

1 CENT A COPY

THE MILITANT



Published 3 times a week, Monday, Wednesday and Friday. Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Workers of the World, Unite!

Published three 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 4, 1879

VOLUME VI, 14 [WHOLE NO. 161]

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 1933

PRICE 1 CENT

Fascists Frame-Up The Communist Party The Life and Death Question: Leninist United Front In Germany or Disaster!

White terror and Red panic began in Germany today.

This is the way the astute capitalist correspondent of the New York Evening Post, H. R. Knickerbocker, begins his Berlin dispatch of February 28. Berlin is an armed camp, with armored cars and 13,000 rifle-armed police concentrated heavily in the working class quarters. A new decree has been issued providing for heavy penalties against those "who give false information for foreign publications," as well as against those who print such "false" information in the German press. The Rote Fahne, central organ of the German Communist Party, which appeared for one day after its previous suspension, has had its printing plant confiscated and, in addition, has been suspended by the government until April 15. An edition of the paper printed in Leipzig was confiscated, together with the truck that carried the copies to Berlin. All the socialist papers in East Prussia have been suppressed. Even liberal journals have been ordered suspended. A mass meeting of the social democratic party to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, was dispersed by the police.

All these measures are part of a monstrous frame-up concocted by the Fascist butchers in control of the government. A fire of incendiary origin in the Reichstag building is being used as the pretext for delivering a mortal blow to the Communist party. Anybody who is even superficially acquainted with the theories and practices of the Communist party is sufficiently aware that arson is not in its program. That is a method of fighting practised almost exclusively by the Fascists. In the present instance, the frame-up is so flagrant that even the American correspondents in Berlin have not failed to comment adversely upon Hitler's crude attempt to crush the Communist party as a result of it.

Why Communists should desire to burn down the empty Reichstag building on the eve of an election that their opponents declare to be unimportant in that it will not affect their retention of power," cables Birchall of the New York Times, "is one of the mysteries of the present situation." The press, reports Knickerbocker, "will not be able even to point out ironically that the Nazis planned weeks ago to lay before President von Hindenburg evidence that the Reds were planning an uprising and that the burning of the Reichstag came on railroad-schedule time for their

Another Complaint

...We can put the campaign over in a big way but our hands are tied by insufficient papers.... Chicago is no village, you know. Our comrades are lined up to speak and debate in various organizations at the rate of one per week for the next week and this will require papers. In fact, we could easily dispose of 200 copies over our quota, but we must at least get our quota (535 copies). I think the campaign is going over much bigger than we expected and this has found us short. I mean as to the quantity of Militants per issue we are printing....Why not print a larger number of the Militant and satisfy everybody, including the irate literature agent of Chicago?...I get a severe headache when I think of the meetings we've had to pass up in the last week due to lack of papers."

—REBECCA SACHEROW.

The comrades in Toronto also write that the Militant sale and distribution is going over big, and ask that their bundle order be substantially increased.

CHICAGO MEETING

HITLER IN POWER!

International connections are now so strong that conditions and policies jump national boundaries. Reaction in Germany means the stimulation of reaction everywhere.

HEAR AN ANALYSIS OF THE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN GERMANY FROM THE MARXIAN STANDPOINT

SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 3:00 P. M. HOPKINS HALL, 426 West 63rd St.

Speakers: Albert Gtutzer, Communist League of America; Admission 15c; UNEMPLOYED FREE; Auspices: Militant Workers Club

BROWNSVILLE MASS MEETING

The CRISIS IN GERMANY

Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN Editor of The Militant

Labor Lyceum SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 2 P. M. 219 SACKMAN ST., Bklyn N. Y. ADMISSION 15 Cents

purposes....An eye-witness of the arrival of Chancellor Hitler at the burning Reichstag building last night reports his first exclamation to have been, "God grant this is the work of Communists."

An Agent Provocateur The alleged incendiary, a certain Marinus van der Lubbe or Van der Ling, is supposed to be a member of the Dutch Communist Party. The police "found" a membership card in his pocket when he was arrested! If there were nothing else to prove how crude is the frame-up, this fact would suffice. But in addition, the Communist Party of Holland has issued a statement showing that Van Der Lubbe was expelled from the party two years ago as "a spy and an agent provocateur and that since then he has been a notorious anti-Communist agent."

However that may be, his "confession," which "implicated" not only Communists but Socialists (!) has become the pretext of the Nazis—who never needed much of a pretext—to order the arrest of every single Communist deputy of the Reichstag, one hundred of them. In this manner, they hope to deprive the party of every one of its leaders. At the same time, all Communist publications, placards and election material have been suppressed for four weeks, and all socialist publications and propaganda for two weeks—that is, until the wretched farce of the March 5 elections have long been passed.

The additional announcement that "the entire police force of Prussia has been mobilized. All furloughs have been recalled and for the first time Captain Goering has brought into action his recently recruited Nazi 'assistant police,' recruited from the storm troops"—is of tremendous significance. Hitler is leaving nothing to chance.

Students Strike in Protest

THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS DEMAND RESTORATION OF ACADEMIC RIGHTS

A total of 1500 students participated in strikes at City College, day and evening. At the same time half of the student body in New York University, about 2000 left classes in demonstrative protest against the suppression of their daily paper. Both strike movements were the results of a basic issue, that of academic freedom.

The strike at City grew out of the suspension of nineteen students, reported in a recent issue of the Militant. Early in the morning a group of fifty students gathered to carry out the demonstration, signal in the history of the college. During the course of the day, the number swelled to a thousand, many students joining the strikers as they paraded around the school building at 138th Street and Amsterdam Ave., and assembled around the school flag pole. A good number of those in the protesting ranks were students of other schools who had come down to show their solidarity with the striking militants.

A band of hoodlums, "defenders of the people," sought with disruptive "Americanism" to break the lines of the strikers around the school building.

(Continued on Page 2)

He has already proclaimed his intention of maintaining the rule of Fascism regard the outcome of the March 5 elections. The Communist party, and to almost the same extent the social democracy, have had the maximum restrictions decreed against them so as to render their participation in the elections equivalent to no participation at all. On March 5, according to all indications, Hitler will not only openly declare arbitrary Fascist dictatorship without foundation in the Reichstag, but will have his police, augmented by the storm troops and armed to the teeth, concentrated in Berlin for armed defense of the coup d'Etat and for smashing any resistance that may be offered by the Communists. In this connection, it should be remembered that right on the eve of Hitler's appointment, the Nazis mobilized in front of the Communist party headquarters—offering a sort of test of strength with the Reds. The party proved impotent to accept the challenge. The virtual suppression of the Communist party now is a second offer of a test of strength, preliminary to the next step to be taken by Hitler to consolidate the position of Fascism and to proceed with the extermination of the proletarian movement.

Will the Communist party take up the challenge? It would be criminal to conceal the fact that with its present policy, the party has proved impotent in the face of Hitler's murderous advance. The working class has not been mobilized either directly under its banner or under the banner of a united front movement initiated by the Communists. It is a fact, which we repeat here: In his march to power in Italy, Mussolini encountered a far more energetic, militant, sanguinary resistance on the part of the proletariat—than Hitler has thus far encountered in Germany, where the working class movement is far stronger than it ever was in Italy, where the working class does not play its role on the background of a defeat, as in Italy, and where the Communist party is ten times as strong as it was in Italy in 1922.

To this fact should be added the following:

The Reign of Terror Against the Reds!

As we go to press, dispatches from Berlin declare:

More than eighty prisoners have been taken by the Fascists in Berlin alone, in connection with the new reign of terror launched by Hitler against the Communists. "Most of them were leaders of the Communist party." In Hanover, one hundred and forty Communists have been arrested.

Similar reports are received from other parts of the country. The Socialist Vorwaerts has been raided, its morning edition confiscated, and its editors put under surveillance.

All Communist and socialist placards are being removed from the billboards, in accordance with the decree to suppress all Communist and socialist election propaganda for four and two weeks respectively.

The treacherous leadership of the social democracy, true to its role, has telegraphed to a very much amused Captain Goering, "deploring the emergency decrees and emphatically denying any complicity in the plot." The social democrats are still "fighting on the basis of the Constitution," while workers are being murdered and every Constitutional "guarantee" is being suspended.

Among the Communist prisoners, is the deputy, comrade Hermann Reumels, leader of the party and one of its most prominent spokesmen. Ernst Thaelmann, the outstanding party leader, is another of these reported arrested by the Fascists. Wilhelm Pieck, leader of the Berlin organization of the party and head of its fraction in the dissolved Prussian Diet, is arrested, as is Ernst Torgler, Communist whip in the dissolved Reichstag.

Scores of less prominent leaders of the party are reported among those seized in the net by the Hitlerite thugs. All, or at least most of the prisoners, are being held incommunicado.

The Fascist have moved with lightning speed. Before formally suppressing the Communist party—which is their goal—the Fascists have suspended every Communist publication. That blow they dealt Monday. In addition, they aim to decapitate the party by imprisoning every one of its prominent leaders. That is the blow they have dealt today, Tuesday. Tomorrow, they intend to exterminate the whole party. The day after comes the whole working class and its every single one of its proletarian institutions and conquests.

The stage is set for the last act. Who will prevail? Hitler has the upper hand. The party is paralyzed—no other term can express its failure to arouse a genuine mass movement of resistance to Fascism.

We ask—we demand: For what is the party waiting before it acts? Why are the party leaders being allowed to play so lightly

with the life and death of the German proletariat? When will the call be issued for the united front of the working class?

Are the Stalinists waiting until the streets of Germany run red with the blood of an unprepared, disunited, demoralized working class? Are the Stalinists preparing to retreat without giving battle? Are they planning to organize the masses for struggle only after all the levers and weapons of power are completely in the hands of Hitler and his mercenaries?

In the eyes of every revolutionary, of every class conscious worker, the social democracy has been forever branded with the stigma of Cain. Its treachery is written in the blood of the workers it sent to fight in the World War for German imperialism, in the blood of the Spartacists, in the blood of the victims of Noske, Hoersing and Zoergel. We do not look for leadership from from those who have sold the proletariat for a mess of pottage in office. But to the Communist party and its captains, the proletariat has its rights to demand leadership, bold and intelligent and timely. A terrific historical responsibility rests now on the shoulders of the leadership of the Communist International and the German Communist party. For whatever happens in the next period in Germany, the proletariat and its vanguard will hold this leadership directly responsible.

We speak solemnly and issue a solemn warning! Unless the party leadership, at this crucial hour, issues the call for the real united front, for the mobilization of the masses, the Fascists will march to power over the dead bodies of the militant German proletariat!

But if the program for the united front demanded by the Left Opposition is now adopted and put into effect immediately, the German proletariat will not only march in serried invincible ranks against the monster of Fascism, but in the battle to annihilate it, it will enter upon the high road to working class victory, to the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Choose now! Now—and not tomorrow!

In the first year after Mussolini established the Fascist dictatorship in 1922, the Italian proletariat fought on a far wider scale, with much more energy and direction, with much greater success than the German proletariat is now fighting against Fascism before it has consolidated its power!

The reasons for this anomalous, intolerable situation are not far to seek. The social democracy is being allowed to play its treacherous role of delivering the working class bound hand and foot to the sacrificial altar of the Nazis. Those who are directly responsible for allowing the social democratic leaders to retain control over the vanguard masses, are the Communist party leaders who continue to reject the only means whereby the German masses can be mobilized for successful struggle!

The twilight hour has been reached. The next stroke of the clock can still be controlled by the masses: Either it will strike the doom of the working class for a decade or more to come or it will strike the beginning of the end of Fascism!

The whole world situation hinges around the outcome of the terrible drama now being enacted before our eyes. The fate of the German proletariat hangs in the balance. With it is involved the fate of the whole Communist International. With it is also involved the fate of the workers' fatherland, the Soviet Union.

And in face of this, the "leader of the world's proletariat," the Communist International, is as silent as a tombstone! In face of the situation, the "best discipline of Lenin," Joseph Stalin, is as silent as a tombstone! In face of the dreadful catastrophe which threatens, the party leaders continue to babble philosophically about the "progress of the united front from below" as if they had months and years at their disposal in which to mobilize the German proletariat for the decisive battle which is impending.

Fascism has put the noose around the neck of the Communist party. It has aimed its knife at the heart of the German working class. Whoever is silent at a time like this, whoever relegates the decisive German situation to the background of second and third rate consequence, is dragging the proletariat and helping to prepare it for the slaughter! Whoever stands in the way of the genuine united front—Communist party social democracy, trade unions, Reichsbanner, Red Front—is betraying the working class!

Communist workers, militants everywhere! It is not yet too late. The masses await only the signal for action. The Communist party must give this signal. It must be aroused out of its awful lethargy and impotence. It must put a stop to the self-deceptive jabbering about the "united front from

below" which "unites" only the Communists and their supporters, and set in motion the Leninist united front of all the workers to decimate the Fascist hydra.

Tomorrow? Tomorrow may see the materialization of Hitler's demand that "heads roll in the dirt." Then the miserable "self-criticism" practised by Stalinism after each defeat, will be of little avail. It is today, today, today that the party must change its disastrous course. It is now that it must strike for the united front which, in turn, will strike the dagger from the hands of Fascism and Fascism from the seats of power.

Tuesday, Feb. 28, 1933. —M. S.

The whole world situation hinges around the outcome of the terrible drama now being enacted before our eyes. The fate of the German proletariat hangs in the balance. With it is involved the fate of the whole Communist International. With it is also involved the fate of the workers' fatherland, the Soviet Union.

And in face of this, the "leader of the world's proletariat," the Communist International, is as silent as a tombstone! In face of the situation, the "best discipline of Lenin," Joseph Stalin, is as silent as a tombstone! In face of the dreadful catastrophe which threatens, the party leaders continue to babble philosophically about the "progress of the united front from below" as if they had months and years at their disposal in which to mobilize the German proletariat for the decisive battle which is impending.

Fascism has put the noose around the neck of the Communist party. It has aimed its knife at the heart of the German working class. Whoever is silent at a time like this, whoever relegates the decisive German situation to the background of second and third rate consequence, is dragging the proletariat and helping to prepare it for the slaughter! Whoever stands in the way of the genuine united front—Communist party social democracy, trade unions, Reichsbanner, Red Front—is betraying the working class!

Communist workers, militants everywhere! It is not yet too late. The masses await only the signal for action. The Communist party must give this signal. It must be aroused out of its awful lethargy and impotence. It must put a stop to the self-deceptive jabbering about the "united front from

below" which "unites" only the Communists and their supporters, and set in motion the Leninist united front of all the workers to decimate the Fascist hydra.

Tomorrow? Tomorrow may see the materialization of Hitler's demand that "heads roll in the dirt." Then the miserable "self-criticism" practised by Stalinism after each defeat, will be of little avail. It is today, today, today that the party must change its disastrous course. It is now that it must strike for the united front which, in turn, will strike the dagger from the hands of Fascism and Fascism from the seats of power.

Tuesday, Feb. 28, 1933. —M. S.

The Socialist Record

PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT ONLY POSSIBILITY

"As against a Reichstag which abandons its state tasks the so-called 'Presidential government' is the only actual possibility left."

—Vorwaerts, August 7, 1932.

DEFEAT HITLER BY VOTING HINDENBURG

"Hitler is defeated. The victory which Fascism thought was already in its hands, has been snatched from it. Now the basis can once more be levelled for political and economic construction."

—Appeal of S. P. G., March 17, 1932.

"On March 13, the Fascist general assault upon the libertarian rights of the German people collapsed. April 10 must bring about by the election of Hindenburg the collapse of the National Socialist movement."

—Appeal of "Iron Front", April 2, 1932.

LET HITLER COME TO POWER!

If National Socialism demonstrates in deed that it is capable of doing fruitful work the Social Democratic Party of Germany will not refuse it recognition."

—Severing, Nienburg speech, July 3, 1932.

"The Social Democracy will greet a Bruening-Hitler government because it will thereby be free from the government policy and the Center will in any case prevent the worst stupidities of the National Socialists."

—Breitscheid, Emden Speech, November 4, 1931.

"Were there the certainty that the National Socialists would also respect the rules of the game of democracy if they are in power, then we would all be ready to let them into the government today rather than tomorrow."

—Vorwaerts, December 3, 1931.

NO LONGER A DANGER

"Is there still anybody today who can have any doubts that thanks to our skillful tactics the Fascist dictatorship will not come...? The time when Fascism was a deadly danger for the proletariat and for freedom, has passed away since the November battles."

—Heilmann, Kottbus S. P. G. convention, January 15, 1933

THE PARTY DEFENDS NOSKE

"Noske belongs to the party with all his feelings and thoughts, he has not ceased to be a socialist and a democrat by a hair's breadth."

—Decision of Berlin officials of S. P. G., September 28, 1919.

BOSTON MEET

THE CRISIS IN GERMANY WHO WILL PREVAIL: HITLER OR THE PROLETARIAT?

Hear the Viewpoint of the Left Opposition on

SUNDAY, MARCH 5th, 8 P. M. Belmont Hall, 150 Humboldt Ave. ROXBURY MASS.

Speakers: Martin Abern, of New York; Antonette Konikow, of Boston.

S.P. Fakers Drive Out Left Wing

STRONG ARM SQUAD OUSTS MILITANT DELEGATIONS AT SOCIALIST CONFAB

As a delegate from Carpenters' Local Union 2060 to the Socialist Party Conference for unemployment insurance, I was in a position to witness all the proceedings. A group of semi-business men, such as real estate dealers, ex-judges, jewelers, and dentists occupied the platform. The front rows of seats were taken up by all kinds of fat-bellied men, some of them with canes and derby hats who appeared to be retired and landlords of the shyster boss type. At any rate, all of them so far mentioned showed no sign of need for immediate relief, unless some of them were interested in their tenants so that they may be able to pay them the rent.

These gentlemen had the conference and in order to "save time for their own propaganda" the spokesmen of the committee appointed a certain Mr. Beardsley out of their midst as chairman. Our demand that all delegates from workers and political organizations be seated on the same grounds as the delegation from the S. P. and all our protest and proposals that the chairman should be elected from the floor were of no avail. Three of the protesting delegates were beaten up and forcibly put out of the hall. The floor then was given to Gerber followed by Algerion Lee and Fanken, who between them with numerous interruptions entertained us for almost two hours. Gerber was the main speaker and pointed out the great evils the workers had to suffer in their struggle. He said even votes were stolen on them in the last election. He "forgot" all about what has happened in other countries such as Germany and England, where the Socialists got all their votes ever since 1918. Yet the betrayals of workers are not comparable with those in this country.

(Continued on Page 2)

Defend Opposition Stand In Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh. — The Unemployed Councils of Allegheny County issued a call for a "united front" conference on Feb. 12 at Walton Hall. Our branch elected two delegates who were present at the conference. The hall was crowded to capacity. From the names that the credentials committee read, of the organizations delegated, one could see that as long as the Communist party leaders do not give up their slogan of the "united front from below" they will fail to rally the working class into mass action. The names mentioned were organizations from each district in the city, outside the city, from surrounding towns, the Communist party, the ILL branches, NSL Pen and Hammer club and some fraternal organizations. These organizations would be present at such a conference without the call for a "united front" because they are already under the influence of the party. None of the AFL unions or socialist organizations was present. From listening to the speakers it could be seen that the majority of the leaders are still under the impression of the slogan of "social Fascism" and that as much as you can expect from half turns.

Our resolution, mimeographed in a number of copies, was distributed to the delegates present. A copy of our resolution was given to the resolutions committee. The chairman of this committee, in his report, read the resolution adopted by the committee and also read our resolution which he proposed be rejected because all the points in it were already adopted by their resolution. The secretary of the

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)

(Continued on Page 2)