

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

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Hitler Is Consolidating the Power of Fascism In Germany! Whoever Blocks the Workers' United Front Is a Traitor!

Hitler has taken another big step in the consolidation of exclusive Fascist domination of Germany. The social democrats whose policy of toleration to Brüning and von Schleicher and outright support for Hindenburg paved the way to the triumph of Hitler, is being repaid by the latter with a brutal kick in the face. The Fascist Minister of the Interior for Prussia, Captain Goering, has just removed more than a score of officials, the majority of them social democrats. Among those who were dismissed are to be found three provincial government presidents, three vice-presidents and more than ten police chiefs. All of them have been replaced by members of the Fascist party.

Symbolic and significantly characteristic is the removal of the notorious social democrat Carl Zoergel, who became so odious to the working class of Berlin while police chief of that city; he has now been removed from office as police chief of Dortmund to which he was shifted from Berlin

when the von Papen cabinet was established last year. Several days ago, it will be remembered, the social democratic bloodhound, Gustav Noske, was removed as the administrative head of Hanover. Such key cities of Prussia as Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Wiesbaden, Bochum, Halle, Hanover, Dortmund, Cassel and Frankfurt-am-Main were included in the sweeping Fascist clean-up. The social democrats now have not a single supreme government president or police chief in any part of Prussia. The Berlin correspondent of the New York Sun (2-14-1933) points out with an acumen which the Stalinists would do well to emulate that "Just as the Fascist party in Italy gradually took over the civil service and became undistinguishable from the Government itself, so the Nazis here hope slowly to undermine and eventually take over the entire government structure. . . . The Nazi move is especially notable in police circles."

A two-year old child should be able to understand Hitler's tactics.

Contrary to the infinitely stupid assertions of the Stalinists concerning the Fascist essence of social democracy—which do not improve by repetition in the face of obvious facts—there is a sharp antagonism between the social democracy and Fascism. Hitler is trying every single day to prove to the Stalinist blockheads that while the social democrats are the principal prop of the "democratic" form of bourgeois rule, it becomes not merely superfluous but a direct hindrance to the bourgeoisie when it seeks to abolish all democratic forms and institutions and to rule by naked force, by the sword and the torch, in a word, by Fascist dictatorship.

This is why the Fascists attack not only the revolutionary wing of the labor movement, the Communists, but also seek to annihilate the points of support of the social democracy. If the eloquent experience of Italian Fascism were not sufficient to make this clear, the first couple of weeks of Hitler as Chancellor should serve to enlighten

even the most backward. But the Stalinist leaders of the Communist party continue with incredible obstinacy to prattle about "social Fascism" and the "united front from below". In its leading editorial on Tuesday, the Daily Worker still advances the fantastic theory that Hitler is still weakening and that the Communist party is advancing all along the line. . . . because of its parliamentary successes. The parliamentary successes of the party do indeed show the willingness of the workers to fight Fascism; the spontaneous united actions of socialist and Communist workers show it still more clearly. But now less than ever are purely parliamentary successes a sound gauge. The crucial hour demands the extra-parliamentary mobilization of the whole German proletariat to crush Fascism before it entrenches itself too solidly. And this is just where the impotence of the official party and its leadership shows itself so strikingly. Where is the movement for the assembling of the factory coun-

cils and the unemployed on a national scale to prepare for the general strike of all the workers? Where is the organized movement of the workers to defend themselves against the growing encroachments of the brown-shirted bandits? To content oneself with the empty boasts about election victories of yesterday, is simply lighthearted bureaucratic self-satisfaction or treachery!

The only road for the German working class at the present moment is the united front of all the working class organizations. The party bureaucracy stands in the way of the united front. It is sacrificing the interests of the German working class, of the world revolution, of the Communist International for the sake of preserving the theory of infallibility of the Stalinist leadership of preserving the bureaucratic, ultimatum formula of the "united front from below" which divides socialist from Communist workers instead of uniting them.

The Stalinist leaders write about

Germany in the Daily Worker as if there were years of preparation ahead of them. To read their contributions, one would imagine that the Communist party is going to continue winning over ten socialist workers here and ten there until the social democracy is dissolved, after which it will be the turn of the Fascists to feel the fist of the proletariat. What better service could be done to Fascism? It is not wasting a moment. It is taking advantage of the passivity of the Stalinists and the craven capitulation of the social democratic leaders, to strengthen its own position. It is laying hands upon every strategic post, especially upon those which control the armed forces.

We say openly: The refusal to mobilize the genuine united front of all the workers' organizations IMMEDIATELY, is downright treason to the German proletariat!

The revolting chatter of the Stalinists about their election successes and the "united front from below" will not help them to conceal this terrible fact. Now is the

time! The Stalinists are playing with the situation! Tomorrow the individual workers who have been cut down by the Fascist thugs will be multiplied a thousand times, and under conditions not half so favorable to the workers of Germany as are the conditions of struggle at the present time.

The failure to organize the united front is only another way of capitulating to Fascism without a serious struggle. Hitler is well aware of this. Hitler knows his road and he follows it relentlessly. The working class must understand its own position and act resolutely too. It is all-powerful and invincible if it only unites its arms and strikes with determination. Those who stand in the way of this unity will hear a horrible responsibility for the impending catastrophe!

Let the Communist workers reflect—and act speedily. Let them demand an immediate reckoning from the self-satisfied bureaucrats who remain passive while the enemy prepares its death-blow! Tues., Feb. 14, 1933. —M. S.

Scottsboro Frame-Up Laid Bare

CHARGE OF "RAPE" PROVES TO BE UNFOUNDED; LETTER OF GIRL NOW PUBLISHED

A startling revelation which lays bare the whole rotten basis of the frame-up against the nine Scottsboro Negro lads convicted on a fraudulent charge of "rape" in a trial atmosphere charged with a lynching spirit, was made yesterday with the publication of a letter by Ruby Bates, one of the alleged victims of the act. The letter was written over a year ago and fell into the hands of the police of Huntsville, Ala. Every effort of the attorneys for the International Labor Defense to get hold of the letter were unavailing during the trial, the prosecutors being well aware of the telling effect which the presentation of the letter would have. It was only a few days ago that an order for delivery of the letter was obtained in connection with the demand for a writ of habeas corpus to secure the release on bail of Roy Wright, 14-year old defendant whose hearing ended in a mistrial.

Text of Bates Letter

The full text of the letter by Ruby Bates to her sweetheart Earl Streetman, is as follows:

"January 5, 1932.
"Huntsville, Ala.
"215 Connelly Aly.

"Dearest Earl:

"I want to make a statement to you Mary Sanders is a goodam lie about those Negroes jassing me those policemen made me tell a lie that is my statement because I want to clear my self that is all too if you want to believe me ok. if not that is ok, you will be sorry some day if you had to stay in jail with 8 eight Negroes you would tell a lie two those Negroes did not touch me or those white Boys I hope you will believe me the law dont. I love you Better than Mary does or any Body else in the world that's why I am telling you of this thing I was drunk at the time and did not know what I was doing I know it was wrong too let those Negroes die on account of me I hope you will believe my statement because it is the gods truth I hope you will believe me I was jazed but those White Boys jazed me I wish those Negroes are not burnt on account of me it is those White Boys fault that is my statement and that is all I know I hope you tell the law hope you will answer.

"Ruby Bates.

"Jan. 5, 1932

"Huntsville, Ala.
"215 Connelly Alley.

"P. S. this is one time that I might tell a lie But it is the truth so god help me. Ruby Bates."

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Hitler Threat to Soviet Union

ANALYSIS SHOWS THAT CONTRADICTIONS IN POLITICS OF HITLERISM DRIVES IT TO AN ALLIANCE WITH THE OTHER IMPERIALISTS FOR AN ASSAULT UPON SOVIET UNION

Hitler, unlike von Papen, has never made public his economic program. This alone is sufficient reason for thinking that it may not be "fit to print" before a movement of infuriated petty bourgeois. But his entire demagoguery has centered around a number of slogans based on the crushing of the German petty bourgeoisie by the forces of world economy. Among them figured: the smashing of the Versailles Treaty and unending hostility to France, the "hereditary foe"; the liberation of the Polish Corridor; the breaking of the "slavery of interest", meaning America and England, as the chief creditors. Nothing was said about Soviet Russia.

Yet it is clear that what he does say contradicts the economic fundamentals of the class which supports him, and what he does not say constitutes by itself a most important program.

A basic element in the relation of the heavy industry of the Ruhr in Germany, with France, is the fact that France has more iron ore than it needs and not enough coal, while Germany can export coal but needs iron ore. In the planned Socialist economy of a future Soviet United States of Europe, this fact would have no more importance than the fact that in Soviet Russia the richest coal deposits are in the Don Basin and the richest ore in Siberia. But under a capitalist economy, this means that the heavy industry of Germany and that of France are forced to act together, sometimes locked in a deadly struggle, sometimes in diplomatic agreements and international cartels which are made by each party with the intention of cheating the other.

Before the war, there was the classic case of the two brothers, both armies since the war, the Bert von Wendel and Francois de Wendel, one sitting in the German Reichstag, the other in the French Chambre de Deputes, realizing their own private united front of Franco-German capitalism during the war, the rich Briey ore basin of Lorraine was untouched by artillery from either side, on orders from the High Commands of both armies; since the war, the Loucheur-Rathenau agreements, the combination of German technology and French capital, the numerous cartel agreements to restrict production and raise prices in coal, steel, potash, glass, chemicals, cement and others, have shown how well German capitalism understands on which side its bread is buttered, no matter how it thunders against France in public. Hugenberg himself, a raging "Franzosenfresser" (Frenchman-eater) in his newspapers, is not above bringing his patriotic Ufa film company into an international agreement with the hated foe for dividing up territory, limiting production, etc.

It is no accident that Papen addressed the Lausanne Conference in French, a conciliatory act that not even the apostles of internationalism such as Brüning or even Stresemann would have dared. Now Germany is looking toward France for a huge loan with which to finance its recovery and expansion program.

But if Germany, with or without Hitler, remains tied to France, it cannot attack Poland, or take any serious steps to end the international disgrace of the Polish Corridor which drives a wedge between two halves of East Prussia from Poland to the sea. It can subsidize inflammatory articles against Poland, it can sit around the green table of diplomacy with the Poles, but it cannot take a decisive step against France's great bulwark in the East.

Dependence on Foreign Bankers
Nor are things any better with the "breaking of the slavery of interest". At the very moment when Hitler was made Chancellor, a committee of foreign and notably American bankers, the forefront of the hated slavery, was quietly dickering with German bankers as to how rapidly they could take their funds out of Germany, and in what form, so as further to weaken the financial and currency situation of Germany and increase its financial dependence on American, England and France.

Germany pays abroad about \$250,000,000 a year in interest. This means that unless it obtains through its foreign trade, tourist traffic, etc., at least that much in

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OPEN FORUM

"WHAT NEXT IN THE NEEDLE TRADES"

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE RIGHT AND LEFT UNION The Policy of the Left Opposition

Speaker:

J. P. CANNON

Friday, 8 P. M., FEBRUARY 17th
126 East 16th Street,
ADMISSION: 15c

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

Oehler Tour this Week

Comrade Hugo Oehler, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will open his National tour to arouse all class conscious workers to the danger of Fascism in Germany, in Utica on Friday, February 17. Comrade Oehler's tour of all the important cities must be met with big mass meetings to awaken and call to action every thinking worker. The

Nazis Murder 11 Workers

The assassin bands of the murderous Fascist counter-revolution have spilled the blood of more than a score of German workers leaving about as many dead in their wake, over the week-end. The Nazi lust for the blood of the "Marxists" knows no bounds. Their determination to exterminate the revolutionary working class is paralleled only by the savagery of their antecedents—the Huns.

In the cities of Eisleben, Bochum, Strausfurt, Dessau, Dortmund, Stuttgart, Breslau and, Bensheim innumerable individuals have gone to their graves—victims of Fascist gunplay. The Hitlerists have commenced a violent civil war. It will not terminate until either these brown shirted hordes eradicate the organizations of the German proletariat or they find themselves under the tombstone which are preparing for those who will not rest silent under their blows. The skirmishes cited above are only small harbingers of the gigantic battles and blood baths that are yet to come—in the not too distant future.

The same news reports apprise us of the fact that in the above mentioned city of Eisleben, which is 110 miles from Berlin, a fierce encounter occurred between Nazi's and Communists which was provoked by the former. They gave the cynical excuse for their premeditated attack—a Nazi troop was fired at from Communist headquarters. The Brown Shirts stormed the same building wrecking everything they could lay their hands on. A fight ensued, the Communists heroically protecting their headquarters. The result of this battle were three persons killed and fifteen injured. The capitalist press does not state whether they were Nazi's or Communists.

This first onslaught on Communist headquarters is symptomatic from two angles. First it demonstrates the cowardice of the Fascist hordes. Instead of attacking a party building in Berlin—they wouldn't get off so easily there—they choose a small city of some 25,000 for their murderous assault. Secondly, if we can judge by the Italian experience, discussed in another part of this issue, this incident in Eisleben is one of the beginnings of the German Fascists "march on Rome".

dates cannot be changed. Members and sympathizers please take note of the schedule:

Utica, N. Y.—Feb. 17
Buffalo, N. Y.—Feb. 18
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Feb. 19
New Castle, Pa.—Feb. 20
Youngstown, Ohio—Feb. 21
Cleveland, Ohio—Feb. 22
Chicago, Ill.—Feb. 24, 25, 26
Davenport, Iowa—Feb. 27
Des Moines, Iowa—Feb. 27
Kansas City, Mo.—March 1, 2, 3
St. Louis, Mo.—March 4, 5
Illinois Coal Fields—March 6

Fascism: Italian and German

COMPARISON BETWEEN ITALIAN FASCISM OF 1920 AND THE HITLERITE MOVEMENT OF TODAY SHOWS POSSIBILITIES FOR SUCCESSFUL COUNTER-MOVEMENT OF PROLETARIAT

The naming of Hitler as Chancellor of the Reich cannot but call to mind the events which more than ten years ago led in Italy to the "March on Rome".

Between these two historic facts there are common features and striking analogies, which, altogether separated by a good decade and although products of countries very different from the point of view of their economic structures, their industrial development and in the specific gravity of the proletariat in relation to the other classes.

The first common characteristic is the Fascist movement itself. De-classed and shattered sections of the urban bourgeoisie; middle and petty; middle and small peasants; the backward proletariat; these are the Fascist masses whether in Italy or in Germany. The masses who protest, who revolt against the economic ruin of which they are the victims or which threatens them. The masses who by their social position "distrust" the proletariat and "hate" the bourgeoisie; who constantly dream of the creation of a society of "social justice" in which they hold the balance, but who in reality, follow either behind the proletariat or the bourgeoisie according to the relation of forces which obtain in favor of one or the other of the two fundamental classes in society.

The Fascist Supporters

The second common characteristic, in Italy as in Germany, is that the Fascist movement has been created, financed and groomed for the administration of affairs, at the head of the government by the big bourgeoisie and the big agrarians.

Despite its social demagoguery and its anti-plutoocratic phraseology, the Fascist movement does not come to power as a force opposed to the big bourgeoisie, to the plutocracy but as its representative, as its manager of the defense of the interests of same the bourgeoisie class.

The bourgeoisie is entirely conscious of this. Because of this the General Confederation of Italian Industry laid out 30 million liras for the financing of the preparation and the execution of the March on Rome only. And for the same reasons, the decisive sections of the German bourgeoisie placed Hitler at the head of the government. Hitler in the Chancellorship does not mean the installation in power of wild bands against the bourgeoisie, but signifies a different and extraordinarily more efficacious utilization of these bands by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat and against these very social layers which constitute the backbone of the Fascist movement. The whole policy of the Italian Fascist government for more than ten years proves it. It is also proved by the whole policy of the government presided over by Hitler.

As to the analogies of the situa-

tion ten years ago in Italy and the present situation in Germany, compare the tactic of the German Catholic Center with that of the Italian social democracy, the ephemeral cabinets of Von Papen with that of Facta and the fact that the Hitler Government, as well as that of Mussolini originates as an extra-parliamentary government, but also one comprising elements foreign to the Fascist party.

But if there are essential points of comparison and analogies there are also considerable differences.

These differences will unquestionably be utilized by the social democracy and by the Stalinist apparatus in order subsequently to beat the retreat without giving battle, basing themselves either upon the Tolstoyan illusion of weakening the enemy by refusing to fight or on that of "saving the party" legally by refusing to accept the "provocation".

But these differences can and should be utilized in another manner by the proletariat. For they are nearly all unfavorable to the bourgeoisie and favorable to revolutionary proletarian action.

Differences in Situations

The greatest difference, the essential difference between the two situations of the March on Rome and the elevation of Hitler to the Chancellorship is that in Germany the forces of the proletariat are almost intact. They are certainly weak, they are partly demoralized

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Millions to Be Jobless Permanently

ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED WILL REMAIN, ADMITS HEAD OF A. F. OF L., WM. GREEN

All the capitalist bombast about an early economic revival has burst like a pricked balloon. Wm. Green, president of the American Federation of Labor has announced that the unemployment figures now stand at the appalling total of 12,000,000 and that between the months of December and January alone, more than 200,000 were laid off. And Bill Green is hardly given to exaggeration. On the contrary the number of jobless must far exceed his estimate.

The meaning of this statement is quite clear. More than 25 percent of those listed by the census as gainfully employed are now pounding the pavement and lining up at soup kitchens and breadlines. About as many workers do not receive more than part time employment. And if we add to these their wives and children then more than 50,000,000 human beings are standing on the brink of starvation in plentiful America. All of the employment schemes, all of the panaceas of the pot-bellied politicians all of the promises of the "captains of industry" have gone up in smoke. The working class is re-

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Suspend 19 C.C.N.Y. Students

As the aftermath of a meeting of City College students held a few months ago in defiance of the instructions of school authorities, at which a protest was made against the despotic inroads made upon the rights of the students, nineteen of the latter have been suspended from the College by the Board of Higher Education.

At the beginning of the last semester, in September, the City College of New York dismissed from its faculty Oakley Johnson, an instructor in English. The expulsion aroused wide spread student protest. The issue transcended the expulsion of a professor. It followed in a long series of suppressions of academic freedom in the school. Consistently the college administration had clamped down upon the militants within the school. The dismissal of Johnson, known for his Communist sympathies, meant also the suppression of the Liberal Club, of which he was faculty advisor.

To demonstrate against the expulsion of Johnson, as well as against the many infractions of students' rights, a "trial" of Dr. Robinson, president of the college, and Dr. Linehan, director of the

evening session—the division in which Johnson was an instructor—was held at the Central Opera House. Before the meeting the authorities, who were to be "indicted" on a number of counts, threatened any student with administrative action if he participated. Notwithstanding, several hundred students appeared to hear the testimony of other students and raise their voices in protest.

The news of the Board's act came during examinations at a time when students are most likely to be inactive. But this will soon be remedied. For now, with the opening of the new school semester, a movement against the suspensions is already in progress. Once before, a mass student protest reinstated suspended students (most recently, nine who had participated in the Johnson fight.) This may well happen again. The outcome in large measure depends upon the policy of the National Student League. If it properly organizes a united front of student organizations and does not offend reject a bloc with the socialist League for Industrial Democracy, success is to a great extent assured. —M.

B'KLYN MASS MEETING

«The CRISIS IN GERMANY»

Take B. M. T. Broadway-Brooklyn line to Myrtle Ave. Station. Hall is 949 Willoughby Avenue.

SPEAKERS:

James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman
Chairman, Martin Abern

Labor Lyceum

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Hitler Threat o Soviet Union

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gold every year, it will either have to stop paying interest abroad, or for a short time dip into its gold reserves until they are exhausted. Until the world crisis, this problem was not seriously faced in Germany. They were borrowing money freely, and it imports were more than exports they would pay the difference, as well as reparations, with new loans. But when new loans were unobtainable as the crisis came on, they had to choose—stop paying interest or force exports up and imports down, until a surplus of exports was created out of which interest could be met.

The patriotic German ruling classes have not hesitated an instant. They have squeezed wages down and kept prices up through a series of devices—high tariffs, quota restrictions on imports, etc. The standard of living of the German working class has been cut and cut again, its power to buy foreign foodstuffs and materials has been slashed, but German exports have been kept up. Wheat costs 2 1/2 to 3 times as much as in Berlin as in Chicago, but the feudal landlords who support Hitler clamor for still more protection.

And what does Hitler say? "We must be self-sufficient; we must grow enough food to feed ourselves." In other words, we must support the German feudal landowner at the expense of the belly of the German worker. And at the same time we must keep up German exports so as to obtain enough gold from foreign countries to meet the

demands of foreign and principally American creditors.

Danger to Soviets

But if Hitler cannot get the support of France, England and America except by continuing their imperialist exploitation of Germany, there is another field on which he can offer them a tempting prize for joint exploitation—the imperialist conquest of Russia. The whole logic of his position—the inability to solve internal problems, the necessity of leaning on foreign imperialism while demagogically pretending to expose it—forces him toward war on the Soviet Union.

And the Soviet Union itself? Duranty reports in the New York Times, without contradiction, that the Soviets feel that Hitler's coming to power will not interfere with the Five Year Plan. This is based on the hope that Hitler will prefer the peaceful and limited profits of trade with the Soviet foreign trade monopoly to the desperate gamble of war. But the hope is vain and illusory. Hitler has no way out except the steady mobilization of his forces, morally sanctioned and materially financed by international imperialism, for a military assault upon the Soviet Union. It is from German Fascism that emanates the most acute danger to the Soviet Union.

The defense of the German working class against Hitler is the immediate task in the defense of the Soviet Union. To the international aid of the imperialists to Fascism must be opposed the international solidarity of the proletariat to the German working class.

—B. J. FIELD.

Fascism: Italian and German

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by the treason of the social democracy and by the pernicious Stalinist policy which is leading to treason. But the forces of the proletariat, in their entirety, are not played out.

In Italy, Fascism made its "March on Rome" after two years of civil war in the interior of the country. The buildings of the workers' organizations were plundered, razed, demolished in the course of the punitive expeditions, the local and district leaders were banished or shot by the Fascist detachments. The resistance of the workers, the agricultural laborers and the small "red" peasants was broken in the course of two years of devastation, arson and massacre.

In October 1922, the Italian proletariat which two years previously had occupied the factories, was powerless before the combination of the legal and extra-legal repression, after having resisted the thousands of assaults of the Fascist bands, arms in hand and after having inscribed the days of Trieste, Bari, Parma, Rome and other cities on its banner.

The German proletariat has not suffered all that. It is still strong; it lacks only a leadership able to utilize this force to defend itself and wipe out the enemy. The German proletariat is five times as numerous as the Italian proletariat. Its Communist party groups the majority of votes in this predominantly workers' Berlin where the Hitler regime, unlike that of Mussolini in bureaucratic Rome, gives the impression of a besieged government.

The false policy of the Centrist faction in the leadership of the Comintern and the Communist Party of Germany has brought the party to a state of impotence and to a capitulation before the foe. On the 20th of July the party capitulated before the coup d'état of Von Papen in Prussia; the party was unable to utilize the respite given it by the internal dissensions of the bourgeoisie which manifested itself by the trampling upon Hitler since the

summer, the party capitulated before the "provocation" of a Fascist demonstration in Buelowplatz, and it is capitulating today in face of the constitution of the Hitler cabinet. And everywhere and always it has capitulated without being able to engage in struggle. This is the balance-sheet of the Stalinist policy in Germany. An end to this policy and the struggle, the victorious struggle of the proletariat against Fascism is still possible.

Two years after being installed in power, Italian Fascism found itself at the brink of the abyss, after the assassination of Matteotti. The roots of German Fascism in the people, that is to say, in the ranks of the proletariat are no deeper than those of Italian Fascism. But to sever these roots, to defeat Fascism is not possible without returning to the policy which the Left Opposition has advocated for years under the ridicule and the threats of the Stalinist faction, super-revolutionary in times of calm, and forced by its policy to capitulate at the decisive turns of the revolution!

Jobless Army to Be Permanent

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duced to beggary, extending its hands for alms in the charity institutions of the country. Such is the balance sheet of four years of capitalist crisis. Such is the privation into which capitalism drives the masses.

But if millions are idle and hungry, if millions still working have their wages cut to the bone, the prospect for future employment is slim. The black scene of permanent joblessness has become a grim reality. Bill Green says in the same article that "hundreds of thousands of jobs have been completely eliminated during the depression." And further that if the work week were universally shortened to 30 hours, we could put

class black and white alike.

The conferences, however, are not adequate, for in the past they have been confined largely to the Left wing elements and their immediate supporters. With the impetus which the campaign should gain from the recent exposure, the field is wide open for the establishment of the broadest united front movement to force the freedom of the Scottsboro victims of lynch justice. As in the case with the Mooney movement as conceived by Tom Mooney himself, the Scottsboro movement must be built upon the support of every working class organization in the country which can now be rallied to break down the walls and bars which keep these innocent Negro boys imprisoned and in danger of their lives.

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Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swaback
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A Letter from Shanghai

SHANGHAI.—During the last four years, betrayals have been the order of the day in the Chinese party. Many of our comrades have been arrested and murdered by Chiang Kai-Shek. In nine cases out of ten they have been betrayed by our own members. For example: in the Stalinist faction, Bang Lai, in the most famous leader of the Chinese peasant movement; Yang Yung, one of the leaders of the Canton insurrection; Shian Tsong Fa, secretary of the Central Committee of the party for many years; these, and many other of our leaders have been arrested and assassinated. In the Left Opposition, we have had three betrayals on the part of our own members. The first time was in 1931, when eight of our Central Committee members were imprisoned; the most recent occasion was last in October at which time the lives of Chen Du-Hsiu and nine other comrades were placed at the mercy of the butchers of the Chinese proletariat.

Most of the traitors are ranks and file members of the Chinese Communist Party but some of them are from the leading cadres, who have spent years in revolutionary struggle under the banner of Communism and were distinguished for their heroism and trustworthiness. Many of them are petty bourgeois intellectuals who had or had not been trained in Moscow, some are lumpen-proletarians who hid in the party for many years under the guise of workers, while yet others are true industrial workers, such as Siu Si Gang who recently capitulated to the Kuo Min Tang.

Siu Si Gang whom I knew well was a cotton mill worker of Shanghai, who early joined the Communist movement. As a delegate he attended the Sixth Congress of the Chinese C. P. and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, he has been a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and of the party's political bureau; secretary of the Provincial Executive Committee for Kiang-Su, (in which Shanghai is located), and secretary of the Chinese Trade Union Federation. He was valiant and personally honest but recently capitulated to the Kuo Min Tang. Whether or not he was responsible for the arrest of any of the comrades in the Stalinist faction, I do not know, but he published in the bourgeois newspaper Ta-Kung-Pao, an article entitled "To all the Comrades of the Communist Party." In this article he described how the "Red Army" movement murdered peasants, destroyed villages and caused painful sufferings to the peasantry, how the slogan "For a General Strike!" and "For the armed insurrection in the cities!" issued by the Stalinists, killed thousands of good comrades in the urban centers. He further described how the conflicts among the Stalinists developed: how Li Li San by unfair methods excluded him from the Provincial Executive Committee of Kiang-Su) how Miff ordered Chen Shio Yu and his other agents

to work 6,000,000 of the unemployed." In other words even this optimistic calculation would leave approximately five and a half million workers permanently without jobs. How can the bankruptcy of this system be more glaringly exposed than by the fact that it has cast millions of willing and able-bodied slaves on the scrap heap. Their freedom to starve is now complete.

What is to be done about it? What action shall the proletariat take to ameliorate its wretched conditions? Green proposes the six hour day—five day week. Yes, that is one of the objects the labor movement must strive and struggle for. But, certainly, Green's advocacy of it does not bring this change one step nearer. For him it is merely a plausible theory which he was forced to accept at the insistence and discontent of the rank and file. And in spite of his bold threats this labor scare and his cohorts will never spur the ranks of labor into action—and it is only by struggle that it can be obtained. They are too closely bound up with capitalism to think of striking it such a heavy blow. We must advance towards these demands: the thirty hour week; unemployment insurance; credits to Soviet Russia, in active combat against the capitalist class and all their agents in the ranks of labor.

But the curse of unemployment, which has come to stay can never be obliterated until the system that produces it is banished from the face of the earth. According to Green, in 1929—boom times, mind you—there were over two millions out of work. After this crisis has spent itself on the backs of the workers there will be nearly 6,000,000 out of jobs. When will this end? It will end when the American proletarian revolution buries capitalism into the limbo of history.

—CLARKE.

THE EMBARGO OF ARMS
A bill is pending before Congress empowering the President to declare an embargo on arms shipments to foreign countries. The liberal Nation welcomes this move as a safeguard for peace. We have no such illusions. It will be used only in order to foster the interests of American imperialism. And then—we opine—as the first step towards war.

Stalinist Confusion

«Daily Worker» on the German Crisis

In its issue of February 6 under the caption "What's Happening in Germany?" (first page next to masthead), the Daily Worker states: "You won't know if you read the lies dished out by the capitalist press. Only the Daily Worker gives a true picture of the stirring events in Germany and rallies the American workers to support the German workers' fight against Fascist dictatorship. Support the Daily's drive for funds!" In that same issue there is but one paragraph on the German events!

Two days later, the Daily began the publication of an article from the Communist International on "The Communist Party of Germany Takes the Offensive." This article written during the regime of von Papen, is a glaring exposure of the false course of the German party in the past period.

Fascism is an accomplished fact, according to its analyses. "The Fascist dictatorship, which was established after July 20th, (that is by Von Papen's coup d'état) is attempting to rally the forces of the counter revolution." According to these "theoreticians" writing several months ago, "we now see an unceasing wave of economic struggles, the extreme political sharpening of the economic struggle of the proletariat, the defeat of Fascism and social democracy, and the big success of the Communist party in the new parliamentary election." (Our emphasis). Such was the optimistic prattle propounded by the Stalinists! And the Daily reprints it several days after Hitler's coming to power!

But more. After falsely characterizing the Von Papen regime as a Fascist dictatorship, just as the Rote Fahne called the Bruening government, Fascist—thus confusing the German workers as to the specific task of Von Papen—the article states: "The task of the Communist Party of Germany remains, as before—to direct the chief blow, at the present stage, against social democracy." (Emphasis in original). This is how the social democratic workers who together with the Communist workers form the decisive section of the German proletariat, are to be won!

Is it then surprising that the

Daily, after printing the call of the German Communist Party for a general strike against Hitler, is compelled to report little success? Who can then wonder at the failure of the party to win substantial sections of the social democracy?

Despite the Stalinist leaders, and against the criminal and treacherous policies of the leaders of the Social Democratic party, the masses in Germany are slowly, but in demonstrative and forceful however isolated, fashion forging a united struggle against Hitlerism. According to an Inprecor cable, Socialist and Communist workers jointly organized a general strike on Feb. 8 at Stassfurt to protest against the murder by the Fascists of a socialist mayor. According to the same source, two days later (Feb. 10) Socialist and Communist workers jointly demonstrated at the funeral of three Communist workers murdered by the Fascists.

The report further states: "Representatives of the Reichsbanner Socialist youth and the Communist party addressed the masses at the graveside. The fact that Berner (one of the Communist workers murdered) was killed while hurrying to the assistance of Reichsbanner workers attacked by the Fascists has greatly cemented the will for a united front." (Daily Worker—2-11-33). Quite right! By joint struggle will the Social democratic workers be won for Communism.

Now more than ever must the Communist party of Germany appeal to the Social Democratic Party, the free trade unions under Socialist control, the Catholic unions, and all working class organizations, to form committees of action in the factories, to organize workers' defense committees, to form a national council of action on the concrete issues of proletarian democracy and the struggle against Fascism. It is not yet too late. The Communist party must act immediately. The American Communists and workers must force this change of policy.

Members of the party and Young Communist League. Raise the issue in your units. Show your real international class solidarity with the German proletariat.

It but to no avail. The only remedy is for the Stalinists to give up their opportunist policy and follow the policies that comrade Trotsky points out to us and which truly teach the worker and non-worker comrades to understand present conditions and future developments.

Shanghai C. C. C.

FROM TINKER TO EVERS TO CHANCE

"The 12th Plenum of our Party clearly established that the resolution of the 14th Plenum of the Party remains the basic guide for examining the work of the Party in carrying out the line of the 12th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The 12th Plenum of the Party established that since the 15th Plenum, the Party has begun to understand the line of the 14th Plenum resolution, and established that earnest beginnings have been made to carry it out in life" (Daily Worker, 2-13-33). Following the party and Comintern Plenums is like hunting for a way out of a maze; they run like the famous ball—from Tinker to Evers to Chance!

Left Opposition Gives Estimate of Spanish Anarchist Putschism

(Continued from last issue)

Instead of conducting a campaign for drawing closer to the railway workers of the General Union of Workers (U. G. T.)—who are the majority—for "taking advantage of the discontent produced by the monstrously cynical policy of the socialists, the C. N. T. makes impossible all reconciliation by proposing to go on strike under the slogan of the establishment of libertarian Communism. If the socialist workers could be mobilized under this slogan they would not be in the U. G. T. Without the support of the workers of the U. G. T., no railway strike nor any other great strike is possible. The railway strike (like any other) must be organized on the basis of the concrete demands of the railway workers. The anarchists wanted to throw themselves into this adventure while the organization was in straits.

But if anarchism—and this too must be stated—has reached such a state of development in this period, in spite of its historic failures in the Spanish workers' movement, it is because the proletariat has found, so to speak, the doorway to Communism closed. This responsibility rests entirely upon the Communist party. The palpable sympathy with which the proletariat regarded the Communists, even within the fold of anarchism, in the C. N. T., was transformed into hatred as soon as the party led by an irresponsible bureaucracy entered upon the scene. The crimes of the trade union policy, dividing the movement at a time when it was most necessary to unite it;

unprecedented defamation and frantic speculation, widened the breach between the party and the masses in the Confederation, even more so, if such were possible, than from the socialist masses. On the eve of the latest events, the C. P., instead of acting as an orientating force and as the proletarian vanguard, dedicated itself to the sad role of a third party in the discord, stimulating putschism. The pretended "betrayals of the anarchist leaders" which were daily proclaimed in the party press could only produce an effect contrary to that desired, if they had any effect at all. And all this, in order to bring forth the proposition of "united front from below", inviting the Confederationists and the socialists to unite with the party "over the heads" of their respective organizations.

The revolutionary workers' movement, situated, on the one hand, in the midst of syndicalist reformism (which in practice is no better than the vile reformism of the socialists), and on the other hand faced with an opportunist and irresponsible Communist party, could only result in a growth of anarchism the latter at least expressed the revolutionary spirit of rebellion.

The crisis of the Communist movement could not but inevitably reflect itself upon the backwardness of the labor movement, during the course of the revolution in our country. Events are demonstrating that the Spanish proletariat is again falling into its most deplorable errors, because, due to the internal crisis, the Communist

GERMAN CAMPAIGN

500 Gather for Bronx Meeting

Five hundred workers packed the Hollywood Gardens in the Bronx to the "standing room only" point to hear the speakers of the Left Opposition present its point of view on the present situation in Germany and remained until after midnight to hear our rebuttal of the Stalinist standpoint presented in the discussion. The meeting was not only significant from the point of view of the gratifying large attendance at the first indoor meeting ever held by us in the Bronx, but also by the fact that for the first time to our knowledge, the more than 100 party members present requested that an official representative of the party be given the floor to speak on the party point of view.

Max Shachtman and James P. Cannon, under the chairmanship of Marty Abern, gave a rounded presentation of our standpoint, tracing the development of Fascism in Germany, exposing the treacherous complicity of the social democracy and the criminal blundering of the Stalinists. The scores of Communist party workers were deeply impressed with the irrefutable facts which were hammered home by the Opposition speakers. In the discussion, the chair gladly gave the floor to the official representative of the party, comrade Louis Sass, organizer of the Bronx section of the party, and Jorga, member of the Section executive Committee.

The party speakers sought to defend the Daily Worker's neglect of the German situation by pointing to the importance of the rent strikes, as well as to defend the Stalinist theory of the united front from below. In the rebuttal, Shachtman showed how the Communist workers were thereby being forced to play the old opportunist game of counterposing the daily questions of immediate struggle to the fundamental principle questions of the revolution to the detriment of the latter. For almost an hour he spoke on the traditional standpoint of the Comintern under Lenin and Trotsky on the question of the united front and repeated the alarm which the International Left Opposition is raising on the crisis in Germany.

Not only was a good collection taken and a large amount of literature sold, but numerous contacts with party members were established on the occasion of this first penetration of the Bronx by the Opposition. The party felt itself compelled to "counteract the influence of the Trotskyists" by issuing a leaflet announcing that the noted Stalinist theoretician, Sam Don, would speak the following week for the party in the Bronx—not on the German situation but on the "decomposition" of the Trotskyists! The fraudulent accounts about the "dissolution" of the German Opposition were, incidentally, thoroughly exposed on the platform by Shachtman, who produced the German Opposition organ to show that the Stalinist-financed sheet of the capitulators, Roman Well and Co., was a forgery.

Another mass meeting in the Bronx was announced on the spot for Sunday, February 26, 1933 on What Does the Left Opposition Stand For? The intense interest of the workers who listened carefully for several hours indicates that the Opposition is gaining a solid foothold in the Bronx which is making the Stalinist bureaucrats—who are so demoralized at the present moment—increasingly uncomfortable.

Successful German Meet in Philly

The Philadelphia Branch reacted quickly to the ascension of Hitler to power in Germany. It arranged a meeting on "What Next in Germany" with comrade Cannon as the main speaker on Thursday, February 9th at Grand Fraternity Hall. It marked the biggest meeting ever held by the Left Opposition in Philly. An audience of over 75 people, predominately Communist workers, crowded the room. They enthusiastically followed our speakers analysis until midnight.

The audience showed its sympathy and support with the decisive program of action of the Left Opposition by making a generous contribution (\$11.00) for the tri-weekly Militant and purchases of Trotsky's "What Next" and other Communist literature. Many questions pertinent to the subject were asked, indicating the intense interest of the audience.

The greatest horror was expressed not only by the socialists present, but by Communist workers and Party members at the idea of the revolutionary internationalist role of the Red Army. They conceived of it not as an organ of the international working class but rather as a national Russian body. What a devaluing effect the years of Stalinist miseducation has had on the ranks. Give full credit for it to the reactionary utopian idea of a classless society in one country.

If after comrade Cannon's main delivery, Stalin could still get a round of applause when a questioner preferred the former's leadership to that of comrade Trotsky; there was surely very little left of it after the speakers answer to the questions and discussions. Comrade Cannon gave a definite program of action to defeat German Fascism, whose function and counter-revolutionary perspective he analyzed. The responsibility of the treacherous social-democracy and the stupid policies of Stalinism for the rise of Fascism and the weakening of the proletariat before Hitler was clearly depicted.

The meeting made a deep impression upon all present. Announcement of our meeting, the rousing propaganda of the Militant and the League, our stinging criticism is having its effect. It has led to a demand for a discussion on the German crisis in the Party units and I. L. D. branches. And more, the Philadelphia district of the Communist party is arranging a protest meeting on next Monday night, February 13 at Grand Manor Hall, 911 W. Gerard Ave. It is miserably inadequate. But support it comrades, workers and friends. Demand what the situation demands of us—mass united front demonstrations against German Fascism. Party members, comrades—you must raise your voices against the false orientation of Stalin and for the tactic of Lenin, the united working class front. Support the German masses in their revolutionary struggles.

—L. GOODMAN.

"NEW MILITANT" SELLS WELL

The first issue of the "New Militant" to be issued three times a week at one cent a copy, gained an exceptionally enthusiastic response from the New York militants (we have not yet heard from out of town, of course). In a couple of hours, comrades Jim Carr and Herbert Capelis sold some two hundred copies on 14th Street in New York, near the headquarters. Other centers were also covered. Let us hear reports from everywhere—brief and to the point.

party has not yet been able to point the way out. The course of the revolution depends upon whether or not the crisis within the Communist movement is surmounted. The results of the anarchist policy cannot come as a surprise to any Communist, because we cannot entertain illusions concerning the role of anarchism. The Communists must derive as the most important lesson that the disastrous Stalinist policy shares in the responsibility for this situation. A unified Communist party capable of fulfilling its role is the necessary condition for the rectification of past errors and the opening of a new perspective for the labor movement. Our reintegration into the party would be the most important step on the road of unification on the basis of the Communist International. No unprincipled unity of heterogeneous groups is possible. Only on the basis of the C. I. can unity be achieved. The struggle to change the policy of the party must be linked with the struggle for unification which will bring to an end the paralyzing and brutalizing reign of bureaucratism.

The last insurrection, which should logically mark the death of anarchism, opens to the Communists the possibility of rectifying their past errors and of carrying out the policy which they should have pursued from the beginning; a policy of trade union unity, strengthening the C. N. T. The problem of converting the C. N. T. into the great revolutionary trade union center, which the proletariat needs, forces itself relentlessly to the fore.

Of late the C. N. T. being under the control of the F. A. I., not only the unions influenced by the Communists, but also those influenced by the reformist syndicalism of the group of "the thirty",

were excluded. The C. N. T. is, then, in a complete state of division and reorganization is necessary. If the Communist party continues the same policy of division and remains on the outskirts, the change which is due to take place in the C. N. T. will redound to the benefit of the reformists. Then one will be able to say that the latest events have represented a serious retrogression. The decadence of anarchism which will inevitably take place, should be accompanied by a growth of Communism and a strengthening of the trade union cadres. If such is not the case the possibility will remain always open for the recuperation of anarchism and will signify, for the moment, an important advance for the bourgeoisie.

The Law of Associations of the 8th of April, which the government has been unable to enforce, but whose repeal, on the other hand, has not been possible, is awaiting the moment when weakness of the proletariat will permit it to become effective. The convocation of a national congress of the C. N. T. at which the excluded unions, the autonomous unions or unions belonging to another center may attend, is the only means of terminating the anarchist hegemony in the C. N. T., of fortifying the revolutionary trade union movement and of presenting a front to reaction.

Long experience with confusion and adventures has again confirmed that without a class party no revolution is possible; that the proletariat can only triumph with audacity and caution.

Against repression and reaction! For a national congress of the C. N. T. For Communist unity!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SPANISH COMMUNIST LEFT,