

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
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THE MILITANT



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'What Next?'— Book of Hour

WHAT NEXT? by Leon Trotsky. Translated from the Russian original by U. Vanzler. 200 pages. Pioneer Publishers, New York, Paper, 35c; Cloth, 65c.

Events are moving with dazzling rapidity in Germany. Within a brief two years span, government control has passed over from the hands of the socialist coalition under Herrmann Mueller and into the hands of the Junker dictatorship under Von Papen. Only a few months ago, the main popular prop of the government—then led by Brüning—was constituted by the reformist trade unions under the control of the social democracy. Today, the government of Germany leans for its mass support upon the motley following of Hitler and the Fascist party.

From Harzburg to Von Papen
As late as December of last year, the French jingoes were still howling blue murder because the Harzburg meet of the Hitler-Hugenburg Opposition had been permitted by the authorities. In these days, when nationalism runs rampant in Germany, when Minister of the Reichswehr Von Schleicher announces dire predictions in the future for the armament provisions of the Versailles Treaty, the Paris press appears to forget all its fears for "French security". Von Papen even suggests "occasional conversations between the general staffs of Germany and France" to Premier Herriot (Interview of Von Papen, N. Y. World-Telegram, July 27, 1932).

A year ago, Brüning appealed for aid from American financiers against the threat of "Right wing radicalism". Today, the Junkers call for help to fight against Communism.

Dark doings are going on behind the scenes of international politics. Dense, black clouds hang over the heads of the peoples of all nations.

What Next?, by Leon Trotsky illuminates this sombre situation with the brilliancy of an acetylene lamp. It penetrates into the deepest background of recent happenings. It supplies the thread that links them with the social developments of the past. It brings out with utmost clarity and sharpness, the staggering implications of the facts we have seen with our own eyes.

This latest pamphlet by the great international revolutionist gives an appraisal of German political life in the incomparably lucid terms of Marxist thought. What are the causes for the rise of Fascism, what is the social composition of the movement, what is its specific role in the capitalist system, what does Fascism mean in so far as the workers are concerned, what are its international connections—all these questions are treated with Trotsky's characteristic incisiveness. The problems, the reactions, the reflections evoked by the German situation are painted on the broad canvass of historical continuity. Each event, every factor is seen as part of an all-embracing whole.

Lessons of the Past
German political developments of the present day are tested on the touchstone of past experiences. No lesson of the past, whether it be connected with the rise of Mussolini in Italy of 1920-21 or the crushing of the reactionary Kornilov in pre-revolutionary Russia of September 1917 is left out of account. The whole post-war period of world political development, is deftly utilized to set off the struggle of the classes in Hindenburg-Germany, in bold relief.

A scathing analysis of social democratic activity in the last 15 years, beginning with the vote of socialist Reichstag fraction for the war credits in 1914 and coming down to their policy of the lesser evil, serves to lay bare the putrid and decadent character of the reformist movement of our times. Trotsky exposes the inexorable logic of the collapse of the social democracy by voluminous quotations from their press, by citing an abundance of incidents and actions which strike at the very core of this diseased and outlived political organism. But even more convincing than the bare facts—which are enlightening enough—is the Marxian explanation given to them as they are woven into the texture of declining German and European capitalism as a whole. The puny soul of this withering reformist pillar of backsliding capitalist Germany—the social democratic functionary—shrivels and shrinks into insignificance before the masterful sociological and psychological scrutiny of Trotsky's eye: The question of the struggle against the social democracy is posed on the following premises: "(a) the political responsibility of the social democracy for the strength of Fascism; (b) absolute irreconcilability between Fascism and those workers organizations on which the social democracy itself depends."

A Critique of Stalinism
On the basis of these premises, the Bolshevik leader proceeds to a thoroughgoing criticism of the Stalinist leadership of the German Communist Party and the Communist International. The hopeless blunders of the Stalinist bureaucracy, (Continued on page 4)

All Out on Aug. First

Demonstrate against Imperialist War and the Hitlerist Menace

An entirely new generation has grown to maturity since August 1914, eighteen years ago, when the most murderous imperialist war history has ever known burst in Europe and dragged the most important nations of the whole world into its vortex. Yet so deep a gash did the world war leave on the body of the world that the workers and peasants everywhere are still suffering from the effects of it. The anarchy of capitalist competition, the struggle for world power of each imperialist nation, which gave birth to the "war to end all wars", has not only produced again one of its periodic crises, more terrific in its consequences than any which preceded it, but it has also brought closer to reality the danger of a new world war.

At the extremities of the capitalist world the preliminary shots of war already ring in the ears of those who fight them in the interests of their imperialist overlords. Manchuria is occupied by the armed forces of a Japanese despotism who have encountered an unlooked for resistance from the Chinese people. In Latin America, one country after another is on the verge of military combat, impelled by the rivalries of the imperialist nations of America and Great Britain who seek to hold their own and gain an advantage by displacing each other from the sources of profit in their respective colonial and semi-colonial empires. In the sorely torn metropolises, the insidious idea is eagerly cultivated, that a large-scale war would provide jobs for the millions who now tramp the streets without work.

Imperialism as a Volcano
With the world crisis having drawn all lines taut, with world capitalism sitting on a volcano, each important political event reveals ever more clearly the truth which the Marxists have for decades sought to bring home to the proletariat; capitalism today is sitting on a vast powder deposit which may be blown into consuming flames by the tiniest, most unexpected spark!

That is why August 1st of this year becomes an appropriate occasion for the assembling of the proletarian millions in the streets of the capitalist world for an enormous demonstration of opposition to imperialist war. One of the principal forces that has thus far restrained the imperialist war-mongers from an open struggle on the battlefields has been the fear of the answer which an aroused working class will make. The unforgettable lesson taught by the Russian revolution, which brought the imperialist war to an end by the overthrow of the ruling capitalist class, has penetrated the minds of the advanced ranks of the working class. The imperialists know that a new world war would bring with it the revolutionary reply of the world proletariat. But their fears of this eventuality are sometimes dominated by their greed for power and expansion, and driven by the inexorable laws of imperialist society, they are moving towards war in spite of everything.

At the present time, even more than

during the days before 1914, the preparations for war are proceeding at a frenzied pace under the smoke-screen of "disarmament". Out of each conference which the pacifist idiots or scoundrels seek to palm off on the working class as a guarantee against war, the imperialist

OPPOSITIONISTS! ATTENTION!

All members and sympathizers of the Communist League of America (Opposition) are urged to gather at our headquarters on 84 East 10th Street, New York, at 4:30 P. M., August First, so that the Left Opposition may be able to go to the party's demonstration as a unit. Be there on time!

powers emerge with increased and better equipped military and naval forces. The "disarmament" conferences have become an absolute pre-requisite to the imperialists in their preparations for war. The August First demonstrations this year, therefore, will have to become imposing, clear-minded protests against the monstrous swindle which militarists and pacifists are jointly practicing against the people. They will have to be aimed at clearing away the fog in the workers' minds, caused by the poisonous gases of pacifism. They must not only be a demonstration of protest against war in general, but a mobilization of the workers for the prosecution of the class war whose triumph really means the end of all war and the commencement of a new epoch for humanity.

The Threat of Hitlerism

The drive towards new imperialist war is inextricably inter-twined with the growing threat of war against the Soviet Union. Japan continues to lie in wait on Russia's Eastern borders, attending the most appropriate moment to fling its legions against the workers' republic in an attempt to exterminate what it failed to crush in the wars of intervention a decade ago. On the Western frontier, an even greater threat is growing against the Soviets. The swelling of the forces of Fascism in Germany, which are being nourished on an implacable hatred for Bolshevism, whose marching songs reveal their fiendish desire to annihilate the Red Army and its Soviet republic, constitutes the most serious menace to Russia in recent years.

No more timely defense of the Soviet Union can be made than the concentration of the world's revolutionary forces to smash the Fascist monster before it comes to power. No more urgent task faces the Communist movement than that of redressing the line of German Communism so that it may be able to tread the right road: the establishment of a genuine united front with the social democratic masses for a mortal struggle against Hitlerism. To shout about war without making the German situation the center of agitation is to convert August First into a meaningless meeting.

The failure to do this to now reveals one of the sore spots in the pre-

sent Stalinist policy, which results in effect into transforming the August First demonstrations into a ritualistic parade, disconnected from the most vital questions of the day. When the August First demonstrations were first proclaimed by the Comintern in 1929, they were deeply tinged with the spirit of mad adventurism. Three years later, Stalinism has gone through another of its periodical zigzags, and now August First is associated with the opportunistic game they are playing with the Barbusse "Congress against War." The working class could not play into the hands of its enemy more surely than by thus hiding its face behind the mask of confused and pernicious pacifism. Here too, the line of official Communism, turned and twisted into a hopeless knot, must be unraveled instantly so that during and after August First a revolutionary position may be presented to the workers.

August First, finally, will be a mere anniversary commemoration if it is not associated with a strengthening of the class movement in this country. To accomplish this without a change in the course of the party, has been proved impossible. It is here that the criticisms of the Left Opposition gain point and timeliness.

On August First, the working class must fill the streets. Join with the Communist party and the revolutionary militants in a demonstration of opposition to imperialist war, loyalty to the Soviet Union, and organization of resistance to the capitalist offensive! Every worker out!

Eleventh Hour in Germany

Socialists Restrain Workers: Stalinists still Reject United Front

Events in Germany are rushing swiftly towards a climax. Sunday's elections to the now dissolved Reichstag will serve as another milestone on the road which leads Germany to the final decision: the triumph of Fascism or proletarian emancipation.

For those to whom it was not clear at the outset, it should now be plain: the von Papen regime of Junkers and militarists is a stop-gap of no permanency. It cannot be expected to last for any length of time except that required by the Hitlerites to demoralize the working class forces and strengthen their own to the point where Fascism may seize power in its own name. To expect, furthermore, that the Fascists will take power only after they have gained fifty-one percent of the votes is to suffer from the same stupid illusion, turned upside-down, which the social democrats of the world over have fostered in the minds of their followers by telling them that they will come to power after they have gained a majority of the ballots. Hitler cannot and will not wait until he has attained that far-off objective. The acuteness of the struggle does not allow time for such a "peaceful" advent to the seat of power for Fascism. Moreover, Hitler realizes as well as anyone else that his social reservoirs are being rapidly exhausted; that the discontented and despairing petty bourgeoisie from which he has hitherto drawn the bulk of his electorate, have been tapped to the utmost; that he is rapidly nearing the height of any possible parliamentary triumph; and that unless power is seized violently—and this is the only way in which the proletariat will allow it to be seized—it will not be seized at all.

The Eleventh Hour Nears

That is why the crucial moment, that is why the workers must be vigilantly on guard—not only in Germany but throughout the rest of the world: for on the triumph or defeat of Fascism in Germany hangs the fate of the world revolution and the Soviet Union for the entire coming period.

But the vigilance of the working class of Germany is being broken from two directions. The first is from the social democracy, which is drugging the proletariat and paralyzing its limbs while Hitler advances. Its policy of restraining the workers, soothing them with empty, treacherous promises of salvation, is demoralizing the ranks of the workers and sowing the spirit of despair and capitulation. Their attitude is summed up by the pessimistic analysis of the New Leader of July 30, the organ of the American socialists: "If Hitler ascends to power, he will be deflated within a few months, as he is an ignorant and conditions will certainly not improve because a child mind has been heaved into eminence." This curious combination of surrender in advance, ignorance of recent history and the elements of politics, boavery, and an imitation of the vain bravado of the Stalinists in Ger-

Bullets & Gas for the Vets!

Hoover and Co. Make a Repayment for Soldiers' Services

By order of the arch-reactionary Hoover, amid clouds of tear gas, "gently prodded by bayonets", struck by the flats of sabers, the veterans encamped in Washington have been driven from their billets by infantry, cavalry, tanks and machine gun detachments. Tear gas bombs were hurled into the midst of women and children standing on the sidewalks, booing the misguided soldiers. It was a mopping-up sortier reminiscent of world war days, say the capitalist reporters.

This incident, foreshadowing what capitalism holds in store for the future revolts of its wage slaves, followed a skirmish earlier in the day in which the enraged veterans drove off the police and Treasury agents who attempted to evict them from their makeshift homes. In this affray a veteran lost his life, a number of others were injured, and several policemen received as well as they gave. For hundreds of thousands of workers all over the country the true nature of American democracy has been revealed. Before their very eyes the views of the Communists have been proved. Capitalism rules by force. It spares nobody.

The veterans have mastered the only reward their capitalist masters will give them. This is what they get for their defense of "innocent, bleeding Belgium." This is their reward for making the "world safe for democracy". The gas bombs they once hurled at equally misled German workers have now been hurled at them by "their own countrymen". The bayonets which they once used to rip and slash the bodies of "enemy" soldiers have been applied to their own skins by men wearing the same uniforms they wore in the Argonne and Chateau-Thierry. What a bitter education these workers are getting under the driving

force of the class struggle!

The Veterans' Progress

How far they have come on the road to class consciousness can be seen from the fact that these are the men whom the capitalist class had organized into the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars as working class smash-strikes and instruments demonstrations. Now, having learned by their own experience what capitalism is, they will no longer allow themselves to be used for this kind of capitalist dirty work.

But they still have a long way to reach the ranks of the class conscious vanguard. They must learn that the fight for the bonus must be made a part of the class fight for relief from the crisis at the expense of the capitalist class and its government; that their fight must be made a part of a united working class fight embracing with employed and unemployed workers.

It is the task of the Communists to teach them. They must advance the correct slogans, and work in the ranks of the veterans to raise them to class consciousness. The Communists must support the fight for the bonus—as a special measure of relief for a special section of the working class. In this connection it must be noted that the Daily Worker has made a profound mistake in relegating the fight for the bonus to a position second to the bonus fight. If the fight for the bonus is to yield results in relief and class consciousness the correct relation between it and the broader fight for unemployment insurance must be observed.

Communist Opportunities

The Communists now have a splendid opportunity to take over the leadership of the bonus fight. In the crucial moment when the veterans needed leadership and direction their commander, Waters, turned out to be, as the Communists foretold, a coward and faker. The tide of battle swept him aside. The men are now leaderless. The prestige of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League will rise if it steps into the breach and leads. It has in this situation an opportunity to smash through the isolation into which its incorrect tactics led it. It can demonstrate that it is capable under Communist guidance, of leading not only isolated demonstrations of the vanguard, but the masses of the vets.

The Communists must rally the vets, draw for them the lessons of their fight for the bonus and the most recent actions of the Hoover starvation government, and raise the fight for the bonus to the higher plane of the general class fight for relief. If they will do this they will advance the vets toward class consciousness and raise the prestige of Communism in the eyes of the whole working class.

—T. S.

200 at German Meeting

Despite a heavy shower shortly before the meeting, and the intense mid-summer heat, more than 200 workers packed the hall of the Steubesant Casino last Wednesday to hear the viewpoint of the Left Opposition on the crisis in Germany. Hugo Oehler introduced the subject with an analysis of the events leading up to the present situation and the significance of the struggle between Fascism and Communism. He was followed by Max Shachtman, who sketched the false course pursued by the official party leaders for the past few years in connection with the social democracy on the one hand, and Fascism on the other. The seriousness of the situation in Germany was emphasized and the standpoint of the Left Opposition revealed to have been vindicated by life itself. The speakers were followed with the strictest attention, and the audience included not only a large number of party and Lovestone group members, but dozens of workers who had never before attended a meeting of the Left Opposition. The Casino meeting was the first in a series of meetings being organized throughout the country by us in an endeavor to arouse the American militants to the vital importance of the situation now developing in Germany.

New York Branch Starts Important Drive

We're moving again with our activity centering around our latest publication, **What Next?** The New York branch has started out with a bang by launching a Literature and Finance Campaign whose pivot is **What Next?** The details are reported elsewhere in this issue.

As our ad announces, until further notice, we are offering a free paper copy of **What Next?** with each half year sub of twenty-six issues; and a free cloth copy with each year's sub of fifty-two issues. Militant Builders, this is your opportunity! You have in this offer a great inducement to workers to subscribe.

We think that this is so great an opportunity that it is possible for every

comrade to get subs. We are therefore throwing out all our old records and starting from scratch. Every comrade now has the same opportunity.

Beginning with the next issue we will record the progress of the staff and our branches. We want to see this record grow by leaps and bounds. There is no reason why it shouldn't.

To the two comrades who stand highest in the list at the end of August we will open our literature closet—they may make their choice of any one of our publications.

Now then to work! We have here an opportunity we may not get again so soon. Action is needed to realize it.

Hoover and the «Relief» Bill

Millions of Unemployed Workers Swindled by New Congress Bill

The press reports that Hoover has at last signed a "relief" bill which releases \$3,800,000,000 to help the country out of its present fix. Just how is this money to be used and whom will it relieve?

With the growing army of unemployed clamoring for aid from the government, it would seem "logical" that this money should immediately go to them. But alas, the father of his country seems to have his own ideas about how to aid his people. Out of this whole enormous sum of close to four billions of dollars, exactly three hundred millions will go to the states for "direct unemployment relief". Three billion, five hundred millions are to be used in the same way as have all the so-called relief schemes that have been adopted up to now. How?

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation gets the biggest chunk—\$1,800,000,000. "Public construction", private loans, and financing of agriculture through credit corporations receive a small donation of \$1,500,000,000. (The rest of the kitty goes for various improvements in roads, highways, parks, etc.)

What, then, do the starving millions of workers cast on the scrap heap of industry, actually get? The pitiful sum of three hundred millions—and before state agencies of distributing this money get through dishing it out, the bigger part of it will have found its way into their own pockets in the form of salaries! How many times have the workers already seen these "relief" sums loudly announced in headlines of all newspapers—and every time, the same hypocritical praise of these ideas. Always the same end of the

whole rotten bank—graft for the dispensers of relief, lovely talk and no cash for those who really need it.

At the same time something happened that the unemployed workers of these United States should open their eyes to and learn from. Hoover actually signed an act which will permit 215,000 veterans to receive, after July 25, half the value of their bonus certificates! Why does Hoover do this now after Congress and Herbie himself have time and again refused to help the ex-soldiers out of their misery?

There can be only one answer to that. The demonstrations and growing militancy of the vets at the very doors of the old man in Washington are beginning to have their effect. The increasing threat of the marchers, the picketing on the lawn of the Capital have forced this half-way move of Hoover.

The unemployed and employed workers are seeing before their very eyes a picture of the only way they ever will get real relief—by organizing and fighting for it. Hoover is just about as much concerned about the plight of the unemployed and actual relief, as he is over the scene of misery enacted by the bonus army on the disease-infected banks of Anacostia flats. Hoover and the boss class for which he stands, will continue to turn deaf ears to the pleas of this starving mass of wage slaves until those pleas become mighty, roaring commands of an organized force of employed and unemployed inversibly united.

—HERBERT CAPELIS.