

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Hoover's Message

While the police of Washington were terrorizing the National Hunger Marchers who had come to the opening session of Congress to demand immediate relief and unemployment insurance, Hoover delivered his message to Congress. The message called for greater support for the bankers and a greater struggle against the workers. The highlights of the Hoover message called for: reorganization of the banking system for the bankers; greater centralization of the governmental apparatus in the interest of the imperialists. An 11 percent wage cut for the Federal employees; a cut for the Veteran Fund; reduction of government building and expense; and a sales tax to shift a greater share of the tax burden to the workers and the middle class. Hoover may not be the next president but Hoover is making haste to serve the imperialists and beat down the workers further before he turns the job over to Roosevelt and the Democrats.

Hoover dealt primarily with the internal difficulties of the capitalists. In the main he kept in the background the equally vital international questions confronting American imperialism. This is primarily due to the fact that if Wall Street can keep Congress busy with the internal problems (that must be answered), Wall Street will see to it that the president and the cabinet take care of the international problems.

The international problems can be handled in the best interest of the imperialists if the facts are kept in the files and archives. Further, the American state structure has a carry-over from the past stage that is cumbersome and must be eliminated if the state is to function with speed for the imperialists. There is still too much middle class weight in the old school. The new flunkies must be lined up to support imperialism and, in the mean time, the "reorganization of the government through the grouping and consolidating of more than fifty executives and independent agencies" must be put through.

Smith's proposal for Imperialism bears the same stamp. The imperialist must centralize the government for economy but then also use the economy argument as a smoke screen to extend its grip over the whole state at the expense of the other sections of the exploiters.

After this is accomplished they will be able to take up the international questions as free and above board as they do the internal measures for the bankers and against the workers.

The major international questions confronting the imperialists that the government departments are handling are: war debts, the economic conference, the disarmament conference, the position of the dollar and a relations with the USSR. The question of the USSR falls into three subdivisions: to obtain markets; the possibility of a change in the form of the economic war being waged against the Soviet Union; and prevention of the extension of the October revolution. Around the other questions, this question of the October revolution and the relation to the other imperialists, such as England, France, Japan and Germany are interwoven. America must find a way to gain a position of advantage in the coming (Continued on page 3)

Save the Militant!

This issue appears a week late. That means that we have been forced to skip an issue. This is a retreat from the weekly Militant. It was made necessary by the increasing depth of our financial crisis which placed insuperable obstacles in the way of getting out last week's issue.

There is no point in detailing here all the debts and consequent technical difficulties which forced us to this retreat. More eloquent than this is the loss of an issue.

The loss of this issue is a warning to all of us comrades, that unless we come to the aid of the Militant now we may not be able to avoid skipping issues again. We may even be forced to return to a semi-monthly basis. As a matter of fact, at the present moment, we have no way of telling whether we will be able to get out next week's issue.

The life of the weekly Militant is at stake. The issue is squarely up to us. We alone can decide that it will appear regularly as a weekly. We must make the decision and make it promptly.

This blow comes at a critical moment. The League has been making forward strides in Pittsburgh. New Castle, Davenport, Des Moines and Montreal. Branches have been organized in these cities. We have held aloft the banner of Communism in the Illinois coal fields. The recent developments in the A. F. of L. have confirmed our program on unemployment.

In all of these activities the Militant has played an outstanding part. It has consistently and tirelessly hammered out the Leninist line of the Left Opposition. Now we stand on the threshold of further advances new and greater

possibilities to put forward, the ideas of Leninism are opening up new avenues. We must assure the regular appearance of the Militant. If our central organizer is forced to retreat all our other activities will be forced to retreat to a slower tempo.

Against this perspective we are sounding a serious note of alarm. This dark perspective must not be realized. We must make a determined struggle against it.

At the present moment this must take the form of donations. First of all we must dig into our own pockets. The Militant comes first. Then we must surround to every sympathizer and friend, put the plight of the Militant squarely before him and ask him for help.

Large donations will accomplish more than small ones. But no amount is too small. And every penny counts. All funds must be raised in the shortest possible time and rushed to the Militant at 126 East 16 Street, N. Y.

It is up to us to save the Militant. Let us pull it through this crisis. It is our paper; it is the organ of the international proletarian revolution in the United States; it is the voice of Marxism; the banner bearer of the ideas of the October Revolution; of the International Left Opposition. To have it retreat would be to strike a blow at the entire international movement. This must not be allowed to happen.

The movement and its friends must avert this catastrophe. It must respond with help at once. Funds must be raised and rushed. Will you do your share?

L. Trotsky: BONAPARTISM IN GERMANY

The elections to the Reichstag put the "presidential" government to a new critical test. It is useful, therefore to remind of its social and political nature. It is precisely through the analysis of such concrete, and at first glance "stupid" political phenomena, as the government of Papen-Schleicher, that the Marxian method reveals its invaluable advantages.

At one time we defined the "presidential" government as a species of "bonapartism." It would be incorrect to see in this definition the chance outcome of a desire to find a familiar name for an unfamiliar phenomena. The decline of capitalist society places again bonapartism together with Fascism and in connection with it on the order of the day. Previously we have characterized the government of Brüning as a bonapartism one. Then, in retrospect we narrowed its definition to a half, or pre-bonapartism one.

What did other Communists and in general "left" groups say in this connection? To await an attempt at a scientific definition of a new political phenomena from the present leadership of the Comintern would, of course, be naive, not to say foolish. The Stalinists simply place Papen in the Fascist camp. If Wells and Hitler are "twins" then such a trifle as Papen is altogether not worth breaking ones head about. This is the same vulgar literature which Marx called vulgarism and which he taught us to despise. In reality Fascism represents one of the two main camps of civil war. Stretching his arm to power, Hitler first of all demanded the relinquishing of the street to him for 72 hours. Hindenburg refused this. The task of Papen-Schleicher—to avoid civil war by disciplining amicably the national-socialists and chaining the proletariat to police fetters. The very possibility of such a regime is determined by the relative weakness of the proletariat.

The SAP rids itself of the question of the Papen government as well as of other questions by means of general phrases. The Brandlerites preserved silence on our definition as long as the matter concerned Brüning, that means the incubation period of bonapartism. When, however, the Marxian characteristic of Bonapartism confirmed itself fully by theory and practice of the presidential government the Brandlerites came out with their criticisms: the wise owl of Thälheimer takes flight in the late hours of the night.

The Stuttgart "Workers Tribune" teaches us that bonapartism raising the military-police apparatus over the bourgeoisie in order to defend its class domination against its own political parties, must be supported by the peasantry and must use methods of social democracy. Papen is not supported by the peasantry and does not introduce a pseudo-radical program. Therefore, our attempt to define the government of Papen as bonapartism "does not fit at all." This is severe but carries no weight.

How do the Brandlerites themselves define the government of Papen? In the same issue of the "Tribune" there are very timely announcements of the lecture of Brandler on the subject: "Junker-monarchical, Fascist or proletarian dictatorship?" In this triad the regime of Papen is presented as a Junker-monarchical dictatorship. This is most worthy of the "Forward" and of vulgar democrats in general. That titled German bonapartists make some sort of little presents to the Junker is obvious. That these gentlemen are inclined to a monarchistic trend of thoughts is also known. But it is pure liberal nonsense that the essence of the liberal regime is Junker monarchism.

Such terms as liberalism, bonapartism, fascism have the character of generalizations. Historical phenomena never repeat themselves completely. It would not have been difficult to prove that even the government of Napoleon III, compared with the regime of Napoleon the First, carried no weight.

A.F.L. and 6-Hour Day

Cincinnati Convention Shows Left Wing Opportunities

The present storm and stress of the capitalist economic system begins to leave an indelible imprint upon the American Federation of Labor. It has produced a new view, which is advanced under pressure and solely for the record. In this respect the four years from the end of bourgeois prosperity to the present day widespread destitution and starvation, record a change of front on the key problem of unemployment. It is graphically illustrated in the last four annual conventions.

At the Toronto convention, in 1929, there gathered a galaxy of labor skates

gaily partaking of the coveted liquid stream which flows so freely across the border. Their main subject of conversation, outside of the monotonous convention routine, was the latest quotations on the stock exchange. At Boston in 1930, some rumblings of dissatisfaction were audible; but the gathering denounced any schemes of unemployment insurance in customary reactionary terms. At Vancouver, in 1931, the rumblings became almost a storm; but the gathering remained adamant and only the phrase became radicalized. At Cincinnati, during the last couple of weeks, the delegates were compelled to debate serious issue and the convention adopted a policy of favoring unemployment insurance.

This change, of course, is not so sweeping when we consider the millions of the present crisis and the millions out of work. Moreover the view of the A. F. of L. leadership of the (Continued on page 4)

OPEN FORUM

The A. F. of L. Convention

Speaker: ARNE SWABECK
Friday, December 16, 1932
126 East 16 Street, ADMISSION: 15c
Auspices: N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

Gov't. Answers Hunger Marchers With Force

Militants Surrounded by 5000 Armed Police

WASHINGTON, D. C.—While we are parked on a street on the outskirts of this city with police on all sides I can take this opportunity to write an account of the most striking events in the Hunger March up to this point.

It was in Wilmington, Delaware, that we suffered the first attack of the police. When we reached the outskirts of Wilmington, Friday night about 5:30 P. M., we left our trucks, formed into lines and marched through the streets with our banners despite the announcement in the press that we would not be allowed to march nor to stay overnight.

We marched through side streets. I suppose we were not allowed on the main streets. The crowds were by far the largest that we had seen since leaving New York, except in Philly. This must have been due to the expectation that the police would make trouble. However we reached our destination, a large, empty, barn-like structure, without encountering any violent developments. These came later.

Shortly after the meeting started the police, reinforced by firemen and various home-guard elements broke up the meeting with their clubs and billys and drove the marchers to the church and scattered the crowd. The marchers barricaded the doors and fought off the police until tear gas bombs were hurled through the windows.

The delegates numbering 300, of whom almost 200 were women were forced to leave the church. The men were mercilessly beaten by the bullies who outnumbered them. The marchers were scattered; many were arrested; numbers of them required medical attention and some were taken to the hospital. Ben Gold, who is with us on the march, is in the hospital. Anne Burlak is arrested. The men, though outnumbered, put up a good fight, and several cops had to be taken away to quieter places.

Many comrades are missing, mostly women. At the present it is impossible to check up. The 23 arrested are held on various charges and the I.L.D. is looking after them. A delegation went to the police station to demand their release. We don't know the result yet.

En Route Again

Saturday morning under heavy police guard we left for Baltimore arriving there late in the afternoon. Food, and shelter had been provided for some of us had been refused by seven citizens after all sides in a room by the mayor. This was the first time on the trip that we received aid other than that given by the W.I.R. and workers' organizations. A meeting was held later in the armory.

Sunday noon we left for Washington under guard of the state police. The police led us into a sort of blind alley at the dead end of a cross street. A large squad of cops with tear gas was posted on the hill above us on our left. This location is such that it was a simple matter for the police to control the situation.

In Washington the district and federal

officials put every obstacle in the way of the committee in their efforts to rent a hall for a convention which was to take place today, Monday. The committee finally succeeded in renting a small hall that holds 800. Whether 800 of us will be permitted to enter the city proper is another matter. At the present situation is deadlocked; we are waiting here and so are the police. The plan of the police seems to be to keep us here until we become discouraged.

The Convention

The convention was finally held out here. Three resolutions were adopted. One scored the refusal of the authorities to grant a permit to parade in Washington; the second endorsed the demands of the Hunger March. Amter and Benjamin spoke. Benjamin said that if we were not allowed to parade, a committee which would be selected would present our demands to Congress. His speech also contained a vague threat to march in any event. He concluded by saying that when we return home we should attempt to draw the broad masses into the next march. But he didn't say how!

Just another word about the camp. Conditions here are very unsanitary and most of us have severe colds due to exposure. Although lodgings for the women and sick had been secured in Washington many of the men were refused admission to Washington by the police. Provocateurs also made several attempts to start trouble.

We have here about 3000 marchers including 350 women and a large number of Negro comrades. That special efforts were made to get Negro delegates I learned from conversation with delegates from all sections of the country. The only organizations represented are party organizations. There are a few delegates elected by Left wing groups in the A. F. of L. This is the sum and substance of the united front below. Recognition of Soviet Russia was demanded only in the slogans carried by the scum.

The marchers displayed considerable militancy, evidenced by their actions in various cities where, in spite of police terror, they succeeded in parading and holding meetings. The organizational side of the march was fairly well handled when you consider the difficulties connected with handling so many people.

I P. M.

We have just returned from our march to the Capitol where a delegation presented our demands to Congress. The spirit of the marchers, despite their exhaustion and the double lines of police that flanked us on both sides, was excellent. This was all the more remarkable in face of the unsympathetic attitude of the large crowds that lined the streets to watch us.

Our march in face of the determination of the authorities to prevent us from even entering Washington can be considered only as a victory. This proof of the power of mass pressure brings to mind the possibilities in a genuine united front movement.

—BILL KITT.

Opposition at Anti-War Meet in New York

Over six hundred delegates attended the United Youth Conference Against War held in New York City, November 25 to 27. The conference was called by a provisional committee strongly dominated by the socialists, and composed of the leading pacifist and socialist youth organizations and the Lovestonite youth. At the conference itself, in addition to the sponsoring organizations, the student groups of the National Student League, the NSL itself, the YCL, the National Youth Committee of the Communist League (Opposition) and the New York Spartacus Youth Club participated.

The entire conference proceedings were controlled by the socialist and pacifist initiators. Previous to its opening, a caucus meeting of these groups decided to bar the Communist and Left wing representatives from all committees and posts. A well-oiled, steam-rolling machine was organized to prevent the Communist viewpoint from being adequately presented to the delegates. The election of a credential committee—an elementary procedure at conferences—was substituted for by the provisional groups!

The keynote speech of A. Fenner Borckway, the chairman of the British Independent Labour Party, gave a left socialist teneur to the conference. He spoke of the inadequacy of the tactics of the socialist parties on war, the need to mobilize the youth to refuse to fight; the development of a "new technique"—to achieve revolution without bloodshed,—which he refused to explain on the ground

that a counter-technique would thus be facilitated!

Steam Rolling Tactics of the Socialists

The most important phase of the conference was the report of the resolutions committee. The latter consisted of seven socialists and pacifists. The committee rejected, out-of-hand, not merely the resolution presented by the Left Opposition youth, the resolution of the YCL endorsing the Barbusse Amsterdam manifesto, but even the innocuous ones of Left wing student groups on student fees, student rights and for participation in the coming Chicago anti-war conference.

In view of the steam-rolling tactics of the Conference, the monopoly of the pacifists and the socialists on the resolutions committee and the organized plan to prevent Communist and dissenting resolutions from being submitted to the delegates, a number of student groups presented a statement, condemning these tactics and calling for the reading of all resolutions from the floor. This procedure was ruled out of order by the chair.

Discussion on the Resolutions

Resolutions on the cancellation of international debts and reparations, recognition of the Soviet Union, etc., were carried. The Committee introduced a resolution which greeted the Soviet Union's disarmament proposal, condemned the United States for not accepting it, and called upon the American youth to support the slogan. The second part of the resolution called upon the American government to disarm by example. The

delegates from the Left Opposition spoke against this resolution. The Lovestonites favored the resolution on the grounds that it calls for the disarmament of the capitalist government!

One of the NSL delegates moved to divide the two sections of the resolution and then spoke against the second part in line with the speeches of the Left Opposition delegation. The socialists replied that they did not expect the American government to disarm but that the demand for disarmament would expose the government before the people. The Young Communist League delegates did not participate in the discussion. All groups with the exception of the Left Opposition voted for the first part of the resolution; a number of NSL delegates joined in the voting against (Continued on page 2)

NEW YEAR'S EVE
DANCE AND ENTERTAINMENT
JAZZ BAND - SKITS - SOLOS
SATURDAY DECEMBER 18, 1932
at 126 East 16th Street
ADMISSION: 35 CENTS
Auspices: N. Y. Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

CONCERT AND DANCE
with a program of MUSIC — RECITATIONS — IMPROVIZATIONS
Also Fine Dance Music
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1932
at 126 East 16th Street
Admission in Advance 25c at door 35c
Auspices: Unser Kampf Arbeiter Club

MASS MEETING
DEC. 21, 1932

Soviet Economy in Danger

STUYVESANT CASINO
9th Street and 2nd Avenue

ADMISSION: 10 Cents
Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Speakers:
MAX SHACHTMAN
ARNE SWABECK