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THE MILITANT



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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, Weises and Hillerdingers 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 strongholds, in every city and in every district. The Fascists are attempting to encircle the revolutionary strongholds. The encirclement must be encircled. On this basis, (Continued on Page 2)

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 Fascism is the 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 develops 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

strategical 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. (Continued on Page 2)

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 demands. 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. Thus the League grants to Japan its right to a "sphere of influence" in North China but it is not ready to see this sphere turned into an outright colony. Diplomacy works only through quid pro quo—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—at

acknowledged by 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 Shanhaikwan, situated at the extremity of the Great Wall, half-way 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 Yangtze) 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 general 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 spokesman. One wonders whether Washington is capable of wincing at the indecate 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 reports 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 German 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 innocuous 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 imperialism in general, rather than to jointly conduct specific activities. Consequently...

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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)

German Meetings

Oehler Tour: YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO Tuesday, Feb. 21—8 P. M. CENTRAL AUDITORIUM 225 W. Boardman St. CLEVELAND, OHIO Wednesday, Feb. 22 PAINTER'S HALL 2630 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-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 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.....

Boston I.L.D. Expels Two

I. L. D. BUREAUCRATS EXPEL TWO ACTIVE MILITANTS ON FRAME-UP CHARGE OF "STEALING MAILING LIST"; REAL REASON SHOWN TO BE THAT THEY ARE OPPONENTS

The I. L. D. is proceeding well in its work of unification. As a step in this direction it has expelled two of the most active members of the Boston district of its organization, Comrades Charlotte Shechet and William Konikov, whose activities for the I. L. D. are well known to all the members of their branch, were thrown out in typically Stalinist manner—on trumped-up charges. The local bureaucracy of the Boston section fearing the criticism of these comrades and fearing the spread of those Communist ideas which would build the I. L. D. as a real mass organization and thereby expose the true character of these self-appointed "leaders" excluded comrades Shechet and Konikov on flagrantly falsified grounds so as to cover up the splitters' character of their action.

The District Executive Committee of the New England District in its statement on the expulsion of the two comrades makes the following charges: "This investigation and the meetings brought out that Shechet and Konikov had stolen the membership list and records of the Sacco-

Vanzetti Branch (Boston) and used this list to circularize the branch membership with the Trotskyite paper, the Militant. The actions of Shechet for the last few months have been to disrupt the work of the I. L. D. constantly trying to cause dissatisfaction among I. L. D. members with the I. L. D.; try to substitute educational work for mass activity, utilizing I. L. D. meetings and conferences for securing contacts and in an attempt to pit members of the I. L. D. against decisions and against the I. L. D. National and District leadership. Konikov joined the branch only recently. Konikov's action consisted according to his own statement: "I am sending out these things [The Militant and notices of meetings], ... etc., etc., ad nauseum. From the nature of these charges, on the basis of past experience, it is not difficult to see into this very apparent frame-up. The statement of the expelled comrades confirms our suspicion. Their statement is a smashing reply to the lies of the I. L. D. bureaucrats. Concerning the alleged theft of the mailing list the prosecutors were forced to

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 to a crime which the whole world knows he never committed. The day of reckoning with the various of murderer and traitor 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 officials will change nothing. There are hundreds, nay, thousands of rackets who can and will take the place of one official. 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, anarchistic terror but by united action of the million masses in determined struggle against all forms of class oppression. It is only on this scientific Marxian 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 private into which it has driven the masses by a "red herring" of this kind. Our fight will go on to the end. —G. C.