

Revolution Only Way

(Continued from Page 1)

ment raised its taxes again and again, and used the money to "relieve" capitalists who wanted to unload their stocks or to engage in a profitable bankruptcy. The North German Lloyd, Darmstadter Bank, Disconto Bank, Nordwolle and a host of other financial scandals were "solved" by having the German government compensate the capitalists who were threatened with loss. The big German steel trust, the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, is now about 30 percent owned by the government because Bruening's finance Minister bought them at three times the market price from a patriotic industrialist who threatened to sell them to France if his terms were not accepted.

In all these ways the German people have been plundered for the benefit of their own capitalists and also for that of their new foreign masters. The accumulation and combination of the two burdens has brought forth the sharpest clash of class interests.

The big bourgeoisie, in addition to fighting for its own privileges, will also struggle to keep intact its alliance with foreign capital at the cost of the German masses, supporting itself on the power of foreign imperialism while at the same time frantically pounding the nationalist drum. The situation has a certain analogy with that of the Russian capitalists before the revolution, in respect to their leaning on foreign capital, although this was even more true of Russia.

Role of Petty Bourgeoisie

The petty bourgeoisie, on the other hand, tries to make a distinction between its domestic oppressors and its foreign ones. It is not convinced that its future lies with the proletariat, because of the lack of a clear-cut program and a powerful, united and growing proletarian force in Germany. It therefore turns to alliance with its domestic bourgeoisie, and under the pressure of its chauvinistic prejudices and narrowness, brought to a white heat by the bellows of Fascist propaganda, it turns its fist against "foreign", including Jewish, capital, in the first instance, and is content with vague demagogic promises as to what Fascism will do to its fellow-German capitalists.

The working class, on the other hand, cannot make any distinction between the two. In 1917 the Bolsheviks struggled both against the influence of foreign capitalism reflected in the alliance of Russia with England and France in the imperialist war, and against their "own" capitalists in the civil war. Only through putting itself at the head of the nation, through settling accounts with its own capitalism, through installing the dictatorship of the proletariat, will the German working class impose its own class interests, which will also

be those of the Socialist nation, on the foreign imperialist powers. To submerge its own class interests in those of the nation, to pose the struggle for the dictatorship and for the ultimate Socialist State as a struggle for "national liberation", is in effect to capitulate to the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie, with its creation of supposed "national" interests which stand above the tasks of the proletariat as a separate class. The Bolsheviks settled their accounts with their own capitalism and installed the dictatorship of the proletariat in October; three months later they broke the financial bonds of Anglo-French imperialism through the repudiation of the Czarist debt and in another two months, through the peace of Brest-Litovsk, achieved the real liberation of Russia from foreign imperialism and its war.

—B. J. FIELD.

Nearing Breaking Point in China

(Continued from Page 1)

paper adds: "Japan today is the third naval power in the world. She is, perhaps, the second military power. In combined naval and military force she is second to none. It is impossible to attain such a position in the world without being regarded with a certain amount of awe and apprehension."

American Apprehensions

The apprehension of their American business rivals has indeed been aroused. Hence, the U. S. government gives tacit encouragement to American citizens not to buy Japanese silks, Mrs. Hoover ostentatiously takes to wearing cotton gowns, American merchants call in their credits from Japan, American banks refrain from granting loans to Japanese applicants, etc. Is it a shrewd guess to interpret the flurry in the Japanese stock market recently as the dumping of Japanese stocks and bonds by American holders? But these measures are not the major ones. The main steps are pressure applied through American influence and power in Europe, and—transfer for an indefinite period of the American navy to the Pacific.

The Balkanization of Manchuria goes on apace nevertheless, with Japan throwing its armies into Jehol. The League promulgates a verbose document of inanities whose meaning, as given by the diplomats themselves, amounts to inferring China that she has the League's permission to fight back the Japanese invasion. But Japan is insured how to taking "advice" from the League on Manchuria. Her big navy is proof against such "advice".

—J. W.

Conrad James Gordon is a member of the central strike committee and is active participating in the Foltis-Fisher strike. He is not the chairman of the strike committee as was erroneously reported in a recent issue of the Militant. An article on the strike and the situation in the Food Workers Union will appear in the next issue of the Militant.

America's Role in Germany

The Threat of Imperialist War

A Fascist victory and the defeat of the German proletariat would lay the basis for ironing out the most pressing contradictions standing in the way of the imperialist war on the Soviet Union. Fascist Germany and American capital, with the other imperialists, would transform their economic war into a military war against the Soviet Union, using Fascism as the spearhead of attack. In the post-war period, defeated Germany stood in the way of a well organized military operation and direct attack upon the Soviet Union. A Fascist Germany eliminates the sharpest expression of this contradiction. This does not mean that social democracy is just that many degrees better when it rules. It means that the position of class relations is to that degree different. The position of the working class and its party is different. Social democracy drugs the proletariat. Fascism annihilates its organizations.

Italian Fascism has the most agreeable relationship with American imperialism. Italian Fascism does not rest upon the same economic base that a victorious German Fascism would have. The White Terror government of Hungary after the Hungarian revolution, as well as other White Terror governments of the Balkans, have the best of relations with the American imperialists. But Fascist Italy and all of these White Terror Governments can not disorganize the world working class to the same degree that German Fascism in the event of victory, could. The economic base below these forces is different.

The Stalinists consider Mussolini in Italy or Pilsudsky in Poland as just another form of bourgeois rule, and then conclude that Fascism in Germany would be similar. Such governments are indeed a form of bourgeois rule.

But from the class point of view there is a vast difference between social democracy and Fascism. And one must add to this, that with the Fascist variety of bourgeois rule there are differences and more pressing dangers. Fascism in Germany would make Fascism in Italy look like child's play. Because WORLD CAPITALISM is in a more critical situation, Fascism

takes root in a more developed country—as the expression of INTERNATIONAL relations.

The danger of an imperialist war between Japan and America in the Orient must be kept on the proletarian order of business but cannot be separated from the imperialists' contradictions and the key situation in Germany. The contradictions between the imperialist powers on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other finds expression in Germany and in China. Both situations must be approached from the international point of view and the proper connection of their economic and class relationships obtained.

In these preliminary struggles of the imperialists for the redivision of the earth these two dangers point reveal Germany as the weakest link and America as the dominating imperialist power.

Japan has advantages at the present in its present position in the Orient in this struggle for the redivision of the earth but the American imperialism's hold upon the European imperialists, through war debts and through the billions invested in Germany, and America's economic weight, gives her a lever far greater than that held by Japan, for world struggles in general and struggles in the Orient against Japan.

American imperialism is watching with vulture anxiety the gains of German Fascism. If Fascism triumphs in Germany reaction will be strengthened throughout the world. The American workers will be confronted by a wave of reaction. Greater capitalist prospects for a way out of the world crisis will be obtained.

A united front of reaction against the Soviet Union will alter, even though it intensifies the antagonisms between the imperialists. And America on top of the decay heap of world capitalism has far more to gain than to lose in such a new alignment for the coming imperialist war. All of this providing—Fascism is victorious in Germany. But this is not yet a settled question. The time is not yet too late to turn the tide into a successful proletarian revolution, thereby smashing Fascism—and the pillars of American imperialism.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Program of Action Against Fascism Proposed Year Ago by German Left

(The consistency of the policy of the International Left Opposition for the situation in Germany, as well as the fact that its policy has been confirmed with striking accuracy by events, is shown by our reprint below of the open letter sent by our German comrades to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany more than a year ago. It was the Left Opposition which at that time—and for some time before that—sounded the alarm signal against the Fascist danger and called upon the party to initiate the united front movement against the Nazis. The failure of the Communist Party leaders to adopt this course finally resulted in the present dangerous position into which the party and the working class have been forced. In essence, the proposals made below not only continue to hold good today, but are an imperatively necessary prerequisite to the launching of the movement that will exterminate the hordes of Hitlerism.—Ed.)

To the Central Committee of the C. P. G.

Dear comrades:

Victory is possible, victory is probable, everything must be done to assure it. Only in this manner can revolutionists pose the question in the present situation.

The question of the victory over Fascism in Germany is also the question of the fate of the U. S. S. R., regardless of whether it is considered from the economic, the political or the purely military point of view. But that means that so as to be able to assure the future of socialist economy in the U. S. S. R., the Soviet Union must stake all of its forces on the victory over Fascism of the European revolution, with which it is inseparably linked. This alone can be the strategic line of the Communist party.

The C. P. must adopt a position of departure that rests upon irreconcilable and ruthless struggle against Fascism, for the purpose of destroying Fascism in the inevitable, open struggle and for the conquest of power.

The united revolutionary class action of the proletariat must be organized against the victory of Fascism.

This can be realized only when all revolutionary forces, no matter in what camp they stand at the moment, unite for this common action which stands on the order of the day. We know full well that the premises for such an action are highly unfavorable. But in spite of this, the C. P. G., as the historically chosen organization must in view of the seriousness of the situation make the attempt to realize a genuine fighting unity of the working class.

To this end we submit the following proposals:

The C. P. G. is immediately to approach all political groups, trade unions and workers' organizations who declare themselves prepared to fight against Fascism with the aim of a common appeal for the formation of a Joint Council of Action against Fascism. This appeal must contain:

1. The creation of Committees of Action consisting of representatives of factories, trade unions, political groups and other workers' organizations. It is of the greatest importance, that all the existing tendencies in the revolutionary working class of each locality be represented in the Committees of Action.
2. The Joint Council of Action is to be constituted at a congress of delegates from these Committees of Action in the entire country, which is to meet in the shortest possible time. This congress is to represent the proletarian concentration against the concentration of the reactionaries.
3. The congress must be organized in advance as the proletarian

counter-parliament in the event of a Fascist Reichstag, or against an extra-parliamentary or parliamentary Fascist government.

4. The congress must solve three tasks concretely:

- (a) the preparation of the general strike to prevent the seizure of power by Hugenberg and Hitler;
- (b) the formation of one common non-party workers' defense corps;
- (c) the elaboration of a common minimum program with regard to the next steps to be taken by the Committees of Action.

Under a correct leadership, such a defense action contains all the necessary elements with which to lead the proletariat, in view of the objective possibilities described above, not only against Fascism, but to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie as a whole.

Such a policy is possible only after a radical change in the course of the party. The experiences of the French Communist Party speak an unequivocal language. Despite the "third period", despite the ultra-Left trade union tactic, despite "social Fascism" and similar slogans, the party has been forced by the pressure of objective conditions and partly also on the basis of sound proposals made by the Left Opposition to change its course radically. (See the proposal to the Socialist Party of France for common action on the second ballot, the Preliminary Congress for the establishment of trade union unity.) It is high time to draw the consequences in Germany and to reestablish the unity of all genuine Communists.

We declare emphatically that, despite profound differences in a whole series of questions, we will support with our innermost convictions and without any reservations, every step undertaken by the party in this direction with all our strength and that we are completely and entirely at the service of the party in any instance whatsoever.

The Left Opposition of the C. P. G. (Bolshevik-Leninists) The National Committee.

Fascists Command Police: Shoot the Reds

(Continued from Page 1)

revolution will gain. For by retaining our independence and not relenting an iota in our criticism of the social democracy, we will not be helping perpetuate the illusions spread by the socialist leaders. On the contrary, by a firm, clear policy, we will be helping to destroy these illusions in the minds of the million-headed socialist masses. With united efforts we will smash Fascism, our main foe. But such a movement will be set in motion that—providing we are not stupid—we shall be able to push it further along the correct road, to the formation of Soviets to the establishment of these Soviets as the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, to the final

settlement of accounts with the murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg whom we know (the socialist masses do not yet know it, or not with sufficient clarity) will try to stab the movement in the back when it becomes dangerous to them.

These simple ideas, which Lenin and Trotsky tried to hammer into the heads of the opportunists and ultra-Leftists in 1921 and 1922, must become the policy of the party. The vapors of all the "specialists" and "theoreticians" of the Stalinist cut lead only to impotence and confusion. It is high time to call them to a halt!

Tuesday, Feb. 21, 1933.

—M. S.

Gillespie, Illinois, will speak on the mine war in southern Illinois. February 27, Hugo Oehler, member of the national committee, will speak on "What is Happening in Germany?"

All our activities center at the Hibernian Hall, 421 Brady Street, Davenport, Iowa. Our headquarters are located on the first floor. The open forum meets every Wednesday at 8 P. M. sharp, closing at 10 P. M. sharp. Fundamentals of Communism every Friday night 8 P. M. First and third Monday of each month Elementary Economics, 9 P. M. to 10 P. M. Book store is open every afternoon and evening from 3 P. M. to 9 P. M.

Marx-Lenin School in Chi.

Chicago.—The first term of the Marx-Lenin School, conducted by the Left Opposition, is now concluded and a new term is about to begin. The two classes just concluded were quite successful both from the point of view of attendance as well as results.

At the present time we are about to launch a new class on the subject "The Theoretical System of Marxism." This class will consist of nine sessions, covering all important phases of the subject. It is calculated to give the students a rounded-out view of Marxism as a whole. Its tenor will be such that it will not be too difficult for beginners, nor yet too simple for those already having an elementary knowledge of Marxism. The following is the outline for the course:

- Philosophy** (conducted by J. Giganti)
1. Materialism and Idealism
 2. Dialectics and Scientific Method
 3. Historical Materialism Political Economy (conducted by Al. Glotzer)
 1. Commodity Production
 2. Labor theory of Value
 3. Surplus Value
- Politics** (conducted by N. Satir)
1. Political Structure—The State
 2. The Political Party of the Proletariat
 3. Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics
- The first session will be held on Wednesday, February 15, 8:30 P. M., at 1214 N. Washenau. All those wishing to enroll should come directly to the class or call the secretary by phone, Webster 1279 for information.
- SHACHTMAN AT BROOKWOOD**
- Max Shachtman will speak on the Left Opposition in the Communist movement before the student body at Brookwood School, Katonah, N. Y., on Friday, February 24, 1933.

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GERMAN CAMPAIGN

Chicago Advances With Campaign

Chicago.—Chicago's reaction to the German campaign of the Left Opposition was immediate. The meeting to organize the campaign was held last night with members of Spartacus Youth Club, Unser Kampf Club (Left Opposition) and a few party comrades in attendance. The enthusiasm of the comrades was manifest throughout the meeting. Many speakers took the floor with suggestions on how best to carry on the campaign in Chicago.

The most important point on the agenda was the assignment of comrades to sell the new three-week *Militant* before workers' organizations and meetings. Practically the whole city will be covered in the next few weeks with the message of the Left Opposition to the German events. The Chicago workers that have already been contacted through our German campaign are appreciating the efforts of the Communist Left to raise the German Communist Party from its Stalinist political stupor.

In the meantime the effects of the campaign are making themselves felt within the ranks of the party itself. The frightened party bureaucrats have not organized any mass meetings in the "Loop" at Redifer Hall, Sunday, the 19th, another the following Sunday, Feb. 26, 3 P. M. at Division and Western (Mirror Hall) with comrade Hugo Oehler as main speaker. Our South Side group will organize a meeting on the South Side very shortly.

—J. GIGANTI.

200 SOLD IN FEW HOURS

In a few hours, comrade Jim Carr of the New York branch sold 200 copies of the "New Militant" at a cent a copy in the 14th Street vicinity. Other comrades have sold from 50 to 150 copies in a few hours. The absorbing interest with which the militants are following our paper in these crucial hours is a guarantee of the advance of the Left Opposition.

HUNDREDS SOLD IN N. Y.

Nat Levine, Left Opposition sympathizer in New York, sold 117 copies of the *Militant* on the preceding Friday and 200 copies on the following Sunday in front of the Labor Temple. He reports wide interest in the three-times-a-week *Militant* and its efforts to present thoroughly the situation in Germany. Mac Cudler, another sympathizer, has also been active in the sale of the *Militant* and in the securing of subscriptions.

—S. G.

S.L.P. Treachery In Springfield

Springfield, Ill.—The Socialist Labor Party of Springfield, "like the Plebs Leaders of old have become a strategic post of peculiar strength for the patriariate and mischief for the proletariat....the work of enslaving and slowly degrading the working class"—to quote Daniel DeLeon.

The issue in the Illinois miners struggle is clear. On the one side, you have the whole machinery of the capitalist class; on the other side you have the working-class, and it is the duty of all class-conscious workers to give the keenest support and to stand on the side of the workers whenever a strike or any other conflict for improved conditions of labor occurs either as a spontaneous action of the workers or as a result of action taken by a labor organization. And by doing this the class conscious workers do not for a minute lose sight of the revolutionary goal.

But the Socialist Labor Party of Springfield at its recent meeting by a majority vote decided to become scabs, to help the Lewis-Peabody machine defeat the Progressive Miners of America and to force the miners back under the conditions of the coal operators. And so, with the exception of two rank and file members who tore up their party cards in the face of these labor-fakers, Fred Koch, Lawrence Lamb, A. J. DeWitt, Eric and Joe Brown, these staunch S. L. P. members went back to scab in a body under the Lewis-Peabody company union. And this isn't all. Fred Koch, former national organizer and the apex of the S. L. P. in the state of Illinois, takes his young son and this youth is introduced and initiated to all the chicanery in the art of being a professional strikebreaker by his SLP father as his first job.

Lawrence Lamb, another old "DeLeonite", like a good flunkie, turns over to the Lewis gang all the material property which belonged to over six hundred rank and file members who broke away from the Lewis machine and joined the Progressive Miners of America.

A. J. Dewitt, the secretary of the Springfield branch of the SLP wrote to his two brothers in Harco, Illinois, to come to Springfield and help break the P. M. A. His two brothers came to Springfield and got jobs as strikebreakers at one of the Peabody mines. Then one night after a so-called union meeting of the UMWA which was held in the wash-house at the mine and which was presided over by the mine superintendent and at which there was plenty of booze, the two brothers started out for their hotel in an automobile and on the hard road got into a wreck and both were killed. Truly, the Springfield SLP has become an gut filled full of a lot of excretion.

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Pledge Solidarity at Cleveland Meet

Cleveland.—At a big demonstration called by the Unemployed Council on Market Square (West Side) today, workers protesting against Mayor Miller's "plan" for forced labor and demanding cash relief from the city-controlled Associated Charities, also echoed the cry for solidarity with the German proletariat faced with the attempt of the Fascist Hitler regime to exterminate their organizations, to suppress their military and to prepare Germany for a spearhead position in an imperialist aggression against the workers' fatherland—the USSR.

On the march to the Square and at the demonstration, prominent banners were displayed linking the struggle of the unemployed with the fight against German Fascism, with such slogans as: "In Cleveland—Miller wants Forced Labor. In Germany—Hitler", "Long Live the International Solidarity of the German and American Workers against Forced Labor, against Hitler and Fascism".

On the Square, after speeches by unemployed militants and party members, comrade Sam Gordon of the Left Opposition was asked by party workers and sympathizers to address the crowd. In a short, but impassioned speech, the comrade from the Left Opposition sounded the call for active support of the German proletariat in their desperate struggle against the Hitler hordes. He showed the relation between the struggle of the American unemployed and the German workers, pointing out the meaning of Hitler's coming into power, showing the danger of a Fascist German attack against the Soviet Union. Exposing the role of the yellow German social democracy in paving the road for Fascism he continued with an explanation of the need for the immediate establishment of a united front against the Hitler hordes which the Communist party alone can do by directly challenging the social democratic fakers to join in the fight, in this way showing the way out to the socialist workers and arousing their pressure against the leadership. He called upon the workers present to demand that the Communist party take this course and ended up with a cheer for the international solidarity of the working class in the struggle against hunger, war and Hitlerism. The speech was greeted with a good round of applause.

A march followed to the headquarters of the Associated Charities at which a Committee of unemployed presented demands.

—S. G.

ABERN AT BOSTON MEET

A mass meeting at which the German situation today will be analyzed and the reasons given for the Left Opposition demand for a united front to smash Hitler, is to be held in Boston on Sunday night, March 5, 1933, 8 P. M., at Belmont Hall, 150 Humbolt Ave., Roxbury, Mass. The meeting, under the auspices of the Boston branch of the League, will be addressed by Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the organization, and by comrade Antoinette F. Konikow. All workers are urgently invited to attend the meeting and hear the standpoint of the Opposition.

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