

1 CENT A COPY

THE MILITANT

Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Published thrice weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1923 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. VOLUME VI, NO. 11 [WHOLE NO. 158] NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1933 PRICE 1 CENT

Fascists Command Police: Shoot the Reds!

The German fascists are moving forward in their ruthless campaign of extermination against the proletariat, with a breath-taking speed and resolution. In the hectic few weeks just prior to and since Hitler was appointed Chancellor, it is reported that more than sixty persons have been killed in political encounters, of whom thirty-seven were known Communists or socialists, while only fourteen were Nazis. Scores of Communist, socialist and even Catholic newspapers have either been suppressed for long periods of time or their issues confiscated by the authorities. The governmental apparatus has been cleared of the social democrats who rendered the bourgeois such signal services while in office, and their posts have been filled with reliable Fascist officials. Thus far the struggle in Germany records that Hitler has not suffered a single serious setback in the Fascist drive to establish their complete domination over the state power. The social democracy is not only retreating but is seeking to drag with it in ignominious treachery the masses of workers following its banner. The Stalinists are either mute or else they continue to jabber a language and pursue a course which must inevitably impose upon the German proletariat a capitulation without serious struggle.

merely to a direct command to the police to shoot down the Communist and militant workers on any convenient occasion, but also guarantees the reactionary butchers an all-inclusive immunity in advance. At the same time, the preparations are continuing for the outlawing of the Communist party, not merely for the general purpose of driving it out of existence, but also to keep it off the ballot in the elections scheduled for March 5. The Fascist and Hugenberg press now speak of the proscription of the Communist party as a matter of course. The only point in question appears to be the date and the official pretext to be given for the act. Hitler would, of course, pre-

fer to rule after March 5 with a "parliamentary majority" of Fascists, on the Italian style, if possible. But he is not troubled about the outcome of the elections: majority or minority, Hitler intends to continue in power by means of the increasing utilization of naked force. An Alarming Situation The alarming feature of the German situation does not, however, lie in these facts: Hitler's course was to be foreseen and was foreseen by us. What engenders a mounting disquietude among all those who realize that around the outcome in Germany pivots the fate of the world revolution, is the fact that up to the present time the

remained comparatively disorganized and has not yet mobilized its ranks for a serious and decisive struggle to sweep into oblivion the Fascist gangs. At this moment, when the Communist party should be in the forefront of the movement to unite the ranks of the proletariat in struggle, it is doing nothing of the sort. In this crucial hour, when it can be said without exaggeration that minutes count, the general staff of the world revolution, as the Communist International was once rightly called, is absolutely silent! A more monstrous crime cannot be imagined at such a time than the deadly, ominous silence from that

body to which the militant and revolutionary masses everywhere look for guidance and counsel especially at critical moments. When it is clear even to a child that upon the outcome of the present struggle in the whole proletariat movement, and not least of all, the fate of the Soviet Union, the Communist International is not only silent but it is not taking the first step towards assembling the Communists on a world scale to speak and act in unison. It is since the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern was held. The old statutes of the International provided for the new Congress every year. The new sta-

tutes, adopted in 1928, provide for the convocation of a world Communist Congress every two years. It is almost five years now since the last Congress was held and yet there is not the faintest sign on the horizon that the Stalinist bureaucracy has any intention whatsoever of calling together the Seventh World Congress! At a world Congress, especially one where the Left Opposition would be afforded the opportunity to participate, the Stalinists would be compelled to submit their past course to a review and to speak out plainly about the present situation. The central leadership would be compelled to assume responsibility before the eyes of the world Communist and labor public

for whatever line of policy was elaborated for the German Communist Party. This is precisely what the Stalinists want to avoid. The failure to convene the Seventh World Congress is a cowardly, criminal evasion of an elementary duty, which can have nothing but catastrophic results for the German working class. Stalin in particular, "the best discipline of Lenin", is anxious to evade the issue now being posed in Germany with such inescapable acuteness. Stalin, the "leader of the international proletariat", has not a single word to say about the situation in Germany today. But if the responsible leadership of the Comintern does not speak, if it is unable to meet and reply to the arguments and demands for a united front which the Left Opposition has put forward, the second and tenth rank bureaucrats (i. e., the scapegoats of tomorrow!) are pushed out in the forefront to make the official apology while the "Infallible Stalin" hides silently behind their skirts. Less than ever able to answer our contentions or to oppose our policies, the Stalinists are compelled to resort not only to misrepresentation and ritualistic abuse, but to the most patent absurdities.

Workers! The Social Democracy Has Betrayed Again Stalinism Is Abdicating! Unite Ranks and Crush Hitler!

Appeal to the Proletariat of Germany by the Paris Conference of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists)

The Pre-Conference of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) which took place a couple of weeks ago in Paris with delegates from Germany, France, Belgium, Russia, England and America in attendance, decided to address the following appeal to the German proletariat. A telegram sent by the Pre-Conference to the Communist International is published in another column. Appeal of the Pre-Conference of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) to all the members of the Communist Party of Germany, to the Social Democratic workers, to the entire proletariat of Germany! Comrades, More than ever at the present moment are the eyes of the world proletariat turned to Germany. With ever increasing uneasiness and tension of the nerves it is following the struggle you are conducting against the stragglers of your liberties, of your life. It is well aware that the extreme tension, the forces of the reaction for imposing its base and black dictatorship upon you, will have enormous consequences for the destiny of the working masses of the entire world. After having passed through various stages, the Fascist reaction has succeeded in establishing itself in power. You all know under

what conditions this could take place. For this was necessary the treason of the social democracy and the pernicious policy of Stalinism, was necessary that the enormous mass of the German proletariat be maintained for years and years in a state of division and inaction. Comrades, It is in order to crush us, in order to find a way out, that the German bourgeoisie, the great potentates of banking and industry, the landowners and the domestic clerks have raised the Brown Shirts to power. To snatch away the conquests attained by you and by your fathers in a heroic struggle of the three-quarters of a century; to destroy your political and trade union organizations; to reduce you to complete servitude; that is the task of the Fascist dictatorship. The Fascist dictatorship is the inferno of the proletariat. No, comrades, the world proletariat cannot believe that its brothers in Germany will let themselves be reduced to the state of slaves. The Fascist enemy who is determined to attain his goal by blood and death, will encounter on his path the determined and invincible resistance of millions of German workers. The German proletariat will know how to stand up in the harsh struggle, to defend its struggle, the civil war, to bloody itself and to defeat its mortal foes.

TELEGRAM TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, Executive Committee, Comintern, Moscow. In face gravity German situation and threat against USSR we demand urgent convocation world Congress Communist International with participation International Left Opposition. Invite Comintern to propose united front to organizations—Socialist and Labor International, Profintern, Amsterdam International for common action German and International proletariat against German Fascism for defense USSR. Pro-Conference International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists). We, the Bolshevik-Leninists, after having for years drawn the attention of the German and the world proletariat to the danger of Fascism in Germany; after having shown the road towards defeating and triumphing over it; after having denounced the treachery of the leaders of the social democrats and flayed the criminal tactics of the Stalinist faction which has the leadership of the Communist International and the Communist Party of Germany in its hands, we now address ourselves to you at this moment of the greatest and most tragic danger, to you members of the German Communist Party, to you social democratic workers, to

all the proletarians of Germany, and we say to you: THERE IS STILL TIME! The victory over Fascism is still possible. Whoever tells you that all is lost, that the struggle is now in vain—is betraying you. You can still conquer. But in order to gain the victory, to avoid the defeat, the whole working class must unite in the struggle against the reaction. This is possible upon one condition: that all the organizations of the German proletariat, the Communist party, the social democratic party, the trade union organizations, the factory councils, etc., undertake the joint struggle against Fascism. To realize the united front of organization to organization, to establish in every factory, in every locality, in every quarter, everywhere, your organs of defense. Here is the road: through the partial struggles, to pass from general action to the fighting general strike against Fascism, a strike which will lead, by means of the popular fighting organizations, by means of the Soviets, to the crushing of the reaction and to the conquest of power. Members of the German Communist Party, Demand that the leadership of your party propose from the bottom to the top the united front to the social democratic party, to the Federation of Trade Unions, and

to all the organizations of the German proletariat, for the joint struggle of all against Fascism. Socialist workers, Impose upon your leaders the realization of the united front, the sole weapon by which you and your class brothers can defend your lives. To act immediately means not to allow the enemy the choice of the attack, means to engage in the battle under conditions which allow us to conquer. The German revolution is passing through a historic moment in which the fate of the proletarian Germany, the fate of the USSR is at stake. History will condemn to shame those who, in this critical moment, will desert the field of battle. Demand the joint action of the proletariat front; Form your organizations of struggle; Fight to the death for the salvation of the German proletariat; You hold in your hands the fate of the world proletariat and of the Russian revolution; Arise ye millions of proletarians of Germany! Smash Fascism! Long live the joint action of the proletariat front! Long live the victory of the proletariat. The International Communist Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists).

Opposition and Stalinists The Opposition has declared that the social democracy and Fascism constitute the two extremities of bourgeois society—not its twins but its extremities. Unable any longer to solve its problems (and keep the proletariat in check) by means of the democratic illusions of which the social democracy is the principal conveyor in the working class, the bourgeoisie has resorted to Fascism—the naked, anti-democratic dictatorship of force and violence. The rule of Fascism excludes the existence of any democratic (even bourgeois democratic, to say nothing of proletarian democratic) forms or institutions. This determines the conflict between Fascism and the social democracy. This does not convert the social democratic leaders into defenders of the interests of the proletariat—a stupid idea which the Stalinist maliciously attributes to us. But for the social democracy to perform its role, for it to retain its leadership over the social democratic masses who are violently anti-Fascist, Wells, Kunstler and Co. are compelled to carry on at least an oral and literary struggle against Hitlerism, are compelled to make gestures of defiance, while restraining the masses from really militant and revolutionary action—that is, from the only action which will smash Fascism. From this elementary fact, the Stalinists now draw the following conclusion: The Fascist bourgeoisie, in order to save the social democracy, has arranged with it to drive it into a "sham opposition" so as to continue deceiving the proletariat which follows it. Therefore (!!) it is wrong to make a united front with the social democracy, for we will be helping perpetrate the sham and illusion of its "opposition to Fascism". To leap the yawning gap between premise and conclusion requires an acrobatic skill which only a Stalinist word-juggler can supply. One of these acrobats, whom the desperate, disoriented American Stalinists have called up from the reserves, is Max Bedacht, the daily "Specialist on Germany" out of the I. W. O. old soldiers' home to which he was retired some years ago, to break a lance with the Trotskyists on the question of the united front. But the acrobat slips and falters through every sentence of his (excuse us!) analysis, and ends up limp and exhausted from his heroic effort. Why is the social democracy's leadership forced into "sham opposition"? Precisely because its role is to retain a firm grip on

Proletarian Revolution Only Way Out For Doubly-Exploited German Masses

The sharp tension of the revolutionary crisis in Germany points to it as the "weakest link" in the imperialist chain today. Its social and political forces have been lined up for battle by the ever-sharpening contradictions of the German economy. These contradictions have been given a special form by the post-war changes in Germany, beginning with the peace treaty. This form is the contradiction between the high imperialist development of Germany—its level of technology, its concentration of industrial capital and domination by finance capital—and the "semi-colonial" status to which it has been reduced under the pressure of France, England and America. Before the war, Germany was a large exporter of capital, pursuing a policy of imperialist expansion through direct seizure of colonies (Kiao-Chon, German West Africa, etc.), and through the possession of spheres of influence of more or less marked political favor (China, Turkey, South America). Since the war, it has been deprived of its colonies, and through the imposition of reparations was compelled to import capital from 1924 to 1929 instead of exporting it. Dependence on Foreign Capital Its indebtedness to foreign countries on so-called "commercial debt", amounting to 4-5 billion dollars, puts it in the hands of British but more particularly American finance-capital; the reparations payments bleed it for the benefit of France, Belgium, England, Italy and others of the former Allies; even its gold reserve of 200 million dollars is borrowed to the extent of 86 millions. The im-

portation of American capital has taken the form of direct investments in German property—even the powerful German electrical monopolies, the A. E. G. and Siemens & Halske, are being increasingly controlled by American capital. As a result the German masses are being doubly exploited—by their own bourgeoisie and by that of the larger imperialist powers, especially France, England and America. The effect of this contradictory situation, as a highly-developed imperialist power, and at the same time as a "semi-colony" has been immediately felt by the German masses. In order to meet the payments required by the exploiting countries, Germany has forced exports at the expense of its internal market, that is, by forcing downward the standard of living of the great masses of the German population. This was done from 1919 to 1923 through inflation, which reduced the value in goods of the worker's wages. Since the temporary stabilization began in 1924, the crude methods of inflation were dropped, and a series of carefully devised measures was adopted toward the same end. While wages were being cut, prices were kept high in Germany and at the same time goods were sold in export trade for what they would bring. The big industrial monopolies entered into international agreements to divide up export markets and assure each other complete liberty in exploiting their own internal markets without competition. The German govern-

German Meets Scheduled

MASS MEETING IN CHICAGO The Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has arranged for a mass meeting where Hugo Oehler, now on a national tour, will deal with the crisis in Germany and the standpoint of the Left Opposition. The meeting will take place at Mirror Hall, 1154 N. Western Ave. on Sunday, February 26, at 3 P. M. The subject of comrade Oehler's speech will be: "Germany: Alarm Signals for the Working Class". All Chicago workers are cordially invited to attend. Questions and discussion will follow the speech.

ABERN SPEAKS AT WILKES-BARRE MEETING Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will speak under the auspices of the League at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, on Sunday, February 26, 1933, 2 P. M. on the crisis in Germany and the standpoint of the Left Opposition. Admission to the meeting is free and all miners and other workers are cordially invited to attend. The meeting will be held at the Workers' Circle Hall, 69 S. Hancock Street.

Oehler Tour: 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

Breaking Point Approaches in North China Conflict of Imperialist Powers

In the modern era of finance-capitalism, or imperialism, peace among the nations is merely a truce between wars. The truce is utilized by the future combatants to polish up and perfect the weapons of speedy death whilst eyeing the "enemy" from head to foot. The armed truce since the first World War is drawing rapidly to a close, the second world war looms darkly just ahead. The first World War was preceded by the race for armaments, disguised half-heartedly now and again by "standstill" agreements that halted nothing. The stage is being set in exactly similar fashion for the second World War: disarmament conferences that lead to ever greater piling-up of guns and munitions; mounting national budgets for armies and navies. Yesterday it was Japan with the largest military budget of its history. Today it is the United States with its three hundred million dollars for the navy alone. Secretary Adams, in requesting this melon for the militarists, gives an account of the relative naval standing of the enemies, England, Japan and the United States: personnel, number of battleships, cruisers, destroyers, aircraft carriers, submarines. It was Lenin in his "Imperialism" who remarked, "There can be no other conceivable basis, under capitalism, for the sharing out of spheres of influence, of interests, of colonies, etc., than a calculation of the strength of the participants, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc." Japan Reaches for North China Not by accident is it that a decade after the first world war, which gave such a tremendous im-

petus to the development of her monopoly finance-capitalism, Japan reaches out for North China. Like German capitalism before the War, Japanese imperialism fears being left out in the cold in the exploitation of the rich earth through possession of colonies. Since in this century the world has been completely shared out, the Japanese can only come into possession of new territory by seizing it from some other possessor, in this case the Chinese. The Japs have coveted the Manchurian provinces since the Russo-Jap War. They viewed with alarm and increasing dismay the influx of Chinese immigrants that began in 1911 and reached their tremendous proportions in 1926. This, in conjunction with a shrewd gauging of the "opportunity" moment from the point of view of the international situation, decided the Japanese generals to act before it became too late. But this present action was prepared years before by the Katos and Tanakas with their Big Army and Navy programs which took definite shape about 1920. At that time the nationalist, imperialist Kobe journal, the Japan Chronicle, wrote: "The great Japan is to be built solely that Japan may be able to do things on the Asiatic mainland and present them to the world as accomplished facts without running the risk of the Powers offering 'advice' such as they offered in 1895 regarding Liaotung. The expansion of the Navy is not for the purpose of being aggressive but for the purpose of deterring protest if aggressive action should for any reason be committed." This

Help the Militant 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

BRONX MASS MEETING What the Left Opposition Stands For. Speakers: James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman. Hollywood Gardens 896 Prospect Ave. Sunday, February 26, at 2:30 P. M. ADMISSION: 15 CENTS. Sponsors: Communist League of America (Opposition)