WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

THE MILITANT

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Opposition Demands United Front At Second Jobless Conference

LEAGUE REPRESENTATIVE PROPOSES UNITED FRONT POLICY BE ADOPTED TOWARDS CONFERENCE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT ORGANIZED BY SOCIALIST LEADERS

The second meeting of the united front conference on unemployment in New York City was held on Sunday, February 5 at Irving Plaza. Only about one-half of the delegates who attended the first conference two weeks before were present at Sunday's meeting. A sag in the movement which followed from the incorrect policy of the leadership was to be noted, and the difficulties have become further complicated by the action of the Socialist party in calling a rival conference of labor organizations for February 25 at the Rand School Auditorium. The attitude to be taken toward this disruptive maneuver of the Socialist leaders was the most important question of policy under consideration at the Sunday conference.

On this point the entire discussion centered around the proposal of the excutive committee for a boycott of the S. P. conference and a head-on struggle against it, on the one side, and a counter-proposal made by comrade Cannon in the name of the Left Opposition. Here again, as in the first conference, the fundamental questions of united front policy came to the fore. The elementary ideas of the Lenin tactic were again elucidated by the Left Opposition and once more the objections to them, which were laughed out of the Communist International over ten years ago, were solemnly repeated by the Stalinist spokesmen, Hathaway, Winters, Nessin, and others.

The resolution of comrade Cannon, designed to frustrate the splitting tactics of the Socialist leaders and to organize a unity movement within their own ranks, reads as follows:

RESOLUTION

"Whereas, The Socialist Party of New York City, through its Labor Committee, has called a conference of workers' organizations on Unemployment for February 23, and has specified in its conference call the demands of 'unemployment insurance, the 5-day and 30-hour week and further unemployment relief' and

"Whereas, This committee stands for the united struggle of all workers and workers' organizations for immediate demands along these lines, therefore be it

"Resolved, that this committee, while proceeding with its own activities as laid down by the first conference, shall extend a written invitation to the conference of the socialists and the workers' organizations responding to their call, to join forces with us in a common struggle; that a delegation be sent to the conference to make this proposal; and that affiliated organizations of our committee be urged to send delegates to the socialist conference to support our unity proposal from the floor."

In speaking for the resolution, comrade Cannon said that the calling of the S. P. conference was a deliberate move to disrupt and split the movement and was designed at the same time to cover up their own lack of activity in the struggle for the unemployed. On this point there was no disagreement with the executive committee.

"The differences", said comrade Cannon, "arise in the field of tactics; how to frustrate the disruptive maneuvers of the Socialist leaders. In everything we do, we must bear in mind that they are influencing workers and workers' organizations whom we wish to draw into a united movement with us and without whom our movement will lack the necessary united strength. The appeal to the socialist workers to boycott the conference of their own organization and to come to ours is incorrect. They are not ready to break with their own organization and to follow our leadership. But the most of them realize the need for a united movement and will support it. They are not convinced of the treacherous role of the Socialist leaders and will not be convinced merely by our denunciation. For this it is necessary to prove in the most concrete manner that the Socialist leaders sabotage and reject our fair and realistic proposals for a united conference and a united movement.

"To this end, instead of boycotting the conference—which only plays the game of the disrupters and facilitates their splitting maneuvers—we should not only be satisfied to see the Socialist workers attend the conference of their own organization. We should also urge all our affiliated organizations, and all others that we can reach and influence, to send delegates to this Socialist conference and fight there for a fusion and unity of the two conferences into one. If our committee will send a formal letter to the Socialist conference proposing this unity and if a delegation from our committee will appear at the

continued on page 2

Seek Freedom For Angelo Herndon

YOUNG NEGRO COMMUNIST IS GIVEN 18 TO 20 YEARS IN GEORGIA; NO BAIL GRANTED

One of the most heinous crimes yet committed by the white bourbon ruling class of the South has come to light in the case of Angelo Herndon.

Coming on the heels of the violent attacks upon the share croppers' meetings at Camp Hill, Angelo Herndon, a young Negro Communist was picked up in the chain gang state of the union, Georgia, and sentenced to from 18 to 20 years on the chain gang for no other "crime" than that of possessing Communist literature on his person. The literature, as the defense has already been able to point out, is permitted by federal authorities to pass through the mail.

This act of panicky terror is a glaring reflection of the fear that the rising militancy and consciousness of those most oppressed Negro workers and farmers, is putting into the hearts of the southern ruling class. More than that, the numerous examples of solidarity between black and white workers against their common enemy, the bosses, have been of no little consequence in increasing the bourbons' terror. As was to be expected the Negro politicians and misleaders of the Negro toilers placed the cart before the horse in their criticism of the Angelo case. To them it was not the ruling class of Georgia that was the real villian in the piece, but the Communist party which sent a young Negro worker to the South to—as they put it—sure death.

Bail has been denied Angelo Herndon, according to latest reports. The Negro and labor baiting South will try its utmost to put through another lynch verdict. The southern capitalist hyenas have not yet had their full with the Scottsboro boys, the share croppers, the Cliff Jameses and the innumerable others. Only the mighty voice and actions of the entire working class of America, Negro as well as white, can put a stop to the lynch terror whether "legal" or "illegal", that is the common method of the capitalist South. The workers must respond.

Lacroix and Nin Arrested

Andres Nin, former secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions and a prominent leader of the Spanish Left Opposition since his expulsion from the Soviet Union by the Stalinist apparatus, was arrested in Barcelona a few weeks ago in a police raid upon his home. On December 27, the police perpetrated the same thing upon comrade Henri Lacroix. After being held for three days in the headquarters of the Special Police, they were transferred to the prison where it was made known that they were at the disposal of the military authorities of Andalusia.

After seven days in prison, comrade Lacroix was transferred to Algeciras at the disposal of the military judge; but comrade Nin is now in prison in Barcelona, without any reason being given nor anyone officially informed as to his condition.

More than eight months ago, our comrade Maximo Carnicero was imprisoned in Barcelona withuto any information given on his legal situation. Our comrade Rastrollo has been confined in Badajos prison for five months and comrade Llerena, together with other comrades, are incarcerated in other prisons. Unlike the Stalinists, the Spanish bourgeoisie does not konw that the "Trotskyists are counter-revolutionists."

Writer Exposes Stalinist Censor

GORKY'S MEMOIRS OF LENIN FALSIFIED TO SUIT NEED OF PARTY BUREAUCRACY

The latest instance of the rewriting of revolutionary history in the Soviet Union, is uncovered in the February 15, 1933 issue of the liberal journal "The New Republic", in a review by Edmund Wilson of "Days with Lenin" by Maxim Gorky. The English edition of the booklet has just been published by the Stalinist concern, International Publishers, and Wilson exposes the petty forgery undertaken either by Gorky under pressure of the Stalinist censors, or by the censors themselves, for the purposes of the factional anti-Trotsky campaign which the bureaucracy of the official party has been carrying on for a decade. That the latter is not in the least squeamish about resorting to forgery in this campaign is revealed by the following lengthy excerpt from the Wilson review:

"This memoir, first published in 1927, is a very much amplified and rewritten version of the magazine article published in 1924 at the time of Lenin's death. It is curious to see the changes which have been made in the passage about Trotsky. Here is what Gorky in 1924 (translate from a French text):

" 'Yes, I have often heard him (Lenin) praise his comrades. And he knew how to do justice to the energies of even those with whom

continued on page 2

Japan Rejects League 'Aid'

IMPERIALISTS JOCKEY FOR POSITION U. S. INVOLVED; SOVIETS ARE THREATENED

Will Japan break with the League of Nations? Will the League go to the full extent of condemning Japan as the aggressor in Manchuria and recommending some form of action against Japanese imperialism? Or is this merely a sham fight to mislead the workers of the world into believing that the League is really an international organization for preserving peace and outlawing war?

The struggle among the robber imperialist powers is far from being a sham. In this period of capitalist decay, every capitalist country fights desperately to maintain and expand its markets and its economic power at the expense of every other country. Japan's profound disturbance of the imperialist world's balance of economic power in the Far East, its closing of the Manchurian frontiers to all but its own exploitation, arouses the greatest alarm among the rival imperialist bandits.

U. S. Takes Up Challenge

The direct threat to Yankee "influence" in China does not go unchallenged. The naval war maneuvers in the Pacific, the landing of troops in Hawaii, the charting for naval development of the Aleutian Islands with a view to attack Japan from the North to avoid her submarine bases, the discussions by U. S. army officers in technical magazines of the best methods of mobilizing and coordinating war industries—these are real enough moves towards war. U. S. pressure on the League applied by means of the lever of war debts, supplements the concern of the other great powers directly over their own exclusion from Manchuria, possibly from China in the near future, and also over the possibility of the breakdown of the League which would mean a threat to the Versailles Treaty and perhaps a new shuffle of the cards in Europe. The League's action is, in this sense, dictated by a desire for self-preservation and for maintaining the status quo.

But is it possible for an imperialist war to break out between the U. S. and Japan while the Soviet Union is in existence? War breaks out whenever the ultimate, irrepressible economic causes find open and sufficient expression in immediate causes. The basic conflict of our epoch is that between the two economic systems, the capitalist and the Communist, systems of relations that cannot possibly continue indefinitely to exist side by side. The ultimate causes of war between the capitalist powers and the Soviet Union, came into existence at the very birth of the proletarian revolution. Hitler in power in Germany will unquestionably precipitate immediate causes for this war. Already the German policy has changed with relation to Japan, a natural ally of Hitler in an anti-Soviet crusade, Hitler wants Japan to remain in Manchuria to be ready for invasion of the USSR. Hence, the German representative, von Keller's opposition in the League to the proposal for a "neutral" body in Manchuria empowered to fix a time for withdrawal of Japanese troops, just as at Shanghai.

The ultimate causes of war between the imperialists find expression in every daily newspaper. It is doubtful, however, whether the ruling classes of the capitalist nations wil lose sight of their interests as a whole, as expressed in the absolutely fundamental antagonism to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to enter into conflicts that inevitably are secondary and can wait. In any case, even if war broke out between the imperialist U. S. and Japan, their differences could be and would be patched up at once (for later resolving) in the event of an attack on the Soviet Union. The greedy calculating moves for greater advantage of the powers would not stop even during such a "holy' war, but would not only be all the more intensified.

The League, as the international mart for imperialist bargaining, is demanding its "price" from Japan for Manchuria. That price includes two guarantees: namely, that Japan halt where she is now without adding North China to her conquest, and that the Japanese generals must no longer "stall" in their implied promise to start the world conflagration by attack the Soviet Union. In that case there will be no break between the League and Japan. —J. W.

Debate—Anarchism vs. Communism—Sunday, February 26, 8 P. M. at 227 E. 12th St. Spartacus Youth Club vs. Vanguard (Anarchist) Group.

Militant Now 3 Times a Week

Here is the first issue of the "New Militant", which we are undertaking to publish three times a week during the critical days of the German situation. The converson of the **Militant** from a weekly into a three-times-a-weekly, even if at a reduced size, involves a tremendous physical and financial strain. But the immense importance of the stirring drama of the class war which is reaching its highest point in Germany at the present moment, makes it imperative that the **Militant** be in a position to speak at least every second day instead of every week. The indifference of the Stalinists makes the active intervention of the Left Opposition even more essential. We are anxious to continue the three-times-a-weekly at least for the coming month. We need the most generous financial assistance to achieve it. Will you help immediately? Our expenses are increasing during this campaign, but the income from the **Militant** is lowered in correspondence with the fact that the price for the paper has been lowered to make it available to every worker. Give donations! Spread the **Militant**! Remember that the new price is

ONE CENT A COPY

Hitler Lays New Trap for Workers

Aims to Distract Attention from Mass Struggle of Labor By Parliamentary Deception of March 5; Social Democrats Join in Dupery; Communists Still Tied Hand and Foot by Rejection of United Front

Aolph Hitler has made his aims clear beyond mistake in the first programmatic speech to be delivered for the national elections to be held in Germany on March 5: "A fight against class warfare and a fight against Marxism", to go hand in hand with the destruction of the "parliamentary-democratic system". If there could ever be any doubts before about the deceptive character of the March elections to the Reichstag, they are now entirely eliminated.

The idea that the present Cabinet combination of the Fascist, nationalist and monarchist reaction will attain a "legal" parliamentary majority in the coming elections of sufficient weight to enable it to rule with a constitutional Reichstag foundation, is scouted even by the bourgeois commentators in the press. Even if the "stay at home" vote is brought out in its entirety, there is the slimmest possible chance that it will cast its vote so solidly as to make up the required millions for a Hitler-Hugenberg-von Papen majority. Yesterday's speech of the monarchist leader, Alfred Hugenberg, not only tacitly acknowledges the unlikelihood of this eventuality, but, in the words of the Herald-Tribune correspondent (February 12), has "let the cat out of the bag by revealing that the 'government of national concentration'....intends to govern in the future by dictatorship, regardless of the will of the people".

The Election Trap

Leaving aside for the moment the vain Hugenbergian dream of governing **together** with the Fascists—in view of the fact that the Fascists aim at complete hegemony, of the open rule by rifle and bayonet—the speeches of Hitler and Hugenberg make it as plain as a pikestaff that the axis of the whole situation revolves not around the deliberate illusion of a sham parliamentary struggle, but on the extra-parliamentary battlefield of the class struggle.

That the social democratic leaders, who fear the unleashing of the militant class movement more than anything else, should seek to drive the workers into the trap, goes without saying. The present position of the social democracy of Germany is most crassly and stupidly stated by the yellow socialists of New York in the leading editorial of the Jewish **Forward** of February 3:

"Hidenberg's authority will help the Hitlerists precious little in this case, for everybody knows that Hindenburg has not become a Nazi. He designated Hitler as Chancellor because Hitler represents the largest party in the country. But **he has not given him the slightest dictatorial power.** On the contrary, Hindenberg put into Hitler's cabinet a majority of ministers who are indeed reactionaries but at the same time bitter opponents of Hitler's program and **he also secured himself against the Hitler government being able to rule for very long against the will of the Reichstag.** What will happen further, nobody knows. Meanwhile, however, **Hindenburg has not violated the Constitution. And Hitler is not yet a dictator but a constitutional Chancellor."** (Our emphasis.)

Everybody has his role. That of the social democracy is base treason.

What is C. P. Doing?

And the Communist party? A position of more hopeless confusion, irresolution and hopelessness in the midst of a situation that cries out for clarity, determination and audacity, can hardly be imagined. The parlamentary elections as the axis of the struggle, constitute an enormous and treacherous swindle. What is the party doing to counteract it? There is only one thing that it can and must do: organize the genuine united front of all workers' organizations to launch the geenral strike, to mobilize the concerted strength of the German proletariat to crush Fascism. Is the party doing this? It has not even begun, for to begin it is imperatve to throw overboard all the disastrous policies of yesterday which have rendered the party so impotent in the struggle. In the face of everything that has happened, the party still continues with its pernicious chatter about the "proletarian united front under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany" (Inprecorr, No. 4), which is the old ultimatist policy: Socialist workers, recognize our leadership in advance or else there will be no united front!

Catastrophe Threatens

The Fascists are already in power, but they have far from consolidated it. They have not yet even taken over the whole power. And this circumstance still gives the German proletariat time enough to act decisively enough to destroy the brown-shirted monster. The attainment of this end lies through the united front of the Communist party, the trade unions, the Social Democratic party, the Reichsbanner and the Red Front Fighters, which the former must immediately initiate.

Sunday, Feb. 12 —M. S

German Bourgeoisie Calls Fascism To Solve Economic Crisis Its Way

The political development of the class struggle which has brought Germany to the present period of crucial decisions, has been dialectically interwoven with the development of the economic crisis. Both have progressed by a series of sharp turns which have been prepared for by the conditions of the previous period of weeks or months.

The displacement of Bruening by Papen in June of last year, under conditions of sharp intensification of the crisis, meant that the German bourgeoisie could no longer use a regime whose ability to attack the working class was limited by the necessity of a measure of consideration for its social democratic allies.

Slight Rise Under Papen

The Papen regime from June to December was marked by two sets of developments, apparently contradictory but in reality growing out of each other. In the first place, the ability of the bourgeoisie to gain ground in Germany and internationally at the expense of the working class was expressed in the beginnings of an improvement in industrial activity during this period—temporary, precarious, uneven, but nevertheless an unmistakable breathing-space in the development of the crisis. Prices began to rise, unemployment declined, coal and steel production rose, railroad freight traffic rose; building activity, foreign trade, decline in bankruptcies, all the indices of economic life showed the effects of returning "confidence".

Under these conditions, what would the German proletariat do? Would it remain passive, as the social democrats said, during the crisis, or would it be driven through the uninterrupted sharpening of the crisis to radicalization and revolutionary action, which was the official party perspective?

In practise, neither happened. The fighting spirit of the German masses, untested but also undefeated, flared up in a series of magnificent strikes throughout Germany from August on. Was it only a coincidence that the first real strike wave, came in the same period and shortly after the first real breathing-space since the crisis began? No, it could have been predicted and it was predicted. As soon as the capitalists, with a few more orders on their books, began to buy a little more material and to hire a few more workers, the paralyzing effect of the continued strangulation of the crisis was broken. The worker felt again that his labor power was a commodity for which there was a demand, that his empty place at the work bench would not be immediately filled by a rush of men who had no jobs and no prospects of jobs. He fought back—against wage cuts, for better wages and working conditions.

The growing militancy among the workers brought new forces to the Communist party on the extra-parliamentary front as well as in

continued on page 2

De Valera Harnesses Discontent

De Valera, leader of Fianna Fail-party of the petty bourgeoisie, triumphed in the general elections held recently in Ireland. He now has a majority in the Dail which gives him a free hand to reduce the wages of civil employees—the issue which precipitated the elections. Formerly De Valera had to rely on the Irish Labor Party for the continuation of his regime. The Labor Party, however, if it was to exist as a party, could not openly, at this stage of developemnts in Ireland, support this.

None the less the Labor party will continue to support De Valera, as it has no definite policy of its own. In many instances it wants De Valera to have a free hand: in the matter of his fight to abolish the oath of allegiance to the King of England; retention of the land annuities; the development of national industries; his hints of a fight for an independent republic.

Where De Valera is going to find a market for the products of "Irish national industries" he has not explained. The total imports of the Irish Free State dropped from $201,821,000 in 1931 to $170,118,000 in 1932. Exports fell from $145,034,000 to $103,192,000. This drop coupled with a rising army of unemployed, conservatively estimated at 150,000, and wages cut to starvation levels, are problems that De Valera will not solve.

The discontent of the workers and peasants, De Valera was able to harness with chauvinistic demagogy. By this means he got the support of the Irish Republican Army composed mostly of city proletarians and poor peasants crushed by the British-created Irish Free State in 1921-22 after a terrific civil war. The leaders of the I. R. A. are petty bourgeois nationalists, while the rank and file entertain political opinions ranging from petty bourgeois liberalism to Communism, and remain a thorn in De Valera's side. They will learn that De Valera is an instrument of British imperialism who will not hesitate to shoot them down as Cosgrove did when they organize and fight for better conditions along class lines.

The Roman Catholic Church whose reactionary role was fairly well unmasked during the revolution of 1916-22 is again hollering Socialism and Communism at the I. R. A. The rank and file of the I. R. A. are not alarmed this time. The church and priests bluffed them once too often.

continued on page 2

Uprising Threatens Machado

Armed insurrection against "Butcher" Machado has again threatens to break out in Cuba and various guerrila bands of workers, peasants, American adventurers and filibusterers and petty bourgeois office seekers appear to have commenced operations in various parts of the island.

At last it appears that the comic opera "Tropical Mussolini" is on his last legs. Machado for eight years has done his best to advance the financial interests of Wall St. and himself through the most intense exploitation of the Cuban working class, the suppression of the labor movement and the amassing of an enormous personal fortune.

The Machado regime, by the most brutal repressive measures, carried through against all political and class opponents with little or no pretence of legality. Instead of playing his enemies against one another he has succeeded in uniting them all against his regime, depending for his support on a strong bureaucratic governmental apparatus, a pampered military and police force and American imperialism which, through ambassador Gruggenheim and in the interests of the sugar trust, he held the economics life-strings of the island. Now, however, even those Wall Street financial circles whose interests he has been so willing in his own brutal, blundering fashion, have withdrawn their support and thrown their weight into the scales against him.

Machado Position Untenable

Macado's position has become untenable with the whole social basis of his rule swept from under him. The brutal methods of violence and terror have been counter-balanced by the desperation of the masses suffering the effects of the sharpest economic crisis in the country's history. The Cuban working class, nourished by revolutionary and anti-imperialist traditions, and led largely by Communists and syndicalists, has at no time abandoned its opposition to the regime and has managed, in spite of the murder, imprisonment and exile of its strongest cadres to keep alive in the masses the spirit of proletarian struggle. The suppression of the workers' and students' movements, the indecision and cowardice of the petty-bourgeois oppositionists, and the ever-present threat of American intervention under the Platt Amendment are important factors that have served to prolong a situation that would not be otherwise possible.

The antecedents of the bourgeois revolutionary leaders indicate the road they are likely to follow. Dur-

continued on page 2

B'KLYN MASS MEETING

The CRISIS in GERMANY

SPEAKERS:
James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman

Labor Lyceum
949 WILLOUGHBY AVE.,
BROOKLYN N. Y.
ADMISSION 15 Cents

Bourgeoisie Calls on Fascism

ANALYSIS SHOWS THAT ESTABLISHMENT OF HITLER REGIME IS FINAL EFFORT OF RULING CLASSES TO SETTLE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN ITS OWN WAY

continued from page 1

the elections. But it also changed the position of the social democratic leaders, particularly to the reformist trade-union leaders. Kicked out of parliamentary influence over the government by the bourgeoisie, now they had something to bargain with—a militant movement among the masses to repress, the hope that the first tender shoots of economic improvement could be nurtured along until they reached the full bloom of "prosperity", if only the bourgeoisie would refrain from carrying the class struggle to its bitter conclusion.

The bourgeoisie was willing to wait and see. It had nothing to lose by displacing Papen by Schleicher, the "social general". Holding the army and the Stahlhelm in its right hand, with the hordes of Fascism in its rear as a reserve, there was no reason why it should not stretch out its Left hand, with which it held the strings of the puppets of reformism.

Bourgeoisie Forced to Change

The change of mask was executed in the first week of December. If the improvement in business had gone further and lifted German economy from the crisis into a depression period with a clear way out in prospect; if the reformist leaders of labor had shown their ability to hold the masses in line with the policy of the "social general"—Schleicher might be in power yet.

But the improvement in business activity in Germany appears to have reached a stalemate. Tied hand and foot to the imperialism of America, England and France by bonds of financial dependence, unable to expand its foreign trade with the colonial countries and with Soviet Russia (on capitalist terms), thrown back on its impoverished internal market and on those of European countries which are continually strangling foreign trade tighter and tighter, the temporary stabilization initiated by the limited recovery last year is unable to lift itself from an extremely low level. Car-loadings are declining again; the slight reported fall in unemployment is not enough to make up for the real increases in the number of unemployed who no longer are reported; the surpluses of exports over imports are barely enough to pay for interest on Germany's foreign loans.

At the same time, the reformist leaders are no longer able to deliver their working class following to the bourgeoisie, as promised. In spite of all the false tactics of the Stalinists, the "social Fascism", the refusal to propose a serious united front from organization to organization, the "united front from below"—the elementary movement of the working class of Germany to the banner of international Communism is undeniable. On the parliamentary field, in the elections to shop committees in the factories (where the Communist party has been outstandingly weak compared to its support among the unemployed), in the direction of strikes, the reformists have been losing ground.

The bourgeoisie has waited—and it has seen. It has seen the rising danger to its class domination from the growing aggressiveness and self-assertiveness of the masses, and the appearance of signs of disintegration within its reserve troops, the Fascists. It is no longer disposed to gamble on the possibility of a return of profits and prosperity through those means of attack on the working class which are compatible with the existence of powerful mass organizations, parties, press and labor unions. The bourgeoisie is preparing to strike a decisive blow, and the present period of the Hitler-Papen regime gives its time for preparation.

A sharp revival of business activity and prosperity falling from Heaven might dispose it again to postpone the decisive conflict; but we see no evidence that this is likely. On the contrary, a renewed wave of sharpening of the economic crisis, breaking through the present stalemate and ending the existing breathing spell, might well cause it to cut short its preliminaries and open the period of highest tension of class war by a frontal Fascist attack on the organizations of the working class.

—B. J. FIELD.

Writer Exposes Stalinist Censor

continued from page 1

he was supposed to be personally unsympathetic.

" 'Surprised by the flattering appreciation he showed for one of them, I remarked that a good many people might be amazed by it.

" ' "Yes, yes, I know. They tell a lot of lies about my relations with him. Yes, they tell a lot of lies—and especially about me and Trotsky"

"Pounding on the table, he declared: "Show me another man who could organize in a year an almost model army and win the respect of military experts besides. We've got that man. We've got everything. And so we'll do wonders!" "Here is the later version, published after Trotsky had been banished:

" 'Yes, he often praised the comrades in my hearing, even those with whom he was not personally in sympathy. Lenin knew how to appreciate their energy. I was very surprised at his high appreciation of L. D. Trotsky's organizing abilities. V. Ilyitch noticed my surprise.

" ' "Yes, I know there are lying rumors about my attitude to him But what is. is, and what isn't, isn't—that I know also. He was able at any rate to organize the military experts"

" 'After a pause, he added in a lower tone, and rather sadly: "And yet he isn't one of us. With us, but not of us. He is ambitious. There is something of Lasalle in him, something which isn't good." '

"It looks as if the Stalin censorship has here come into play. Either Gorky was moved to unwrite what he had written of Lenin's appreciation of Trotsky or the censor made him cut it out. The paragraph about organizing the army looks in the second version as if it had been telescoped.—Edmund Wilson."

A Pen Picture by John Reed

C. G. RAKOVSKY

In the lexicon of the Stalinist press, comrade Chrisian G. Rakovsky, leader of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists, Left Opposition, is a "counter-revolutionist". For several years now, this great revolutionist has been kept in exile in Siberia by the Stalinist machine, his health undermined and his life in danger. We reprint here from the old organ of the American Left wing, "Revolutonary Age' of January 25, 1919, an interesting pen picture of our great comrade, written by John Reed.

For two months in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government at Petrograd I worked side by side with Rakovsky. He was editing a daily paper in Rumanian, Jnainte, which was distributed not only in the ranks of the Rumanian army but also to the Transylvanian soldiers of the Austrian army. He made frequent trips to the south of Russia, where he secretly crossed the Rumanian lines and traveled incognito through his own country, spreading revolutionary doctrines at the risk of his life.

In December 1917, when the Soviet Government signed an armistice wth Germany and Austria, Rumanian refused to participate. The Russian troops on the Rumanian front obeyed orders from Petrograd and entertained at headquarters a German and Austrian delegation. The Rumanian Government arrested this delegation, and upon the protest of the Russians, surrounded them with Rumanian troops and fired on them with artillery The Russian soldiers had to cut their way by force through the Rumanian lines back to Russia, losing many men.

The consequences were swift. Trotsky ordered the immediate arrest of the Rumanian minister at Petrograd. The next day Allied and neutral ambassadors demanded his liberation. This was granted, but the Soviet government ordered that the Rumanian diplomatic mission should leave Russia within ten hours.

That afternoon I was in the office of Zalkind, Assistant Commissaire of Foreign Affairs. In one corner were five or six red guards and sailors drinking tea around a battered samovar. At the side of the room Rakovsky sat at table, writing furiously. Entered a vetzar in the old-time resplendent livery of the czar. He has a card, It read: Mr. A—first secretary of the Rumanian Embassy to Russia. "Show him in," said Zalkind. There appeared a dapper youth in frock coat, silk hat, gloves and stick. He surveyed the room with uneasiness mingled with contempt. Zalkind, wearing peasant boots and an old uniform without insignia, came forward to meet him. "What can I do for you, sir?" he asked courteously. "This is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?" asked the secretary. "We have received an order emanating from somewhere that the Rumanian Embassy must leave Russia within ten hours. My dear sir, that is impossible. We have much to do. Our offices are scattered over Russia. It will take at least three days—"Zalkind smiled in the friendliest way. "With that, Mr. Secretary, I have nothing to do. You must address yourself to our Commissaire for Rumanian Affairs. Allow me, comrade Rakovsky."

Rakovsky rose from his seat, dignified and suave. He bowed The Secretary went pale and dropped his gloves.

"I am extremely sorry to be unable to accommodate you, Mr. Secretary", said Rakovsky very politely. "The last time I was officially in your country I was compelled to leave in two hours and a half. We give the ambassador ten hours, and by that we recognize that he is four times as important as I. Good afternoon!"

—JOHN REED.

PUBLISHING FUND

TWO NEW PAMPHLETS

In a week to ten days two new pamphlets will be off the press.

SOVIET ECONOMY IN DANGER AND THE EXPULSION OF ZINOVIEV

The first to go to press and the first to be ready will be comrade Trotsky's analysis of the situation in Soviet economy on the eve of the second five year plan; and the significance of the second expulsion of Zinoviev. It will be a sevnty-two page pamphlet uniform in size with **Unemployment and the American Working Class** by comrade Swabeck and will sell for ten cents. Postage will be one cent extra per copy.

IN DEFENSE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Following immediately upon the heels of the **Soviet Economy** pamphlet will be comrade Trotsky's speech to the social democratic students at Copenhagen. This will run to forty-eight pages and will be uniform in size with the others. It will sell for five cents. Postage will be one cent extra per copy. The minimum number of copies per sale is five.

Orders for both pamphlets may be sent in now. In fact such orders will make easier the work of bringing them out.

THE PUBLISHING LOAN FUND

This stroke of publishing activities was made possible by the generosity of one sympathizer in New York who has made us a loan of thirty-five dollars for this purpose. That is how the loan-fund ideas is catching on. Again we ask our friends and sympathizers to come forward, now more than ever, to help us spread the ideas of revolutionary internationalism by donating and lending us money to bring out this literature. Who will be the next to respond? Just as we go to press we are in receipt of a $3 donation from comrade Handy of Philadelphia for the publication of the defense of the October Revolution.

Capitalist Chain Gang Exposures

"I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang" the picture based on the book by Burns, the book itself, the publicity in the newspapers at the time of his struggle against extradition, the case of the fourteen year old New Jersey lad, and before these the publicity connected with the Florida sweat box torture-murder case, have aroused a widespread interest in the boss class weapon of persecution and exploitation—the chain gang.

But this should not be of fleeting interest to serious-minded workers, though indeed it is to the interests of the channels of information of the bourgeoisie, the theatres and newspapers to so handle it. So as to extract as much cash as possible from the theatre-goers they present the dramatic phases only, leaving out the social meaning of the chain gangs, the political uses the Southern bourbons make of it, and the historical roots of the chain gang penal institution.

What is outstandingly false in the whole "exposure" of the chain gang is the impression created by the bourgeoisie that they are for the abolition of the chain gang. Only a Communist party with organizational strength in the Southern states too, building weapons of working class solidarity and wielding them against such boss class weapons of division, is capable of carrying on a fight for the abolition of the chain gang.

There is still another tremendously important criticism of the present chain gang propaganda of the bosses they leave out of it, as if there were no connection between them, the Negro question. Why, it was first initiated in the early part of the Reconstruction Period in the city of Raleigh, N. C. as a means of re-enslavng the freed slaves! Negroes were its first victims. And only a very few years ago before the Communists brought the Negro question to the forefront and when the bourgeois chain gang propaganda was put out for only sectional consumption in the South the authors of the "North Carolina Chain Gang", appealing to a racial prejudice, apologized for the State's maintenance of this horrible institution by referring to "the presence of the Negro in large numbers".

In that same Southern state, in 1929, three-fourths of the convicts were white yet two-thirds of those in chain gangs were colored. I have no doubt that North Carolina has been and is quite representative of the Southern States as a whole in this respect.

It is when the chain gang is presented as a phase of the Negro question that one grasps its social significance. It is a boss class weapon of persecution and exploitation wielded to help perpetuate racial antagonism in America, to foster working class division along racial lines which is a barrier to an organized working class in the South, to maintain a caste system. The present bourgeois propagandists who have stirred up an interest in the chain gang leave out these essential considerations simply because they are not interested in its abolition. They do a certain amount of exposing of the justice of their own class because the certain amount of exposing they do constitutes an opiate to put the workers to sleep.

More and more countries in the South are adopting the policy of having more road work done by convicts. Other than road work is being done by convicts—quarrying, mining, snow shoveling, cleaning of County courtyards, etc. The United States Department of Justice has adopted the policy and is carrying out the practise of working Federal prisoners in chain gangs in Army camps. And the North is moving in the direction of the South in this respect. The three socalled "cantonments" for prisoners in New York State, established in 1930, resemble chain gangs to no small extent. Throughout the Middle and Southwest, prisoners are fined and forced to work out their fines on the county roads. The "Industrial Worker" a few months back reported an even closer resemblance to the regular Southern chain gang system having been put into practise in the state of Washington.

There is every reason to believe that unless the workers, as a class, struggle against this boss class weapon of oppresion there will be no effective struggle carried on against it, for the chain gang has too many features that recommend it to the present ruling class. First of all, the work done by prisoners is worth something—not to the prisoners. Secondly, it does not impose upon the government the necessity of building so many jails when numerous thousands of workers are being pushed into crime because of growing unemployment and starvation. Thirdly, it punishes and gives authority to punish more severely than the punishment publicly announced by the Judge. In the chain gang the excuse that "he tried to escape" may be the only public indication of the actual death penalty, whereas the nominal sentence announced in the court and in the newspapers may have been "ten days on the road" —a fact that the bosses will keep in mind when it comes to able organizers and revolutionists.

—GEORGE J. SAUL.

Opposition at Jobless Meet

continued from page 1

Socialist conference with a direct request to bring the two conferences together into a single movement, it will provide the necessary platform for the delegates within the conference who really stand for unity. It will deprive the Socialist leaders of all plausible excuses to continue the disruption and the splitting of the movement. Under such conditions the conscientious Socialist workers who want unity in the fight for bread will see their leaders put to the test and will be able to judge them accordingly. There is every reason to count upon a strong support for our proposals in the Socialist conference if we proceed in this way. We must remember that we are in the fourth year of the crisis and the hungry masses are in no mood to tolerate those who stand in the way of a united struggle".

Stalinists Oppose United Front

The resolution of the Left Opposition was opposed by the Stalinists in the conference. Hathaway, bristling with the assurance and wisdom of a Lenin school graduate, explained that it would be wrong to strengthen the Socialist party by sending delegates to the conference. In precisely what manner a delegation committed to fight for unity in the S. P. conference would in any way "strengthen" the Socialist leaders in their splitting policy was not revealed by Hathaway. Nessin remarked that "Delegate Cannon's proposal to send our delegates to the S. P. conference is in reality a proposal to build up the S. P. conference and to become the tail-end of it". There is one thing to be said for the viewpoint of Hathaway and Nessin—it has been tried before. This idea motivated the boycott of "company unions" on the ground that we must not build them up. But what has been the result of this policy? Did it not prove to be the best of all possible schemes to secure the position of the reactionary bureaucrats?

In the voting on the resolution of the Left Opposition, twelve votes were recorded for it and twenty-eight against.

Another discussion arose over the motion to put the name of the Communist party on the letter-head of the committee along with the other organizations affiliated to the conference. In this discussion the extreme swing of the Stalinists from the ultimatist demand for the recognition in advance of the leadership of the party in every united front movement to the opportunist hiding of the face of the party altogether, was clearly brought out. They are afraid, they stated plainly, that the name of the Communist party and of its expelled factions on the letter-head would scare away some conservative organizations from the movement. They are embarking now on an experiment with "no politics" in the united front movement. Gubernick, the Socialist chairman of the conference, said, "We are supposed to have checked our political opinions at the door. Please don't bring them in." It was regarded as a dirty trick of the Left Opposition to raise this question of establishing the identity of the party as a participant in the movement.

Decisions were made to organize the sending of speakers to various organizations to work up the delegation to the Albany conference on February 25, 26, and 27, and it was also decide to hold a series of mass meetings prior to the Albany conference.

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Revolt Threatens Machado in Cuba

continued from page 1

ing the period of his presidency, Mario Menocal, the leader of the present revolt was a recognized collaborator and instrument of the sugar interests.

The workers, who have suffered most from the Machado tyranny, and by whose exertions combined with those of the bourgeois opposition and the sugar trust, the regime is now due to fall, must not be off their guard. At the very least, the legality of their organizations must be secured, together with the right to free assemblage lifting of the censorship over the press and mails, and freedom for all class war and political prisoners. Should the workers' movement really gain in strength circumstances will warrant the demand for nationalization of the sugar industry that constitutes the principal industry of the island. But an attempt at actual seizure of the sugar mills, which would inevitably entail an armed proletarian insurrection for the seizure of political power also, would be premature from both objective and subjective considerations of the present situation.

—ROSALIO NEGRETE.

FROM THE MILITANTS

«In the Spirit of Stalin's Letter»

CLEVELAND — Last Saturday night a liberal sympathizer of the USSR, Ella Winters (Mrs. Lincoln Steffens), spoke in the auditorium of the Women's City Club under the auspices of the "Friends of the Soviet Union". After the lecture there were many questions from the floor, a good number of them relating to Trotsky and to his status in the Soviet Union.

In reply to a question as to what the children are taught in the Soviet Schools about the exiled Bolshevik leader, Mrs. Steffens replied that Soviet textbooks do not even mention his role in the October insurrection or in the civil war. She had asked a Soviet professor if this were not.... falsifying history (these are her own words). The gentleman in question replied: "True, it is falsifying history, but it is a means to an end. To teach the truth about Trotsky would revive dangerous sentiments for the leader of the Left Opposition and disturb the great work of socialist construction that is going on. In order not to obstruct this great end falsification is justified." And he assured Mrs. Steffens that in a few years, after socialism is secured, this will all be rectified and Trotsky will again be given his due place in Soviet history. The true facts, objectivity in the science of history has—so to speak—only been temporarily suspended, not eliminated. Of course, all for the good of the cause....

"And this, my friends", the worthy lady concluded with approval, "is the realistic way in which the Soviets approach the problem."

A comrade asked the speaker how such an explanation can be reconciled with the scientific, Marxian foundation of Soviet society—which requires at all times, objectivity and the truth—recalling that the central organ of the Bolshevik party itself bears the name "Pravda", that is, "Truth". The speaker replied that she could not answer that question. Besides, she did not wish to go into "inner-party politics"!

This blunt explanation of Mrs. Steffens' deserves an evaluation. Unless she lied, it is also the explanation of Soviet pedagogues. Of course the explanation is quite in line with the Stalin regime and is no doubt in the "spirit of comrade Stalin's letter", which, the **Daily Worker** cynically tells us, represents Marxism or Leninism of the present period, the one of completing the "first phase of Communism (socialism)". But why is falsification so readily endorsed by people who are associated here in America with muckraking liberalism and what does this endorsement mean?

That the American muckrakers were not to be taken very seriously became obvious during the last war, when the whole pack of them jumped on the Wilson bandwagon. Can these same people be trusted as "Friends of the Soviet Union"? These people always, or nearly always have good intentions. We will not dispute that. But will not these "good intentions" which paved their way to Wilsonistic jingoism betray them also when the Soviet Union is really in danger, when more is required of them than uncritical and meaningless praise for the actual successes of socialist construction in the USSSR.? The lightminded endorsement of Mrs. Steffens of what she bluntly calls "falsification of history" cannot but make us sceptical with regard to the actual value of her role as a "Friend of the Soviet Union". What the Soviet Union, what the working class at the head of it, needs most and at all times, Lenin—following the scientific approach of Marxism—always stressed: is the truth, the objective facts. Support for the working class which is not based upon a sympathy with the actual facts, with a thorough examination of them, is extremely questionable, is superficial and because of this superficiality, unreliable when a real test of conviction has to be withstood, in times of crisis. And that is when real friends of the Soviet Union are actually needed. —GORDON.

Fight for United Front In Boston

BOSTON.—The Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union called a conference to protest against Governor Ely's attempt to abolish the labor laws of Mass.

Seventy elegates from thirty organizations, sixty-two branches were present. They consisted of four A. F. of L. locals, Workmens' Circle branches Communist League of America (Opp.); Communist party; Left wing clubs, schools, IWO, TUUL, a few shops, and the ILD.

It was supposed to be a united front conference of all labor organizations. The party representative talked a lot about unity but did not forget to make plain the kind of unity they mean—unity "with the workers not with the leaders"

A resolution was adopted for a program of action: (1) A United Front State Conference to enforce the existing labor laws and improve them (2) A demonstration in front of the state house where a committee will present a list of demands adopted at the conference. A plan of action committee consisting of one delegate of each organization was elected. The delegate of the Communist Leageu of America (Opp.), Jennie Chiplovitz, spoke on the resolution and made another proposal to call a real united front of all labor and political organizations not only of the individual workers and individual locals, but also the central bodies. She pointed out the importance of the conference and the necessity of including all the workers as long as these reactionary leaders have a following of thousands of workers who still believe in them. We must find a way of reaching them. We must see that the united front does not remain on paper, but is effective. Therefore we must call the leaders and the organizations as well as the individual workers.

There was applause by those workers that were not quite aware that they must not applaud a Trotskyist. No one attacked or spoke in favor of the proposal. The party spokesmen did not want to give the Opposition credit for the proposal; so they were silent. But unless they call a genuine united front conference, this one will have the same results as all the other abortive party conferences.

—JENNIE CHIPLOVITZ.

De Valera Forms Gov't.

continued from page 1

The Communist International has neglected the fight of the Irish workers and peasants. True, they have their Friends of the Soviet Union—but a revolutionary party to come before the Irish masses exposing De Valera and all other fakers they have failed to organize up till now. The Irish **Workers Voice** about a month ago announced that the C. I. was undertaking the formation of an Irish section in February. If this is not a rumor or paper resolution of the familiar Stalinist variety we will be among the first to greet the organized vanguard of the Irish toiling masses.

The active collaboration of the British party is absolutely necessary in carrying out this task. The interests of the Irish and British masses are historically and inseparably interwoven.-JACK CARMODY

Left Opposition Gives Estimate of Spanish Anarchist Putschism

Recent events have demonstrated anew that our labor movement is already directly confronted with the proletarian revolution, which until recently appeared remote. The attempts of the bourgeoise to characterize these movements, as if they were completely distinct from the general evolution of the proletariat after the Republican experience, and as if they constituted the last manifestations of an attitude about to disappear, are futile. The bourgeoisie also sought to portray the insurrection of Figols in the same way. But it has been seen that as soon as the labor movement again commenced to show signs of life, after the Figols affair, it immediately entered into an insurrectionary act, which aside from being a calamitous abortion, demonstrated indubitably all the emptiness and absolute lack of revolutionary criticism of the anarchists. The proletarian revolution, which at the time of the advent of the republic, was believed postponable to the remote future, figures today on the agenda for the whole revolutionary working class camp.

But this evolution of the proletariat requres as a complement new arms and new instruments, which can assure an upward march and victory. The last insurrection has been added to the whole catastrophic series of anarchistic experiences which have cost the workers movement of our country so dearly. The anarchist insurrection was the wildest imaginable sort of an act. One can embark upon such an adventure as this last one only through the lack of the slightest notion of what the revolution is. A provocation was accepted without having been able to wrest from the bourgeoisie a single one of the positions which it had gained. Did the last insurrection have any possibility of triumph? None can say that there was the least possibility of victory. A revolutionary movement organized behind the backs of the toiling masses, with the revolutionary cadres dispersed, and with the bourgeoisie perfectly organized and armed, can only serve as the base for repressions. The best that the bourgeoisie and the government could have desired was that the formidable strike movement which had begun to manifest itself should be transformed into a revolutionary adventure. And this occurence was the greatest danger of the moment.

It was, in truth, to be feared that the anarchists "already disillusioned with the Republic", should take advantage of the first manifestations of the resurgence of the proletariat (which had commenced to rise out of the state of temporary prostration to which it had been driven by the errors of the same anarchists)) to hurl itself into an insurrectionary adventure, which, although it will not scuttle the revolutionary movement because no great masses participated in the insurrection, must inevitably signify, for the moment, another setback. The confusion and revolutionary hysteria of the anarchists negates all the possibilities of advance. The proletariat which in all other countries, has by now separated itself from anarchism still has this task before it in Spain. This is a question of life or death for the revolutionary movement. Anarchism is not, nor can it be, capable of leading the proletariat to victory.

What has been the attitude of the anarchists towards the Republic? When they had power in their hands, illusioned with the regime, they permitted the bourgeoisie to wrest every position from them, giving it the possibility of establishing a repressive apparatus which today directs all its fire against the proletariat. When they became "disillusioned" with the Republic, the anarchists went into a revolutionary hysteria, and they now propose behind the backs of the working class to do what they did not know how to accomplish when they had power; seize the power from the bourgeoisie. The anarchists hope to accomplish by the bold stroke of a daring minority that which must be done by the united efforts of the great masses.

After this and former experiences can anarchism be an orientating and directing force for the proletariat? No. As far as we have advanced in the revolution, anarchism has not directed anything but has been a plaything of events. It is inevitable and unavoidable that the great exploited masses should suffer delusions when confronted with a bourgeois regime (because of its ability to deceive the masses the bourgeoisie maintains itself in the world); but a vanguard of the proletariat cannot today harbor illusions about a bourgeois republic. And those who, like the anarchists, have suffered these delusions, which have cost the working class so dearly, are not the proletarian vanguard but the playthings of events. The anarchists of every tendency, have, during the change of regime, dedicated themselves to stupefying the proletarian consciousness, slipping into the most vulgar republicanism. The early republicianism of the anarchists, like their later impotent radicalism are a necessary consequence of their nullity as a revolutionary tendency.

In our previous political resolution, published in **Communismo** (No. 19), we pointed out, on the one hand, the formidable strikes which were approaching, and on the other, the deplorable state of division within the trade union movement, and particularly of the National Confederation of Labor (C. N. T.) Consequently, we pointed out as the first step, the strengthening and unification of the trade union cadres, without which the prospect of strikes were bound to be a clamorous failure. The Iberian Anarchist Federation (F. A. I.) did not see the necessity of this; the more isolated anarchism was, the farther removed from "corrupting elements", so much farther off were the probabilities of victory for the revolution. In this manner, such a conflict as the railway strike, which stands definitely on the agenda, is saved from defeat by being prevented from taking place. The reformists betray the demands of the railroad workers; but the revolutionaries do not know how to organize the strike. The conflict has been in this state since 1930.

To be continued