

FROM Behind THE BARS

by the jailed Communist Candidate

What Has Millionaire Hilquit to Do With Socialism?

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ASE CAHAN, editor of the vicious anti-working class paper, the Jewish "Forward," says that "Marx is obsolete"—out of date—and that he (Cahan) has "progressed with the times." Norman Thomas, liberal candidate of the "socialist" party, in a letter to the Telegram openly disavowed himself of Marxism and a year or so ago vigorously advocated the change of the name of the party to conform more to the ideas of Cahan.

Hilquit Wields the Baton.

Morris Hilquit, millionaire lawyer and "eminent Marxian," is the theorist of this capitalist party, and as such was chosen to deliver the keynote speech at the N. Y. state convention of the "socialist" party. His speech showed well that the question is justified: What has Hilquit to do with Marxism—what has the "socialist" party to do with Marxism?

The worker is not interested in scientific names—he is interested in the methods that will lead to his liberation from the system of exploitation, unemployment, low wages, murderous speed-up, imperialist war. Marxism is the science that analyzes capitalist society, establishes the principle of the class struggle—the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class—the necessity of overthrowing capitalism and of establishing the proletarian (working - class) dictatorship. Marxism establishes the economic basis and also the political principles out of which are developed policies, strategy and tactics leading to the revolutionary goal.

The "People's" Candidates.

The working class and the capitalist class have nothing in common. Their interests are opposed to each other. A political party represents the interests of one or the other class and to pretend that it can represent both classes or the "people" generally is to lie. It is an attempt to hide the class struggle and to make the workers believe that their interests can be represented and promoted by a party of the "people." This is the claim alike of the republican, of the democratic, of the "socialist" party. This means that they all represent the interest of the dominant class—the capitalists, despite their phraseology. The national "socialist" party of Germany is an extreme fascist party having the aim to establish a fascist dictatorship, yet its platform contains "radical" working class "demands." The American "socialist" party parades "working class demands," but we shall see what relation they bear to Marxism, the science of the proletarian revolution, when millionaire "Marxian" Hilquit, member of the executive committee of the "Socialist" International, expounded them in his keynote speech at Schenectady.

"Democracy," Constitutional "Guarantees."

Finally, capitalist government is supposed to be "democratic," that is the so-called "rights of the people" are alleged to be "guaranteed by the constitution" and "cannot be violated." Marxism poses the proletarian dictatorship against the capitalist dictatorship which is in force today. This capitalist dictatorship uses "democracy" at a time when capitalist production needs an awakened working class to do the work, that is, when there is greater need of skilled labor. With the passing away of this need, owing to the introduction of the automatic machine, division of labor, speed-up, etc., the skilled workers no longer play their former important role in production and masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers take their place. This development is part of the system which also brings about mass unemployment, low wages, speed-up, imperialist war, etc., against which the workers fight.

Then "democracy," with its "guaranteed rights" disappears, and the capitalist dictatorship shows itself in its real form—open, organized state violence, which in our day takes the form of a fascist dictatorship. Every capitalist country of the world today is either a fascist dictatorship or is rapidly developing in that direction—this including the United States, signs being manifested on all sides.

Hush! Hilquit Speaking!

What has Hilquit to do with this Marxian analysis? Or, what has the preacher, Norman Thomas, the standard bearer of the "socialist" party, or the whole "socialist" party to do with it?

Let millionaire Hilquit, the "Marxian," speak! He spoke at Schenectady about the "economic crisis which faces the people of America," and was worried because "paper millionaires of yesterday have become paupers today. The smaller concerns are fast drifting into bankruptcy." It should worry the workers a lot that millionaires and smaller concerns are going bankrupt—but Hilquit sheds tears because a section of the capitalist class suffers from the crisis! The Marxian says that the worker and capitalist have nothing in common and that their interests are antagonistic. Therefore "the people" of which Hilquit speaks is the capitalist class still dominating the workers.

The "Cause" For Unemployment.

What is the cause of the economic crisis, which extends throughout the world? Even conservative bourgeois economists admit today that it is overproduction—too much production, which finds no markets. According to Hilquit, it is an act of individual capitalists or groups of them. He speaks of the "wheels of industry being arbitrarily stopped." Hilquit is intimately connected with Burns Bros., coal dealers, and the office clerk could readily tell him what is the matter. The matter is markets which cannot keep up with production, this taking on an international scope, and being combined with a world agricultural crisis and meeting with a general decline of capitalism in certain countries produces an economic crisis of the most serious nature.

Does Hilquit see that this is inevitable under the capitalist system, and not the result of the "arbitrariness" of capitalism? He does not—he is only worried about his millionaires being reduced to paupers!

Hilquit also bemoans the fact that "our



A Defeat Which Must Serve as an Alarm

By HERBERT BENJAMIN.

The Party forces in District Six have been unable to overcome the obstacles which the ruling class has set up in order to prevent the Party of the working class from appearing on the ballot. The Van Sveringen, Fisher Bros., and the rest of the multi-millionaires of Ohio, have gone beyond even their co-rulers in other states in their laws to maintain complete control and monopoly of all the apparatus of the state. Thirty thousand signatures are required from at least 30 of the 88 counties in order that workingclass candidates may appear on the ballot.

In addition to the rigorous requirements provided by the laws which they have enacted the bourgeoisie resorts to a greater extent to extra legal use of its state apparatus in order to accomplish its aims. Workers soliciting signatures are arrested, the petitions on their persons are confiscated as evidence, and they are driven out of town or jailed. This occurred in practically every city in the state. In Newark, our candidate for governor, Comrade I. O. Ford was twice arrested. In Dayton, three comrades are still serving sixty day jail sentences and others are awaiting trial after being held for days on excessive bail. The purpose of these arrests is frankly revealed by the prosecutor in Dayton, who offers to drop the cases if the comrades will promise to leave town. In the steel centers of the Mahoning Valley, in the coal regions of Eastern Ohio, in Akron, the Rubber City, in all the industrial towns of the state, similar methods were adopted by the official agents of the bosses.

The Communist Party will demand a place on the ballot on the basis of the fact that any

failure to meet the stringent requirements of the bosses' dictatorship that the authorities may charge us with is due to the measures taken by these very state authorities to defeat our efforts to place spokesmen of our class on the ballot. We charge the state authorities with direct responsibility, and will mobilize the workers for a fight to compel them, to set aside their technical excuses for eliminating our candidates.

But for the membership of the Party everywhere and particularly in District Six, it is necessary to learn the lessons from our serious failure. It is necessary to establish that at a time when the masses of workers are rallying in ever larger numbers around the Party, when hundreds of thousands of them are recognizing the need for militant struggle against the policies of the bourgeoisie and against the rule of the bosses, we were unable to develop the necessary power to defeat and overcome the measures and obstacles of the ruling class.

This must serve as a warning to, must serve to alarm the entire Party. Unless we quickly overcome the weaknesses which were responsible for this defeat we stand in danger of suffering further and greater defeats.

Ninety per cent of the signatures secured in Ohio were secured during the last three weeks of the campaign. But this final spurt could not undo the effects of the dilatory methods that marked our campaign up to then. On the contrary, even our final spurt could not develop the necessary tempo because of the lethargy which resulted from the earlier neglect and irresponsibility. We must learn that to wait till a few days before an event rather than conduct intensive preparatory work from

government under republican and democratic administrations alike, has utterly failed!" Has it failed for the capitalists, whom he calls the "public"—and we call the "64"? Hardly, for both republicans and democrats serve their masters well—but not the workers and poor farmers. Look at the profits and dividends of 1929—could the millionaires (including Hilquit) want anything better than what they had last year? But now they have failed, says Hilquit, and therefore the "socialists" must show them—not the bankruptcy of their system and the misery it entails for the workers—no, the "socialists" must show the capitalists how to save themselves!

Capitalist administrations have scandals—New York City, Albany, etc. Put a "socialist" on the investigating committee, says Hilquit, "to ensure an honest and constructive investigation, and it might incidentally throw some light on the rumored bi-partisan combines of corrupt republican and democratic politicians!" The "socialists" wish to be in on the investigations to give the rabbinical and ministerial approval—and to declare that corruption is not a bi-partisan but tri-partisan affair. The "socialists" want the workers to forget the Barnat scandal in Germany, in which the Barnat Bank of Holland was proved to be financing the social-democratic party of Germany and getting commercial orders wherever the social-democrats would favor them. We don't forget Ramsay MacDonald receiving a gift of an expensive automobile and immediately making the donor of it a baronet.

"Socialist" Graft.

No, we don't forget such things, millionaire Hilquit—and we have plenty of cases of "socialist" trade union leaders receiving the same graft from bosses. You cannot serve two classes at once—you represent either the workers or the capitalists. The "socialists" want to be stamped and accepted as what they are—the third party of capitalism! And to chide the "clean" and "progressive" Roosevelt and deplore that "his political failure has been all the more tragic." Is openly to express his agreement with and support of capitalism, and to try to reconcile the workers in their lot under capitalism. Hilquit wishes to assist

capitalism in a manner more in keeping with the present needs of capitalist parties that have to deal with dissatisfied, oppressed workers who are beginning to rebel against the system. Therefore, he speaks of the "backwardness of the old parties!" The "socialists" wish to show them the new way.

Hilquit Explaining Communism.

Finally, Hilquit deplores the Fish investigation of the Communists, not because he sees in the Communists fighting revolutionary workers organizing for the overthrow of capitalism, but because it is strengthening the Communist Party. Do you wish to "check the alarming Communist danger"? asks Hilquit. Then "curb police brutalities and judicial vindictiveness." We, as Marxians, understood that economic and political conditions lead to revolution. Hilquit tells us that the policeman's club, one of the capitalist weapons to protect itself, is the basis of the growth of the Communist movement. This is Hilquit's Marxism! This is "socialist" International stuff—the International that is doing everything in its power to save capitalism, the system that is crushing the workers and poor farmers.

The workers want liberation from the capitalist system. This can come only through struggle against capitalism and its three parties—republican, democratic and "socialist."

Does any worker doubt that the "socialist" party is a pro-capitalist party? Then let him look at the praise of Norman Thomas and the "socialist" party when he was nominated for Congress, bestowed upon them by the Times, Tribune, World and Telegram and see the reprint in the New York Leader, "socialist" party organ. Or see the space that the Times and Telegram give the third party every day. "Thoroughly respectable," they say. Quite correct—and thoroughly reliable for capitalism!

Workers, support the Communist program of struggle for immediate needs and for the final goal!

Support the Communist Party program and candidates in the election!

(Written at Hart's Island Penitentiary.)