



# THE MILITANT



Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

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## To Delay Anti-Nazi United Front Is Fatal

### How Can Fascism Be Smashed in Germany

By Leon Trotsky

We reprint here a section from "The Workers' United Front Against Fascism" which, although written on December 8, 1931, is of intense importance right now. The thousands upon thousands of Noskes, Welses and Hilferdings prefer, in the last analysis, Fascism to Communism. But for that they must once and for all tear themselves loose from the workers. Today this is not yet the case. Today the social democracy as a whole, with all its internal antagonisms, is forced into sharp conflict with the Fascists. It is our task to take advantage of this conflict and not to unite the antagonists against us.

The front must be directed against Fascism. And this common front of direct struggle against Fascism, embracing the entire proletariat, must be utilized in the struggle against the social democracy directed as a flank attack but no less effective for all that.

It is necessary to show by deeds a complete readiness to make a bloc with the social democrats against the Fascists in all cases in which they will accept a bloc. To say to the social democratic workers: "Cast your leaders aside and join our 'non-party' united front", means to add just one more hollow phrase to a thousand others. We must understand how to tear the workers away from their leaders in reality. But reality today is—the struggle against Fascism.

There are and doubtless will be social democratic workers who are prepared to fight hand in hand with the Communist workers against the Fascists, regardless of the desires or even against the desires of the social democratic organizations. With such progressive elements it is obviously necessary to establish the closest possible contact. At the present time, however, they are not great in number. The German worker has been raised in the spirit of organization and of discipline. This has its strong as well as its weak sides. The overwhelming majority of the social democratic workers will fight against the Fascists, but—for the present at least—only together with their organizations. This stage cannot be skipped. We must help the social democratic workers in action—in this new and extraordinary situation—to test the value of their organizations and leaders at this time, when it is a matter of life and death for the working class.

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

The trouble is that in the Central Committee of the Communist party there are many frightened opportunists. They have heard that opportunism consists of a love for blocs, and that is why they are against blocs. They do not understand the difference between, let us say, a parliamentary agreement and an ever-so modest agreement for struggle in a strike or in defense of workers' printshops against Fascist bands.

Election agreements, parliamentary compromises concluded between the revolutionary party and the social democracy serve, as a rule, to the advantage of the social democracy. Practical agreements for mass action, for purposes of struggle are always useful to the revolutionary party. The Anglo-Russian Committee was an impermissible type of bloc of two leaderships on one common political platform, vague, deceptive, binding no one to any action at all. The maintenance of this bloc at the time of the General Strike, when the General Council assumed the role of strike-breaker, signified, on the part of the Stalinists, a policy of betrayal.

No common platform with the social democracy or with the leaders of the German trade unions, no common publications, banners, placards! March separately, but strike unitedly! Agree only how to strike, whom to strike, and when to strike. Such an agreement can be concluded even with the devil himself, with his grandmother and even with Noske and Grzesinsky. On one condition, not to bind one's own hands.

It is necessary, without any delay, finally to elaborate a practical system of measures—not with the aim of merely "exposing" the social democracy (before the Communists), but with the aim of actual struggle against Fascism. The question of factory de-

fense organizations, of unhampered activity on the part of the factory councils, the inviolability of the workers' organizations and institutions, the question of arsenals that may be seized by the Fascists, the question of measures in the case of an emergency, that is, of the coordination of the actions of the Communist and the social democratic divisions in the struggle, etc., etc., must be dealt with in this program.

In the struggle against Fascism, the factory councils occupy a tremendously important position. Here a particularly precise program of action is necessary. Every factory must become an anti-Fascist bulwark, with its own commandants and its own battalions. It is necessary to have a map of the Fascist barracks and all other Fascist strongholds, in every city and in every district. The Fascists are attempting to encircle the revolutionary strongholds. The encirclers must be encircled. On this basis,

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### Hesitation at This Time Is a Crime!

The most urgent need in Germany today is clarity. Half-way measures, confusion, ambiguity, twistings and turnings—these are fatal to the proletarian movement, which needs a clear line of action, clearly expressed and clearly followed through.

The only road to the smashing of the German united front of the German working class. Everybody now acknowledges this in words—even the Stalinists. The Left Opposition differs from the Stalinists not only by the fact that the latter have a wrong position on the question of the united front, but that they introduce a maximum of confusion into the minds of the working class precisely at the moment when a maximum of clarity is imperative if the German proletariat is not to be delivered to the Fascist butchers bound hand and foot.

#### Opposition's Stand

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

proletariat is divided into two main camps: reformism (social democratic) and revolution (Communist). Each of these camps is organized into distinct parties, with millions of followers. Fascism threatens to exterminate both of them, the revolutionary section first and the reformist section after it—at times the order of annihilation is not even separated and both suffer from the same blows at the same time. The whole working class is imbued with a deep, irreconcilable hatred of Fascism. It wants to fight it, regardless of which camp in the labor movement it is attached to at the moment. The Communists have no interests separate and apart from the interests of the working class as a whole; they are only its most advanced section. It devolves upon them, therefore, to take the initiative in mobilizing the whole class for a struggle to the bitter end to crush Fascism.

The socialist workers do not yet believe in the need of the dictatorship of the proletariat; that is essentially why they are still in the social democracy (we leave aside for the moment the fact that Stalinist blunders help to keep them there) and are not yet prepared to fight for a Bolshevik revolution. They are prepared to go along even with the Bolsheviks to fight the common enemy of Fascism. The Communists must make it possible for them to ally themselves with the Communist workers in the fight. This can be done at the present time by an alliance between the Communist party, and the Social Democratic party to which the socialist workers are still attached. The latter will be broken away from their treacherous leaders in the course of this joint struggle, for we proceed from the theory that the socialist leaders will try to curb the movement, to emasculate it, to make rotten compromises with the enemy—in short, to render the movement ineffective and to stop it half way along the road. The socialist workers do not yet realize fully the role of their leaders. They will realize it in the process of the struggle—by their own experience. We proceed further from the idea that the Communists are so superior not only in their

strategic goal but also in their tactics for the every day and immediate questions, that by experience the workers will realize further that the Communists are their only true and effective leaders.

Providing that the Communists retain their independence, their own banners, their right to free criticism of their temporary allies—they have nothing to fear from the alliance (i. e. from the united front) with the social democracy. Those who have a secret fear that the social democratic leaders are somehow superior, are opposed to such a united front. But the true Communists have nothing in the world to fear from a counterposing of their policy and leadership in the united front to those of the social democracy. They know which will triumph. They have confidence in themselves and in the sound class consciousness of the masses.

#### The Stalinist Position

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

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### League Obeys U.S.A. In Move Against Japan

The League's voluminous report on Japanese aggression in China gives the clearest evidence of America's dominating world position. In no single respect does the League's position differ from the one enunciated by Secretary Stimson on several occasions. It can be said that the interests of the great powers, in this instance, coincide with the interests of U. S. imperialism and are in opposition to those of Japan. That is true but does not negate American dominance.

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

price demanded from Japan—attack on the Soviet Union—has been deferred too long to suit the League. Furthermore instead of marching further North, Japan has set her face South in China, much to the League's chagrin. Thus the report states: "Early in January, 1933, occurred the serious incidents at Shunhaiwan, situated at the extremity of the Great Wall, halfway between Peking and Mukden. This city has always been regarded as of great strategic importance. It is on the route followed by invaders who, coming from Manchuria, wish to penetrate into what is now the province of Hopei. Moreover, from Hopei is the easiest route into Jehol."

#### "International Cooperation"

The League, in short, cannot possibly allow vast sections of China to become Japanese colonies. It proposes international cooperation in Chinese reconstruction—since the present political instability in China is an obstacle to friendship with Japan and an anxiety (1) to the rest of the world (as the maintenance of peace in the Far East is a matter of international concern) and since the conditions enumerated above cannot be fulfilled without a strong central government in China, the final requisite for a satisfactory solution is temporary cooperation in the internal reconstruction of China, as suggested by the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen. "Let there be any doubt as to the League's great altruism in desiring its hegemony rather than Japan's in the 'maintenance of peace' (no doubt by gunboat practice on the shores of the Yangtse) we are given the spectacle of the strengthening of the Chinese central government by the extension of the 'rights of extraterritoriality for three years to England, the U. S. and France. Nanking announced the abrogation of these rights in January 1930, and again in January 1931. But under cover of the present situation the powers (not the League, but the 'powers' in the League) have forced this concession as part payment for their stand against Japan."

The reason why Japan never formally declared war on China is that no "strong central government", in fact no government at all, exists in China, according to the Japanese generals whose sole desire is, of course, the maintenance of law and order so that civilization may survive. "All the Chinese soldiers are bandits," say the official Japanese spokesmen. One wonders whether Washington is capable of wincing at the inadequate use of American diplomatic language. The League is in full accord with Japan's views on China, but prefers, strangely enough, its own methods and interests for carving China to suit the powers.

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

#### BULLETIN

Germania, official organ of the Catholic Center Party and personal organ of Heinrich Brüning during his Chancellorship (which the Stalinists announced in its time as the "Fascist dictatorship"), has just been suppressed by the Hitler regime for printing its own election manifesto. The 300 other Prussian organs of the Center party are similarly threatened. The terror regime of the Nazis now extends over a wide front. Fascism cannot really triumph without crushing even the most innocently bourgeois "democratic" institutions.

A class on the history and principles of the International Left Opposition will begin this Wednesday evening, February 22, 1933, at the International Workers' School, 126 East 16th Street, at 8 P. M. The class will run for eight sessions, every Wednesday evening, with Max Shachtman, editor of the Militant, as lecturer. Admission to each session is fifteen cents; the full course is \$1.00.

### Quits "Anti-War" Group

GELTMAN DENOUNCES BARBUSSE MASQUERADE IMPOSED UPON LEFT STUDENTS AT CHICAGO CONFERENCE ON WAR PROBLEM; DEMANDS DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEE

In a signed statement presented to the permanent committee formed at the so-called united front anti-war conference of the students in Chicago, Manny Geltman, member of the Communist League of America (Opposition) who was elected to the committee at the conference, presented his resignation, declining to allow the name of the Left Opposition to be used as a cover for the Stalin-Barbusse masquerade.

We give here some excerpts taken from the statement which he presented to the Committee:

At the Chicago Students' Congress against War I was accepted on permanent continuations committee. This however I did not do on the basis of the program there adopted. My purpose was to present and defend the Communist position, more particularly the proposals made by the Communist League of America (Opposition) in statement and resolution at the conference. I find it necessary to resign from the Committee for the following reasons:

From its very inception the congress could promise nothing so far as the proper position on the struggle against war was concerned. That is, it could promise nothing but confusion. Repeating the fiasco at Amsterdam last summer the call, instigated by the National Student League as the other had been by the Communist International, went out in the name of a series of individuals, teachers and students, who represented no one but themselves. Thus no organized bodies which could pledge their support in the carrying out of the conference decisions assured the conference of success in its achievements.

Several other errors were manifested in the formation, deliberations and consequences of the congress. Most notably, a misunderstanding of the united front tactic was shown. Though the conference in its resolutions does somewhere state that it is a united front of action, the distinction was not at any time clearly marked. In fact the entire affair was oriented to the contrary, to a united front on propaganda; that is, to agitate against imperialist war in general, rather than to jointly conduct specific activities. Consequently...

#### OPEN FORUM

**BONAPARTISM AND THERMIDOR**  
**THE CRISIS IN THE SOVIET UNION**

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

**ADMISSION:** 15c  
N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

ent upon this orientation the united front there effected has the appearance of a permanent organization. Instead of a body existing for the time that is necessary to accomplish certain specific aims, the present National Committee is set for existence until imperialist wars are forever abolished.

The same might, and should be said of the American Committee of the World Congress Against War, and shows either, or both, of two things. One, that the Communists who were instrumental in the conference forgot that to abolish imperialist wars it is first necessary to abolish capitalism. Or two, that history has produced but one organization which can lead the proletariat to victory over capitalism, the Communist party. In any case no united front of diverse political composition can undertake to overthrow capitalism. Similarly is this true on the problem of war which so much involves the fate of capitalism. Any united front must understand its limited function and duration. To do otherwise is to deceive, consciously or unconsciously, and to breed a mire.

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### German Meetings

#### Oehler Tour:

**YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO**  
**Tuesday, Feb. 21—8 P. M.**  
**CENTRAL AUDITORIUM**  
225 W. Boardman St.  
**CLEVELAND, OHIO**  
**Wednesday, Feb. 22**  
**PAINTERS HALL**  
2080 Euclid Ave.  
**Chicago, Ill.—Feb. 24, 25, 26**  
**Davenport, Iowa—Feb. 27**

#### MINNEAPOLIS MASS MEETING

The Minneapolis branch of the Communist League of America has organized a mass meeting to be held Thursday, February 23, 1933 on the crisis in Germany and the standpoint of the Left Opposition. The meeting is to be held in the Mayor's reception room, Court House, and the speakers are Carl Skoglund and Vincent R. Dunne. Myles B. Dunne will act as chairman. Admission is free and all workers are cordially invited.

#### ABERN TO SPEAK IN BOSTON

Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is scheduled to speak at a number of meetings now being arranged by the Boston branch of the Opposition on the significance of the crisis in Germany. Comrade Abern will speak in Boston, Peabody and in all probability one more locality. The meetings will be held on March 3, 4, and 5, 1933. Further details will appear in the coming issues of the Militant.

### Appeal for Aid to Readers

The following appeal was issued today by the national office of the Communist League of America (Opposition) to all the readers of THE MILITANT:

Dear Comrades:  
You have already learned from the Militant of the great enterprises of the Left Opposition in response to the crisis in Germany—the publication of the Militant three times a week.

We have undertaken this great task—which involves heavy additional financial burdens—without any resources except our confidence that you and other Communist workers will support our initiative with your solidarity and financial aid.

In these fateful days for the international proletarian movement, it is the Left Opposition alone that sounds the alarm, explains and interprets the events and shows the Communist workers the way to their international duty. Every dollar that is contributed to support the three-a-week publication of the Militant is a weight in the scale for the German working class. Your contribution now, at this critical moment, is of a hundred-fold greater importance than at ordinary times.

We ask you to give a special contribution to the Militant. Your help is desperately needed and will be especially appreciated now.

Yours fraternally,  
J. P. Cannon  
Secretary.

USE THIS BLANK

The Militant  
126 East 16th Street  
Enclosed herewith is \$.....

as a special contribution to help publish the Militant three times a week during the German crisis.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....

### Lynching Campaign Against Zangara

The jackal press has let loose a veritable furore against the would-be-killer of Franklin D. Roosevelt. This same ruling class to which the death of hundreds of workers and their families by starvation is just a daily event, which murders workers on the picket without an afterthought, which sent millions of young workers to the slaughter house of the world war with equanimity sets up a lynching howl against Zangara—a product of the self-same system. How shallow does this indignation sound from the pen prostitutes who lose no opportunity to sanction a Negro lynching in the bourbon South!

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

The method which Zangara chose to indicate his opposition to the rule of the parasitic capitalist class is not the method of the Communists. We do not support individual terror. On the contrary, the annals of the revolutionary movement is rich in its implacable opposition to this petty bourgeois tactic. It is not out of any moral considerations that we oppose terrorist actions

of an individual character. The blood of proletarian fighters covers the hands of the capitalist hirelings. It is they who sent Sacco-Vanzetti to a hideous death. It is they who sold Tom Mooney in a living tomb for a crime which the whole world knows he never committed. The day of reckoning with the various or murderer and prompt will yet arrive. But it will never advance one step by individual terrorism. While a capitalist society exists the death of any one of these criminals will change nothing. There are hundreds, nay, thousands of lackeys who can and will take the place of one criminal. What is responsible for the wretched conditions of today is not the individual, but the class system of capitalism. And the way to abolish the system is not by petty-bourgeois, anarchist terror but by united action of the million masses in determined struggle against all forms of class oppression. It is only on this scientific Marxist basis that we take our stand against individual action. With the same vigor we will stand against any attempt to lynch or persecute the real victim, Zangara.

Undoubtedly, the master class will try to utilize this event to stir up an "anti-red" hysteria or some sort of a drive against the foreign-born revolutionary workers. But our position is clear. The capitalist class cannot mask the privation into which it has driven the masses by a "red herring" of this kind. Our fight will go on to the end. —G. C.



## 2 Expelled From I.L.D.

(Continued from Page 1)

admit that out of the 100 names only 15 were circulated with the Militant and that these lists were stolen in November. The reply of the comrades flings the accusation into the teeth of the depraved Stalinists. (1) How does it happen that out of the 100 names only 15 were circulated? (2) That in the same month sixty-five Militants were circulated? (3) Of these 65 names about two-thirds were scattered as far as New Hampshire (The I. L. D. branch list included only Boston names). (4) These 65 names received the Militant beginning with August, three months before the alleged theft. (5) Comrade Konikov offered the Executive the privilege of examining his mailing lists. Naturally they did nothing about it. The facts speak for themselves. But what is the real reason for the expulsion? We quote their statement:

"They had let us into the I. L. D. as known members of the Opposition. We had done everything that the officialdom let us do to support I.L.D. activities. Comrade Shechet particularly had put so much energy into the I.L.D. work that the comrades were talking about it."

She was active in canvassing in the Negro section; in obtaining support of A. F. of L. and I. W. O. locals for the I.L.D. The John Reed Branch elected her to its Executive Committee. And this comrade is called a disrupter and an enemy of the working class! The real immediate reason for our expulsion can be traced to recent visit of comrade Biedenkapp when he spoke at the District Conference. He depicted the sad condition of the I.L.D. and of course like all bureaucrats blamed it on the membership. Comrade Shechet asked him if the membership were responsible for the three-months delay in calling the Moore Conference. She asked him if the membership were responsible for the delay in calling the Scottsboro conference until a few weeks before the trial so that no time was left for action. Also when comrade Biedenkapp called for a resolution against the arrest of comrade Ping, secretary of the C. P. of China, comrade Shechet suggested that the name of comrade Chen Du Siu be added to the resolution. Did comrade Biedenkapp answer her? Not in words, but in expulsions! We ask the comrades in the I.L.D. why we were expelled just after comrade Biedenkapp's visit when all the "facts" on the stealing of the membership list were known since November?

"We herewith charge the officialdom of the I.L.D. with sabotaging the work of the I.L.D. We challenge them to answer comrade Shechet's questions on the two sabotaged conferences. We refer them to the sections on 'self criticism' in the report of the National Convention of the I.L.D. and in the Labor Defender, and we charge them with not having made one change in conformity with the 'self criticism' of 'bureaucracy' and 'too many functionaries'."

"As for ourselves we deny every charge made and demand a proletarian trial before the members of our branches, and whatever happens we assure our comrades that we will continue to work for the I. L. D."

CHARLOTTE SCHECHET.  
WILLIAM M. KONIKOV.

**GOOD SALES IN BOSTON**  
The Boston comrades write: "We sold yesterday 70 Militants at a forum where Muste spoke and we gave 30 away free. We are delighted with the good work done in New York."

## A Letter from the U.S.S.R.

We hear the name of Trotsky more and more often. They fear to speak of him, only a remark is thrown out, then passing quickly to another subject they return to it anew. Among the old party cadres no one believes in "his counter-revolutionary character." They remember Trotsky's ability to speak, to explain. They recall the civil war, where and how Trotsky spoke. In these same circles, they speak of Rakovsky with respect. "Unfortunately, he is in Siberia!" They inquire, "What is Trotsky doing, what has he written, has he an organization?" There is very little information on the work of the Left Opposition abroad.

An old party member said: "Surely Lenin would not be angry with me if I take off Stalin's portrait which is hung near his and place in its stead Trotsky's. We need Ilyitch ('this is very frequent'). One often hears from an average functionary: 'It will be better if Trotsky returns.' Others add with fright: 'If he returns they will shoot us by the thousands.' If the old party cadres conduct themselves towards Trotsky and Rakovsky in this manner, it is quite another matter among the youth. They know only Stalin."

Platnitsky recently spoke at the "Society of Old Bolsheviks." In his speech he sounded a strongly cautionary note to Fascism. Fascism is vanquished. But the center is Poland. The revolution is closer there than anywhere else. This cautionary note displeased many. They have no perspective. The C. I. is subordinated to the interests of the Foreign Affairs Department.

At a meeting of the bureau of the Moscow Committee they decided to construct an ice-house on the Red Square. They called in about thirty experts for this subject. After lengthy examination—they decided to build it. The experts left, they went on to the second point on the agenda. Suddenly Kaganovich came (always late!). He interrupted the speaker and asked what they had decided on the first point. Having learned that they had decided to build, Kaganovich answered: "This is foolishness", and proposed not to build the ice-house. The proposal was unanimously accepted, even though they had previously (after three hours of discussion) accepted the opposite proposal.

Unfortunately, one must say, that despite the grave dangers threatening the proletarian state, the Stalinist bureaucracy has remained true to itself. The last plenum of the C. C. and the new expulsions from the Party (Zinoviev, Kamenev etc.) demonstrates that they have decided to persevere in their ignorance. The plenum confirmed the absolute correctness of the line of the leadership. The cause of the cracks in the execution of the economic plan, the disorganization of monetary circulation and all the colossal difficulties which threaten, these are, according to them, bad execution of the instructions and of the plan. The executives are responsible for it, the workers, and not the false line. On the necessity of a change of regime, under which even a good idea, a correct instruction takes on an astonishing malformation in its realization, under which party thought is completely strangled—not word on this. The answer to the growing discontent of the ranks of the Party and the "middle" section of the apparatus is more expulsions from the party, more arrests, more exiling of Bolsheviks....

—TONOV.  
Moscow—Early October, 1932.

## How Can Fascism Be Smashed?

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an agreement with the social democratic and trade union organizations is not only permissible, but a duty. To reject this for reasons of "principle" (in reality because of bureaucratic stupidity, or what is still worse, because of cowardice) is to give direct and immediate aid to Fascism.

A practical program of agreements with the social democratic workers was proposed by us as far back as September 1930. (**The Turn in the Comintern and the Situation in Germany**, published by **The Militant**), that is, a year and a quarter ago. What has the leadership undertaken in this direction. Next to nothing. The Central Committee of the Communist Party has taken up everything except that which constitutes its direct task. How much valuable, irreplaceable time has been lost! As a matter of fact, not much time is left. The program of action must be strictly practical, strictly objective, to the point, without any of those artificial "claims" without any reservations, so that every average social democratic worker can say to himself: What the Communists propose is completely indispensable for the struggle against Fascism. On this basis, we must pull the social democratic workers along with us by our example, and criticize their leaders who will inevitably serve as a check and a brake. Only in this way is victory possible.

### A Good Quotation from Lenin

The present day epigones, that is, the thoroughly bad disciples of Lenin, like to cover up their shortcomings on every occasion that offers itself with quotations—often entirely irrelevant. For Marxists, the question is not decided by a quotation but by means of the correct method. If one is guided by correct methods, it is not hard also to find suitable quotations. After I had drawn the above analogy with the Kornilov insurrection, I said to myself: I can probably find a theoretical elucidation of our bloc with the conciliators in the struggle against Kornilov, in Lenin. And here is what I actually found in the second part of Vol. XIV of the Russian edition, in a letter of Lenin to the Central Committee, written at the beginning of September, 1917:

## To Delay the Anti-Nazi United Front Is Fatal

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It is precisely because the socialists masses are not yet ready to accept in advance the leadership of the Communist party that they have till now remained with the social democracy. The problem is how to win them away from the petty bourgeois socialist camp. The Stalinist slogan assumes that the problem has already been solved! The "united front from below" is postulated on the theory of "social Fascism" which dissolves the sharp distinction between the extreme "democratic" wing of the bourgeoisie and the extreme Fascist anti-democratic wing at the other extreme. What this theory has in common with Marxism, or even with the simple and known facts of the class struggle, remains undiscovered to the present day. At all events, on the basis of this theory the Stalinists refuse to make a bloc with the social democratic party, or to approach it officially with a concrete proposal for temporary united front on concrete questions. Those who like ourselves even propose such a united front, automatically become, according to the Stalinists, social Fascists, or better yet, the counter-revolutionary vanguard of social Fascism. This can be read any day in the week in the **Daily Worker**, in the Communist International, and so forth.

At the recently concluded 12th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the leader of the German party Thaelmann, fulminated for hours against the proposal for a united front with the social democracy to smash Hitlerism. "Our party leadership set its face severely against the attitude which found its expression in an article entitled 'Change of System'.... The tactical conclusions which have been drawn from the false estimation of the role of the S. P. D. in the above-mentioned article, are substantially on a par with the proposals of the Berlin district leadership—proposals which were made to the Social Democratic Party with a view to the holding of joint demonstrations, and which were rightly rejected by the Central Committee of our party, and corrected in the case of Berlin."

"The article contains among other things the following passage: '...But above all the demand of the Berlin-Brandenburg district leadership to the "Iron Front" movement to hold a joint demonstration against Fascism, is most appropriate here.'

"In this we see the continuation of the false judgment of the role of the S. P. D. The proposal made by the leaders of the Berlin Dis-

ed the Social Democratic Party but who are quite ready to join the Stalin faction on the "proper terms." In Czechoslovakia, too, the Right wing is not "without a group"; only, its group is now part of the Czech social democracy. As for Lovestone, as is known, his fierce attachment to principle would never permit him to capitulate to the Stalinists. Really—just try him and see. Just try him. Or, ask Gitlow....

"Even at the present time, we are not duty-bound to support the Kerensky government. That would be unprincipled. It is asked: then we are not to fight against Kornilov? Of course we are. But that is not one and the same thing. There is a limit to this; it is being transgressed by many Bolsheviks who fall into "conciliationism" and allow themselves to be driven by the current of events."

We shall fight, we are fighting against Kornilov, but we do not support Kerensky, we are uncovering his weakness. The distinction is rather delicate, but highly important, and must not be forgotten."

"What does the change of our tactics consist of after the Kornilov insurrection?"

"In this, that we are varying the forms of struggle against Kerensky. Without diminishing our hostility to him even by one single note, without taking back one word from what we have said against him, without giving up the task of overthrowing Kerensky, we say: We must calculate the moment, we will not overthrow Kerensky at present. We approach the question of the struggle against him differently: by explaining the weaknesses and vacillations of Kerensky to the people (who are fighting against Kornilov)."

We are proposing nothing different. Complete independence of the Communist organization and press, complete freedom of Communist criticism, the same for the social democracy and the trade unions. Only contemptible opportunists can allow the freedom of the Communist party to be limited (for example, like entrance into the Kuo Min Tang). We are not of their number."

No retraction of our criticism of the social democracy. No forgetting of all that has been. The whole historical reckoning, including the reckoning for Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will be presented at the proper time, just as the Russian Bolsheviks finally presented a general reckoning to the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists for the baiting, calumny, imprisonment and murder of workers, soldiers and peasants."

But we presented our general reckoning to them two months after we had utilized the partial reckon-

ing between Kerensky and Kornilov, between the "democrats" and the Fascists—in order to drive back the Fascists all the more certainly. Only thanks to this circumstance were we victorious.

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When the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany adopts the position expressed in the quotation from Lenin cited above, the entire approach to the social democratic masses and the trade union organizations will change at once: instead of the articles and speeches which are convincing only to those people who are already convinced without them, the agitators will find a common language with new hundreds of thousands and millions of workers. The differentiation within the social democracy will proceed at an increased pace. The Fascists will soon feel that their task does not at all consist merely of defeating Bruening, Braun and Wels, but of taking up the open struggle against the whole working class. On this plane, a profound differentiation will inevitably be produced within Fascism. Only by this road is victory possible."

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

Worker-Communists, you are hundreds of thousands, millions; you cannot leave for any place; there are not enough passports for you. Should Fascism come to power, it will ride over your skulls and spines like a terrific tank. Your salvation lies in merciless struggle. And only a fighting unity with the social democratic workers can bring victory. Make haste, worker-Communists, you have very little time left!

December 8, 1931.

—L. TROTSKY.

## GERMAN CAMPAIGN

### Minor Challenged at Philly Meeting

Philadelphia.—Our German meetings in New York, and Philadelphia have had its repercussions here. It awakened the party bureaucrats to call an Anti-Fascist meeting in Girard Manor Hall, in which Robert Minor was the speaker.

Our presence in a solid group threw such consternation into the ranks of the party leaders that they turned this meeting into an anti-Trotsky campaign. Minor who was so busy attacking Lenin and Trotsky, after the days of the Russian Revolution in 1917, has lost none of his ability in this respect. He called us stool pigeons, police attacking the Bolshevik wing of the Communist movement. The only difference being that then he did it outside of the party and now he does it under the cloak of Communism.

If our presence threw consternation into the hearts of the bureaucrats, our activity during the question period, drove them into a still greater frenzy.

We asked why comrade Pappas and Roberts had been expelled for demanding the Leninist united front against Fascism. To this:

### Quits 'Anti-War' Committee

(Continued from Page 1)

of confusion.

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

Minor replied that no one was ever expelled for desiring to fight against Fascism.

On being asked the role of the Red Army with regard to Fascism, he began by calling us provocateurs, agents of the bosses, etc., and said that the German workers must make their own revolution. He did not mention, however, that once Hitler begins butchering the workers that Hitler's cry will not only be against German workers alone but Bolshevism as a whole, of which the Red Army is a part.

When he was asked what the danger of Fascism meant to the Soviet Union, Minor replied it merely meant the transforming of one kind of bourgeois dictatorship into another.

The question in regard to the "Ted Referendum" was a bone in his throat which he tried to dislodge quickly. He merely said that it was not inconsistent for one to vote for dissolution at one time and to vote against dissolution at another time. He refused to tell why it was not inconsistent.

We also asked if Fascism came into power on July 20, 1932, why did the party wait seven months to call this meeting. This question remained unanswered as did many others which were "unimportant."

—L. ROBERTS.

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

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

## THE MILITANT

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### America's Role in Germany

## Wall Street's Stake in Germany

"The problem of the mutual relations between the United States and Europe was very intimately bound up with the question of Fascism and social democracy. Only the defeat of the German revolution of 1923 made it possible for American capital to begin the realization of its plans for the (momentarily) peaceful subjugation of Europe. Under these circumstances, the American problem should have been considered in its full magnitude. Instead, the leadership of the Fifth Congress simply passed it by." (Trotsky—"Strategy of the World Revolution.")

Such an analysis as early as the Fifth Congress would have enabled the Comintern to consider properly the role of American imperialism, and also the changing and developing new class relationships in Germany—both of which problems are not understood by the Comintern even to this day.

The defeat of the German revolution in 1923 made possible the "Americanization" of Europe through the Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, etc. Upon this defeat, and the triumph of Stalinism in the Comintern, the necessary base for a new alignment of class relations in Germany was established. The propping up of the structure with American capital laid the objective base for capitalist stabilization. The triumph of Stalinism, upon the wave of revolutionary regress, laid the subjective base for the "return" of social democracy as a crutch for crippled German capitalism. Meanwhile capitalism nurtured the Fascist force for the coming showdown with the "Marxian swine."

In this period, while capitalist Germany was walking upon the crutches of social democracy and the American dollar, the main task of American imperialism was the problem of preventing the extension of the October revolution, of propping up decaying capitalism, and of maintaining thereby the dominating imperialist position and the super-profits that go with it.

Around Germany and its reparations problem in this post war period revolves the complex of capitalist contradictions. Today around Germany and its Fascist hordes, the same thing is seen in a higher form. The key to the international situation, as Trotsky has said, is Germany.

American investments in Germany are tremendous.

Their protection is a major concern of our imperialists. In the past, every mark Germany paid in reparations was more than equalled by loans from American imperialism. But to keep this up indefinitely is not possible for American profits. From this flowed the new problem of the Hoover

moratorium, the reparation "settlement" and the war debt question.

The moratorium and reparation settlement were frantic attempts to hold in check the inevitable civil war in Germany. These moves were not successful. But they were able to strengthen the reactionary forces of Fascism against the proletariat. Between the contradictory problem of profits and the prevention of the extension of the October revolution, the American imperialists have been jumping, in the hope that a parallel line of march can be obtained for these two factors in the decay of capitalism.

Normal bourgeois rule in Germany is desired. But American imperialism knows enough to change its attitude when the time demands it. The German capitalists were slow and by no means unanimous in changing from social democracy, to coalition, to Bonapartism and now—to Fascism. The American imperialists will show these same contradictions in their change of position, and a slower tempo. Already a growing section of the American capitalists are in favor of "Hitler and Hindenburg" since the Bonapartist attempts have been discredited by the sharpening class relations.

In South America, American imperialism has supported in turn, reactionary, liberal, and "revolutionary" governments and has resorted to armed intervention—depending in each case upon the class relations and imperialist relations, according to the profit interest of American capital. Germany will be no exception. The only difference is that the explosive class relations in Germany are at a far higher stage than in South America, where the flames of revolt can be far easier held in check. Therefore, far more precaution has been shown by ruthless American imperialism.

—HUGO OEHLER.

### What Next

Vital Questions for the German Proletariat.  
by LEON TROTSKY

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## German Opposition Overwhelmingly Against the Handful of Capitulators

BERLIN.—The Stalinist assertion that the German Left Opposition has disintegrated, supported by the forgery of an issue of the "Permanent Revolution", the organ of the German Left Opposition, is refuted by the action of the branches of the German Opposition with respect to the handful of capitulators who made the forgery possible.

The following branches, in resolutions addressed to the German National Committee, have either demanded the exclusion of the capitulators, R. Well, Senin, etc., or expressed their solidarity with the decisions of the National Committee:

Koenigsberg, Beuthen, Bautzen, Dresden, Bruchsal, Karlsruhe, Kaiserslautern, Mainz, Neustadt, a. H., Mannheim, Frankfurt, Cologne, Gelsenkirchen, Essen, Solingen, Erkenschwick, Remscheid, Hamburg, Berlin, Oranienburg, Birkenwerder, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Rinteln.

For reasons that will be readily understood we do not enumerate the inner-party factions.

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

Bruchsal of which the capitulators wrote that it would "probably" join them and which alone has more members than the capitulators are able to show "signatures", stands unanimously with the National Committee. Not a vote was

given there for Well and Co.

In Hamburg only the daughter of Fritz Buechner (Leipzig) voted for the "program" of the capitulators. Well and Senin lied in obtaining ten telegraphic signatures.

It is a swindle to say that Well, Senin, etc., constituted the majority of the National Committee. Of twelve members of the National Committee only three stood on the side of Well.

It is also a swindle to say that they had a majority for their platform on the editorial staff of the "Permanente Revolution".

### Lovestone and the Capitulators

The current number of the Lovestone paper, which appeared after our exposure of the forged issue of "Die Permanente Revolution", published by the Well group of capitulators which makes the excuse of "ignorance" untenable—unsmilingly reports that "the group 'Die Permanente Revolution' has capitulated and gone back to the official C.P.G. The last issue of its organ contained a full page appeal for unconditional return to the party! This leaves the 'International Left Opposition' without a group in Germany." Even if the American Right wing (which Lovestone also unsmilingly reports to have 900 members) can only publish its paper once a month, this is hardly a reason why deliberated falsehoods should be repeated.

The Right wing is not "without a group in Germany", as we know, that is, it has remaining in its ranks those who have not yet join-