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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 3, 1879. VOLUME VI, NO. 16 [WHOLE NO. 163] NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 6, 1933 PRICE 1 CENT

National Banking Crisis Fascist Elections Show Stalinist Bankruptcy

STAGE IN GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN THIS COUNTRY THROWS BOURGEOISIE INTO PANIC; ITS 'WAY OUT' TO BE SOUGHT ON BACKS OF WORKERS

The present cyclical crisis began in 1929 with a financial crisis, in the form of a crash on the stock market; now, after nearly 3 1/2 years, it is marked by a nationwide banking crisis. What does this mean? Is it what the Stalinists call "the end of the stabilization of capitalism" or the terrified bourgeois still more simply call "the end of the world"?

many more defeats than victories in the class struggle under conditions—not only in strikes against wage cuts, in the question of adequate unemployment relief and insurance, but politically they have not been able to mobilize the masses against the bourgeoisie. There is no use in recapitulating the chapter of defeats and mistakes; we have pointed out the responsibility of the Communist party as the record has developed, its failure to assemble the proletariat around its banner and assume the leadership of the broadest masses.

Policy of «United Front From Below» Fails to Win Over Masses of Socialist Workers

In an atmosphere of unprecedented terrorism, intimidation and the suppression of Communist, socialist and even Centrist publications and meetings, the German Nazis have gained a distinct election victory which, together with the vote rolled up by the Hugenburg Nationalists, gives them a parliamentary majority in a Reichstag which has now lost particularly all importance.

held its own, but with the shifts in other parties, and with the increased vote cast, it is no longer in a position to affect the parliamentary situation as a balance of power—a position it has enjoyed for years. The Social Democratic Party did a little better than hold its own. The Communist vote, however, was drastically reduced by some twenty percent, to a total of less than 5,000,000, losing heavily in Berlin where the Nazis, and not the Communists, are now the largest party, with 1,000,000 votes as compared with 720,000 votes last November.

The election posters of both these parties were ripped off the billboards. The possibilities for election propaganda and agitation by these two parties were reduced to a tiny minimum. In spite of the terrorism of the Fascists, the Communists managed to retain some eighty percent of their previous votes, and the social democrats even increased their balloting strength. But there is little consolation in this for the Communist party. As soon as the March 6, 1933 elections were announced, the Militant proclaimed them to be a Fascist trap, designed to concentrate the attention of the working class exclusively on the parliamentary field and to distract them from mobilizing their efforts for the extra-parliamentary struggle—the only kind of struggle which can effectively deal with the now overwhelming threat of Fascism.

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Of even greater significance, is the vote cast for the Communist and social democratic parties. The Communist vote declined, and the importance of this fact, even though it is far from decisive, cannot be ignored. The social democratic masses continued to give their support to the social democratic party. By this act, they gave a decisive reply to the empty boasts of the Stalinists that their policy was succeeding in breaking the socialist masses away from their leadership. And precisely herein lies the most significant aspect of the March elections!

Lovestone Group and the Opposition A Political Swindle Exposed

The current issue of the Workers Age, organ of the Lovestone Right wing, contains the following attack upon the Opposition which we quote in full: "But the most pitiful figure is cut by the Trotskyites. They, who not so long ago (Militant, July 25, 1931) insisted that it is 'absurd' to think that the imperialists will welcome a Fascist dictatorship in Germany," who sagely informed us that "on the contrary, they (the imperialists) have every reason to reinforce and support the social democracy and parliamentary forms," who were so sure (in 1931) that it has never yet been demonstrated that Fascism can have a stable endurance in such a highly industrialized country as Germany," these people, who later (Militant, Nov. 12, 1932) saw the "Nazi social reservoir of voting strength well nigh exhausted" so that the Hitlerites "must strive to fulfill their aims by violent seizure of power," these people who branded as "opportunism" the first calls of the Communist Opposition for a united anti-Fascist front, these people who even today (Militant, Feb. 24, 1933) regard Hitler as the "screen" for Hugenburg, who can hopefully assert that the chief instruments of power are not in Hitler's hands, who echo the official Communist party that the social democracy is the most important prop of bourgeois domination," under all circumstances all the time, these same people now have the audacity to declare (Militant, Feb. 4, 1933) that "the Left Opposition was the first to sound the alarm signal that Fascism was threatened (?), that it had to be met by a united front of all workers organizations!" Is this merely shabby self-deception or is it outright political swindling?"

Not bad, what? More exactly, it might be bad if it were all true. But when the Lovestone press "quotes" the Left Opposition, the very first thing to do is to take it for granted that it is deliberately misquoting us, distorting our point of view, or resorting to slight innuendo. The present instance is a case in point. Let us examine from the files of the Militant the sections presumably quoted by Lovestone, so that one may judge who is engaged in "outright political swindling".

The support of the regime, and correspondingly undermine it. It has never yet been demonstrated that Fascism can have a stable endurance in such a highly industrialized country as Germany, with a powerful and well-organized working class. The imperialist bourgeoisie whose fate is bound up with the fate of German capitalism, have no interest in plunging into this desperate alternative, of their own volition. On the contrary, they have every reason to reinforce and support the social democracy and the parliamentary forms which have served them and saved them up to now. They will not risk Fascism until they have to." (Our emphasis.)

All the difference in the world, isn't there! Now, the Militant of November 12, 1932: "As we have pointed out previously in these columns, the Hitlerites cannot hope to arrive in power by the smooth parliamentary train. The preceding election already indicated that, so far as elections are concerned, the Nazi social reservoir of voting strength was well-nigh exhausted. Not a parliamentary movement in the ordinary bourgeois sense, the Fascists must strive to fulfill their aims by the violent seizure of power and the more violent extirpation of all proletarian movements and institutions. Or, if the necessity for such a step is

Oppositionists Attacked

Last Friday night at Pitkin and Rockaway Avenue, members of the Left Opposition were again treated to a wholesale exposure of Stalinism in action. For the third or fourth time in a year, the aspiring bureaucrats of the American Youth Club saw fit to stir up hysteria for a physical attack on us. Though outnumbered at least two to one, our comrades halted this "hard guy" display that has taken the place of Leninist education. After this failure, we were invited to participate in putting back the furniture of an unemployed worker in a house at which a rent strike was going on! We accepted and the ironic picture was afforded to all the workers present—who had not been engaged in the melee—of the common bond of unity between us despite slander and despite terrorism. However, after we had arrived at the house (the furniture we were then told was in the cellar), waiting for some of the cops to clear out, a functionary arrived who saw fit to suspend operations. ("Trotskyists cannot fraternize, and they have no right to move furniture with us—they are Left social Fascists"). We said we were always ready to cooperate with the unemployed councils and had done so in the past. It could be seen that many of them changed their attitude toward us. We invited them down to the Sunday meeting and the proof of the beginning of their education was that they came.

The democratic phase of the Chinese revolution included as its major task the ousting of the foreign imperialists and the national unification of China. This task could only have been accomplished with the aid of the wide masses of workers and peasants. The revolution swept towards the goal of its first phase only as long as the Chinese masses were drawn irresistibly and on an ever grander scale into the movement for liberation. It was inevitable, however, that the oppressed classes, on whom rested the actual burden of carrying on the armed struggle, under the ferment of revolutionary activity, should come into conflict not only with the foreign oppressors but with their own native exploiters. This phase of the Chinese revolution did not wait upon the successful achievement of the program of unification common to all classes, bourgeois, worker and peasant, participating in the first stage. The irrepressible class struggle broke out before the imperialists had been swept into the sea and in the conflict that followed the vanguard of the working class, the Communists, on whom depended the continuation of the revolution, was all but exterminated.

The lessons of the second phase of the Revolution remain as an abiding memory in the minds of the present bourgeois rulers of China. If today they are completely impotent in the defense of China against Japanese imperialism, it is because they fear above everything else to arouse the masses and arm them for a real struggle. For that would mean the resurrection of the revolution which, they clearly see, could only result in their own downfall ultimately. Chiang Kai-Shek, instead of sending a single soldier to Jehol for the defense of China against imperialist invasion, continues to battle with the peasant Soviets in his effort to establish his hegemony, if only in a few provinces. T. Y. Soong, reactionary banker—the richest man in China—can only say at this juncture that the Japanese aggression is a good thing, for "in the long run" it will result in the "real" unification of China. Meantime he impotently offers, not any attempt at effective resistance, but the lives of one hundred million Chinamen to the Japs. These Chinamen "will know how to die". All the mercenary, thieving bandit rulers and bourgeois compradors are sending their wealth, that ill-gotten wealth coined out of the blood of the country and are "disappearing" themselves. "Governor" Tang Yu-lin of Jehol, that great opium drugman of China, carefully evacuated his gold and his wives and has now left Jehol himself for destinations unknown.

The Japanese Continue Advance Thus the Japanese conquer with almost no resistance because China under the rule of the Chiang Kai-Sheks has failed to unify and has failed to build up its industries rapidly enough to supply a modern army. Having met no real obstacles, the Japanese will continue to seize more and more Chinese territory. The press repeats statements that the Japanese have demanded the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Tientsin, the next objective of the invasion. —J. WEBER.

GERMAN MEETINGS

MASS MEETINGS ON GERMANY Speakers: HUGO OEHLER CARL SKOGLUND M. DUNNE, Chairman Saturday eve., March 11, 8:00 p. m. MAYORS RECEPTION HALL, COURT HOUSE Minneapolis, Minn.

ST. PAUL MEETING Speakers: HUGO OEHLER CARL SKOGLUND ST. PAUL LABOR TEMPLE Tuesday eve., March 14, 8:00 p. m. Admission 10c Unemployed Free

Our German Campaign Is Endangered!

The end of this week will mark one month that we have been issuing the MILITANT three times a week. We have accomplished this enormous task under the impact of the German situation, and by a supreme effort. When we got out the first issue, there was not only the first, but many of them. We are prepared to go along on schedule, to issue the MILITANT three times a week at least for a month, during the high tension of the German crisis. Our hammering has already had its effect. Thousands of class conscious militants, Communist workers, are now aroused to the

scuteneous of the crisis in Germany. The silence of the official party has been countered by the alarm signals of the MILITANT. The party has not only been forced to call meetings on the German situation, but also to put Germany "on the front page". But this is only a beginning. The situation is now, if anything, more crucial. The international movement is imperiled. And the MILITANT alone bears aloft the banner of proletarian revolutionary internationalism. We intend to carry on, despite the tremendous difficulties. But for this, we need the immediate, generous aid of every reader. Our "treasury" is not only entirely depleted, but we have incurred a number of pressing debts. These hang around our neck like millstones. We cannot move unless we get immediate financial relief! We must have the sum of two hundred dollars forthwith! A special effort must be made by every friend of the Opposition. The hand must dig deeper into the pocket the most generous donations are imperative. All contributors must be sent right away by fast mail to 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. The need is urgent.

MANHATTAN MASS MEETING

After the German Elections-What Now? Speakers: JAMES P. CANNON MAX SHACHTMAN MARTIN ABERN, Chairman

LABOR TEMPLE FRIDAY, MARCH 10th, 8 P. M. 14th Street and Second Avenue LARGE HALL ADMISSION 15 CENTS

NEWARK MEETING at the Hungarian Workers Home 87-16th Ave., Newark, N. J. Saturday Evening, March 11th, 8 P. M. THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT AND FASCISM Speaker: JAMES P. CANNON EVERYBODY WELCOME! Communist League of America (Opposition) Newark branch

MANHATTAN MASS MEETING

LABOR TEMPLE

NEWARK MEETING