

Some Fundamental Aspects of the Present Crisis in Germany

(This is the second of two articles on this subject. The first appeared in the Militant of April 1.)

All the elements of the objective situation favored the revolutionary solution of the German crisis under the leadership of the Communist party. The crisis was brought to a head by the ravages of the world economic depression. The social democracy was becoming increasingly discredited by the collapse of all social legislation—"practical" reform—in the country (the Stalinist leadership of the party even went to the fantastic extreme of declaring the social democracy as "social fascists"—"twin brothers of Fascism").

working class and the peasantry as the practical base of the proletarian dictatorship. The rejection of the fundamental perspective meant, in reality, also a rejection of the policies flowing from it.

By repudiating the perspective of revolutionary realism the Stalinists deprived the Soviet government and the Communist International, of which they had gained control, of the possibility of conducting a consistent policy corresponding with the practical tasks. The utopianism of their theory of socialism in one country predicted their utterly barren strategy and tactics in the problems which arose.

extreme Left. Again it was a matter of self-preservation. Soviet economy was at an impasse. The tactics of the "bloc of four classes" in China and of the Anglo-Russian Committee had only increased the isolation of the U. S. S. R. and undermined the basis of the bureaucracy itself.

The collapse of the Communist Party of Germany deprives the Communist International of its one great mass party and the Soviet Union of its strongest ally in the capitalist world. It is the last item in the balance sheet of ten years of the rule of bureaucratic Centrism in the Communist movement.

Union of its strongest ally in the capitalist world. It is the last item in the balance sheet of ten years of the rule of bureaucratic Centrism in the Communist movement. The course of Stalinism, which began with the reputation of the concept of permanent revolution, has wound up in the most frightful isolation of the workers' fatherland.

Hitler's Brown Shirts are on the march. The alliance between the workers and peasants—the practical basis of Soviet economy and the proletarian dictatorship—is being threatened by that same headless, un-Marxian course which has led to disaster in Germany, by the course of vacillating bureaucratic Centrism. No time is to be lost. If Communism, if the Soviet Union is to live, Stalinism must be destroyed.

Fascist Terror Rages Over Germany Stifling All Workers' Organizations

(Continued from Page 1) ...ism after the working class defeat of 1923, until the completed preparation of the road for Fascism. But to this must be added the bitter experience of the Communist party, numerically the strongest outside of the Soviet Union, but Stalinized in every fibre of its bureaucratic apparatus, which has now experienced its August and Fourth. Though its leaders are now undergoing the most horrifying tortures nevertheless this must be said out loud.

Workers Under Bestial Tortures The Nazis are advancing through streams of blood and tears. The horrible tales which come from the specially arranged Fascist torture chambers almost defy description. In their naked reality the actual events are much more hair-raising than the dribbling accounts would indicate which are smuggled out and find their way to expression outside of the German borders.

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commanders of these groups. It was to prove that the C. P. was supported by the Soviet government, alleging the manner in which funds were turned over.

The significance of the attempted direct connection of the Soviet government cannot be underestimated. It is but one out of many similar attempts, such as in the burning of the Reichstag building and others to stir up a popular hatred of the Soviet Union and pave the road for intervention. There are among the flamboyant declarations of Goering the one proposing to carve out a bigger piece of the Ukraine for Poland so that she may object less to the return of the Corridor to Fascist Germany.

Finally his body was literally dragged along the streets in a parade headed by music and when the orgy was over, it was thrown into a coal cellar.

Some of the capitalist papers, fearing that the terror may bring too serious repercussions, at times endeavor to soothe the pains a bit by explaining this regular part of the Fascist system as merely some isolated excesses. That, however, is not at all the viewpoint in high Fascist circles. Goering made that perfectly clear in his speech at Essen, on March 10, where he said: "I refuse to have the police appear in the role of protectors of Jewish department stores. It is about time to put a stop to every scoundrel calling for police protection. When you claim that here or there people have been captured and maltreated, one can only answer that: Where anyone plagues, there the savings fly."

Social Democracy Passive Before Menace of Austrian Fascism

The Bonapartist regime in Austria has registered some important advances in the past few weeks. All of these are directed, of course, against the social democracy as the organized representative of the workers. The latter is showing ever less inclination toward serious resistance, restricting itself to bare protests and meaningless gestures.

to attempt to convince them as to how much more to their advantage it is to leave the masses under the constraining direction of the S. P. leadership. To this servile whining, the social democracy added a touch of pathetic humor. On April 3, Karl Seitz, the social democratic mayor of the city and governor of the province of Vienna, came out with a pompous decree proscribing the "Heimwehr", the legitimist (Habsburg) Fascist military organization. Let some think that this was a serious counter-action and a signal for active resistance to the forces of reaction, it must be explained: The proscription of the "Heimwehr" was merely a gesture of the S. P. leader. Its "purpose"—to point out the "injustice" of the Dollfuss actions and to demonstrate the old social democratic principle of "Gleichberechtigung"—equal rights. The "Heimwehr" leaders in the Vienna Landtag challenged the decree and interpellated the governor, demanding information as to why he did not also dissolve the Nazi (Hitlerite) military organizations. Here is Seitz's reply in excerpts:

In Spandau, near Berlin, almost all Communists were arrested and taken into the barracks to be tortured. A woman comrade was taken from her bed at night, taken into the barracks to be horsewhipped and thrown into a cellar. When consciousness returned she noticed that she was not alone but was surrounded by others groaning or dying. Some are allowed to go out after they have been tortured; others never see daylight again.

A certain C. P. functionary, B. Ramer, who had once been a Fascist officer but remained loyal to the party had his legs so badly crushed in the prison tortures that it became necessary later to perform an amputation. Storm troops went to the home of Ruth Fischer, once a party leader, and not finding her home, smashed all they could lay their hands on and took her thirteen year old boy as a hostage.

Scottsboro March on Wash.

(Continued from Page 1) representatives to provide transportation for them. It is not a little matter to ask workers to suspend their activities, pull up their stakes, so to speak, and march to Washington at the risk of serious fighting with the police and armed forces of the state. Workers will ask: how are we to be fed, transported there and back, and defended if attacked? The preparations do not answer these questions in a way to encourage workers to participate in the march.

The Scottsboro Bill One purpose of the march is to present a bill to Congress. This bill, the Civil Rights Bill, provides for the enforcement of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the U. S. Constitution. This raises the fight for the democratic rights of the Negroes to a higher political plane. It dramatically focuses attention on one of the burning problems of the American revolution. Before the eyes of the entire nation the Communists will lead a march on the citadel of American imperialism to demand that capitalism declare itself openly on the question of those provisions in its constitution which "guarantee" to the Negro masses political equality with the white population.

means the organized workers. The approach must be made to the trade unions. No time must be lost. The S. P., the A. F. of L. and the Negroes The terrific pressure which the party is bringing to bear on the S. P. leadership over the Mooney and May Day issues is the direct result of its turn from the ultra Leftist policy of the united front from below to one which comes from below to one which comes from above. If the party means it seriously it will apply that pressure now on the A. F. of L. and S. P. bureaucracies to enter a united front movement to get the Scottsboro boys out of jail.

S.P. Splits Mooney Fight

(Continued from Page 1) a matter between the united front conference and the S. P. but a matter between Mooney and the S. P. The Left Opposition protested against this pessimistic and capitulationist attitude. We moved that the Congress Organization Committee issue a leaflet to the S. P. and A. F. of L. workers calling on them to raise the question in their organizations and to demand that their organizations participate in the Chicago Congress. The motion carried unanimously, the Stalinists voting for it.

Congress which is calculated to plitigate the disappointment of the party members who still have faith in the infallible line. On the Management Committee are included "such well known socialists as Professor Robert Morss Lovett, Professor Reinhold Niebuhr and Frans Daniels! The reports of the sessions of the Congress Organization Committee and the developments reported in the labor and radical press have served to illuminate the roles of the S. P., the Stalinists and the "progressives" in the Mooney movement.

The Lovestonites have played a far smaller role. All of it has been disruption and sabotage. The April 15 issue of the Workers Age reports that Zimmerman of the Lovestone group was elected manager of Local 22 of the I. L. G. W. U. testimony to the influence of the Lovestonites in Local 22. How this influence is exerted to build the movement for Mooney's release can be seen from the same issue of the paper. Under the revealing head, "Union Hits N. Y. Mooney Meet", the Workers Age prints a letter from the Local to Mooney. The letter informs Mooney that the Executive Committee of the Local approved the action of the Lovestone group in withdrawing from the March 12 New York United Front Free Tom Mooney Conference.

armed by the illusions which inevitably resulted from the perfidious policy of its social democratic leadership. They, who became the inheritors of the monarchy, allowed and themselves helped to prepare for the counter-revolution to conquer by stages. That is the lesson embodied in their rule from Noske through the bourgeois coalitions, the emergency decrees of Brüning, Papen and Schleicher to Hitler. The German proletariat was disarmed by the Stalinists sabotage of every correct measure of defense. In this lies the sad testimony to the serious weakness of a revolutionary party which rests upon the foundation of a false ideology and is paralyzed by bureaucratic incompetence. The German proletariat failed to receive the support from its international basis—the Soviet Union and the Comintern. And it must be said plainly that the guilt of the catastrophic defeat suffered is not only to be laid at the doors of those who were directly charged with the leadership of the German working class but must be traced to the highest seat of Stalinism in the Comintern and the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Its departure from the road of international revolutionary policy marks the most serious retreat for the world movement which is fraught with sinister implications for the future. One may rest assured that the Fascist enemy will endeavor to pursue its gains relentlessly. Its mission of destroying the German working class organizations is not finally completed so long the Soviet Union remains a bulwark.