

Hitler Threat o Soviet Union

ANALYSIS SHOWS THAT CONTRADICTIONS IN POLITICS OF HITLERISM DRIVES IT TO AN ALLIANCE WITH THE OTHER IMPERIALISTS FOR AN ASSAULT UPON SOVIET UNION

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gold every year, it will either have to stop paying interest abroad, or for a short time dip into its gold reserves until they are exhausted. Until the world crisis, this problem was not seriously faced in Germany. They were borrowing money freely, and it imports were more than exports they would pay the difference, as well as reparations, with new loans. But when new loans were unobtainable as the crisis came on, they had to choose—stop paying interest or force exports up and imports down, until a surplus of exports was created out of which interest could be met.

The patriotic German ruling classes have not hesitated an instant. They have squeezed wages down and kept prices up through a series of devices—high tariffs, quota restrictions on imports, etc. The standard of living of the German working class has been cut and cut again, its power to buy foreign foodstuffs and materials has been slashed, but German exports have been kept up. Wheat costs 2 1/2 to 3 times as much as in Berlin as in Chicago, but the feudal landlords who support Hitler clamor for still more protection.

And what does Hitler say? "We must be self-sufficient; we must grow enough food to feed ourselves." In other words, we must support the German feudal landowner at the expense of the belly of the German worker. And at the same time we must keep up German exports so as to obtain enough gold from foreign countries to meet the

demands of foreign and principally American creditors.

Danger to Soviets
But if Hitler cannot get the support of France, England and America except by continuing their imperialist exploitation of Germany, there is another field on which he can offer them a tempting prize for joint exploitation—the imperialist conquest of Russia. The whole logic of his position—the inability to solve internal problems, the necessity of leaning on foreign imperialism while demagogically pretending to expose it—forces him toward war on the Soviet Union.

And the Soviet Union itself? Duranty reports in the New York Times, without contradiction, that the Soviets feel that Hitler's coming to power will not interfere with the Five Year Plan. This is based on the hope that Hitler will prefer the peaceful and limited profits of trade with the Soviet foreign trade monopoly to the desperate gamble of war. But the hope is vain and illusory. Hitler has no way out except the steady mobilization of his forces, morally sanctioned and materially financed by international imperialism, for a military assault upon the Soviet Union. It is from German Fascism that emanates the most acute danger to the Soviet Union.

The defense of the German working class against Hitler is the immediate task in the defense of the Soviet Union. To the international aid of the imperialists to Fascism must be opposed the international solidarity of the proletariat to the German working class.

—B. J. FIELD.

Fascism: Italian and German

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by the treason of the social democracy and by the pernicious Stalinist policy which is leading to treason. But the forces of the proletariat, in their entirety, are not played out.

In Italy, Fascism made its "March on Rome" after two years of civil war in the interior of the country. The buildings of the workers' organizations were plundered, razed, demolished in the course of the punitive expeditions, the local and district leaders were banished or shot by the Fascist detachments. The resistance of the workers, the agricultural laborers and the small "red" peasants was broken in the course of two years of devastation, arson and massacre.

In October 1922, the Italian proletariat which two years previously had occupied the factories, was powerless before the combination of the legal and extra-legal repression, after having resisted the thousands of assaults of the Fascist bands, arms in hand and after having inscribed the days of Trieste, Bari, Parma, Rome and other cities on its banner.

The German proletariat has not suffered all that. It is still strong; it lacks only a leadership able to utilize this force to defend itself and wipe out the enemy. The German proletariat is five times as numerous as the Italian proletariat. Its Communist party groups the majority of voters in this predominantly workers' Berlin where the Hitler regime, unlike that of Mussolini in bureaucratic Rome, gives the impression of a besieged government.

The false policy of the Communist faction in the leadership of the Comintern and the Communist Party of Germany has brought the party to a state of impotence and to a capitulation before the foe. On the 20th of July the party capitulated before the coup d'etat of Von Papen in Prussia; the party was unable to utilize the respite given it by the internal dissensions of the bourgeoisie which manifested itself by the trampling upon Hitler since the

Scottsboro Frame-Up Is Uncovered

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This letter alone blows up the whole base frame-up. The contention of the prosecutor was that Ruby Bates and Victoria Price, who were hobnobbing their way in freights through the South dressed in men's clothes and in the company of a group of white boys, had been attacked by the nine Negro boys who were subsequently taken from the train by the authorities. The letter of the Bates girls proves that nothing of the sort was done by any of the Negro boys, who were simply picked up by the police and sent to trial on the bourgeois southern theory that Negroes are congenital rapists for whom even a mock trial is a waste of time.

United Movement Imperative

It is now clear beyond even the shadow of a doubt that the militant fight undertaken for the 9 victims by the Communists and the International Labor Defense stood on a solid foundation. The special conference now being called by the latter organization deserves the widest support of every action of the labor movement for the cause of the Scottsboro boys is the cause of the whole working

A Letter from Shanghai

SHANGHAI—During the last four years, betrayals have been the order of the day in the Chinese party. Many of our comrades have been arrested and murdered by Chiang Kai-Shek. In nine cases out of ten they have been betrayed by our own members. For example: in the Stalinist faction, Bang Pal, the most famous leader of the Chinese peasant movement; Yang Yung, one of the leaders of the Canton insurrection; Shian Tsong Pa, secretary of the Central Committee of the party for many years; these, and many other of our leaders have been arrested and assassinated. In the Left Opposition, we have had three betrayals on the part of our own members. The first time was in 1931, when eight of our Central Committee members were imprisoned; the most recent occasion was last in October at which time the lives of Chen Du-Hsiu and nine other comrades were placed at the mercy of the butchers of the Chinese proletariat.

Most of the traitors are ranks and file members of the Chinese Communist Party but some of them are from the leading cadres, who have spent years in revolutionary struggle under the banner of Communism and were distinguished for their heroism and trustworthiness. Many of them are petty bourgeois intellectuals who had or had not been trained in Moscow, some are lumpen-proletarians who hid in the party for many years under the guise of workers, while yet others are true industrial workers, such as Siu Si Gang who recently capitulated to the Kuo Min Tang.

Siu Si Gang whom I knew well was a cotton mill worker of Shanghai, who early joined the Communist movement. As a delegate he attended the Sixth Congress of the Chinese C. P. and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, he has been a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and of the party's political bureau; secretary of the Provincial Executive Committee for Kiang-Su, (in which Shanghai is located), and secretary of the Chinese Trade Union Federation. He was valiant and personally heroic, but recently capitulated to the Kuo Min Tang. Whether or not he was responsible for the arrest of any of the comrades in the Stalinist faction, I do not know, but he published in the bourgeois newspaper Ta-Kung-Pao, an article entitled "To all the Comrades of the Communist Party". In this article he described how the "Red Army" movement murdered peasants, destroyed villages and caused painful sufferings to the peasantry, how the slogan "For a General Strike!" and "For the armed insurrection in the cities!" issued by the Stalinists, killed thousands of good comrades in the urban centers. He further described how the conflicts among the Stalinists developed; how Li Li San by unfair methods excluded him from the Provincial Executive Committee of Kiang-Su) how Miff ordered Chen Shio Yu and his other agents

to work 6,000,000 of the unemployed. In other words even this optimistic calculation would leave approximately five and a half million workers permanently without jobs. How can the bankruptcy of this system be more glaringly exposed than by the fact that it has cast millions of willing and able-bodied slaves on the scrap heap. Their freedom to starve is now complete.

What is to be done about it? What action shall the proletariat take to ameliorate its wretched conditions? Green proposes the six hour day—five day week. Yes, that is one of the objects of the labor movement must strive and struggle for. But, certainly, Green's advocacy of it does not bring this change one step nearer. For him it is merely a plausible theory which he was forced to accept at the insistence and discontent of the rank and file. And in spite of his bold threats this labor scab and his cohorts will never spur the ranks of labor into action—and it is only by struggle that it can be obtained. They are too closely bound up with capitalism to think of striking it such a heavy blow. We must advance towards these demands: the thirty hour week; unemployment insurance; credits to Soviet Russia, in active combat against the capitalist class and all their agents in the ranks of labor.

But the curse of unemployment, which has come to stay can never be obliterated until the system that produces it is banished from the face of the earth. According to Green, in 1929—boom times, mind you—there were over two millions out of work. After this crisis has spent itself on the backs of the workers there will be nearly 6,000,000 out of jobs. When will this end? It will end when the American proletarian revolution buries capitalism into the limbo of history.

—CLARKE.

THE EMBARGO OF ARMS

A bill is pending before Congress empowering the President to declare an embargo on arms shipments to foreign countries. The liberal Nation welcomes this move as a safeguard for peace. We have no such illusions. It will be used only in order to foster the interests of American imperialism. And then—wopine—as the first step towards war.

Stalinist Confusion

«Daily Worker» on the German Crisis

In its issue of February 6 under the caption "What's Happening in Germany?" (first page next to masthead), the Daily Worker states: "You would know if you read the lies dished out by the capitalist press. Only the Daily Worker gives a true picture of the stirring events in Germany and rallies the American workers to support the German workers' fight against Fascist dictatorship. Support the Daily's drive for funds! In that same issue there is but one paragraph on the German events!"

Two days later, the Daily began the publication of an article from the Communist International on "The Communist Party of Germany Takes the Offensive". This article written during the regime of von Papen, is a glaring exposure of the false course of the German party in the past period.

Fascism is an accomplished fact, according to its analyses. "The Fascist dictatorship, which was established after July 20th, (that is by Von Papen's coup d'etat) is attempting to rally the forces of the counter revolution." According to these "theoreticians" writing several months ago, "we now see an unceasing wave of economic struggles, the extreme political sharpening of the economic struggle of the proletariat, the defeat of Fascism and social democracy, and the big success of the Communist party in the new parliamentary election." (Our emphatic phrase). Such was the optimistic prattle propounded by the Stalinists! And the Daily reprints it several days after Hitler's coming to power!

But more. After falsely characterizing the Von Papen regime as a Fascist dictatorship, just as the Rote Fahne called the Bruening government, Fascist—thus confusing the German workers as to the specific task of Von Papen—the article states: "The task of the Communist Party of Germany remains, as before—to direct the chief blow, at the present stage, against social democracy." (Emphasis in original). This is how the social democratic workers who together with the Communist workers form the decisive section of the German proletariat, are to be won!

Is it then surprising that the

Daily, after printing the call of the German Communist Party for a general strike against Hitler, is compelled to report little success? Who can then wonder at the failure of the party to win substantial sections of the social democracy?

Despite the Stalinist leaders, and against the criminal and treacherous policies of the leaders of the Social Democratic party, the masses in Germany are slowly, but in demonstrative and forceful however isolated, fashion forging a united struggle against Hitlerism. According to an Inprecor cable, Socialist and Communist workers jointly organized a general strike on Feb. 8 at Stassfurt to protest against the murder by the Fascists of a socialist mayor. According to the same source, two days later (Feb. 10) Socialist and Communist workers jointly demonstrated at the funeral of three Communist workers murdered by the Fascists.

The report further states: "Representatives of the Reichsbanner, Socialist Youth and the Communist party addressed the masses at the graveside. The fact that Berner (one of the Communist workers murdered) was killed while hurrying to the assistance of Reichsbanner workers attacked by the Fascists has greatly cemented the will for a united front." (Daily Worker—2-11-33). Quite right! By joint struggle will the Social democratic workers be won for Communism.

Now more than ever must the Communist party of Germany appeal to the Social Democratic Party, the free trade unions under Socialist control, the Catholic unions, and all working class organizations, to form committees of action in the factories, to organize workers' defense committees, to form a national council of action on the concrete issues of proletarian democracy and the struggle against Fascism. It is not yet too late. The Communist party must act immediately. The American Communists and workers must force this change of policy.

Members of the party and Young Communist League. Raise the issue in your units. Show your real international class solidarity with the German proletariat. —J. C.

Shanghai C. C. C.

FROM TINKER TO EVERS TO CHANCE

"The 12th Plenum of our Party clearly established that the resolution of the 14th Plenum of the Party remains the basic guide for examining the work of the Party in carrying out the line of the 12th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The 16th Plenum of the Party established that since the 15th Plenum, the Party has begun to understand the line of the 14th Plenum resolution, and established that earnest beginnings have been made to carry it out in life" (Daily Worker, 2-13-33). Following the party and Comintern Plenums is like hunting for a way out of a maze; they run like the famous ball—from Tinker to Evers to Chance!

Left Opposition Gives Estimate of Spanish Anarchist Putschism

(Continued from last issue)

Instead of conducting a campaign for drawing closer to the railway workers of the General Union of Workers (U. G. T.)—who are the majority—for "taking advantage of the discontent produced by the monstrously cynical policy of the socialists, the C. N. T. makes impossible all reconciliation by proposing to go on strike under the slogan of the establishment of libertarian Communism. If the socialist workers could be mobilized under this slogan they would not be in the U. G. T. Without the support of the workers of the U. G. T., no railway strike nor any other great strike is possible. The railway strike (like any other) must be organized on the basis of the concrete demands of the railway workers. The anarchists wanted to throw themselves into this adventure while the organization was in straits.

But if anarchism—and this too must be stated—has reached such a state of development in this period, in spite of its historic failures in the Spanish workers movement, it is because the proletariat has found, so to speak, the doorway to Communism closed. This responsibility rests entirely upon the Communist party. The palpable sympathy with which the proletariat regarded the Communists, even within the net of anarchism, in the C. N. T., was transformed into hatred as soon as the party led by an irresponsible bureaucracy entered upon the scene. The crimes of the trade union policy, dividing the movement at a time when it was most necessary to unite it;

unprecedented defamation and frantic speculation, widened the breach between the party and the masses in the Confederation, even more so, if such were possible, than from the socialist masses. On the eve of the latest events, the C. P., instead of acting as an orientating force and as the proletarian vanguard, dedicated itself to the sad role of a third party in the discord, stimulating putschism. The pretended "betrayals of the anarchist leaders" which were daily proclaimed in the party press could only produce an effect contrary to that desired, if they had any effect at all. And all this, in order to bring forth the proposition of "united front from below", inviting the Confederationists and the socialists to unite with the party "over the heads" of their respective organizations.

The revolutionary workers movement, situated, on the one hand, in the midst of syndicalist reformism (which in practice is no better than the vile reformism of the socialists), and on the other hand faced with an opportunist and irresponsible Communist party, could only result in a growth of anarchism the latter at least expressed the revolutionary spirit of rebellion.

The crisis of the Communist movement could not but inevitably reflect itself upon the backwardness of the labor movement, during the course of the revolution in our country. Events are demonstrating that the Spanish proletariat is again falling into its most deplorable errors, because, due to the internal crisis, the Communist

GERMAN CAMPAIGN

500 Gather for Bronx Meeting

Five hundred workers packed the Hollywood Gardens in the Bronx to the "standing room only" point to hear the speakers of the Left Opposition present its point of view on the present situation in Germany and remained until after midnight to hear our rebuttal of the Stalinist standpoint presented in the discussion. The meeting was not only significant from the point of view of the gratifying large attendance at the first indoor meeting ever held by us in the Bronx, but also by the fact that for the first time to our knowledge, the more than 100 party members present requested that an official representative of the party be given the floor to speak on the party point of view.

Max Shachtman and James P. Cannon, under the chairmanship of Marty Abern, gave a rounded presentation of our standpoint, tracing the development of Fascism in Germany, exposing the treacherous complicity of the social democracy and the criminal blundering of the Stalinists. The scores of Communist party workers were deeply impressed with the irrefutable facts which were hammered home by the Opposition speakers. In the discussion, the chair gladly gave the floor to the official representative of the party, comrade Louis Sass, organizer of the Bronx section of the party, and Jorga, member of the Section executive Committee.

The party speakers sought to defend the Daily Worker's neglect of the German situation by pointing to the importance of the rent strikes, as well as to defend the Stalinist theory of the united front from below. In the rebuttal, Shachtman showed how the Communist workers were thereby being forced to play the old opportunist game of counterposing the daily questions of immediate struggle to the fundamental principle questions of the revolution to the detriment of the latter. For almost an hour he spoke on the traditional standpoint of the Comintern under Lenin and Trotsky on the question of the united front and repeated the alarming which the International Left Opposition is raising on the crisis in Germany.

Not only was a good collection taken and a large amount of literature sold, but numerous contacts with party members were established on the occasion of this first penetration of the Bronx by the Opposition, the party felt itself compelled to "counteract the influence of the Trotskyists" by issuing a leaflet announcing that the noted Stalinist theoretician, Sam Don, would speak the following week for the party in the Bronx—not on the German situation but on the "decomposition" of the Trotskyists! The fraudulent accounts about the "dissolution" of the German Opposition were, incidentally, thoroughly exposed on the platform by Shachtman, who produced the German Opposition organ to show that the Stalinist-financed sheet of the capitulators, Romau Well and Co., was a forgery.

Another mass meeting in the Bronx was announced on the spot for Sunday, February 26, 1933 on What Does the Left Opposition Stand For? The intense interest of the workers who listened carefully for several hours indicates that the Opposition is gaining a solid foothold in the Bronx which is making the Stalinist bureaucrats—who are so demoralized at the present moment—increasingly uncomfortable.

Successful German Meet in Philly

The Philadelphia Branch reacted quickly to the ascension of Hitler to power in Germany. It arranged a meeting on "What Next in Germany" with comrade Cannon as the main speaker on Thursday, February 9th at Grand Fraternity Hall. It marked the biggest meeting ever held by the Left Opposition in Philly. An audience of over 75 people, predominantly Communist workers, crowded the room. They enthusiastically followed our speakers analysis until midnight.

The audience showed its sympathy and support with the decisive program of action of the Left Opposition by making a generous contribution (\$11.00) for the tri-weekly Militant and purchases of Trotsky's "What Next" and other Communist literature. Many questions pertinent to the subject were asked, indicating the intense interest of the audience.

The greatest horror was expressed not only by the socialist present, but by Communist workers and Party members at the idea of the revolutionary internationalist role of the Red Army. They conceived of it not as an organ of the international working class but rather as a national Russian body. What a demoralizing effect the years of Stalinist miseducation has had on the ranks. Give full credit for it to the reactionary utopian idea of a classless society in one country.

If after comrade Cannon's main delivery, Stalin could still get a round of applause when a questioner preferred the former's leadership to that of comrade Trotsky; there was surely very little left of it after the speakers answer to the questions and discussions. Comrade Cannon gave a definite program of action to defeat German Fascism, whose function and counter-revolutionary perspective he analyzed. The responsibility of the treacherous social-democracy and the stupid policies of Stalinism for the rise of Fascism and the weakening of the proletariat before Hitler was clearly depicted.

The meeting made a deep impression upon all present. Announcement of our meeting, the rousing propaganda of the Militant and the League, our stinging criticism of the demand for a discussion on the German crisis in the Party units and I. L. D. branches. And more, the Philadelphia district of the Communist party is arranging a protest meeting on next Monday night, February 13 at Grand Manor Hall, 911 W. Gerard Ave. It is miserably inadequate. But support it comrades, workers and friends. Demand what the situation demands of us—mass united front demonstrations against German Fascism. Party members, comrades—you must raise your voices against the false orientation of Stalin and for the tactic of Lenin, the united working class front. Support the German masses in their revolutionary struggles.

—L. GOODMAN.

"NEW MILITANT" SELLS WELL

The first issue of the "New Militant" to be issued three times a week at one cent a copy, gained an exceptionally enthusiastic response from the New York militants (we have not yet heard from out of town, of course). In a couple of hours, comrades Jim Carr and Herbert Capelis sold some two hundred copies on 14th Street in New York, near the headquarters. Other centers were also covered. Let us hear reports from everywhere—brief and to the point.

party has not yet been able to point the way out. The course of the revolution depends upon whether or not the crisis within the Communist movement is surmounted. The results of the anarchist policy cannot come as a surprise to any Communist, because we cannot entertain illusions concerning the role of anarchism. The Communists must derive as the most important lesson that the disastrous Stalinist policy shares in the responsibility for this situation. A unified Communist party capable of fulfilling its role is the necessary condition for the rectification of past errors and the opening of a new perspective for the labor movement. Our reintegration into the party would be the most important step on the road of unification on the basis of the Communist International. No unprincipled unity of heterogeneous groups is possible. Only on the basis of the C. I. can unity be achieved. The struggle to change the policy of the party must be linked with the struggle for unification which will bring to an end the paralyzing and brutalizing reign of bureaucratism.

The last insurrection, which should logically mark the death of anarchism, opens to the Communists the possibility of rectifying their past errors and of carrying out the policy which they should have pursued from the beginning; a policy of trade union unity, strengthening the C. N. T. The problem of converting the C. N. T. into the great revolutionary trade union center, which the proletariat needs, forces itself relentlessly to the fore.

Of late the C. N. T. being under the control of the F. A. I., not only the unions influenced by the Communists, but also those influenced by the reformist syndicalism of the group of "the thirty",

then, in a complete state of division and reorganization is necessary. If the Communist party continues the same policy of division and remains on the outskirts, the change which is due to take place in the C. N. T. will redound to the benefit of the reformists. Then one will be able to say that the latest events have represented a serious retrogression. The decadent of anarchism which will inevitably take place, should be accompanied by a growth of Communism and a strengthening of the trade union cadres. If such is not the case the possibility will remain always open for the recuperation of anarchism and will signify, for the moment, an important advance for the bourgeoisie.

The Law of Associations of the 8th of April, which the government has been unable to enforce, but whose repeal, on the other hand, has not been possible, is awaiting the moment when weakness of the proletariat will permit it to become effective. The convocation of a national congress of the C. N. T. at which the excluded unions, the autonomous unions or unions belonging to another center may attend, is the only means of terminating the anarchist hegemony in the C. N. T., of fortifying the revolutionary trade union movement and of presenting a front to reaction.

Long experience with confusion and adventures has again confirmed that without a class party no revolution is possible; that the proletariat can only triumph with audacity and caution.

Against repression and reaction! For a national congress of the C. N. T. For Communist unity! THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SPANISH COMMUNIST LEFT.