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PRICE 1 CENT

To Delay Anti-Nazi United Front Is Fatal

How Can Fascism Be Hesitation at This Smashed in Germany

By Leon Trotsky

"The Workers' United Front a-

ists against us.

mon front of direct struggle against essar to have a map of the Fasc- foot. Fascism, embracing the entire pro- ist barracks and all other Fascist letariat, must be utilized in the strongholds, in every city and in struggle against the social democracy directed as a flank attack attempting to encircle the revolubut no less effective for all that.

It is necessary to show by deeds a complete readiness to make a bloc with the social democrats against the Fascists in all cases in which they will accept a bloc. To say to the social democratic workers: "Cast your leaders aside and join 'non-party' united front" means to add just one more hollow phrase to a thousand others. We must understand how to tear the workers away from their leaders in reality. But reality today is—the struggle against Fascism. There are and doubtless will be social democratic workers who are Fascists, regardless of the desires Chicago, Manny Geltman, member for the time that is necessary to from their treacherous leaders in the closest possible contact. At to allow the name of the Left Opwell as its weak sides. The overwhelming majority of the social democratic workers will fight on permanent continuations com- to abolish capitalism. Or two, against the Fascists, but—for the mittee. This however I did not do that history has produced but one present at least—only together with on the basis of the program there organization which can lead the their organizations. This stage adopted. My purpose was to pre- proletariat to victory over capicannot be skipped. We must help sent and defend the Communist talism, the Communist party. In the social democratic workers in position, more particularly the pro- any case no united front of diverse action-in this new and extraordinary situation—to test the value League of America (Opposition) to overthrow capitalism. Similarly of their organizations and leaders in statement and resolution at the is this true on the problem of war at this time, when it is a matter of conference, I find it necessary to which so much involves the fate life and death for the working

We Must Force the Social Democracy into a Bloc Against the Fascists

The trouble is that in the Central Committee of the Communist party That is, it could promise nothing there are many frightened opporfense of workers' printshops bodies which could pledge their against Fascist bands.

Election agreements, parliamentbreaker, signified, on the part of general, rather than to jointly con- House, and the speakers are Carl

the Stalinists, a policy of betrayal. duct specific activities. Consequ-No common platform with the ers of the German trade unions, no OPEN FORUM common publications, banners, placards! March separately, but strike whom to strike, and when to strike! Such an agreement can be concluded even with the devil himself with his grandmother and even with Noske and Grzezinsky. On one condition, not to bind one's own

It is necessary, without any deaim of merely "exposing" the so-

ed activity on the part of the fac- fatal to the proletarian movement written on December 8, 1931, is the workers' organizations and in-clearly expressed and clearly folof intense importance right now. stitutions, the question of arsenals lowed through. The thousands upon thousands of that may be seized by the Fascists, ism to Communism. But for that the coordination of the actions of now acknowledges this in words-

> every district. The Fascists are tionary strongholds. The encirclers must be encircled. On this basis,

> > (Continued on Page 2)

Time Is a Crime! The most urgent need in Ger-| proletariat is divided into two | strategical goal but also in their many today is clarity. Half-way main camps: reformism (social tactics for the every day and im-

must become an anti-Fascist bul- is imperative if the German prole-The front must be directed wark, with its own commandants tariat is not to be delivered to the its most advanced section. It de- will triumph. They have confidagainst Fascism. And this com- and its own batallions. It is nec- Fascist butchers bound hand and

Opposition's Stand

What does the Left Opposition advocate? Nothing more or less than the policy jointly advocated by Lenin and Trotsky in the early years of the Comintern, applied to the present German situation. The

GELTMAN DENOUNCES BARBUSSE MASQUERADE IMPOSED

At the Chicago Students Con- ference forgot that to abolish im-

gress against War I was accepted perialist wars it is first necessary

posals made by the Communist political composition can undertake

resign from the Committee for the of capitalism. Any united front

measures, confusion, ambiguity, democratic) and revolution (Com- mediate questions, that by experi-We reprint here a section from fense organizations, of unhamper- twistings and turnings—these are munist) Each of these camps is ence the workers will realize furgainst Fascism" which, although tory councils, the inviolability of which needs a clear line of action, with millions of followers. Fasc- only true and effective leaders. ism threatens to exterminate both The only road to the smashing of first and the reformist section af- own banners, their right to free Noskes, Welses and Hilferdings the question of measures in the Fascism is the united front of the ter it—at times the order of anni-criticism of their temporary allies prefer, in the last analysis, Fasc- case of an emergency, that is, of German working class. Everybody hilation is not even separated and -they have nothing to fear from they must once and for all tear the Communist and the social dem- even the Stalinists. The Left Op- at the same time. The whole front) with the social democracy. themselves loose from the workers. ocratic divisions in the struggle, position differs from the Stalinists working class is imbued with a Those who have a secret fear that Todav this is not yet the case. To- etc., etc., must be dealt with in not only by the fact that the lat- deep, irreconcilale hatred of Fasc- the social democratic leaders are day the social democracy as a this program.

In the struggle against Fascism, duestion of the united front, but gonisms, is forced into sharp conflict with the Fascists. It is our mendously important position. Here confusion into the minds of the moment. The Communists have world to fear from a counterposing task to take advantage of this con- a particularly precise program of working class precisely at the mo- no interests separate and apart of their policy and leadership in flict and not to unite the antagon- action is necessary. Every factory ment when a maximum of clarity from the interests of the working the united front to those of the so-

> the whole class for a struggle to the bitter end to crush Fascism. The socialist workers do not yet believe in the need of the dictatorship of the proletariat; that is essentially why they are still in the social democracy (we leave aside

for the moment the fact that Stal inist blunders help to keep them there) and are not yet prepared to fight for a Bolshevik revolution. They are prepared to go along even with the Bolsheviks to fight the common enemy of Fascism. The Communists must make it possible UPON LEFT STUDENTS AT CHICAGO CONFERENCE ON WAR for them to ally themselves with PROBLEM; DEMANDS DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEE the Communist workers in the fight. This can be done at the present time by an alliance between In a signed statement presented ent upon this orientation the uni- the Communist party, and the Soto the permanent committee formed ted front there effected has the apcial Democratic party to which the

bers of the Boston district of its of Shechet for the last few months or even against the desires of the of the Communist League of Am- accomplish certain specific aims, the course of this joint struggle, organization. Comrades Charlottle have been to disrupt the work of the special democratic organization. democratic organizations erica (Opposition) who was elected the present National Committee is for we proceed from the theory that Shechet and William Konikov, the I. L. D. constantly trying to with such progressive elements it is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference, is obviously necessary to establish in the committee at the conference at the conferen The same might, and should be it, to make rotten compromises with of their branch, were thrown out ing to substitute educational work the present time, however, they are not great in number. The German worker has been raised in the Stalin-Barbusse masquerade.

We give here some excerpts the some excerpts the spirit of organization and of discovered to the worker has been raised in the spirit of organization and of discovered to allow the name of the Left Opposition to be used as a cover for said of the American Committee of the enemy—in short, to render the enemy—in short, to render the in typically Stalinist manner—on the spirit of organization and of discovered the spirit of the spirit of the intervent comptonises with of the enemy—in short, to render the enemy—in short, to render the enemy—in short, to render the organization and shows either organization and shows either, or both, of two spirit of organization and organization and organization and shows either organization and shows either organization and shows either organization and organization and shows either organization and organization and organization and shows either organization and shows either organization and organizatio spirit of organization and of discipline. This has its strong as presented to the Committee:

we give here some except, of work, of two socialist workers do not yet real-fearing the criticism of these complitudes and fearing the criticism of these complitudes and fearing the spread of decisions and against the I. L. D. They will realize it in the pro- those Communist ideas which National and District leadership. cess of the struggle-by their own would build the I. L. D. as a real Konikov joined the branch only reexperience. We proceed further mass organization and thereby ex-cently. Konikov's action consisted from the idea that the Communists pose the true character of these according to his own statement: "I are so superior not only in their self appointed "leaders" excluded am sending out these things (The

Appeal for Aid to Readers

(Opposition) to all the readers of THE MILITANT:

You have already learned from

We have undertaken this great workers will support our initiative of young workers to the slaughter with your solidarity and financial

In these fateful days for the international proletarian movement, it is the Left Opposition alone that The Minneapolis branch of the terprets the events and shows the Communist workers the way to Every

Myles B. Dunne will act as chair- ary times. We ask you to give a special contrbution to the Militant. Your help is desperately needed and will especially appreciated now.

> J. P. Cannon USE THIS BLANK

organized into distinct parties, ther that the Communists are their

Providing that the Communists of them, the revolutionary section retain their independence, their both suffer from the same blows the alliance (i. e., from the united class as a whole; they are only cial democracy. They know which volves upon them, therefore, to ence in themselves and in the sound take the initiative in mobilizing class consciousness of the masses.

> The Stalinist Position What do the Stalinists advocate? The "united front from below" un-"revolutionary leadership". This is a recruiting campaign for the party, but not the united front.

> > (Continued on Page 2)

LeagueObeysU.S.A. InMoveAgainstJapan The League's voluminous report on price demanded from Japan-at-

Japanese aggression in China gives tack on the Soviet Union-has been the clearest evidence of America's deferred too long to suit the single respect does the League's marching further North, Japan has position differ from the one enun- set her face South in China, much eral occasions. It can be said that report states: "Early in January, are in opposition to those of Japan. way between Peiping and Mukden. That is true but does not negate American dominance.

The League demands Chinese sovereignity over Manchuria, but also requires that China grant autonomy to the three provinces. The report gives recognition also to Japan's special interests in Manchuria. Thus the League grants to Japan its right to a "sphere of influence" in North China but it is not ready to see this sphere turned into an outright colony. Diplomacy works only through quid pro quos. through concessions or payments made for services rendered. At the mement, America has more to offer the League than Japan. The

dominating world positon. In no League. Furthermore instead of ciated by Secretary Stimson on sev- to the League's chagrin. Thus the the interests of the great powers, 1933, occurred the serious incidents in this instance, coincide with the at Shanhaikwan, situated at the interests of U. S. imperalism and extremity of the Great Wail, half-This city has always been regarded as of great strategic importance. It is on the route followed by invaders who, coming from Manchuria, wish to penetrate in:o what is now the province of Hopei. Moreover, from Hopei is the easiest

> "International Cooperation" The League, in short, cannot pos-

route into Jehol..

sily ailow vast sections of China to become Japanese colonies. proposes international cooperation in Uninese the present political instability in China is an ostacle to friendship with Japan and an anxiety (!) to the rest of the world (as the maintenance of peace in the Far East is a matter of international concern) and since the conditions enumerated above cannot be fuifilled without a scrong central govern-I. L. D. BUREAUCRATS EXPEL TWO ACTIVE MILITANTS ON for a satisfactory solution is temment in China, the final requisite FRAME-UP CHARGE OF "STEALING MAILING LIST"; REAL porary cooperation in the internal reconstruction of China, as sug-REASON SHOWN TO BE THAT THEY ARE OPPOSTIONISTS gested by the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen." Lest there be any doubt as to the League's great altruism in desiring ics hegemony rather than Japan's in the "maintenance of peace" (no doubt by gunboat practise on the shores of the Yangtse) we are given or the Chinese central government by the extension or the "rights of extraterritoriality for three years to England, the U.S. and France. Nanking announced the abrogation of these rights in January 1930, and again in January 1931. But under cover of the present situation the powers (not the League, but the powers" in the League!) have orced this concession as part pay-

ment for their stand against Japan. The reason why Japan never cormality declared war on China is that no "strong central government", in fact no government at all, exists in China, according to the Japanese generals whose sole desire is, of course, the maintenance of law and order so that civilization may survive. "All the chinese soldiers are handits." say the official Japanese spokesman. One wonders whether Washington is capable fo wincing it the indelicate use of American aiplomatic language. The League is in full accord with Japan's views on China, but prefers, strangely enough, its own methods and interests for carving China to suit the

powers. Even in its present report the League straddles on the issue so that it has freedom to move in the 'proper" direction with events. As Streit observes in the N. Y. Times. "The report nowhere in so many words declares Japan the agressor, or the violator of the Convenant... This manner of expression is due to the fact that the great League powers are torn between the desire to maintain the sanctity of he Covenant and the fear of having to maintain it with its sanc--J. W.

BULLETIN Germania, official organ of the Catholic Center Party and personal organ of Heinrich Bruening during his Chancellorship (which the Stalinists announced in its time as the "Fascist dictatorship"), has just been suppressed by the Hitler regime for printing its own election manifesto. The 300 other Prussian organs of the Center party are similarly threatened. The terror regime of the Nazis now extends over a wide

A class on the history and principles of the International Left not out of any moral considerations kind. Our fight will go on to the to each session is fifteen cents; the that we oppose terroristic actions end.

—G. C. full course is \$1.00.

front. Fascism cannot really

triumph without crushing even the

most innocuously bourgeois "dem-

ocratic" institutions.

Boston I.L.D. Expels Two The I. L. D. is proceeding well; Vanzetti Branch (Boston) and used in its work of unification. As a this list to circularize the Branch prepared to fight hand in hand with at the socalled united front anti- pearance of a permanent organiza- socialist workers are still attached. step in this direction it has ex- membership with the Trotskyite the Communist workers against the war conference of the students in tion. Instead of a body existing The latter will be broken away pelled two of the most active mem- paper, the Militant. The actions

comrades Shechet and Konikov on Militant and notices of meetings)." flagrantly falsified grounds so as to cover up the splitter's character the nature of these charges, on the of their action. The District Executive Committee of the New England District parent frame-up. The statement

The following appeal was issued ings brought out that Shechet and today by the national office of the Konikov had stolen the member-Communist League of America ship list and records of the Sacco-

Dear Comrades:

the Militant of the great enterprises of the Left Opposition in response to the crisis in Germany—the publication of the Militant three times

sounds the alarm, explains and inof the Militant is a weight in the Your contribution now, at this crit ical moment, is of a hundred-fold greater importance than at ordin-

meetings now being arranged by 126 East 16th Street the Boston branch of the Opposition | Enclosed herewith is \$...... on the significance of the crisis in as a special contribution to help is not the method of the Commun-Germany. Comrade Abern will publish the Militant three times a ists. We do not support individual

in its statement on the expuision of the two comrades makes the following charges:

Yours fraternally,

Secretary. scheduled to speak at a number of The Militant

speak in Boston, Peabody and in week during the German crisis. all probability one more locality. Name The meetings will be held on March 3, 4, and 5, 1933. Further details Address will appear in the coming issues of

(Continued on Page 2) Lynching Campaign Against Zangara

The jackal press has let loose a of an individual character. The veritable furore against the would-blood of proletarian fighters covers be-killer of Franklin D. Roosevelt the hands of the capitalist hirelings. This same ruling class to which afterthought, which sent millions nimity sets up a lynching howl against Zangara—a product of the self-same system. How shallow does this indignation sound from the pen prostitutes who lose no opportunity to sanction a Negro lynching in the bourbon South!

"This investigation and the meet-

It is not Cermak, mayor of Chicago (who is responsible for the shooting of demonstrating unemployed), but Zangara who is the victim of this affair. Four years of starvation have not failed to leave their effects upon the working class. It has aroused bitter resentment in the hearts of the oppressed. Zangara attempt on the life of the president-elect is a misguided expression of this burning discontent. It is the intensive exploitation, and the years of hunger regime that drove Zangara to this desperate expedient-those who reap the wind sow the whirlwind. - The method which Zangara chose

to indicate his opposition to the rule of the parasitic capitalist class terror. On the contrary, the annals of the revolutionary movement is rich in its implacable opposition to

the death of hundreds of workers it is they who sent sacco-vanzeiti task-which involves heavy addi- and their families by starvation is to a hideosu death. It is they who tional financial burdens — without just a daily event, which murders not Tom Mooney in a living tomb any resources except our confidence workers on the picket without an tor a crime which the whole workers knows he never committed. The house of the world war with equaday of reckoning with the barons rive. But it was never advance one step by marviousi terrorism. White a capitalist society exists the death of any one of these officials Wh change nothing. There are hunareas, hay, thousands of tackeys who can and will take the place o the ometats. What is responsible for the wretched conditions of today is not the individual, but the class system of capitalism. And the way to aboush the system is not by petty-pourgeois, anarchist terror but by united action of the million masses in determined struggie against all forms of class oppression. It is only on this scienune Marxian basis that we take our stand against individual ac

....etc., etc., ad nauseum. From

basis of past experience, it is not

difficult to see into this very ap-

of the expelled comrades confirms

our suspicion. Their statement is

a smashing reply to the lies of the

I. L. D. bureaucrats. Concerning

the alleged theft of the mailing

list the prosecutors were forced to

italist class cannot mask the priva- sions, every Wednesday evening, tion into which it has driven the with Max Shachtman, editor of the

this petty bourgeois tactic. It is masses by a "red herring" of this Militant, as lecturer. Admission

City State that we oppose terroristic actions end.

tion. With the same vigor we will stand against any attempt to lynch or persecute the real victim, Zan-Undoubtedly, the master class will try to utilize this event to Opposition will begun this Wednesstir up an "anti-red" hysteria or day evening, February 22, 1933, at some sort of a drive against the the International Workers' School, foreign-born revolutionary workers. 126 East 16th Street, at 8 P. M. But our position is clear. The cap- The class will run for eight ses-

tunists. They have heard that op- at Amsterdam last summer the portunism consists of a love for call, instigated by the National blocs, and that is why they are Student League as the other had against blocs. They do not understand the difference between, let tional, went out in the name of a Oehler Tour: us say, a parliamentary agreement series of individuals, teachers and and an-ever-so modest agreement students, who represented no one for struggle in a strike or in de-but themselves. Thus no organized

support in the carrying out of the conference decisions assured the ary compromises concluded between conference of success in its achievethe revolutionary party and the so- ments.... cial democracy serve, as a rule, to the advantage of the social dem- ested in the formation, deliberaocracy. Practical agreements for tions and consequences of the conmass action, for purposes of strug- gress. Most notably, a misundergle are always useful to the revistanding of the united front tactic olutionary party. The Anglo-Rus- was shown. Though the confersian Committee was an impermissi- ence in its resolutions does someble type of bloc of two leaderships where state that it is a united on one common political platform, front of action, the distinction was organized a mass meeting to be their international duty. vague, deceptive, binding no one to not at any time clearly marked, held Thursday, February 23, 1933 dollar that is contributed to supany action at all. The mainten- in fact the entire affair was ori- on the crisis in Germany and the port the thrice-a-week publication ance of this bloc at the time of the ented to the contrary, to a united standpoint of the Left Opposition. General Strike, when the General front on propaganda; that is, to The meeting is to be held in the scale for the German working class. Council assumed the role of strike- agitate against imperialist war in Mayor's reception room, Court

social democracy, or with the leadunitedly! Agree only how to strike, hands.

lay, finally to elaborate a practical system of measures-not with the cial democracy (before the Communists), but with the aim of actual struggle against Fascism. The question of factory de-

German Meetings

must understand its limited func-

tion and duration. To do other-

wise is to deceive, consciously or

unconsciously, and to breed a mire

(Continued on Page 2)

YOUNGSTOWN. OHIO Tuesday, Feb. 21—8 P. M. CENTRAL AUDITORIUM 225 W. Boardman St. CLEVELAND, OHIO Wednesday, Feb. 22 PAINTERS HALL 2030 Euclid Ave. Chicago, Ill.—Feb. 24, 25, 26

Skoglund and Vincent R. Dunne.

man. Admission is free and all

ABERN TO SPEAK IN BOSTON

Martin Abern, member of the Na-

workers are cordially invited.

the Militant.

Davenport, Iowa-Feb. 27 MINNEAPOLIS MASS MEETING Communist League of America has

Several other errors were mani-

following reasons:

From its very inception the con-

gress could promise nothing so far

as the proper position on the strug-

gle against war was concerned.

but confusion. Repeating the flasco

been by the Communist Interna-

BONAPARTISM and THERMIDOR

THE CRISIS IN THE SOVIET UNION

MAX SHACHTMAN Friday, February 24, 8 P. M. 126 East 16th Street,

ADMISSION: 15c

N. Y. Br. Communist League of

America (Opposition)

tional Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is Speaker:

admit that out of the 100 names only 15 were circularized with the more and more often. They fear of bureaucratic stupidity, or what the comrades slings the accusation to another subject they return to aid to Fascism. into the teeth of the depraved Stal- it anew. Among the old party inites. (1) How does it happen that cadres no one believes in "his counout of the 100 names only 15 were ter-revolutionary character." They same month sixty-five Militants speak, to explain. They recall the were circulated? (3) Of these 65 civil war, where and how Trotsky names about two-thirds were spoke. In these same circles, they ning with August, three months be- an organization"? There is very fore the alleged theft. (5) Comrade little information on the work of Konikov offered the Executive the the Left Opposition abroad. quote their statement:

"They had let us into the I. L. D. ILD activities. Comrade Shechet will shoot us by the thousands." particularly had put so much energy into the ILD work that the

support of A. F. of L. and I. W. O. locals for the ILD. The John Reed Branch elected her to its Executive ILD and of course like all bureau- Department. crats blamed it on the member if the membership were responsicalling the Mooney Conference.... calling the Scottsboro conference called for a resolution against the of the C. P. of China, comrade Schechet suggested that the name Biedencapp answer her? Not in the comrades in the ILD why we cussion) accepted the opposite prowere expelled just after comrade posal... Biedenkapp's visit when all the

"We herewith charge the officialdom of the ILD with sabotaging from the Party (Zinoviev, Kameney the work of the ILD. We challenge etc.) demonstrates that they have them to answer comrade Shechet's decided to persevere in their ignor-questions on the two sabotaged contact. The plenum confirmed the problem has already been solved. The "united from below" is postulated on the theory of "social postulated on the th duestions on the two sabotaged con-ferences. We refer them to the sections on "self criticism" in the leadership. The cause of fender, and we charge them with not having made one change in conformity with the "self criticism" of "bureaucracy" and "too many

our branches, and whatever hap regime, under which even a good party, or to approach it officially pens we assure our comrades that idea, a correct instruction takes with a concrete proposal for tem- 35-36.)

GOOD SALES IN BOSTON

gave 30 away free. We are de-sheviks.... lighted with the good work done in New York.'

Militant and that these lists were to speak of him, only a remark is is still worse, because of cowardstolen in November. The reply of thrown out, then passing quickly ice) is to give direct and immediate scattered as far as New Hampshire speak of Rakovsky with respect. (The I. L. D. branch list included "Unfortunately, he is in Siberia". only Boston names). (4) These 65 They inquire, "What is Trotsky names received the Militant begin-doing, what has he written, has he

privilege of examining his mailing An old party member said: "Surelists. Naturally they did nothing ly Lenin would not be angry with about it. The facts speak for them- me if I take off Stalin's portrait selves. But what is the real which is hung near his and place reason for the expulsion? We in its stead Trotsky's. We need Ilyitch "(this is very frequent). as known members of the Opposi- functionary: "It will be better if ocratic worker can say to himself: present. We approach the question. We had done everything that Trotsky returns". Others add What the Communists propose is tion of the struggle against him the officialdom let us do to support with fright: "If he returns they completely indispensable for the differently: by explaining the weak-

themselves towards Trotsky and democratic workers along with us against Kornilov). comrades were talking about it." Rakovsky in this manner, it is by our example, and criticize their She was active in canvassing in quite another matter among the leaders who will inevitably serve as the Negro section; in obtaining youth. They know only Stalin. Piatnitsky recently spoke at the

"Society of Old Bolsheviks". In his Committee. And this comrade is speech he sounded a strongly capicalled a disrupter and an enemy tulatory note to Fascism. Fasc- Lenin, like to cover up their short- allow the freedom of the Communof the working class! The state- ism is vanquished. But the center comings on every occasion that ist party to be limited (for examment continues further: "The real —is Poland. The revolution is offers itself with quotations—often ple, like entrance into the Kuo immediate reason for our expulsion closer there than anywhere else. can be traced to a recent visit of This capitulatory note displeased comrade Biedenkapp when he spoke many. They have no perspective. quotation but by means of the corat the District Conference. He The C. I. is subordinated to the rect method. If one is guided by depicted the sad condition of the interests of the Foreign Affairs

At a meeting of the bureau of ship. Comrade Shechet asked him the Moscow Committee they decided the Kornilov insurrection, I said to Rosa Luxemburg will be presented power, it will ride over your skills to construct an ice house on the myself: We can probably find a at the proper time, just as the Rus- and spines like a terrific tank. ble for the three-months delay in Red Square. They called in about theoretical elucidation of our bloc sian Bolsheviks finally presented a Your salvation lies in merciless thirty experts for this subject. Af- with the conciliators in the strug- general reckoning to the Menshe struggle. And only a fighting un-She asked him if the membership ter lengthy examination—they degle against Kornilov, in Lenin. And wike and Social-Revolutionists for the delay in cided to build it. The experts left, here is what I actually found in the they went on to the second point second part of Vol. XIV of the Rus- and murder of workers, soldiers haste, worker-Communists, you until a few weeks before the trial on the agenda. Suddenly Kagan sian edition, in a letter of Lenin so that no time was left for action ovitch came (always late!). He to the Central Committee, written ... Also when comrade Bicdenkapp interrupted the speaker and asked at the beginning of September, what they had decided on the first 1917: arrest of comrade Ping, secretary point. Having learned that they had decided to build, Kaganovitch answered: "This is foolishness", and of comrade Chen Du Siu be added proposed not to build the ice-house. to the resolution...Did comrade The proposal was unanimously accepted, even though they had prewords, but in expulsions! We ask viously (after three hours of dis-

Unfortunately, one must say, that "facts" on the stealing of the despite the grave dangers threatenmembership list were known since ing the proletarian state, the Stalinist bureaucracy has remained report of the National Convention the leaversmp. The cause of "democratic" wing of the bounger K. P. D. and the SPD. Among the cracks in the execution of the oisie and the extreme Fascist anti-other things he said as follows, to a fighting united front, and now other things he said as follows, to other things he said as follows, the other things he said as follows, the other things he said as follows, the other things he said as follows. of monetary circulation and all treme. What this theory has in we will continue to work for the on an astonishing malformation in porary united front on concrete its realization, under which party CHARLOTTE SCHECHET. | thought is completely strangled-WILLIAM M. KONIKOV." not a word on this. The answer ranks of the Party and the "mid-better yet, the counter-revolution- Fascism, must be sharply critic- man party, is not known to us, and The Boston comrades write: "We dle" section of the apparatus is sold yesterday 70 Militants at a more expulsions from the party, This can be read any day in the Forum where Muste spoke and we more arrests, more exiling of Bol-

Moscow--Early October, 1932.

German Opposition Overwhelmingly Against the Handful of Capitulators of the German party Thaelmann, full full manufacture for hours against the

BERLIN.-The Stalinist asser-| given there for Well and Co. tion that the German Left Opposition has disintegrated, supported of Fritz Buechner (Leipzig) voted attitude which found its expression by the forgery of an issue of the for the "program" of the capitulat- in an article entitled 'Change of tarian Unity. The purpose of this Permanent Revolution", the organ ors. Well and Senin lied in obof the German Left Opposition, is taining ten telegraphic signatures. Which have been drawn from the tion of the unity of action of the refuted by the action of the branch- It is a swindle to say that Well, es of the German Opposition with Senin. etc., constitted the major S. P. D. in the above-mentioned respect to the handful of capitu- ity of the National Committee. Of article, are substantially on a par need for a united front so much lators who made the forgery possi- twelve members of the National with the proposals of the Berlin greater in France than in Ger-

The following branches, in reso- side of Well. lutions addressed to the German It is also a swindle to say that National Committee, have either they had a majority for their plat- of joint demonstrations, and which icy"? demanded the exclusion of the capi- form on the editorial staff of the were rightly rejected by the Cen- France? Is Paul Faure one hair'stulators, R. Well, Senin, etc., or "Permanente Revolution". expressed their solidarity with the decisions of the National Commit- Lovestone and the Capitulators

Koenigsberg, Beuthen, Bautzen, Dresden, Bruchsal, Karlsruhe, Kais- our exposure of the forged issue the Berlin-Brandenburg district erslautern, Mainz, Neustadt a, H., of "Die Permanente Revolution", leadership to the "Iron Front" Mannheim, Frankfurt, Cologne, Solingen, Gelsenkirchen, Essen, Erkenschwieck, Remscheidt, Hamburg, Berlin, Oranienburg, Birkenwerder, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Rinteln.

For reasons that will be readily understood we do not enumerate its organ contained a full page ap- by the leaders of the Berlin Disthe inner-party fractions.

In Leipzig, where the capitulators were able to gather only 26 signatures, the most inactive part of the organization capitulated. Twothirds of the group stands with

Bruchsal of which the capitulators wrote that it would "probably" join them, and which alone has falsehoods should be repeated. tional Committee. Not a vote was ranks those who have not yet join ask Gitlow....

stone paper, which appeared after published by the Well group of ca- movement to hold a joint demonpitulators which makes the ex- stration against Fascism, is most cuse of "ignorance" untenable—un- appropriate here. smilingly reports that "the group 'Die Permanente Revolution' has capitulated and gone back to the official C.P.G. The last issue of the S. P. D. The proposal made the state of the S. P. D. The proposal made the state of the state of the S. P. D. The proposal made the state of t peal for unconditional return to the party! This leaves the 'Interna- ed the Social Democratic Party but German party propose a united tional Left Opposition' without a who are quite ready to join the Sta- front against Fascism to the social group in Germany." Even if the lin faction on the "proper terms". democracy, it prints (2-17-1933) American Right wing (which Love- In Czechoslovakia. too, the Right with the utmost unconcern, as if stone also unsmilingly reports to wing is not "without a group"; there were not the slightest conhave 900 members) can only publish its paper once a month, this is Czech social democracy. As for lowing correspondence from Berlin,

more members than the capitulations are able to show "signatures", a group in Germany", as we know; to the Stalinists. Really—just try lock. Read it carefully and stands unanimously with the Nathat is, it has remaining in its lim and see. Just try him. Or, compare it with the dunderheaded man proletariat.

2 Expelled

A Letter from the U.S.S.R. How Can Fascism Be Smashed?

Continued from Page 1)

an agreement with the social democratic and trade union organization of the present time, we ing between Kerensky and Kornare not duty-bound to support the idea, between the "democratic" and trade union organization of the present time, we ing between the "democratic" and trade union organization of the present time, we ing between the "democratic" and trade union organization of the present time, we inglife the present time, we include the present time, and the present time, we include the present time, and the present time, and the present time, and the present time, are present time, and the present time, and

ocratic and trade union organizations is not only permissible, but

A practical program of agree-ments with the social democratic "We shall fight, we are fighting ments with the social democratic a quarter ago. What has the lead- gotten. ership undertaken in this direction. mittee of the Communist party has lilov insurrection?" taken up everything except that way is victory possible.

A Good Quotation from Lenin entirely irrelevant. For Marxists, Min Tang). We are not of their the question is not decided by a

"Even at the present time, we ing between Kerensky and Kornare not duty-bound to support the ilov, between the "democrats" and Kerensky government. That would the Fascists—in order to drive Philly Meeting be unprincipled. It is asked: then back the Fascists all the more cerwe are not to fight against Korn- tainly. Only thanks to this cira duty. To reject this for reasons ilov? Of course we are. But that cumstance were we victorious. We hear the name of Trotsky of "principle" (in reality because is not one and the same thing. There is a limit to this; it is be who fall into "conciliatonism" and the Communist Party of Germany reaucrats to call an Anti-Fascist must make their own revolution. allow themselves to be driven by

workers was proposed by us as far against Kornilov but we do not circularized? (2) That in the remember Trotsky's ability to back as September 1930. (The support Kerensky, we are uncover-Turn n the Comintern and the Sit- ing his weaknesses. The distincuation in Germany, published by tion is rather delicate, but highly The Militant), that is, a year and important, and must not be for-

"In this, that we are varying the ers. which constitutes its direct task. forms of struggle against Kerensky. time has been lost! As a matter of to him even by one single note, fact, not much time is left. The without taking back one word practical, strictly objective, to the him, without giving up the task of point, without any of those artifical overwhelming Kerensky, we say: "claims" without any reservations, We must calculate the moment, we One often hears from an average so that every average social dem- will not overthrow Kerensky at struggle against Fascism. On this nesses and vacillations of Kerensky If the old party cadres conduct basis, we must pull the social to the people (who are fighting

We are proposing nothing different. Complete independence of the a check and a brake. Only in this Communist organization and press, complete freedom of Communist criticism, the same for the social The present day epigones, that democracy and the trade unions. is, the thoroughly bad disciples of Only contemptible opportunists can number.

No retraction of our criticism of the social democracy. No forgetand peasants.

But we presented our general re- December 8, 1931. ckoning to them two months after we had utilized the partial reckon-

adopts the position expressed in the quotation from Lenin cited above, the entire approach to the change at once: instead of the ar- ranks of the party leaders that ticles and speeches which are con- they turned this meeting into an vincing only to those people who anti-Trotsky campaign. Minor who Next to nothing. The Central Com- tactics consist of after the Korn- mon language with new hundreds sian Revolution in 1917, has lost the social democracy will proceed attacking the Bolshevik wing of program of action must be strictly from what we have said against feating Bruening, Braun and Wels, he does it under the cloak of Combut of taking up the open strug- munism. gle against the whole working class. On this plane, a profound differentiation will inevitably be produced within Fascism. Only by ths road is victory possible.

> But it is necessary to desire this victory. In the meantime, there are among the Communist officials not a few cowardly careerists and fakers whole little posts, whose in comes and more than that,-whose hides, are dear to them. These creatures are very much inclined to spout ultra-radical phrases beneath which is concealed a wretched and contemptible fatalism. "Without a victory over the social democracy, we cannot battle against Fascism!" say such terrible cannot battle of confusion.

hundreds of thousands, millions; correct methods, it is not hard also ting of all that has been. The whole you cannot leave for any place; be regretted. We of the Left Opposito find suitable quotations. After historical reckoning, including the there are not enough passports for I had drawn the above analogy with reckoning for Karl Liebknecht and you. Should Fascism come to have very little time left!

...they get their passports ready.

-L. TROTSKY.

To Delay the Anti-Nazi United Front Is Fatal

(Continued from Page 1) It is precisely because the social-The cause of "democratic" wing of the bourgeeconomic plan, the disorganization democratic wing at the other exeven propose such a united front, automatically become, according to Bolshevik policy. To propose to to the growing discontent of the the Stalinists, social Fascists, or week in the Daily Worker, in the Communist International, and so

At the recently concluded 12th tral organ of the French Communof the German party Thaelmann, Committee only three stood on the district leadership-proposals which many that in the former coun-Party with a view to the holding don our correct Bolshevik pol-

corrected in the case of Berlin. "The article contains among The current number of the Love- other things the following passage:

trict to the 'Iron Front' was sharp- above:

ly criticized by us." ist masses are not yet ready to in all seriousness, to see the Com- wait until Fascism goes bankaccept in advance the leadership of munists going hand in hand with rupt (A welcome change from yesthe Communist party that they the murderers of Liebknecht and terday's position!—M. S.), it wants have till now remained with the of Rosa Luxemburg and beyond to arouse in the working class the social democracy. The problem is this with Herr Zoergiebel, and will to resist. A split in the workinist bureaucracy has remained true to itself. The last plenum of petty bourgeois socialist camp. The the C. C. and the power owners of a Fascist dictatorship. the C. C. and the new expulsons Stalinist slogan assumes that this in office for the repression of the The Communist party strives to problem has already been solved! proletariat. Trotsky has attempted bring about the unity of the work-

ternational, January 15, 1933, pp. and attacked by Fascism. The Soequivalent to the abandonment of phasis.) ized, and the action rejected. We consequently we reserve final comwe see a somewhat "different"

ee of the Comintern, the leader read the astounding report that "Yesterday comrades Maurice Thorez and Jacques Doriot, in the proposal for a united front with name of our party, met with Paul formal gesture, not prepared for triumph of Stalinism in the Com- tempo. Already a growing section the social democracy to smash Faure and J. B. Severac, represent-Hitlerism. "Our party leadership atives of the Socialist party and In Hamburg only the daughter set its face severely against the Paul Louis and M. Juncker, representatives of the Party of Prole-System'.... The tactical conclusions conference was to discuss the quesfalse estimation of the role of the proletariat and to define its forms."

How is this possible? Is the were made to the Social Democratic try. It is impermissable to "aban-What has happened in tral Committee of our party, and breadth better than the "murderers of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg", his co-religionists in Germany? Why is it "correct Bolshe-...But above all, the demand of vik policy" to aim for a "bloc with the social democrats" in France, and an abandonment of this policy to aim for it in Germany?

But alas and alack! The well of Stalinist confusion is not exhausted by this comparison of "In this we see the continuation Thaelmann with the French Comeditorial to a ferocious tirade at the Militant for demanding that the hardly a reason why deliberated falsehoods should be repeated.

Lovestone, as is known, his fierce in which is reported an interview attachment to principle would nevigiven officially to the press by the

"Pieck went on to explain, the And further on: "Trotsky wants, Communist party does not want to the Papen regime chooses to leave premises of a Fascist dictatorship. on more than one occasion, to lead ing class. Pieck emphasized that quote him word by word: 'One again repeats this offer. The first

The exact nature of these united take it that this holds not only for ment. We do know, however, that France included. But in France refers is precisely the one against which Thaelmann polemized and policy being pursued. In the cen- which he informed us the Central Commitee had condemned and re-Plenum of the Executive Commit- ist Party for January 17, 1933, we jected! Nor is it excluded that what Pieck says today is only a last minute desperate effort to cover the Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, these same contradictions in their up the tracks of yesterday by a yesterday and not followed up seriously tomorrow. But whatever it

may be the question naturally any was established. The propping since the Bonapartist attempts arises: Which is the policy of the Communist International? Is it Doriot's and Thorez's Is it Thaelmann's? triumph of Stalinism, upon the perialism has supported in turn re-Is it Pieck's? (We cannot ask) about the policy of Stalin, the the subjective base for the "return" ary" governments and has resorted the "leader of the Communist International is as silent as the grave on the German crisis.) The workers, and especially the Communist workers whom the Stalinists have so criminally disoriented, confused Germany was walking upon the and demoralized, whom they have rendered impotent in the present the American dollar, the main task crucial hour, must demand an un- of American imperialism was the ambiguous reply!

the moment of crisis, said Lenin, ping up decaying capitalism, and is a crime. Confusion, ambiguity, of maintaining thereby the dominlack of clarity and determination ating imperialist position and the are the causes of temporizing. The super-profits that go with it . confusion created by the Stalinists | Around Germany and its reparain the key problem of the present tion problem in this post war per-German crisis is the equivalent of iod revolves the complex of capital-

he marches ruthlessly towards his form. The key to the internagoal. The Communist party and tional situation, as Trotsky has its leadership, upon whom such a said, is Germany. tremendous historical responsibility | American investments in Gerrests, are floundering like fish in many are tremendous. the meshwork of the Stalinist net. The net must be cut through with a quick, sharp knife. The German past, evry mark Germany so that it may act with decisiveand final action of the whole Ger- indefinitely is not possible for

observations of Thaelmann quoted Saturday, Feb. 18, 1933 -M. S.

GERMAN CAMPAIGN

Minor Challenged at

Philadelphia.—Our German meetings in New York, and Philadel-

social democratic masses and the Our presence in a solid group trade union organizations will threw such consternation into the of thousands and millions of work- none of his ability in this respect. The differentiation within He called us stool pigeons, police

If our presence threw consternation into the hearts of the bureaucrats, our activity during the quesgreater frenzy.

demanding the Leninist united others which were "unimportant". front against Fascism. To this

Committee

That these facts are forgotten by revolutionists, and for this reason the Stalinists, the official wing of Worker-Communists, you are over the struggle against war to against imperialist war.

expelled for desiring to fight against

Minor replied that no one was ever

On being asked the role of the Red Army with regard to Fascism, he began by calling us provocatphia have had its repercussions eurs, agents of the bosses, etc., here. It awakened the party bu- and said that the German workers meeting in Girard Manor Hall, in He did not mention, however, that which Robert Minor was the speak- once Hitler begins butchering the workers that Hitler's cry will not only be against German workers alone but Bolshevism as a whole,

of which the Red Army is a part. When he was asked what the danger of Fascism meant to the are already convinced without was so busy attacking Lenin and them, the agitators will find a com-Soviet Union, Minor replied it into another.

The question in regard to the "Red Referendum" was a bone in How much valuable, irretrievable Without diminishing our hostility at an increased pace. The Fascists the Communist movement. The his throat which he tried to disting has been lost! As a metter of will soon feel that their task does only difference being that then he lodge quickly. He merely said that not at all consist merely of de- did it outside of the party and now it was not inconsistent for one to vote for dissolution at one time and to vote against dissolution at another time. He refused to tell why it was not inconsistent.

We also asked if Fascism came tion period, drove them into a still into power on July 20, 1932, why did the party wait seven months We asked why comrade Pappas to call this meeting. This question and Roberts had been expelled for remained unanswered as did many

(Continued from Page 1)

Communism, who so readily hand the intellectuals and students, is to tion can only make our position clear. We propose that in view of the incorrect basis of existence of the National Committee of the Students Congress Against War, for the reasons enumerated above, that the Committee dissolve itself. This can be refused only at the pain of muddling the issue and THE MILITANT perpetuating a body that may have dire consequences, because of the deceit it engenders in the fight Young Communist League, the official banner bearer of Communism among the youth, should issue a call to the leading youth organizations, on the basis of several minimum proposals, for a preliminary anti-war conference. The latter conference is to discuss the question of calling a broader conference, the basis and time of such

Quits 'Anti-War' a one. If after this, it is necessary to plan specific student tacsary to plan specific student tactics, then district conferences, etc., may be called. But at all times it should be remembered that because the roots of war lie in the capitalist system, that because only the working class is historically adapted to combat that system, it is false to speak of independent student activity.

I feel, further, that my continued membership on the National Committee may lead to a misinterpretation of my motives for accepting on it, that it may lend a sanction to the committee which I am opposed to giving it. It is therefore with the purpose of resigning from the Committee that I write

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Vol. VI, No. 10 (Whole No. 157) America's Role in Germany

Wall Street's Stake in Germany

"The problem of the mutual re- moratorium, the reparation and Europe was very intimately tion. bound up with the question of must actually declare complete proposal was made last July 20, Fascism and social democracy. settlement were frantic attempts the colossal difficulties which common with Marxism, or even the colossal difficulties are according to the colossal difficulties which common with Marxism, or even readiness to form a bloc with the when Papen set up his semi-Fascist only the defeat of the German reversities to hold in check the inevitable civil way in Cormon (Phase) threaten, these are, according to with the simple and known facts social democrats against Fascism dictatorship: the second official of outline of 1923 made it possible civil war in Germany. These them, bad execution of the instructions and of the plan. The executions and of the plan. The executions and of the plan. The executions are the basis of this large and to the present day. At large and to the basis of this large and to the present day. At large and to the basis of this large and to the present day. At large and to the large and to the present day. At large and to the large and the "As for ourselves we deny every ors are responsible for it, the large made and demand a prole-workers and not the false line of Europe. Under these circum-against the proletariat. Between charge made and demand a prole-tarian trial before the members of On the passesity of a charge of tarian trial before the members of On the necessity of a change of our branches, and whatever hanrowing under which even a good that we would abandon our correct aims and the very existence of the contradictory problem of proworking class are being threatened stances, the American problem the contradictory problem of proshould have been considered in its fits and the prevention of the ore cialist party and the trade union full magnitude. Instead, the leader-Quite "clear", is it not? To sit organizations hve not yet replied ship of the Fifth Congress simply the American imperialists have

egy of the World Revolution". Fifth Congress would have enabled the Comintern to consider properly the role of American imperialism, and also the changing and devel-Germany, but for every other land, the first proposal to which Pieck oping new class relationships in Germany-both of which problems are not understood by the Comintern even to this day.

The defeat of the German revolution in 1923 made possible the "Americanization" of Europe through capital laid the objective base ening class relations. for capitalist stabilization. The Fascist force for the coming showdown with the "Marxian swine".

In this period, while capitalist crutches of social democracy and problem of preventing the extension To temporize and dilly-dally at of the October revolution, of prop-

ist contradictions. Today around Precious hours are slipping by Germany and its Fascist hordes, Hitler knows what he wants and the same thing is seen in a higher

Their protection is a major concern of our imperialists. In the Communist Party must be set free in reparations was more than equalled by loans from American ness. Upon it depends the decisive imperialism. But to keep this up American profits. From this flowed the new problem of the Hoover

lations between the United States tlement" and the war debt ques-

The moratorium and reparation should have been considered in its fits and the prevention of the extension of the October revolution, questions . Those who like ourselves down with the socialist leaders is to these open offers." (Our em- passed it by." (Trotsky-"Strat- been jumping, in the hope that a parailel line of march can be ob-Such an analysis as early as the tained for these two factors in the decay of capitalism.

Normal bourgeois rule in Germany is desired. But American imperialism knows enough to change its attitude when the time demands it. The German capitalists were slow and by no means unanimous in changing from social democracy, to coalition, to Bonapartism and now-to Fascism. The American imperialists will show etc. Upon this defeat and the change of position, and a slower intern, the necessary base for a new of the American capitalists are in alignment of class relations in Ger- favor of "Hitler and Hindenburgup of the structure with American have been dislodged by the sharp-

In South America, American imwave of revolutionary regress, laid actionary, liberal, and "revolution-"best disciple" of Lenin, because of social democracy as a crutch to armed intervention—depending for crippled German capitalism. in each case upon the class rela-Meanwhile capitalism nurtured the tions and imperialists relations, according to the profit interest of American capital. Germany will be no exception. The only difference is that the explosive class relations in Germany are at a far higher stage than in South America, where the flames of revolt can be far easier held in check. Therefore, far more precaution has been shown by ruthless American imper-

-HUGO OEHLER.

What Next Vital Questions for the

German Proletariat. by LEON TROTSKY pentrating Marxist analysis

of the class dynamics and forces at work in the present situation. A burning indictment of the treacheries of the social democracy and the criminal blunders of the Stalinists. A work no Left wing worker and Communist can afford to neglect. One of the texts of the future 192 Pages Cloth .65 Paper .35 Postage: .06 per copy extra