

# 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

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The bourgeoisie 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.

ness 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.

**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" — Scheidecker 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 which are continually straggling foreign trade — higher, 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 report of a lull 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 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 aggressive-

## Writer Exposes Stalinist Censor

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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."

"Founding 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 his 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, and what isn't — that I know also. He was able at any rate to organize the military experts."

Edmund Wilson.

A Pen Picture by John Reed  
**C. G. RAKOVSKY**

In the lexicon of the Stalinist press, comrade Christian 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, "Revolutionary Age" of January 25, 1919, an interesting pen picture of our great comrade, written by John Reed.

For two months in the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government at Petrograd I worked side by side with Rakovsky. He was editing a daily paper in Rumanian, Jaintine, 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 with 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.

ed, 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 vetzlar 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 toward 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 sent it to you. 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 six 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 seventy-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, published 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 of the southern bourgeois 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-enslaving the freed slaves! Negroes were their 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 of 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

## Opposition to Jobless Meet

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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, bringing 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

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weapon of persecution and exploitation welded 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 so-called "cantonnments" 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 oppression 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.

## Revolt Threatens Machado in Cuba

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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 assembly 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.

## 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 bourgeoisie 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 requires as a complement new arms and new instruments, which can assure an upward march and victory. The last insurrection had 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

# 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, and 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 somnolent "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 USSR? The light-minded 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 delegates from thirty organizations, sixty-two branches were present. They consisted of four A. F. of L. locals, Workmen's Circle branches Communist League of America (Opp.); Communist party; Left wing clubs, schools, IWO, TUUL, a few shops, and the ILL.

It was supposed to be a united front conference of all labor organizations. The party representatives 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 League 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.

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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 rumour 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

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 republicanism 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