

«No!»-Unser Wort's Reply to the Hitler Plebiscite

(The following article, reprinted from Unser Wort, the German organ of the Bolshevik-Leninists, was published prior to the Nazi plebiscite on the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations and the sanctioning of Hitler's foreign policy.—Ed.)

There are many reasons for the Hitler Plebiscite and the withdrawal from the League of Nations. In the first place they seem to have been dictated by the daily worries of the Hitler government. While these worries do not permit us to predict the fall of German Fascism, nevertheless we must not neglect them.

First, there is the trial on the burning of the Reichstag which is truly not a glorious page in the history of Fascism, and which seriously compromises the Hitler government before the foreign world.

There are also the differences in the leadership which they will not be able to stifle or minimize for very long. There is, moreover, the rapid decline in the confidence and enthusiasm of the petty bourgeois masses gathered from reports of all parts of the Reich. All this makes it necessary to "do something", to divert the attention of the foreign world and the popular masses, to find a slogan which will mobilize everybody for the creation of a new national united front. The field of "external national policy" is quite appropriate to this end. Nowhere had the agreement with the Fascist bandits of all sections of the population been greater; nowhere has the noisy work of the Fascists borne better fruit, in no question is the ideological demoralization of the German proletariat more marked, thanks to the shameful activity of the Socialist and Communist parties, than in this field.

Even if this plebiscite was not an organized comedy—whose results are made to order by the Minister for Reichstag Fires, that is, the Minister of Propaganda—Hitler could secure votes on this field better than on any other. The "imposing" results of these elections backed by all the methods of Fascist terror, compared with which the "Balkan elections" are orgies of democratic freedom, will appear in the eyes of the outside world—which has no real notion of this German Macedonia—as a demonstration of the German people in favor of Hitler. There are important tasks of activity and propaganda for the emigrants in this field.

Hitler's step—the withdrawal from the League of Nations—has far deeper consequences than the trivial interests of daily agitation. It was dictated almost completely by the development of German imperialism after the war. The imperialist contradictions being opposed to its complete annihilation, German imperialism, suffering in its own forces, struggles forcibly to reach first rank. If it cannot obtain it as an independent force it endeavors to become an equal ally treated with equality and esteem. For only a war, openly posing the question of a new division of the world, could re-establish its own status. In this connection, Hitler is only continuing what was begun by Stresemann and Herrmann Muller.

The move of Hitler in Geneva rests less on his courage than on the utilization of the Japanese experience. The great powers of the League of Nations have so demonstrated their weakness on the departure of Japan, that Germany, still weaker, has permitted itself to do likewise.

The unparalleled economic decadence has forced Germany to look for quick solutions and to desert the path of patient negotiations. Experience has vindicated the position of Germany. No one wants today to engage in war with Germany; no French paper dares to pose the question of sanctions.

On the other hand it would be false to imagine that Germany wants to go to war tomorrow. Several years of preparation are necessary. Still less does it want war against France. In this sense Hitler's speeches are quite "sincere". They want to buy the dearest alliance, but not for war in the west. The real war for war, particularly for Hitler Germany, is the East.

The decision of Fascist Germany has sown the greatest confusion in the socialist and Communist parties. Both of them, kicking over Marxism, have accused Hitler not of nationalism, but of lack of nationalism. The whole agitation of the C. P. G. up to the month of June still tends to demonstrate the national "treachery" of Hitler. The Deutsche Freiheit stemmers pitifully that the action of Hitler leads to a worsening of the positions of Germany as if it were paragraphs and statutes and not relationship of forces which decide.

Hitler is still not national enough for the C. P. G. We will be curious to know whether the C. P. G. wins a single Nazi with the help of this "tactic". But at the same time the C. P. G. has fallen into another contradiction. While the C. P. G. follows the line of the former foreign policy of the U. S. S. R., Litvinov has already embraced Herriot; Pilsudsky and Molotov send telegrams of protest against the German disturber in the ranks of the League of Nations. The entire policy of the last years has deprived the U. S. S. R. of its independence on the international arena and forces it to follow one or another bloc.

We Internationalist-Communists have a fundamentally different point of view on the national question. For us, the main enemy is German imperialism, the representative of exploitation and the artifice of the next war, and not the treaty of Versailles, whose abolition can only help our enemies. We have never followed a nationalist policy as do the miserable epigones of Bolshevism. We have always fought it as a policy which strengthens the exploiters and brings war nearer. In this sense we arouse the masses, today again, against this Hitlerite policy which despite its pacifistic phrases and by means of its pacifistic phrases is preparing for war. There is only one way: to reject this shameful plebiscite of the organizers of hunger and the hangmen:
NO!

Unemployment Insurance - A Slogan to Unite Teachers and Workers

The growth of the population, the struggle against illiteracy, the lack of schools and the increasing specialization of knowledge and improvement in educational methods all make necessary an expansion of the educational system of the United States, particularly what is called the free school system. But no expansion is taking place. On the contrary, under the pressure of the crisis the capitalists are trying to conserve profits or reduce losses, among other means, by easing the tax burden through economy in civil and state government at the expense of the educational system.

The toll this economy has exacted can be gauged from some figures given in a recent resolution presented to George F. Zook, United States Commissioner of Education, by four hundred representatives of forty educational organizations. "More than 2,200,000 children of school age are already deprived of educational opportunity" and "nearly 2,000 rural schools failed to open this fall". To these figures should be added the curtailment of school terms, the shortage of indispensable material like text books, the crowded classrooms and the other easily imagined injurious effects of this economy.

What all this means to the teachers can be seen from statements in the same resolution. "One in every three American teachers is now receiving less than \$750 per year. Thousands of teachers are receiving no salary at all."

Not a Temporary Phenomenon
There is good reason to believe that this contraction is not a temporary phenomenon. The need for economy is not likely soon to disappear. The crisis is not over. The bankers and realty interests will continue to squeeze for greater profits and greater economies. And this crisis, should the capitalists succeed in overcoming it, will be succeeded by others of a deeper character. If our present experience means anything it indicates that the attacks on the educational system will increase and cut deeper.

It follows that the employed teachers will suffer a drastic lowering of their living and working conditions if they do not organize and resist. The thousands of unemployed teachers and the thousands more who are qualifying to teach will never do so if they wait for the capitalist masters of society to provide them with the opportunity. Together they should struggle for the expansion of the educational system and resist its contraction.

Unemployment Insurance For Teachers
The fight for unemployment insurance is one of the best means of uniting the employed and unemployed teachers. It conforms to the bitter need of the unemployed for relief. And it thereby deprives the economizers of a lever to lower the standards of the employed.

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Red Fleet Greeted with Cry: "Long Live Trotsky" During Visit to Greece

Athens, Oct. 28
An extensive agitation was carried on by our comrades among the sailors of the Red Fleet during the five days they stopped over in the port of Phalere.

The fleet, composed of a cruiser and two destroyers entered the port of Phalere on Monday morning. The first day was devoted to official visits. The eight admirals paid their respects to the minister of the Navy. The minister returned the visit of the fleet, receptions, speeches of friendship and mutual admiration, etc. The police were mobilized. No one could approach the harbor. The streets of Athens were full of dicks and bulls. But as the admirals left the ministry of Navy, their auto was covered with the leaflets of the organization and the admirals were greeted with shouts: "Long Live the Red Fleet and Army! Long Live Trotsky!"

The Visting Days

The second day was the sailors'. The sailors, in groups with officers at their head, went to visit the museums. It was then that we had the opportunity to carry on an extensive agitation. A group of comrades distributed leaflets in Russian to them in the Archeologic museum. The sailors were accompanied up to the station with shouts: "Long Live the Red Fleet, Long Live the Red Army! Long Live Trotsky!" On Concord Square the police attacked our comrades and a worker sympathizer, who had crashed the ranks of the sailors and distributed the leaflets. Under coercion the sailors made no gesture and did not accept the leaflets.

On the Acropolis another strong group of comrades mixed with the sailors and discussed with them. They stated that the sailors showed an intense interest, but the officers intervened and pushed them away. There were sailors who insulted the name of comrade Trotsky. But a great number remained silent and showed a kind of astonishment to see so many "Trotskyists".

A big sailor approached our comrades and said in a low voice "Trotsky is O. K." Another, bearing the insignia of the C. P. pushed him away and insulted him. For three hours our comrades persisted, singling the Internationale and resolutely plying them with questions on the expansion of comrade Trotsky and the fate of Rakovsky.

At Every Step
But what caused most surprise among the sailors was the fact that as they strolled along in small groups they encountered "Trotskyists" at every step who greeted them with the shout: "Long Live Trotsky!" and handed them leaflets.

There were cases where the sailors answered with insults. But some of them (those who were not accompanied by officers) took the leaflets and hid them. In the stores where the sailors bought foot-wear and small articles they were astonished to find leaflets of our organization. Our comrades of the trade union of store employees who were well-supplied with leaflets enclosed them in the purchases made by the sailors. There were also characteristic scenes in which on the one hand the bureaucrats showed their wrath and the terror to which the sailors were subjected.

A group of sailors were making purchases at a store. The guide showed them a survey of the party. The sailors said: No, it is Trotskyist. All the Greeks are Trotskyists.

The C. P. did nothing. It could only mobilize a dozen bureaucrats, who gathered in the Acropolis in a very wise manner, so as not to disturb the friendly relations of the two countries. This was the only demonstration of the Stalinists. The journalists were not given the right of entry on the warships. The most characteristic thing was that the sailors did not dare to speak to anyone. Even when people knowing foreign languages offered their services as interpreters, the sailors did not accept them.

The Attitude of the Sailors
As to the general attitude of the sailors—they were silent, austere and "wise". When they entered a store, one of them, always with a party insignia, remained outside and watched. They all bought food.

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GEORGE MAHIN, Executive Secretary Chicago High School Teachers Ass'n.

Dec. 10.—Science and Social Changes.
Prof. BRODA BARNES, Physiology Dept. Univ. of Chicago.

Dec. 17.—Nationalism: Real and Fictions.
MAXIMILIAN OLAY Noted Anarchist writer and leader.

Dec. 24.—Religion and Social Progress.
GEORGE KATSIOLIS Communist orator of note.

Dec. 31.—Workingclass Internationalism and Decisive Crises.
(An analysis of the causes leading to the downfall of the 3 workers Internationalists.)
JOSEPH GIGANTI of Chicago Left Opposition

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wear for themselves or for their wives, stockings and watches. They were well-clad save for their shoes which were in bad condition. During their noon-hour meal (they ate on the Acropolis) they ate a cheap quality of bread and margarine.

The cruiser "Krasny-Kavkaz", built in the U. S. S. R., made a great impression, by its armament and generally by its construction, on the journalists and the officers of the Greek navy. They wrote many articles on it.

The fleet left for Naples, Italy in the evening. They will probably go also to Marseilles. The opportunity will also be present there to show the sailors of the Red Fleet that the liquidation of "Trotskyism" only exists in the minds of the bureaucrats of the Stalinist clique.

The Class Meaning of the Conflict over the Roosevelt Monetary Policy

The government money policy in relation to the national recovery act of the present administration has reached a critical stage. A struggle within the camp of the big bourgeoisie over methods to be used against other imperialists, the middle class at home and the workers of the world has been brought to the surface. In the first stage of the NRA this struggle, which was officially inaugurated with the election of Roosevelt, was somewhat concealed. Now it has broken out in the open.

It is no accident that the present controversy rages around a secondary issue such as the monetary policy. It seems to be an excellent point of attack for the opposition capitalists. At the same time it is a convenient cover for the more important struggle. Due to his government position Dr. Sprague was in a key position to launch an attack. His resignation as treasury financial adviser is hailed by the press as a step that will bring into sharp relief the different views on the monetary question. This is true. Nevertheless the question remains a secondary one.

Dr. Sprague's Statement
Dr. Sprague understands the difficulties of the capitalist system as a whole. More significant on this score than his criticism of the Roosevelt money policy was the following statement by Dr. Sprague: "Capitalism cannot survive unless we get together, tackle and solve these major problems which are breaking it down, which have already partially broken it down. I should say that, failing solution, the final breakdown will come two years from now."

But underlying and more fundamental than the offensive over the monetary policy of the administration is the struggle of the capitalist group working for greater government and industrial centralization against the capitalist individualists. And also there is the struggle over the question of the financial undertakings and expenses of the government for which at present there are no means of equalizing through government income. Some argue that the middle class will have to bear the burden with increased taxes. Others contend that the issuing of green-backs and currency inflation is the best method. This is not only a conflict between the big capitalists and the middle class, but a struggle within the camp of the big capitalists themselves as to the best method of consolidating and maintaining their power at home and abroad with the least friction. The struggle against the pound and the franc on the international field is as fundamental as the struggle against the other classes at home. For, in the last analysis, the leading imperialists desire to have the dollar sailing the seven seas as the dominating international exchange when monetary agreement can be reached on a basis satisfactory to America.

Pioneer Publisher Notes on Pamphlets

A pamphlet on the history of Soviet diplomacy under Lenin and under the Stalin regime is in preparation and will be published by the Pioneer Publishers. This pamphlet will present documentary material showing the revisionist dilution of Soviet foreign policy under Litvinov-Stalin, the glaring change from the first Commissar of Foreign Affairs to the present incumbent, from Brest-Litovsk to Washington. Comrade Shachtman has been assigned to prepare this material. This pamphlet is intended for wide distribution at low cost. Its quick appearance is imperative. Many workers will be intensely interested in learning its contents and thus adding to their store of Marxist knowledge. Financial contributions are needed so that this pamphlet can make its appearance without delay. Send all funds to Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, New York City.

A SPECIAL OFFER

In order that the militant worker be given the opportunity to know the tremendous differences between Soviet diplomacy of 1933 and that of 1918, Pioneer Publishers is making a special offer of the splendidly documented volume, "Russia and Germany at Brest-Litovsk" by Judah L. Magnes published first in 1918. This valuable book together with Arne Swabeck's pamphlet, "Unemployment and the American Working Class" will sell for 25 cents

—HUGO OEHLER.

MASQUERADE BALL

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In joining the Left Opposition I am doing that which every thinking revolutionary Marxist should not fail to do. That the Stalinist bureaucracy has forsaken the idea of the world revolution and uses the phrase only in the ritual on holiday celebrations should by this time be clear to everyone who keeps fairly well informed with ideas and events.

What it is incumbent upon every revolutionary Marxist to assert and emphasize is that the abandonment of the world revolution represents the greatest danger to the Soviet Union. To the middle class intellectuals Stalin gives evidence of his great "statesmanship" by concentrating on "building socialism in one country". To them comrade Trotsky is the wild revolutionary without a sense of "realism". To the working class revolutionist

My five months in the Soviet Union in 1931 left me more disturbed than ever. On the one hand I saw the successful building of huge factories, while on the other hand I saw evident signs of degeneration in the party, and working class and peasant dissatisfaction. Fortunately in the last month of my stay I came in contact with an American Jewish worker in Kharkov, and my first enthusiasm engendered by the appearance of huge factories was tempered by a more intimate knowledge of the life of the Soviet worker as revealed to me by this New York machinist who left the United States because he heard Ojgin, in a lecture, describe the Soviet Union as a veritable paradise.

Testimony of Russian Party Members

The economic hardships for the workers and peasants, however, were not in themselves sufficient to cause one to change his views on basic principles. Difficulties and hardships are to be expected. In 1931, the effect of the adventurous policies of the "liquidation of the kulak as a class" and the five year plan in four" was not yet fully apparent. There was a great deal of hope that the end of the five year plan would witness a marked improvement.

What was most disturbing was the intellectually stifling atmosphere in the party. Several times party members, when with me alone, asked me in a whisper concerning the whereabouts of Trotsky. They did not even know that he was in Turkey. The party members had a grotesque picture of conditions in capitalist countries. Discussion in the party units revolved around how best to carry out the party line. It was no longer a Communist party—that is, a living, thinking, functioning group of class-conscious workers but a huge machine unthinkingly carrying out the behests of "the leader".

Upon my return to the United States I was determined to give the Chicago workers who were interested a more realistic picture of the Soviet Union. Though more convinced than ever that Trotsky was right in his criticism of Stalin's economic policies in the Soviet Union, I was not yet prepared to begin a struggle in the open. I therefore omitted many things in my lectures on the Soviet Union. I simply warned my listeners not to go to the Soviet Union for the purpose of remaining there.

The German Lesson

It was the German situation and the insane policies followed by the C. I. bureaucrats that convinced me of the necessity of an open fight against these policies. It became obvious that not to struggle against the Comintern "line" amounted to an actual betrayal. Comrade Trotsky was absolutely correct in his open and uncompromising struggle against the revisionism of Stalin and his fellow-bureaucrats. No longer quiet, but speaking openly against the C. I. line, I was immediately expelled.

I knew, of course, that I belonged to the Left Opposition. Nevertheless I would not join without getting in touch with the "Love-sonettes" and reading their literature over again. The more I read of their position, the more I talked with their representatives, the more disgusted I became. The two-Stalin idea—one the correct Stalin for the Soviet Union and the other the incorrect one for the capitalist countries—was sickening. Herberg's article in the Modern Monthly explaining the position of the Lovestonettes" was the last straw. It is pitiful for anyone to attempt to make such a sharp distinction between Stalinism in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries. It is a denial of Marxism for anyone to say: the principles are correct, only the tactics are wrong.

I have joined the Left Opposition because it represents the interests of the international revolutionary working class. It is clear to me that the principles upon which it stands are based upon the teachings of Marx and Lenin and free from the filth and revisionism of Stalin and his obedient satellites in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries.

He who understands the principles of revolutionary Marxism and who is not afraid to struggle for those principles has only one road to follow—to build a new party and a new international under the leadership of the Left Opposition.

—ALBERT GOLDMAN.

Statement of Goldman on Joining Communist League

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