

Germany on the Eve of Civil War

(Continued from page 1)
In this instance is correct, then the Stalinist leadership is guilty of a heinous crime against the German and international working class. To issue a separate call, to call for action today, when the enemy is at the gates, before constructing a solid and unified proletarian front is an empty gesture.

Communist Clarity Imperative
The hour of decisive struggle is close at hand. Whoever toys with a situation like the present toys with disaster. It is necessary for the leadership of the Communist party to take a bold step in order not to crash into an abyss. It must tell the working class in all frankness that its policies of the recent past—with its theory of "social Fascism" and its tactic of the "Red United Front"—have been false. The party must prove to the workers that it is earnest and sincere that it is capable of correcting its mistake, that it is their only genuine party. That requires an appeal to the followers of the social democrats and the reformist trade unions to put their leaders to the test, by demanding of them that they join in a united front of all the proletarian organization in the fight against Fascism.

The Class Line-Up—International
The imperialist powers are standing on the side, nodding with approval at the preparations for the Fascist seizure of power in Germany. France, so loud in its official and unofficial protests to mere parades of German Nationalities in the past, is keeping strangely silent today, when Nationalist reaction spreads out in full force. Why? Because the French imperialists, like all the others, realize what their class stakes are in the impending civil strife. Hitler and his herald, Von Papen, know very well that in the struggle against their own working class, they will receive the full support of French imperialism. They know that in return for this support, they will have to act with their French supporters against the class brothers of the German working class in Soviet Russia. The struggle of the classes in Germany involves the struggle of the class on an international scale. The seizure of power by the Fascists in Germany will give the signal for a general mobilization among the world powers against the U. S. S. R.—against the world working class.

It is plain that the seizure of power by the Fascists can be answered only by a mobilization of the working class of the U. S. S. R. and of the world. It is under such circumstances, in a situation pregnant with great events of international and historical significance, that the Comintern and the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union maintain an ominous silence. Is the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is the Executive Committee of the Communist International to persist in

its silence? Or will the revolutionary movement of the world "receive a clear and loud word from its 'general staff'?"
The workers of Germany are facing a fateful, epoch-making struggle, the imperialists are arming for war, through a robber Japan in the East. The silence of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist movement must be broken. Workers, revolutionists, bombard your Communist party organizations with demands that the Comintern speak out, that the Soviet leadership speak out and act decisively!

Demand the adoption of the Leninist United Front, demand that the Communist Party of Germany put the reformist leaders to the test in action! United

working class action of the Communist and social democratic organizations must be posed in an international manner: a fight against Fascism on the basis of the most intimate and concrete collaboration of the German working class and the U. S. S. R. Let the social democrats answer in action. Let the workers who follow them judge them on the answers they give in action within the United Front. That is the only way to avoid defeat in this fateful hour.

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Democratic Party & Unemployment

The Republicans and the Democrats are two sides of one medal. The only difference between them is that the Republicans are in and the Democrats are out. If one understands this, then it is not difficult to grasp the meaning and purpose of the two old parties.

In the final analysis, they are both employed by the same master—Wall Street. But these parties do not say or even do the identical thing. There is a division of labor between them. The fact that they have special and different duties to perform towards their common master, is particularly noticeable during a crisis.

Problem of Democrats
The Republican party holds the reins of government. Consequently all its statements and actions must not only be directed towards maintaining the status quo (the capitalist system) but also to defend the methods employed during their tenure of office, to perpetuate the system. The task that falls to the Democrats, in this election campaign, is a horse of a different color.

The pernicious duty of the Democrats springs entirely from present conditions—the economic crisis. Discontent is rife throughout the land. But it is still vague, embryonic and undirected. It is not yet clear to the American masses how to turn or against which enemy their blows should be leveled. The trick of the Democrats is to seize hold of this disgruntlement and to guide it into harmless channels.

The thing to do—and the Democrats make no bones about their little job—is to prevent the masses from seeing things as they actually are. It is not the Capitalist system that is responsible for the unprecedented crisis and the unparalleled misery. The profit system is both perfect and eternal. This is the theory of the Democrats. But the Republican party has misused and abused the "precious" system. And this is the main plank in the Democratic platform. The crisis is due to the Republicans, starvation, wage cuts and evictions, and unemployment—all are due to Republican maladministration. Drive the G. O. P. out, put us in, and everything will be hunky-dory. This sort of tripe is being peddled around by the ton, and no doubt it will have its effect.

The economic catastrophe of today is not the first in American history. They have recurred every few years, as long as the parasitic few, known as "capital", have held sway over the large majority of exploited wage slaves. And crises have recurred irrespective of which party was in office. We have known "Democratic" crises as well as "Republican",

The Democrats, with their candidate, Roosevelt, will stand by capitalism to their dying day. But that does not hinder them from selling their demagogic wares in open market. They pose as saviors of the worker and petty bourgeois who are called, the "forgotten man". They will "restore employment, improve present conditions and afford permanent relief to the people". There is as much truth in this statement as there is in one of Baron Munchausen's notorious fables. There is nothing in this program that could accomplish such a miracle. Only the Communists, with their program for the proletarian revolution can solve this knotted problem.

For the unemployed the Democrats have nothing but fake promises and polished words. The shorter working week is promised only as a measure to include government employees. In a previous issue we pointed out the positions of the Democrats on the bill cutting the hours of the civil service employees. But they also gave them a corresponding reduction in wages. And the Democrats want to make this a national program. Morgan is with them. But what about the "forgotten man"?

Unemployment Insurance
Unemployment insurance is slipped into the platform on the ly—but only as a state measure. Roosevelt has been governor of New York State for four years. Where is the unemployment insurance?

Unemployment relief is held out as a big snare for votes. But—the Democratic mayors of New York, Chicago and Detroit have all cut off immediate relief to the unemployed, even though the demand for it becomes more urgent.

The real program of the Democrats lickspittles has already been shown with unmistakable clarity. It is a program of lead. In Democratic Detroit, when the starving demanded relief, Mayor Murphy's police poured a hail of bullets into their demonstrating ranks, killing four and wounding many others. In Melrose Park, Chicago, Cermak's Democratic cops trained machine guns on the jobless, murdered one and wounded five.

The program of the Communist League is one of action:
The six hour day, five day week—no reduction in pay.
Immediate federal and local relief.
Unemployment insurance.
Recognition of and credits to Soviet Russia.
Vote for Foster and Ford!
This is the program for the workers—the Democrat's is for the bosses. There can be no mistake in the choice of the proletariat. —CLARKE.

Problems of the Unemployed

The unemployment crisis has become an enormous factor in beginning to develop a change of ideology and what will flow from it—a change of political allegiance within the American working class. These trends of a change are appearing first among the unemployed section. Its course will naturally lead away from the prevailing bourgeois influence. But its direction, whether reformist or revolutionary, as far as the immediate future is concerned, is not yet decided.

Within the unemployment movement both of these two opposites are represented. They are represented on the one hand in the Unemployment Councils initiated, organized and controlled by the official Communist party. On the other, we have such as the Unemployed Citizens' League of Seattle and other Pacific Coast cities, the Superior Labor Unemployment Committee, the unemployment movement of the West Virginia Miners Union and the unemployment organizations of the Socialist Party.

It is not the purpose here to describe these latter organizations in their history and development, or to try to make a thorough analysis; that will be found in another article in this issue. Here it is only the purpose to develop a few points by way of comparison.

The Party Councils
The Unemployment Councils, organized by the party, took on features from its inception which ordinarily should have been to their advantage. But they also took on features, and a good many more, which seriously hindered their development. In both respects it was a matter of party policy. First of all they were founded on the idea that nothing can be obtained by the working class except through struggle and naturally they became militant in character not so much concerned with the purely practical, and usually shortlived, methods of self-help. (In this connection we are leaving out of consideration the Browderian idea of soup kitchens which was, fortunately for the party, also shortlived). The Councils had a semblance of a national scope, being initiated in the main cities throughout the country under a centralized direction. This was all to their advantage. But one particular feature of disadvantage alone was pretty well sufficient to offset all this. The councils were not at all in the real sense of the word, organized as united front bodies. As a matter of fact the restrictions and limitations put upon them, with the bureaucratic methods of control entirely prevented them from becoming representative of a mass movement. To this it is necessary to add the adventurist tactical policies pursued by the party and swinging from the extreme of "capturing the streets" to the opportunist method of propagating only unemployment

which constantly reduced the movement to smaller proportions. For these reasons the Unemployment Councils have marked a fairly constant downward curve despite the exceptional opportunities available.

By way of comparison we have on the other hand the unemployment organizations mentioned of which perhaps the Unemployed Citizens' League of Seattle, Wash., is one of the best examples. Its objectives were distinctly those of "practical" reform measures. It attained considerable success in the methods of mutual self-help such as collections of food and other necessities. It also used its influence in a political way to obtain certain relief measures from the city government. Its practical advances turned it rapidly into becoming a mass movement. But it was not only in the features already cited that it represented an opposite tendency to the party controlled Unemployment Councils, that held

true in almost every other respect. It is a localized movement, loosely organized with few regulations and, while remembering that it is still a comparatively new movement, its existence has so far marked an upward curve.

The Reformist Dilemma
Nevertheless this movement is about to come to its crossroads. That is above all determined by its distinctly reformist direction and the alternatives it will face at the crossroads are already clearly indicated. It has already begun to take on the political parliamentary features of endorsing so-called favorable candidates for elections. It is speaking of "establishing factories" to produce for the league members. Of course, the means of production are not expropriated that way nor will such parliamentary politics establish a workers government. So in both cases these alternatives can lead at best only to reducing the movement to either a purely reformist parliamentary party or a mutual self-help society, neither of which will afford it the possibility of playing a very serious or positive working class role.

There is, of course, still another alternative at hand, namely; for this movement to change its course and progress toward a revolutionary direction. Of that, however, there will be little likelihood unless the revolutionary, the Communist elements consciously penetrate the movement with this as the distinct objective. But to realize such an objective it would be necessary first of all for the official party policy to change, by an earnest adoption of the united front tactic in the unemployment movement. Both of these measures would go hand in hand and would be entirely in accord with the needs of the working class movement as well as the requirements of a revolutionary policy.

But these two comparisons bring to the fore also the serious question of the stage of development of the broad working class movement today. Have we reached a point at which the Communist party can assume to function as the controlling center of the whole, broad mass movement? Hardly! An unemployment mass movement in the United States is yet in its infancy and its potential political level is so far only a very elementary one. In such a situation the party must still conceive its role and function as the Left wing within a general movement. However, if this is the correct analysis, and it could hardly be contested, then that fact alone so much more reinforces the imperative necessity of the party utilizing its present strategic position of being in control of the Unemployment Councils, to endeavor seriously to build the unemployment movement on a national scale into a genuine united front movement, not only embracing the unemployment organizations mentioned, but all existing working class organizations, political trade unions and fraternal bodies.

But even these questions touch only one side of the problem. There are now special features developing within American capitalism, accelerated by this crisis. On the one hand there is the phenomenon of a permanent unemployed army. Its permanency is quite well recognized, and need not be further substantiated by arguments. On the other hand there are the specific measures being applied by American capitalism in an effort to get out of the crisis. The first one noticeable is the beginning toward restoring profits on existing capital, i. e., increasing the mass of profit. In this respect "Broadstreet's" tells us some interesting examples:

Capitalist Income
"The Baltimore and Ohio . . . in February 1932, nearly doubled its February 1931, net operating income despite a

\$2,750,000 reduction in gross. The New York Central lowered its operating ratio to 74.5, the lowest for any month since 1929, and also increased its net with a smaller gross. Altogether some 20 railroads were able to report higher incomes. Mr. W. W. Colpitts, of Coverdale & Colpitts, railroad engineers, has estimated that if railway carloadings return to but half way between their present level and the 1929 figures, the net operating income for the roads in the United States as a whole would be greater than in 1929."

Here we have a practical illustration of what the restoration of profits means. It represents an enormous increase in the intensity of exploitation; more profits realized with less men employed. The violent depression of the wage level is already well known, and known by actual experience to all employed workers. But by these very facts, the problems of the crisis, the problems of unemployment becomes even more distinctly problems of the working class as a whole, not at all confined to the unemployed alone. And the conclusion which we must of necessity draw therefrom will be that an unemployed movement confined to the unemployed alone is doomed to impotence and extinction. The unity of action of the employed with the unemployed must be assured.

The possibilities for this are available particularly in the stage we are now entering. Its permanent army of unemployment, its increase in intensity of exploitation and its depression of the wage level also bring the immediate and most pressing needs of the working class as a whole down to a more general, a more common level for all sections concerned. This will serve to harmonize its demands.

It is from such considerations as these that the party leadership must draw its conclusions. Its great opportunities it has so far recklessly frittered away, bureaucratically stifled all criticism and driven away again from the party ranks the many workers who came sincerely to Communism but could not agree with such methods. The party is now faced with a serious contest for influence with social reformism within the unemployment movement. The direction this movement will take, toward revolutionary objectives or merely toward reformism is still to be decided. If the party is to cast its weight in the scale for the decision and seriously bring its influence to bear, it must change its course. Not a change toward emulating the "practicalness" of the reformists but a change toward uniting the workers in struggle and bringing forward more clearly the revolutionary objectives.

The unemployment movement must be thoroughly integrated with the general working class movement, particularly the trade unions. It is a necessary condition that all workers be drawn into a united front movement for the struggle growing out of the unemployment situation. Only the Communists are really capable of organizing such a united front. But for that the party must also become integrated with in the general movement. It must penetrate the broad workers' organizations, particularly the trade unions.

—ARNE SWABECK.

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The Fascist Firing Squads in Action From Maggiora to Sbardellotto and Bovone

The first time the firing squads instituted by Mussolini following the exceptional laws (November 1926) was ordered to function, it was against Michel Della Maggiora, a Communist worker. Since then (November 14, 1928) the Special Tribunal has several times had recourse to the black shirt rifles for the "defense" of the Fascist state. After the execution of the Communist worker Della Maggiora, we had that of the Slovene nationalist Gortan (October 17, 1929) and of the anarchist Schirru on May 29, 1931. At dawn on June 17, the engineer Domenico Bovone and the mason Angelo Sbardellotto fell under a rain of Fascist lead, shot in the back. Both had been condemned to death by the Special Tribunal under the indictment of being "terrorist agents of the Anti-Fascist Concentration which has its center in Paris".

Under the same indictment, other accused have been condemned to from 10 to 30 years of confinement. In the succession of death verdicts executed by the black shirt squads—from Della Maggiora to Bovone and Sbardellotto—there is a sort of demonstration by blood and fire to the Italian situation.

one fact is certain: the impotence of the defense organizations of the Fascist state (O. V. R. A., Special Tribunal, etc.) in their efforts to uproot anti-Fascism. "We must put an end to this rabid growth", the public prosecutor exclaimed at the trial of Bovone, in demanding a death verdict against him. But this "rabid growth" of anti-Fascism does not cease its bloom. It is growing and its roots are spreading. While the jails are bursting with prisoners and the ditches filled in with the corpses of the assassinated, new fighters are produced, prepared to dare anything, to sacrifice everything.

The Weapon of Terror
The weapon of the terror is being transformed into a weapon against the regime. Yesterday, still with a hesitant hand, a worker was shot, a fighter of Communism, Michele Della Maggiora; today the needs of the butchers have increased and it is necessary for them at the dawn of the same day to assassinate the engineer Bovone, terrorist of the Irish school and the worker Sbardellotto, both accused of having acted for the Anti-Fascist Concentration.

The particular and immediate significance of the two new victims of the black shirt executions rests precisely in the fact that the trial of Bovone and Sbardellotto were trials against the Anti-Fascist Concentration against "democratic" anti-Fascism. The public prosecutor through whom the Fascist state has spoken, demanded a regular punitive expedition against the democratic anti-Fascist exiles. The Italian press has even gone so far as to demand the extradition of the leaders of the A. C. in Paris or at least the carrying out of the expulsion decrees issued by the Tardieu government. The Fascist offensive

against the democratic anti-Fascist parties who compose the Concentration is also a manifest sign of the deep economic and social crisis which is undermining the black shirt regime. The process of the going over of ever larger layers of the population into the camp of the opposition to Fascism is accelerated by the constant aggravation of the economic crisis. All the governmental promises are belied by the facts. No recovery in the field of production, but stagnation and further decline. Unemployment had more than doubled (from 400,000 to more than 1,000,000), the deficit in the state budget has risen to nearly 2.5 billion. The domestic debt has increased enormously (92 billion lire). Taxes are so intolerable that the tax payers can no longer pay them and the state cannot enforce payment. Consumption has been reduced in the extreme. There has been a general decline in stocks; the industries can get no credit; failures are increasing (from 894 in 1917 to 1668 in February 1932).

A problem which strikes at the very heart of the regime is the crisis of the young generations of the petty bourgeoisie—the crisis of the youth that leaves the universities and the secondary schools and presses upon the state for jobs, for work. In 1919-1920, the unemployment of the intellectual petty bourgeoisie gave birth to Fascism. After ten years of Fascist rule, a swing in the opposite direction is becoming manifest in the various strata of the petty bourgeoisie to such a point that friction can be observed even inside of Fascism between the "young and the old".

Fascism Losing Support
Contrary to what is taking place in Germany, Fascism in Italy is losing more and more its social supports, which explains its evolution in the direction of ever more brutal forms of terror and oppression. From the factories, anti-Fascism is penetrating into the universities, among the petty industrialists and mer-

The shake-up of the Fascist cabinet which has just been announced, with Mussolini dropping one of his most prominent ministers, Dino Grandi, plus four other ministers and eleven under secretaries of state, indicates the increasing difficulties which the Fascist regime is encountering in Italy. Mussolini, who has already concentrated in his hands several of the

chants, among the artisans and the peasants. Out of fear of being isolated from its allies—the middle layers—the bourgeoisie itself has become hesitant. The fear of the immediate future is manifest from the attitude of the Rome government in international politics. One expression of it is to be found in the telegram of Mussolini to the Lausanne Conference ("It is necessary to insist and to make a decision, if we are to have world recovery").

One task of the Communist party in Italy consists in understanding how to profit from the vacillations of the middle class forces who are turning away from Fascism, in order to win them over from the bourgeoisie as allies of the working class. But the leadership of the Italian Communist Party is also following the theory of social-Fascism. It also combines all the anti-Fascist, non-Communist parties into one reactionary mass. In this manner it only succeeds in making the policy of the Communist party incomprehensible and in preventing the revolutionary proletariat from extending its influence also to certain sections of the middle classes.

Democratic anti-Fascism (the Anti-Fascist Concentration), in fighting against the Fascist dictatorship, fights at the same time against the proletarian direction of the anti-Fascist movement, that is to say, it fights to prevent the proletariat, the Communist solution of the Italian crisis. Therein consists the

real counter-revolutionary function of the A. F. C., its reactionary substance. But it is stupid to present the democratic anti-Fascist movement as a movement in competition with Fascism, as **Stato Operaio** (theoretical organ of the C. P. I.) does. That only makes everything confused, does not teach the masses anything of the real nature of the Concentrationist type of anti-Fascism. Curious competitors, these "social Fascists" who throw bombs against the black shirt regime and who get themselves shot in the back by this same regime. By grouping together in this single reactionary mass the butchers and their victims, by wiping out all distinction between Fascism and democratic anti-Fascism, one only aids the latter in its role of deceiving the working class and of preventing it from accomplishing its revolutionary aims. The Communist party can succeed in showing the real counter-revolutionary function of democratic anti-Fascism only by the way of action, in the process of the struggle, that is to say, by pushing the anti-Fascist struggle to its ultimate consequences up to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the proletarian power. For such a policy it is necessary to return to a Bolshevik-Leninist application of the united front with all the proletarian anti-Fascist organizations (reformists, maximalists, syndicalists, anarchists, republicans, etc.) and to alliances with the peasant masses and the petty bourgeois masses of the towns who are under the influence of the

democratic anti-Fascist groupings.

Task of the Party
The Communist party will gain the leadership of the anti-Fascist masses not because it says so in the resolutions of the Central Committee, but when and to the degree in which it is capable of really placing itself at the head of the masses which are entering into struggle and of guiding them toward the overthrow of Fascism and capitalism. To the degree in which it is capable of proving that the struggle for democracy cannot be conceived as separate and opposed to the struggle for socialism, that is to say, the struggle for the proletarian power, for the creation of a new state, a workers' state. The necessity for the Communist Party of Italy of re-examining its policy once more is demonstrated not only by the Italian events but by the whole international situation. The Fourth Congress of the Italian Communist Party was described by the leadership as the last before we reach the threshold of the Italian revolution. From this description alone, the bureaucratic character of this congress is evident enough. It is time that comrades now pose the demand for a genuine congress of the party with a broad and thorough preparation among the membership and with the direct participation of our opposition. The urgency of this congress is felt by every comrade who follows the Italian and the international situation. The convocation of a congress of our party is also necessary for a discussion of the international policy and that in the U. S. S. R. It should serve as a preparation for the Congress of the Communist International, the necessity of which can well be realized, if one takes into account all the events that have unfolded during the four years that separate us from the unfortunate Sixth Congress.

Our demand must become the demand of all the comrades who are conscientious about the present situation.

—FEROCI.