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ILLITA] Published 3 times a week, Monday, Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Wednesday and Friday 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, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March &, 1879

VOLUME VI, NO. 12 [WHOLE NO. 159]

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1933

PRICE 1 CENT

Leon Trotsky Analyzes German Situation

The Camp of Counter-Revolution

Bruening's time show how vapid in himself the chemically pure and hollow is the universal philos- idea of property. The General was ophy of Fascism (cut and dried coy, refusing to reply to the ques-Fascism, national Fascism, social tion which is better, Capitalism or Fascism, Left social Fascism) Socialism; Hugenberg makes no which the Stalinists slap over bones about announcing that there everything and everybody, except is nothing better than an East perty owners, there remains the ing themselves only. The upper Prussian junker on the throne. crust of the possessors is much too The most rooted, the most pondersmall in numbers and much too ous, and the most intrenched form The investiture of Hitler with hated by the people to be able to of property is private ownership of power served a two-fold purpose: rule in their own name. They re- land. If economically, German first, to decorate the camarilla of quire a screen-the traditional agriculture is the kept whore of property owners with the leaders monarchic ("Will of God"); the industry, then it is most proper of "a national movement"; and liberal-parliamentarian ("Sovereig- that no other than Hugenberg him- secondly, to place the fighting nty of the People"); the Bonapart- self should be at the head of the forces of Fascism at the direct disist ("The Impartial Arbiter"); or, political struggle of the possessors posal of the proprietors. finally, the Fascist ("The Anger of against the people. Thus the rethe People"). War and revolution gime of the supreme judge of arhave taken the monarchy from bitration, who was raised above them. Thanks to the reformists, all classes and parties, has been they have maintained themselves brought smack up to the supremacy too many fists behind the unbridled on the crutches of democracy, for of the German Nationalist Party, fourteen year's. When, under the the most self-seeking and greedy pressure of class contradictions, clique of proprietors. Hugenberg's the parliament split asunder, they government represents the quintesattempted to hide behind the Presi-dent's back. There came the chap-just because of this, when it be-the advantage that decides, for ter of Bonapartism, i. e., the bu- came, necessary, in its pure state, such are the times now that there reaucratic-police government which it became impossible. Hugenberg is no guaranteeing property except is raised over society and which maintains itself on the relative equives a screen. As yet today, he equives a screen. As yet today, he equives a screen and the mantle of equive maintains itself on the relative equivers a screen and the mantle of equivers a screen as yet today, he with fists. There is no way of getting around without the Nazis. But the more actual function of the in his bone the awe before the themselves three independent arm

Papen, Bonapartism assumed its of the highest heavenly powers proletariat is not so lacute that the proletarian vanguard the Fasc- social tops, in case of a break with all combination these armies are with the epaulettes of a general. But the chief cause for Schleicher's failure, and, incidentally for preceding successes as well, lay hangs over the country like a nightproletariat facilitated in the high- proposed answers to the basic ques- ductive forces against its national importance of the dispute has been balance, fully justifies this contenest degree the tasks of "the Social tions of German economy. General". But, it turned out otherwise; precisely this passivity weakened the hoop of fear that binds Russia to the state of a colony, the interests of certain special Ger- ism have come into direct conflict together the possessing classes, through the usual processes of imbringing out into the open the perialist conquest and exploitation. capitalist bloc, and thus

and it is a heavy ball and chain on Africa and China, and to hardly the feet of industry. But the con- less concealed subjugation of Turstricted social basis of the indus- key and part of the Balkans. Since trial bourgeoisie turns into political Germany reached its first working necessity the preservation of "na- agreement with the Soviet Union at tional" agriculture, i. e., the class Rapallo in 1922, the big bourgeoisie of junkers and rich farmers along has been steadily pushing forward with all the strata that are de- the idea that Germany must compendent on them for this policy. pensate itself in Russia for the Bismark laid the foundation, firmly binding the agrarians and the in- the expulsion of German capital dustrialists together by military from Turkey. victories, gold indemnity, high profits and-the fear of the proletariat. But Bismarck's time have British and American imperialism, passed into eternity. Present-day and provide an alternative to the Germany speeds not from victories restoration of the colonies which is but from defeat. France pays her the logical consequence of a sucno indemnity but she pays France, cessful drive by the German bour-Decaying capitalism supplies no profits opens up no perspectives, sailles. Nothing cements together the possessing classes except their fear of the workers. However, the German proletariat-for which its lead- German big bourgeoisie is preparership is entirely to blame-remain- ing to break up all organizations ed paralyzed in the most critical and forces within Germany which camp expectantly passive the "Sofrom the Right.

CRISIS IN MANCHURIA

DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR

Speaker: JACK WEBER Friday, February 24, 8 P. M. 126 East 16th Street,

ADMISSION: 15e

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

for Hugenberg. Whereas Schleicher personified the unadultered idea of The shifts in government since Bonapartism, Hugenberg personifies

genarian Field Marshall. What First Article After Hitler's Appointment as Chancellor Chance Chancellor Chance Chancellor Chance Chancellor Chance Chancellor Chancell By Leon Trotsky

through the monarchy for the probridled rabble.

It was not with a light heart that the high and mighty clique made a deal with the malodorous Fascists. There are too many, fall upstarts; and therein lies the dangerous side of the brown allies; but in that very same thing is also their fundamental, more exactly,



ists must achieve not otherwise representatives of the agrarians and the industrialists. Such is the plan. But how will its execution turn out?

Hitler includes within itself a complex system of contradictions; between the traditional representatives of the agrarians, on the one side, and the patented representatives of large capital, on the other; between these and others, on the one side, and the oracles of the reactionary petty the higher-ups should consciously bourgeoisie, on the other. The provoke a civil war with problem- combination is extremely unstable. today an entire series of commandatic outcome. It is to this new in its present form it will not long ing posts. This allows his side a stage in the development of the endure. What will come in its social crisis in Germany that the place in the event of its collapse? responds, in which the military and instruments of power are not in economic posts remain in the hands Hitler's hands, and since the latter of the masters, while the plebeians has amply demonstrated that

worst instance, a series of disparate reactions, is absolutely inevitable. And this will suffice to push The government of Hugenberg- places, displacing their much too selves remain on their feet.

The assumption of power by Hitstill not a decisive or an irrevocaonly striving upwards, has occupied tion. great advantage, but there has been no battle as yet. The occupanew governmental combination cor- In view of the fact that the chief tion of advantageous positions de Proletariat cides nothing by itself, what do decide are the living forces.

The Reichswehr and the police, equlibrium between the two opposing camps.

Passing through the transitional Propring and Propring Propring and Propring P

will still have a decisive word to

On that ominous night of Jan.

the Nazis, will attempt once again not united within a single hand. ability of such a variation, which, ler's hands. His own armed forces thereto, could have only an episodic represent a problematic quantity character, is extremely slight. In which is still to be verified. His commensurably much more prob- millions of reserves are human rubable is the further development of bish. In order to conquer complete the crisis to the side of Fascism. power Hitter must provoke a sem-Hitler, in the character of Chan-blance of civil war (he, bimself, is cedor, is such a direct and open afraid of an out and out civil war). challenge addressed to the prole- His substantial colleagues in the than within the limits set by the tariat that a mass reaction, in the ministry at whose disposal are the Rechswehr and the Steel Helmets would prefer to strangle the proleariat by "peaceful" measures. They the Fascists into the foremost lare much less inclined to provoke a minor civil war for fear of a corpulent mentors. But on one big one. In this manner there recondition: if the Fascists them mains no short distance from the ministry headed by the Fascist Chancellor to the complete victory ler is indubitably a fearful blow of Fascism. This means that there for the working class. But this is is still time at the disposal of the evolutionary camp. How much? ple defeat. The enemy, who might It cannot be computed beforehand. have been crushed while he was Battles alone can measure its dura-

The Camp of the

When the official Communist sarty states that the social demscracy is the most important prop of bourgeois domination, it repeats only that idea which served as the point of departure for the organizaion of the Third International. When the bourgeoisie invites it to lower, the social democracy casts its vote for the capitalist regime. seois society, recommending to the vorkers that they conserve forces for battles, for which it is repared never to issue a call. By paralyzing the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, the social democracy provide bourgeois society gigantic fighting capacity and they with an opportunity to remain alive ander conditions when it is no .onger capable of living, thus turn-.ng Fascism into a political necessity. The very call of Hitler to power emanates from the Hohencollern Field Marshall who had seen elected by the votes of social through Brandenburger Tor, to the iemocratic workers! The political cry of: "Clear the streets for the chain that leads from Wels to Hitbrown batallions." That signalled ier has quite a personal character the intention of a coming terror which can be gathered from inspecupon this score among Marxists. February 4 and 5, witnessed six But what's in question is not how killed, many scores of wounded, to expound a positical situation but some seriously, and many arrests. how to transform it in a revolution-

The guilt of the Stalinist bureaucracy is not in that it is "irreconcillable" is politically impotent. regime, but they usually manage to From the fact that Bolshevism under the leadership of Lenin dered. It is necessary to note that proved victorious in Russia, the it is the "duty" of the German proletariat to rally around Thaelmann. Its ultimatum reads,-unless the German workers accept beforehand, a priori, and without reservations, the Communist leadermayor of Stassfurt. At Chemnitz, ship they must not so much as dare think of serious battles. The Stalinists express it differently. But all circumlocutions, restrictions, clash in Breslau one Reichsbanner ing in the fundamental character of bureaucratic ultimatism, which helped the social democracy to bring Germany to Hitler.

the university of Muenster several ing class from 1914 represents the students were wounded in clashes most tragic page of modern hiswith Fascists developing after altory. What shocking betrayals by lecture of a Social Democratic pro- its historical party, the socal democracy! What ineptitude and what But in these clashes the workers impotence of its revolutionary do not turn the other cheek. They wing! But there is no need for have given a good account of them- going so far back. For the past selves. For example at Duesseldorf two or three years of the Fascist a Fascist storm troop was broken upsurge, the policy of the Stalinist up, its officer killed and several bureaucracy represented in itself wounded. At Leipzig similarly, a nothing else but a chain of crimes gang of Fascists was broken up which literally saved reformism. and about a dozen of them were and thereby prepared for the subwounded. This is only a partial sequent successes of Fascism. At account of the events of two days. this moment, when the enemy has (Continued on Page 2)

The history of the German work-

ally to establish a genuine united Help the Militant

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lish the Militant three times a ek during the German crisis.

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The attitude of the big oburgeoisie is clear. It wants to reduce Soviet limited extent it may coincide with points of Communism and anarchantagonisms that tear them apart. They want to continue the line of cement their alliance. Economically, German rural eco- the pre-war Hohenzollern regime, nomy leads a parasitic existence, which led to colonial expansion in losses of its pre-war colonies, and

> On this basis they can form a working agreement with French,

Freparing for War

This means war-of this there can be no doubt. Therefore the period-and the antagonisms be- would be capable of resisting a tween the possessing classes broke war of imperialist aggression. The out into the open. With the Left social democracy can no longer be counted upon to carry the working cial General" fell under the blows, masses with it as it did in 1914. Not that the leadership of the social When this happened, the upper democracy is any better now than crust of the possessing class took it was then. The existence of the its governmental balance: on the Communist party, its mass followdebit side-a split in their own ing, and the enormous organizational pressure which it would exert upon the social democratic masses in the event of war, make it unsafe for the big bourgeoisie to count too much on the support of the social democracy. It must crush social democracy as well as Communism if it is to prepare for

the next war. For this reason the big bourgeoisie is being forced to form a close alliance with Fascism, representing the mass organization of the petty bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Not only must it form an alliance. but also put itself at the head of its progam as that of Fascism.

What is to be Germany's road which is destined to remain on ciples of Communism against a the camp of revolution and the class must be prepared with its ent policy entirely. Unable to see this Sunday, February 26, at 8:30 about the events there. camp of counter-revolution have own answer. Since the contradic- beyond local or at most national P. M. sharp. The hall is located not measured their forces in bat- tion between the isolated proletar- interests, it demands "autarchy", at 227 E. 12th Street and the adtle. Concurrently, the frightful inn state, the Soviet Union, and the or economic self-sufficiency. It mission has been set at the low industrial and agrarian crisis that capitalist world is the outstanding wants to develop the German dom- price of 15 cents to insure the maxcontradiction of the present stage estic market, including the agricul- imum attendance. The debaters mare does not facilitate Bonapart- of decadent capitalism, the attitude tural market, at the expense of are Herbert Capelis for the Sparist tight-rope balancing. True, at of the German parties to Soviet German foreign trade. The presfirst sight, the passivity of the Russia is an integral part of their sure of Germany's industrial pro- for the Vanguard Youth Group. The

> man groups within the agraranfurther afforded anew to examine which is For instance, the first economic step undertaken by the Hitler- young worker and student in New Papen government was symbolic; it York should attend to hear the contouched upon one of these limited tending programs presented by the points where the interests of Hit- qualified representatives of both ler's petty bourgeoisie in autarchy and those of the feudal agrarians of Papen coincide. It consisted of putting a prohibitive tariff on the

boundaries makes this petty bour-

geois program a Utopia. But to a

German meetings organized in importation of lard. These imports amount to \$12,000.000 a year; about (Continued on Page 2)

tendencies.

OUR GERMAN MEETINGS

tacus Youth Club and Abe Goldman

events in Spain, where the stand-

and where the opportunity has been

the trimphant road to the emanci-

pation of the proletariat. Every

purest form in the person of General Schleicher—but only in order to disclose in him its insolvency. Hostile, doubtful, or alarmed, all chasses viewed this enigmatical political figure that resembled nothing so much as a question mark with the engulettes of a general with the engulettes of a general schleicher—but only in order to disclose in him its insolvency. Hostile, doubtful, or alarmed, all chasses viewed this enigmatical political figure that resembled nothing so much as a question mark with the engulettes of a general schleicher—but only in order to disclose in him its insolvency. Hostile, doubtful, or alarmed, all chasses viewed this enigmatical political figure that resembled nothing so much as a question mark correspondent On the engulettes of a general schleicher—but only in order (suffers) any bourgeois government that the social democracy. But even when completely discards the Spot in German Crisis or a general continues to support bourgeois society, recommending to the

position youth will defend the prin-The Militant prints here the first munist party Stalinist leadership. out of the crisis? To this funda- paper and be discarded at all points representative of the Anarcho- article from comrade Arne Swa- Yet all is not lost. The issue not within himself; Bonapartism mental question every party repre- where it conflicts with that of the Communist youth group of New beck, who is now in Germany and not yet decided. The German workcannot attain stability so long as senting the leadership of a distinct big bourgeoisie, calls for a differ- York, is scheduled to take place who will continue writing directly ers have previously proven their

Berlin, February 11.-While the say. Farcist hordes are at the helm of government in Germany they have 30, when Hitler received his mannot yet conquered. A mere glimpse date, heavy Fascist columns were at the country where the fate of marching, by the flare of torch mankind, as far as its immediate lights, down unter den Linden. future is concerned, hangs in the heightened in recent times by the tion.

Throughout the Reich there is storm, but interrupted surreptitiously by the barking of guns in clashes between workers and Fascists. Daggers ffash in the hands of The situation as a whole leaves a painful impression as if the German working masses do not yet really know what is at stake. The advent of the Hitler government found them stunned. the criminal failures of the Com-

an ominous calm, a lull before the regime. It has made its beginning, tion. There can be no two views Last Saturday and Sunday alone, the latted. Political assassinations Schupos (German police) armed to ary manner. increase. But these are only van- the teeth are in evidence everyguard skirmishes before the battle. where. Their actions are carried out with characteristic German efficiency and surety for the existing be too late when workers are murbewildered, the Fascists, while recognizing the Stalinist bureaucracy deduces that various cities, including those of and unprepared, left in the lurch by Communists as their mortal enemy. comrade Oehler during his tour, the deliberate treason of the So- and not in the least mistaken about 80 percent of them come from the will be found on page two of the cialist party bureaucrats and by that, still make no distinction whatever in their assassinations and terror acts. Among those killwas the Social Democratic Reichsbanner people, one of the latter was killed. At a similar man was killed. At Charlotten-

> But the Japanese army will not stop even in Peiping and Tientsin if all goes well. The twenty-one demands attempted to set up four

front of the various working class tendencies, has so far barely escaped death. The planned assassination which was to be carried out at night in his home by local

Japan Defies Other Imperialist Powers in China mayor of Stassfurt. At Chemnitz, in a clash between Fascists and

all on subjugating China before of American dollars it would mean in the Far East" and she "intends the ultimate "peaceful penetration" to deal with China with the utof U.S. finance-capital and the ousting of both England and Japan fro the Chinese market.

English capitalism, badly damdirectly threatened.

itself is not intersted in imperial- due notice of their next move; build parallel, competing railroads they can "face the world". ist conquest. Its own program, namely, an advance on Peiping and to the South Manchurian. This

If the world had any illusions, Tientsin. Of course, this new in-, was one of the more immediate that Japanese imperialism had ac- vasion is purely "defensive"; to causes of the present campaign. geoisic against the Treaty of Ver- tually relinquished its twenty-one oust Chang Hseuh-liang from North The Japanese generals made it demands forced on China in 1915 China so that his armies cannot their first objective to gain the burg one Communist party member those illusions are by now com- attack the Japanese, and also to important strategic railheads on pletely dispelled. Japan is staking protect Jap nationals from the re- the Chinese network. Thus they treating Jehol armies. As the com- have just occupied Peipiao, a railthat nation can be unified, whether ments on the League's Report made road in the Jehol coal mining reunder bourgeois or proletarian hege- public by the Japanese diplomats gion. Hulutao will divert no more mony. If the bourgeiosic succeed- state: "Japan is responsible for trade from Dairen if the Japanese ed in unifying China with the aid the maintenance of peace and order can help it. most good-will and forebearance"!

pletely in the hands of the Japan- Manchuria and Eastern Inner Monaged_by the War and no longer ese army, perhaps the profits of golia, Liaotung leased territory, dominant on the international mar- the South Manchuria Railroad will and the Yangtse iron region. The ket, is not averse to seeing Amer- be once more restored. Those pro- campaign may yet develop along ica become involved in war with fits began to decline alarmingly the Yangste River. Japan. Hence the attitude of the when the Chinese, with the aid of But a campaign South of the English government, reflected in British and American capital, par- great wall will inevitably involve the London Times, that the League ticularly the latter, began to build international "incidents". Just as has "done its part" and now coun- a unified net-work of railroads run- the murder of Captain Nakamura tries with interests in the Far East ning North and South through gave the Japs a pretext in 1931, so (read America) "must themselves Manchuria from Aigun on the Amur some similar occurrence may predecide what policy is most likely to to Hulutao. This city on the sea- cipitate the world war that is conduce to the early restoration of coast south of Dairen, was intend- brewing. For Japan this will not peaceful conditions," etc. However | ed by the Chinese to compete with | come unexpectedly. Having asked the English press is likely to that Japanese terminal of the South on the frontispiece of a new book change its tune as soon as British Manchurian Railroad. Although "The Army Manual", under a picinterests in China are themselves the Chinese network was never ture of the yawning muzzle of a completed, it had already begun to great American field-piece, "Which This threat to the other imper- divert traffic fom the Japanese-con- way is this pointed?" Japanese ialist powers will not be long in trolled road. The Japanese pro- imperialism answers by laying in it, and in practise carry through the making. For the Japanese gen- tested at this outrageous violation supplies of cotton and iron for a erals, following a schedule pre- of "treaties" with China in which long war. With Manchuria to sup The petty bourgeoisie in and of pared long in advance, have given the latter had promised not to ply food and ores the generals say

Meantime Jehol is being "mopped up". With Manchuria com- spheres of influence: Shantung,

rades in Oranienburg, who has been very active and very effective in the work of our local group actu-

Fascists, was discovered by a worker just in time to take the necessary measures. Capitalism Mobilizes Its Last	Enclosed herewith is \$
	Name

In these continuous skirmishes workers, Communists, Social Dem-(Continued on Page 2)

SPEAKERS:

One of our Left Opposition com-

was killed. At Harburg-Wilhelms-

burg one worker coming from a

Socialist meeting was killed. At

BRONX MASS What the Left Opposition Stands For MEETING Ausploes: Communist League of America (Opposition)

Max Shachtman

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