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THE MILITANT

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Fascists Command Police: Shoot the Reds!

The German fascists are moving forward in their ruthless campaign of extermination against the proletariat, with a breath-taking speed and resolution. In the hectic few weeks just prior to and since Hitler was appointed Chancellor, it is reported that more than sixty persons have been killed in political encounters, of whom thirty-seven were known Communists or socialists, while only fourteen were Nazis. Scores of Communist, socialist and even Catholic newspapers have either been suppressed for long periods of time or their issues confiscated by the authorities. The governmental apparatus has been cleared of the social democrats who rendered the bourgeoisie such signal services while in office, and their posts have been filled with reliable Fascist officials. Thus far the struggle in Germany records that Hitler has not suffered a single serious setback in the Fascist drive to establish their complete domination over the state power. The social democracy is not only retreating but is seeking to drag with it in ignominious treachery the masses of workers following its banner. The Stalinists are either mute or else they continue to jabber a language and pursue a course which must inevitably impose upon the German proletariat a capitulation without serious struggle.

Goering's Order While the social democrats are playing their treacherous role, while the Stalinists confine themselves to a purely verbal activity which only emphasizes their bewildered passivity and bankruptcy, the Fascists are going ahead with the most cynically brutal measures against the proletariat and its vanguard. Now that they have gained control of the police of Prussia—more than two-thirds of the German Reich—they are making force. Yesterday, an official order was issued by the Fascist federal commissioner of Prussia, Captain Goering, which imposes upon the unwilling police the task of protecting and assisting all Nazi and Nationalist demonstration and propaganda, and of smashing all demonstrations of the Communists with drawn pistols. The principal armed force of the country outside of the Reichswehr is thus transformed at one blow into an open auxiliary of the Fascist party in its drive to crush the Communist movement by authorized assassination and massacre.

"The police must refrain from even a mere semblance of an antagonistic attitude toward organizations such as the Nazi storm troopers and the Stahlhelm of the Nationalist parties," reads Goering's order. "Every manifestation of Nationalist purpose and Nationalist propaganda must be supported with full vigor. On the other hand, the activities of organizations inimical to the State must be countered with the greatest vigor. The police must proceed against Communist acts of terrorism with the utmost severity and must use their arms ruthlessly when necessary. I will protect every policeman who makes use of firearms in the exercise of his duty, regardless of results. Police officers who from false consideration fail to act may count on disciplinary penalties. For the protection of the Nationalist population, often hampered in its expression, there must be the most rigorous application of the statutory provisions against prohibited demonstrations, unlicensed meetings, incitement to treason, mass strikes, delinquencies of the press and other activities of disturbers of the peace. Every police officer must always bear in mind that failing to act is a graver fault than errors made in action."

The order is tantamount not only to a direct command to the police to shoot down the Communist and militant workers on any convenient occasion, but also guarantees the reactionary butchers an all-inclusive immunity in advance. At the same time, the preparations are continuing for the outlawing of the Communist party, not merely for the general purpose of driving it out of existence, but also to keep it off the ballot in the elections scheduled for March 5. The Fascist and Hugenberg press now speak of the proscription of the Communist party as a matter of course. The only point in question appears to be the date and the official pretext to be given for the act. Hitler would, of course, pre-

fer to rule after March 5 with a "parliamentary majority" of Fascists, on the Italian style, if possible. But he is not troubled about the outcome of the elections: majority or minority, Hitler intends to continue in power by means of the increasing utilization of naked force.

An Alarming Situation The alarming feature of the German situation does not, however, lie in these forecasts: Hitler's course was to be foreseen and was foreseen by us. What engenders a mounting disquietude among all those who realize that around the outcome in Germany pivots the fate of the world revolution, is the fact that up to the present time the

remained comparatively disorganized and has not yet mobilized its ranks for a serious and decisive struggle to sweep into oblivion the Fascist gangs. At this moment, when the Communist party should be in the forefront of the movement to unite the ranks of the proletariat in struggle, it is doing nothing of the sort. In this crucial hour, when it can be said without exaggeration that minutes count, the general staff of the world revolution, as the Communist International was once rightly called, is absolutely silent! A more monstrous crime cannot be imagined at such a time than that the deadly, ominous silence from that

body to which the militant and revolutionary masses everywhere look for guidance and counsel especially at critical moments. When it is clear even to a child that upon the outcome of the present struggle in the whole proletarian movement, and not least of all, the fate of the Soviet Union, the Communist International is not only silent but it is not taking the first step towards assembling the Communists on a world scale to speak and act in unison. It is more than four and a half years since the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern was held. The old statutes of the International provided for a world Congress every year. The new sta-

tutes, adopted in 1928, provide for the convocation of a world Congress every two years. It is almost five years now since the last Congress was held and yet there is not the faintest sign on the horizon that the Stalinist bureaucracy has any intention whatsoever of calling together the Seventh World Congress! At a world Congress, especially one where the Left Opposition would be afforded the opportunity to participate, the Stalinists would be compelled to submit their past course to a review and to speak out plainly about the present situation. The central leadership would be compelled to assume responsibility before the eyes of the world Communist and labor public

for whatever line of policy was elaborated for the German Communist Party. This is precisely what the Stalinists want to avoid. The failure to convene the Seventh World Congress is a cowardly, criminal evasion of an elementary duty, which can have nothing but catastrophic results for the German working class. Stalin in particular, "the best discipline of Lenin", is anxious to evade the issue now being posed in Germany with such inescapable acuteness. Stalin, the "leader of the international proletariat", has not a single word to say about the situation in Germany today.

But if the responsible leadership of the Comintern does not speak, if it is unable to meet and reply to the arguments and demands for a united front which the Left Opposition has put forward, the second and tenth rank bureaucrats (i. e., the scapegoats of tomorrow!) are pushed out in the forefront to make the official apology while the "Infallible Stalin" hides silently behind their skirts. Less than ever able to answer our contentions or to oppose our policies, the Stalinists are compelled to resort not only to misrepresentation and ritualistic abuse, but to the most patent absurdities.

Opposition and Stalinists The Opposition has declared that the social democracy and Fascism constitute the two extremities of bourgeois society—not its twins but its extremities. Unable any longer to solve its problems (and keep the proletariat in check) by means of the democratic illusions of which the social democracy is the principal conveyor in the working class, the bourgeoisie has resorted to Fascism—the naked, anti-democratic dictatorship of force and violence. The rule of Fascism excludes the existence of any democratic (even bourgeois democratic, to say nothing of proletarian democratic) forms or institutions. This determines the conflict between Fascism and the social democracy. This does not convert the social democratic leaders into defenders of the interests of the proletariat—a stupid idea which the Stalinist maliciously attributes to us. But for the social democracy to perform its role, for it to retain its leadership over the social democratic masses who are violently anti-Fascist, Wels, Kunster and Co. are compelled to carry on at least an oral and literary struggle against Hitlerism, are compelled to make gestures of defiance, while restraining the masses from really militant and revolutionary action—that is, from the only action which will smash Fascism.

From this elementary fact, the Stalinists now draw the following conclusion: The Fascist bourgeoisie, in order to save the social democracy, has arranged with it to drive it into a "sham opposition" so as to continue deceiving the proletariat which follows it. Therefore (?) it is wrong to make a united front with the social democracy, for we will be helping perpetuate the sham and illusion of its "opposition to Fascism." To leap the yawning gap between premise and conclusion requires an acrobatic skill which only a Stalinist word-juggler can supply. One of these acrobats, whom the desperate, disoriented American Stalinists have called up from the reserves, is Max Bedacht, the daily "Specialist on Germany" out of the I. W. O. old soldiers' home to which he was retired some years ago, to break a lance with the Trotskyists on the question of the united front. But the acrobat slips and falters through every sentence of his (excuse us!) analysis, and ends up limp and exhausted from his heroic effort.

Why is the social democracy's leadership forced into "sham opposition"? Precisely because its role is to retain a firm grip on

what conditions this could take place. For this was necessary the treason of the social democracy and the pernicious policy of Stalinism, was necessary that the enormous mass of the German proletariat be maintained for years and years in a state of division and inaction. Comrades. It is in order to crush us, in order to find a way out, that the German bourgeoisie, the great potentates of banking and industry, the landowners and the domestic clerks have raised the Brown Shirts to power. To snatch away the conquests attained by you and by your fathers in a heroic struggle of the three-quarters of a century; to destroy your political and trade union organizations; to reduce you to complete servitude; that is the task of the Fascist dictatorship. The Fascist dictatorship is the inferno of the proletariat.

No, comrades, the world proletariat cannot believe that its brothers in Germany will let themselves be reduced to the state of slaves. The Fascist enemy who is determined to attain his goal by blood and death, will encounter on his path the determined and invincible resistance of millions of German workers. The German proletariat will know how to stand up in the harsh struggle, the bloody struggle, the civil war, to defend itself and to defeat its mortal foes.

We, the Bolshevik-Leninists, after having for years drawn the attention of the German and the world proletariat to the danger of Fascism in Germany; after having shown the road towards deflating and triumphing over it; after having denounced the treachery of the leaders of the social democrats and flayed the criminal tactics of the Stalinist faction which has the leadership of the Communist International and the Communist Party of Germany in its hands, we now address ourselves to you at this moment of the greatest and most tragic danger, to you members of the German Communist Party, to you social democratic workers, to

all the proletarians of Germany, and there is still time! The victory over Fascism is still possible. Whoever tells you that all is lost, that the struggle is now in vain—is betraying you. You can still conquer. But in order to gain the victory, to avoid the defeat, the whole working class must unite in the struggle against the reaction.

This is possible upon one condition: that all the organizations of the German proletariat, the Communist party, the social democratic party, the trade union organizations, the factory councils, etc., undertake the joint struggle against Fascism. To realize the united front of organization to organization, to establish in every factory, in every locality, in every quarter, everywhere, your organs of defense. Here is the road: through the partial struggles, to pass from general action to the fighting general strike against Fascism, a strike which will lead, by means of the popular fighting organizations, by means of the Soviets, to the crushing of the reaction and to the conquest of power.

Members of the German Communist Party. Demand that the leadership of your party propose from the bottom to the top the united front to the social democratic party, to the Federation of Trade Unions, and

to all the organizations of the German proletariat, and the joint struggle of all against Fascism. Socialist workers, impose upon your leaders the realization of the united front, the sole weapon by which you and your class brothers can defend your lives. To act immediately means not to allow the enemy the choice of the attack, means to engage in the battle under conditions which allow us to conquer. The German revolution is passing through a historic moment in which the fate of the proletariat in Germany, the fate of the USSR is at stake. History will condemn to shame those who, in this critical moment, will desert the field of battle. Demand the joint action of the proletarian front; Form your organizations of struggle; Fight to the death for the salvation of the German proletariat; You hold in your hands the fate of the world proletariat and of the Russian revolution; Arise ye millions of proletarians of Germany! Smash Fascism! Long live the joint action of the proletarian front! Long live the victory of the proletariat. The International Communist Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists).

Workers! The Social Democracy Has Betrayed Again Stalinism Is Abdicating! Unite Ranks and Crush Hitler! Appeal to the Proletariat of Germany by the Paris Conference of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists)

TELEGRAM TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMINTERN, MOSCOW. In face gravity German situation and threat against USSR we demand urgent convocation world Congress Communist International with participation International Left Opposition. Invite Comintern to propose united front to organizations—Socialist and Labor International, Profintern, Amsterdam International for common action German and International proletariat against German Fascism for defense USSR. Pro-Communist International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists).

Proletarian Revolution Only Way Out For Doubly-Exploited German Masses The sharp tension of the revolutionary crisis in Germany points to it as the "weakest link" in the imperialist chain today. Its social and political forces have been lined up for battle by the ever-sharpening contradictions of the German economy. These contradictions have been given a special form by the post-war changes in Germany, beginning with the peace treaty. This form is the contradiction between the high imperialist development of Germany—its level of technology, its concentration of industrial capital and domination by finance capital—and the "semi-colonial" status to which it has been reduced under the pressure of France, England and America.

Before the war, Germany was a large exporter of capital, pursuing a policy of imperialist expansion through direct seizure of colonies (Kiao-Chou, German West Africa, etc.), and through the possession of spheres of influence of more or less marked political flavor (China, Turkey, South America). Since the war, it has been deprived of its colonies, and through the imposition of reparations was compelled to import capital from 1924 to 1929 instead of exporting it. Dependence on Foreign Capital Its indebtedness to foreign countries on so-called "commercial debt", amounting to 4-5 billion dollars, puts it in the hands of British but more particularly American finance-capital; the reparations payments bleed it for the benefit of France, Belgium, England, Italy and others of the former Allies; even its gold reserve of 200 million dollars is borrowed to the extent of 86 millions. The im-

portation of American capital has taken the form of direct investments in the German property—even the powerful German electrical monopolies, the A. E. G. and Siemens & Halske, are being increasingly controlled by American capital. As a result the German masses are being doubly exploited—by their own bourgeoisie and by that of the larger imperialist powers, especially France, England and America. The effect of this contradictory situation, as a highly-developed imperialist power, and at the same time as a "semi-colony" has been immediately felt by the German masses. In order to meet the payments required by the exploiting countries, Germany has forced exports at the expense of its internal market, that is, by forcing downward the standard of living of the great masses of the German population.

This was done from 1919 to 1923 through inflation, which reduced the value in goods of the worker's wages. Since the temporary stabilization began in 1924, the crude methods of inflation were dropped, and a series of carefully devised measures was adopted toward the same end. While wages were being cut, prices were kept high in Germany and at the same time goods were sold in export trade for what they would bring. The big industrial monopolies entered into international agreements to divide up export markets and assure each other complete liberty in exploiting their own internal markets without competition. The German govern-

ment has succeeded in establishing itself in power. You all know under more than ever at the present moment are the eyes of the world proletariat turned to Germany. With ever increasing uneasiness and tension of the nerves it is following the struggle you are conducting against the stranglers of your liberties, of your life. It is well aware that the extreme tension of the forces of the reaction for imposing its base and black dictatorship upon you, will have enormous consequences for the destiny of the working masses of the entire world. After having passed through various stages, the Fascist reaction has succeeded in establishing itself in power. You all know under

German Meets Scheduled MASS MEETING IN CHICAGO The Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has arranged for a mass meeting where Hugo Oehler, now on a national tour, will deal with the crisis in Germany and the standpoint of the Left Opposition. The meeting will take place at Mirror Hall, 1154 N. Western Ave. on Sunday, February 26, at 3 P. M. The subject of comrade Oehler's speech will be: "Germany: Alarm Signals for the Working Class". All Chicago workers are cordially invited to attend. Questions and discussion will follow the speech.

ABERN SPEAKS AT WILKES-BARRE MEETING Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will speak under the auspices of the League at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, on Sunday, February 26, 1933, 2 P. M. on the crisis in Germany and the standpoint of the Left Opposition. Admission to the meeting is free and all miners and other workers are cordially invited to attend. The meeting will be held at the Workers' Circle Hall, 69 S. Hancock Street. Oehler Tour: Chicago, Ill.—Feb. 24, 25, 26 Davenport, Iowa—Feb. 27 Des Moines, Iowa—Feb. 27 Kansas City, Mo.—March 1, 2, 3 St. Louis, Mo.—March 4, 5

Breaking Point Approaches in North China Conflict of Imperialist Powers In the modern era of finance-capitalism, or imperialism, peace among the nations is merely a truce between wars. The truce is utilized by the future combatants to polish up and perfect the weapons of speedy death whilst eyeing the "enemy" from head to foot. The armed truce since the first World War is drawing rapidly to a close, the second world war looms darkly just ahead. The first World War was preceded by the race for armaments, disguised half-heartedly now and again by "standstill" agreements that halted nothing. The stage is being set in exactly similar fashion for the Second World War: disarmament conferences that lead to ever greater piling-up of guns and munitions; mounting national budgets; armies and navies. Yesterday it was Japan with the largest military budget of its history. Today it is the United States with its three hundred million dollars for the navy alone. Secretary Adams, in requesting this melon for the militarists, gives an account of the relative naval standing of the enemies, England, Japan and the United States; personnel, number of battleships, cruisers, destroyers, aircraft carriers, submarines. It was Lenin in his "Imperialism" who remarked, "There can be no other conceivable basis, under capitalism, for the sharing out of spheres of influence, of interests, of colonies, etc., than a calculation of the strength of the participants, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc."

Japan Reaches for North China Not by accident is it that a decade after the first world war, which gave such a tremendous im-

petus to the development of her monopoly finance-capitalism, Japan reaches out for North China. Like German capitalism before the War, Japanese imperialism fears being left out in the cold in the exploitation of the rich earth through possession of colonies. Since in this century the world has been completely shared out, the Japanese can only come into possession of new territory by seizing it from some other possessor, in this case the Chinese. The Japs have coveted the Manchurian provinces since the Russo-Jap War. They viewed with alarm and increasing dismay that influx of Chinese immigrants that began in 1911 and reached such tremendous proportions in 1926. This, in conjunction with a shrewd gauging of the "opportune" moment from the point of view of the international situation, decided the Japanese generals to act before it became too late.

But this present action was prepared years before by the Katos and Tanakas with their Big Army and Navy programs which took definite shape about 1920. At that time the nationalist, imperialist Kobe journal, the Japan Chronicle, wrote: "The great Navy is to be built solely that Japan may be able to do things on the Asiatic mainland and present them to the world as accomplished facts without running the risk of the Powers offering 'advice' such as they offered in 1895 regarding Liaotung. The expansion of the Navy is not for the purpose of being aggressive but for the purpose of deterring protest if aggressive action should for any reason be committed." This

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BRONX MASS What the Left Opposition Stands For MEETING

SPEAKERS: James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Hollywood Gardens 896 Prospect Ave. Sunday, February 26, at 2:30 P. M. ADMISSION: 15 CENTS

Revolution Only Way

(Continued from Page 1)

ment raised its taxes again and again, and used the money to "relieve" capitalists who wanted to unload their stocks or to engage in a profitable bankruptcy. The North German Lloyd, Darmstadter Bank, Disconto Bank, Nordwolle and a host of other financial scandals were "solved" by having the German government compensate the capitalists who were threatened with loss. The big German steel trust, the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, is now about 30 percent owned by the government because Bruening's finance Minister bought them at three times the market price from a patriotic industrialist who threatened to sell them to France if his terms were not accepted.

In all these ways the German people have been plundered for the benefit of their own capitalists and also for that of their new foreign masters. The accumulation and combination of the two burdens has brought forth the sharpest clash of class interests.

The big bourgeoisie, in addition to fighting for its own privileges, will also struggle to keep intact its alliance with foreign capital at the cost of the German masses, supporting itself on the power of foreign imperialism while at the same time frantically pounding the nationalist drum. The situation has a certain analogy with that of the Russian capitalists before the revolution, in respect to their leaning on foreign capital, although this was even more true of Russia.

Role of Petty Bourgeoisie

The petty bourgeoisie, on the other hand, tries to make a distinction between its domestic oppressors and its foreign ones. It is not convinced that its future lies with the proletariat, because of the lack of a clear-cut program and a powerful, united and growing proletarian force in Germany. It therefore turns to alliance with its domestic bourgeoisie, and under the pressure of its chauvinistic prejudices and narrowness, brought to a white heat by the bellows of Fascist propaganda, it turns its hate against "foreign", including Jewish, capital, in the first instance, and is content with vague demagogic promises as to what Fascism will do to its fellow-German capitalists.

The working class, on the other hand, cannot make any distinction between the two. In 1917 the Bolsheviks struggled both against the influence of foreign capitalism reflected in the alliance of Russia with England and France in the imperialist war, and against their "own" capitalism in the civil war. Only through putting itself at the head of the nation, through settling accounts with its own capitalism, through installing the dictatorship of the proletariat, will the German working class impose its own class interests, which will also

be those of the Socialist nation, on the foreign imperialist powers. To submerge its own class interests in those of the nation, to pose the struggle for the dictatorship and for the ultimate Socialist State as a struggle for "national liberation", is in effect to capitulate to the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie, with its creation of supposed "national" interests which stand above the tasks of the proletariat as a separate class. The Bolsheviks settled their accounts with their own capitalism and installed the dictatorship of the proletariat in October; three months later they broke the financial bonds of Anglo-French imperialism through the repudiation of the Czarist debt and in another two months, through the peace of Brest-Litovsk, achieved the real liberation of Russia from foreign imperialism and its war.

—B. J. FIELD.

Nearing Breaking Point in China

(Continued from Page 1)

paper adds: "Japan today is the third naval power in the world. She is, perhaps, the second military power. In combined naval and military force she is second to none. It is impossible to attain such a position in the world without being regarded with a certain amount of awe and apprehension."

American Apprehensions

The apprehension of their American business rivals has indeed been aroused. Hence, the U. S. government gives tacit encouragement to American citizens not to buy Japanese silks, Mrs. Hoover ostentatiously takes to wearing cotton gowns, American merchants call in their credits from Japan, American banks refrain from granting loans to Japanese applicants, etc. Is it a shrewd guess to interpret the flurry in the Japanese stock market recently as the dumping of Japanese stocks and bonds by American holders? But these measures are not the major ones. The main steps are pressure applied through American influence and power in Europe, and—transfer for an indefinite period of the American navy to the Pacific.

The Balkanization of Manchuria goes on apace nevertheless, with Japan throwing its armies into Jehol. The League promulgates a verbose document of inanities whose meaning, as given by the diplomats themselves, amounts to inferring China that she has the League's permission to fight back the Japanese invasion. But Japan is insured how to taking "advice" from the League on Manchuria. Her big navy is proof against such "advice!"

Comrade James Gordon is a member of the central strike committee and is active participating in the Foltis-Fisher strike. He is not the chairman of the strike committee as was erroneously reported in a recent issue of the Militant. An article on the strike and the situation in the Food Workers Union will appear in the next issue of the Militant.

America's Role in Germany

The Threat of Imperialist War

A Fascist victory and the defeat of the German proletariat would lay the basis for ironing out the most pressing contradictions standing in the way of the imperialist war on the Soviet Union. Fascist Germany and American capital, with the other imperialists, would transform their economic war into a military war against the Soviet Union, using Fascism as the spearhead of attack. In the post-war period, defeated Germany stood in the way of a well organized military operation and direct attack upon the Soviet Union. A Fascist Germany eliminates the sharpest expression of this contradiction. This does not mean that social democracy is just that many degrees better when it rules. It means that the position of class relations is to that degree different. The position of the working class and its party is different. Social democracy drugs the proletariat. Fascism annihilates its organizations.

Italian Fascism has the most agreeable relationship with American imperialism. Italian Fascism does not rest upon the same economic base that a victorious German Fascism would have. The White Terror government of Hungary after the Hungarian revolution, as well as other White Terror governments of the Balkans, have the best of relations with the American imperialists. But Fascist Italy and all of these White Terror Governments can not disorganize the world working class to the same degree that German Fascism in the event of victory, could. The economic base below these forces is different.

The Stalinists consider Mussolini in Italy or Pilsudski in Poland as just another form of bourgeois rule, and then conclude that Fascism in Germany would be similar. Such governments are indeed a form of bourgeois rule.

But from the class point of view there is a vast difference between social democracy and Fascism. And one must add to this, that with the Fascist variety of bourgeois rule there are differences and more pressing dangers. Fascism in Germany would make Fascism in Italy look like child's play. Because WORLD CAPITALISM is in a more critical situation, Fascism

takes root in a more developed country—as the expression of INTERNATIONAL relations.

The danger of an Imperialist war between Japan and America in the Orient must be kept on the proletarian order of business but cannot be separated from the imperialists' contradictions and the key situation in Germany. The contradictions between the imperialist powers on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other finds expression in Germany and in China. Both situations must be approached from the international point of view and the proper connection of their economic and class relationships obtained.

In these preliminary struggles of the imperialists for the redivision of the earth these two dangers point reveal Germany as the weakest link and America as the dominating imperialist power.

Japan has advantages at the present in its present position in the Orient in this struggle for the redivision of the earth but the American imperialists hold upon the European imperialists, through war debts and through the billions invested in Germany, and America's economic weight, gives her a lever far greater than that held by Japan, for world struggles in general and struggles in the Orient against Japan.

American imperialism is watching with vulture anxiety the gains of German Fascism. If Fascism triumphs in Germany reaction will be strengthened throughout the world. The American workers will be confronted by a wave of reaction. Greater capitalist prospects for a way out of the world crisis will be obtained.

A united front of reaction against the Soviet Union will alter, even though it intensifies the antagonisms between the imperialists. And America on top of the decay heap of world capitalism has far more to gain than to lose in such a new alignment for the coming imperialist war. All of this providing—Fascism is victorious in Germany. But this is not yet a settled question. The time is not yet too late to turn the tide into a successful proletarian revolution, thereby smashing Fascism—and the pillars of American imperialism.

—HUGO OEHLEH.

Program of Action Against Fascism Proposed Year Ago by German Left

(The consistency of the policy of the International Left Opposition for the situation in Germany, as well as the fact that its policy has been confirmed with striking accuracy by events, is shown by our reprint below of the open letter sent by our German comrades to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany more than a year ago. It was the Left Opposition which at that time—and for some time before that—sounded the alarm signal against the Fascist danger and called upon the party to initiate the united front movement against the Nazis. The failure of the Communist Party leaders to adopt this course finally resulted in the present dangerous position into which the party and the working class have been forced. In essence, the proposals made below not only continue to hold good today, but are an imperatively necessary prerequisite to the launching of the movement that will exterminate the hordes of Hitlerism.—Ed.)

To the Central Committee of the C. P. G.

Dear comrades:

Victory is possible, victory is probable, everything must be done to assure it. Only in this manner can revolutionists pose the question in the present situation.

The question of the victory over Fascism in Germany is also the question of the fate of the U. S. S. R., regardless of whether it is considered from the economic, the political or the purely military point of view. But that means that so as to be able to assure the future of socialist economy in the U. S. S. R., the Soviet Union must stake all of its forces on the victory over Fascism of the European revolution, with which it is inseparably linked. This alone can be the strategic line of the Communist party.

The C. P. must adopt a position of departure that rests upon irre-

conciliable and ruthless struggle against Fascism, for the purpose of destroying Fascism in the inevitable, open struggle and for the conquest of power.

The united revolutionary class action of the proletariat must be organized against the victory of Fascism. This can be realized only when all revolutionary forces, no matter in what camp they stand at the moment, unite for this common action which stands on the order of the day. We know full well that the premises for such an action are highly unfavorable. But in spite of this, the C. P. G., as the historically chosen organization must in view of the seriousness of the situation make the attempt to realize a genuine fighting unity of the working class.

To this end we submit the following proposals:

The C. P. G. is immediately to approach all political groups, trade unions and workers' organizations who declare themselves prepared to fight against Fascism with the aim of a common appeal for the formation of a Joint Council of Action against Fascism. This appeal must contain:

1. The creation of Committees of Action consisting of representatives of factories, trade unions, political groups and other workers' organizations. It is of the greatest importance, that all the existing tendencies in the revolutionary working class of each locality be represented in the Committees of Action.
2. The Joint Council of Action is to be constituted at a congress of delegates from these Committees of Action in the entire country, which is to meet in the shortest possible time. This congress is to represent the proletariat concentration against the concentration of the reactionaries.
3. The congress must be organized in advance as the proletarian

counter-parliament in the event of a Fascist Reichstag, or against an extra-parliamentary or parliamentary Fascist government.

4. The congress must solve three tasks concretely:

- (a) the preparation of the general strike to prevent the seizure of power by Hugenberg and Hitler;
- (b) the formation of one common non-party workers' defense corps;
- (c) the elaboration of a common minimum program with regard to the next steps to be taken by the Committees of Action.

Under a correct leadership, such a defense action contains all the necessary elements with which to lead the proletariat, in view of the objective possibilities described above, not only against Fascism, but to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie as a whole.

Such a policy is possible only after a radical change in the course of the party. The experiences of the French Communist Party speak an unequivocal language. Despite the "third period", despite the ultra-Left trade union tactic, despite "social Fascism" and similar slogans, the party has been forced by the pressure of objective conditions and partly also on the basis of sound proposals made by the Left Opposition to change its course radically. (See the proposal to the Socialist Party of France for common action on the second ballot, the Preliminary Congress for the establishment of trade union unity.) It is high time to draw the consequences in Germany and to reestablish the unity of all genuine Communists.

We declare emphatically that, despite profound differences in a whole series of questions, we will support with our innermost convictions and without any reservations, every step undertaken by the party in this direction with all our strength and that we are completely and entirely at the service of the party in any instance whatsoever.

The Left Opposition of the C. P. G. (Bolshevik-Leninists) The National Committee.

Fascists Command Police: Shoot the Reds

(Continued from Page 1)

the masses and prevent them from really fighting Fascism. How does it retain this hold? Precisely by means of its sham, verbal, opposition. How can this hold over the socialist masses be broken by the Communists in the shortest possible time—and time is just what is decisive in Germany now? By forcing these socialist leaders to reveal in action that their opposition is a sham. How is this to be done? By demanding of these leaders that they translate their verbosity into deeds, that they show what their words are worth by joining with the Communist party in a united front on a concrete program of action to smash Fascism.

The socialist masses say to themselves: My leaders, my organization has taken a stand against Fascism. They speak against it. They call for a struggle against it. The Communist party must say to the Social Democratic party: You say you want to fight Fascism. We do also. It is not a matter of mutual confidence, for we haven't a particle of it where you are concerned. But the masses want a united fight against Fascism. We are ready. We demand that you join us in this fight. Then let the masses judge who really is fighting in their interests. We will march with our own banners (directed against the Fascists, and also against yourselves!), retain our independence and our criticisms. That's cheap; let us—and the workers who still follow you—see what your deeds are.

The socialist workers will then say: The Communists really want a united fight against Fascism. It is a proletarian question with them and not merely a purely party question. We will demand that our leaders accept the Communist proposal for a united front. If our leaders refuse, we shall know that the Communists were not mistaken in their appraisal of the role of Wels and Hilferding. If our leaders accept, we will see in the course of the united front struggle whether or not the Communists are right in their assertions that Wels and the other leaders will play the role of a brake on the movement and will betray us at the crucial moment.

We Have All to Gain The Communists will say to themselves: We have nothing to fear. Once a mass movement is really set in motion, we have confidence that our leadership and policies are superior to those of the social democracy. In the course of the fight, the workers will see with their own eyes. They will be able to compare the two and judge for themselves. We will gain in the end, which means the working class and the proletarian

revolution will gain. For by retaining our independence and not relenting an iota in our criticism of the social democracy, we will not be helping perpetuate the illusions spread by the socialist leaders. On the contrary, by a firm, clear policy, we will be helping to destroy these illusions in the minds of the million-headed socialist masses. With united efforts we will smash Fascism, our main foe. But such a movement will be set in motion that—providing we are not stupid—we shall be able to push it further along the correct road, to the formation of Soviets, to the establishment of these Soviets as the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, to the final

Opposition in Davenport

Davenport, Iowa.—The branch of the Left Opposition in Davenport is making very substantial headway. We have had to increase our Forum to every week as the response among the workers has been tremendous. It takes place every Wednesday. We get anywhere from 60 to 350 workers depending the kind of a speaker that we have.

Our class on the fundamentals of Communism has been progressing very well and is about finished. We will begin a new class soon. A class will start the first Monday in March on elementary Marxian economics and will take place every first and third Monday of each month. Our class on fundamentals of Communism meets every Friday.

Wednesday, February 8 the Left Opposition opened its headquarters and book store, class room combined. In spite of the zero weather (22 degree below zero) that evening we had forty-five to fifty present.

February 15 the open forum was turned over to the unemployed and a Union of Unemployed was organized, due to the fact that the Unemployed Council in this city is defunct and isolated. Without any leaflets or advertising fifty workers showed up at the meeting. Forty-three organized and joined the Union of Unemployed.

In the last couple of months six new members joined the Left Opposition, which makes this branch now a total membership of ten. Comrade Brady of Chicago lectured here on Elementary Marxian economics for three consecutive days and we had an attendance of about an average of twelve regularly attending each day. We are holding aside from our regular forums special meetings such as this.

On February 17 Gerry Allard of

settlement of accounts with the murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg whom we know (the socialist masses do not yet know it, or not with sufficient clarity) will try to stab the movement in the back when it becomes dangerous to them.

These simple ideas, which Lenin and Trotsky tried to hammer into the heads of the opportunists and ultra-Leftists in 1921 and 1922, must become the policy of the party. The vapors of all the "specialists" and "theoreticians" of the Stalinist cut lead only to impotence and confusion. It is high time to call them to a halt! Tuesday, Feb. 21, 1933.

—M. S.

Marx-Lenin School in Chi.

Chicago.—The first term of the Marx-Lenin School, conducted by the Left Opposition, is now concluded and a new term is about to begin. The two classes just concluded were quite successful both from the point of view of attendance as well as results.

At the present time we are about to launch a new class on the subject "The Theoretical System of Marxism." This class will consist of nine sessions, covering all important phases of the subject. It is calculated to give the students a whole, its tenor will be such that it will not be too difficult for beginners, nor yet too simple for those already having an elementary knowledge of Marxism. The following is the outline for the course:

- Philosophy (conducted by J. Giganti)
1. Materialism and Idealism
 2. Dialectics and Scientific Method
 3. Historical Materialism Political Economy (conducted by Al. Glotzer)
 1. Commodity Production
 2. Labor theory of Value
 3. Surplus Value

- Politics (conducted by N. Satir)
1. Political Structure—The State
 2. The Political Party of the Proletariat
 3. Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics
- The first session will be held on Wednesday, February 15, 8:30 P. M., at 1214 N. Washenau. All those wishing to enroll should come directly to the class or call the secretary by phone, Webster 1279 for information.

SHACHTMAN AT BROOKWOOD Max Shachtman will speak on the Left Opposition in the Communist movement before the student body at Brookwood School, Katonah, N. Y., on Friday, February 24, 1933.

GERMAN CAMPAIGN

Chicago Advances With Campaign

Chicago.—Chicago's reaction to the German campaign of the Left Opposition was immediate. The meeting to organize the campaign was held last night with members of Spartacus Youth Club, Unser Kampf Club (Left Opposition) and a few party comrades in attendance. The enthusiasm of the comrades was manifest throughout the meeting. Many speakers took the floor with suggestions on how best to carry on the campaign in Chicago.

The most important point on the agenda was the assignment of comrades to sell the new thrice-a-week Militant before workers' organizations and meetings. Practically the whole city will be covered in the next few weeks with the message of the Left Opposition to the German events. The Chicago workers that have already been contacted through our German campaign are appreciating the efforts of the Communist Left to raise the German Communist Party from its Stalinist political stupor.

In the meantime the effects of the campaign are making themselves felt within the ranks of the party itself. The frightened party bureaucrats have not organized any mass meetings on Germany yet. The Chicago organization of the Left Opposition however, is holding a mass meeting in the "Loop" at Redifer Hall, Sunday, the 19th, another the following Sunday, Feb. 26, 3 P. M. at Division and Western (Mirror Hall) with comrade Hugo Oehler as main speaker. Our South Side group will organize a meeting on the South Side very shortly

—J. GIGANTI.

200 SOLD IN FEW HOURS

In a few hours, comrade Jim Carr of the New York branch sold 200 copies of the "New Militant" at a cent a copy in the 14th Street vicinity. Other comrades have sold from 50 to 150 copies in a few hours. The absorbing interest with which the militants are following our paper in these crucial hours is a guarantee of the advance of the Left Opposition.

HUNDREDS SOLD IN N. Y.

Nat Levine, Left Opposition sympathizer in New York, sold 117 copies of the Militant on the preceding Friday and 200 copies on the following Sunday in front of the Labor Temple. He reports wide interest in the three-times-a-week Militant and its efforts to present thoroughly the situation in Germany. Mac Cudler, another sympathizer, has also been active in the sale of the Militant and in the securing of subscriptions.

Pledge Solidarity at Cleveland Meet

Cleveland.—At a big demonstration called by the Unemployed Council on Market Square (West Side) today, workers protesting against Mayor Miller's "plan" for forced labor and demanding cash relief from the city-controlled Associated Charities, also echoed the cry for solidarity with the German proletariat faced with the attempt of the Fascist Hitler regime to exterminate their organizations, to suppress their military and to prepare Germany for a spearhead position in an imperialist aggression against the workers' fatherland—the USSR.

On the march to the Square and at the demonstration, prominent banners were displayed linking the struggle of the unemployed with the fight against German Fascism, with such slogans as: "In Cleveland—Miller wants Forced Labor. In Germany—Hitler." "Long Live the International Solidarity of the German and American Workers against Forced Labor, against Hitler and Fascism."

On the Square, after speeches by unemployed militants and party members, comrade Sam Gordon of the Left Opposition, was asked by party workers and sympathizers to address the crowd. In a short, but impassioned speech, the comrade from the Left Opposition sounded the call for active support of the German proletariat in their desperate struggle against the Hitler hordes. He showed the relation between the struggle of the American unemployed and the German workers, pointing out the meaning of Hitler's coming into power, showing the danger of a Fascist German attack against the Soviet Union. Exposing the role of the yellow German social democracy in paving the road for Fascism he continued with an explanation of the need for the immediate establishment of a united front against the Hitler hordes which the Communist party alone can do by directly challenging the social democratic fakers to join in the fight, in this way showing the way out to the socialist workers and arousing their pressure against the leadership. He called upon the workers present to demand that the Communist party take this course and ended up with a cheer for the international solidarity of the working class in the struggle against hunger, war and Hitlerism. The speech was greeted with a good round of applause.

A march followed to the headquarters of the Associated Charities at which a Committee of unemployed presented demands.

—S. G.

S.L.P. Treachery In Springfield

Springfield, Ill.—The Socialist Labor Party of Springfield, "like the Plebs Leaders of old have become a strategic post of peculiar strength for the patriate and of mischief for the proletariat.... the work of enslaving and slowly degrading the working class"—to quote Daniel DeLeon.

The issue in the Illinois miners struggle is clear. On the one side, you have the whole machinery of the capitalist class; on the other side you have the working-class, and it is the duty of all class-conscious workers to give the keenest support and to stand on the side of the workers whenever a strike or any other conflict for improved conditions of labor occurs either as a spontaneous action of the workers or as a result of action taken by a labor organization. And by doing this the class conscious workers do not for a minute lose sight of the revolutionary goal.

But the Socialist Labor Party of Springfield at its recent meeting by a majority vote decided to become scabs, to help the Lewis-Peabody machine defeat the Progressive Miners of America and to force the miners back under the conditions of the coal operators. And so, with the exception of two rank and file members who tore up their party cards in the face of these labor-fakers, Fred Koch, Lawrence Lamb, A. J. DeWitt, Erl-off and Joe Brown, these staunch S. L. P. members went back to scab in a body under the Lewis-Peabody company union. And this isn't all. Fred Koch, former national organizer and the apex of the S. L. P. in the state of Illinois, takes his young son and this youth is introduced and initiated to all the chicanery in the art of being a professional strikebreaker by his SLP father as his first job.

Lawrence Lamb, another old "DeLeonite", like a good flunkey, turns over to the Lewis gang all the material property which belonged to over six hundred rank and file members who broke away from the Lewis machine and joined the Progressive Miners of America.

A. J. DeWitt, the secretary of the Springfield branch of the SLP wrote to his two brothers in Harco, Illinois, to come to Springfield and help break the P. M. A. His two brothers came to Springfield and got jobs as strikebreakers at one of the Peabody mines. Then one night after a so-called union meeting of the UMWA which was held in the wash-house at the mine and which was presided over by the mine superintendent and at which there was plenty of booze, the two brothers started out for their hotel in an automobile and on the hard-road got into a wreck and both were killed. Truly, the Springfield SLP has become an gut filled full of a lot of excretion.

All this recalls an incident. About a month before the recent national presidential elections, the SLP called a mass meeting in Springfield. The members of the Left Opposition present at that meeting exposed these labor fakers as agents of the bosses. These same SLP fakers threatened to throw the members of the Left Opposition out of the meeting hall, because they insisted on their right to defend Communism. But the SLPers were prevented from doing this because of the militancy of the workers present. Since that meeting and this latest betrayal, the workers that were present at that meeting have become fully convinced that the position that the Left Opposition took against these labor fakers is correct.

—JOSEPH ANGELO.

ABERN AT BOSTON MEET

A mass meeting at which the German situation today will be analyzed and the reasons given for the Left Opposition demand for a united front to smash Hitler, is to be held in Boston on Sunday night, March 5, 1933, 8 P. M., at Belmont Hall, 150 Humbolt Ave., Roxbury, Mass. The meeting, under the auspices of the Boston branch of the League, will be addressed by Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the organization, and by comrade Antoinette F. Konikow. All workers are urgently invited to attend the meeting and hear the standpoint of the Opposition.

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