CENT

Published 3 times a week, Monday, Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Published thrice weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 5, 1879

VOLUME VI, NO. 12 [WHOLE NO. 159]

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1933

PRICE I CENT

eon Trotsky Analyzes German Situation.

The Camp of Counter-Revolution

The shifts in government since Bruening's time show how vapid and hollow is the universal philosophy of Fascism (cut and dried rascism, Left social Fascism) Socialism; Hugenberg makes no bones about announcing that there is nothing better than an East perty owners, there remains the perty owners. ing themselves only. The upper crust of the possessors is much too small in numbers and much too hated by the people to be able to rule in their own name. They require a screen—the traditional-monarchic ("Will of God"); the liberal-parliamentarian ("Sovereignty of the People"); the Bonapartist ("The Impartial Arbiter"); or, political struggle of the possessors posal of the proprietors. finally, the Fascist ("The Anger of against the people. Thus the rethe People"). War and revolution gime of the supreme judge of ar-have taken the monarchy from bitration, who was raised above them. Thanks to the reformists, all classes and parties, has been fascists. There are too many, all them. Thanks to the reformusts, all classes and parties, has been supremacy they have maintained themselves brought smack up to the supremacy too many fists behind the unbridled on the crutches of democracy, for of the German Nationalist Party, of the house alliest fourteen year's. When, under the pressure of class contradictions, clique of proprietors. Hugenberg's the parliament split asunder, they government represents the anintesattempted to hide behind the President's back. There came the chapter of Bonapartism, i. e., the bureaucratic-police government which is raised over society and which maintains itself on the relative equlibrium between the two oppos-

chasses viewed this enigmatical political figure that resembled nothing so much as a question mark with the epaulettes of a general But the chief cause for Schleicher's failure, and, incidentally for preceding successes as well, lay not within himself; Bonapartism cannot attain stability so long as the camp of revolution and the camp of counter-revolution have not measured their forces in bathangs over the country like a night mare does not facilitate Bonapartist tight-rope balancing. True, at together the possessing classes, bringing out into the open the perialist conquest and exploitation. antagonisms that tear them apart.

and it is a heavy ball and chain on Africa and China, and to hardly the feet of industry. But the con- less concealed subjugation of Turstricted social basis of the indus- key and part of the Balkans. Since trial bourgeoisie turns into political Germany reached its first working necessity the preservation of "na- agreement with the Soviet Union at tional" agriculture, i. e., the class Rapallo in 1922, the big bourgeoisie of junkers and rich farmers along has been steadily pushing forward with all the strata that are det the idea that Germany must compendent on them for this policy. pensate itself in Russia for the Bismark laid the foundation, firm-ly binding the agrarians and the in-the expulsion of German capital dustrialists together by military from Turkey. victories, gold indemnity, high On this basis they can form a profits and—the fear of the proletariat. But Bismarck's time have British and American imperialism, passed into eternity. Present-day and provide an alternative to the Germany speeds not from victories restoration of the colonies which is but from defeat. France pays her the logical consequence of a sucno indemnity but she pays France. cessful drive by the German bour-Decaying capitalism supplies no geoisic against the Treaty of Ver- tually relinquished its twenty-one profits opens up no perspectives. sailles. Nothing cements together the possessing classes except their fear of the workers. However, the Ger- can be no doubt. Therefore the man proletariat—for which its leadership is entirely to blame—remain- ing to break up all organizations ed paralyzed in the most critical and forces within Germany which period—and the antagonisms be- would be capable of resisting a out into the open. With the Left social democracy can no longer be camp expectantly passive the "So-counted upon to carry the working from the Right.

debit side—a split in their own

CRISIS IN MANCHURIA

DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR

Speaker: **JACK WEBER** Friday, February 24, 8 P. M. 126 East 16th Street,

ADMISSION: 15c N. Y. Br. Communist League of

America (Opposition)

personified the unadultered idea of Bonapartism, Hugenberg personifies in himself the chemically pure idea of property. The General was coy, refusing to reply to the ques-Prussian junker on the throne.
The most rooted, the most ponderous, and the most intrenched form the most self-seeking and greedy government represents the quintes-sence of social parasitism. But just because of this, when it became necessary, in its pure state, such are the times now that there it became impossible. Hugenberg is no guaranteeing property except requires a screen. As yet today, he cannot hide behind the mantle of ting around without the Nazis. But

ranks; among the assets—an octogenarian Field Marshall. What more remained? Nothing, except Monapartism. However, the probability of such a variation, which, let's hands. His own armed forces By Leon Trotsky

is nothing better than an East perty owners, there remains the

The investiture of Hitler with of property is private ownership of power served a two-fold purpose: land. If economically, German first, to decorate the camarilla of agriculture is the kept whore of industry, then it is most proper of "a national movement"; and that no other than Hugenberg him-secondly, to place the fighting self should be at the head of the forces of Fascism at the direct dis-

It was not with a light heart gerous side of the brown allies; but in that very same thing is also



the higher-ups should consciously provoke a civil war with problematic outcome. It is to this new

representatives of the agrarians and the industrialists. Such is the plan. But how will its execution turn out?

The government of Hugenberg-Hitler includes within itself a complex system of contradictions: between the traditional representatives of the agrarians, on the one side, and the patented representatives of large capital, on the other'; between these and the combination is extremely unstable. In its present form it will not long stage in the development of the endure. What will come in its social crisis in Germany that the place in the event of its collapse? new governmental combination cor- In view of the fact that the chief responds, in which the military and instruments of power are not in economic posts remain in the hands Hitler's hands, and since the latter of the masters, while the plebeians has amply demonstrated that are assigned decorative or second alongside with the hatred to the

commensurably much more probthe crisis to the side of Fascism. Hitler, in the character of Chan-cellor, is such a direct and open than within the limits set by the tariat that a mass reaction, in the worst instance, a series of disparate reactions, is absolutely inevitable. And this will suffice to push the Fascists into the foremost places, displacing their much too corpulent mentors. But on one condition: if the Fascists themselves remain on their feet.

The assumption of power by Hit-ler is indubitably a fearful blow for the working class. But this is still not a decisive or an irrevocaoracles of the reactionary petty hourgeoisie, on the other. The combination is automatically and the combination and the combination is automatically and the combination and the combination is automatically and the combination and the comb today an entire series of commanding posts. This allows his side a great advantage, but there has been no battle as yet. The occupation of advantageous positions decides nothing by itself, what do decide are the living forces.

The Reichswehr and the police the Steel Helmets, and the storm cannot hide behind the mantle of a Kaiser, and he is forced to resort it is likewise impossible to give the heavy shirt of the Nazi more to them the actual power to the proven shirt of the Nazi more actual power to the proven shirt of the Nazi ministers is to bind the possessing classes and their insti-Passing through the transitional governments of Bruening and Papen, Bonapartism assumed its

gigantic fighting capacity and they

thereto, could have only an episodic represent a problematic quantity character, is extremely slight. In- which is still to be verified. His millions of reserves are human rubable is the further development of bish. In order to conquer complete power Hitter must provoke a semblance of civil war (he, himself, is afraid of an out and out civil war). challenge addressed to the prole- His substantial colleagues in the ministry at whose disposal are the Rechswehr and the Steel Helmets would prefer to strangle the proleariat by "peaceful" measures. They are much less inclined to provoke a minor civil war for fear of a big one. In this manner there remains no short distance from the ministry headed by the Fascist Chancellor to the complete victory or Fascism. This means that there is still time at the disposal of the evolutionary camp. How much? It cannot be computed beforehand. Battles alone can measure its dura-

The Camp of the Proletariat

When the official Communist party states that the social democracy is the most important prop of bourgeois domination, it repeats only that idea which served as the point of departure for the organiza-tion of the Third International. When the bourgeoisie invites it to power, the social democracy casts its vote for the capitalist regime. the social democracy tolerates (suffers) any bourgeois government hat tolerates the social democracy. But even when completely discarded from power, the social democracy continues to support bourgeois society, recommending to the workers that they conserve their forces for battles, for which it is repared never to issue a call. By paralyzing the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, the social democracy provide bourgeois society with an opportunity to remain alive ander conditions when it is no onger capable of living, thus turn-.ng Fascism into a political necessity. The very call of Hitler to power emanates from the Hohenzollern Field Marshall who had seen elected by the votes of social Jemocratic workers! The political cry of: "Clear the streets for the chain that leads from Wels to Hitbrown batallions." That signalled ler has quite a personal character tion. There can be no two views upon this score among Marxists. February 4 and 5, witnessed six But what's in question is not how to expound a political situation but how to transform it in a revolutionarv manner.

The guilt of the Stalinist bureaucracy is not in that it is "irreconcillable" is politically impotent. From the fact that Bolshevism under the leadership of Lenin proved victorious in Russia, the Stalinist bureaucracy deduces that it is the "duty" of the German proletariat to rally around Thaelmann. Its ultimatum reads,-unless the German workers accept beforehand, a priori, and without reservations, the Communist leadership they must not so much as dare think of serious battles. The Stalinists express it differently. But all circumlocutions, restrictions, and oratorical tricks change nothing in the fundamental character of bureaucratic ultimatism, which helped the social democracy to bring Germany to Hitler.

The history of the German worklecture of a Social Democratic pro- its historical party, the socal democracy! What ineptitude and what impotence of its revolutionary wing! But there is no need for going so far back. For the past two or three years of the Fascist a Fascist storm troop was broken upsurge, the policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy represented in itself wounded. At Leipzig similarly, a nothing else but a chain of crimes gang of Fascists was broken up which literally saved reformism, and about a dozen of them were and thereby prepared for the subwounded. This is only a partial sequent successes of Fascism. At account of the events of two days. this moment, when the enemy has (Continued on Page 2)

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Collaboration with U.S.S.R.

through the usual processes of im-They want to continue the line of Economically, German rural eco- the pre-war Hohenzollern regime, nomy leads a parasitic existence, which led to colonial expansion in

working agreement with French,

Freparing for War

This means war-of this there German big bourgeoisie is prepartween the possessing classes broke war of imperialist aggression. The cial General" fell under the blows, masses with it as it did in 1914. Not that the leadership of the social When this happened, the upper democracy is any better now than crust of the possessing class took it was then. The existence of the its governmental balance: on the Communist party, its mass following, and the enormous organizational pressure which it would exert upon the social democratic masses in the event of war, make it unsafe for the big bourgeoisie to count too much on the support of the social democracy. It must crush social democracy as well as Communism if it is to prepare for the next war.

For this reason the big bourgeoisie is being forced to form a close alliance with Fascism, representing the mass organization of the petty bourgeoisie against the proletariat Not only must it form an alliance but also put itself at the head of it, and in practise carry through

its progam as that of Fascism.

man groups within the agrarancement their alliance. For instance, the first economic step undertaken by the Hitlertouched upon one of these limited points where the interests of Hitler's petty bourgeoisie in autarchy and those of the feudal agrarians of Papen coincide. It consisted of putting a prohibitive tariff on the

amount to \$12,000,000 a year; about (Continued on Page 2)

importation of lard. These imports

A debate in which the Left Opposition youth will defend the prin-What is to be Germany's road which is destined to remain on out of the crisis? To this fundapper and be discarded at all points mental question every party representative of the Communist youth group of New beck, who is now in Germany and not yet decided. The German work senting the leadership of a distinct big bourgeoisie, calls for a differ- York, is scheduled to take place who will continue writing directly ers have previously proven their class must be prepared with its ent policy entirely. Unable to see this Sunday, February 26, at 8:30 own answer. Since the contradiction between the isolated proletarinterests, it demands "autarchy", at 227 E. 12th Street and the adtle. Concurrently, the frightful ian state, the Soviet Union, and the or economic self-sufficiency. It mission has been set at the low industrial and agrarian crisis that capitalist world is the outstanding wants to develop the German domcontradiction of the present stage estic market, including the agricul- imum attendance. The debaters of decadent capitalism, the attitude tural market, at the expense of are Herbert Capelis for the Sparof the German parties to Soviet German foreign trade. The pres tacus Youth Club and Abe Goldman first sight, the passivity of the Russia is an integral part of their proposed answers to the basic quesproposed answers to the basic ques-tions of German economy.

ductive forces against its national importance of the dispute has been balar tion. est degree the tasks of "the Social tions of German economy.

General". But, it turned out otherwise; precisely this passivity weaklened the hoop of fear that binds Russia to the state of a colony, the interests of certain special German economy.

The attitude of the big oburgeoisie limited extent it may coincide with points of Communism and anarchim the interests of certain special German economy.

Russia to the state of a colony, the interests of certain special German economy. and where the opportunity has been capitalist bloc, and thus further afforded anew to examine which is the trimphant road to the emancipation of the proletariat. Every young worker and student in New Papen government was symbolic; it York should attend to hear the contending programs presented by the qualified representatives of both tendencies.

> **OUR GERMAN MEETINGS** 80 percent of them come from the will be found on page two of the

eral Schleicher—but only in order to disclose in him its insolvency. Hostile, doubtful, or alarmed, all This Sunday the Spot in German Crisis

about the events there. Berlin, February 11.—While the

Fascist hordes are at the helm of future is concerned, hangs in the balance, fully justifies this conten-

storm, but interrupted surreptitiously by the barking of guns in clashes between workers and Fascists. Daggers flash in the hands of the latted. Political assassinations increase. But these are only vanguard skirmishes before the battle. The situation as a whole leaves a painful impression as if the German working masses do not yet really know what is at stake. The advent of the Hitler government German meetings organized in found them stunned, bewildered, various cities, including those of and unprepared, left in the lurch by comrade Oehler during his tour, the deliberate treason of the Socialist party bureaucrats and by the criminal failures of the Com-

On that ominous night of Jan government in Germany they have 30, when Hitler received his mannot yet conquered. A mere glimpse date, heavy Fascist columns were at the country where the fate of marching, by the flare of torch marching, by the flare of torch mankind, as far as its immediate lights, down unter den Linden. through Brandenburger Tor, to the Throughout the Reich there is the intention of a coming terror which can be gathered from inspecn ominous calm, a lull before the regime. It has made its beginning Last Saturday and Sunday alone, killed, many scores of wounded. some seriously, and many arrests. Schupos (German police) armed to

the teeth are in evidence everywhere. Their actions are carried out with characteristic German efficiency and surety for the existing regime, but they usually manage to be too late when workers are murdered. It is necessary to note that the Fascists, while recognizing the Communists as their mortal enemy, and not in the least mistaken about that, still make no distinction whatever in their assassinations and terror acts. Among those killed was the Social Democratic mayor of Stassfurt. At Chemnitz, in a clash between Fascists and Reichsbanner people, one of the latter was killed. At a similar clash in Breslau one Reichsbanner man was killed. At Charlottenburg one Communist party member was killed. At Harburg-Wilhelms-

burg one worker coming from a Socialist meeting was killed. At the university of Muenster several ing class from 1914 represents the students were wounded in clashes most tragic page of modern hiswith Fascists developing after altory. What shocking betrayals by But in these clashes the workers do not turn the other cheek. They have given a good account of them-

selves. For example at Duesseldorf up, its officer killed and several One of our Left Opposition comrades in Oranienburg, who has been very active and very effective in the work of our local group actufront of the various working class tendencies, has so far barely escaped death. The planned assas-

er just in time to take the neces sary measures. Capitalism Mobilizes Its Last

SPEAKERS:

sination which was to be carried

out at night in his home by local

Fascists, was discovered by a work-

Reserves In these continuous skirmishes workers, Communists, Social Dem-(Continued on Page 2)

apan Defies Other Imperialist Powers in China

those illusions are by now completely dispelled. Japan is staking all on subjugating China before that nation can be unified, whether under bourgeois or proletarian hegemony. If the bourgeiosie succeeded in unifying China with the aid of American dollars it would mean the ultimate "peaceful penetration" of U.S. finance-capital and the ousting of both England and Japan fro the Chinese market.

English capitalism, badly damaged_by the War and no longer dominant on the international market, is not averse to seeing Amer-English government, reflected in the London Times, that the League has "done its part" and now countries with interests in the Far East the English press is likely to interests in China are themselves directly threatened.

This threat to the other imperthe making. For the Japanese genitself is not intersted in imperial- due notice of their next move; build parallel, competing railroads they can "face the world". ist conquest. Its own program, namely, an advance on Peiping and to the South Manchurian. This

If the world had any illusions Tientsin. Of course, this new in was one of the more immediate that Japanese imperialism had acvasion is purely "defensive"; to causes of the present campaign. oust Chang Hseuh-liang from North The Japanese generals made it demands forced on China in 1915 China so that his armies cannot their first objective to gain the attack the Japanese, and also to important strategic railheads on protect Jap nationals from the re- the Chinese network. Thus they treating Jehol armies. As the com- have just occupied Peipiao, a railments on the League's Report made road in the Jehol coal mining republic by the Japanese diplomats gion. Hulutao will divert no more state: "Japan is responsible for trade from Dairen if the Japanese the maintenance of peace and order in the Far East" and she "intends to deal with China with the utmost good-will and forebearance"!

Meantime Jehol is being "mopped up". With Manchuria completely in the hands of the Japan- Manchuria and Eastern Inner Monese army, perhaps the profits of golia, Liaotung leased territory, the South Manchuria Railroad will and the Yangtse iron region. be once more restored. Those pro- campaign may yet develop ica become involved in war with fits began to decline alarmingly the Yangste River. Japan. Hence the attitude of the when the Chinese, with the aid of But a campaign South of the British and American capital, par- great wall will inevitably involve ticularly the latter, began to build international "incidents". Just as a unified net-work of railroads run- the murder of Captain Nakamura ning North and South through gave the Japs a pretext in 1931, so (read America) "must themselves Manchuria from Aigun on the Amur some similar occurrence may predecide what policy is most likely to Hulutao. This city on the seaccipitate the world war that is conduce to the early restoration of coast south of Dairen, was intend brewing. For Japan this will not peaceful conditions," etc. However ed by the Chinese to compete with come unexpectedly. Having asked that Japanese terminal of the South on the frontispiece of a new book change its tune as soon as British Manchurian Railroad. Although "The Army Manual", under a picthe Chinese network was never | ture of the yawning muzzle of a completed, it had already begun to great American field-piece, "Which divert traffic fom the Japanese-con- way is this pointed?" Japanese ialist powers will not be long in trolled road. The Japanese pro- imperialism answers by laying in tested at this outrageous violation supplies of cotton and iron for a s progam as that of Fascism. erals, following a schedule pre-The petty bourgeoisie in and of pared long in advance, have given the latter had promised not to ply food and ores the generals say

can help it.

But the Japanese army will not stop even in Peiping and Tientsin if all goes well. The twenty-one demands attempted to set up four spheres of influence: Shantung, along

ally to establish a genuine united Help the Militant

126 East 16th Street
Enclosed herewith is \$
as a special contribution to help
publish the Militant three times
week during the German crisis.
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BRONX MASS What the Left Opposition Stands For MEETING

Ausplees: Communist League of America (Opposition) Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

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

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Oppositionist Beaten

Cleveland.—The readers of the

Militant will recall the activity of

Since the Left Opposition German

active in spreading its ideas, mak-

ing contacts with party members

Left Opposition organizer. Misquotations from the Militant, per-

sonal attacks and all the rest of

the Stalinist rigmarole were band-

not given the chance to defend

himself on the pretext that he

would be given the opportunity to

where he is a member. The motion

meeting passed. About five com-

rades the only ones who knew Gor-

don, abstained from voting. Anna

Onda, local bureaucrat, and Leon-

ard Patterson, a Negro organizer

from N. Y. led this railroading ac-

On Monday, February 20, the

was crowded with strange faces-

obviously called down by the Stal-

Gordon without any delay. First

the usual hokum about the "coun-

ter-revolutionary Trotskyists" then,

-Gordon had raised the German is-

and awakened them to internation-

was absolutely alone in the affray.

This great apprehension on the

Youngstown.—The following self-

The party press has recently

come out with news of a turn to-

unemployed movement. The Daily

Worker of January 11 writes: "The

need for united action of all work-

ers of all shades of opinion and of

whatever organization is desperate."

Everyone of us will agree with

this. The especially poor showing

that we all made when the hospit-

came up before the City Council

shows that this turn is even more

desperately needed in Youngstown

We welcome this turn as a great

whole working class movement and

hope to see it carried through suc-

Since the Unemployed Councils in

action of the unemployed, in a dis-

serve for ourselves the right of

criticism, but we declare ourselves

always ready to come to an agree-

ment with you as to the time and

Every hand is needed. That is clear to all We of the Left Op-

With Communist greetings,

Youngstown Branch, Communist

League of America

(Opposition)

Secretary.

place of criticism.

up to you to decide.

cessfully here as well.

expected for comrade

al consciousness

the proletariat.

Dear comrades:

eon Trotsky Analyzes the Hitler Regime LEAGUE ACT

(Continued from Page 1) already occupied important commanding posts, the question inevitably arises. Is it not too late to call for a regrouping of forces in order to repel the enemy? But first we must answer here another question, what does "too late" mean in the given instance? Must this be understood to mean that even the boldest turn about face on the road of revolutionary policy is no longer capable of radically changing the different questions.

Is It Too Late to Act?

We have in effect given an answer to the first already in what was said above. Even under the most favorable conditions for Hitler, he requires a long number of workers. In order that the econmonths-and what critical months! -in order to establish the hegemony of Fascism. If one takes struggle, it is urgent that the Cominto consideration the sharpness of munists be at their posts, i. e., in the economic and political situa- the factories and within the trade tion, the ominous character of the unions. The social democratic leaddanger the proletariat is right up ers have announced that they deagainst, the frightful alarm of the sire an accord with Communist workers, their numerousness, their workers. Very well. Let the exasperation, the presence of experienced fighting elements in their Red Trade Union Organization ity of the German workers for organization and discipline, then German Trade Union Federation months which are needed by the racion. One such step will bring internal and external barriers and a change into the self-esteem of to intrench their dictatorship, the the workers, and therefore into the proletariat under correct leadership entire political background. can come to power two and three times over again.

Two and a half years ago the

(Continued from Page 1)

ocrats, Reichsbanner people and

Numerous are the accounts brought

by our comrades of workers everywhere asking: "Why do we not

bourgeois papers reprint letters

from workers posing this question.

But-and that is the crucial ques-

tion-the leaders, Stalinists, Social-

ists and trade union bureaucrats re-

fuse to realize the united front from

side of the barricae were not taken

Economic developments within the

protracted black picture. Unem-

official figures of January 15, 1933

gives the numbers of 5,965,000.

This accounts only for those of-

fically registered who receive un-

employment insurance, but not of

those not registered or the part

time workers. In reality the total figure is much higher. The emer-

gency decrees had already helped

to reduce further the working class

level and increase its discontent.

The Communists had gained in the

ernment, evidently despite its good

intentions, could not consolidate

rule and avoid civil war diminish-

last reserve—the Fascists

Against the dangers of a grow-

talist solidarity extends beyond

last elections. The Schleicher gov-

rganization to organization.

build the united front?"

ing political facts and compose at dred atmospheres? present a part of the objective But maybe the

Hitler needs time. A revival of east betterment of the conjuncture, capital, which has been famished for profits, will feel the acute this will at once shift the correomic struggle should from the very first steps merge with the political antee it victory.... ranks, and the incomparable capac- catch up the reformists on their own words and turn to the General the answer is clear: during those with the proposal to enter immedi-

Turn Depends On Party

However, is the turn itself possi-Left Opposition insistently pro- ble? That is what the task reposed that all the institutions and duces itself to at the present mo organizations of the Communist ment. The vulgarizers of Marx, party from the Central Executive gravitating towards fatalism, ob Committee to the smallest provinc- serve as a rule nothing on the polital nucleus should immediately tical arena save objective causes. turn to the parallel social dem- But, in effect, the more acute the ocratic organizations with the con- class struggle becomes, the closer crete proposal for mutual action it draws to a datastrophe, the more against the impending suppression often the key to the entire situaof proletarian democracy. Had a tion is entrusted to a given party struggle against the Nazis been and its leadership. At this moment built on this basis Hitler would the question is posed in this mannot be Chancellor today and the ner: If in its time the Stalinist Communist party would be occupy- bureaucracy has kept hard fast on ing the leading place within the the road of dullwitted ultimatism, working class. But there is no return to the past. The consequences political atmospheres, will it be

gime toward a united front against

the growing threat of the German

revolutionary workers. True, there

ters can be adjusted to enable the

to work hand in hand. In this man-

er the first steps toward forging

the spearhead of the army of in-

tervention against the U.S.S.R.

are being taken. That is the very

heart of the question of a possible

discontent of the working masses. the concrete needs of the situation Braun cabinet, which had only a

downing Fascism and of the united

The Issue is Now to be Settled

by the Means of Civil War

at all hide its objectives. Hitler's

very first ministerial address to

the public declared: "The greatest

actual danger is the danger of

Communism....Bolshevism would

spell disaster not only to Germany

but to the entire world. The na-

tional government is determined to

defend Germany against Bolshey

ism, against anarchy and against

the scourge of the class struggle.

That the C. P. is the vanguard of

ers fully understand. But the full

scope of their objectives became

campaign address of February 8

He declared in his usual bravado

style, but now with a more sinister

function until I am fully convinced

tions as former "mortal enemies". Marxism shall no longer exist in all our sympathetic organizations.

And so also in this case, the change Germany." Such are the threats and everyone volunteered to do bis

31 commented: "Hitler in power! class movement, for in their usage papers for distribution within the

bombshell. Today it reverberates even the reformist trade unions. is complaining that it doesn't re-

5 cents

The Fascist government does not

German and the French bourgeoisie

Events After Hitler Took Power

trade unionists instinctively unite is the Versailles Treaty standing

and fight shoulder to shoulder a little in the way. But such mat

Reich continued to present their place. It repeats the slogans of

spects of maintaining capitalist the working class the Fascist lead-

ed. The bourgeoisie called upon further clarified by Hitler's election

ing working class threat the capi- sureness: "I shall not resign my

the national boundaries, not even that my mission is accomplished.

taking cognizance of such distinc- That within less than ten years

France. The "Paris Soir" of Jan. of every vestige of the working

This news would a few months ago of the term Marxism the Fascists

have produced the effects of a include the Social Democrats and

but there is not much detonation." Yes, precisely that is the mission

This bourgeois paper is fully con- of Fascism. German capitalism,

ployment was on the increase. The front from below.

Liberal

situation and open up the road to der to become effective it must on only correct basis for the election this occasion surpass the Berlin dampaign as well. strike a hundred or two hundredcorrelation or hope of achieving trade and industry, should such betariat is sufficiently powerful in the necessary turn? These are two come a fact, would not at all significant to sweep into such a more fold in scope. The German proleoriginate without need for peace in the factories, and problem of what the party should question is posed at present.... do in order to give impetus to the lation of forces in favor of the mass movement, in order to help it attain its sweep, in order to able delay, from the German news-

democratic official. This fact, if tate the social democratic bureaucracy. But it inevitably condemns tional Socialists and the social ists, after all the mistakes that this process which is ingrained in ropes. the logic of the relations them selves. The road to this lies through Party Democracy and the bold policy of a united front.

Elections Can Decide Nothing

he social democracy will clutch in which will transfer the question to another plane, then the Communist party should automatically receive turn to the past. The consequences of the mistakes that have been percapable of withstanding a prestated have succeeded in becomes united front. Yes, today the social democracy. We must on becomes necessary.

Prinkipo, February 5, 1933.

Prinkipo, February 5, 1933.

TROY

the system as a whole, has de-

working class movement in order to maintain itself in power. For that

quick in its actions-one has fol

lowed the other in rapid succession

—in the attempt it is making to

consolidate its position. The Reich-

stag was dissolved without even be-

days, but within one month. or

March 5. The important positions

under the ministry of the interior,

particularly those of chiefs of

police, are being filled by Fascists.

prepare the road for dissolution of

due to its flexibility, still has a

paratory to the final coup d'Etat.

These are parts of the immediate

CHICAGO COMPLAINS!

Rebecca Sacherow of the Chicago

branch writes: "Our German cam-

paign is going over big here. The

Militants are eagerly awaited by

all of us here and all our sym-

pathizers are offering to help dis-

tribute them where they will do

the most good. Last night we had

a general membership meeting of

short of our requirements; Chicago

ceive enough copies of the "new

Militant" to go around!!

-ARNE SWABECK.

aim Fascism is the instrument.

background. The situation must into action of themselves, overturn- terms, it turns its electioneering mix the banners; to maintain abbe taken as it has been composed, ing the barriers of the apparatus agitation into a purely parliament- solute loyalty in our relations with It never need have been as bad as after the manner in which the ary hullabaloo, into a means of our ally but to keep an eye on it is. But it is not hopeless. A transport strike broke out in Ber- distracting the attention of the him, as our enemy of tomorrow.* political turn about face-but a lin in November 1932? There is no masses from their present impotreal one, a bold one, an open one, ground, of course, for considering ence and from their preparing for one that is thought out from all the spontaneous movement of the the defense. The bold policy of the sides—can completely save the masses as being excluded. In or- united front is at this moment the

Again, are there enough forces in the Communist party for the turn? Will the Communist workers have enough energy and resolution to nify the strengthening of Fascism ment even if hindered from above. help the pressure of one hundred against the proletariat. Under the But spontaneous movements are atmospheres beat its way into buprecisely so called because they eaucratic skulls? No matter how leadership. offensive such an acknowledgment Whereas, our question touches the may be, that is precisely how the

> The above lines were written when we learned, after the inevittake its place at the head and guar- papers, that Moscow at last has given the signal for alarm to the Today's telegrams have brought C. E. C. of the German Communist news of a general strike in Luebeck Party: the time has come for an in answer to the arrest of a social accord with the social democracy. No confirmation of this news is at true, does not in the least rehabili- hand but it smacks of the truth; ever, the Stalinist bureaucracy commands a turn about face only the Stalinists along with their after the events deal the working theory of social Fascism. Only the class (in the U. S. S. R. in China, class (in the U. S. S. R. in China, development and the sharpening of in England, in Germany) a blow the antagonism between the Na- on the head. When the Fascist Chancellor trains his machine guns democrats can bring the Commun- at the temples of the proletariat bound hand and foot, then and only were made, from out of isolation then is the presidium of the Comand open the road to revolution. intern struck with an inspiration: But one must not hinder but assist the time has come to untie the

the Turn

The March elections, at which this belated acknowledgment and the appearance of clowns in Shakewill try to squeeze from it every- speare's tragedies. These gentlemen order to paralyze the energy of the thing that is possible for the vic- announced yesterday that (a) the workers will in themselves resolve tory of the proletariat. But while danger of Fascism is liquidated, nothing, of course. If no major so doing, the Left Opposition will thanks to the correct policy of the events occur up to the elections, not for a moment forget that the party; (b) the policy of the united turn of the Comintern is a purely front, permissible in the past, from empirical zigzag, performed in the now on is become counter-revoludue course of panic. The individ- tionary. On the day after these an increase in votes. It will be in- uals who equated social democracy confessions Hitler assumed power commensurably greater if the Com- with Fascism are capable, in the and Stalin announced that the polmunist party will this very day process of struggle with Fascism, icy of the united front, countertake upon itself the initative for a of going over into idealization of revolutionary in the past, from now

dred atmospheres?

But maybe the masses will go democracy, even though in different blows organizationally, but not to In Cleveland

Should the Stalinist faction realcourse, will take its place in the confidence of the masses in this turn will be all the greater the tional manner-by slugging Gordon. But newspaper publicity had apmore democratically it is achieved. Thaelmann's speeches or manifestos campaign began Gordon has been of the Central Executive Comittee are much too little for the present sweep of events. What is needed and distributing Militants and recently leastets advertizing comis no other way of returning the rade Hugo Oehler's meeting in discussion meeting at the home of confidence of the party in itself, Cleveland. The bureaucrats began one of the League officers, Perkins. and of deepening the confidence of to take alarm. Gordon was spot- The latter had failed to answer an two or three weeks, not later than on Saturday. All regular proced- other followers of Muste would enthe opening of the Reichstag (if ure was broken off and a sudden

The program of action is clear

Immediate proposal to the General German Trade Union Federation to admit the Red Trade Union Organization into the trade unions. Immediate preparation for an

emergency party congress. What is at stake is the head of the working class, the head of the Communist International and-let us not forget it-the head of the Soviet Republic!

* In the light of recent events and against the background of the It goes without saying that the tragic mistakes of the Stalinists. Left Opposition will take its stand the anecdote of the capitulation of with both feet on the ground of Well and others is comparable to

—L. TROTSKY. program of a Keynes, a McKenna a Morgan-these are the answer of social democracy to the question of the way out of the crisis. Under the existing high tension of international economic relations, when every country is competing with all the other's in putting up walls against the entry of foreign goods, in a world of import quotas, exbloc are, in a limited way, being the export of capital—such a prochange restrictions, prohibitions on gram is not only a betrayal of the interests of the working class, but ridiculous blindness to the facts. The question of Russia as a dis-

tinct factor in the situation is ignored. Answer of Communism

wildered. But it is not so in the French party daily). It did men-hibit any paper which advocates a market. The methods of high nizes the necessity of still further

German capitalism, recognizing ously and completely dissolved to than its exports. In other words, the imense potentialities of Rus-German capitalism has looked for sia, looks on it as a field to be the Landtag despite its majority op- the way out of the crisis abroad, exploited after first crushing the position. Even bourgeois democracy while decoying the petty bourgeois working class in Germany as well masses with the Fascist slogan of as in Russia; the German prolecertain usefulness: -- Dissolve by self-sufficiency. Foreign markets tariat, on the other hand, can take decrees, get new elections with all are being closed tighter by tariff gigantic steps toward building up the machinery of suppression in walls and other restrictions. The Socialism on the basis of the comreadiness so as to obtain a voting last unspoken plank in its platform bination of Russian resources and strength which can furnish a mask is the imperialist subjugation and German technology, but filling this same economic formula with an hold on the bourgeois "internation- the fraternal economic collaborastrategy of the Fascist government. alism" of the manufacturer-and tion of great proletarian common-banker-liberals. The removal of wealths under the dictatorship of restrictions on foreign trade, de- the working class, in accordance velopment of markets abroad with a jointly worked-out plan, without political interference, un- and marching firmly on the road to step forward for the party and the

-B. J. FIELD

cided to settle the issue by civil Militant Correspondent Reports On sided to settle the issue by civil war in the hope of thereby accomplishing the destruction of the Germany-U.S.S.R

(Continued from Page 1)

Line of Big Bourgeoisie

hampered movement of capital over the world revolution. national boundaries—the typical

Immediate proposal to all social to bottom of a united defensive

leashing a premeditated attack Cleveland bureaucrats educating

reganization to organization.

The workers are still sadly bed awned upon l'Humanite (the chief of police the authority to proranks of the bourgeoisie. The pre- tion that danger in one of its re- general strike, or strikes of any prices and low wages, of dumping developing the productive forces of sent situation found them quite cent issues. But in face of that kind, or prints what is called "de-well prepared. The forces on that recognition it demonstrates its ut-liberate misinformation". All city backed up by the Reichsbank and that German economy is an inte-by the local branch of the Communter helplessness, its paralysis councils (aldermanic bodies) in the last analysis by the taxing gral part of world economy, and ist League of America (Opposition) by surprise. They decided quickly Choked by the false concepts of throughout Prussia are dissolved power of the government—these it must be based on the closest to the Communist party organizafor the Fascists precisely out of Stalinism it cannot show the way. and new elections set for March 12. have resulted in a surplus of expossible intertwining of the direct, Section: fear of the growing misery and It can only repeat what in view of The Prussian state government, the ports over imports since the crisis, immediate economic interests of Section Committee, Communist Party of the U. S. A. Youngstown Section.

United States. The foreign trade interests of the agrarian-capitalist ing permitted the opportunity to subordinated to its interest in proconvene. The new elections will tecting the productivity of domestic take place, not after the usual sixty capitalist agriculture.

But this policy can be carried through only in a limited way; the broad policy runs in the exactly final conquest of power in Germany Several issues of the Rote Fahne by the Fascist bandits. Finally have been seized. A press censor of the big bourgeoisie since the of Communism to the question of while during the period of stabili- Germany with those of Russia. becomes a mere abstract common-shadow existence, is unceremoni-zation German mports were higher of authority. That is to be pre- exploitation of Russia.

The social democracy attempts to entirely different class

New York Courses Start

AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS-1 is \$1. Single lectures are \$.15. THE MOVEMENTS AND THE MEN

On Sunday, February 26, comrade Cannon will give the first of his and everyone volunteered to do his series of eight popular lectures for in Germany produced its echo in of extermination of every section, share. One party member was pre- workers. The title of the first lecparty." "We were", adds Sacherow,

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

On Wednesday, March 1, comrade Shachtman will give the second lecture in the series on the sent and he took a bundle of the ture is Terence V. Powderly, the History and Principles of the L. papers for distribution within the "Grand Master Workman" of the O.? The title of this lecture is Knights of Labor. The following "The German October and the Fifth lectures will take place on suc- Congress of the Comintern". These cessive Sundays. Lectures may be lectures also may be taken singly taken singly if comrades are un- by those who missed the first lecable to take the series. The course ture. Single lectures are 15 cents.

the German Proletariat

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Musteites Exclude **Oppositionists**

Youngstown.—Recent Youngstown papers reported that efforts were the Left Opposition in Cleveland being made to unite the Austinon the German situation and the town and Smith Township Unemspeech comrade Sam Gordon made ployment Leagues with the local y put in effect the turn that is at the party demonstration in that Independent Club as the first step dictated by every phase of the sit- city on the danger of German Fasc- in a movement to create a large uation, the Left Opposition, of ism to the American workers. This city-county unemployed organizahas struck fear into the hearts of tion. A meeting to consider these common ranks of battle. But the the local bureaucrats who have plans was to be held at the Indereplied in their well known educa- pendent Club on Sunday afternoon. parently frightened some of the I. C. members, for whoever possessed the keys to the club head-

quarters did not appear. The few members of the I. C. present were invited to attend a the workers in the party! The ted by the bureaucrats at the City inquiry of mine dated November 21, Congress must take place within Central Council of the Unemployed so I knew that if possible he and deaver to exclude me from this the Reichstag will be convened at attack was launched against the meeting as Musteites have done with other Communists in St. Louis and other cities. But I managed to go to Perkins' home with a militant worker from the I. C. Before democratic organizations from top ied about in order to expel comrade entering, Perkins asked my name. Gordon from the meeting. He was I gave it to him and he immediately seemed perplexed and said, "A Communist?" Before I had more than answered him the militant worker asked good-naturally, "What's wrong? Are you afraid of Comundo so, at the block committee, asked where he is a member. The motion ists? They are just like other mosting passed. About five com- workers." "No," Perkins replied, "BUT I don't like the dirty lies they tell in the Daily Worker!" So we followed him into his home.

While we were finding places Perkins must have put the leading League members wise to my identity. For the meeting had no more than started with a roll call of block committee met. The meeting those present than the chairman asked me pointedly, "And whom do you represent?" "The Communist inists. A functionary, Berndt, League of America and a group of started the meeting by attacking sympathetic unemployed workers," I replied. He grunted, cleared his throat and announced, "You men know our attitude in regard to Gordon is not "just a rank and Communists. What shall we do?" file Trotskyist". Finally the real And then followed one of the emreason for the bureaucrats' venom priest discussions I have ever heard as to why I should be excluded sue and had spoiled (how?) their from the meeting. I was a Compure and simple charity demon-stration, raised the workers out of Worker told lies; Communists the rut of Stalinist opportunism vilified Muste. They couldn't work with Communists, and besides this was a "secret" meeting and they Gordon was given no chance to didn't want a word of it to get in lefend himself. Upon a signal from the Communist press. the party bureaucrat (Berndt), a

I tried to point out the general young careerist by the name of difference between a Stalinist C. Fred Dell pounced upon him, un- P. member and a Left Oppositionist, and refused to be held responfrom all sides. Comrade Gordon sible for the mistakes of the Party. As a worker interested in the build-His nose was battered and his eye ing of a united unemployed council blackened. In this manner are the I asked to be permitted to remain. Some fool grabbed on to the word 'council" and exclaimed, "You want to build a Council and we want to part of the party bureaucrats in- build a League! We can't agree! dicates the great interest of the The discussion proceeded fruitparty members in Germany and the lessly; they were determined to platform of the Left Opposition on get me out at all costs. So I prothis question. A good crowd is posed that a vote be taken as to whether or not I could remain without voice or vote. I was told that I couldn't make a motion and some one moved that I be invited to attend an open meeting of the Austintown League on Wednesday night. This passed, and a motion to evict me was mad upon. The members of the I. C. were bewildered, but two sturdy workers both voted and spoke in favor of my remaining even though I was a Communist. The League functionaries all voted against it and succeeded in getting a few rank-and-file inexperienced members of the I. C. to vote with them. Perkins and his clique wouldn't permit me to leave the house until I had given up a list of names which I had copied down during ward a broader united front in the the roll call.

But we will get in contact with the workers in the Leagues and the I. C. in spite of such nonsensical intrigues and obstructions! will help to build a united local unemployed organization that will function with workers' democracy alization question on the budget bureaucrats. FOR A UNITED and not according to the whims of FRONT OF ALL UNEMPLOYED WORKERS!

ABERN SPEAKS AT WILKES-BARRE MEETING

Martin Abern, member of the Naional Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) this city are in particularly poor will speak under the auspices of shape, it becomes first of all necesthe League at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsary to rebuild these. We know sylvania, on Sunday, February 26, that the party forces are small and 1933, 2 P. M. on the crisis in Geras yet inadequate for the great many and the standpoint of the amount of work at hand. We know Left Opposition. Admission to the that every available force is needed meeting is free and all miners and for the work. To this end we other workers are cordially invited offer, every one of our small group, to attend. The meeting will be to carry out any task assigned to held at the Workers' Circle Hall, us in this desperately needed united 69 S. Hancock Street.

ciplined manner. Of course, we re- Oehler Tour:

Davenport, Iowa-Feb. 27 Des Moines, Iowa-Feb. 27 Kansas City, Mo .- March 1, 2, 3 St. Louis, Mo.-March 4, 5 Illinois Coal Fields—March 6, etc. ABERN AT BOSTON MEET

position are only a small group in A mass meeting at which the this town, to be sure. But we want German situation today will be anto be and can be of aid to the alyzed and the reasons given for party in this important turn. It is the Left Opposition demand for a united front to smash Hitler, is to Hoping that you will give this be held in Boston on Sunday night, letter the serious attention it re- 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 Opposi-

scious that the imperialist road the weakest link in the imperialist now leads through the Fascist re- clain, in the throes of the decay of THE MILITANT Works by Leon Trotsky

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published three times a week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East

16th Street, New York. EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck Vol. VI, No. 12 (Whole No. 159)

Friday, February 24, 1933 Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year, Foreign \$2.50. One cent a copy

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