

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 3, 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.

"An Agent Provocateur" 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."

He has already proclaimed his intention of maintaining the rule of Fascism regardless of 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.

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 leadership to retain control over the socialist 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!

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."

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."

"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."

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."

"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."

"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."

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 battle."

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."

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.

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 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?

S.P. Fakers Drive Out Left Wing

STRONG ARM SQUAD OUSTS MILITANT DELEGATIONS AT SOCIALIST CONFAB

As a delegate from Carpenters' Local Union 2080 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 ruled 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 Algenon Lee and Funken, 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 from 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.

Defend Opposition Stand In Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh. — The Unemployed Council then challenged the delegates of the L. O. to take the floor and defend their resolution. One of our delegates took the floor and pointed out that of all the speakers and all the resolutions no mention was made of the recognition of the Soviet Union. He also outlined our disagreement with the tactic of the "united front from below" also pointed out on the point of the recognition of the Soviet Union that the unemployed situation cannot be considered as an isolated problem and apart from general working class problems. Its objectives must be general working class objectives; its struggles part of the general working class struggles for the revolution.

OPEN FORUM

BONAPARTISM & THERMIDOR. IN THE SOVIET UNION DOES THE DANGER THREATEN? Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN Friday, March 3, 1933 126 East 10th Street, AMMISSION: 15c N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

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

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.

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 you 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 Glotzer, Communist League of America ADMISSION 15c UNEMPLOYED FREE Auspices, Militant Workers Club

BROWNSVILLE MASS MEETING

«The CRISIS IN GERMANY»

Speaker: Labor Lyceum MAX SHACHTMAN SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 2 P. M. 219 BUCKMAN ST., Bklyn N. Y. ADMISSION 15 Cents

Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

# THE LEAGUE IN ACTION

## Cleveland Workers Hear Oehler

Cleveland.—A highly gratifying mass meeting of the Left Opposition was held here last Wednesday night at Painters Hall. More than 300 workers were present, more than half of them party members or members of party mass organizations. Comrades Hugo Oehler and Sam Gordon presented the point of view of the Communist League on the German crisis, with comrade John Brantlin in the chair. A good collection was taken and numerous Militants were sold.

This marks the largest and first peaceful meeting of the Left Opposition in this city. All previous meetings took place under organized attacks from the Stalinists. The previous intense and widespread activities of the local group with regard to the German Fascist danger—participation in demonstrations and meetings, extensive distribution of leaflets, etc.—had aroused great interest in the German meeting of the Left Opposition and the official party leadership saw itself forced to refrain from the well-known physical arguments this time and actually to send down a representative to take the floor in their name.

After the presentation of the views of our organization the chairman, comrade Brantlin, asked if the party representative wanted the floor for 15 minutes. Comrade Leonard Patterson, in the name of the party, did his best in the course of twenty minutes to defend the indefensible position of Stalinism in Germany. After a great deal of confusion and stammering, he finally concluded with that poor trump card of the bureaucracy—the swindle about the "dissolution" of the German Left Opposition.

Comrade Oehler replied for the Communist League and with firm, but comradely arguments tore the bottom out of the contentions of the party representative, exposing in an even more convincing and concrete way the inadequacy and faltering, criminal stupidity of the Stalinist position in Germany. Many questions, testifying to the intense interest in the subject, were asked by the audience, to which our comrade gave the proper revolutionary answer. After comrade Oehler's summary, the meeting adjourned amid continued private discussions outside the hall.

All in all, this represents a great step forward for the Left Opposition in Cleveland. Not only the excellent attendance, but even more the comradely and sane spirit of the discussion is bound to have a profound effect on the local Communist workers, but those who constituted the majority of the audience as well as those who will come in contact with them. For the first time in their experience, they saw how deep principle disputes among Communists can be conducted in a Bolshevik manner, in a manner aimed to bring about genuine clarification in the proletarian ranks. That this will show them the futility and shamefulness of the Stalinist methods of physical terror in settling disputes with the Left Opposition cannot be doubted.

## 400 at Minneapolis Meeting

Minneapolis.—Last Thursday evening four hundred Communist, trade-union, and Left wing workers packed the Mayor's Reception Hall in the Court House to hear comrades Dunne and Skoglund expound the position of the Left Opposition on the German Crisis. This was the first large meeting protesting the assault of Hitler upon the German working class organizations. A small neighborhood meeting was held earlier in the week on the North-side by the Left Opposition. Seeing the laxity of the Stalinists upon this vital question the League advertised this meeting primarily through distribution of handbills at the party-led State Relief Demonstration, the trade union, and organized unemployed headquarters. This resulted in bringing to our meeting hundreds of Communists and party followers and numerous trade unionists and Left wing workers.

A profound effect was made upon this audience by the speakers' argumentation for unity in the Communist ranks, for a correct united front policy in mass work, for a Marxian estimation of the German crisis and the tasks of the C. P. The local district leaders of the official party were not present, but his sent a group of lower functionaries to observe, take notes, and ask questions. One of these, Minor, who had participated actively to bar the Left Opposition from a recent unemployment conference, prompted a party member to ask why the Communist League doesn't participate in the unemployment struggle. Comrade Dunne in answering was able to state our re-

## CHICAGO Civil War in Ill. Coal Fields

Lecture by GERRY ALLARD Editor of "The Progressive Miner" and Illinois Miners Leader on FRIDAY, MARCH 3, 8 P. M. MIRROR HALL 1136 N. Western Ave. (Near Division St.) Questions and Discussions from Floor

peated attempts to support the unemployed "united front", our position on the struggles, and exposed the lies, slanders and bureaucratic intrigues used by the party leadership to bar our organization from direct participation in their movement. Similarly when this comrade asked about the well "split" in the German Opposition, the speaker was able to drive home more lessons to the hundreds of new rank and file comrades in the hall, on Communist leadership and the miserable distortions of it that Stalinism imposed upon the party.

About one hundred Militants were sold and every worker present was given past issues. Despite the general poverty, ten copies of "What Next?" and additional literature by Trotsky were sold. New contacts with advanced workers were made.

An active functionary of the Socialist party was present and spoke in discussion. Apologetically he evaded the Weimar Constitution and Germany by saying that everything is not bad in the S. P. that in Vienna the S. P. "is returned year after year with ever increasing majorities..." Defensively he pleaded for "less criticism of the S. P. in order better to effect a united front with it." Three workers answered him. The speaker pointed out to him the necessity of the working class to unite its organizations to defend itself against Fascism that in such a united front each organization must stand on its own before the class, that workers' democracy in the united front allows criticism and reevaluation of every party's program as it pertains to the immediate action and problem before the class.

The meeting lasted well-nigh to midnight. It demonstrated the powerfulness of the ideas of the Left Opposition, when applied to crucial problems thrown up by general turns in the proletarian revolution. We plan to duplicate this meeting in St. Paul.

—C. FORSEN.

## Nearing, Stalin Apologist, on Germany

### In Chicago

Chicago.—The lecture that Scott Nearing delivered here a few weeks ago under the auspices of the Chicago Forum, on "What Next in Germany", was an additional illustration of his ignorance of the dynamics of the class struggle. Coming just a few days before Hindenburg chose the leader of the Fascist butchers to the chancellorship, one had the right to expect of Nearing an analysis that would cover at least the fundamental questions relating to the present civil war period in Germany.

He gave a historical picture of the post-war period of Germany and, coming closer to the present situation, measured the relative strength of the political parties by their votes. In Nearing's schematic set-up, the Communist party is overwhelmed by heavy odds. These heavy odds preclude the possibility of a struggle for power by the Communist party. To Nearing, there are no differentiations to be sought in Von Papen, Von Schleicher, Hitler, Hugenburg, and the social democrats. They are all lumped together as if they make up an integral whole. On the basis of such a consideration Nearing concludes that these forces are too strong a combination for the Communists to attempt to struggle against. The likely variant according to Nearing, was the establishment of a coalition between all these groups.

It would be a good thing if some of the social democrats could be won to the support of the Communists, including too, some elements of the middle class. Then perhaps the revolutionists might make a struggle for power. And here one expects, that Nearing would take up the question of the united front to show how and in what manner the Communists could wage a victorious struggle. But apparently he has heard nothing of this tactic. It was not mentioned once in his lecture. Is it any wonder then that in his summary Nearing declares: "Unless the revolutionary movement wins to its side some elements, either the social democratic elements or some of the middle class elements, they are whipped before they start, because the round-up of the class forces with the middle class and ruling class on one side of the round-up is unbeatable. That is the position of the German Communist Party and I believe it must be dismissed as an improbable way out of the difficulty." (My emphasis—A. G.)

Having dismissed the possibility of a victory and rejected the need for a struggle, Nearing concludes that the possible result of this seeming blind alley of German politics, would be a coalition of Von Schleicher, Von Papen, Hugenburg, Hitler and the social democrats, under the charge of the first. Thus a few days before the Fascist chief took over the chancellorship and his legions spread a reign of blood over Germany, Nearing dismissed the idea of a Fascist assumption to power.

Some days later, after Hitler's assumption to power, Nearing again spoke on Germany. Added to the confusion of his first lecture, was hopelessness and despair. Nothing could be done now. It was too late! As in his first lecture, the fundamental questions of the situation were left out entirely. If one expected to receive from Nearing a way out, he was greatly disappointed. It was not for nothing

## Wilkes-Barre Miners Hear Opposition

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—An audience of 50 people, nearly all anthracite coal miners, turned out at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., despite the very cold weather, to hear Martin Abern, member of the National Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition), speak on the Menace of Fascism in Germany. Comrade Abern reviewed at length the role of the social democracy of Germany since the World War up to now; the program and activities of the Communist Party of Germany and the Communist International, as conceived by the Stalinist-Thaelmann leadership, and the policy and united front program of action put forward by L. D. Trotsky and the International Left Opposition to meet the German crisis. There was an intense interest among the audience, as is attested by the 30 questions put by them after the conclusion of the opening talk by comrade Abern. Members of the S. P. that in Vienna the S. P. "is returned year after year with ever increasing majorities..." Defensively he pleaded for "less criticism of the S. P. in order better to effect a united front with it." Three workers answered him. The speaker pointed out to him the necessity of the working class to unite its organizations to defend itself against Fascism that in such a united front each organization must stand on its own before the class, that workers' democracy in the united front allows criticism and reevaluation of every party's program as it pertains to the immediate action and problem before the class.

A check-up of the audience revealed that only seven workers, of all present, were at present employed. It was a graphic illustration of the ravages of the economic crisis upon the anthracite miners. Workers who spoke, also brought out the treacherous role which the John L. Lewis leadership of the United Mine Workers of America was playing in helping to lower still further the living and working standards of the anthracite coal miners.

—C. FORSEN.

### In Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh.—On Saturday, Feb. 11, Professor Scott Nearing lectured before the "Friends of the Soviet Union on the 'Second Five Year Plan'." After a long speech on the achievements of "planned economy", many questions were asked among them was "Why was comrade Trotsky exiled?" To the surprise and astonishment of all present he answered like one who has just returned from Russia where he attended the Stalin school of falsifications, that Trotsky was exiled because he was a "counter-revolutionist". Among other questions was "Can Socialism be completed in Russia alone?" His answer was that when a revolution breaks out in China or Japan it could be completed in Russia (quite smart!).

Three of our comrades were standing outside the hall and distributing the Militant to the crowd as they left the meeting. A Stalinist gorilla grabbed the bundle of papers out of the hands of one of our comrades and walked away with them. This is not by accident. More than once the Stalinists have stolen display cards placed in restaurant windows by the Pittsburgh branch of the Left Opposition. They have torn down leaflets we paste up. Yet they have the nerve to say that if the workers had any brains at all they would not listen to the teachings of the L. O. but to the "teachings of Stalin".

## THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published three times a week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York.

### EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spektor Arne Swaback

Wednesday, March 1, 1933 Vol. VI, No. 14 (Whole No. 161) Subscription price: \$2.00 per year, Foreign \$2.50. One cent a copy.

## Unemployment and the American Working Class by Arne Swaback

A popular, Marxist explanation for workers. Excellent for propaganda and distribution. 24 pages 5 cents Postage 1c extra per copy Minimum quantity per order 5 PIONEER PUBLISHERS 84 East 10th Street, N. Y. C.

that the reaction of the Communist workers who listened to him speak, was utter disgust.

Nearing is not a member of the Communist party and therefore does not speak in its name. But he has been a member of the party and is sufficiently close to it now, to give his speeches a semi-official character. He is looked upon as a representative of Communism. His lectures, up until this date, were the only ones to be held, in addition to those by the Left Opposition in Chicago. The party here, has as yet not moved a finger on the German situation.

—A. GLOTZER.

## The Flower of Bourbon Civilization

# Negro Lynchings in the South

Lynching in the South is a phenomenon that must be explained historically as a political weapon of the ruling class is to be correctly understood. Put into effect on a tremendous scale by the Ku Klux Klan during the Reconstruction Period, it claimed far less victims during the 80's of the last century. In the last decade of the last century its use became far more frequent again, there having been 1789 known lynchings between 1890 and 1900. With the beginning of the present century the number of its victims again decreased until during the present economic crisis the Southern bourgeois more frequently wield this awful weapon.

The above are cycles, but certainly not just business cycles. They are cycles or periods of great social change. The first or Ku Klux Klan-Reconstruction period when the northern capitalists by means of military dictatorship over the South were uprooting the system of chattel slavery so as to unite the country on the basis of capitalism, was outstandingly noticeable for its terrorism against the Negro race and the vast number of lynchings that took place, but at the same time it was a far deeper break with the past that immediately preceded it than was the 1890-1900 period. That period, though awful to recollect when one recalls it, considering the great number of deaths through lynchings, was the period of sharp political struggle that was a part of the social change from competitive capitalism to monopolist or imperialist capitalism. In the present period of decaying capitalism it is again true that the increased number of lynchings during the present economic crisis in America reflects the fact that here too the great social change that is shaking the world at large is affecting the social structure in our midst.

But many are falsely informed by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching that the Communists, the banner bearers of the new society, are responsible for these lynchings and many are wondering if lynchings will not continue in the South in the society of the future. A far greater number, not conversant with the forces making for social change nor realizing that capitalism is in decay, figure that lynching in America will become a thing of the past under capitalism.

To get at the truth one must deal with the nature of lynching as a capitalist institution. It is indeed a weapon for suppression of

the Negro race, used by the forces of reaction and useful only for such forces. When capitalism was young and progressive it was the weapon of political agents of the ex-skave holders, that is, the side of reaction. When capitalism underwent a qualitative change that created possibilities for the Negro's escape from the degradation of the rural South it was used to keep him in that degradation, "in his place". When capitalism is old and decaying, adapting to itself every outgrown form—even slavery, it is again a weapon on the dark side of reaction.

But let no one underestimate the far reaching nature of the social change that is taking place at the present time, nor on the other hand, overestimate the consequences of lynching because this is a part of a deep-going and far reaching social change. It is not just a mathematical proposition. It is a political one. The nature of this period of change is such that though far greater in historical importance than even the Civil War-Reconstruction-Ku Klux Klan period, far less lynchings should be expected to accompany the fight against this change, not because the enemy is better or more civilized, but because Communists fight against lynchings politically, by mass action, and can and will forestall many lynchings.

And while we are thinking politically instead of mathematically let us not fall into that other rut of the George Milton's that says that with the exception of the present crisis the twentieth century has witnessed a progressive decrease in lynchings, that the situation is getting better and better, and that under capitalism we are outgrowing the fondness of lynching. He disregards entirely the fact that under imperialist capitalism, and even that phase of it with which he is most acquainted, the phase when lynchings were decreasing, the lynchings were also more brutal, more dramatically brutal, so that they were more impressive, so that their purpose of helping keep the Negro subordinated was served.

It is the height of absurdity to believe that the southern bosses will voluntarily drop this reactionary capitalist weapon. It is equally absurd to think Communism will pick it up. The Communists will disarm the bourgeoisie of this political weapon when they disarm them generally and will smash it in the same way as we will smash the bourgeois state.

—GEO. J. SAUL.

## Barbusse-Stalinist Capitulaton

San Francisco.—The Feb. 27 issue of the Western Worker prints a report of the Students Anti-War Conference in Los Angeles. It complains that the conference in which the Communists and Y. C. L. "played the leading role...in political guidance" capitulated to the pacifists. In heavy type it states that "The United Front in Los Angeles was essentially a capitulation to the pacifist elements."

The article points out that the main reason for this consisted in the fact that the members of the Young Communist League understood the tactics of the united front as giving up the right to criticize the action of the other parties in the conference. That, the article claims, deprived them "of the right to present our Communist position". As if a Communist position could be expected from people who come to revision of the "third period" tactics through the swindle of the Amsterdam Peace Conference. And besides, where is the guarantee that the party itself in its revision of the yesterday tactics of the "third period" and "social Fascism" would not come to the very same "day-before-yesterday" tactics with Chiang Kai-Shek and the Anglo-Russian committee, for which it criticizes the Los Angeles Conference.

Especially vociferous in its criticism is that part of the article which is directed against one of the paragraphs of a leaflet, issued with the help of Y. C. L. and which demands "the enforcement in both spirit and letter of the Kellogg peace pact". Poor lads! Knowing that the Soviet Union signed that pact, they believe with all their heart that pact should be enforced. And think of their bewilderment when the righteous elders of the Western Worker with solemn mien enlighten them: "The Kellogg peace pact is an imperialist document, a means of strengthening imperialism's hold on the vast colonial areas and against the Soviet Union."

We would like to know who would not get "dizzy" in these circumstances?

—L. GREEN.

# Report Shows Fate of Germany Hangs In Balance; United Front Is Urgent

Continued from last issue

But that is only one side of the picture. On the other hand the politically corrupted Stalinist bureaucracy did not hesitate to engage in lightminded maneuvering in the moments of fateful decision. It published and broadcast leaflets and the trade unions were called upon to form a united front with the Communist party for a general strike. It did not address its proposals directly to these organizations officially as organizations. It did not make any proposals for formation of united front organs. It did not make any concrete proposals for the conduct or the objectives of the general strike. It did not prepare its own membership and followers to fight for the realization of the united front, because it was not meant seriously. It was only a maneuver so that the bureaucrats could say to the Communist workers: "There you are. We offered them the united front, but they did not accept it."

## Only the United Front Can Mobilize Workers Power

The general strike, now that the establishment of a Fascist government has become a fact, will of course, be a very important first step in the struggle of working class defense against the menace of Fascism. But it can be only a first step and even this first step cannot be realized at all without the most complete working class unity. The C. P. alone cannot mobilize the working masses for a general strike. That is already conclusively proven. Its method of continually hurling the slogan without proposing concretely how and when, by what means of organization, at what point and around which issues, can only lead to discredit of the slogan and to demoralization, not to mention the fact that the most resolute working class section which responds in its danger of further isolation and destruction. To speak of a general strike without the social democratic and average trade union workers is criminal lightmindedness, and it is not yet possible to mobilize these workers for such action against their leaders and less so by counterposing Communist leaders or the Communist party. To reach such a stage further preparation is necessary.

A general strike purely under social reformist leadership without control by the masses through their own established organs of struggle can have prospects only of further sell-outs and betrayals. But the social democratic workers are threatened by the scourge of Fascism as are the Communist workers. Even these very S. P. and trade union bureaucrats are being forced toward the wall, but pressed only from the one side from this menace. They feel this pressure and fear it. Now they must be pressed also from the other side, from the revolutionary workers. They must be put to the test and exposed at this crucial moment before the eyes of the work-

ing class and particularly before the eyes of their own following. Failure to do that spells failure to fight the traitors. The means with which to do that is the united front policy. The key to the situation is still the united front. Nay, it is more, it is a matter of life or death.

## The Left Opposition Conference Appeals to Comintern

In this fateful situation, in this hour of mortal danger, no guidance, no assistance, in fact not a word is heard from the Communist International. What woeful neglect. What criminal failure. What has become of Lenin's world party? It too is paralyzed, gagged and bound by the disloyal bureaucratic Stalinist regime.

In the midst of these developments the Left Opposition held its preliminary international conference in Paris, participated in by delegates of 13 countries. Our conference dispatched an urgent appeal to the Comintern for immediate convocation of its Seventh Congress, with the Left Opposition to participate in its deliberations. We proposed that the main point on the agenda be the Comintern initiative for a conference of the Second International, the Amsterdam International of trade unions and the Communist International to establish a united front in defense of the German working class against the Fascist menace.

Fascism has not yet conquered Germany. But it has its hands on the instrument of power. It is in the government together with elements of the attempted Bonapartist regime. Even an election victory for this combination will not finally settle the issue. There will still be a stage of differentiation with the Hugenberg and von Papen forces. However, these are not fundamental and are entirely subordinated to the issue of civil war. For the working class there is yet time; but every day, every hour is precious. The fate of the events of the immediate future are in the hands of the Communist forces. Of these the Left Opposition is a part. Our ranks in Germany have grown appreciably in the recent period; but numerically we are still small when compared to the party. Our strength lies in our Marxian program and the Left Opposition in Germany will do its duty. We commenced a long time ago a determined fight for the working class united front. Today it is the only way out; a united front from organization to organization, Communist, Social Democrats and trade unions and the establishment of definite united front organs of these organizations to function as the centrally directing force in the struggle for defense against the Fascist enemy. Within these organs, within this united front, the Communist solution will be proposed and fought for. That is the road to the Soviets. That is the only road.

—ARNE SWABACK.

February 11, 1933

## S. P. Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

Again the spokesman appeared on the platform and now with the report of the Credential Committee he announced that the original committee of ten had enlarged itself to the number of 30. At this point a delegate from Carpenters' L. U. 2717 and I protested against such procedure, but surrounded by strong arm men we were quickly shoved back in our seats. The spokesman also announced that because of the lack of time, the resolution on unemployment insurance as well as all other resolutions handed in by various delegates would have to be taken under consideration at some time by the committee of 30, and that the committee would also arrange for a conference at Albany. The conference endorsed the Cincinnati A. F. L. insurance bill.

Again I stood up and this time was recognized by the chairman. I asked that all resolutions be read off before the delegates and be voted on. I reported that the resolution from my local union contained on appeal to the delegates to this conference to merge with the Provisional A. F. L. committee for unemployment relief at 730 Broadway, I also pointed out how useless the aims of this conference were when they seek to co-operate with such discredited types as Commerford, Broach, Green and Co., who for years were checking the workers in every progressive step, but before I was able to finish I was pulled and pushed back in my seat again. The delegate from Carpenters' L. U. 2717 who proposed "that at least one building trade worker be on the resolution committee because of special problem of demanding public works as part of relief" was treated in the same manner. In summing up this conference I can not see why my L. U. was invited to participate in this conference, and this applies to all other delegates. There was no discussion on a single point of the question. Not a single proposal heard of by any of the delegates. No one of the delegates was elected on the committee and I may add the whole affair, therefore was of no concern to most of the delegates—except for a bunch of tricky politicians and job seekers.

—W. H. HERRMANN.

That in a "liberal" school like N. Y. U. the students are pressed to take strike action, and that they stand ready to pursue such action, as they were in Columbia University last year, another "liberal" school with upper class enrollment, is a healthy sign. Even in the city owned colleges where academic freedom is so much more suppressed, it is unusual for students to leave classes. It is to be hoped that taking measures which are the natural instruments of the working class in its resistance to capitalist exploitation, will help to identify more closely the students with the struggle of the proletariat. In that alone rests the full value of the action taken by the City College and N. Y. U. students.

## Student's Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

flag pole. With howls and physical attacks they attempted to tear the banners, in which they succeeded in part and prevented the speakers from addressing the students on the campus.

Unfortunately the strike at City College was not very well prepared. Called scarcely with more than a day's preparation the strike could not take on the broad character and forceful effect it might otherwise have had. The strike committees were poorly organized if at all, and did not show a clear understanding of what move to make next. Not enough students had been reached in advance to, firstly, sound out their response, and, secondly, to ascertain their support. Furthermore by more carefully detailed plans much of the hectic features which detracted from the serious nature of the events could have been avoided. However the strike will remain a memorable event in the fight of the City students, as well as those at other institutions, for recognition of their rights. The evening strike, which suffered from the same faults, gathered about 500 demonstrators.

The strike at N. Y. U. was obviously better prepared aside from certain factors that made it easier to call. Here the students were insisting on the right of the editor of the Daily News, school paper, to freely express his opinion and to take his stand in favor of the student body. The Daily had made accusations against the athletic committee for mishandling an injured athlete. To this the school authorities responded with suspension of the paper. Before the strike had been called the proper preparation had taken place. Consequently greater numbers of student were involved.

That in a "liberal" school like N. Y. U. the students are pressed to take strike action, and that they stand ready to pursue such action, as they were in Columbia University last year, another "liberal" school with upper class enrollment, is a healthy sign. Even in the city owned colleges where academic freedom is so much more suppressed, it is unusual for students to leave classes. It is to be hoped that taking measures which are the natural instruments of the working class in its resistance to capitalist exploitation, will help to identify more closely the students with the struggle of the proletariat. In that alone rests the full value of the action taken by the City College and N. Y. U. students.

OFF THE PRESS!  
Two New Pamphlets By  
**LEON TROTSKY**  
Soviet Economy In Danger 72 Pages 10 cents  
In Defense of the Russian Revolution 48 Pages 5 cents  
Postage 1c extra per copy  
PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
84 East 10th Street, New York

Oehler Tour:  
St. Louis, Mo.—March 4, 5  
Illinois Coal Fields—March 6, etc.