WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

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Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME V, NO. 14 [WHOLE NO. 110]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1932

PRICE 5 CENTS

sions No. 1 before Judge Allen. With B. U., nor of the defendants. 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 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 e 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" thought "unions were no good".

The next witness, named Murphy, "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. the hold, although on cross-examination he admited that he had inspected the boat on the previous day found water in the hold on that occasion. This wit- may change, the police remains. ness 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

cross examination of Scarr, of the U.S. moon, and that a shadow cast by a person standing in front of the moon, as it was established the man whom Schimbe hard to recognize.

John Hickey, the manager of the O'-Boyle Transportation Company, who has been one of the leading fighters against edness 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, "The police", he said, "should know to the German proletariat. about them." He had never been heard of the I. T. B. U. before.

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 bizzare explanations of the witness on never been known as a spendthrift, got my family sharing with me expulsion, guished itself by the forgery of an artithe defendants were arraigned. Hoyle, citizenship and forbidding our entry to a factual denial. It did not appear. he said, asked him for a quarter for the U.S.S.R. Wherein my "counter- Pravda consciously deceived millions of cigaretes. But big-hearted Hickey open- revolutionary" activity lies, the decision ed his pocketbook and handed him a bill, with the remark—so he said— polemical rituals against "Trotskyism", name to the forgery of Polish Fascists. "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 head- taining an article supposedly by me and quarters. Leonard knew, he said, that directed against the Soviet Union. It is the defendants were union men but understood that none of you doubted for uary 16, 1932 the Izvestia of the C. E. C. "didn't know anything about the Tide- a moment that this article presents a water Boatmen's union or any other union on the water front."

Further ignorance of any connection of unionism with the prosecution was against Galician (Ukranian) revolution- and in particular with Karl Kautsky exhibited by detective Boile, who said aries. Even the bourgeois press, such and Alfred Adler (?), and that a visa

The trial of the three marine work- he examined Hoyle "in a little room" at ers, which was interrupted for a week the police station and "got a statement on account of the illness of Assistant from him." Boile knew nothing what-District Attorney Capazolli, was resumed ever about unions on the water front, he Monday in the court of General Ses-said, and had never heard of the I. T.

> 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

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE **WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT** TODAY

> Lecture by ARNE SWABECK

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# Scottsboro Verdict Must Be Smashed

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 N. A. A. C. P. sabotagers, 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 Commun-

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.

bons to dispatch the boys with all pos- stands nothing. The I. L. D. must apsible expedition was clearly revealed by peal to all working class organizations the arrangements made for and conduct regardless of political tendency for a of the trial. It was held on fair day to prove this and to give the lie to the in a court house surrounded by a lynch for the Scottsboro boys. Concretely, at mob, held in check by promises from the the present stage. This should take the militia that verdicts of guilty would be form of conferences, to work out sysspeedily 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 Cour 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 robed 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 stand exposed before their own rank of McKinley. It is true, they argue, that and file, for what they are. In this way in the Scottsboro case, no one was as- they can be made to reveal their true sassinated (they intend to accomplish nature as misleaders who live on the say, " 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 and the C. P. in their hands do not see

The verdict of the Supreme Court speaks the intention of the capitalist fronts from "below". At the time of this class to make a significant example of writing (Tuesday) they have not made The politicians of reformism, these dexterous wire- these boys; to warn the super-exploited, omic and social equality, and dare to

To this class verdict the working class pensable for the overthrow of capital-

The class verdict must be answered by a class fight.

For this the I. L. D. and C. P. must tion They must go to the masses with lous mobilization of the masses, will not the proposal to unite on this one issue. avail. The comrades in the party should The logic of the situation leads with add their voices to that of the Left Opirresistible force to the tactic of the position for the policy of a fighting uniunited front of working class organiza- ted front.

The intention of the Southern bour- tions. Who refuses to see this underunited front on the one issue of the fight tematic 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 excep-

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 brethen of all shades and hues refuse to enter such a united front, they will . . . we are of the opinion that case the Communists have nothing to lose, everything to gain.

> Unfortunately the Centrist opportunists who have the leadership of the I. L. D. this, do not understand anything. They are still obstinately playing with united any move to build a united working class

They have limited themselves to a call

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. 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 jurdical 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

# WHAT NEXT? -- by Leon Trotsky Chapter 1: The Role of the German Social Democracy

powerful social democratic trade unions with impotent water was entering. He also claimed 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 bridle 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 rev-He also said there was some water in olutionary workers than with Nazi students. Such training does not fail to leave its effects. And above all: every policeman knows that though governments

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 The testimony of Shimmel, the dollar appears, can never come into power against the police a day here who had positively identified and the Reichswehr. Now, according to the con-Bunker, was further discredited by the stitution, the Reichswehr is under the command of the Weather Burean, New York District. As president of the Republic. Therefore Fascism, it fol-Scarr testified that at 2 A. M. on the lows, is not dangerous so long as a president faithful day in question, there was a waning 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 mel "identified" as Bunker stood, would 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\* the union in the harbor, gave a touching A mass party, leading millions (toward socialism!) display of innocence and of disinterest-, 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 but admitted that he paid less than the have not labored in vain. Great revolutionary thinkers and union scale. He didn't know anything fighters did not journey over this earth without leaving their about the unions on the water front. mark. E. H. exists, stays on his job, and points the way

Evil tongues would have it that E. H. is closely related to E. Heilmann, who so besmirched himself during the war This man, who gets a salary of \$4500 by the most sordid kind of chauvinism. Impossible! What, such a lucid head . . . . ?

The "iron front" is essentially a bloc of numerically 1 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 this en masse on May 13th); but, they division of the working class. In either 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.

> pullers, artful intriguers and careerists, expert par-suppressed Negro masses of a similar movement. They have issued no call for liamentary and ministerial machinators are no sooner and social an thrown out of their habitual sphere by the course of struggle for it. It is the familiar answer for a demonstration on April 6th. By events; no sooner are they placed face to face with of the capitalist class to all working all means let us have the demonstration. momentous contingencies than they reveal themselves class protest the frame-up. The ver- But also let us begin to build the workto be—there is no milder expression for it—inept dict is a class verdict. The case is a ing class movement without delay. boobs.

> To rely upon a president is only to rely upon "the must reply by a united, fighting, mass government'. Faced with the impending clash be- movement. The working class must close tween the proletariat and the Fascist petty bourgeoisie its ranks. It must say to the capitalist tween the proletariat and the Fascist petty bourgeoisie class that it will not permit nine of its —two camps which together comprise the crushing members to be electrocuted. Through majority of the German nation—these Marxists from this case the white and black masses the "Vorwarts" yelp for the night watchman to come must begin to achieve the unity indisto 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 break through the shell of their isola- fulmination in the press, without a serabove 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 Reichstag elections of 1930 (6,379,000), 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 (Continued on page 4)

#### Germany after the Presidential Elections

BERLIN, March 1932

is over. The results are astonishing. The of factories, mass dismissals, bank crashelection figures speak a clear language. 18,600,000 votes for Hindenburg, 11,333,-000 for Hitler, 4,970,000 for Thaelmann and 2,560,000 for Duesterberg. The Field unabated. Unemployment relief has al-Marshall General almost attained victory most reached the point of total suspenon the shoulders of enormous sections of sion. Only a few pithy crumbs remain the working class. The Bruening dicta- of all the social legislation. The politorship was able to secure a great vic- tical oppression of the working class tory. German Fascism was able to nearly double its number of votes against the Bruening dictatorship. Emergency dealthough the predicted victory of Hitler are directed exclusively against the toil-Duesterberg—is also relatively high. The increase in the vote for the Communist party is, on the other hand, astonishaccount 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 in the court room. Hickey, who has 1932, depriving me and the members of a newspaper which has already distina fit of magnanimity on the day that exile and work, of the rights of Soviet, cle by Trotsky. I demanded from Pravda paper in Germany attributed any signifiburg-Front rose from 1,170,000 to 1,307,man Pourishkevitches. Only Izvestia, a 000 and that of the Fascists from 396,000 workers, red soldiers, sailors and peal newspaper formally under yours, the to 665,000. In Berlin the party vote fell from 27,2 per cent to 23.6 per cent and knowledgedly false information, consci- the Nazi vote rose from 14.6 to 22.9 per Thus you did not consider it possible dorf, Essen, Dresden, Hamburg, Bochto adopt your decision before two of the um brought losses for the party and in party morality. If after that he has suf- most responsible papers of the Soviet most cases, gains for the Fascists. In of the decisive struggle between Fascfered somewhat, it was at any rate not Union—the central organ of the party the workers' section of Wedding, the C. ism and proletariat to the sphere of parand the official organ of the government P. G. dropped from 99,000 to 90,000, while liamentary contest. They could succeed had deceived the people with the aid the Hindenburg-Front rose from 87,000 in this only because the C. P. G. and of forgeries fabricated by Polish and Ger- to 97,000 votes and the Nazis from 21,000 along with it, the proletariat, is incapdiet) elections of Neu-Strelitz, the party

> 5,000) and the S. P. G. gained 1,400 votes. entedly low level. It produces its effects

in the tremendously large unemployment The parliamentary battle of March 13 figures (6,0000,000) in the shutting down es and export decline. The economic exploitation of the working class increases from day to day, wage cutting goes on has its expression in the rule of the crees, one following on top of the other, has not been realized. The number of ing masses. The right of assembly, the votes received by Hugenberg's candidate 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 colingly small, especially when we take into lapse 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. cent, of the total number of ballots cast. leaders to convince overwhelming masses Industrial regions like Halle, Duessel- of workers of the necessity of the policy of the "lesser evil"? The S. P. G. leaders succeeded in restricting the question man Fascists. This is a fact which can to 36,000. In the Landtag (provincial able of conducting an extra-parliamentary struggle. For the workers organized lost 2,000 votes previously 7,000, now in the S. P. G. and the trade unions, it was not a matter of a choice in which The conditions preceding the elections they are faced with the prospect of a were full of promise for an absolute C. P. G. armed with a tremendous influgrowth of the Communist movement. The ence, prepared for an extra-parliamenteconomic crisis has reached an unpreced- ary struggle, ready to defeat Fascism

(Continued on page 3)

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

With inevitable delay I learn from as the Manchester Guardian, at that time Pravda of your decision of February 20, characterized the Kurrier Podzenny as Berlin reactionary, anti-Semitic sheet there were cited in the Soviet press tivity which could have been characteractually occurred.

Pravda of July 2, 1931, carried with corresponding commentaries, a photostatic reproduction of the first page of the Polish newspaper Kurrier Pozdenny conforgery of a filthy sheet, well-known for its falsifications. The same newspaper Bruening Government, acting in agreeshortly thereafter forged documents ment with the German social democracq, against me especially prepared by the

does not say. If we should discount the sants, lending support under its own Presidium's control, published this ac-One cannot but recall that the author of only two instances of my supposed ac- these "disclosures" in the Pravda was none other than Yaroslavsky, in these ized as counter-revolutioary—had they days one of the supreme guardians of due to the forgery, but rather to its in-

completeness. The second example of my "counterrevolutionary" activity, preceded your decision only by a few weeks. On Jancarried a dispatch from Berlin to the effect that I call for the support of the

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 cance to these creative labors of the Gerously deceiving by it millions of citizens of the Soviet Union.

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 latest anti-Trotskyist campaign—I (Continued on page 3)

### Hearst's Program and the Petty Bourgeoisie

today, the capitalist and working classes. production and capitalist appropriation them to move, and at present they are same end. 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 capiatlists 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 sugarcoated measures turn out to be walls! which the reformers hope to erect beworking class. The burden, in preventing the building of these walls, rests American Imperialism in the Far East upon the Communist Party by means of in the League of Nations, in the disarma a correct Marxian struggle for immediate demands as against a reformist pol-

#### 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 cen tralize, 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 to beating down the cost of living. They other hand, is designed for the workers in order to catch their votes. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy and a large section capitalist class can use the lever of taxes of the workers are swept behind the and prices and currency manipulations middle class attempt to stem the tide by these measures.

#### The Middle Class Demands

One plank, "Honest friendship with all nations-entangling 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 deepensdangerous 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 proletariat, a contented and docile, American working class. They propose such action, in its own special way, works out for the revolutionary drug clerks things as a thirteen month calendar, with against the proletariat. all holidays falling on Saturday, and a five day week. But if all holidays fall on aSturday 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 Fedcapitalist class and cement together a larger section of our own class-has been snatched up and exploited by the middle New bundle orders: Chicago-2; Newark where will read it. They want to know class reformers because the Stalinites don't understand the differences between demands and a reformist utilization of

### 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 In-

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Shindler's Newsstand

Hennepin, at 6th St.

#### ATTENTION, MINNEAPOLIS SUBSCRIBERS!

Will you cooperate with our committee? Trotsky's new work on Germany, What

The middle bourgeoisie is pressed bet- wants the Nicaragua Canal to be started ween the two great contending classes of at once for commerce and defense. He wants the army, navy and aviation under It is finding its position more precarious a Secretary of National Defense. An unus the contradictions between socialized broken bridge spans Pacifism. Jingoism and Imperialism. Each serves its purincrease. The deepening crisis is causing pose in a different way, but all for the

### 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 io expel the Japanese representatives in America. I is true the Stalinites 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 tween the Communist forces and the our special and political task to unmask the treacherous and despicable role of

> ment 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 dole 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 antiworking 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 must keep their eyes on the relation of forces between the classes. But the 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 of creating, instead of a class-conscious ism and imperialism is at present on the offensive, the independent middle class

-HUGO OEHLER.

# LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

### Among the Drug Clerks

Is the leadership of the T. U. U. L., 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 such an organization as the Drug Clerk's

Was it printed in such infinitely small type that only a microscope of an apits presence? Is it against the principles of Communist theory and practice to around for evidence for such a statement. divulge news concerning reactionary and reformist trade unions? Or are these 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 revolu tionary movement; the terrible conse quences 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 atempt 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 situa tion 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 what about the drug clerks who are sided discussion of the drug clerk pro-

### On the Waterfront

' It would be quite proper, though unand especially, of the Medical Workers necessary, to attempt to describe or an-Union aware that a Drug Clerk's Union alyze the general conditions—unemploywas recently organized under the guard ment, hunger and wage cuts—on New ianship of the A. F. of L. reactionaries, 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 columns any mention of the existence of leading article of the only revolutionary Marine Workers' Voice, that the sailors preciable magnifying power could detect basic industries, then surely one is inclined to take notice of it and to look

other "delegates" to the Soviet Union "leaders" so preoccupied with building last fall was depeatedly embarassed by jail in Pineville, Kentucky for union 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 seamer 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 dustries. 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 unity and aggressive action. 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 be come 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 N.Y. Auto Workers than other workers, that the crisis has not diminished any since Hudson's renew in the annals of the Stalinist lead- turn from the U.S.S.R. They know ership. From this point of view, one that wages have been cut generally and might excuse them for being silent—but even more generally than had been expected. They know that graft and bribdriven by this error into the A. F. of L. ery in getting jobs are commonplace, camp where certain defeat awaits them? | that insults and exploitation in the Sea-Among other things the Daily Worker men's Church Institute and the company should throw open its columns for an all- offices are just as sharp and as heavy as in the shore industries. They also blem. A program of action flowing from know that the seaman has to wait in a the actual conditions existing in the long line before he can register at the forces in the struggle; and since capital- pharmaceutical industry and not from office window-often all day, before he the heads of the leaders of the Medical is given his flop ticket, that the distances Worker's Industrial Union to be worked from South Ferry to the "Muni", to "Gold Dust" or to the Brooklyn "Y 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 door-

> alism" 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 pro-

> 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 dis-

organized 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 still a nucleus for building up an auto 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 be come almost a wreck.

The leading element and the active membership in the Union have melted N.Y. Carpenters' Union 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 ings and Union Square demonstrations.

to get the New York membership to agree

to the transfer. Only recently Karl Koster was unex-The same Ray B. Hudson, who with ganizer, has turned miner, and the last they have to face, and 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 pay their dues are dropping out of the opened up new headquarters for its organization and immediate relief must waterfront section. So far, it has reacted to the new instructions from the integration of the Union, therefore be it R. I. L. U. to build up the union only the marine industry. The marine work- by sending delegates to the various con- of Carpenters' Local Union No. 2000, U. ers have felt the effects of the crisis less ferences, more delegates to the First of than any workers in all the basic in- May celebration in Moscow and still meeting on February 18, 1932, at 247 E. more delegates to the World Units 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 proletar ian fighters who have been expelled or otherwise kept away from the movement Then the conditions of existence them selves will drive the Marine Workers to

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 work ing 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.

No other indutsry 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

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 ways, just as the jobless uptown. So than half the members of the union were why these mistatements, this "exception 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 commitee 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 workers' union that may some day be a manding immediate adoption and enforcepower in the industry and not have to submit to compromises.

GADFLY

# Resolution of the

We have received the tollowing 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 20th, representing the I. W. O., the Inan agreement must be in the interests of the carpenters, and

WHEREAS-The application of machinery and technical skill in the building band, friend and fighter for the revoluindustry in general and the woodworking tionary struggle, Morris Winchewsky, and spoke regularly at the open air meet- industry in particular has for the past and we pledge to continue his fight in the vears permanently and disastrously re- future. everybody liked his straight forwardness duced the necessary man-power, thereby before the membership and his fearless- necessitating a sharp reduction of workness in dealing with appointed function- ing hours, and

aries. Suddenly he was transferred to WHEREAS—As a result of the applica-Duluth, to take charge of the paper local tion of such modern devices and also as there, but the party had a hard time 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 pectedly sent to Boston after he had won to the point of actual starvation, and the real support and cooperation of all WHEREAS—As a result of the present the rank and file members of the Union improper control of jobs by the Union He had just broken all records in in- our trade became so demoralized that dividual efforts of personally lining up the carpenters are suffering from such more new members aboard the various evils as overtime work that is detrimentships in New York harbor, for the Union al to the incrests of the members, the workers' paper on the waterfront, the than any one else. A short while after present system of stewards that has his arrival, the hall in Boston was closed proven to be a failure, the present pracand longshoremen are not suffering as i by the authorities. According to reports, tice of hiring and firing which is conductmuch as their fellow workers in other Koster, unable to get permission to reled in a discriminatory way so that a turn to the New York local, has been delected few are steadily employed, leavforced to panhandle in the streets of ing the rest of the men destitute and Boston, H. Harvey, the National Or- with no consideration as to the misery

we heard of him was that he was in 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 be given to them to prevent a total dis-RESOLVED-That we, the membership B. of C. & J. of A., assembled in special 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.
- 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.
- 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. All overtime to be paid double.
- 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.

### **Orangizational 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 Bu. au 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 speedup 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 the 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 dement 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 dependent Workmen's Circle, the Workmen's Circle express the deepest sympathy for the loss of your beloved hus-

(Signed by the Committee) S. ZALMANOFF M KATES FINNK

dies as part payments of debts. He 

### Minneapolis Attention

Engelson News Co.

Oleisky's Newsstand

Washington at Hennepin

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 others should be decisive for subscriber At this writing, the standing of the teams you with the name and address of a and subscription getter alike. We refer

-CARL COWL, Secy. | Next? appearing in The Militant.

Second Month of Militant Drive As we turn the corner to speed down At the present time there is a wide-

inside A. F. of L. drug clerk union.

eral control of education. All in .all, the second third of the drive there be- spread and intense interest in the Gerreforms from the top in order to head gins to loom before us-June 1st-on off the pressure of the workers from be which date the drive closes. And behind national working class are instinctively low. Far sighted middle class politicians June 1st looms darkly the period of the fixed on Germany to see what will be see the writing on the wall that the summer recession. Against their inex the outcome of the struggle there. In blind Stalinites cannot see. The slogan orable approach we are able to record the fire of the class struggle the lines for the Six Hour day and the Five Day this week some progress over last week's of Stalinism and the International Left week with no reduction of pay-a class report. The standing of new and re- Opposition are being weighed and tested. slogan of first magnitude for immediate newed subs, and new bundle orders is as demands, that can be turned against the follows: New York—17; Minneapolis—5; must forward more energetically the Boston-4; Chicago-3; St. Louis-1; point of view of the Left Opposition. We

The staff of Militant builders is now a revolutionary struggle for immediate a little larger and reads as follows: A. the central inducement in a really inten-Konikov-4; J. Carter-1; W. Curran-| sive and sustained drive to get new 1; C. Cowl—1; Zalmanoff—1;—L. Basky subs, renewals, new bundle orders and

-1; R. Sacharow-1.

behind.

must realize is the necessity, the abso- we will bound forward. lute and sheer necessity, of building the circulation of The Militant. On Sept. 29, miums: with each one year sub or re-1931 comrade Trotsky in sending greet- newal of \$2.00 a free copy of the Pergings to El Soviet wrote, "The resolution | manent Revolution by comrade Trotsky, does not wait. Woe to those that lag or a free one year sub to Young Sparbehind. With all my heart I wish you tacus; with each half year sub or renewmay not prove to be lagging behind." al of \$1.00 a free copy of the Strategy Great struggles are preparing in the U. of the World Revolution. by comrade toward a decisive historical moment. In issues for 50c a free copy of one of our Spain further revolutionary struggles are 10c pamphlets. inevitable. We must not, dare not lag

We must strive with all our power to technique for doing this is worked out: literature premiums, combined subscripders, a special 25c sub for eight issues, the distributor.

Now: in addition to these inducements

we are able to offer a political induce-

man situation. The eyes of the inter-

MINNEAPOLIS' STANDING

reach a wider and ever wider circle of | Minneapolis (whom we will call Ranga-

is roughly: Team I: Dunn, captain-5 needy worker who will benefit by a sub. to the series of extracts from comrade points; Team II: Curran, captain-7 points. This does not include two new newstands secured by Team II.

Now before the decisive moment, we Newark-1; Philadelphia-1; Misc.-12; must spread our press. Workers every-

the truth about the German situation This series of extracts must be made make mass distributions. If every com-What our comrades and sympathizers rade and sympathizer will do his part

We give here again the literature pre-The German situation is developing Trotsky; with each trial sub of thirteen

The rival Militant builders teams of

Left wing and working class militants. I tangs vs. Ringtails) have both held their We must penetrate with The Militant secret meetings and outlined their plans deeper into the party and its auxiliaries, of action. Both plans are suspiciously into all working class organizations. The alike, and there is mutual recrimination about every scout getting reports, etc. The rules of the contest provide that tion, rates, special rates for bundle or subs for all Left Opposition organs count as points, the unit being the dollar. All and free mass distributions postpaid to 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 ment which in conjunction with the points and sends them in.

# 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)

in the revolution-the Communist party. for every conscientious militant a bur-The congress which has been called must eaucratic farce that will only impede and organization of all the forces of than five years of the dictatorship of the Spanish Communism and not the bureau- Bullejos-Trilla clique, a national concratic farce that the national and inter- gress is being prepared in less than national leaders intend to make of it. twenty days. This in itself is a suffi-In the light of events, it has been proved ciently eloquent fact. What the congress that the policy proposed by the Opposi needs is the genuine participation of all tion is the only one capable of leading those elements who during each stage of the party to victory. All sincere Comthe readmission of all the comrades ex-l-those who constitute the Communist Left unified party, a prerequisite for any revolutionary Trotskyists", against whom further action on part of the party. Such the grave diggers of Spanish Communism a unification can only take place through are at present directing their batteries. the convocation of a congress on the There can be no genuine reorganization basis of a democratic discussion of all of the party except on the basis of a the problems regarding the labor movement and the Spanish revolution and minority to the majority and will thereby lay the ground for a mass Communist party which will be able to cope with tariat. What is required is the readmistne tasks imposed by the situation. The sion and the regroupment of all Comhistoric needs of the present hour de- munists, members of the party or comrades expelled for their views. mand 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 con- good intentions of the International and vinced that there are no more devoted the Spanish party in respect to the corfriends 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 the "organization of sympathizers", the the Thermidorian style. Centrism, osapplication of a correct and coherent Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, the most cillating between Marxism and national

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

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is being set for this meet, despite the pot remember which one it is, in the The revolutionary working class can- participation of so-called non-party worknot do without this indispensable weapon ers' delegations, the congress will remain transform into a decree, directed supbe made a congress of the unification real revolutionary criticism. After more ily, over 30 people who were dragged in the Spanish revolution have pointed out munists will consider the unification of to the party the correct slogans to be all the forces of Spanish Communism and employed. These elements are precisely clear to you just what kind of work pelled for their opposition views into the Opposition, that is to say, the "counterunification. The reorganization on the basis of the bureaucrats, without any on the basis of the submission of the real internal democracy, cannot in any way solve the urgent problems that come

> There are innumerable reasons why we cannot have any confidence in the rection 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 confusionist and dangerous tendency in the Spanish labor movement, while the most fanattical intransigeance is manifested toward the Left Opposition, which and its revolutionary opponents from is the only one to point out with precision the policy to be pursued, and of such an amalgam, its own emptiness. the conscious and sincere militants ac- than Ustrialov. Your decision will go and of taking the fate of Germany into tive in the party, in the work of completing the reconstruction of a genuine stigma. party which will be up to the level of

> 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 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 par ticipation 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 stage and carelessly revealed his real for the Communists? If the objective them in the elaboration of our common political and moral size. If he forced conditions are favorable, what is the tasks, to take part in the preparation of you to issue—not without timid resist- explanation for the defeat of the C. P. 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 tional, on which we waged a struggle all outside of the Communist ranks is a 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-hun dred-percent unanimous resolutions.

from the party for differences of opinion. be readmitted into the party and permit- president Kalinin, who supported Stalin ocratic workers there, who have always to Germany, the word "Fascism" does Situaion" Read his new work on Gerted to participate in the preliminary

Demand hat no irresonsible bureaucrat or adventurer be allowed to speak in your units of "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" without extending an in-

our point of view. ed only by a committee composed of the and for its defeat, Rakovsky is chained how the workers react to the slogan of reresentatives 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 con-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 Com-

munist Party! Long live the Unified Mass Communist Party of Spain!

Spanish Communist Left Opposition.

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

(Continued from page 1)

numerical order,—you were forced to posedly against thirty-seven persons, including outside of members of my famexclusively 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 masthreads stick out only too obviously. 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 Sov-

It is too repulsive for me to dwell on up each day before the Spanish prole- ated list: In the intentional interchange "effect" it represents a document of the same moral level as the two above-mentioned forgeries which served as prepara-

#### 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 reformism, is forced-it cannot be otherwise-to combine and amalgamate its petty bourgeois enemies from the Right the Left, in order to cover up by means which has denounced the democratic and I wish to remind you that the first adpetty bourgeois character of the Maurin vise concerning the expulsion of the Left Germany After the Elections faction. Nevertheless, the Opposition Oppositionists from the country, was is ready to give its determined aid to given in print to Stalin by none other down in history with the Thermidorian its hands, but of one in which they had

Stalin will tell you that it is not a question of "isolated" facts but that the of the C. P. G. to conduct an extra-par-As a concession to the unrest stirred decision is based on the whole counter- liamentary struggle aided the S. P. G. up in the ranks, the International, in revolutionary activity of myself and of leaders to reduce the struggle against agreement with the Spanish leadership, my family, in general, which needs no Fascism to the parliamentary field, to has conceived the "Open Letter", which proofs. If this is so why was it necesis based on quite correct, but incomplete sary to resort to false documents and Hitler?", to carry out their policy of the criticisms. But it is not too much to ex- to introduce elements of an unworthy pect both leaderships to do all in their masquerade into the decision itself? He power to make a dead letter of this cannot wriggle out of this. The fact that after nine years of uninterrupted of the C. E. C. of the party, to the effect struggles. The "left" parties and the baiting-do not forget that the beginning of the struggle against "Trotskyism" coincided with the death of Leninyou had to resort to borrowings from had reached the culmination point of degree to which the Communist party in an organizational way. We are sufferthe filthy sheets of Polish and German their rise with the Reichstag elections. will be able to reach the hesitating mass- ing first of all, from a shortcoming that chauvinism in order to pass this excep The election results prove that they have es and gain their attenion, find a bridge the French party itself has been inflicted tional law against me and my family to been able to penetrate into strong pro- to them, will their development take the hide under an amalgam—this fact alone letarian districts. That Hitler was not revolutionary road when the bankruptcy discloses and strips bare to the bone the elected President of the Reich does not of the other parties will become manifest our internal difficulties: we have not as impotence of all the campaigns against at all change the fact that the Fascist in the eyes of all. If this does not take "Trotskyism" and irreparably comprom- danger has become even more prominent. place, they will be derailed and used as ises your last creative act.

### An Expression of Impotence

know, enters into all of Stalin's combinareach its aim. This time Stalin thrust been able to halt Fascism. was revealed on all questions without

gesture of Stalin is impotent and even pitiful self-defence. The Opposition fought against the trade union course of the Stalinists en-Stalinist faction for industrialization, abled the treacherous trade union leadfor planning, for higher tempos of econ- ers to lead the members of the unions omy, aganst the stake on the kulak, for into the Hindenburg-Front. The "unthe Opposition demanded the preparation leadership has created the prerequisites of a five year plan and itself indicated for the establishment of the "iron front". its basic elements. All the economic The results in Saxony, where there is prepared by the Left Opposition. Your splinters, prove that the social demfrom the Right against the Left Opposi- stood to the left, have followed the else. Yet, in April 1927, Stalin, in the has been proven once more that reality struggle against me, with the support of bountly contradicts the reports of the | Molotov, Kalinin, Voroshilov and others, | Rote Fahne: There is not any disintegradeclared that "we need the Dnieprostroys tion within the S. P. G. and the reform formula is contained a whole historic tion of the slogans of these organizations philosophy. For the struggle against it by their followers. The results show al 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 The Executive Committee of the Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition) New York Branch

# New Tendencies in French Politics

World Crisis Reveals Long Latent Contradictions Between Social Classes

Germany, in which French imperalism of millions of francs. 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 terly move. In actuality the yellow it. The bouregois press attributed this to the ancient "French virtues" of or-Pretending that only in 1932 it became der, 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 In the first place, there is the existence of quite large intermediate classes, deother traits and marks of Stalin's fabric- spite the fact that the war made France a highly industrialized nation. • These of names for the purposes of additional intermediate classes—the peasantry in particular-formed an important domestic market. The tariff walls, rising for the elections have not taken place. 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 many 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

(Continued from page 1) to decide upon either Hindenburg or Hitler. The lack of ability on the part what degree this leftward trend will be pose the question as: "Hindenburg or "lesser evil".

The National Socialists also achieved a tremendous success. All the theories that Fascism has reached its high point, socialist party will be unable to keep were overthrown. The Rote Fahne of September 16, 1930 wrote that the Nazis It has been clearly proven that the "Red a mass support for the maneuvers of the From the point of view of personal leadership with all its programs of nal self. revenge—and this element as you well tional and social liberation and all their The Seventh Convention of the C. P. F. variations, its "adaptation" of the

himsely out too far from behind the Why were the results so unfavorable ance, I know,-this unworthy decree of G.? The political line of the party ostracism, it was only because the pro- stands to blunt contradiction to the found correctness of the Left Opposition political needs. This is revenge for the Stalinist theory that "social democracy has isolated the party completely among

will be a damm again t Fascism. (Continued in Next Issue)

-R. WELL.

SPARRTACUS—Y. P. S. L. DEBATE the Young Peoples Socialist League and pulsions are being prepared. the Spartacus Youth Club which will take place Friday, May 6, 8:00 P. M. at tory for the apparatus and a defeat for

Paris, March 9, 1932. | those of the British empire. Finally, continue to develop. The policy that has The parliamentary elections are ap- the reserves of one of the greatest French been pursued, is that of the C. I. It has proaching. They are especially import industries, the tourist industry, which turned its back to the united front, it ant, as they will take place in a period has declined enormously despite the exist- is opposed to trade union unity. In the in which the equilibrium established at ence of the Colonial Expedition, are no question of the elections, the vanguard Versailles is about to topple over, in doubt going to diminish even more in of the woking class is divided under the which a decisive solution is imminent in the future, depriving French capitalism cover of the formula "class against

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 tremendous aggravation of the situation. it is redoubling its offensive against wages and it intends, by inflation or by some other modification of its financial laboring masses and to expropriate the intermediate classes.

Serving as a sort of barometer, they permit us to judge with more or less precision, the reallignments of the classes, the general orientation of the toiltendencies and with correct perspectives, to employ a tactic which will hasten pushed rationalization as far as Ger- 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 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 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 in any case, the leftward trend of the needs of the French bourgeoisie. This opens up perspectives for great class Referendum" strategy of the C. P. G. worst brand of reaction, of Fascism it-

Where is the party in this situation? tions—the decree completely failed to phraseology of the Nazis, etc., have not 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 exception, domestic as well as internal and Fascism are twins", that everybody the leadership admited all this quite unambiguously in documerts, of which The fears more than anything to have to face these years. The seemingly aggressive "social Fascist". Its trade union policy Militant has published important extracts. Now, at the time of the conventhe organized workers. The disastrous tion, nothing of the sort is allowed. This time, it is necessary to "shut their mouths". One huge thesis is the only out which the German working class document presented by the leadership for pre-convention discussion. The entire collectivization. From the year 1923 on, ited front" tactics of the Thaelmann activity of the past period is skimmed over in less than twenty lines. "Self- ing an alliance with Bruening, of subcriticism" is reduced to its most barren expression. As a perspective for the fusuccesses of the Soviet Union were theor- no Centre strength and where the other ture, nothing is offered that is not con-Demand that all comrades expelled etically and partially organizationally, parties in the Hindenburg-Front are mere tained in the last general theses of the really stands for! Read his pamphlet C. I. A few scanty phrases are devoted not even get any mention in them. Distion, knows more about it than any one slogans of the leadership entirely. It cussion 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 for yourself, what the correct Communvitation to the Oppositionists to present as a mujhik needs a phonograph." In this ist unions, but rather a complete execution the hard their own hook. Articles have ist policy, which is the keystone of the appeared in L'Humanite in which party entire question, must be. Your advance members are denounced as enemies. In orders will make it possible for us to order to remain within the Stalinist line, have the book ready for sale without down to Barnoul, hundreds and thou- the C. P. G., that the S. P. G. is the the French party bureaucrats are shoutsands of unbending revolutionaries fill main enemy now...For them, the main ing about the "Trotskyist" danger, acthe places of detention and exile, sever-enemy now is Fascism. Only the policy cusing everyone who opposes them as a of the Stalinist party leadership gave "Trotskyist". A real campaign of terthe treacherous S. P. G. and trade union ror was inaugurated in the Parisian releaders the opportunity to arouse illu- gion, where discontent is particularly Get your copy of PROBLEMS OF THE sions among the workers that Hindenburg 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. Problems of the CHINESE REVOLU-"Can the Program of the Socialist It demanded publicly that only members Party Emancipate the American Work-approving the party policy without any ers?" is the subject for debate between reservations be elected as delegates. Ex-The convention will constitute a vic-

the Labor Temple, 14th St., and 2nd Ave. the party in which the crisis can only

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 defar a 'ter

#### 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 critsystem, to increase its exploitation of the icism expressed has often been confused, narrow, but in most cases it was not a reflection of opportunist tendencies, These are as yet only its intentions, 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 ing masses and of the proletariat in view of the "responsibility of the C. I." Some of the situation. In so far as they comrades refuse to vote against the present a factor in the class struggle, i "Trotskyists" as counter-revolutionists they should permit the Communist party, in Sections 3 and 15 of the Parisian rewith a correct analysis of the existing gion: in Section 4, others declare that "it is not sufficient to tell us that they are couner-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 instable ones. But a great unrest is taking place in the party. Theses are voted on, but no one takes any stock in them. A great deal of attention is being paid to what is from the rest of the world and who are 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 or another. But the fact remains that discussions with us. We have been able to extend our contacts, to establish conmasses will clash with the imperious tacts 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 Opposi-

their promises to the proletariat and the tion) has not, unfortunately, as yet been intermediate classes. But only to that able to transform this gain of influence with: the extremely weak conceptions of organizational forms. Then, there are 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. \*

### The New Book on Germany

Beginning with this issue, The Militant will print a series of extracts from comrade Trotsky's forthcoming book on Germany.

In this book, Trotsky, with his usual incisive style, presents a thoroughgoing analysis of the political situation, draws the logical conclusions from it and makes the proposals, necessary for the carrying out of a correct Marxist line, withcannot be led to victory.

Trotsky has been accused by the "official" Communist party press of preachscribing to the social democratic theory of the "lesser evil" and of even more far-fetched things. Find out what he "Germany-the Key to the International many, appearing serially in The Militant. Send in your order for a copy of the book itself now. Judge for yourself why Germany is of prime importance for the world working class at present. Judge delay. The price is: 50 cents.

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# Fifty Years of Israel Amter

not without its compensations. The fret ferous about it. For several years, right and travail of the struggle and the gray up to the day that the Comintern tele details of daily work are relieved from gram against Lovestone arrived, Amter jubilees at which, in contemplation of and small. great men and great events of the past, the militant may refresh his soul and renew his inspiration. The anniversaries of the illustrous 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.

living"-that is, if one feels flowery wise 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 with the official plans only on one point 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 there fore 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 biz- hand observations regarding the effects Opposition literature is barred from en arre and the unique. His self-expression, through the medium of the revolu- as American capitalism. It enables one ble to arrest. Anyone arrested on a tionary 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 undertracted attention by his fearless and untracted attenion by his fearless and un compromising demands for the propaganda of "armed insurrection", to be pro- the country, carrying in its wake misery moted by leaflets hurled into the midst for the masses. Miles of sidings are ocof the masses from ambush. Soon after cupied by huge numbers of idle freight he appears, or rather one of his leaflets cars; small indudstrial towns with facappears, in the strike of the Brooklyn tories are silent. Smokeless chimneys! Transit workers for a wage increase of The largest cities have few factories at 5c an hour. With that mastery of the work. Thousands upon thousands of undialectic which already distinguished employed workers make up a weary trek. him, he "linked up" this "everyday demand" of the unsuspecting street car filled with food. The vast numbers of men, with the final goal of their strug- jobless proletarians are not confined to gle, and called on them to rise, arms in any one town, or state. They are everyhand, and capture the power-house.

the unreadiness of the workers, and the hibit their state of bewilderedness. They fact that the "third period" has not yet do no yet comprehend the causes of the retreat; but only for the purose of gath- there is something seriously wrong with ering strength for another leap. Keep- the character of the system. ing his plans to himself, he took the throw the Central Committee of the this did not save them. Amter's prothat 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" his enemies by the pseudonym of Ford. ence of the Party was a matter of prinorganization in itself a sign of counter- ent everywhere. revolution—a subject in which he later specialized and took several degrees. In this affair Amter suffered a temporary set-back, due to the Trotskyist influence then prevailing in the Comintern. His thesis was rejected, the movement was legalized, and Amter, defeated but not these movements. Father Cox arose to 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 per iod 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 MILITANT Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th St., N. Y. EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern

The hard life of the revolutionist is the Lovestone faction but became voci time to time by ceremonial affairs and was a Lovestoneite in all things great

But even after these years of habitua tion 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 exam ple 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. It is needless to say that we welcome At twelve o'clock he received a copy of this event, for we were converted long the telegram to the effect that Lovestone ago to the doctrine of "flowers for the was no longer "kosher". One hour later he was hunting for Lovestoneites to exabout them. And who could feel other- pel from the Party, and was as thick with Foster as one liberty bond with an

> 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 Why should it be a "mass celebration"

#### 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, accreding to the decisions of these organizations. All memhers report to comrade H. Stone at Militant Headquarters for station

#### 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 vorkers. The character of the present issue issuch 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 t**he**m.

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

Auto Workers Murdered Results of German Elections Trotsky Deprived of Citizenship by

Students Barred from Kentucky Capitalism and Child Labor Students Organize National Movement Scotsboro Boys Condemned to Death

### Impressions of a National Tour

States and the two most important cenof the deep crisis in Canadian as well 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 about the developments in the Canadian terrific sweep over the nerve-centers of movement must take cognizance of them There is hunger while warehouses are where. Discussions with many workers munists and the workers generally. Al Failing in this maneuver, because of from various sections of the country exarrived, Amter made a slight strategical vicious crisis. But they are aware that

There are few movements of the workcapitalist forces by surprise with a sud- ers. Aside from the attempts of the hitch somewhere, this leaflet didn't over- under the leadership of the Communist throw the class regime, but it did over- Party. The movements of the unemployed workers are organized by them. But Party at a convention a few weeks later. they are still very weak and in many All the members of the C. E. C. swore cases ineffectual. Through the policies they had had nothing to do with the of the Party these movements have beleastet and knew nothing about it, but come narrow. They are sectarian and thereby isolated. The tactic of the Unipaganda had set a movement in motion ted 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 In this thesis our hero, disguised from their growth. Yet it is significant that the Communists alone have the courage advanced the idea that the illegal exist- and will to organize the workers in defense of their interests and in a strugciple, and that the advocacy of a legal gle against capitalism. This is appar-

Certainly there are attempts of the re formists 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 training on the staff of the Jewish Daily 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 grow ing 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

The tour just completed, which car- ing their property for meetings under ary literature barring literature from the ters in Canada allowed for some first mails (The Freiheit, Party literature, try) Those receiving literature are liasingle 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 fortwith inform authorities. The American Party which has thus far remained more or less silent immediately and understand their significance. It is necessary for our Canadian movement to organize itself with the aim of circumventing the drive against

> 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 bring repressions to bear upon the Comready these events have had deep reper cussions among the other workers who are repelled by the brutality of Ford's

> The Left Opposition is gaining greater support. Our meetings had a larger attendance than previously. There is a efforts of the Party bureaucrats to pre vent successful meetings they proved more or less ineffectual. (The meetings will be discussed concretely in a forthcoming article). The workers felt keen ly 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 in erest in our press. This must be said particularly of Unser Kamf. 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 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. 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 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 un-

# 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 prety 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 vesterday, 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 bour geoisie, 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 re ferendum, 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 vellow sheet steps forward in turn, "Trotsky is paid for this job by the promise of a visa." Next 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 ried the writer through the most impor- the threat of arrest and revocation of a whole leans for its support on the back of that half tant industrial cities in the United license. The publication of revolution of the working class which is led by Hilferding and Company. If the social democracy had not put through its policy of class betraval, then Hitler, not to mention the fact that he would have never attained holds by no means the last place, particularly during his present power, would have been clutching at Bruen- great historical upheavals. Under the impact of this ing's government as a life saving anchor. If the Communists together with the social democracy had over-lafter another, would be charged to the point of highthrown Bruening, that would have been a fact of the est intensity. The proletariat would say to itself with greatest political significance. The consequence, in assurance, that it alone was called to give a different any case, would have risen over the heads of the lead- and a higher direction to the life of this great nation. ers of the social democracy. Hilferding attempts to Disintegration and decomposition in Hitler's army find justification for his betrayal in our criticism, which would set in before the decisive battles. Battles of demands that the Communists take Hilferding's betraval into account as an accomplished fact.

Although Hilferding has "nothing to add" to Trot sky'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 shooting policemen are beginnings of a forcing the fight, to overthrow the enemy and to seize definite attempt by the government to 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 proletraiat! When is the precise moment, then, that the power can pass into the hands of the proletariat? den leastet in the Spring of 1921 entitled Communists no movements of struggle definite increase of sympathy and sup-"May Day of Revolution". Due to a exist. Those struggles taking place are port for our movement. In spite of the matic 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 regime, 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 hold. the leaders of the social democracy no longer dare to look into the future. Theirs are all the vices of minded, their will is paralyzed, they are given to blubbering over events and hoping for miracles. Come to 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 betravals of the social democracy and the mistakes of the C. P. drive millions into the camp of indifferentism and even National Socialism. Once a fact, the joint action of these two parties alone, by opening before the masses new perspectives, would incommensurably 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 in deep changes in the whole character 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, state. The workers with jobs are in all these twelve years ago. But arough is too much il Can more undebatable proofs of the hourgeois charac-

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 incommensurably 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 a Stalinist journalist comes to the fore and wires the 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 moral force, the masses of the people, one stratum 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 stignatize 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 ultimatism, the Stalinist bureaucracy preserves the social democracy, permits it again and again to regain its foot-

The Communist party is a proletarian, anti-bourgeois party, even if erroneously. The social democracy, the ruling class doomed to destruction; they are light- 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, think of it, Tarnow's economic researches fulfill now 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 selfassurance of Hoover and Ford, the profits of the Prince of Monaco, etc. Today, one is obliged to look, the trusts, the syndicates, the railroads. True, our not in bourgeois papers, but in social democratic press employed workers are still in a dazed educated petty bourgeois made ready to "socialize" for the most optimistic evaluations of the conjuncture.