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NEW YORK, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1933

Hitlerites Shut Down Headquarters of The Communist Party Why Does the Communist International Continue Its Silence About Germany?

tional measures to insure execu- power! tion of their murder program The working class, which against the working class. After showing such an unmistakable deagainst the working class. After having instructed the police to suppress all anti-Pascist meetings with ment to crush the Nazis, is being Japan Widens Attack On North the aid of the brown-shirts and kept in a state of impotence from Steel Helmets, a new order has two sides. The social democracy, been issued by Captain Goering, the at a moment when the proletariat Fascist commissioner in charge of should be aroused and every instruthe Prussian Ministry of the In- ment of struggle put into its hands, the Prissant Ministry of the Inches and the first ment of struggic put into its analyst terior, commanding the arming of its drugging the working class just. The League was founded for the Conference was initiated by another not force England into a war: masses may unrold such a move is too cultured a mind to anow maintenance of a robbers' status. Czar, Nicholas II, in 1898; that "The first duty of British states—ent as will lead to the revolution—Fascism to "gain a roothold" in it. bers of the Steel Helmets for use is descending upon its body. "auxiliary police". The training of the latter has already begun and they have already been officially reviewed by government authorities as part of the government's forces. The suppression of meetings of Communists and social democrats is being carried out without the slightest camouflage. In Berlin, the social democratic Reichsbanner has been forbidden to hold a demonstration "on the ground that it would collide with Nazi arrangements". In Altona, the Nazi storm troops are to parade openly in the streets, this time not merely with the official approval of the authorities, and under police protection, but the formal announcement that the most rigorous measures will be adopted to suppress any counterdemonstration. At Cologne-a fact of enormous significance!--socialist meetings "are to be permitted only if no Communists happen to be present". In this Fascist order is contained an acknowledgement of the fear experienced by the Nazis when faced with the prospect of united demonstrations and action of the German working class, both of the Communist and social democratic camp.

In addition, the radio, a government monopoly from which the Communists were excluded in the past, has now been allocated entirely for the use of the Nazis and the Nationalists, so that not only League of America (Opposition) amount of respect among the rank the Communists and the social democrats are to be deprived of its use, international Workers School and fights in behalf of the unemployed, ut even the Cathlic Center party and the People's party once headed by the deceased Dr. Stresemann.

munist party meeting in Berlin meeting that they would unite with broken up by the police, but the headquarter's of the Communist party, the famous Karl Lieknecht tion of the Stalinites to two re-House, was broken into by squads ligious delegations. John Spengerof police, literature and other party property confiscated, and a police guard left in charge of the building. One day later (Saturday) the police announced the discovery "of subterranean vaults containing Opposition members were close by tons of treasonable printed matter and labyrinths of underground passages providing secret exits". One of the first moves following this ing our literature or else our raid, has been the government order forbidding the Communist the fanatics that we would conparty to collect money publicly; tinue giving out our leaflets in spite All these moves are only the flank of their threats. In order to avoid attacks, the preliminary skirmishes, in the plan of battle of the Fascsits to harass and weaken the party street, we retreated out of the lobby sufficiently to be able to give it onto the sidewalk. During the the final blow that will drive in out of existence.

It is not to these events, how ever, that the center of attention should be directed. What the Fascists are now doing and what they intend to do tomorrow—that we were able to forecast without difficulty and we did forecast it. Far exceeding this aspect of the in Aiken, S. C., a banker having German situation in importance, remains the state of paralysis of ty, the Negro in Aiken having the proletariat which makes possi- been accused of stealing liquor. ble the murderous advance of the Nazis. The Berlin correspondent of the New York Times, Mr. Fred this worse than barbarous instituerick T. Birchall, an observer who tion, used by the southern Bourreveals an unusually lucid under bons to keep the workers divided standing of what is happening, along color lines and the Negro makes the following comment on race subjected as a caste, is evidthe government order to arm the enced by the fact that in their re-Fascists to help the police against ports of the lynching of Nelson the Left wing: "The growing excesses of the Left radicals' are lie of the white South that they purely mythical. Neither the Com- place at the base of so many lynchmunists nor any other radicals of ings: "He attempted to attack Mrs. the Left have dared to make the Batchelor", the wife of the late slightest demonstration for weeks. Virtually all 'excesses' and disturbances have originated from Nazi sources."

In a word, the Fascists are not lynching was none other than to merely very much on the offensive, protect white women! (Certainly but the working class has not yet they never make any pretense at even organized its defensive!

ion movement, its Communist party throughout the country, especially and its social democratic party far the Southern workers, should be stronger than they ever were in given a chance to see through the Italy, the fact is that the Hitler- falsity of this accusation.

with which they are succeeding in Mussolini's Black Shirts either be-

Stampfer's Interview

In the interview with the press, the social democracy, Herr Friedrich Stampfer declared, according to the Heald-Tribune (2-24-1933). that his party was not very much worried about the possibilities en- The clearest expression of that joyed by the Fascsts for remaining alliance was given in the Protocol long in power! From his interview, of Troppau in 1820. The advance we extract the following items, of "democracy" had not yet made characteristically significant!

"The German working class is documents. That protocol stated, not very strong as an attacking "If owing to such (revolutions), force, but put it on the defensive immediate danger threatens other and it is unconquerable....On July states, the Powers bind themselves 20 last, when the Braun government by peaceful means, or if need be was deposed in Prussia, the Com- by arms, to bring back the guilty munists urged us to call a general state to the bosom of the Great

Its prototype was the Holy Alli-

ance initiated by Czar Alexander.

mandatory care in the wording of

tenor of Matsuoka's speech of ison is most apt!

withdrawal from the League. That

'open season" for the robber im-

of unity) is one reason why China

-is unable to defend itself today,

unable to rid itself as it desires,

of foreign military forces stationed

of foreign vessels that ply the

Yangtse River. These forces are

not only Japanese. They are British, American, French, Italian and

"Even if foreign countries en-

gaged in a war there is no reason

why a wise, honorable foreign pol-

icy should not enable us to stand

aside." That is to say let the U.S.

Militant Sales

In Sharp Rise

The sales of the Militant in

New York are mounting with un-

usual speed. The campaign of

the Left Opposition on the Ger-

man situation has encountered

the greatest interest and support

of any movement yet set on foot

by us in this country. The pre-

vious issue of the Militant, con-

taining the article on the Ger-

man situation by comrade Trot-

sky, was sold on the streets, like

the issues before it, by members

and sympathizers of the League.

In New York, we sold one thou-

sand copies of this issue in one

we are doing it first.

fire.

totypes only in the greater speed sent time less resistance than did lead inevitably to a confict which time may come, indeed, and that will not accelerate such a develop- have a formidable task ahead or .y Deglining to Work with the socould only end to the disadvantage before long, when things will come ment... The endeavors of the so us, but we do not view the satuaconsolidating their power, the Nazi fore their march on Rome or after of the workers... We socialists can to a head and the trade unions will cialist leaders to organize even a tion in any spirit of depression or gangs in Germany have now addi- the installation of the Fascists in not be revolutionary, or militant, cease to put up passively with poli- temporary tactical alliance with the fatalism. Fascism stands no chance the book of Schill-Manuellesky-Phaelat the present time, as many for tical developments, as they have for Communists have failed completely or gaining a footnoid in a nation

> The hypocrisy of the imperialist ification due to the march of his- and Japan ruin each other while League of Nations in its attitude tory, this is still the doctrine of we keep the arena from becoming and will not be, goes without say below". towards China stands recorded in the League. It must be recalled a free-for-all. Churchill goes on, every speech of the "statesmen". further that the first Hague Peace after stating that the League can-

quo and for the crushing of the So- finally, the League was constituted men is to make sure we are not ary victory of the projectariat. That The Italian social democrats more viet Union, these two aims going by the most reactionary imperialist drawn into any war, and it is only the socialists have enceavored to than 10 years ago also disarmed necessarily hand in hand. It is diplomats after a robbers' world their second (!) duty to try to preworth recalling for a moment the war. China is still in the throes vent others from fighting or to try the editor of the central organ of historic antecedents of the present of revolution, halted but for a mo- to end their quarrels...We do not ment. The League and the Japan-ese call this intense and profound ship with Japan." Churchill tells movement of the Chinese masses Japan plainly that she has a perthat is forcing the submerged work- feetly free hand in China so far as ers and peasants on to the stage England is concerned. In fact he of history, nothing but "chaos" and compares directly what Japan is "anarchy". In reality this places doing in China with what England League. And that is the complete in India. And indeed the compar-

> speech is the declaration, if it still new tune on the arms embargo. Such an embargo would hardly be

> perialists in China. "That (lack worth the paper to record it. No (Continued on Page 2)

coming from the workers."

ing. Exceeding even their fear of stampier consoles the working rascism, is their rear that the class with the theory that Germany make an amance with the Com- the masses by assuring mem that munists, is just as much of a name in their country, the "cradic of motruth as is the contention of the gern civilization, the fascist bar-Statinists that they stand for the barians could not hope to "gain a "united front from below" with the socialist workers, but not with the socialists will "resist". How? their organizations. The social the joint manifesto of the social democrats have indeed demanded a democratic party and Reichstag "united front" with the Commun- traction gives us an idea of what ists, but on the little condition that this resistance will look like. while China outside the pale of the herself is engaged in carrying out the Communists dissolve them the Hitiernes are proceeding with League. And that is the complete in India. And indeed the comparof the socialist demand that in this with fire and sword, with the ut-"united front" the Communists refrain from criticism of the policies cern for all the niceties of parliaand conduct of the social democra

> The current issue of the American socialist New Leader boasts that

of foreign military forces stationed in and about the treaty ports and Intensive Exploitation of the German Workers is Prospect Under Hitler

others...Less than five years ago The present situation in German bankruptcy of the Bonapartist reand American, had to go into actions every day. Unemployment has with its economic program, which tion" at a time like this, is deli-Japan, let us make no bones about been increasing, and the export sur- was essentially a gamble on the the matter, we are doing precisely plus has fallen to the lowest figure possibility of stimulating a separwhat you would like to do, but in three years; yet prices of com- ate recovery in German economy modities and securities keep ad- independently of the world situavancing. The latter fact is espe-The attitude of British capitalcially interesting as it shows the lion marks to the capitalists. ism at this juncture is superbly stated by Winston Churchill who opinion which the German bourge Significance of Low Export Surplus oisie itself has, and is willing to tells America that she will have to pull her own chestnuts out of the

> a view to squeezing out the maximum profits possible under the situation of the general world crisis of capitalism intensified by a cyclical crisis of unheard-of intensity. If an effective united front between Communist and reformist workers through their organizations is formed, it may well not only defeat Hitler and reestablish the rights of the workers under the bourgeois democracy of the Weimar republic, but sweep on beyond these limits and open a period of revolutionary crisis on the way to the

seizure of power. In such a transitional stage as the present in Germany, economic life reflects not only echoes of the immediately preceding past but anticipations of the new. The increase in unemployment reflects the

tion by making a present of 2 bil-

The contradictions reflect the 6 million dollars is even more sigfact that Germany is now in a critnificant. Since German capitalism The official party press continues ical position, in which the next few needs an export surplus of over 20 to report an incident here and anweeks or months may impress their million dollars a month to meet its other elsewhere about clashes becharacter on years to come. If interest on borrowed money, most tween Communists and Fascists, Hitler wins full power, he will ly from America. Since no new open a period of the most intense exploitation of German labor with contrary, an international The hollow repetition of the slogan bankers' committee is meeting in Berlin to consider how to take out the capital that they still have left in Germany) the deficit between monthly payments of interest and monthly export surpluses must come out of Germany's gold reserve. These are not only depleted but to the extent of over 40 percent re present borrowed gold. Another few months of such small or vanishing export surpluses and Germany will have to suspend interest payments, or else go off the gold standard through exhaustion of its gold reserves.

The Fascist-Bonapartist alliance which now controls Germany wants to retain its backing by international imperialist capital, and there-(Continued on Page 2)

for almost a year. They are strik-

ing virtually only for union recog-

body slave-drivers force them into

the treacherous outfit known as the

UMWA. While the remainder of

the miners in Illinois, not in the

ers and have been at work for

several months these workers have

in the rest of the state who are

contributed large amounts of money

out of their meager wages to main-

tain their brothers yet on strike.

ciansts'. Stampfer-Breitschield weis have thus taken a lear out of mann. While the situation cries like Germany that has a certain out for a united front from organilevel or political culture, owing to zation to organization, both the sothe resistance that will be forth- clai democratic leaders and the Scallulat bureductars concent them-That the socialist leaders "can- serves with empty, disastrous chatnot be revolutionary, or militant', ter about the united from from

> roothold". And why not? Because most brutality and cynical unconmentarism so cherished by the social democrats, the latter announce:

"We shall wage our struggle upon the basis or the Constitution. We shall defend the political and social rights of the people, estabnished by the Constitution and by naw." (New Leader, 2-25-1933.)

The program of the social democracy has the merit of clarity. We know what it is driving at: it aims to keep its record of treachery unimpaired. To talk about "strugeconomy presents new contradic-gime of Papen-Schleicher together sie on the basis of the Constituperately to surrender the German working class, bound and gagged, to the butchers of Fascism

But if the social democracy has at least this merit, the same cannot be said about the Comunist party. What is the party doing to mobilize back with money, in the speculative the export surplus was reduced to desperate hour? Nobody knows, The fact that in January 1933 the working class at this crucial, least of all the Stalinist leaders! but nobody can discern just what for the "united front from below" -signifies less than nothing. The Fascists are moving with seven .eague boots-the Communists, who should be in the vanguard of the movement to initiate the united front, are bewildered, confused and impotent. The observations of the bourgeois correspondent referred to above are, sadly enough, close to the terrible truth.

Stalinist Silence

The proletariat has not yet struck back at Fascism, and for this the Stalinists bear the main burden of responsibility. The program of the Left Opposition—for a united front of the Communist party with the social democracy and the trade unions-the former has rejected out of hand. Are they waiting until the German proletariat has been cut to pieces before they decide to act? That is the question and that is how it must be put.

And above everything else, we

repeat our question: WHY IS THE COMMUNIST IN-TERNATIONAL SILENT ABOUT THE EVENTS IN GERMANY? WHY DOESN'T THE COMMUN-SPEAK OUT? WHY DOESN'T IT GIVE COUNSEL TO THE GER-MAN PROLETARIAT AT THIS D ESPERATE MOMENT OF CRISIS?, WHY DOESN'T IT CALL UPON THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS FOR PROLE-TARIAN SOLIDARITY THE GERMAN MASSES?

For the Communist Internationmine when the strikebreakers were signed up the independent employ- revolution", to persist in its silence now—IS A CRIME!

> For the Communist worker to ing committed—IS TO MAKE HIMworking at the present time have SELF AN ACCOMPLICE TO IT!

> Louder and louder must rise the cry: The Communist International must speak out! It must demand Not only this but at the first the united front of the German working class! It must set in motion the machinery that will crush Hitlerism! It must stop talking about "defending the Soviet Union", and actually defend it on its most threatened front: Germany.

—G. C. | Sunday, Feb. 26, 1933. —M. S.

ADMISSION 15 Cents

strike. We were convinced, how- Alliance." With the necessary mod-St. Louis Unemployment Conference Adops Left Opposition Proposals

ed. Stalinists told us before the "anybody". This was later confirmed by the enthusiastic recepmann and Charles Mahler were on the distributing committee giving out our unemployment program leaflets to the workers attending the conference. Luckily the Left as the Stalinist fanatics came out en masse-20 or 25 of them-to inform us to desist from distribut-"heads will get broken". We told a fist-fight and the interference of the police, who were across the

A unity convention of the em-squabble workers stepped up and a portion of these forces, British ployed and the unemployed was protested against any trouble and and American, had to go into accalled in the name of the Needle demanded the unity of the work- tion at Nanking." In short, says Trades Workers Industrial Union ers, thus concretely vindicating the and the City Committee of the Un- unity program of the Left Opposiemployed Councils on Feb. 19th, tion on unemployment. The 25 1933. Some thirty organizations fanatics retreated, going back for sent fifty delegates representing "more reinforcements". Fortunapproximately 2.000 workers. The ately Charles Warner, a rank and local branch of the Communist file militant, who enjoys a vast and its auxiliary organizations, the and file workers for his militant the Jewish Workers Club sent de- arrived at this time. He insisted legates to fight for our unemployed that the "Trotskyite" delegation be admitted. The bureaucrats did not To top this record of a couple of days of intensive Fascist activity in Germany, is to be noted the fact that not only was the huge Company of the Staliniste told are before the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are to oppose the will off this extremely popular fighter of the staliniste told are t committee should distribute our leastet and none of the fanatics would interfere. Victory. Number One!

The conference was opened by Stone. Warner was elected chairman by acclamation. And then the conference got down to busi

A resolutions committee of six, which included two Left Oppositionists, was elected. The Credentials Committee which was elected also included a Left Oppositionist sympathizer. Victory number two! The resolutions as proposed by Unemployed Council were only of a petty episodic "immediate relief"

(Continued on Page 2)

nature. The Left Oppositionists in the resolutions committee brought forth the entire program of the Communist League of America (Op-

Two Negroes Lynched In South

Two Negro workers were lynched: the same day, Sunday, Feb. 19, 1933, one in Ringgold, La., the other been beaten to death in one local-

That even the newspapers of the North are partners to perpetuating Nash of Louisiana they include the banker.

They always say, he raped, he attempted to rape, or he attacked her, as if the purpose of their protecting colored women!) But In Germany, with its trade un- they lie even here, and the workers

White women in the South are not protected against those who "prey on women", such as the fam-ous "Lone Wolf" who operated in New Orleans the same as he did in New York, any more than women are protected anywhere else under capitalism. They are forced into prostitution with low wages, unemployment, general economic uncertainty even more than in many other places. Certainly their outlook for "happy marriages" is very slim. The truth is that the chivalry of the South is a thin cloak that covers not only the bosses' excuses for lynching Negroes, but also the worst kind of degeneration

of women in the Southern States. Not only are Negro women outside the pale of Southern chivalry; they are often the victims of this weapon the bosses wield, and one inquires of those who maintain this sex angle, if lynching is to protect white women from being raped by Negroes, why are Negro women also the victims of this weapon? In 1710 there were 50,000 Negroe in the country; 220,000 in 1750 740,000 at the time of the Revolu-

tionary War, of which 700,000 were

(Continued on Page 2)

day, in addition to the copies which go regularly to subscribers and those which are bought on the newstands. Comrade Spithas sold 181 copies; Sammy Sold 179; comrade Levine, a sympathizer. sold 170 copies and Jim Carr sold upwards of a hundred. In addition fifty copies of the latest pamphlet by Leon Trotsky, containing his Copenhagen speech in defense of the Russian Revolution. were also sold on the streets in one day at five cents a copy. The whole New York branch of the League is enthusiastically and succesfuly engaged in the drive, with every comrade at his post. them with scab labor.

BONAPARTISM & THERMIDOR IN THE SOVIET UNION DOES THE DANGER THREATEN?

MAX SHACHTMAN

Friday, March 3, 1933 126 East 16th Street, ADMISSION: 15c

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

7 Wounded In New Mine Battle

The State Senatorial Committee | bona-fide union of coal diggers in nvestigating conditions in the the state of Illinois with the exmines of southern Illinois received tinct and discredited shell of a a rear dose of the class struggle in "union" of Lewis-Walker and Co. IST INTERNATIONAL DO ITS bettle that occurred in a Peabody But they are meeting with stiff rea battle that occurred in a Peabody But they are meeting with stiff remine in Springfield which they were sistance from the miners. These 'investigating". Two members of miners working in the Peabody the Progressive Miners Union, three mines have been out on strike now scabs and two deputy sheriffs were injured in the skirmish that occurred at the Woodside and Capital nition. They refuse to let the Peamines when the labor-hating Peabody trust attempted to operate

More than 1,000 miners of the P. M. A. were on hand at each employ of the Peabody Co. have getting ready to leave for the day. The 100 scabs (according to the N. Y. Times report) were protected valiantly held out. Those miners be quiet while such a crime is beby a mob of company gunmen who immediately opened fire on the pickets. The miner's who could not be subdued even by this murderous fusillade, retaliated by hurling chunks of 'coal and stone at the thugs and scabs. According to this same news report the miners, overwhelmed by these armed representatives of "law and order", withdrew their lines.

This is just another instance where the Peabody gang is making agents of the Lewis gang! an attempt to circumvent the only

skirmish with the bosses the members of the PMA have joined their forces in solidarity with the striking miners. More power to the Illinois miners in their struggle asainst the scab-herders and their

MAX SHACHTMAN

BROWNSVILLE MASS MEETING

GERMANY» «The

Labor Lyceum SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 2 P. M. 219 SACKMAN ST., Bklyn N. Y.

Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

Eva Weiner, pointed out in her re-

marks the incorrectness of the

Report Shows Fate of Germany Hangs

In Balance; United Front Is Urgent

Tardy Acknowledgement

In the Izvestia, official Soviet utilization by Communist parties government organ, of April 10, in capitalist countries must take. 1932, Karl Radek wrote an article The incorrect application of the utilproposing an alliance with Ameri- ization of the contradictions becan imperialism against Japan. tween the imperialist powers tended Two days later, the statesmen of to weaken our struggle against Amthe Daily Worker, in enthusiastic erican imperialism. The campaign salute to Radek's proposal, defiled suffered further from a certain narthe columns of this Communist pa- rowing down of the mass movement per with a rotten chauvinistic edi- because the Party mistakenly adtorial. "This proposal", it said, opted as Party slogans those which "means a new step in the peace were not the slogans of the con-policy of the Soviet Union." In scious vanguard of the proletarian the Militant of April 16, 1932, we masses, but rather the slogans wrote that the editorial, pletely devoid of a breath of pro- tionary moods of the masses that letarian revolutionism, is one of are only now growing toward revthe most disgraceful pieces of olutionary consciousness (False! cynical flirtation with chauvinism | They were and are, right now, the that has ever appeared in the Com- slogans of the military chauvinist munist movement...The Daily wing of the American bourgeoisie. Worker, entirely consistent with the theory of socialism in one must give conditional support but country, which means in practise not put forward in its own name the abandonment of every revolu- ('Expel the Japanese imperialist tionary principle in the alleged interests of defending the Soviet Union from military attack, picks up the Radek thread with all its implications elaborated upon even more shamelessly. Taking Radek's cue, the editorial writer proceeds to address himself to the American ruling class in order to show it that its best imperialist interests than a little justified. We have lie in a break wth Japan and an no doubt that now, in view of the alliance with the Soviets... Now the party's deand for the 'expulsion of all Japanese diplomatic representatives from the U.S.' becomes entirely clear....

tified strictures upon the Stalinist politicians, we were at that time subjected to the vilest abuse. The ritualistic abjurations -- "counterrevolutionists, enemies of the Soviet Union, social-Fascists, renegades"-were spattered at from every party tribune. Even the little Lovestone sect came rushing out of obscurity to give the Stalinists a "theoretical" foundation for their policy, equipped with supplying munitions to Japan at it has not consolidated its posiall the trappings of a few Lenin top speed. Nor do or will the Amquotations violently divorced from their context.

For these sharp but entirely jus-

Ten months have passed since tities of nitrates from Chilethat dispute and we are now in a enough for a prolonged war with tactics will smash Fascism to position to cast a balance—and America if that war breaks out. An what a balance! In the Draft arms embargo would be merely an-Resolution for the Eighth Convention of the American party (Daily Worker, 2-1-1933) we learn with considerable astonishment and not a little gratification that:

"Extremely grave errors were perialist armies in Manchuria placed the question of war before the American Party in a sharper and that the contradictions between rival imperialisms must be utilized to the utmost by the revolutionary application of the correct principle a conciliatory attitude towards the speculations of the bourgeois correspondents (What do you mean bourgeois correspondents"? Radek?—s.) about a possible 'alliproletariat in possession of State that spell the doom of her imperialdifferent forn

Opposition at

St.Louis Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

position) and after some negative

discussion by one or two Stalinists

our program was unanimously ad-

opted for consideration by the con-

ference. In the floor discussion

carried unanimously. Briefly they

United Front Program

2. Unemployment Insurance a

the expense of the employers and

the extension of credits to the So

viet Union, as a means of unem

and Russian workers into closer

relationship. For the recognition

of the Soviet Union by the U. S.

The formation of a United Front

Unemployment Conference commit-

tee consisting of one delegate from

each organization which shall carry

1. To mobilize the membership

of all the organizations for a joint

demonstration for immediate re-

lief at the Citizens Committee or

To issue a call immediately for

the second conference inviting all

To organize the sending of

To call upon each organiza-

working class organizations to par-

of the united front movement.

ence and its projected program.

tion represented to hold a public

meeting in support of the confer-

6. To organize a joint mass

meeting of all organizations parti-

presentative speakers from each

ence under its own auspices.

tendency.

out the following instructions:

Immediate Relief-concretized by the Unemployed Council's

were as follows:

state government.

government.

"com- which express the unripe-revolu--s.), slogans to which the Party representatives,' etc.).'

Confused and unprincipled as is ing a public exhibition of their even this piece of "self-criticism" political bankruptcy. Most of the (not the least of its aims is to Y. C. Lers responded sympathe Chicago convention through the to extend his time for half an Otto Wels, after many radical cover up the traces for the Moscow Stalinists), it is nevertheless ing atentively to the speakers and shamefaced acknowledgment that after the meeting purchased the announced himself and after a hour is not enough for the presentation and remarked that even half an announced himself and after a hour is not enough for the presentations. It the criticism levelled against the Militant and fraternized with our Stalinists by the Militant was more fact that we have been proved correct beyond dispute, the Stalinists will make up for it by multiplying their violent attacks upon the Left Opposition.—s.

The Jap Attack

government that wished to do so (and the munitions makers of all countries are most eager to get going) would be prevented from winking at slight "irregularities" that meant good business. Right now both England and France are erican Guggenheims hesitate for one moment in shipping vast quanother scrap of paper.

Opinions have been freely expressed that Japan will shortly find herself in dire financial straits. This is not true in the immediate, naive sense stated. So long as committed by the Party when the France has vast hoards of unused robber attack of the Japanese imporialist armies in Manchuria plac-ancing it needs from the great money-lender of Europe. Particularly is this true because France fars as much as does Japan the more real form than ever before....

There is much as does Japan the unification of China which would mean the ultimate outsing of the mean the ultimate ousting of the reactionary French from Annam and South China. The rub will come for Japan when the debts party, yet an inexcusably incorrect fall due, when its internal shakiness becomes accentuated by dewas made in adopting for a period sperate efforts at more intense exploitation of its workers and peasants. The cost of living rises to stupendous heights in Japan while And real wages fall. The strict Japanese censorship screens out the news ance' between the U. S. and USSR. of peasant riots and workers' against Japan (Daily Worker, strikes that are surface indications April 12), and by failure to dis- of the seething below. In the tinguish between the correct Lenin- end it is the inescapable internal ist utilization of antagonisms by a contradictions of Japanese economy

-MARTIN PAYER.

leaflets on Germany and Germancrisis Militants were eagerly reached for, especially by many party Abern Speaks at Boston A mass meeting at which the German situation today will be analyzed and the reasons given for the Left Opposition demand for a

that followed all the points were united front to smash Hitler, is to be held in Boston on Sunday night, March 5, 1933, 8 P. M. at Belmont Hall, 150 Humbolt Ave., Roxbury, Mass. The meeting, under the aus pices of the Boston branch of the

representation from sixty organi- of the audience.

given on the cases in question, the there was three other big meetings the Boston branch of the Commun- with free entertainment at the ist League of America (Opposi- Grand Theater, though they knew tion), comrade Schechet, was in that comrade Allard was to speak session. After the "general" reso- in the city. lution was adopted a further reit received the support of four of about comrade Allard's visit. the nine delegates serving on the

committee. their incorrect position on the uni-, unemployment here.

make the necessary turn. A party Greeks Rallied On member who is also a member of German Crisis an A. F. of L. local brought out the point that in the attempt to Toronto.—The great interest of invite A. F. of L. locals the call

the workers in the position of the of the ILD very often did not even Left Opposition in the German reach the membership. This proved crisis was shown in the meeting to his mind the correctness of days before the meeting due to the from the Left Opposition, comrade

again briefly on the united front, and "Protomagia", and they stated terday afternoon, February 10, explaining that while it is clear that a debate will be very useful gigantic funeral procession wended enough to the sixty delegates at for their enlightment on the views its way through Berlin to the cemethis conference that the role of of the Opposition and those of the tery of Friederichsfelde in honor the reformist leadership means be- Stalinists. The Stalinists preferred of the three class victims Bermer, Spector traced the German events trayal of the workers, we must not silence to an answer as to the de- Kollatesh and Schultz, who were upon thousands of the workers still poor and unconcinving talk of the bandits. Despite the police probihave confidence in their leaders, editor, other Stalinists spoke for an bition over 100,000 workers marchtogether with their following, and hour to prove to the workers their ed through the streets. Without a prove in action to the masses of nakedness and their degeneration by united front being formally estabworkers who it is that sincerely making fun of comrade Cornilius events for the world revolutionary represents their interests. Com- who after all did not suffer while Reichsbanner and the C. P. officialmovement and for the Soviet Un- rade Schechet thereupon moved that in prison for 19 months but "came ly participated The Reichsbanner ion. Although Fascism is in power the conference immediately call a out of jail quite fat." Comrade second conference inviting the cen- Pappas answered to the point the of his columns for common strugganizations, Socialist party, A. F. of L., Workmen's Circle, all Negro for a debate. While the chairman section of the Leninist united front organizations, etc., etc., to unite was adjourning the meeting the ed his followers to make all possiwith us in the struggle for freesmithereens. Rounds of applause dom of the Scottsboro boys, Mooney answer the demands of the workgreeted the remarks of the speak- and all other class war prisoners, ers for a debate, and when he took And that leaflets be printed to this it instead of accepting or refusing effect and widely distributed among it he hurled some epithets and run the workers in order that mass down to the street. pressure may be brought to bear on their leaders.

Conveniently enough, a substifurther work.

energetic support.

Davenport, Iowa.---A lecture was Youth Club immediately challeng- attended to hear Gerry Allard, the The chairman didn't allow him to ed the Y. C. L. "spokesman" to a leader of the coal miners in south proceed any further. public debate. This he promptly ern Illinois, describe the condideclined with the worn-out excuse tions of the miners and the reason that the question of "Trotskyism" for their fight against the Peabody had been liquidated and Y. C. L. Coal Company and the betrayers was not a discussion circle. The of the coal miners, John L. Lewis

Allard gave a very enthusiastic the Left Opposition, the question of picture of the heroic fight that the "Trotskyism" has been re-opened in miners are putting up in southern to refute the Stalinists about the pluses. But the workers have alall the Stalinist groups throughout Illinois. Comrade Allard showed composition of our club Protom- ready begun to resist in spite of conclusively that the miners knew agia. Anyway, when the collection the handicap of reformist dominawhat they had to face in the strug- was taken, they didn't refuse the tion. Wages cannot be cut mater gle. A discussion took place at which the leader of the local Stalinists made an attack on comrade siderably annoyed the Stalinists organizations, political, trade un-Allard and his co-workers in southern Illinois. But comrade Allard Boston.—The long-delayed Moon- in a very few words was able to But at the last meeting seeing that hand, effective resistance even on ey-Scotsboro conference was held in annihilate the slanderous attacks our club members began to pene-Boston on Sunday, February 19. of the present party leadership trate the ranks of the unemployed, fication of the trade union organi-The credentials committee reported amidst the enthusiastic applause

Seventy-five workers attended While brief reports were being this lecture despite the fact that resolutions committee of nine, in- in the city. The A. F. of L. parcluding one of the delegates from ticularly gave a special blow-out

After the meeting a party wa solution for a genuine united front held by our branch of the Left conference is to be called at once Opposition for comrade Allard with twenty to twenty-five workers chet. It is noteworthy that al- present who stayed until after midthough this resolution was defeated, night. Everybody was enthusiastic

The enthusiasm of comrade Allard was catching by the workers The discussion from the floor re- in spite of the small crowd. Many of vealed how little the Stalinists the workers expressed their desire have learned from the past and de- to form a relief committee to help spite the many failures through the striking miners in spite of the

On February 7 and 19 our Greek Workers Club "Protomagia" gave two lectures at the hall of the garden workers who have definitely expressed their sympathy and support either for the Amalgamated Food Workers Union 687-8th Ave., on the united front ist party instinctively feel that representatives had nothing to say by comrades Papas and Caldis. At the first lecture the managing editor of the Empros attempted with the assistance of 15-20 other theory of a united front "from below" and showed that precisely because the call of the I. L. D. in their efforts were fruitless they delight them. side in the hallway to listen while the past did not reach the bulk of cided to come in and listen themmany had to be turned away, so the membershp under the reformselves to the speaker. The hall passivity. A dead hand of paralygreat was the attraction and interior ist leadership, we must make a was packed with more than 75 sis still holds the working class in complete turn and invite the cen- workers present. When the floor its grasp. Its organizations are tral bodies of all workers' organiza- was thrown open for discussion either unable or their leaders un tions, thus putting the leadership comrade Caldis as chairman sug- willing to act. At times it seems to the wall. She showed clearly gested that the floor be taken pri-that the failure of the I. L. D. to marily by the opponents. The ity is breaking. Last Sunday the organize the broadest united front editor was forced to get up and social-democrats called a demonin the Mooney case resulted in speak for at least 10 minutes while stration at the Lustgarden in Ber-Mooney's latest call for the coming our comrades appealed to the chair lin. It became a monster turnout. Molders' Committee. It was at hour. This the chairman accepted phrases declared for a "non-agrestypically Stalinist line of denunci- tion of the opponents' views and age the genuine united front; but ation of the "agents interested in suggested to the Stalinists present that declaration alone nevertheless uniting with the misleaders of lato accept our challenge and debate expresses the increasing pressure bor", called for an "honest united with us any day and at any time. for unity of action which these Many workers appealed for the leaders feel upon them from their Comrade Schechet then spoke unification of the clubs, "Spartacus" own mass following. Again yes-

February 12th

weak arguments of the Stalinists,

Stalinist editor asked the floor to

and concluded by also appealing and for a united front of action.

The following Sunday we posttute motion was made to proceed poned our next lecture on Germany with the election of an action com- on account of the call for a united mittee which shall decide on all front by the party for the unemployed. Protomagia participated It must be said in conclusion with 3 delegates, comrades Cornthat this action committee must lilius, James Gordon and Caldis. set to work most seriously and at Comrade Gordon was unable to atonce. Realizing that mass pressure tend the conference because he was is the strongest weapon which will meeting at the same time with the gain freedom from the nine Scotts- Central Strike Committe of Foltisboro boys and all other class war Fischer's. The Conference conductprisoners, the committee must stop ed its business in the same steammaking empty gestures about an rolling fashion as the other Stalin-"honest" united front "from be- ists conferences. Our delegates low". This mass pressure can be protested against this procedure in replying to the questions, asked brought about only through the and demanded that at least a minbroadest united front as outlined imum time be given to the delesituation, the Stalinist "spokes- by the Left Opposition. In this gates to discuss the resolutions man" replied amidst protest and work the Boston branch of the that were submitted for ratification laughter that "he (Stalin) was too League pledges its entire and most prior to their voting. They went ahead and passed it any way. Finally the floor was given for only five minutes to comrade Caldis who protested against the steam-rolling and pointed out that the six-hour hve-day week must be in cluded in the resolutions and also the long term credits to the Soviet held Feb. 18, at Hibernian Hall, Union and explained the necessity where about seventy-five workers for the agitation of these demands.

Then the Stalinists (they were the only ones present besides us that took the floor) forgot all about the united front for the unemployed Greek workers and began their usual slanders against the Opposiployed Councils for their approval to removing our club from the united front.

Many misguided workers begin to see clearly that our warnings about the danger of the Right wing pol-

agia and those of the Greek Op- the industrial capitalists. position annoy considerably the nerves of the Stalinists. For the the face of the crisis, to put through last three weeks the Empros car- an increase of 22 percent in the ries a campaign of lies and slan- price of export steel during the ders in a fashion that far exceeds past month, in the expectation of that of the tabloids. But all these closing arrangements for an inter instead of serving their purposes national cartel including France reveal on the contrary to every Belgium and Luxemburg as well as thinking worker the depth of their Germany. In this way the indusdegeneration. They especially com- trialists of the Rhine, Ruhr and plain about the wide distribution Silesia expect, in collusion with among the Greek workers of New "hated foreigner", to be able to York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, carve out a bigger slice of the ex of Militants, Pali ton Taxeon, and port market on the one hand, while Communistes, because they realize striking down the resistance of the that once a large numbers of mis-German worker to wage-cuts with informed workers get a hold of the other, and enforcing a regime our publications, it will open their of super-exploitation based on polieyes and will impose upon the Stal-tical domination by naked brute inists the discontinuation of their force through Hitler's bands and petty-bourgeois opportunism which the army, the police, and the Steel they, themselves, when forced to Helmet nationalist troops. the wall, from time to time try to ficant errors on their part.

(Continued from last issue)

There need be no doubt that the social democratic aims in order to fully re-establish capitalism. Thus they prepared the road for Fascism. And in the development of this Communist party or for the Social- brown shirted menace they deliberately fostered the illusions that this from below". The official party and the Fascist danger in Germany Fascism represents the Sword of Damocles hanging over their heads, conquered by the forces of the threatening their organizations "iron front" including all the supwith destruction, threatening their porters of Hindenburg. They still speak in the name of this "iron even now miserable standard of speak in the name of this living and threatening their very front". As a matter of fact the social democrats are now all that is left of it. But, and that is imthe needs of the situation there is portant, millions of workers still follow these traitors, who only out of fear for their own hides simultaneously give lip service to the slogans of struggle against Fascism. Yet that is precisely the

> menace. In this our small forces have attempted to show the way. The Balance Sheet of Stalinism In Germany

> reason why the formation of the

united front of the entire working

class becomes the key to the situa-

tion which the Communist forces

must take hold of. It is the means

to defeat Fascism, it is the means

to finally unmask the traitors. This

the Left Opposition has demanded since the beginning of the Fascist

The Communist workers, however, were also unprepared. They were lulled into a false underestimation of the sinister menace, into the false security that "We come after the Fascists". They misdirected by the slogans of "natrayal of the workers, we must not overlook the fact that thousands bate. Following the 35 minutes of murdered by the brown shirted ple's revolution". They were sharply divided from their class brothers by the false concepts of "social Fascism". They were split away in small sections from the mass organizations by the criminal policy of independent revolutionary trade unions. The position of the party leadership to date has represented a criminal capitulation in face of the existing menace. When Hitler received his nomination, it threw out the slogan of the general strike in a sort of hit or miss fashion and naturally the response was almost nil. The party leadership set up phantom united front organs. For example in Berlin on the fateful night of Jan. 30, a conference attended by more than 2,000 delegates convened to take measures against the Fascist danger. It listened to much oratory, decided to meet the next day to organize the general strike and collapsed. It represented in reality nobody outside of the party. The general strategy of these Stalinist leaders has since sunk to the level of isolated demonstrations, mass meetings, demonstrative strikes of one hour or two hours, one day in one smaller factory or small town, another day in aonther and in some places merely economic strikes against certain special measures. nany is an enormous task. Even This strategy, or lack of strategy to such powerful demonstrations can be more exact, could only demononly be the small beginnings. Why strate the frightful weakness of the then are these strong hands para- party position and particularly its separation from the workers in the position of the parties, of policy industries. The party's own memberand of leadership. Never before ship composition is about 80 perhas the treasonable role of the So-cent unemployed. The party's incialist party bureaucracy been so ability to lead and to mobilize

To be continued

Dark Prospect Under Hitler Rule

the best working class fighters they

nave made a parliamentary

lished the S. P., the Y. S. L., the

spokesman appealed to the workers

gle with the Communist workers

The Y. S. L. spokesman admonish-

ble sacrifice for the establishment

of a fighting united front. Com-

rade Pieck, in the name of the C

P., called upon all the workers to

join the united front. Yet the

party fails to act, fails to organ-

There are radiant rays of hope

when one feels the throb of such

mighty marching columns. The

broad shoulders of these husky

German proletarians, within each

row, almost touched one another.

Their faces were solemn but show-

splendid picture of class solidarity.

Power is expressed in these heavy

Why Are the Strong Hands

But the defeat of Fascism in Ger-

lyzed? That is the question of the

clearly revealed as at this moment. masses became sadly revealed. Such

Since their betrayal of the revolu- is the balance sheet to date of

tion in 1918 and their murder of the party Stalinist leadership.

Paralyzed?

ed distinct determination. What a

te the united front.

footstens.

(Continued from Page 1)

fore will attempt to carry through a third alternative: the still further forcing down of German wages to produce still lower costs and prices tion. The floor was refused to on its exported goods, which will comrade Cornilius who was anxious make possible larger export surdonation of Protomagia and the ially further without smashing both wild applause of the delegates con- social democratic and Communist They were forced to accept in the ion, and other; and only Fascism committee a member of Protomagia, can do this job. On the other especially at the soup kitchen of zations with the least possible de-St. Barbara where three of our lay; the revolutinary Red Trade comrades were elected as their Union Organization must merge delegates, decided to appeal to the Central Committee of the Unem-"free" organizations.

The Fascist-Bonapartist alliance showing its results in the new tariff legislation, which means that practically no wheat or corn, lard of meat products, can enter the icies of the Stalinists were correct, the present crisis began, prices of ate goal. No petty considerations because they are already serving farm products have advanced steepto strengthen the prestige of the ly, and have forced the general index of prices up. This cements the All these activities of Protom- alliance between the agrarian and

The later have been able,

The German bourgeoisie is betpresent to the workers as insigniting on its supporters. Stocks of

on the Berlin Stock Exchange These companies will be among the first to benefit not only from a war. but also from the re-armament of Germany which both Nazis and nationalists have inscribed on their program.

The fact that a boom is taking place in German stocks while the major world security markets are declining proves that what the speculators are betting on is not a general recovery in world economy, in which German because of its financial weakness would not be among the first to share. Their calculations are rather based on a special development within Germany, and that is the coming into power of Hitler.

Torn between fear, as the accumulated contradictions of the crisis catinue to crash down upon it and the spectacular economic gamble of Papen's program collapses, and hope, that the still bigger gamble on Hitler will after all succeed, the German bourgeoisie has reached a to extend an unlimited credit in confidence and in resources to Hitler and his murderous rabble.

Only one thing can stop themthe closing-up of the ranks of labor and its steady march forward from of factional prestige must be permitted to interfere with the adoption of the sound and tested line which the Left Opposition has been advocating for years; and least of all at a time when the immediate economic situation, as well as the political regrouping of forces, show that Germany is balancing on the edge of the knife.

-B. J. FIELD.

THE MILITANT

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16th Street, New York. EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck

Monday, February 27, 1933 Vol. VI, No. 13 (Whole No. 160) iron, steel and coal companies have Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year, -A. C. been making new high prices lately Foreign \$2.50. One cent a copy.

4. For trade relations with and Lynch 2 Negroes ployment relief for American workres and for drawing the American

League, will be addressed by Mar-

tin Abern, member of the National

Committee of the organization, and

by comrade Antoinette F. Koni-

hear the standpoint of the Opposi-

3. For the 6 hour day and the kow. All workers are urgently in-

5 day week with no reduction in vited to attend the meeting and

(Continued from Page 1)

scattered on isolated plantations of the South; and 1,500,000 in 1820. During all these two centuries charges of rape against Negroes were unknown although there were ample opportunity for commission of such crimes. ("Rope & Faggot" by Walter White)

With the few exceptions of Abolitionists and those Negro slaves who were intelligent and courageous enough to seek freedom through influencing others, lynchings were out of the question, when the victims represented a cash value, when the worker was the property of his master, when chattel slav speakers to the various organiza- ery was the basis of society, lynchtions to urge the acceptance of the ing was not an institution. It was invitation and to explain the aims only when lynchings could be used to subject Negroes for the purpose 4. To issue a minimum of 20,000 of extracting profits for the new leaflets to popularize the confermasters that lynching became an institution, that is to say, lynching is a capitalist institution used by the capitalists to protect their

order. The aim of Nash, if the lynchers got the man they were after, was cipating in the conference with re- to get money. He took the banker to the bank for that purpose. How often the bankers steal thousands and millions of dollars from the The fight of the Opposition was workers! George Jeter of Aiken completely victorious—and as the likewise was after appropriating worker-delegates went home our property.

interests, their profits, their social

of Y. C. L.ers who insisted on maktically to our viewpoint by listen-Comrades J. MacDonald and M. Spector were the principal speakfront from below".

ers. Comrade MacDonald gave the workers an opportunity to compare the position taken by the Comintern in the German revolution when Lenin was alive with the position of the present International under the Stalin leadership. Comrade and the revolutionary possibilities which had opened up after the collapse of the monarchy to the present day. Both speakers pointed out the

300 Hear Opposition

Although no leaflet was issued

and only the meagerest form of ad-

vertisement appeared less than two

difficult conditions that exist about

300 workers packed literally every

inch of sitting and standing ac-

commodation; workers stood out-

est of the workers in the German

A real international spirit per-

vaded the meeting despite the silly

interruptions from a small number

In Toronto

held in Toronto.

situation.

comrades.

significance of the present German not yet defeated and the adoption by the Comintern and its German ers. A resolution was then presented from the meeting demanding the repeal of Section 98 and the unconditional release of the eight Communist leaders and all other political prisoners. At this point the aforementioned small group be gan making interjections. Amidst the applause of the crowd the chairman announced all those in favor of the resolution stand up and the whole audience stood up

on their feet. The question period further ex posed the shameful political education of the new Y. C. L. cadres. Every question under the sun except those that dealt with the most significant events in the International today was asked by this "group." When comrade Spector, why Stalin is silent on the German busy building socialism in Rus-

In the discussion only one YCLer took the floor to reiterate the old Mine Situation Told demagogy of the Stalinists. In the course of his ten minute speech he In Davenport mentioned that the Left Opposition was afraid to give them the opportunity to reply to our arguments. The comrades of the Spartacus fact of the matter is that at this and his henchmen. very moment, under pressure of

Scottsboro Conference Rejects United Front

was introduced by comrade Sche-

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