

Notes of the Week

BACILLI CULTURES, concocted by bespectacled scientists in chemical laboratories, will serve as major ammunition in the next war.

The last war introduced the use of gases to poison the enemy en masse at the front. But the "enemy" was still left with sufficient human resources behind the lines.

Meanwhile the war clouds are gathering, the harpies of capitalism are concocting the brew of bloody slaughter out of economic chaos and political despair.

Who does not recall how the mystic gas of "Save the World for Democracy" poisoned the minds of hundreds of thousands whose bodies were later poisoned by Melinite and Yperite on the battle fields?

Who does not recognize today the venomous substance of that "democratic" war-cry which has brought in its wake the bloodiest and most ruthless of dictatorships in Italy, in Germany, in the Balkans, in Poland and Hungary?

SUCH EXPERIENCES should put on his guard every thinking worker, every human being who can see further than his nose.

One such bacillus is the vapid oratory about Soviet Recognition as a step toward peace. Nothing can be more dangerous from the point of view of those whom the capitalist system exploits as profit-producing machines today and as cannon fodder tomorrow.

Those words, the reply of Lenin's Soviet Congress in 1918 to an overture from the Roosevelt of that time, from the "idealistic" war monger Woodrow Wilson—were:

"The Soviet Republic takes advantage of the message of President Wilson to express to all the people who have suffered from the horrors of imperialism and its swam sympathies and its honest belief that the happy moment is not far away when the workers of all countries will throw off the yoke of capitalism and establish a socialist regime, which alone is able to bring about a just and lasting peace and to contribute to the civilization and prosperity of the workers."

The horrors of the "bacillus" imperialism war of the future—which promises to be a thousand times more terrible than the last, "poison gaseous" war—can be prevented in that same way only. This is the truth that the revolutionary workers in this country will have to pound out as a powerful defense against the advance bacilli.

The Diplomacy of Lenin and the Diplomacy of Stalin—a Contrast

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themselves, let us quote a bourgeois comment which directly contradicts the Daily Worker and is only typical of the reaction of the whole bourgeois press.

Drawing the Balance Sheet The bourgeoisie is deeply concerned with drawing up a balance sheet under what was given and what was received. The proletariat should be equally interested.

Article 3 of the Litvinov note to Roosevelt pledges the Soviet Union "Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—which makes claim to be the government of, or makes attempts upon the territorial integrity of, the United States, its territories or possessions; not to form, subsidize, support or permit on its territory military organizations or groups having the aim of armed struggle against the United States, its territories or possessions, and to prevent any recruiting on behalf of such organizations and groups."

Article 4 of the same note makes the significance of the Litvinov capitulation even more obvious: "Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as its aim the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions."

In these undertakings, the Stalin regime pledges itself to something which it has never previously yielded to a bourgeois government:

The formal suppression or expulsion from the Soviet Union of the Third International, or any other revolutionary organization not strictly limited in its objects to Russia.

This is precisely how Roosevelt understands the two articles, this is how Litvinov really understands them, this is how the bourgeois press has universally construed them, for the simple reason that no other interpretation is conceivable.

And because this is how every Communist worker in the country has understood the terms of the recognition agreement, the Daily Worker has engaged in a campaign of betrayal upon them. The militant and wide-awake workers will not recognize the Roosevelt toasts of the Prada Stalinists as the voice of the Soviets. They will recognize it much rather in words, that the bosses' New York Times rejoices to remark, are "miles...away when we read the undertakings given by the Soviet Foreign Minister (Litvinov).... as a condition of recognition by the United States". (Editorial, Saturday, Nov. 18.)

—G...n.

wers to the description: the Communist International. Litvinov has pledged the Soviet government to expel the international from its borders. And in doing so, he has given formal and, to speak, organizational acknowledgement to a process of political liquidation of the Communist International which has been going on under Stalinist rule for ten years and which is not initiated but only crowned by the latest act of perfidy at Washington.

The pact does not only pledge Russia to the suppression of the Comintern. (We say suppression advisedly, for it is not really an expulsion. Can the seat of the Comintern be transferred to Berlin? or perhaps to Tokyo, or perhaps to...Washington?) It means that the American Communist Party and its representatives in the Executive Committee of the Comintern, are henceforth non-grata with the Soviet Government, and may not take up residence upon its territory. It means that a group of revolutionary Filipino nationalists striving for the independence of the Islands, driven from their land by American imperialism like the Russian revolutionists were driven from the Empire by Czarism—can not find asylum in the fatherland of the workers of the world.... For, impudently roguish that they are, they have designs "upon the territorial integrity of the United States, its territories or possessions". It means that if another Bill Haywood were to seek the hospitality of the Soviet Union, it would be granted him—if at all—only on condition that he refrain from conducting any political agitation or activity. It means leaving the American Communist Party in the lurch even more callously and openly than was done to the German Communist Party in the crucial days of Hitler's progress. It means—we cannot repeat it often enough—the suppression of the Communist International by the Stalinist regime at the demand of the American bourgeoisie.

A Lie of the Daily Worker But such demands have been made in the past, many times, by various bourgeois governments. It is said. Yes, many times and by many governments. That is true. And, adds the Daily Worker, "every single one of these articles, in some form or another, has been part of the numerous recognition pacts that the Soviet government has signed during the last ten years with the leading powers of Europe." This claim we have labelled above for what it is: a lie.

What the Soviet government has signed, and what it has agreed to commit itself to since its first began relations with capitalist governments is a simple and unambiguous undertaking: that the Soviet government pledges itself not to carry on any "subversive propaganda" in the country with which it establishes diplomatic relations, if a reciprocal engagement is undertaken. This is quite understandable, this is correct, and warranted by the relationship of forces. It is the kind of a concession which is perfectly legitimate and required by the situation in which the Soviet republic, as a socialist state in a capitalist encirclement, finds itself. No serious revolutionist will ever lodge a complaint against such a concession, any more than he will oppose concessions to the enemy in principle. He will understand that it is given not because Russia has ceased to be revolutionary, but because the workers in the capitalist countries have not yet become revolutionary, i. e., are not yet prepared to seize power.

That is one thing. Quite a different thing is the question of the Communist International, founded as a voluntary, independent world party of Communism, with sections in every country, to which the workers of Russia and their government, from its inception, have granted hospitality and complete freedom of action. (Just as, let us add, capitalist governments have granted hospitality to the international Red Cross which has not

recused from carrying on reactionary, and even counter-revolutionary activity in other lands!) On this score, far from being "willing and offering to sign such articles" as would trade away the life of the Comintern for diplomatic recognition and credits, the Soviet government has been more than "reluctant"—it has categorically rejected the demands of the world bourgeoisie.

(Recognition by the United States, declared the Stalinist liars, has been forced by the strengthened position of the Soviet Union. For the moment, let us accept the validity of this contention. How, then, does it happen that in a situation more favorable to it, the Soviet Union is compelled not only to make an enormous, impermissible concession, but a concession such as it announced it would not make eight years ago, in 1925, and would not even make years before that, in those cruel famine days when Russia's back was to the wall and nobody ventured to say if it could hold out for any length of time?) Or, if one does not want to accept as a measure of policy the at-

itude of the Soviets towards the Genoa and British demands, there are more than enough "purely American" precedents by which to go. When he stepped on to American soil, Litvinov expressed the "keen sense of the privilege that is mine in being the first official representative to bring greetings to the American people from the peoples of the Soviet Union". Both Litvinov and his American bourgeois audience knew that this statement was gratuitously false. The truth is that Litvinov had a predecessor as official Soviet representative to the United States.

In April 1918, Ludwing C. A. K. Martens was appointed, in a document signed for the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Soviets by Chicherin as its representative in this country, seeking to establish normal relations with the United States. Martens was not received with the official pomp and ceremony that attended Litvinov's arrival—he was only greeted by a mass meeting of the revolutionary workers of New York who came by the thousands to the largest available hall. He was not received by the president and the secretary of state. Quite the contrary. He was hunted and persecuted; his office was raided; he was haled before investigation committees; he was finally deported from this country as an undesirable alien.

Like Litvinov, he also answered the question of what the Soviet government would do about the Communist International and "propaganda in the United States". But not in the same way. More exactly, in just the opposite way. In the New York socialist "Call" of May Day 1919, the representative of the Soviet government wrote: "The attitude of the workers of the world towards the Russian workers' revolution has proved that the spirit of international solidarity of workers is not dead... It also proved that the international is not dead. It is resurrecting in the Third International in new glory. Long live the Third International."

In a "Statement by L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, Before the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate" on "Soviet government propaganda", he declared boldly: "The government of the United States has also been a party to attacks against the Russian Soviet Government, including invasion of Russian soil without a declaration of war and aggressive action against the military forces of Soviet Russia.... Being confident that the peoples of other nations were not responsible for these policies, and that they permitted these activities only because they were not acquainted with the real situation, the workers of Russia appealed to the peoples in various countries urging them to put an end to these attacks. Appeals of this nature have been defensive measures in the war imposed on Soviet Russia by outside forces.... Propaganda has been carried on by the Soviet government among the armies of the foreign governments which invaded Russia." ("Soviet Russia, 2-14-1920).

Two Epochs It becomes a little clearer why, therefore, on December 15, 1920, secretary of Labor W. W. Wilson issued an order which concluded: "It is therefore decided that Ludwing C. A. K. Martens is an alien, a citizen of Russia, and that he entertains a belief in and is a member of or affiliated with an organization (i. e., the Third International—M. S.) that entertains a belief in, teaches or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, and the Commissioner General of Immigration is directed to take the said Ludwing C. A. K. Martens into custody and deport him to Russia at the expense of the Government of the United States."

Litvinov and Martens! These are not merely two different individuals. They symbolize two different epochs. The hounded and deported Bolshevik represented the Soviet republic in the epoch of revolutionary internationalism. The feted and loudly-praised diplomat represents the Stalinist epoch of national socialism, of capitulation, of the surrender of the world revolution and the very foundations of the Russian workers' state.

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ostensibly improving the relations of the Soviet Union with the capitalist nations is in reality isolating it in an irreconcilably hostile capitalist world and leading it toward a fearful debacle. The Soviet Union, thus endangered, depends upon the international movement of the revolutionary proletariat now in a direct and immediate sense. The more the Stalinist bureaucrats desert the international revolution, the more they take off the Bolshevik mask and show their real nationalist face as they did at Washington, the clearer becomes the necessity for the reorganization of the international workers' vanguard without the Stalinist bureaucrats and against them. The capitulation to Hitler and was partly conditioned by it. Both of these events are loud alarm signals of the need to organize the Fourth International with all possible speed. The defense of the Soviet Union from the world imperialists on the one side and the disorganizing leadership of Stalinism on the other will be one of its foremost tasks.

Stalin's Bargain

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tasks of defense. The Stalinist bureaucracy relied on them less and less, held them in contempt, converted the Comintern into a fiction and increasingly shifted the axis of Soviet foreign policy to the realm of negotiations and agreements with the capitalist powers.

Every step on this slippery path—of which the signing of the Kellogg Pact, the disarmament treaties, the non-aggression pacts, the capitulatory policy at the economic conferences, were milestones—weakened and undermined the position of the Soviet Union still further in the international relation of forces with the capitalist powers. By leaving the ground of the class struggle, by disrupting the proletarian vanguard, international class ally of the Soviet Union, the Stalinist leadership was compelled to retreat before the bourgeois powers step by step. The formal renunciation of the Comintern at Washington, which flowed out of the past policy and practice, prepares the way in turn for still heavier demands and new retreats. Stalinist diplomacy, while

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The Retrial of the Nine Scottsboro Boys

he "had brought the revolver into town to have a new sight placed on its barrel." So fearful is the atmosphere and so fearful is the Southern bourgeoisie of publicity that newspaper photographers have been threatened with proceedings for contempt of court for snapping photos of trial scenes. The defense attorneys have stated that in the event of a refusal of a change of venue by the local judge they will appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court for a reversal of decision. At this writing the local judge has refused a change of venue.

Lynch Pack in Full Cry The lynch pack is in full cry. Can the victims of the Scottsboro case be saved from legal or "extrajudicial" lynching? That is the question that every class conscious worker will ask himself.

Lynching of one kind or another is certain if the sympathizers and supporters of the Scottsboro boys bank on the fair administration of justice, or hope for lynching to be avoided by means of the National Guard. One of the National Guards, quoted in the affidavits of the defense for a change of venue, made the frank assertion that if a lynch mob confronted him while guarding the defendants he would throw away his gun and let the mob take its course.

Class justice can only be fought by mass action. Plenty of time has been lost but it is not yet too late to arouse the mass movement that saved the Scottsboro boys once before.

We need not explain the significance of the Scottsboro case to the workers acquainted with it. It is a struggle of outstanding importance for workers, black and white. Action, Action! Now—tomorrow it may be too late!

to a persecuted race and class. Their resort to the I. L. D. for defense is another heavy count against them. When the K. K. K. wants to murder a Negro, legally or otherwise, to keep the black population of the South under the heel of their feudal baronage, they refuse to tolerate any "interference" from "outsiders" (the workers' movement). Having been frustrated by powerful protest in their original intention to burn the Negroes in the chair, the Southern wolves are again showing their fangs—"String 'em up" is the plan—"to hell with the courts" and it is in Morgan County that the retrial of Haywood Patterson and his companions is to be held, that the class-prejudiced court is to pass sentence.

In the previous trial the National Guard escorted the prisoners to the court room. But now with the atmosphere one thousand times tenser the governor of Alabama has refused the use of the National Guard in the case. An appeal over his head was made by the defense to the President but the liberal Mr. Roosevelt, who would not for a moment hesitate to send the troops against striking workers, issues a statement through his secretary saying that the "Federal Executive has not interfered and cannot interfere in any case under the jurisdiction of the courts of a sovereign state."

Tense Atmosphere of Trail Testifying to the will of the local population for a "fair" trial—in the course of the verbal flit between the defense and the prosecution over a change of venue—a farmer marches into the courtroom carrying a six-shooter. The press says that this harmless fellow, who was "rebuked" by the court, related that

Food Union New Aid Mass Meet for Bellussi

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to find out officially the terms of the hotel code that was signed last Friday. Only the Federation of Hotel and Restaurant Guilds, which is an outright company union of mediaeval origin, was able, thanks to its direct cooperation with the bosses, to inform the capitalist press last Wednesday that 54 hours a week was to be the minimum hours and that tips were to be considered as wages.

A special mass meeting was called and held at the new headquarters of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, 915-17 Eighth Ave. on Wednesday, November 22. Various speakers spoke about the necessity of action. Comrade Gitlow said that union organization offers the opportunity for the workers to improve their conditions by resorting to the most effective weapon that organized labor can utilize, and that is the general strike. B. J. Field, the secretary, reviewed all the activities of the Union. He said that the Union had drafted its own code and had its representatives at the hearing of the hotel code held in Washington on September 27. The Hotel Men's Association code was rejected by the NRA. In spite of this rejection, the President signed secretly the hotel code which is much worse than the very one that they rejected.

LITVINOFF AND STALIN

(Continued from page 1)

Communist Party of America was not concerned with the Communist Party of Russia, and vice versa, he said: "The American Communist Party concerns itself with the American working class and the Russian Communist Party concerns itself with the Russian working class, so of course they don't concern themselves with each other's problems. We have our problems, they have theirs. Their problem is to build socialism we aren't as far yet. Unfortunately, we still have to defeat capitalism."

The Daily Worker, which took such elaborate and unnecessary pains to correct the grammatical structure of Litvinov's statement, has not printed a correction or a different version of the Times' report of Bedacht's statement. We therefore have no reason to question its accuracy.

There was a time when a Communist—certainly one working in a country where bourgeois legality still existed—was neither ashamed nor afraid to proclaim his membership in the world party of the Third International. But that was before the Communist International was strangled by Stalinism, before the Communist parties were humiliated, debased and forced into the livery of the Soviet Foreign Office, before funkies and office-holders have usurped the places of revolutionists, before the world revolution was exchanged for a promised credit of half a billion American dollars.

At the time of this writing comrade Bellussi still remains confined in the Detention House of the Philadelphia Immigration Station at Gloucester City, N. J. awaiting deportation to Fascist Italy.

Meanwhile efforts are being made by the American Civil Liberties Union, which has interested itself in the case, to secure the release of Bellussi and the right of voluntary departure to some country other than Italy. Roger Baldwin, the director of the A. C. L. U. has promised the full cooperation of his organization in the endeavors to save comrade Bellussi from the horrible fate that awaits him in Italy.

The privilege of voluntary departure has been granted in other cases to other class war prisoners threatened with deportation to countries under Fascist or military dictatorships.

How vital is the need for comrade Bellussi not to be sent to Italy is shown by the fact that part of the evidence on which his deportation is taking place was the discovery of an old membership card in the Communist Party of Italy in Bellussi's possession.

The penalty for membership in a Communist organization in Italy is long years in a wretched penal colony if not summary execution by a firing squad. The danger facing Bellussi in the event of his deportation to Italy is so much more sinister when one considers that not only his militant activities in the United States but his sterling revolutionary record in Italy has aroused the wrath of Mussolini and his black gangs whose beast-like vengeance against revolutionary workers is well known to militant workers.

Bellussi must and can be saved! It is the first duty of class conscious workers to prevent the deliverance of their fellow-fighters into the jaw of its worst enemies. Let us do our part. We can force the American government to alter its ominous plans for our comrades. Bellussi must not be deported to Italy!

Shoulders to the wheel!

SPARTACUS YOUTH DANCE Dance & Entertainment, Proceeds For New Club Headquarters Features: FOLK DANCES SKITS RED HOT JAZZ BAND Saturday, December 2, 1933 at 126 East 16th Street ADMISSION 15 CENTS

CHICAGO THANKSGIVING EVE DANCE AND MOVIE Wednesday, November 29, 8:15 p. m. at International Labor Center 257 West North Ave. Private showing of Soviet anti-religious movie: "THE TWO THIEVES"

THE MILITANT

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MASS MEETING

DOES THE RECOGNITION OF RUSSIA SPELL THE END OF THE 3rd INT'L ?

SPEAKERS ARNE SWABECK MAX SHACHTMAN

Irving Plaza Hall SUNDAY, DEC. 6, at 8 P. M. IRVING PLACE and 15th STREET ADMISSION: 15 CENTS