

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## Marine Workers on Trial

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## OPEN FORUM

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT  
Lecture by  
ARNE SWABECK  
on  
FRIDAY, APRIL 8, 1932  
at the  
Labor Temple  
14th Street and Second Avenue  
at 8 P. M.  
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION  
ADMISSION: 25 Cents  
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free  
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## Scottsboro Verdict Must Be Smashed

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

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

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

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

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

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

To this 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 Reichwehr in motion means only splitting the Reichwehr, 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 Reichwehr and the police cannot fail to be just the opposite to the one desired. The most "loyal" functional, the most "neutral", the least bound to the social democracy can reason only thus: "Millions are behind the social democrats; enormous resources are in their hands: the press, the parliament, the municipalities; their own hides are at stake; in the struggle against the Fascists they are assured of the support

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—T. STAMM.

## WHAT NEXT? -- by Leon Trotsky

### Chapter 1: The Role of the German Social Democracy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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 Reichwehr; but on whether the pure spirit of the Weimar constitution (along with the required quantity of camphor and naphthalene) will be installed in the presidential palace. But suppose the spirit of Weimar, in a well-known situation, recognize together with Bethmann-Hollweg, that "necessity knows no law", what then? Or suppose the perishable substance of the spirit of Weimar falls asunder at the most untoward moment, despite the camphor and naphthalene, what then? And what if ... but there is no end to such questions.

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

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

To this Bruening could reply, unless he preferred silence: "With the police force I could not handle Fascism even if I wanted to; but I wouldn't even if I could. Setting the Reichwehr in motion means only splitting the Reichwehr, 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."

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## Germany after the Presidential Elections

BERLIN, March 1932

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

The results in some of the industrial districts are especially alarming for the proletariat. Thus, for instance, the party could not retain the 739,000 votes it received in Berlin in 1930, but had to contend itself with 685,000. On the other hand, the figure for the Hindenburg-Front rose from 1,170,000 to 1,307,000 and that of the Fascists from 396,000 to 665,000. In Berlin the party vote fell from 27.2 per cent to 23.6 per cent and the Nazi vote rose from 14.6 to 22.9 per cent, of the total number of ballots cast. Industrial regions like Halle, Duesseldorf, Essen, Dresden, Hamburg, Bochum brought losses for the party and in most cases, gains for the Fascists. In the workers' section of Wedding, the C. P. G. dropped from 99,000 to 90,000, while the Hindenburg-Front rose from 87,000 to 97,000 votes and the Nazis from 21,000 to 36,000. In the Landtag (provincial diet) elections of Neu-Strelitz, the party lost 2,000 votes previously 7,000, now 5,000 and the S. P. G. gained 1,400 votes.

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

in the tremendously large unemployment figures (8,000,000) in the shutting down of factories, mass dismissals, bank crashes and export decline. The economic exploitation of the working class increases from day to day, wage cutting goes on unabated. Unemployment relief has almost reached the point of total suspension. Only a few pithy crumbs remain of all the social pliancy. The political oppression of the working class has its expression in the rule of the Bruening dictatorship. Emergency decrees, one following on top of the other, are directed exclusively against the toiling masses. The right of assembly, the right to strike have been suspended. War is looming up as a reality. The general war danger is more immediate than ever before. Aside from the economic collapse of the capitalist system, aside from the economic and political reaction, there is the S. P. G. joining the front of the reactionaries, there is its support in the election of Field Marshal Hindenburg, against whom it fought in 1925 as the representative of monarchism and war. On the other hand there is the tremendous advantage for the Communists in the successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and in the fact that there is only one working class candidate nominated for the elections—Thaelmann. Despite these unbelievably favorable circumstances, the C. P. G. has not been able to make any progress.

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

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Hearst's Program and the Petty Bourgeoisie

The middle bourgeoisie is pressed between the two great contending classes of today, the capitalist and working classes. It is finding its position more precarious as the contradictions between socialized production and capitalist appropriation increase.

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 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.

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.

Jingoism Breaks Through Three of the measures are outright jingoist planks, natural sequences of Hearst's past Mexican campaign and his present Japanese campaign.

Minneapolis Attention

The Militant and Left Opposition literature can be procured at the following downtown newsstands: Engelson News Co. 234 2nd Ave., S.

ATTENTION, MINNEAPOLIS SUBSCRIBERS!

All Minneapolis readers of The Militant, especially those whose subscriptions have expired, may expect a visit from one of our Militant builders team who are hot after subs and renewals.

wants the Nicaragua Canal to be started at once for commerce and defense. He wants the army, navy and aviation under a Secretary of National Defense.

A Dangerous Stalinist Slogan In the workers ranks also opportunism makes strange bed-fellows. The Social Democratic leaders played their role in this evolution in 1914. In America where pacifism wants the United States to boycott Japan for her present acts in China, the Stalinists want us to expel the Japanese representatives in America.

One measure of the Hearst program calls for a five billion federal loan for public works. This measure, as well as others, has enabled him to corral large numbers of workers. Hearst is against the Bankers' role in the form of the two billion dollar credit pool, and he is against a dole (social insurance) for the workers.

Anti-Working Class Program The three remaining planks we have not yet spoken of are so clearly anti-working class measures that even the blind could recognize them. Hearst wants a federal tax and excise tax to replace the income tax.

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".

—HUGO OEHLER.

Second Month of Militant Drive

As we turn the corner to speed down the second third of the drive there begins to loom before us—June 1st—on which date the drive closes.

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

What our comrades and sympathizers must realize is the necessity, the absolute and sheer necessity, of building the circulation of The Militant.

We must strive with all our power to reach a wider and ever wider circle of Left wing and working class militants. We must penetrate with The Militant deeper into the party and its auxiliaries, into all working class organizations.

Now, in addition to these inducements we are able to offer a political inducement which in conjunction with the others should be decisive for subscriber and subscription getter alike.

Among the Drug Clerks

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

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

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

It is obvious that a trade union policy flowing from such an attitude towards reactionary and reformist trade unions is fatal to the vanguard and the revolutionary movement.

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

Is not there anything at all for the revolutionary unions to learn from such an attempt? The mere fact that the dreadful situation of the drug clerk and the chaotic condition in the pharmaceutical industry has never been analyzed and a program of action has never been discussed, in the party press, is sufficient evidence that the attempt at the organization of the drug clerks by the Medical Workers Union was unprepared, without a clear perspective and program.

—J. D.

On the Waterfront

It would be quite proper, though unnecessary, to attempt to describe or analyze the general conditions—unemployment, hunger and wage cuts—on New York's waterfront separately from those of other sections of the city or apart from conditions in other basic industries.

The same Ray B. Hudson, who with other "delegates" to the Soviet Union last fall was repeatedly embarrassed by Russian workers with the question: "Who elected you?" and who upon further investigation was forced to admit that the "delegates" were not at all elected but rather "selected" (his own admission in the Daily Worker of March 26) has the nerve to step out and insult the seamen by saying that the American marine worker is exempt from general suffering and has not felt the crisis as acutely as the other workers!

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.

Before his departure for the Soviet Union, Hudson was made to run around the piers and docks as port organizer and he saw the conditions at a closer range. At that time he could not find words strong enough to depict the misery and starvation of the seamen.

But the unemployed seamen themselves know that they are not much better off than other workers, that the crisis has not diminished any since Hudson's return from the U. S. S. R. They know that what has been said generally and even more generally than had been expected. They know that graft and bribery in getting jobs are commonplace, that insults and exploitation in the Seamen's Church Institute and the company offices are just as sharp and as heavy as in the shore industries.

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

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

Two years ago, when the first convention was held and the Union formed, a splendid start was made. A good basis was at hand. A real representative body of seamen was willing to sacrifice time and energy in building the Union, but it seems the party leadership did its best to keep it from making headway.

The leading element and the active membership in the Union have melted away like snow in the springtime. The policy of alienating and driving away new elements, promising militants, has been going on in full force.

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

Only recently Karl Koster was unexpectedly sent to Boston after he had won the real support and cooperation of all the rank and file members of the Union. He had just broken all records in individual efforts of personally lining up more new members aboard the various ships in New York harbor, for the Union than any one else.

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.

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

—P. S.

N.Y. Auto Workers

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

No organized effort has been made to resist the terrible exploitation of the automobile workers. The A. F. of L. has time and again passed resolutions to organize this field, but it remains unorganized.

On March 1st the automobile bosses in New York notified the union that the men must accept a 40 per cent wage cut or no contract would be signed. More than half the members of the union were out of work and there was no money in the treasury, but the men unanimously turned down the proposition and declared themselves ready for a struggle.

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.

Although the 20 percent cut was a setback for the union, it was an unavoidable compromise, remembering the 40 percent cut that was first demanded, and the unsuccessful attempt of the manufacturers to destroy the union.

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Resolution of the N.Y. Carpenters' Union

We have received the following resolution for publication: Further information is to follow: WHEREAS—The negotiations for the coming agreement between the New York District Council of Carpenters and the employers are now taking place, and such an agreement must be in the interests of the carpenters, and

WHEREAS—As a result of the application of such modern devices and also as a result of the present economic crisis thousands of men and women have been thrown out of work, and unemployment among the carpenters has reduced them to the point of actual starvation, and

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

WHEREAS—Because of these miserable conditions thousands who are unable to pay their dues are dropping out of the organization and immediate relief must be given to them to prevent a total disintegration of the Union, therefore be it

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

Organizational and Relief Demands

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

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

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

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

IN HONOR OF M. WINCHEWSKY

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

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

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



IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR
Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

For Communist Unity

An Open Letter of the Spanish Left Opposition

(Continued from last issue)
The revolutionary working class cannot do without this indispensable weapon in the revolution—the Communist party.

is being set for this meet, despite the participation of so-called non-party workers' delegations, the congress will remain for every conscientious militant a bureaucratic farce that will only impede real revolutionary criticism.

There are innumerable reasons why we cannot have any confidence in the good intentions of the International and the Spanish party in respect to the correction of the political mistakes and the internal regime prevailing at the present moment.

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

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

(Continued from page 1)

not remember which one it is, in the numerical order,—you were forced to transform into a decree, directed supposedly against thirty-seven persons, including outside of members of my family, over 30 people who were dragged in exclusively for the purpose of political masking.

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

A Thermidorian Trick

You can connect the Left Opposition with Menshevism only in the order of a police alphabet. In the political order, your Centrism stands between the Left Opposition and Menshevism.

Stalin will tell you that it is not a question of "isolated" facts but that the decision is based on the whole counter-revolutionary activity of myself and of my family, in general, which needs no proofs.

An Expression of Impotence

From the point of view of personal revenge—and this element as you well know, enters into all of Stalin's combinations—the decree completely failed to reach its aim.

The Opposition fought against the Stalinist faction for industrialization, for planning, for higher tempos of economy, against the stake on the kulak, for collectivization.

—L. TROTSKY.

New Tendencies in French Politics

World Crisis Reveals Long Latent Contradictions Between Social Classes

Paris, March 9, 1932.

The parliamentary elections are approaching. They are especially important, as they will take place in a period in which the equilibrium established at Versailles is about to topple over.

But, many of the causes which made possible the great resistance to the crisis will tomorrow become the causes of a tremendous aggravation of the situation.

Germany After the Elections

(Continued from page 1)

and of taking the fate of Germany into its hands, but of one in which they had to decide upon either Hindenburg or Hitler.

The National Socialists also achieved a tremendous success. All the theories of the C. E. C. of the party, to the effect that Fascism has reached its high point, were overthrown.

Why were the results so unfavorable for the Communists? If the objective conditions are favorable, what is the explanation for the defeat of the C. P. G.?

The balance of this policy is completely negative: loss of membership, loss of influence, deep-going disorganization. Several months ago, on the occasion of a turn, the leadership admitted all this quite unambiguously in documents, of which The Militant has published important extracts.

SPARRACUS—Y. P. S. L. DEBATE
"Can the Program of the Socialist Party Emancipate the American Workers?"

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

The defeat of Germany and the achievements of the Versailles Treaty gave France a political importance international, entirely out of proportion with its economic strength.

These are as yet only its intentions, for the elections have not taken place. Serving as a sort of barometer, they permit us to judge with more or less precision, the realignments of the classes, the general orientation of the tolling masses and of the proletariat in view of the situation.

The Seventh Convention of the C. P. F.
Where is the party in this situation? What is its orientation? The Seventh Convention of the French party is going to take place in a few days, after a lapse of three years since the last convention.

Germany has been accused by the "official" Communist party press of preaching an alliance with Bruening, of subscribing to the social democratic theory of the "lesser evil" and of even more far-fetched things.

Germany has been accused by the "official" Communist party press of preaching an alliance with Bruening, of subscribing to the social democratic theory of the "lesser evil" and of even more far-fetched things.

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continue to develop. The policy that has been pursued, is that of the C. I. It has turned its back to the united front, it is opposed to trade union unity.

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.

But all these are only very transitory manifestations, very feeble and very unstable ones. But a great unrest is taking place in the party.

The Ligue Communiste (Left Opposition) has not, unfortunately, as yet been able to transform this gain of influence in an organizational way.

—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.

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# Fifty Years of Israel Amter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Impressions of a National Tour

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

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

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

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

In the face of impending struggles the bourgeoisie is preparing itself. The revolutionary workers must note keenly the developments in Canada. There, the answer of the government to the growing moods of struggle among the workers, as a result of the deep crisis, is shown in the resurrection of the infamous Article 98 of the Criminal Code. It was through this law that six members of the Central Committee of the Canadian Communist Party were arrested and sentenced to long jail terms. We arrived in Canada immediately after the sentence was confirmed and the comrades sent to Kingston. In the Province of Ontario, the revolutionary movement

## TAG DAY FOR MARINE DEFENSE

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

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

The table of contents of the current issue is as follows:  
Auto Workers Murdered  
Results of German Elections  
Trotsky Deprived of Citizenship by Stalin  
Students Barred from Kentucky  
Capitalism and Child Labor  
Students Organize National Movement  
Scotsboro Boys Condemned to Death

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

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

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

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

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

What is outstanding in the whole situation? The lack of organization of the American workers. The Communist Party is still very small. The great mass of workers are unorganized. But the effects of this crisis are resulting in deep changes in the whole character of the American proletariat. Changes are taking place in their whole ideology. These changes, to be sure, are slow; but they are genuine. The great mass of unemployed workers are still in a dazed state. The workers with jobs are in

# WHAT NEXT? -- by Leon Trotsky

## Chapter 1: The Role of the German Social Democracy

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

The social democrats together with the Communists would not be able to seize power. There he stands, the snobbish, educated, (gebildet) petty bourgeois, an utter coward, soaked from head to foot with distrust and contempt for the masses. The social democracy and the Communist party together hold about 40 per cent of the votes, despite the fact that the betrayals of the social democracy and the mistakes of the C. P. drive millions into the camp of indifference and even National Socialism. Once a fact, the joint action of these two parties alone, by opening before the masses new perspectives, would 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 heads of the educated petty bourgeois: for the representatives of capital to rule, 20 per cent of the votes suffice, because the bourgeoisie, you see, has the banks, the trusts, the syndicates, the railroads. True, our educated petty bourgeois made ready to "socialize" all these twelve years ago. But enough is too much!

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

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

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

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

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