

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Marine Workers on Trial

The trial of the three marine workers, which was interrupted for a week on account of the illness of Assistant District Attorney Capazoli, was resumed Monday in the court of General Sessions No. 1 before Judge Allen. With six witnesses for the prosecution already examined, the contentions of the state are already before the jury. The great conspiracy announced last November, with such a fireworks of publicity and cries of the red terror, is taking on the character of a farce at the trial. The gigantic "dynamite plot" to "blow up the shipping" in the New York harbor has dwindled down in the actual testimony to the claim that the defendants were responsible in some way or another for a leak about the size of a quarter which was discovered in the bottom of a worn out sand and gravel barge.

The first witness was John Schimmel, night watchman on the barge "Anthony", owned by the O'Boyle Transportation Company, a non-union concern and complainant in the case. Schimmel testified that on November 4, 1931, at about one o'clock in the morning, he heard a noise that brought him on deck to investigate. Finding nothing there, he went to the hold of the boat and discovered a small hole through which water was entering. He also claimed that a man, whom he now "identifies" as Bunker, called to him from the pier to which the boat was moored and asked him if he had a place to sleep that night. On cross examination it was brought out that the only light on the boat was a kerosene lamp on the cabin 70 or 80 feet from the place where he was standing. There were no lights on the pier, and the only street lights were more than 500 feet away. In addition to these difficulties in the way of positive identification under the circumstances, it was brought out in cross-examination that Schimmel was both hard at hearing and afflicted with poor eye-sight. It was also shown that he was a non-union man, working for a \$1 a day. He was once a member of the Tidewater Boatmen's Union, he said, but admitted he had been "always in trouble with them" and thought "unions were no good".

The next witness, named Murphy, a "runner" for O'Boyle testified that he went on board the good ship "Anthony" about 2 A. M. on November 4th and went into the hold to examine the leak. He found it stuffed up with some material. He also said there was some water in the hold, although on cross-examination, he admitted that he had inspected the boat on the previous day found water in the hold on that occasion. This witness also "found" a battery and some wires and an old alarm clock, which were put in evidence as the instruments with which the shipping in the harbor was to be blown up.

The testimony of Shimmel, the dollar a day hero who had positively identified Bunker, was further discredited by the cross examination of Scarr, of the U. S. Weather Bureau, New York District. As Scarr testified that at 2 A. M. on the day in question, there was a waning moon, and that a shadow cast by a person standing in front of the moon, as it was established the man whom Schimmel "identified" as Bunker stood, would be hard to recognize.

John Hickey, the manager of the O'Boyle Transportation Company, who has been one of the leading fighters against the union in the harbor, gave a touching display of innocence and of disinterestedness in the labor side of the case. It was brought out, on cross-examination, that he has acted as a State's witness in many cases. He "didn't know" if he had any union men in his employ, but admitted that he paid less than the union scale. He didn't know anything about the unions on the water front. "The police," he said, "should know about them." He had never been heard of by the I. T. B. U. before.

This man, who gets a salary of \$4500 a year for his efficiency as a union smasher, admitted on cross-examination that he gave money to Hoyle, who is regarded as the provocateur in the case. The cross examination of defense attorney Peter L. F. Sabbatino and the bizarre explanations of the witness on this point, evoked a lot of merriment in the court room. Hickey, who has never been known as a spendthrift, got a fit of magnanimity on the day that the defendants were arraigned. Hoyle, he said, asked him for a quarter for cigarettes. But big-hearted Hickey opened his pocketbook and handed him a bill, with the remark—so he said—"share it with the other boys"—the union men whom he is trying to railroad.

The next witness was Lieutenant Leonard of the Harbor Police Squad. He admitted, by way of confirmation, you might say, of Hickey's contention that the union was no way involved—that the headquarters of the I. T. B. U. had been raided, a police padlock put on the door, and the files taken to police headquarters. Leonard knew, he said, that the defendants were union men but "didn't know anything about the Tidewater Boatmen's union or any other union on the water front."

Further ignorance of any connection of unionism with the prosecution was exhibited by detective Bolle, who said

he examined Hoyle "in a little room" at the police station and "got a statement from him." Bolle knew nothing whatever about unions on the water front, he said, and had never heard of the I. T. B. U., nor of the defendants.

As *The Militant* goes to press the trial is still in progress, and is expected to continue for at least another week. The Marine Workers' Defense Committee is appealing for financial support for the expenses of the legal defense. The Communist League, which is affiliated with the Defense Committee, decided at its last meeting to concentrate its activities in the next ten days on the raising of funds for the defense. The address of the Marine Defense Committee is 82 East 10th St., to which contributions should be sent.

OPEN FORUM

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

TODAY
Lecture by
ARNE SWABECK
on
FRIDAY, APRIL 8, 1932
at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
at 8 P. M.
QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 Cents
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

Scottsboro Verdict Must Be Smashed

The six-to-one decision of the Alabama Supreme Court upholding the death sentences of seven of the nine Scottsboro prisoners is a class verdict. It is necessary only briefly to review the case to prove this and to give the lie to the N. A. A. C. P. saboteurs, the socialists and their liberal supporters like the *New Republic*, all of whom have claimed that the verdict of guilty and sentence of death were the result of the hatred stirred up by the agitation of the Communists.

The nine Negro boys on their way to look for work were taken off a freight train and charged with stealing a ride. But, upon the subsequent discovery on the train of two white girls, the charge was changed forthwith to rape, which, in Alabama, is a capital crime.

The intention of the Southern houn-stands to dispatch the boys with all possible expedition was clearly revealed by the arrangements made for and conduct of the trial. It was held on fair day in a court house surrounded by a lynch mob, held in check by promises from the militia that verdicts of guilty would be speedily forthcoming. The task of the prosecution was made easier by the collaboration of the N. A. A. C. P. "defense" lawyer who produced no witnesses and refused to ask for an acquittal. The trial required only three days. The verdict was guilty. The sentence was death by electrocution. The entire elapsed time between arrest and conviction was only fifteen days.

The decision of the Supreme Court upholds this verdict and sentence. It affirms that the trial was fair and impartial. It says that the militia which fraternized with the mob while it marched around the court house singing the Star Spangled Banner and stopping only to cheer the verdict of guilty "... was notice to everybody that the strong arm of the State was there to assure the accused of a lawful trial."

The six robbed and dignified justices found no ground for reversal in the speed of the trial, basing themselves on the precedent created in the speedy trial and execution of Czolgosz, the assassin of McKinley. It is true, they argue, that in the Scottsboro case, no one was assassinated (they intend to accomplish this en masse on May 13th); but, they say, "... we are of the opinion that some things may happen to one worse than death and if the evidence is to be believed one of these things happened to this defenseless woman, Victoria Price ..."

The verdict of the Supreme Court speaks the intention of the capitalist class to make a significant example of these boys; to warn the super-exploited, suppressed Negro masses of a similar fate for all who aspire to political, economic and social equality, and dare to struggle for it. It is the familiar answer of the capitalist class to all working class protest—the frame-up. The verdict is a class verdict. The case is a working class issue.

To this class verdict the working class must reply by a united, fighting, mass movement. The working class must close its ranks. It must say to the capitalist class that it will not permit nine of its members to be electrocuted. Through this case the white and black masses must begin to achieve the unity indispensable for the overthrow of capitalism.

The class verdict must be answered by a class fight.

For this the I. L. D. and C. P. must break through the shell of their isolation. They must go to the masses with the proposal to unite on this one issue. The logic of the situation leads with irresistible force to the tactic of the united front of working class organiza-

tions. Who refuses to see this understands nothing. The I. L. D. must appeal to all working class organizations regardless of political tendency for a united front on the one issue of the fight for the Scottsboro boys. Concretely, at the present stage. This should take the form of conferences, to work out systematic plans collectively.

The conferences, to serve this aim, cannot be replicas of the "united front" of the familiar Stalinist variety. They cannot be mechanically controlled. Presidiums and committees must be freely elected. Freedom of discussion and criticism must be the rule, not the exception.

Neither the prisoners nor the Communists, who alone can lead their fight, have anything to lose in such a united front. On the contrary, they have everything to gain. The cause of the prisoners, and with it the influence of the Communists, will reach masses of workers now inaccessible. In the fight the superiority of the Communist program will be demonstrated. The workers will see this for themselves; that is the only way they can learn it.

On the other hand, should the socialist and progressive leaders and their brethren of all shades and hues refuse to enter such a united front, they will stand exposed before their own rank and file, for what they are. In this way they can be made to reveal their true nature as misleaders who live on the division of the working class. In either case the Communists have nothing to lose, everything to gain.

Unfortunately the Centrist opportunists who have the leadership of the I. L. D. and the C. P. in their hands do not see this, do not understand anything. They are still obstinately playing with united fronts from "below". At the time of this writing (Tuesday) they have not made any move to build a united working class movement. They have issued no call for conferences.

They have limited themselves to a call for a demonstration on April 6th. By all means let us have the demonstration. But also let us begin to build the working class movement without delay.

The execution has been set for May 13th. It may be postponed for a time because of the legal appeals. But even so there is not too much time. Mass pressure must be brought to bear on the Alabama Supreme Court, and, failing there, later on the U. S. Supreme Court. Mass pressure can give a weight to the legal appeal not contemplated by the judicial fossils of the judicial system.

Mass pressure can prevent a second Sacco-Vanzetti case, a second Mooney case. It must be organized. To this end we must work. The Stalinist policy of fulmination in the press, without a serious mobilization of the masses, will not avail. The comrades in the party should add their voices to that of the Left Opposition for the policy of a fighting united front.

—T. STAMM.

WHAT NEXT? -- by Leon Trotsky

Chapter 1: The Role of the German Social Democracy

The "iron front" is essentially a bloc of numerically powerful social democratic trade unions with impotent groups of bourgeois "republicans" which have lost entirely the support of the people and all confidence in themselves. When it comes to fighting, cadavers are worthless, but they come in handy to keep the living from fighting. Their bourgeois allies serve the social democratic leaders as a bridge around the necks of the workers' organizations. We must fight! We must fight! ... but that is only empty talk. With God's help, everything will be settled ultimately without any bloodshed. Is it possible that the Fascists will really decide to stop talking and get down to business? They, the social democrats, never so much as ventured on such a course, and they, the social democrats, are no worse than other people.

In case of actual danger, the social democracy banks not on the "Iron Front" but on the Prussian police. It is reckoning without its host! The fact that the police was originally recruited in large numbers from among social democratic workers is absolutely meaningless. Consciousness is determined by environment even in this instance. The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker. Of late years these policemen have had to do much more fighting with revolutionary workers than with Nazi students. Such training does not fail to leave its effects. And above all: every policeman knows that though governments may change, the police remains.

In its new-year's issue, the theoretical organ of the social democracy, "Das Freie Wort" (what a wretched sheet!), prints an article in which the policy of "toleration", is expounded in its highest sense. Hitler, it appears, can never come into power against the police and the Reichswehr. Now, according to the constitution, the Reichswehr is under the command of the president of the Republic. Therefore Fascism, it follows, is not dangerous so long as a president faithful to the constitution remains at the head of the government. Bruening's régime must be supported until the presidential elections so that a constitutional president may then be elected, through an alliance with the parliamentary bourgeoisie; and thereby Hitler's road to power will be blocked for another seven years. The above is, as given, the literal context of the article*. A mass party, leading millions (toward socialism!) holds that the question as to which class will come to power in present day Germany, which is shaken to

*The article is signed with the modest initials E. H. They should be engraved for posterity. Generations of workers have not labored in vain. Great revolutionary thinkers and fighters did not journey over this earth without leaving their mark. E. H. exists, stays on his job, and points the way to the German proletariat.

Evil tongues would have it that E. H. is closely related to E. Hellmann, who so besmirched himself during the war by the most sordid kind of chauvinism. Impossible! What, such a lucid head ... ?

its very foundations, depends not on the fighting strength of the German proletariat, not on the shock troops of Fascism, not even on the personnel of the Reichswehr; but on whether the pure spirit of the Weimar constitution (along with the required quantity of camphor and naphthalene) will be installed in the presidential palace. But suppose the spirit of Weimar, in a well-known situation, recognize, together with Bethmann-Hollweg, that "necessity knows no law", what then? Or suppose the perishable substance of the spirit of Weimar falls asunder at the most untoward moment, despite the camphor and naphthalene, what then? And what if ... but there is no end to such questions.

The politicians of reformism, these dexterous wire-pullers, artful intriguers and careerists, expert parliamentary and ministerial machinators are no sooner thrown out of their habitual sphere by the course of events; no sooner are they placed face to face with momentous contingencies than they reveal themselves to be—there is no milder expression for it—inept boobies.

To rely upon a president is only to rely upon "the government". Faced with the impending clash between the proletariat and the Fascist petty bourgeoisie—two camps which together comprise the crushing majority of the German nation—these Marxists from the "Vorwärts" yelp for the night watchman to come to their aid, "Help! Government exert pressure!" (Staat, greif zu!). Which means, "Bruening, please don't force us to defend ourselves with the might of workers' organizations, for this will only arouse the entire proletariat; and then the movement will rise above the bald-pates or our party leadership: beginning as anti-Fascist, it will end Communist."

To this Bruening could reply, unless he preferred silence: "With the police force I could not handle Fascism even if I wanted to; but I wouldn't even if I could. Setting the Reichswehr in motion means only splitting the Reichswehr, if not throwing it altogether against us. But what is most important is that the turning of the bureaucratic apparatus against the Fascists would mean untying the hands of the workers, restoring their full freedom of action: the consequence would be precisely those which you, social democrats, dread so much, and which I accordingly dread twice as much."

The effect which the appeals of the social democracy produce on the state apparatus, on the judges, the Reichswehr and the police cannot fail to be just the opposite to the one desired. The most "loyal" functionary, the most "neutral", the least bound to the social democracy can reason only thus: "Millions are behind the social democrats; enormous resources are in their hands: the press, the parliament, the municipalities; their own hides are at stake; in the struggle against the Fascists they are assured of the support

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Open Letter to the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R.

With inevitable delay I learn from *Pravda* of your decision of February 20, 1932, depriving me and the members of my family sharing with me expulsion, exile and work of the rights of Soviet citizenship and forbidding our entry to the U. S. S. R. Wherein my "counter-revolutionary" activity lies, the decision does not say. If we should discount the polemical rituals against "Trotskyism", there were cited in the Soviet press only two instances of my supposed activity which could have been characterized as counter-revolutionary—had they actually occurred.

Pravda of July 2, 1931, carried with corresponding commentaries, a photostatic reproduction of the first page of the Polish newspaper *Kurier Pozdenny* containing an article supposedly by me and directed against the Soviet Union. It is understood that none of you doubted for a moment that this article presents a forgery of a filthy sheet, well-known for its falsifications. The same newspaper shortly thereafter forged documents against Galician (Ukrainian) revolutionaries. Even the bourgeois press, such

as the *Manchester Guardian*, at that time characterized the *Kurier Pozdenny* as a newspaper which has already distinguished itself by the forgery of an article by Trotsky. I demanded from *Pravda* a factual denial. It did not appear. *Pravda* consciously deceived millions of workers, red soldiers, sailors and peasants, lending support under its own name to the forgery of Polish Fascists. One cannot but recall that the author of these "disclosures" in the *Pravda* was none other than Yaroslavsky, in these days one of the supreme guardians of party morality. If after that he has suffered somewhat, it was at any rate not due to the forgery, but rather to its incompleteness.

The second example of my "counter-revolutionary" activity, preceded your decision only by a few weeks. On January 16, 1932 the *Izvestia* of the C. E. C. carried a dispatch from Berlin to the effect that I call for the support of the Bruening Government, acting in agreement with the German social democracy, and in particular with Karl Kautsky and Alfred Adler (?), and that a visa

for entry into Germany is promised me for this. All this information, in which, of course, it is clear to you, there isn't a single word of truth, is taken from a Berlin reactionary, anti-Semitic sheet which one can hardly take into one's hands, let alone quote. Not one newspaper in Germany attributed any significance to these creative labors of the German Pourishkevitchs. Only *Izvestia*, a newspaper formally under yours, the Presidium's control, published this acknowledgedly false information, consciously deceiving by it millions of citizens of the Soviet Union.

Thus you did not consider it possible to adopt your decision before two of the most responsible papers of the Soviet Union—the central organ of the party and the official organ of the government—had deceived the people with the aid of forgeries fabricated by Polish and German Fascists. This is a fact which can neither be erased nor obliterated.

But even after such preparations you found it necessary, or it was suggested to you, that you carefully mask your decision. This extraordinary measure against me especially prepared by the latest anti-Trotskyist campaign—I do

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Germany after the Presidential Elections

BERLIN, March 1932

The parliamentary battle of March 13 is over. The results are astonishing. The election figures speak a clear language. 18,000,000 votes for Hindenburg, 11,333,000 for Hitler, 4,970,000 for Thaelmann and 2,560,000 for Duestenberg. The Field Marshall General almost attained victory on the shoulders of enormous sections of the working class. The Bruening dictatorship was able to secure a great victory. German Fascism was able to nearly double its number of votes against the Reichstag elections of 1930 (6,379,000), although the predicted victory of Hitler has not been realized. The number of votes received by Hugenberg's candidate—Duestenberg—is also relatively high. The increase in the vote for the Communist party is, on the other hand, astonishingly small, especially when we take into account the fact that participation in the elections was greater by 3,000,000 than in the Reichstag elections of 1930.

The results in some of the industrial districts are especially alarming for the proletariat. Thus, for instance, the party could not retain the 739,000 votes it received in Berlin in 1930, but had to contend itself with 685,000. On the other hand, the figure for the Hindenburg-Front rose from 1,170,000 to 1,307,000 and that of the Fascists from 896,000 to 665,000. In Berlin the party vote fell from 27.2 per cent to 23.6 per cent and the Nazi vote rose from 14.6 to 22.9 per cent, of the total number of ballots cast. Industrial regions like Halle, Duesseldorf, Essen, Dresden, Hamburg, Bochum brought losses for the party and in most cases, gains for the Fascists. In the workers' section of Wedding, the C. P. G. dropped from 99,000 to 90,000, while the Hindenburg-Front rose from 87,000 to 97,000 votes and the Nazis from 21,000 to 36,000. In the Landtag (provincial diet) elections of Neu-Strelitz, the party lost 2,000 votes previously 7,000, now 5,000) and the S. P. G. gained 1,400 votes.

The conditions preceding the elections were full of promise for an absolute growth of the Communist movement. The economic crisis has reached an unprecedentedly low level. It produces its effects

in the tremendously large unemployment figures (6,000,000) in the shutting down of factories, mass dismissals, bank crashes and export decline. The economic exploitation of the working class increases from day to day, wage cutting goes on unabated. Unemployment relief has almost reached the point of total suspension. Only a few pithy crumbs remain of all the social legislation. The political oppression of the working class has its expression in the rule of the Bruening dictatorship. Emergency decrees, one following on top of the other, are directed exclusively against the toiling masses. The right of assembly, the right to strike have been suspended. War is looming up as a reality. The general war danger is more immediate than ever before. Aside from the economic collapse of the capitalist system, aside from the economic and political reaction, there is the S. P. G. joining the front of the reactionaries, there is its support in the election of Field Marshall Hindenburg, against whom it fought in 1925 as the representative of monarchism and war. On the other hand there is the tremendous advantage for the Communists in the successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and in the fact that there is only one working class candidate nominated for the elections—Thaelmann. Despite these unbelievably favorable circumstances, the C. P. G. has not been able to make any progress.

Why was it possible for the S. P. G. leaders to convince overwhelming masses of workers of the necessity of the policy of the "lesser evil"? The S. P. G. leaders succeeded in restricting the question of the decisive struggle between Fascism and proletariat to the sphere of parliamentary contest. They could succeed in this only because the C. P. G. and along with it, the proletariat, is incapable of conducting an extra-parliamentary struggle. For the workers organized in the S. P. G. and the trade unions, it was not a matter of a choice in which they are faced with the prospect of a C. P. G. armed with a tremendous influence, prepared for an extra-parliamentary struggle, ready to defeat Fascism

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Hearst's Program and the Petty Bourgeoisie

The middle bourgeoisie is pressed between the two great contending classes of today, the capitalist and working classes. It is finding its position more precarious as the contradictions between socialized production and capitalist appropriation increase. The deepening crisis is causing them to move, and at present they are running around in circles. American capitalism is concentrating and centralizing the industrial and financial structure to a "higher" level. This squeezes the middle-class to a greater degree between the embryo battle formations of the capitalists and the workers.

One phase of the middle-class reaction to this development is expressed through the Hearst program. The Hearst papers advocate 15 points as their program for America. It clearly reflects the contradictions of the middle class and at the same time shows that the imperialist offensive pulls in its wake this chain of papers for its own ends. The few sugar-coated measures turn out to be walls which the reformers hope to erect between the Communist forces and the working class. The burden, in preventing the building of these walls, rests upon the Communist Party by means of a correct Marxian struggle for immediate demands as against a reformist policy.

Wants Cheap, Efficient Government

Four of the fifteen measures are advocated for the purpose of obtaining a more centralized, cheap, efficient Government. They call for proportional representation in the United States Senate which would give the middle class and small industrialist a better hand at fighting the monopolies and trusts. They advocate the abolition of the electoral college. They want to end the lame duck sessions so that the new president and congress can sit right after elections. They want the modification of the Volstead Act. These measures would centralize, cheapen and make more efficient the Government apparatus. Where on the one hand, the demand for proportional representation in Congress is intended to satisfy the big capitalists, the modification of the Volstead Act, on the other hand, is designed for the workers in order to catch their votes. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy and a large section of the workers are swept behind the middle class attempt to stem the tide by these measures.

The Middle Class Demands

One plank, "Honest friendship with all nations—outstanding alliances with none," is the worn-out attempt to pull the results of the productive forces of American capitalism back into the national boundaries. This plank is hopelessly reactionary and utopian. It can only stir up the nationalism of the exploiting rulers, playing upon the "patriotism" of the working class and middle class youth, and paying the way for a nationalism that develops into dangerous proportion as the crises deepen—dangerous against the working class.

The middle class is not so dumb that they do not see the effects of the crises and trend of imperialism against the workers. And, knowing that an aroused and class-conscious working class may tip over the boat and spill all the profits, they move certain measures as reforms. These reforms have the purpose of creating, instead of a class-conscious proletariat, a contented and docile, American working class. They propose such things as a thirteen month calendar, with all holidays falling on Saturday, and a five day week. But if all holidays fall on a Saturday it will cut from under the five day week. The middle class needs a docile class in order to reap profits in all their avenues of exploitation. They want a Secretary of Education, and Federal control of education. All in all, reforms from the top in order to head off the pressure of the workers from below. Far sighted middle class politicians see the writing on the wall that the blind Stalinists cannot see. The slogan for the Six Hour day and the Five Day week with no reduction of pay—a class slogan of first magnitude for immediate demands, that can be turned against the capitalist class and cement together a larger section of our own class—has been snatched up and exploited by the middle class reformers because the Stalinists don't understand the differences between a revolutionary struggle for immediate demands and a reformist utilization of them.

Jingoism Breaks Through

Three of the measures are outright jingoist planks, natural sequences of Hearst's past Mexican campaign and his present Japanese campaign. Hearst wants the French and English West Indies as part payments of debts. He

Minneapolis Attention

The Militant and Left Opposition literature can be procured at the following downtown newsstands:

Engelson News Co.
234 2nd Ave., S.

Oleiski's Newsstand
Washington at Hennepin

Shindler's Newsstand
Hennepin, at 6th St.

ATTENTION, MINNEAPOLIS SUBSCRIBERS!

All Minneapolis readers of *The Militant*, especially those whose subscriptions have expired, may expect a visit from one of our *Militant* builders team who are hot after subs and renewals. If your sub has not yet expired, they will supply you with the name and address of a needy worker who will benefit by a sub. Will you cooperate with our committee?

—CARL COWL, Secy.

wants the Nicaragua Canal to be started at once for commerce and defense. He wants the army, navy and aviation under a Secretary of National Defense. An unbroken bridge spans Pacifism, Jingoism and Imperialism. Each serves its purpose in a different way, but all for the same end.

A Dangerous Stalinist Slogan

In the workers ranks also opportunism makes strange bed-fellows. The Social Democratic leaders played their role in this evolution in 1914. In America where pacifism wants the United States to boycott Japan for her present acts in China, the Stalinists want us to expel the Japanese representatives in America. It is true the Stalinists have not travelled the road as far as the Social Democrats did in the last war, but it was just such a way that led the Social Democrats on the path to social-patriotism—by seeing the worst imperialist, not at home, but across the border. The Marxists fight against all imperialists but FIRST and at all times against "their own". It is our special and political task to unmask the treacherous and despicable role of American Imperialism in the Far East, in the League of Nations, in the disarmament conference and at home.

One measure of the Hearst program calls for a five billion federal loan for public works. This measure, as well as others, has enabled him to corral large numbers of workers. Hearst is against the Bankers' role in the form of the two billion dollar credit pool, and he is against a dole (social insurance) for the workers; but he wants a dole of five billion that would be divided among the exploiters with a goodly share going to the middle class and a few crumbs for the workers.

Anti-Working Class Program

The three remaining planks we have not yet spoken of are so clearly anti-working class measures that even the blind could recognize them. Hearst wants a federal tax and excise tax to replace the income tax. True, workers must keep their eyes on the point of production and not devote too much time to beating down the cost of living. They must keep their eyes on the relation of forces between the classes. But the capitalist class can use the lever of taxes and prices and currency manipulations to further worsen the workers' conditions. And at this stage, the sales tax, just like inflation, will take its toll among the workers.

Hearst wants selective immigration and deportation of "undesirable" aliens, etc. Yes, Hearst is longing for the "good old past", for the docile American born worker, who was satisfied with a "full dinner pail". The Hearst program only shows some of the many contradictions of the middle class. In resisting the encroachments of the big capitalists they make a gesture toward the workers. In fear of the militancy of the working class, they support the most reactionary measures. Between these two great classes, the workers and the capitalists, the middle class is fighting for its life.

The stronger the pressure from either side the greater the contradiction in their camp. The Hearst program is aiming both ways, but ends, as all centre forces must end—by helping the strongest forces in the struggle; and since capitalism and imperialism is at present on the offensive, the independent middle class action, in its own special way, works against the proletariat.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Second Month of Militant Drive

As we turn the corner to speed down the second third of the drive there begins to loom before us—June 1st—on which date the drive closes. And behind June 1st looms darkly the period of the summer recession. Against their inexorable approach we are able to record this week some progress over last week's report. The standing of new and renewed subs, and new bundle orders is as follows: New York—17; Minneapolis—5; Boston—4; Chicago—3; St. Louis—1; Newark—1; Philadelphia—1; Misc.—12. New bundle orders: Chicago—2; Newark—1.

The staff of *Militant* builders is now a little larger and reads as follows: A. Konikov—4; J. Carter—1; W. Curran—1; C. Cowl—1; Zalmanoff—1; L. Basky—1; R. Sacharow—1.

What our comrades and sympathizers must realize is the necessity, the absolute and sheer necessity, of building the circulation of *The Militant*. On Sept. 29, 1931 comrade Trotsky in sending greetings to El Soviet wrote, "The resolution does not wait. Woe to those that lag behind. With all my heart I wish you may not prove to be lagging behind." Great struggles are preparing in the U. S. The German situation is developing toward a decisive historical moment. In Spain further revolutionary struggles are inevitable. We must not, dare not lag behind.

We must strive with all our power to reach a wider and ever wider circle of Left wing and working class militants. We must penetrate with *The Militant* deeper into the party and its auxiliaries, into all working class organizations. The technique for doing this is worked out: literature premiums, combined subscription rates, special rates for bundle orders, a special 25c sub for eight issues, and free mass distributions postpaid to the distributor.

Now, in addition to these inducements we are able to offer a political inducement which in conjunction with the others should be decisive for subscriber and subscription getter alike. We refer to the series of extracts from comrade Trotsky's new work on Germany, *What Next?* appearing in *The Militant*.

Among the Drug Clerks

Is the leadership of the T. U. U. L., and especially, of the Medical Workers Union aware that a Drug Clerk's Union was recently organized under the guardianship of the A. F. of L. reactionaries, and is already counting close to 400 members in its ranks?

I read the *Daily Worker* every day, but I failed to "discover" in its news columns any mention of the existence of such an organization as the Drug Clerk's Union.

Was it printed in such infinitely small type that only a microscope of an appreciable magnifying power could detect its presence? Is it against the principles of Communist theory and practice to divulge news concerning reactionary and reformist trade unions? Or are these "leaders" so preoccupied with building socialism in one country, that such trifles are apt to escape their "vigilant eye"?

This "infantile disorder" of ignoring reactionary trade unions, which had afflicted German Communism in its infancy and against which Lenin had so vehemently fought, has since Lenin's death relapsed and appeared again in a different form, but pathologically identical. It has appeared in the form of "social Fascism" "united front from below only" and other consequential complications. These acute infantile disorders have, under the personal supervision of "Doc" Stalin, developed into a gangrenous sore permeating the blood stream of the fighting organ of the proletariat with the toxins of "social Fascism" and other related toxins and thus isolating it from the living body—the working masses.

It is obvious that a trade union policy flowing from such an attitude towards reactionary and reformist trade unions is fatal to the vanguard and the revolutionary movement; the terrible consequences of such a policy are being daily registered on the pages of the history of not only the American revolutionary movement but of that in all countries where Stalinists are in the leadership.

The medical workers union has, not long ago, made an attempt to organize the drug clerks. It failed. Has this fact ever been disclosed in the official party press? No. Why not?

Is not there anything at all for the revolutionary unions to learn from such an attempt?

The mere fact that the dreadful situation of the drug clerk and the chaotic condition in the pharmaceutical industry has never been analyzed and a program of action has never been discussed, in the party press, is sufficient evidence that the attempt at the organization of the drug clerks by the Medical Workers Union was unprepared, without a clear perspective and program. Hence its failure. This error is, of course, not new in the annals of the Stalinist leadership. From this point of view, one might excuse them for being silent—but what about the drug clerks who are driven by this error into the A. F. of L. camp where certain defeat awaits them?

Among other things the *Daily Worker* should throw open its columns for an all-sided discussion of the drug clerk problem. A program of action flowing from the actual conditions existing in the pharmaceutical industry and not from the heads of the leaders of the Medical Worker's Industrial Union to be worked out for the revolutionary drug clerks inside A. F. of L. drug clerk union.

—J. D.

At the present time there is a widespread and intense interest in the German situation. The eyes of the international working class are instinctively fixed on Germany to see what will be the outcome of the struggle there. In the fire of the class struggle the lines of Stalinism and the International Left Opposition are being weighed and tested.

Now before the decisive moment, we must forward more energetically the point of view of the Left Opposition. We must spread our press. Workers everywhere will read it. They want to know the truth about the German situation.

This series of extracts must be made the central inducement in a really intensive and sustained drive to get new subs, renewals, new bundle orders and make mass distributions. If every comrade and sympathizer will do his part we will bound forward.

We give here again the literature premiums: with each one year sub or renewal of \$2.00 a free copy of the *Permanent Revolution* by comrade Trotsky, or a free one year sub to *Young Spartacus*; with each half year sub or renewal of \$1.00 a free copy of the *Strategy of the World Revolution*, by comrade S. Trotsky; with each trial sub of thirteen issues for 50c a free copy of one of our 10c pamphlets.

MINNEAPOLIS STANDING

The rival *Militant* builders teams of Minneapolis (whom we will call Rangatangas vs. Ringtalls) have both held their secret meetings and outlined their plans of action. Both plans are suspiciously alike, and there is mutual recrimination about every scout getting reports, etc. The rules of the contest provide that subs for all Left Opposition organs count as points, the unit being the dollar. All subs, after being reported to the team captains, who keep a record, goes through the hands of comrade Coover, the branch treasurer. He counts and credits the points and sends them in.

At this writing, the standing of the teams is roughly: Team I: Dunn, captain—5 points; Team II: Curran, captain—7 points. This does not include two new newsstands secured by Team II.

On the Waterfront

It would be quite proper, though unnecessary, to attempt to describe or analyze the general conditions—unemployment, hunger and wage cuts—on New York's waterfront separately from those of other sections of the city or apart from conditions in other basic industries. But they are not much different from anywhere else, and when one reads in the leading article of the only revolutionary workers' paper on the waterfront, the *Marine Workers' Voice*, that the sailors and longshoremen are not suffering as much as their fellow workers in other basic industries, then surely one is inclined to take notice of it and to look around for evidence for such a statement.

The same Ray B. Hudson, who with other "delegates" to the Soviet Union last fall was repeatedly embarrassed by Russian workers with the question: "Who elected you?" and who upon further investigation was forced to admit that the "delegates" were not at all elected but rather "selected" (his own admission in the *Daily Worker* of March 26) has the nerve to step out and insult the seamen by saying that the American marine worker is exempt from general suffering and has not felt the crisis as acutely as the other workers! To quote him in the semi-yearly *Voice* (March-April issue): "... it is of importance to note that no general wage cut has been made in the marine industry. The marine workers have felt the effects of the crisis less than any workers in all the basic industries. Seamen, despite the great unemployment, are relatively better off."

It may be true that Hudson himself still carries some of the weight he said he piled on during his latest visit to the Soviet Union. And it is quite true that he has since held a soft job in the National Office of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, but how can that be taken as an indication of the prosperity of the seamen as a whole?

Before his departure for the Soviet Union, Hudson was made to run around the piers and docks as port organizer and he saw the conditions at a closer range. At that time he could not find words strong enough to depict the misery and starvation of the seamen. Now he accepts the chair left vacant by Mink, who is, by the way, taking his turn at "delegating" to the Soviet Union and despite the fact that the crisis has become deeper during the last year and the suffering more acute, the swivel chairs in the National Office have been replenished with new padding and the radiator has been put into condition.

But the unemployed seamen themselves know that they are not much better off than other workers, that the crisis has not diminished any since Hudson's return from the U. S. S. R. They know that wages have been cut generally and even more generally than had been expected. They know that graft and bribery in getting jobs are commonplace, that insults and exploitation in the Seamen's Church Institute and the company offices are just as sharp and as heavy as in the shore industries. They also know that the seaman has to wait in a long line before he can register at the office window—often all day, before he is given his flop ticket, that the distances from South Ferry to the "Muni", to the "Gold Dust" or to the Brooklyn "X" are still as hard to tramp with worn-out shoes and socks as ever. They also know that the seaman often has to spend the night in freight wagons and dark doorways, just as the jobless uptown. So why these misstatements, this "exceptionalism" for the seamen?

"The seamen are relatively better off than other workers". Are the officials of the M. W. I. U. waiting for things to become desperate before they make a real move to organize the waterfront proletariat?

Such a "watchful waiting" policy has been in evidence for many months. Despite the fact that an effort at organization is seemingly being made in the columns of the *Daily Worker* in the form of editorials and resolutions, the actual fact is that the Union has never shown less activity and has never been so disorganized as at the present moment.

Two years ago, when the first convention was held and the Union formed, a splendid start was made. A good basis was at hand. A real representative body of seamen was willing to sacrifice time and energy in building the Union, but it seems the party leadership did its best to keep it from making headway. Many splendid possibilities for the organization of the movement were thrown away. Everything of importance was left to "further consideration" and all kinds of results were promised by the incoming committees, but the ultra-mechanical control by the party leadership and the incompetency of its appointees on the National Committee have throttled the activities of the Union until it has become almost a wreck.

The leading element and the active membership in the Union have melted away like snow in the springtime. The policy of alienating and driving away new elements, promising militants, has been going on in full force. The party and the appointed officials in the Union are afraid and suspicious of any new members who show leadership qualities and gain support from the membership. Such members are soon "disciplined" to remote parts of the U. S. A. For quite a long time local secretary Johannesen was functioning as the driving force on the waterfront. He visited incoming ships and spoke regularly at the open air meetings and Union Square demonstrations, everybody liked his straight forwardness before the membership and his fearlessness in dealing with appointed function-

aries. Suddenly he was transferred to Duluth, to take charge of the paper local there, but the party had a hard time to get the New York membership to agree to the transfer.

Only recently Karl Koster was unexpectedly sent to Boston after he had won the real support and cooperation of all the rank and file members of the Union. He had just broken all records in individual efforts of personally lining up more new members aboard the various ships in New York harbor, for the Union than any one else. A short while after his arrival, the hall in Boston was closed by the authorities. According to reports, Koster, unable to get permission to return to the New York local, has been forced to panhandle in the streets of Boston. H. Harvey, the National Organizer, has turned miner, and the last we heard of him was that he was in jail in Pineville, Kentucky for union activities.

So the Union is leaderless and for that matter, also memberless. The defense corps around the stove or the element that takes care of the large kitten family in the hall are hardly able to act even as speakers at open forums or as chairmen at membership meetings, let alone cope with real organizational work.

All this, at a time when the party has opened up new headquarters for its waterfront section. So far, it has reacted to the new instructions from the R. I. L. U. to build up the union only by sending delegates to the various conferences, more delegates to the First of May celebration in Moscow and still more delegates to the World Union Congress in Hamburg on May 20.

The Union will start functioning again only when the party bureaucrats are driven to the wall, when the party returns to the Leninist line, when inner-party democracy is reestablished. This alone will breathe the breath of life into the Marine Workers Industrial Union again and enable it to gather around the nucleus, the leading element of proletarian fighters who have been expelled or otherwise kept away from the movement. Then the conditions of existence themselves will drive the Marine Workers to unity and aggressive action.

At present, the marine workers should see to it that their rights as members of the revolutionary working class and of the revolutionary union are fully respected. Only by a freedom of criticism which makes possible a collective working out of our common problems, can the marine workers be brought into the line of march of their class, toward the conquest of power over capitalism.

—P. S.

N.Y. Auto Workers

No other industry has suffered as much from the economic depression as has the automobile industry, with its over 50 per cent of unemployment. The automobile manufacturers have taken full advantage of the situation and have cut the wages of the auto workers to the lowest level in the history of automobile production.

No organized effort has been made to resist the terrible exploitation of the automobile workers. The A. F. of L. has time and again passed resolutions to organize this field, but it remains unorganized. The only exception is New York City, where a small local is still struggling along.

On March 1st the automobile bosses in New York notified the union that the men must accept a 40 per cent wage cut or no contract would be signed. More than half the members of the union were out of work and there was no money in the treasury, but the men unanimously turned down the proposition and declared themselves ready for a struggle. A committee was elected to serve notice on the auto body manufacturers and was given full power to act.

When the committee met with the bosses it announced that the union would not accept the cut and that it was ready to fight it out. This had an immediate effect on the employers, and they agreed to talk the matter over, with a view to a compromise. After several days of bargaining a 20 percent wage cut was arrived at. Faced with agreeing to this or accepting open shop conditions, the committee felt compelled to accept and at last a two-year contract was signed by both parties.

Although the 20 percent cut was a setback for the union, it was an unavoidable compromise, remembering the 40 per cent cut that was first demanded, and the unsuccessful attempt of the manufacturers to destroy the union. It was the militancy of the union men that prevented the destruction of their organization. As matters now stand, there is still a nucleus for building up an auto workers' union that may some day be a power in the industry and not have to submit to compromises.

GADFLY

Resolution of the N.Y. Carpenters' Union

We have received the following resolution for publication. Further information is to follow:

WHEREAS—The negotiations for the coming agreement between the New York District Council of Carpenters and the employers are now taking place, and such an agreement must be in the interests of the carpenters, and

WHEREAS—The application of machinery and technical skill in the building industry in general and the woodworking industry in particular has for the past years permanently and disastrously reduced the necessary man-power, thereby necessitating a sharp reduction of working hours, and

WHEREAS—As a result of the application of such modern devices and also as a result of the present economic crisis thousands of men and women have been thrown out of work, and unemployment among the carpenters has reduced them to the point of actual starvation, and WHEREAS—As a result of the present improper control of jobs by the Union our trade became so demoralized that the carpenters are suffering from such evils as overtime work that is detrimental to the interests of the members, the present system of stewards that has proven to be a failure, the present practice of hiring and firing which is conducted in a discriminatory way so that a selected few are steadily employed, leaving the rest of the men destitute and with no consideration as to the misery they have to face, and

WHEREAS—The above evils can be eliminated only by having a proper and centralized control of the jobs in the form of an Employment Bureau that controls the hiring of men and carries out the rotation of jobs, and that the proper control can be had only if a system of shop and job committees is established, and

WHEREAS—Because of these miserable conditions thousands who are unable to pay their dues are dropping out of the organization and immediate relief must be given to them to prevent a total disintegration of the Union, therefore be it RESOLVED—That we, the membership of Carpenters' Local Union No. 2090, U. B. of C. & J. of A., assembled in special meeting on February 18, 1932, at 247 E. 84th Street, New York City, hereby go on record for the following:

Proposals for an Agreement With the Employers

1. Six-hour, five day week on the basis of \$1.65 per hour.
2. Hiring of men to be done through the Union Employment Bureau.
3. Recognition of the shop or job committee as the representative of the Union.
4. Firing to be done only with the approval of said committee.
5. No man shall work more than six hours a day.
 - (a) On overtime no man shall work more than 3 hours, which equals one day's pay.
 - (b) The above two points to apply unless no more men are available in the Employment Bureau.
6. All overtime to be paid double.
7. Only union woodwork to be handled by union men.
8. A guarantee bond to be deposited by the employers to insure compliance with the agreement.

Organizational and Relief Demands

1. Rotation of jobs.
2. In order to enforce the rotation of jobs, the Union shall establish an Employment Bureau for the whole district, the Bureau to be composed of rank and file committees elected from the locals.
3. Said Bureau to have a system of registration of all the members.
4. No man shall be permitted to work more hours than constitutes the union work-day.
5. On overtime no man shall be allowed to work more than half of the specified number of hours that constitutes the work-day, which equals a union day's pay.
6. Abolition of the right of the boss or foreman to hire and fire.
7. In order to fight the present speed-up system and other evils in the shops and on the jobs, shop and job committees to be elected instead of the present system of stewards appointed by the business-agents.
8. Firing to be done only with the consent of the shop or job committee, which shall be under the supervision of the Employment Bureau.
9. A one-year term for District Council Officers and Business Agents.
10. Referendum vote on agreements, election of District Council Officers, and District Council By-Laws and trade rules.
11. All officers and functionaries of our Union to be subjected to recall by a majority vote of the members.
12. Amalgamation of those small locals that cannot keep up themselves, and the reduction of the salaries of the officers to the union scale of wages of the carpenters in order to effect savings in expenses.
13. All unemployed members to be exempt from paying of dues, and the locals to be exempt from paying the per-capita taxes for their unemployed members.
14. To demand Federal Unemployment Insurance, and be it further

RESOLVED—That in case the employers do not accept the above proposals for the agreement, a strike shall be declared, and be it further

RESOLVED—That a copy of this resolution be sent to the District Council demanding immediate adoption and enforcement of same, and be it further

RESOLVED—That the above program be spread in all the locals in the District for their consideration and endorsement.

IN HONOR OF M. WINCHEWSKY

From workers of Minneapolis, we have received the following resolution in honor of the deceased Jewish poet, Morris Winchewsky. The resolution (addressed to Mrs. Morris Winchewsky and family) reads:

"We, the assembled in the Labor Lyceum at an open forum Sunday, March 20th, representing the I. W. O., the Independent Workmen's Circle, the Workmen's Circle express the deepest sympathy for the loss of your beloved husband, friend and fighter for the revolutionary struggle, Morris Winchewsky, and we pledge to continue his fight in the future.

(Signed by the Committee)

S. ZALMANOFF
M. KATES FINNK

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

For Communist Unity

An Open Letter of the Spanish Left Opposition

(Continued from last issue)

The revolutionary working class cannot do without this indispensable weapon in the revolution—the Communist party. The congress which has been called must be made a congress of the unification and organization of all the forces of Spanish Communism and not the bureaucratic force that the national and international leaders intend to make of it. In the light of events, it has been proved that the policy proposed by the Opposition is the only one capable of leading the party to victory. All sincere Communists will consider the unification of all the forces of Spanish Communism and the readmission of all the comrades expelled for their opposition views into the unified party, a prerequisite for any further action on part of the party. Such a unification can only take place through the convocation of a congress on the basis of a democratic discussion of all the problems regarding the labor movement and the Spanish revolution and on the basis of the submission of the minority to the majority and will thereby lay the ground for a mass Communist party which will be able to cope with the tasks imposed by the situation. The historic needs of the present hour demand this imperiously. In this sense, the Communist Left Opposition will not fail in its duty. It is confident that the Spanish Communist workers will be convinced that there are no more devoted friends for the party than the members of the Left Opposition. Furthermore, the Opposition has not retracted and will not retract its determined effort to cooperate in the forefront ranks, in the reconstruction of the party and in the application of a correct and coherent policy.

The meet that is to be held at Sevilla, is called a congress of the masses. It would be much more appropriate to call it a congress of the bureaucrats. Despite the deftness with which the stage

is being set for this meet, despite the participation of so-called non-party workers' delegations, the congress will remain for every conscientious militant a bureaucratic farce that will only impede real revolutionary criticism. After more than five years of the dictatorship of the Bullejos-Trilla clique, a national congress is being prepared in less than twenty days. This in itself is a sufficiently eloquent fact. What the congress needs is the genuine participation of all those elements who during each stage of the Spanish revolution have pointed out to the party the correct slogans to be employed. These elements are precisely those who constitute the Communist Left Opposition, that is to say, the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists", against whom the grave diggers of Spanish Communism are at present directing their batteries. There can be no genuine reorganization of the party except on the basis of a unification. The reorganization on the basis of the bureaucrats, without any real internal democracy, cannot in any way solve the urgent problems that come up each day before the Spanish proletariat. What is required is the readmission and the regroupment of all Communists, members of the party or comrades expelled for their views.

There are innumerable reasons why we cannot have any confidence in the good intentions of the International and the Spanish party in respect to the correction of the political mistakes and the internal regime prevailing at the present moment. But, it is especially interesting that within this document (of the C. I.) the greatest tolerance is shown toward the "organization of sympathizers", the Workers and Peasants Bloc, the most confusionist and dangerous tendency in the Spanish labor movement, while the most fanatical intransigence is manifested toward the Left Opposition, which is the only one to point out with precision the policy to be pursued, and which has denounced the democratic and petty bourgeois character of the Maurin faction. Nevertheless, the Opposition is ready to give its determined aid to the conscious and sincere militants active in the party, in the work of completing the reconstruction of a genuine party which will be up to the level of its tasks.

As a concession to the unrest stirred up in the ranks, the International, in agreement with the Spanish leadership, has conceived the "Open Letter", which is based on quite correct, but incomplete criticisms. But it is not too much to expect both leaderships to do all in their power to make a dead letter of this document, although this will only disrupt the course of the Spanish revolution. It is the duty of all revolutionary workers who have not been contaminated by the bureaucratic virus to coordinate all their activities with the view of carrying out the turn in practice, with all its consequences, in spite of the national and international leaderships. It is necessary to open up immediately a broad discussion all over the party organizations. But this discussion will not have any actual effect if it does not allow for the active participation of all the members of the Left Opposition, who were the first ones to indicate the mistakes and to explain what the correct policy was, that had to be pursued. The Opposition demands to be heard by all the Spanish Communists and to be allowed to work together with them in the elaboration of our common tasks, to take part in the preparation of the congress of unification and reorganization. Every congress that will take place without the participation of the Left Opposition will be a pure maneuver of a bureaucratic character and will only prove that the leadership of the party fears more than anything to have to face the points of view of the Opposition before the great tribunal of the Communist proletariat.

Communists!

Fight in your units, in your sections, for a party congress that will be a real congress of the unification of the forces of Spanish Communism and not a congress of intrigues which passes one-hundred-percent unanimous resolutions.

Demand that all comrades expelled from the party for differences of opinion, be readmitted into the party and permitted to participate in the preliminary work.

Demand that no irresponsible bureaucrat or adventurer be allowed to speak in your units of "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" without extending an invitation to the Oppositionists to present our point of view.

Fight to have the party congress called only by a committee composed of the representatives of all the tendencies in the Spanish Communist movement.

Do not allow the expulsions that are being prepared behind your backs by the leaders to be carried out before the congress.

We are among the first founders of the party, we have gone through all the persecutions with it and we have the right to be heard before we are condemned.

Long live the Unification and Reorganization Congress of the Spanish Communist Party!

Long live the Unified Mass Communist Party of Spain!

—The Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Left Opposition.

Trotsky's Open Letter to the C. E. C. of the U. S. S. R.

(Continued from page 1)

not remember which one it is, in the numerical order, you were forced to transform into a decree, directed supposedly against thirty-seven persons, including out of members of my family, over 30 people who were dragged in exclusively for the purpose of political masking. You included in this list leaders of Menshevism expelled from the Soviet Union with my direct participation over ten years ago. Apparently it seemed to Stalin that this was a masterly move. In actuality the yellow threads stick out only too obviously. Pretending that only in 1932 it became clear to you just what kind of work Dan and Abramovitch do, you place the Presidium of the C. E. C. in a very uncomfortable position. You yourself cannot help realizing this, but also in this question you are forced to submit to the Stalinist bureaucracy which works ever more rudely, not troubling about the dignity of the highest organs of the Soviet power.

It is too repulsive for me to dwell on other traits and marks of Stalin's fabricated list: In the intentional interchange of names for the purposes of additional "effect" it represents a document of the same moral level as the two above-mentioned forgeries which served as preparations for it.

A Thermidorian Trick

You can connect the Left Opposition with Menshevism only in the order of a police alphabet. In the political order, your Centrism stands between the Left Opposition and Menshevism. No artifices will change that. The decision of February 20 represents a finished amalgam in the Thermidorian style. Centrism, oscillating between Marxism and national reformism, is forced—it cannot be otherwise—to combine and amalgamate its petty bourgeois enemies from the Right and its revolutionary opponents from the Left, in order to cover up by means of such an amalgam, its own emptiness. I wish to remind you that the first advice concerning the expulsion of the Left Oppositionists from the country, was given in print to Stalin by none other than Ustrialov. Your decision will go down in history with the Thermidorian stigma.

Stalin will tell you that it is not a question of "isolated" facts but that the decision is based on the whole counter-revolutionary activity of myself and of my family, in general, which needs no proofs. If this is so why was it necessary to resort to false documents and to introduce elements of an unworthy masquerade into the decision itself? He cannot wriggle out of this. The fact that after nine years of uninterrupted battling—do not forget that the beginning of the struggle against "Trotskyism" coincided with the death of Lenin—you had to resort to borrowings from the filthy sheets of Polish and German chauvinism in order to pass this exceptional law against me and my family to hide under an amalgam—this fact alone discloses and strips bare to the bone the impotence of all the campaigns against "Trotskyism" and irreparably compromises your last creative act.

An Expression of Impotence

From the point of view of personal revenge—and this element as you well know, enters into all of Stalin's combinations—the decree completely failed to reach its aim. This time Stalin thrust himself out too far from behind the stage and carelessly revealed his real political and moral size. If he forced you to issue—not without timid resistance, I know—this unworthy decree of ostracism, it was only because the profound correctness of the Left Opposition was revealed on all questions without exception, domestic as well as international, on which we waged a struggle all these years. The seemingly aggressive gesture of Stalin is impotent and even pitiful self-defence.

The Opposition fought against the Stalinist faction for industrialization, for planning, for higher tempos of economy, against the stake on the kulak, for collectivization. From the year 1923 on, the Opposition demanded the preparation of a five year plan and itself indicated its basic elements. All the economic successes of the Soviet Union were theoretically and partially organizationally, prepared by the Left Opposition. Your president Kalinin, who supported Stalin from the Right against the Left Opposition, knows more about it than any one else. Yet, in April 1927, Stalin, in the struggle against me, with the support of Molotov, Kalinin, Voroshilov and others, declared that "we need the Dnieprostroys as a mujik needs a phonograph." In this formula is contained a whole historic philosophy. For the struggle against it and for its defeat, Rakovsky is chained down to Barnaul, hundreds and thousands of unbending revolutionaries fill the places of detention and exile, several Bolshevik-Leninists—are shot.

(To be continued)

—L. TROTSKY.

Dance and Entertainment

for the benefit of the Imprisoned Marine Workers—Soderberg,

Trajer and Bunker

Now on Trial

Saturday evening, April 9th

at 84 East 10th Street

Auspices: Communist League of America

(Opposition) New York Branch

New Tendencies in French Politics

World Crisis Reveals Long Latent Contradictions Between Social Classes

Paris, March 9, 1932.

The parliamentary elections are approaching. They are especially important, as they will take place in a period in which the equilibrium established at Versailles is about to topple over, in which a decisive solution is imminent in Germany, in which French imperialism stands at a turning point of its development. When the crisis had already been raging in a good many other countries, France still appeared to be spared from it. The bourgeois press attributed this to the ancient "French virtues" of order, harmony, etc. The socialists followed in its footsteps. A disenchantment became necessary shortly afterwards. With a somewhat different rhythm and with a different amplitude, the crisis spread out over France.

But, many of the causes which made possible the great resistance to the crisis will tomorrow become the causes of a tremendous aggravation of the situation. In the first place, there is the existence of quite large intermediate classes, despite the fact that the war made France a highly industrialized nation. These intermediate classes—the peasantry in particular—formed an important domestic market. The tariff walls, rising like in England; the efforts of other nations, like Germany, to develop their own agriculture; the fall in prices have considerably diminished the resistance of the domestic market. On the other hand, the intermediate classes, their eyes turned to their prosperous past, constitute a curbing factor. French industry, which works for the export trade, having certain advantages in the period of "prosperity" through the low wages, has not pushed rationalization as far as Germany has. Thus, with the general decline, French industry is not in a very advantageous position to preserve its place in the world market. The colonial empire, though it is important, does not by far offer any resources similar to

those of the British empire. Finally, the reserves of one of the greatest French industries, the tourist industry, which has declined enormously despite the existence of the Colonial Expedition, are no doubt going to diminish even more in the future, depriving French capitalism of millions of francs.

The defeat of Germany and the achievements of the Versailles Treaty gave France a political importance internationally, entirely out of proportion with its economic strength. The crisis is revealing this contradiction more and more every day, and the French bourgeoisie, so proud of its stability in the past, is uneasily expecting dark days in the future. That is, in part, the reason for its desperate struggle for the maintenance of the Versailles Treaty, which is a diplomatic instrument of its past supremacy, as well as for the preservation of its military strength. On the other hand, it is redoubling its offensive against wages and it intends, by inflation or by some other modification of its financial system, to increase its exploitation of the laboring masses and to expropriate the intermediate classes.

These are as yet only its intentions, for the elections have not taken place. Serving as a sort of barometer, they permit us to judge with more or less precision, the realignments of the classes, the general orientation of the toiling masses and of the proletariat in view of the situation. In so far as they present a factor in the class struggle, they should permit the Communist party, with a correct analysis of the existing tendencies and with correct perspectives, to employ a tactic which will hasten the development of the masses in the direction of the Communist solution. There is already, indisputably, a trend toward the Left. At present it is being exploited by the Radical and the socialist parties in a broad campaign "for peace, for disarmament" and touches those masses who are disquieted by the Laval-Tardieu policy that is "isolating" France from the rest of the world and who are anxious to cast off the heavy burden of taxes imposed upon them by the expenses of the monstrous military apparatus of French imperialism. Just to what degree this leftward trend will be transformed into ballots, depends largely upon the events of the movement. The result of the presidential elections in Germany will play its part in one sense or another. But the fact remains that in any case, the leftward trend of the masses will clash with the imperious needs of the French bourgeoisie. This opens up perspectives for great class struggles. The "left" parties and the socialist party will be unable to keep their promises to the proletariat and the intermediate classes. But only to that degree to which the Communist party will be able to reach the hesitating masses and gain their attention, find a bridge to them, will their development take the revolutionary road when the bankruptcy of the other parties will become manifest in the eyes of all. If this does not take place, they will be derailed and used as a mass support for the maneuvers of the worst brand of reaction, of Fascism itself.

The Seventh Convention of the C. P. F.

Where is the party in this situation? What is its orientation? The Seventh Convention of the French party is going to take place in a few days, after a lapse of three years since the last convention. It will be devoted to the policy of the "third period". The balance of this policy is completely negative: loss of membership, loss of influence, deep-going disorganization. Several months ago, on the occasion of a turn, the leadership admitted all this quite unambiguously in documents, of which *The Militant* has published important extracts. Now, at the time of the convention, nothing of the sort is allowed. This time, it is necessary to "shut their mouths". One huge thesis is the only document presented by the leadership for pre-convention discussion. The entire activity of the past period is skimmed over in less than twenty lines. "Self-criticism" is reduced to its most barren expression. As a perspective for the future, nothing is offered that is not contained in the last general theses of the C. I. A few scanty phrases are devoted to Germany, the word "Fascism" does not even get any mention in them. Discussion has been as restricted as possible. The press has published a few resolutions of approval and several articles by leaders . . . against the comrades in the sections who dared to think on their own hook. Articles have appeared in *L'Humanité* in which party members are denounced as enemies. In order to remain within the Stalinist line, the French party bureaucrats are shouting about the "Trotskyist" danger, accusing everyone who opposes them as a "Trotskyist". A real campaign of terror was inaugurated in the Parisian region, where discontent is particularly great and where whole sections are hostile to the leadership, although no clearly different policy has been put forward. The leadership published the names of the more daring comrades in the press. It demanded publicly that only members approving the party policy without any reservations be elected as delegates. Expulsions are being prepared.

The convention will constitute a victory for the apparatus and a defeat for the party in which the crisis can only

continue to develop. The policy that has been pursued, is that of the C. I. It has turned its back to the united front, it is opposed to trade union unity. In the question of the elections, the vanguard of the working class is divided under the cover of the formula "class against class", by maintaining systematically the party's candidate on the second ballot even if that is to the advantage of the candidate of the reactionary parties as against the candidate of the socialist party. This so-called tactic of "class against class" repels the socialist workers, strengthens their parliamentary illusions and serves the reformist apparatus of the bourgeoisie. The continuation of this policy—another can hardly be expected from the convention—will only keep on accumulating defeat after defeat.

Progress for the Left Opposition

Nevertheless, there are some germs of regeneration in this situation. We have mentioned above the discontent in the Parisian region of the party. The criticism expressed has often been confused, narrow, but in most cases it was not a reflection of opportunist tendencies, but of healthy proletarian sentiments. For the first time in years, non-oppositionist militants have pushed their criticisms as far as the leadership of the C. I. Thus, one unit speaks against the "policy of Stalin"; other comrades speak of the "responsibility of the C. I." Some comrades refuse to vote against the "Trotskyists" as counter-revolutionists in Sections 3 and 15 of the Parisian region; in Section 4, others declare that "it is not sufficient to tell us that they are counter-revolutionists. It must be proven first." We only cite a few facts among many which the party press itself is publishing.

But all these are only transitory manifestations, very feeble and very unstable ones. But a great unrest is taking place in the party. These are voted on, but no one takes any stock in them. A great deal of attention is being paid to what is said about the party, especially to what the Opposition has to say. In the meetings that we hold in various places, in the party meetings in which we participate, we find an entirely different atmosphere from that of last year. There are still many fanatics, of course. But, the majority of those attending wants to listen; they follow our words attentively, party members take part in heated discussions with us. We have been able to extend our contacts, to establish contacts with many party members and to gain sympathizers. In the provinces, we have also made contacts and our influence has grown considerably.

The Ligue Communiste (Left Opposition) has not, unfortunately, as yet been able to transform this gain of influence in an organizational way. We are suffering first of all, from a shortcoming that the French party itself has been afflicted with: the extremely weak conceptions of organizational forms. Then, there are our internal difficulties: we have not as yet benefited from a test of great struggles, so as to be able to distinguish between the various tendencies in the organization. These are the obstacles in the way of an active crystallization of the germs of regeneration within the party. The Ligue is at work, striving to overcome these obstacles.

—PIERRE FRANK.

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Fifty Years of Israel Amter

The hard life of the revolutionist is not without its compensations. The fret and travail of the struggle and the gray details of daily work are relieved from time to time by ceremonial affairs and jubilees at which, in contemplation of great men and great events of the past, the militant may refresh his soul and renew his inspiration. The anniversaries of the illustrious dead have been such occasions. But nowadays, with so many heroes still among us in the flesh, the birthdays of our living chiefs become occasions for official celebration. Not long ago the masses were invited to felicitate Stalin on his fiftieth birthday. And now, according to the reports in the *Daily Worker*, Israel Amter is about to reach the half century mark, and a great outpouring of spontaneous enthusiasm is to be given outlet at an official "mass celebration" of his birthday.

It is needless to say that we welcome this event, for we were converted long ago to the doctrine of "flowers for the living"—that is, if one feels flowery about them. And who could feel otherwise about Amter, who has done so much and isn't finished yet? It is probable that we will not get to the celebration. But anyway we will weave a garland of encomiums in the hope that it will not be entirely buried under the floral offerings.

The ceremonial articles and official greetings which have been printed so far review his life and deeds. We will follow the same pattern. And if we fill in some neglected details, it can be attributed to the fact that we write under less constraint than the others and therefore can speak more freely and sincerely.

One hero began his career as a piano player, and they say he was a good one. But the tunes he extracted from that classic instrument were nothing to the rhythms he produced when he began to play didoes with the Communist movement. Like the jazz composers in the musical field, he specialized in the bizarre and the unique. His self-expression, through the medium of the revolutionary movement, took a distinctively individualistic form. In all that he said and did he was strictly Amter, and nobody else.

Amter made his debut on the national stage of the Party at the first undrained attention by his fearless and untraced attention by his fearless and uncompromising demands for the propaganda of "armed insurrection", to be promoted by leaflets hurled into the midst of the masses from ambush. Soon after he appears, or rather one of his leaflets appears, in the strike of the Brooklyn Transit workers for a wage increase of 5c an hour. With that mastery of the dialectic which already distinguished him, he "linked up" this "everyday demand" of the unsuspecting street car men, with the final goal of their struggle, and called on them to rise, arms in hand, and capture the power-house.

Failing in this maneuver, because of the unreadiness of the workers, and the fact that the "third period" has not yet arrived, Amter made a slight strategical retreat; but only for the purpose of gathering strength for another leap. Keeping his plans to himself, he took the capitalist forces by surprise with a sudden leaflet in the Spring of 1921 entitled "May Day of Revolution". Due to a hitch somewhere, this leaflet didn't overthrow the class regime, but it did overthrow the Central Committee of the Party at a convention a few weeks later. All the members of the C. E. C. swore they had had nothing to do with the leaflet and knew nothing about it, but this did not save them. Amter's propaganda had set a movement in motion that could not be appeased without some sacrifices, and the heads even of the innocent had to fall.

Amter next appeared as one of the co-authors of the famous "Ford-Dubner" thesis, and leader of the "goose caucus". In this thesis our hero, disguised from his enemies by the pseudonym of Ford, advanced the idea that the illegal existence of the Party was a matter of principle, and that the advocacy of a legal organization in itself a sign of counter-revolution—a subject in which he later specialized and took several degrees. In this affair Amter suffered a temporary setback, due to the Trotskyist influence then prevailing in the Comintern. His thesis was rejected, the movement was legalized, and Amter, defeated but not terrified, went into a temporary eclipse.

It was at this stage in his career that he began to display that remarkable adaptability that enabled him to keep alive politically in any weather. Unlike the illegal "leftists" who kept muttering about armed insurrection after the season had passed, Amter got in step with the times. The Farmer-Labor period had arrived, the Pepper-Lovestone group of leaders came to the front and took the place of the wild men of the "goose caucus". Amter was one of those who saw the light. He not only joined

the Lovestone faction but became vociferous about it. For several years, right up to the day that the Comintern telegram against Lovestone arrived, Amter was a Lovestoneite in all things great and small.

But even after these years of habituation to the Lovestone formulae and the Lovestone politics he did not become rigid and doctrinaire about it. He retained his flexibility, and finally gave an exhibition of it that will always stand in the history of the party as an example for people who want to know how to change their opinions and change them quick. This was on the day the C. I. cablegram against Lovestone came. He awoke on that fateful morning as loyal and as red-hot a Lovestoneite as you could find with a search warrant. And went through a few morning chores of cursing Fosterites in a routine fashion. At twelve o'clock he received a copy of the telegram to the effect that Lovestone was no longer "kosher". One hour later he was hunting for Lovestoneites to expel from the Party, and was as thick with Foster as one liberty bond with another.

A man with such a political biography could not be denied recognition. He has a fitting place in the top circle of the hierarchy. His fiftieth birthday is a public event and deserves a public demonstration of some kind. We disagree with the official plans only on one point. Why should it be a "mass celebration"? Why not a mass trial?

Impressions of a National Tour

The tour just completed, which carried the writer through the most important industrial cities in the United States and the two most important centers in Canada allowed for some first hand observations regarding the effects of the deep crisis in Canadian as well as American capitalism. It enables one to draw beyond the confines of New York City, and to see the movement in those industrial centers where the American proletariat dominates—in those sections where the existence of the revolutionary movement is imperative, for the future.

That which strikes one immediately is the extent of the economic crisis, its terrific sweep over the nerve-centers of the country, carrying in its wake misery for the masses. Miles of sidings are occupied by huge numbers of idle freight cars; small industrial towns with factories are silent. Smokeless chimneys! The largest cities have few factories at work. Thousands upon thousands of unemployed workers make up a weary trek. There is hunger while warehouses are filled with food. The vast numbers of jobless proletarians are not confined to any one town, or state. They are everywhere. Discussions with many workers from various sections of the country exhibit their state of bewilderment. They do not yet comprehend the causes of the vicious crisis. But they are aware that there is something seriously wrong with the character of the system.

There are few movements of the workers. Aside from the attempts of the Communists no movements of struggle exist. Those struggles taking place are under the leadership of the Communist Party. The movements of the unemployed workers are organized by them. But they are still very weak and in many cases ineffectual. Through the policies of the Party these movements have become narrow. They are sectarian and thereby isolated. The tactic of the United Front, the best weapon through which to rally scores of workers is cast aside by the Party and is one of the main reasons for their failure to make greater headway. The Unemployed Councils organized by the Party are choked by the heavy arms of bureaucracy and impede their growth. Yet it is significant that the Communists alone have the courage and will to organize the workers in defense of their interests and in a struggle against capitalism. This is apparent everywhere.

Certainly there are attempts of the reformists to counter the activity of the Party. This is to be expected. Whenever and wherever the Communists are active the reformists rise as a wall to prevent their growth and to canalize these movements. Father Cox arose to check the activity of the Communist Party among the unemployed workers. Similar movements exist in other towns. The Socialist Party is conspicuous in the west by its inactivity, more so, by its reformist preachings and aims.

In the face of impending struggles the bourgeoisie is preparing itself. The revolutionary workers must note keenly the developments in Canada. There, the answer of the government to the growing moods of struggle among the workers, as a result of the deep crisis, is shown in the resurrection of the infamous Article 98 of the Criminal Code. It was through this law that six members of the Central Committee of the Canadian Communist Party were arrested and sentenced to long jail terms. We arrived in Canada immediately after the sentence was confirmed and the comrades sent to Kingston. In the Province of Ontario the revolutionary movement is already underground. The aim of the Canadian government is to nationalize the drive against the Communists. Repressions are taking place in the other provinces. A virtual reign of terror exists. Our own meetings were organized illegally. The clause under which the Party leaders were sentenced was written with the aim of preventing the slightest kind of activity. It prevents public meetings, hall owners from renting

TAG DAY FOR MARINE DEFENSE

The Marine Workers' Defense Committee is organizing a Tag Day collection to provide funds for the legal defense of the three New York marine workers now on trial. The collection will take place on Saturday, April 9 and 10. All organizations cooperating in the Marine Defense Committee are called on to provide collectors. The Communist League, Spartacus Youth Club members must turn out in force, according to the decisions of these organizations. All members report to comrade H. Stone at Militant Headquarters for station assignments.

APRIL "Young Spartacus" OUT!

The April issue of *Young Spartacus* which is now out on sale, has a number of very interesting articles of particular interest to the youth as well as to adult workers. The character of the present issue is such that its wide distribution among the ranks of Communists and radical youth would be very valuable. Readers of the *Militant* should order bundles of the *Young Spartacus* and distribute or sell them.

The table of contents of the current issue is as follows:

Auto Workers Murdered
Results of German Elections
Trotsky Deprived of Citizenship by Stalin
Students Barred from Kentucky
Capitalism and Child Labor
Students Organize National Movement
Scotsboro Boys Condemned to Death

ing their property for meetings under the threat of arrest and revocation of license. The publication of revolutionary literature barring literature from the mails (The Freiheit, Party literature, Opposition literature is barred from entry). Those receiving literature are liable to arrest. Anyone arrested on a single one of the charges in this article is guilty until proven innocent. Civil employees are instructed to assume the role of spies and to open any suspicious packages and to forthwith inform the authorities. The American Party which has thus far remained more or less silent about the developments in the Canadian movement must take cognizance of them immediately and understand their significance. It is necessary for our Canadian movement to organize itself with the aim of circumventing the drive against it.

The massacre at Detroit and the planned drive against the Communists there; the attack against the Party in Chicago accompanied by frame-up charges of shooting policemen are beginnings of a definite attempt by the government to bring repressions to bear upon the Communists and the workers generally. Already these events have had deep repercussions among the other workers who are repelled by the brutality of Ford's gunmen.

The Left Opposition is gaining greater support. Our meetings had a larger attendance than previously. There is a definite increase of sympathy and support for our movement. In spite of the efforts of the Party bureaucrats to prevent successful meetings they proved more or less ineffectual. (The meetings will be discussed concretely in a forthcoming article). The workers felt keenly our viewpoint on the German situation, and the discussions at our meetings were of a particularly high level. In many cities, the presence of Party members, and of sympathizers with its line, helped to enliven the meetings through their participation in the discussions. Each meeting brought forth new viewpoints and questions. They helped all the more in clarifying our viewpoint on all questions confronting the International Communist Movement.

There was an obvious increase of interest in our press. This must be said particularly of *Unser Kampf*. It has created a deep impression on wide sections of the Jewish workers. References were made to recent articles in the *Freiheit* articles of so low a character that they could be written only by people who have received their political training on the staff of the *Jewish Daily Forward*. The Jewish workers are particularly incensed with the degenerated babble about the "counter-revolutionary Trotsky".

On the whole we can record a wider influence of the Left Opposition. We must strive in the coming year to increase our organizational strength to correspond to our political influence. There is still too wide a discrepancy between the two.

What is outstanding in the whole situation? The lack of organization of the American workers. The Communist Party is still very small. The great mass of workers are unorganized. But the effects of this crisis are resulting in deep changes in the whole character of the American proletariat. Changes are taking place in their whole ideology. These changes, to be sure, are slow. But they are genuine. The great mass of unemployed workers are still in a dazed state. The workers with jobs are in fear of losing them. The absolute faith in unending prosperity is shattered by the crisis. United States capitalism reveals itself to be no more immune to crises than other capitalist countries. This will create possibilities for great work by the Communist forces. It is necessary to understand this development so that our movement can be prepared for the future.

—AL GLOTZER.

WHAT NEXT? -- by Leon Trotsky

Chapter 1: The Role of the German Social Democracy

(Continued from page 1)

of the Communists; and even so these mighty gentlemen beg me a functionary, to save them from the attack of another party comprising millions whose leaders may become my bosses tomorrow; things must be pretty bad for the gentlemen of the social democracy, pretty bad for the gentlemen of the social democracy, functionary, to think about my own hide." And as a result, the "loyal", "neutral" functionary who vacillated yesterday, re-insures himself without fail, i. e., ties up with the National Socialists, to safeguard his own future. In this manner the reformists who have outlived their own day, work for the Fascists along bureaucratic lines.

The social democracy, the hanger-on of the bourgeoisie, is doomed to wretched ideological parasitism. One moment it catches up ideas of bourgeois economists, and the next, it tries to utilize bits of Marxism. After citing from my pamphlet the reasons against the participation of the Communist party in Hitler's referendum, Hilferding concludes: "Truly, there is nothing to add to these lines in order to explain the tactics of the social democracy as regards the Bruening government." Remmele and Thalheimer step forward, "Please take note, Hilferding relies on Trotsky." A Fascist yellow sheet steps forward in turn, "Trotsky is paid for this job by the promise of a visa." Next a Stalinist journalist comes to the fore and wires the communication of a Fascist paper to Moscow. The editorial board of the "Izvestia", which includes the unfortunate Radek, prints the telegram. This chain deserves only to be mentioned and passed by.

Let us return to more serious questions. If Hitler can afford himself the luxury of fighting against Bruening, it is only because the bourgeois régime as a whole leans for its support on the back of that half of the working class which is led by Hilferding and Company. If the social democracy had not put through its policy of class betrayal, then Hitler, not to mention the fact that he would have never attained his present power, would have been clutching at Bruening's government as a life saving anchor. If the Communists together with the social democracy had overthrown Bruening, that would have been a fact of the greatest political significance. The consequence, in any case, would have risen over the heads of the leaders of the social democracy. Hilferding attempts to find justification for his betrayal in our criticism, which demands that the Communists take Hilferding's betrayal into account as an accomplished fact.

Although Hilferding has "nothing to add" to Trotsky's words, he nevertheless does add something: The correlation of forces, he says, is such that even in the event of the united action of social democratic and Communist workers, there would be no possibility "by forcing the fight, to overthrow the enemy and to seize power." In this remark, glossed over in passing without any evidence, lies the very crux of the question. According to Hilferding in Germany today, where the proletariat composes the majority of the population and the deciding productive force of society, the united front of the social democracy and the Communist party could not place the power in the hands of the proletariat! When is the precise moment, then, that the power can pass into the hands of the proletariat? Prior to the war there was the perspective of the automatic growth of capitalism, of the growth of the proletariat, and of the equal growth of the social democracy. This process was cut short by the war, and no power in the world will restore it. The decay of capitalism means that the question of power must be decided on the basis of the now existing productive forces. By prolonging the agony of the capitalist régime, the social democracy leads only to the further decline of economic culture, to the disorganization of the proletariat, to social gangrene. No other perspectives lie ahead; tomorrow will be worse than today; the day after tomorrow worse than tomorrow. But the leaders of the social democracy no longer dare to look into the future. There are all the vices of the ruling class doomed to destruction; they are light-minded, their will is paralyzed, they are given to flubbing over events and hoping for miracles. Come to think of it, Tarnow's economic researches fulfill now the same function as did once the consoling revelations of a Rasputin. . . .

The social democrats together with the Communists would not be able to seize power. There he stands, the snobbish, educated, (gebildet) petty bourgeois, an utter coward, soaked from head to foot with distrust and contempt for the masses. The social democracy and the Communist party together hold about 40 per cent of the votes, despite the fact that the betrayals of the social democracy and the mistakes of the C. P. drive millions into the camp of indifference and even National Socialism. Once a fact, the joint action of these two parties alone, by opening before the masses new perspectives, would immeasurably increase the strength of the proletariat. But let us limit ourselves to 40 per cent. Has Bruening perhaps more, or Hitler? But there are only these three groups that can rule Germany: the proletariat, the center party or the Fascists. But a notion is firmly implanted in the heads of the educated petty bourgeois: for the representatives of capital to rule, 20 per cent of the votes suffice, because the bourgeoisie, you see, has the banks, the trusts, the syndicates, the railroads. True, our educated petty bourgeois made ready to "socialize" all these twelve years ago. But enough is too much! A program of socialization—yes; the expropriation of the expropriators—no, that is already Bolshevism.

We have taken the correlation of forces in their parliamentary cross section. But that's a trick mirror. In parliamentary representation the strength of an oppressed class is way below its actual strength and contrariwise: the representation of the bourgeoisie even the day before its downfall will still be a masquerade of its supposed strength. Only revolutionary

struggle tears away all the covers from the actual relation of forces. During a direct and immediate struggle for power, the proletariat, unless paralyzed by sabotage from within, by Austro-Marxism and by all other forms of betrayal, develops a force immeasurably superior to its parliamentary expression. Let us recall once again the invaluable lessons of history. Even after the Bolsheviks had seized power, and firmly seized it, they had less than one third of the votes in the Constituent Assembly; together with the Left S. R.'s—less than 40 per cent. Yet despite a fearful economic collapse, despite the war, despite the betrayal of the European, and first of all of the German, social democracy, despite the post-war reaction of weariness, despite the growth of Thermidorian tendencies, the first workers' government stands on its feet fourteen years. And what can be said of Germany? At the moment the social democratic worker together with the Communist arises to seize power, the task will be nine-tenths completed.

Nevertheless, says Hilferding, had the social democracy voted against Bruening's government and thereby overthrown it, the consequence would have been the coming of the Fascists to power. That is the way, perhaps, the matter may appear on a parliamentary plane; but the matter itself does not rest on a parliamentary plane. The social democracy could refuse to support Bruening only in the event that it decided to enter upon the road of revolutionary struggle. Either support Bruening, or fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. No third course is given. The social democracy, by voting against Bruening, would change at once the correlation of forces—not on the parliamentary chess board, whose chess-pieces might surprisingly enough be found underneath the table—but on the arena of the revolutionary struggle of the classes. After such an about-face, the forces of the working class would increase not twofold but tenfold, for in the class struggle, the moral factor holds by no means the last place, particularly during great historical upheavals. Under the impact of this moral force, the masses of the people, one stratum after another, would be charged to the point of highest intensity. The proletariat would say to itself with assurance, that it alone was called to give a different and a higher direction to the life of this great nation. Disintegration and decomposition in Hitler's army would set in before the decisive battles. Battles of course could not be avoided; but with a firm resolution to fight to victory, by attacking boldly, victory might be achieved infinitely more easily than the most extreme revolutionary optimist now imagines.

Only a trifle is lacking for this: the about-face of the social democracy, its taking the road of revolution. To hope for a voluntary shift on the part of the leaders after the experiences of 1914-1922 would be the most ludicrous of all illusions. But the majority of social democratic workers—that is something else again; they can make the turn, and they will make it—it is only necessary to help them. And this turn will be not only against the bourgeois government, but against the upper layers of their own party.

At this point, our Austro-Marxist, who has "nothing to add" to our words, will try once more to bring against us citations from our own books: didn't we write point blank that the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy represent a chain of errors; didn't we stigmatize the participation of the Communist party in the Hitler referendum? We did write, we did stigmatize. But we wage battle with the Stalinist leadership in the Comintern precisely because it is incapable of breaking up the social democracy, of tearing the masses from under its influence, of freeing the locomotive of history from its rusty chain-brake. By its convulsions, its mistakes, its bureaucratic ultimatum, the Stalinist bureaucracy preserves the social democracy, permits it again and again to regain its foothold.

The Communist party is a proletarian, anti-bourgeois party, even if erroneously. The social democracy, though composed of workers, is entirely a bourgeois party, which under "normal conditions" is led quite expertly from the point of view of bourgeois aims, but which is good for nothing at all under the conditions of a social crisis. The leaders of the social democracy are themselves forced to recognize, though unwillingly, the bourgeois character of the party. Referring to the crisis and the unemployment situation, Tarnow mouths moth-eaten phrases about the "disgrace of capitalist civilization", quite in the manner of a protestant minister preaching on the sinfulness of wealth; referring to socialism, Tarnow talks after the manner of this same minister when the latter preaches about rewards beyond the grave; but when it comes to concrete questions, he assumes another tone: "If on September 14th, this spectre (unemployment) had not hovered over the ballot box, this day would have been written differently into the pages of German history. (Report at the Leipzig Congress)." The social democracy lost votes and seats because capitalism, on account of the crisis, had revealed its authentic visage. The crisis did not strengthen the party of "socialism", on the contrary, it weakened it, just as it depressed the trade turn-over, the resources of banks, the self-assurance of Hoover and Ford, the profits of the Prince of Monaco, etc. Today, one is obliged to look, not in bourgeois papers, but in social democratic press for the most optimistic evaluations of the conjuncture. Can more undebatable proofs of the bourgeois character of this party be produced? If the atrophy of capitalism produces the atrophy of the social democracy, then the approaching death of capitalism cannot but denote the early death of the social democracy. The party that leans upon the workers but serves the bourgeoisie, in the period of the greatest sharpening of the class struggle, cannot but sense the smells wafted from the waiting grave.

—L. TROTSKY.

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