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THE MILITANT



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Workers of the World, Unite!

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Hitlerites Shut Down Headquarters of The Communist Party Why Does the Communist International Continue Its Silence About Germany?

Differing from their Italian prototypes only in the greater speed with which they are succeeding in consolidating their power, the Nazi gangs in Germany have now additional measures to insure execution of their murder program against the working class. After having instructed the police to suppress all anti-Fascist meetings with the aid of the brown-shirts and Steel Helmets, a new order has been issued by Captain Goering, the Fascist commissioner in charge of the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, commanding the arming of the Nazi storm troops and the members of the Steel Helmets for use as "auxiliary police". The training of the latter has already begun and they have already been officially reviewed by government authorities as part of the government's forces. The suppression of meetings of Communists and social democrats is being carried out without the slightest camouflage. In Berlin, the social democratic Reichsbanner has been forbidden to hold a demonstration "on the ground that it would collide with Nazi arrangements". In Altona, the Nazi storm troops are to parade openly in the streets, this time not merely with the official approval of the authorities, and under police protection, but the formal announcement that the most rigorous measures will be adopted to suppress any counter-demonstration. At Cologne—a fact of enormous significance—socialist meetings "are to be permitted only if no Communists happen to be present". In this Fascist order is contained an acknowledgment of the fear experienced by the Nazis when faced with the prospect of united demonstrations and action of the German working class, both of the Communist and social democratic camp.

ites are encountering at the present time less resistance than did Mussolini's Black Shirts either before their march on Rome or after the installation of the Fascists in power! The working class, which is showing such an unmistakable desire to unite its ranks in a movement to crush the Nazis, is being kept in a state of impotence from two sides. The social democracy, at a moment when the proletariat should be aroused and every instrument of struggle put into its hands, is dragging the working class just at the time when the Fascist knife is descending upon its body. Stampfer's Interview In the interview with the press, the editor of the central organ of the social democracy, Herr Friedrich Stampfer declared, according to the Head-Tribune (2-24-1933), that his party was not very much worried about the possibilities enjoyed by the Fascists for remaining long in power! From his interview, we extract the following items, characteristically significant: "The German working class is not very strong as an attacking force, but put it on the defensive and it is unquenchable.... On July 20 last, when the Braun government was deposed in Prussia, the Communists urged us to call a general strike. We were convinced, how-

ever, that a general strike would lead inevitably to a conflict which could only end to the disadvantage of the workers. We socialists cannot be revolutionary, or militant, at the present time, as many foreign observers seem to expect. The time may come, indeed, and that before long, when things will come to a head and the trade unions will cease to put up passively with political developments, as they have for two generations, but the socialists will not accelerate such a development. The endeavors of the socialist leaders to organize even a temporary tactical alliance with the Communists have failed completely

...We socialists realize that we have a formidable task ahead of us, but we do not view the situation in any spirit of depression or fatalism. Fascism stands no chance of gaining a foothold in a nation like Germany that has a certain level of political culture, owing to the resistance that will be forthcoming from the workers. "That the socialist leaders "cannot be revolutionary, or militant", and will not do, goes without saying. Exceeding even their fear of fascism, is their fear that the masses may unfold such a movement as will lead to the revolutionary victory of the proletariat. That the socialists have endeavored to make an alliance with the Communists, is just as much a half-truth as is the contention of the Stalinists that they stand for the "united front from below" with the socialist workers, but not with their organizations. The social democrats have indeed demanded a "united front" with the Communists, but on the little condition that the Communists dissolve themselves! What else is the meaning of the socialist demand that in this "united front" the Communists refrain from criticism of the policies and conduct of the social democratic leaders? The current issue of the American socialist New Leader boasts that

"the Communist masses are actually beginning to work with the socialists". Stampfer-Bretschneider writes here thus taken a leaf out of the book of Stalin-Stalinovsky-Stalinism. While the situation cries out for a united front from organization to organization, even the social democratic leaders and the Stalinist bureaucratic cabinet themselves will employ, alas! the same tactics about the "united front from below". Stampfer concedes the working class with the theory that Germany is too cultured a mind to allow Fascism to "gain a foothold" in it. The Italian social democrats more than 10 years ago also disarmed the masses by assuring them that in their country, the "cradle of modern civilization", the Fascist barbarians could not hope to "gain a foothold". And why not? Because the socialists will "resist". How? The joint manifesto of the social democratic party and Menshevik fraction gives us an idea of what this resistance will look like. While the Hitlerites are proceeding with their violent regime of terrorism, with fire and sword, with the utmost brutality and cynical unconcern for all the niceties of parliamentarism so cherished by the social democrats, the latter announce: "We shall wage our struggle upon the basis of the Constitution. We shall defend the political and social rights of the people, established by the Constitution and by law." (New Leader, 2-25-1933.) The program of the social democracy has the merit of clarity. We know what it is driving at: it aims to keep its record of treachery unimpaired. To talk about "struggle on the basis of the Constitution" at a time like this, is deliberately to surrender the German working class, bound and gagged, to the butchers of Fascism. But if the social democracy has at least this merit, the same cannot be said about the Communist party. What is the party doing to mobilize the working class at this crucial, desperate hour? Nobody knows, least of all the Stalinist leaders! The official party press continues to report an incident here and another elsewhere about clashes between Communists and Fascists, but nobody can discern just what the policy of the party looks like. The hollow repetition of the slogan for the "united front from below"—signifies less than nothing. The Fascists are moving with seven league boots—the Communists, who should be in the vanguard of the movement to initiate the united front, are bewildered, confused and impotent. The observations of the bourgeois correspondent referred to above are, sadly enough, close to the terrible truth. Stalinist Silence The proletariat has not yet struck back at Fascism, and for this the Stalinists bear the main burden of responsibility. The program of the Left Opposition—for a united front of the Communist party with the social democracy and the trade unions—the former has rejected out of hand. Are they waiting until the German proletariat has been cut to pieces before they decide to act? That is the question and that is how it must be put. And above everything else, we repeat our question: WHY IS THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL SILENT ABOUT THE EVENTS IN GERMANY? WHY DOESN'T THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL DO ITS ELEMENTARY DUTY AND SPEAK OUT? WHY DOESN'T IT GIVE COUNSEL TO THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT AT THIS DESPERATE MOMENT OF CRISIS? WHY DOESN'T IT CALL UPON THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS FOR PROLETARIAN SOLIDARITY WITH THE GERMAN MASSES? For the Communist International, the "general staff of the world revolution", to persist in its silence now—IS A CRIME! For the Communist worker to be quiet while such a crime is being committed—IS TO MAKE HIMSELF AN ACCOMPLICE TO IT! Louder and louder must rise the cry: The Communist International must speak out! It must demand the united front of the German working class! It must set in motion the machinery that will crush Hitlerism! It must stop talking about "defending the Soviet Union", and actually defend it on its most threatened front: Germany. —G. C. Sunday, Feb. 26, 1933. —M. S.

Japan Widens Attack On North China

The hypocrisy of the imperialist League of Nations in its attitude towards China stands recorded in every speech of the "statesmen". The League was founded for the maintenance of a robbers' status quo and for the crushing of the Soviet Union, these two aims going necessarily hand in hand. It is worth recalling for a moment the historic antecedents of the present League. Its prototype was the Holy Alliance initiated by Czar Alexander. The clearest expression of that alliance was given in the Protocol of Troppau in 1820. The advance of "democracy" had not yet made mandatory care in the wording of documents. That protocol stated, "If owing to such (revolutions), immediate danger threatens other states, the Powers bind themselves by peaceful means, or if need be by arms, to bring back the guilty state to the bosom of the Great Alliance." With the necessary modification due to the march of history, this is still the doctrine of the League. It must be recalled further that the first Hague Peace Conference was initiated by another Czar, Nicholas II, in 1898; that finally, the League was constituted by the most reactionary imperialist diplomats after a robbers' world war. China is still in the throes of revolution, halted but for a moment. The League and the Japanese call this intense and profound movement of the Chinese masses that is forcing the submerged workers and peasants on to the stage of history, nothing but "chaos" and "anarchy". In reality this places China outside the pale of the League. And that is the complete tenor of Matsunaka's speech of withdrawal from the League. That speech is the declaration, if it still needed any declaration, that it is "open season" for the robber imperialists in China. "That (lack of unity) is one reason why China is unable to defend itself today, unable to rid itself as it desires, of foreign military forces stationed in and about the treaty ports and of foreign vessels that ply the Yangtze River. These forces are not only Japanese. They are British, American, French, Italian and others.... Less than five years ago a portion of these forces, British and American, had to go into action at Nanking." In short, says Japan, let us make no bones about the matter, we are doing precisely what you would like to do, but we are doing it first.

St. Louis Unemployment Conference Adops Left Opposition Proposals

A unity convention of the employed and the unemployed was called in the name of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union and the City Committee of the Unemployed Councils on Feb. 19th, 1933. Some thirty organizations sent fifty delegates representing approximately 2,000 workers. The local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and its auxiliary organizations, the International Workers School and the Jewish Workers Club sent delegates to fight for our unemployed program. However, it appeared at first that the "Trotskyite" delegations would have difficulty in being seated. Stalinists told us before the meeting that they would unite with "anybody". This was later confirmed by the enthusiastic reception of the Stalinists to two religious delegations, John Spengemann and Charles Mahler were on the distributing committee giving out our unemployment program leaflets to the workers attending the conference. Luckily the Left Opposition members were close by as the Stalinist fanatics came out en masse—20 or 25 of them—to inform us to desist from distributing our literature or else our "heads will get broken". We told the fanatics that we would continue giving out our leaflets in spite of their threats. In order to avoid a fist-fight and the interference of the police, who were across the street, we retreated out of the lobby onto the sidewalk. During the

Intensive Exploitation of the German Workers is Prospect Under Hitler

The present situation in German economy presents new contradictions every day. Unemployment has been increasing, and the export surplus has fallen to the lowest figure in three years; yet prices of commodities and securities keep advancing. The latter fact is especially interesting as it shows the opinion which the German bourgeoisie itself has, and is willing to back with money, in the speculative markets, of its immediate future. The contradictions reflect the fact that Germany is now in a critical position, in which the next few weeks or months may impress her character on years to come. If Hitler wins full power, he will open a period of the most intense exploitation of German labor with a view to squeezing out the maximum profits possible under the situation of the general world crisis of capitalism intensified by a cyclical crisis of unheard-of intensity. If an effective united front between Communist and reformist workers through their organizations is formed, it may well not only defeat Hitler and reestablish the rights of the workers under the bourgeois democracy of the Weimar republic, but sweep on beyond these limits and open a period of revolutionary crisis on the way to the seizure of power. In such a transitional stage as the present in Germany, economic life reflects not only echoes of the immediately preceding past but anticipations of the new. The increase in unemployment reflects the

Militant Sales In Sharp Rise

The sales of the MILITANT in New York are mounting with unusual speed. The campaign of the Left Opposition on the German situation has encountered the greatest interest and support of any movement yet set on foot by us in this country. The previous issue of the MILITANT, containing the article on the German situation by comrade Trotsky, was sold on the streets, like the issues before it, by members and sympathizers of the League. In New York, we sold one thousand copies of this issue in one day, in addition to the copies which go regularly to subscribers and those which are bought on the newsstands. Comrade Spithals sold 181 copies; Sammy Sold 179; comrade Levine, a sympathizer, sold 170 copies and Jim Carr sold upwards of a hundred. In addition fifty copies of the latest pamphlet by Leon Trotsky, containing his Copenhagen speech in defense of the Russian Revolution, were also sold on the streets in one day at five cents a copy. The whole New York branch of the League is enthusiastically and successfully engaged in the drive, with every comrade at his post.

Two Negroes Lynched In South

White women in the South are not protected against those who "prey on women", such as the famous "Lone Wolf" who operated in New Orleans the same as he did in New York, any more than women are protected anywhere else under capitalism. They are forced into prostitution with low wages, unemployment, general economic uncertainty even more than in many other places. Certainly their outlook for "happy marriages" is very slim. The truth is that the cloak that covers not only the bosses' excuses for lynching Negroes, but also the worst kind of degeneration of women in the Southern States. Not only are Negro women outside the pale of Southern chivalry; they are often the victims of this weapon the bosses wield, and one inquires of those who maintain this sex angle, if lynching is to protect white women from being raped by Negroes, why are Negro women also the victims of this weapon? In 1710 there were 50,000 Negroes in the country; 220,000 in 1750; 740,000 at the time of the Revolutionary War, of which 700,000 were

7 Wounded In New Mine Battle

The State Senatorial Committee investigating conditions in the mines of southern Illinois received a real dose of the class struggle in a battle that occurred in a Peabody mine in Springfield which they were "investigating". Two members of the Progressive Miners Union, three scabs and two deputy sheriffs were injured in the skirmish that occurred at the Woodside and Capital mines when the labor-hating Peabody trust attempted to operate them with scab labor. More than 1,000 miners of the P. M. A. were on hand at each mine when the strikebreakers were getting ready to leave for the day. The 100 scabs (according to the N. Y. Times report) were protected by a mob of company gunmen who immediately opened fire on the pickets. The miners who could not be subdued even by this murderous fusillade, retaliated by hurling chunks of coal and stone at the thugs and scabs. According to this same news report the miners, overwhelmed by these armed representatives of "law and order", withdrew their lines. This is just another instance where the Peabody gang is making an attempt to circumvent the only

OPEN FORUM

BONAPARTISM & THERMIDOR IN THE SOVIET UNION DOES THE DANGER THREATEN? Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN Friday, March 3, 1933 126 East 16th Street, ADMISSION: 15c N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

Two Negroes Lynched In South

Two Negro workers were lynched the same day, Sunday, Feb. 19, 1933, one in Ringgold, La., the other in Aiken, S. C., a banker having been beaten to death in one locality, the Negro in Aiken having been accused of stealing liquor. That even the newspapers of the North are partners in perpetuating this worse than barbarous institution, used by the southern Bourbons to keep the workers divided along color lines and the Negro race subjected as a caste, is evidenced by the fact that in their reports of the lynching of Nelson Nash of Louisiana they include the lie of the white South that they place at the base of so many lynchings: "He attempted to attack Mrs. Batchelor", the wife of the late banker. They always say, he raped, he attempted to rape, or he attacked her, as if the purpose of their lynching was none other than to protect white women! (Certainly they never make any pretense at protecting colored women!) But they lie even here, and the workers throughout the country, especially the Southern workers, should be given a chance to see through the falsity of this accusation.

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BROWNSVILLE MASS MEETING «The CRISIS IN GERMANY» MAX SHACHTMAN Labor Lyceum SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 2 P. M. 219 SACKMAN ST., Bklyn N. Y. ADMISSION 15 Cents