

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 unemployed 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 executive 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 in this 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 sat-

isfied 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

## 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 bourgeois 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 fear is a glaring reflection of the terror 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 bourgeois' 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 villain 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 fill 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

## 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 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 development 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

## 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 Gorky was imprisoned in Barcelona without any information given on his legal situation. Our comrade Kastrolo has been confined in Hadajos prison for five months and comrade Llerena, together with other comrades, are incarcerated in other prisons. Unlike the Stalinists, the Spanish bourgeoisie does not know 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 book has just been published by the Stalinist concern, International Publishers, and undertaken by the party forgerly and unscrupulous 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 justice. And he knew how to do justice to the enemies of even those with whom

## Uprising Threatens Machado

Armed insurrection against "Butcher" Machado has again threatened to break out in Cuba and various guerrilla bands of workers, peasants, American adventurers and filibusters 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 Street and imperialism 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 Gruening and in the interests of the sugar trust, he held the economic 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'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. **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 the Aleutian Islands with 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 of Nations by means of the League 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, in this sense, direct by attack upon 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 of Nations by means of the League 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.

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 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 proposal in the League to the opposition for a "neutral" fix 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 will 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 the end (for later solving) 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 23, 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 conversion 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 influence 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**

## 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 Brüning 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, 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 did, 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 practice, 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**

## 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

Adolph 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 possibility 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 Hugenberg 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 battle of the class struggle.

That the social democratic leaders, who fear the unweakening 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:

"Hitler's authority will help the Hitlerists precious little in this case, for everybody knows that Hitler 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, Hitlerberg 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, Hitlerberg has not violated the Constitution. And Hitler is not yet a dictator" (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 helplessness that cries out in the midst of a situation that cries out for clarity, determination and audacity, can hardly be imagined. The parliamentary 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 general 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 imperative 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 proletarian chatter about the "perilous united front under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany" (Inprecorr, No. 4), which is the old ultimatum 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.

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**B'KLYN MASS MEETING**

**The CRISIS in GERMANY**

**SPEAKERS:**  
James P. Cannon  
Max Shachtman

**Labor Lyceum**  
940 BROOKLYN AVE.,  
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