreted by the official Communist press as signs of the maturing proletarian revolution, there has been a lull in the situation. The tendency was in the direction for the proletariat, even its most advanced section, to relapse under reactionary nationalist influence. This tendency might have developed into a positive danger but for the timely intervention of "the agents of renegade Roy." The workers, who a year ago had been reported as standing on the verge of armed insurrection to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, were demonstrating under nationalist leadership, with reactionary slogans. They were applauding the nationalists when the latter preached the boycott of foreign goods in order to help native industry (sign of very low class-consciousness). Many were found even playing the spinning-wheel! Fortunately, the tide of bourgeois nationalist influence upon the working class has been stemmed. But one must have a very fertile imagination, stimulated by

influence has constantly been exerted for a friendly solution of controversies." But the facts cry out against him as one remembers constant intervention to prevent the five little Central American powers from uniting into a single republic.

The "locality where the progress of those republics has been most slow", purrs the Secretary—he is speaking of Central America and the Caribbean, of Haiti and Santo Domingo, of Nicaragua and Honduras, of lands thru which the cat claws are thrust even now as the cat purrs—he is speaking of the lands where the Marines were landed more than thirty times in the first generation of the twentieth century—of lands where the Marines are upholding "civilization" on their bayonets at the present moment.

MUCH MISUNDERSTOOD

" . . . Temporary intrusions into the domestic affairs of some of those countries which our hostile critics have not hesitated to characterize as the manifestation of selfish American imperialism."

I an itching palm? you wrong me, every way, complains poor Cassius. "We were only assisting. . . in securing free uncontrolled elections. . . basing recognition on defeated capacity to fulfill its obligation as a member of the family of nations. . ."

When revolutions occur against the tyrannical governments that the United States supports and uses as instruments in its wholesale robbery schemes, then the State Department gives arms to the dictator and prevents their sale to the revolutionists, not to crush the revolution—ah no!—but to check "the activities by which some of our munitions manufacturers for sordid gain (!) become a veritable curse to the stability of our neighboring republics."

Fine words butter no parsnips. Not 7,000 nor 700,000 words can drown the rattle of machine guns in the Nicaragua hills. Government after government topples over. Palace revolutions. Peasant risings. University demonstrations. Strikes. "Outlaws" arming in the hills. There are no words wonder-working enough to hold back the slow rising tide of Latin American resentment and resistance. Hypocrisy and machine guns! Such is American diplomacy. It has bigger guns and greater hypocrisy than British imperialism. But its days are numbered. And along with the American working class the oppressed peoples of Latin America will be grave diggers of American imperialism.

The Negro Slave Revolts

I. Before the American Revolution

by R. Macklin

The Negro under slavery is usually depicted by the bourgeois historians of the ruling race as a docile, obedient creature, "contented" with his conditions of slavery, hardly daring to dream of striking out to win emancipation with his own life and blood. No worse historical slander could be perpetrated. The Negro slave insurrections are glorious chapters in the history of the struggle for liberty; chapters which white bourgeois historians and Negro misleaders of their race would willingly forget, and have done their best to suppress; chapters that must take their place in the traditions of struggles against oppression and exploitation and serve as a mighty inspiration for the future not only for the awakened Negro, but also for the American white worker, and, for that matter, for the workers and oppressed peoples of the whole world.

The history of slave uprisings in America may be divided into two periods; the colonial period culminating in the American Revolution, and the period from the American Revolution up to the Civil War. The colonial period was one of unrestricted international slave trade. By the end of the 17th century there were already a considerable number of slaves in the colonies. Most of them had fresh memories of their African homes and the horrible sufferings they had experienced. Fierce resentment burned in them. For the most part, they were still distinguished by their tribal origins and their own language. Under such conditions, their attempts at revolt were more or less sporadic, unorganized—direct desperate reactions against the cruelties inflicted upon them. But already the ever imminent dangers of organized rebellion were recognized by the masters. Plantation quarters were frequently searched for concealed weapons. One of the very first laws on slavery was enacted in 1690.

Whatever rebellions took place were necessarily isolated and uncoordinated. Many of them were still-born, usually because of the betrayal by a renegade slave, and the leaders tortured and executed. Such was the case in various parts of Virginia in 1687, in 1710, and again in 1722; in New York in 1712, and in Savannah in 1728.

Many, however, did materialize and were put down in a bloody fashion. In 1712, a large group of slaves, still held together by tribal ties, rebelled, armed with guns and knives. They were driven into the woods. Many committed suicide, 18 or more were hung or burned alive. Other rebellions, occurring in South Carolina in 1720 and in 1730 and in Boston in 1723, were suppressed in like manner.

The 1730 plot in South Carolina must be especially noted because it was the first openly planned rebellion, with definite strategy worked out. In 1739 there were no less than three rebellions in South Carolina in which over fifty Negroes were killed or executed. One of them, in September at Stono, sent shivers of fear thruout the colonies. It was responsible for the Slave Act of 1740, which was to be the basic Negro law for the next 125 years. Twenty-one whites died and at least forty-four Negroes were killed and executed.

In 1741, a plot was discovered in the town of New York which, had it materialized would have had serious results. Four whites who were involved were executed; 154 Negroes were arrested, of whom thirteen were burned, eighteen hung, and 75 banished.

There were also uprisings at sea, where Negro slaves seized the vessels, as in 1731, in 1732, and 1735. In the latter case, the Negroes, in the course of struggle, broke into the powder room and desperately blew up the ship, killing themselves and the crew.

the War of Independence. Many Negroes, attracted by promises of freedom, joined the British forces. Others, inspired by phrases on liberty current at the time, developed illusions as to the future of their own lot and joined the revolutionary forces. They were reluctantly accepted out of necessity. The war ended with the triumph of the revolution. Some were awarded their freedom for their services. But the great mass of Negro slaves, soon saw that for them emancipation and liberty was nothing but a hopeless illusion.

After the American Revolution, chattel slavery played its role under a new set of conditions. The separate colonies became a single nation. The lusty young capitalist forces demanded expansion and fertile conditions for growth. The slave system was reactionary, an historical throw-back. One of the basic conditions for capitalist economy is a class of workers free to compete on the labor market. It needs greater centralization in government as against a loose federation of states with its various "rights." All this expressed itself ideologically in a growing anti-slavery sentiment. Already a stop to international slave trade was effected; smuggling only could be resorted to.

On the other hand, the Southern slave oligarchy resisted desperately. It fought hard for national political control. It intensified its campaign to prove the Negroes unfit for anything but slavery. "Scientific" works appeared, endeavoring to show the Negro as physically, mentally and spiritually unfit to be called a human being. Slave laws became harsher, crueler. "State rights" were fiercely defended. The clash of semi-feudal and capitalist forces developed apace and finally culminated in the Civil War.

In his next article, Comrade Macklin will discuss the most outstanding Negro