

The 'Suicide' Advice of the German CP in Plebiscite

If in France, Stalinism drags the masses into support of the government and its war plans and policies, in Germany they accomplish the same purpose by the slogans they employ against the government under Adolf Hitler.

According to Ralph W. Barnes of the Herald-Tribune, "Communists" were very active in the plebiscite, recently concluded for the purpose of endorsing Hitler's Rhineland policy. A leaflet charging Hitler with preparing a war against the Soviet Union is quoted by Mr. Barnes. It reads as follows:

"Of what importance are non-aggression pacts, if for Chancellor Adolf Hitler they are only scraps of paper? . . . This undoubtedly refers to the Locarno Treaty, an integral part of Versailles.

"No country on earth entertains aggressive designs against Germany," it continues. "Fascist Germany under Hitler is the instigator of war in Europe."

"What a hopeless muddle! And what ammunition for Herr Goebbels! We sincerely hope a copy of this leaflet does not fall into his hands for he will certainly use it to a fare-you-well against the 'Marxists'."

"Halt the enemy of the masses! Hitler means war; Stalin means peace! Socialism means prosperity, freedom and peace; Fascism means misery, slavery and war!"

"The Reichstag elections are war elections. Every vote of 'no' is a vote against war, against misery, against the Gestapo (secret police), concentration camps and murders.

"Therefore, away with Hitler! Long live the united people's front for peace, freedom and bread! Long live international proletarian solidarity! Underline the vote 'no'!"

Before examining the policy advocated in this leaflet, which it is our contention cannot but strengthen Hitler's hand in Germany, it will be profitable to analyze the insane advice offered the German workers for the plebiscite.

It was common knowledge, widely publicized by all capitalist reporters, that the plebiscite was another of Hitler's great Barnum acts, that all conceivable methods of force, terror and intimidation, direct and indirect, would be employed to insure a unanimous "ja" vote.

Post-election dispatches tell of summary dismissals from their jobs of those "recalcitrants were visited by black-shirted or brown-shirted Nazis."

The Stalinist Suicide Advice And the Communist Party advises "Vote 'no'!" In other words, it calls upon the very workers, whom it dissuaded and prevented from fighting when they still had a chance, before the Brown-shirts took power, to take their lives in their hands today for the sake of a futile demonstration.

It would have been another matter if this were a free, Australian ballot, then a large protest vote might have had a powerful effect in rousing the German workers. But this ballot was a mockery.

An armed Nazi stood at the elbow of every voter and saw to it that the vote was cast in the right way. A Nazi teller counted the votes. Nazi electioneers "dragged" the voters to the polls. Which leads us to the following conclusions:

First, it was sheer, voluntary suicide for any worker to follow the advice of the C.P., an advice so criminal that if carried out would have led to an even greater decimation of the ranks of militant labor than the frightful condition that already exists.

Secondly, suppose a sizable number of "no" votes were cast. Who would have known about it? Does anyone believe that the Hitler-controlled press would have publicized such facts calculated to give strength and courage to revolutionists? Why, even the blank ballots were counted as "ja" votes.

Thirdly, any party which advocates such action, and thereby saves the Gestapo the trouble of hunting for the underground militants but could find them at the polling booths, is consciously or unconsciously cooperating with Hitler in destroying whatever remains of the German labor movement.

Meat for Hitler Now, what is the policy for which Stalinism called upon the German workers to risk their skins in this futile gesture? Implicit in the contents of this leaflet is a support of the Versailles Treaty. The same robber pact, assailed from its inception by revolutionists as the basis for a revision of the world by the leading imperialist buccanniers. The same robber pact which constituted the most potent weapon in Hitler's demagogic and which enabled him to dupe the middle classes disgusted with the social democratic support of the treaty. It says: "Of what importance are

A Counterpart to Social Patriotism in France, Equally Disastrous

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Whereupon Hitler points to the People's Front where workers join with capitalists in national unity and Soviet Russia, through Stalin, blesses this arrangement and becomes a partner to it. Is it entirely illogical that the German workers should revise some of his conceptions about the class struggle?

Would he be entirely impervious to the propaganda that the days of class war are over and the days of race war have begun? Unfortunately the German workers have been taken in by this pap. If the "plebiscite" means anything at all it means just that.

The conclusion is inescapable: When the French, Stalinists became sponsors of the shibboleth "democracy" against "fascism," they inevitably became agents of French imperialism and Hitler can point to the absence of class struggle in France to those who agitate for class war in Germany.

When the German Stalinists employ the same slogans, can we escape being called—by Hitler—agents of a foreign government in France? They will say they are for the defense of the Soviet Union but the Soviet Union has a military alliance with France. . . .

What Are the Conclusions? Hitler tells the workers that Germany is oppressed by the international bankers and Jews through the Versailles treaty. The German

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Prospects for a Farmer-Labor Party in the 1936 Elections

Two weeks ago the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party convention adopted a resolution committing the party to "cooperate with other progressive, labor, farmer and political organizations and leaders in calling a national conference to explore the possibilities of a national Farmer-Labor ticket in 1936."

This resolution met with considerable opposition, but in the final voting it carried by a fair margin. The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party is among the oldest and best established state parties of its kind in the country.

Over a period of years it has held control of both branches of the state legislature and the major state offices; its decisions will therefore arouse interest among both friends and opponents of the idea. The important question, however, is what will it mean.

What the F.-L.P. Move Means In the Daily Worker columns it is greeted as the beginning of a new era. Other editorial writers, equally cynical but less credulous, seem to think that the politicians in control of the Minnesota F.L.P. sponsored this resolution merely as a means of impressing upon the Roosevelt administration the need of supporting them in the local elections.

This appears to be the most logical explanation. In any case this would be typical of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party leadership. No doubt leftward tendencies are asserting themselves within the ranks of this party, the same as within the labor movement in general.

To satisfy the demands of these tendencies by adopting a resolution declaring in favor of a national farmer-labor party and appearing ready to explore the possibilities of a national farmer-labor ticket in 1936 does not cost very much. And if this can be utilized as an implied threat to gain some extra support, they will consider this so much better.

At any rate it need not be expected that anything in particular will be done about the carrying out of this resolution. The reason for this is the fact that there is not yet a serious movement afoot for a national labor party, or a national farmer-labor party. Various attempts have been made in several parts of the country toward the creation of local labor parties.

But so far these attempts are entirely localized and have not brought great results. In Toledo and in Akron, in the state of Connecticut, in Massachusetts, in Detroit, Mich., in Illinois and elsewhere, referendum votes of local unions have been held on the question of formation of a labor party.

In most cases these attempts are sponsored by local trade union leaders, who in this manner seek to translate their views of a progressive stand in collective bargaining with the employers into politics to gain further concessions by parliamentary action under their own name.

But very often there are to be found also amongst the elements sponsoring these local movements ordinary penny-ante politicians who expect to find a new field of operation.

The Stalinist Fascios Most outstanding, however, and at the same time the most ridiculous, are the Stalinist attempts to create labor parties made to order, put together out of nothing and baptized as a bulwark against the "growing menace of war and Fascism." A veritable hurricane campaign is being conducted by these strategists of social-patriotism.

Resolutions litter the tables of workers clubs, conferences are held, regardless of whether or not the workers are represented. If these strategists were to set out deliberately to destroy the very idea of the labor party, they could not do any better than they way they are now proceeding.

As matters stand today the overwhelming majority of the working class, including the trade unions, do not give a serious hearing to these pleas. In the main they still support Roosevelt and they are still carried away by illusions of his pseudo people's legislation.

Was not the United Mine Workers convention practically unanimous in its approval and support of Roosevelt? And this is really not surprising when it is borne in mind that the ideology behind the Roosevelt proposals does not differ essentially from the ideas of the people's front.

The difference lies in the fact that Roosevelt's appeal for support still proves more effective than the appeals for the People's Front labor party. Insofar as the phraseology is concerned, the appeal for the "forgotten man" is more clever.

Campaign for Roosevelt If a Labor Party is to have any meaning as a political force it is clear that it must have the trade union movement for its basis. Its top leadership, however, is already busy campaigning actively for Roosevelt. And this is true not only of the dyed-in-the-wool and reactionary craft union chiefs; John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman join in and make it unanimous. While

they have differences on organizational policies and outlook for the building of the trade union movement, which insofar as these questions are concerned, divide them along lines of progressives and reactionaries, in regard to questions of basic class ideology they are firm supporters of the capitalist system. This in essence determines their attitude on whom and which party to support in the 1936 elections.

Coming down closer to the rank and file, the local trade union leadership in the main line up on the same basis. In Illinois, for example, a conference is held for the formation of a labor party and attended by representatives from a few unions scattered over the state, while the Chicago Federation of Labor went on record to support Roosevelt. A conference held in Springfield, Mass., for the formation of a labor party, it is reported, failed to draw a single representative from the central bodies of the eight or ten cities involved.

Roughly, this is how the labor party question stands today. For the future, the best indication is perhaps given by the idea advanced by Sidney Hillman. Proclaiming his support of the trade union

"Non Partisan League" to support Roosevelt, he suggests that this set-up may later be utilized as the basis for a labor party. In real life this would be an out and out third bourgeois party. And while in appearances such an initial attempt may seem radically different from the objectives set forth by the present Stalinist campaign, in its practical reality this will be found not to be the case.

There is no reason why this could not be a just as bona-fide People's Front party as the concoction presented by the Stalinists. And there is no reason why it should not fit in admirably with their social-patriotic aims.

But what would it mean to the working class? For an answer to this question, it is important to remember that the leadership of the trade union movement could not at all be expected really to become supporters of a labor party until they become motivated to do so by fear of the growth of a serious revolutionary movement. A labor party brought into being under such conditions will function not as a progressive force for the realization of the aims of an awakening working class. In actuality it will become a barrier on the road.

FACTS ON TAMPA CASE (Continued from Page 1) the description of all of which is to the Solicitor unknown and in furtherance of said assault they with the said whips, straps and tar had and held in their hands, did then and there strike, beat, bruise, wound and ill-treat him, from which said wounds the said Joseph Shoenmaker did languish and on the 9th day of December, A. D. 1935, did die."

The Defendants Those indicted on the murder and kidnaping charges are: Police Sergeant C. A. "Smitty" Brown, leader of the raid and one of the best pistol shots in the country; Patrolmen Sam E. Crosby, John E. Bridges and F. W. Switzer, the latter also under indictment for the kidnaping of Robert M. Cargell, a St. Petersburg lawyer; C. W. Carlisle, former employe of the city tax department; Robert Chappell, former employe of the city water department; A. F. Gilliam, Ed Spivley and James Dean, Orlando Klansmen and special policemen during the Tampa primary election. Chief of Police R. G. Fitzworth and Manuel Menendez, police stenographer, were indicted as accessories after the fact.

The Attorneys By direction of Governor Dave Sholtz, the prosecution is being conducted by State Attorney J. Rex Farrior, Assistant State Attorney R. M. Huntley and County Solicitor C. Jay Hardee, the latter said to be tied in with the gambling ring. The defendants are represented by Pat Whitaker, chief counsel, his brother Tom Whitaker, Charles F. Blake and L. E. Womack, all intimately associated with the Klu Klux Klan.

The Judge Judge Raleigh Petteway of Hillsborough County disqualified himself as trial judge on March 17, on motion of the defense, because he is a candidate for Governor. Sholtz

assigned Judge Robert T. Dewell of Polk County in his place. The Witnesses Nearly 600 witnesses will be called by both sides. They include Mayor Robert E. Lee Chancy of Tampa and other state and county officials. Two important witnesses for the state "committed suicide" under mysterious circumstances before the trial began. They are Robert P. Fariss, to whom a receipt was issued for a P. O. Box used by the Klu Klux Klan, who died of monoxide poisoning in his garage, and Police Sergeant H. Carl Tompkins, on desk duty the night of the crime, who "jumped" from the third floor window of a Tampa hospital.

The Present Trial The state has decided to try first the cases against "Smitty" Brown, C. W. Carlisle and John P. Bridges for kidnaping and conspiracy to kidnap Eugene Poinot. The trial began on March 24 after Judge Petteway had denied defense motions for a four month delay and for a change of venue.

The Need for Continued Support The progress already made in running down the perpetrators of this deed is no guarantee against a whitewash. The fight against the Klu Klux Klan and the capitalist-racketeer-politician combination in Florida must be carried to a successful conclusion before any workman in the country can call himself free. Protests and demands for action from individuals, unions and other organizations should be sent to Governor Dave Sholtz, Mayor R. E. L. Chancy and State Attorney J. Rex Farrior. Financial contributions to carry on the fight should be sent to Norman Thomas, chairman, or Mary Fox, Treasurer, National Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, Room 1106, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Klan Pays Attorney (Continued from Page 1) become moderately well-to-do by supplementing their regular salaries with \$50 flogging honorariums, they could hardly have made enough to pay these fancy legal fees. The expenses of their defense are being met by the citrus growers, cigar manufacturers and shipping interests who must maintain the Ku Klux Klan as their private police.

The heavy bail bonds which give the defendants temporary freedom were supplied by Eli Witt who owns the 100 percent non-union Hav-a-Tampa cigar factory. The anti-labor groups, by subscribing to the defense, are also working off a debt of gratitude to Pat Whitaker who, as state senator, fathered all the repressive legislation they wanted. One of Whitaker's babies is the so-called 30 percent law which makes Florida elections as democratic as a Hitler referendum.

Under this law, a party must poll at least 30 percent of the total vote in one of the two preceding elections in order to get on the ballot. Administration Tries Shakedown When the policemen were first indicted, an effort was made to levy a percentage of the wage of every city employe for their defense. Such a levy was enforced before the last municipal election to provide the campaign fund with which the city administration stole its re-

A Jingle of Lies to Please the 'Master'

By ALPHA

The reactionary literature Aldanov, who writes historical novels which treat the emancipatory movement of mankind from the standpoint of an alarmed philistine, has occupied himself of late with writing historical notations to the October Revolution. (Written in Paris in Milukov's paper—Ed.) In one of his feuilletons, basing himself on a ludicrous analysis of the budget of Pravda for the year 1917, he attempts to prove that the Bolsheviks did "just the same" receive German money. To be sure, in the process, the many-millioned subsidy is reduced to a very modest sum, but, in return, the moral and mental equipment of the historian himself rises to its heights.

In a subsequent feuilleton Aldanov recounts how Trotsky, in June, 1918, informed the German diplomat, Count Mirbach, that we, Bolsheviks, "are already dead, but there is as yet nobody around able to bury us". Mirbach himself as is well known, was killed shortly after June by the left S. R.'s. This story, retailing the words of one Bothmer, who in turn quotes the dead diplomat, is so absurd in itself that it is hardly worthy of notice. In June, 1918, and, therefore, just in the period between the time the rapacious Brest-Litovsk peace was signed and the day he left for the front in Kazan, Trotsky gave secret information—to whom? to a diplomat of Hohenzollern!—to the effect that Bolshevism was "already dead". This is a case of slander passing into raving.

A Consumer for the Garbage But there is always a consumer for anything vile. And one was found in this case also. The January 30th issue of Pravda carries several yards of Demyan Bedny's jingles in which the account of Bothmer-Aldanov is taken to be an incontrovertible truth, and as the final proof of Trotsky's "permanent treachery". Today, Pravda is the personal organ of Stalin. Demyan Bedny fulfills a personal order. Today, Pravda does not venture as yet to carry verses relating how Lenin and Trotsky received money from the German General Staff, but the moral evolution of the Bompartist bureaucracy is nevertheless proceeding in this direction. To Aldanov, at any rate, the receipt of the Hohenzollern subsidy by the Bolsheviks and Trotsky's conversation with a Hohenzollern diplomat constitute an entity. In Pravda, together with its "poet," the single whole does not emerge as yet. But, never mind! The order was fulfilled. The meaning of the order is expressed in the following quatrain:

"To bad, forsooth, that in Berlin They got the news we so late glean! Brief Judgment: we such leaders spurn To Limbo, whence there's no return."

This "poetical" conclusion is of course based not upon a fictitious conversation years ago but upon the actual events in our own time. The Fourth International is a dire threat to these gentlemen. The growth of the Leninist ("Trotskyist") Opposition in the U.S.S.R. frightens the usurpers. That is why they find it necessary to seek for inspiration from Aldanov-Bothmer.

A Compromising Par Yet, once upon a time, this self-same Bedny also wrote about Trotsky in a somewhat different tone, and, moreover, in the very heat of the Civil War, at a time when men and ideas found themselves subjected to a serious test. A proposal of a rumor alleging that General Denikin, the Chief of the White Army, was making preparations to have himself crowned, Demyan Bedny published in Izvestia, some 16 months after the alleged declarations of Trotsky to Mirbach, the following verses:

"Strike no hero's poses, king! Our deuce will do the covering. When we hit we are no chumps For ours is the deuce of trumps. Lenin-Trotsky, there? our deuce, Try to match it, if you choose! Why, Denikin, the sudden blues? There is no covering our deuce."

Aldanov, incidentally, also quotes this ditty; but in contrast to the conversation with Mirbach, it does not happen to be an invention but an absolutely genuine product of Demyan's creative efforts. It was printed in Izvestia, Oct. 19, 1919.

Repulsive as it is to probe into this mess, we hope that the reader will bear with us: a few rhymed lines can convey much better the atmosphere of 1919 and the then prevailing mood in the party than all the latest luxuriant growths of falsifications and calumny. "Lenin-Trotsky, there? our deuce." How is that? How could a man who gave out treacherous statements to the august ambassador of the Kaiser turn up on the same "deuce" with Lenin? And where is Stalin? Is it possible that Demyan Bedny who lived in the Kremlin, who met all the top leaders in the party, who it is even told, used to sup in the dining room of the Council of People's Commissars—is it possible that Demyan Bedny remained unaware of the fact that the "deuce" was—Lenin-Stalin? Or, it may be that Demyan Bedny was unacquainted with Stalin? No. Bedny worked with Stalin in the legal Bolshevik publications back in 1911, and perhaps even earlier. He was well acquainted with Stalin, with Stalin's past, his specific weight, his intellectual resources. Demyan knew very well what he was writing. And if he did not know, how did Izvestia, the official Government organ, happen to print verses in which Trotsky's name creeps in by mistake instead of Stalin's? Or, was it merely done, perhaps, for the sake of a rhyme? And, finally, why and how did the party keep quiet about these sacrilegious verses? We ought to add that in those days no one ordered laudatory verses from Demyan Bedny—we had

occasion for different things at that time, and, besides, the people were different—the verses simply expressed what was in the air.

History is not a heap of old rag that can be placed into a boiler and mashed into clean paper. A Russian proverb says: "What is written down with a pen cannot be hacked away with an axe." The history of those years was written not merely with a pen—at any rate, not only with the pen of Demyan Bedny. If, in 1919, Bedny, picked up by the great wave, on his own initiative executed the literary order of the masses, then, in 1936, he fulfills only the order of Stalin. This customer pursues aims which are not at all literary but purely practical. Demyan Bedny, as we already know, was ordered to provide the formula for the necessity of sending Trotsky to a place, "whence there is no return."

Stalin is obviously making preparations to entrust the fulfillment of this task to the "poets" from the school of Yagoda, the General Commissar.

And that is how we note it down:

Croppers Swindled (Continued from Page 1) well, the "red bogeyman" of the Liberty League. He granted a sympathetic audience and listened patiently to the grievances of the farmers as they were developed by the representatives of the S.T.F.U. The result was an empty promise to look into the matter. Tugwell need only consult the official Department of Agriculture report which reposes in some remote file of the department's archives in order to verify the story of tragic horror which is the daily lot of some millions of share-croppers.

Mr. Roosevelt has expressed some concern over the fate of these farmers, their children and wives. In fact, even the President himself has been moved to action. He asked that an inquiry be set afoot by a commission whose members were to be appointed by the Governor of Arkansas, Futrell, notoriously unsympathetic to the claims of the farmers to earn a decent livelihood and a planter himself.

The demands of the Union are as follows:

The Union's Demands "Just and adequate settlement at end of season, legal rates of interest on advances made share-croppers and tenants, wages of \$1.00 per 10 hour day with 15c per hour overtime for all work done by day laborers, and a written guarantee binding owners not to interfere with union organization or discriminate against union members."

Union leaders have asked for support which should be generously forthcoming. Send all contributions to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, 2527 Broad Avenue, Memphis, Tenn.

SPEAKER H. R. ISAACS Former editor, China Forum, recently returned from five years' sojourn in China.

QUESTIONS DISCUSSION Ansp.: N. Y. District, Workers Party U.S.

JAPAN, CHINA & THE U.S.S.R. The War Crisis in the Far East STALINISM REVERTS TO ELCC OF FOUR CLASSES IN CHINA SUN. APRIL 12-8:30 P. M. • IRVING PLAZA HALL • 15th ST. & IRVING PL.