

**WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE**

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME IV, NO. 37 [WHOLE NO. 96]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1931

PRICE 5 CENTS

## Persecution of Left Opposition

Stalin Works for the Physical Destruction of the Bolshevik-Leninists

In a recent issue of *The Militant* we carried an item about the heroic hunger strike of the Bolshevik-Leninists who are jailed in the isolation camp at Verchne-Uralsk. This hunger strike, caused by the intolerable administration, lasted eighteen days, after which the jailers used forcible feeding methods on our Russian comrades, beat them and used weapons (one comrade was wounded).

Twenty-five percent of the imprisoned Oppositionists are sick with scurvy; the prevailing severe stomach ailments continue; the cells are small and overcrowded (fifteen men in one narrow cell), and the isolation from freedom is complete.

The least protest of the imprisoned Bolshevik-Leninists means new reprisals, savage beatings and a dousing with the water-hose in fiercely cold weather (February, 1931). This alone sufficiently describes the administration to which the imprisoned Russian Oppositionists are subjected in Stalin's jails.

The purpose of this administration is the physical annihilation of the Left Opposition. The bureaucratic clique is clearly heading for this course, with Stalin at the head, taking the place of the Party and the working class. The little clique of Stalinists bending every effort to exterminate the bearers of the ideas of Lenin, hoping in this way to exterminate those ideas themselves.

In the isolation camps at Verchne-Uralsk and elsewhere are the flower and the future of the Bolshevik Party, its best cadres, devoted to the end. The struggle to save these cadres of the Russian Opposition is at the same time a struggle for the Communist Party, for Soviet Russia, for the cause of the October Revolution. Not a single working class party comrade can or dare pass by indifferent to the fate of the Russian Oppositionists.

### Who Are The Opposition?

Below is an incomplete list of the Oppositionists imprisoned in the isolation camp at Verchne-Uralsk, with a few biographical notes. Later we hope to give a report of the intellectual life that flourishes in spite of jail bars in the

camp. There are a total of over 130 prisoners at Verchne-Uralsk, a number of them now almost three years in jail.

### List of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Left Opposition) in the Verchne-Uralsk Prison

1. Abramski; 2. Awojan; 3. N. Aldhausen; 4. Aloiz; 5. Askopjan; 6. Aronow; 7. Ardstein; 8. A. Askakjan; 9. Antokolski; 10. Arddaschellja; 11. Asatjan; 12. O. Barkin; 13. Belnik; 14. Besanjan; 15. Babajan; 16. Bersina; 17. Beradse; 18. Brik; 19. Bulnitschew; 20. Bodrow; 21. Bugon; 22. Nadjeschda Gerdobjan; 23. Gerdidew; 24. Glistowski; 25. C. Geworkjan; 26. Grumann; 27. Gogeraschwili; 28. Gowendo; 29. Joffim Golub; 30. Grajew; 31. Lisa Goldberg; 32. Garbmann; 33. Hirschfeld; 34. Ph. Dingelstedt; 35. Drapkin; 36. Dwinski; 37. Donadse; 38. Saleski; 39. Saikow; 40. Sguski; 41. Surabjan; 42. M. Iwanowa; 43. Joffe; 44. Kosolapow; 45. Klaudia Kremmer; 46. Koidinow; 47. Kaslas; 48. Kraun; 49. Kakusin; 50. Kwatschadse; 51. Kessel; 52. Koputov; 53. Koltow; 54. Kuflikow; 55. Komarowa; 56. Korsanidse; 57. Kamenezki; 58. Kirschin; 59. Lubitko; 60. A. Lipatow; 61. Libkin; 62. Ph. Lapschin; 63. Langer; 64. Ida Lemeljan; 65. Musaj Magid; 66. Melnais; 67. P. Maluj; 68. Markus; 69. Michailewitsch; 70. Man Newelsum; 71. Osnajatsch; 72. Organesow-Ter; 73. Posnaniski; 74. Podsemiski; 75. Aron Papermeister; 76. Leo Papermeister; 77. Paul Papermeister; 78. N. Perewersow; 79. Ch. Peusner; 80. Panow; 81. Paschewski; 82. Paschewski; 83. Popow; 84. A. Polinuk; 85. Pivner; 86. Paalmpopewzew; 87. Raz; 88. Rapoport; 89. Reschetitschenko; 90. G. Stopalow; 91. S. Silitinsky; 92. Arno Saakjan; 93. Sosorow; 94. Surnow; 95. Selowjan; 96. Swiridow; 97. E. Solnzew; 98. E. Tabatschuk; 99. Twatschiridse; 100. Ugrjumow; 101. Ukrainzew; 102. Frumkin; 103. Flaks; 104. Fedortschenko; 105. Chelidsse; 106. Chaszchewski; 107. Tschernuch; 108. Tscherepachin; 109. Lisa Schapiro; 110. S. Scheilat; 111. Schemes; 112. Schkuratow; 113. Schpitaunik; 114. Jaschwil; 115. Jakowin; 116. Jakowlew; 117. W. Elzin.

Fedor Nikolaevitch Dingstedt—Member of the Central Committee.

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## The Militant Is in Danger! Will You Help?

Shall the *Militant* appear? This question is posed definitely before our supporters, sympathizers and readers. We have told our readers frankly of the serious financial situation in which the *Militant* finds itself. To our appeals for money to maintain the weekly *Militant*, there has been a response sufficient to issue the weekly to date. But there is no assurance or certainty that another week will pass before we are faced with the necessity to give up the *Militant*. This is a statement of fact. Now it is up to our readers and supporters.

Yet the need for the weekly *Militant* is greater today than at any other time. More than ever do we need the *Militant* to explain the world-wide economic and political events that shake the world on its foundations, to educate the working masses and its leading cadres, the Communists, in the fundamentals of Communism and the program, strategy and tactics of the class-conscious workers and revolutionaries.

The war in Manchuria raises sharply the dangers of another world war to engulf the working class and all civilization; the events in Spain; the spectre of fascism in Germany and its dangers to the international proletariat; the economic crisis that so cruelly affects the working masses—all these need such an organ as the *Militant* to interpret their significance and to outline a program of action for the working class in its struggle against capitalism.

Official Communism, as expressed and carried out under the leadership of Stalin and the Comintern, continues to ravage the vitals of the Communist movement and to lead the working class from one defeat to another. Officialism Communism more and more neglects and sneers at Communist theory and moves toward the theory and practices of national socialism as against internationalism.

In all the welter and confusion, the *Militant* for three years now has been an ever-burning beacon light and guide to the English-speaking workers and Communists. A retreat to a semi-monthly existence again, or perhaps even worse, would be a heavy blow against the revolutionary needs of the working class and especially to the Communist movement and its regeneration on its original Communist foundations.

Now our need is great. AN IMMEDIATE RESPONSE with substantial donations is imperative. Do not delay your assistance. IMMEDIATE SUPPORT means the continuation of the *Militant*. We count upon our readers to come forward at once and HELP.

Send all funds to:

THE MILITANT  
84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

## NOTICE

NEW PAMPHLET ON GERMANY  
By L. D. TROTSKY

We have just received a brochure from L. D. Trotsky on:

"Shall Fascism Take Power?—Germany, the Key to the International Situation."

This important document on the momentous issue of Fascism in Germany and the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat and Communists has been translated into English and will soon be issued by us in pamphlet form, 32 pages. Every worker and Communist will want to read the masterly analysis and proposals of comrade L. D. Trotsky, the greatest living exponent of Bolshevism, to the German working class and Communist movement. The issue is raised sharply: Fascism or the struggle for political power by the working class under the leadership of the Communists.

The pamphlet will sell for 10 cents. Bundles rates of five or more are seven cents per copy. Advance orders can now be placed.

Send cash, check or money order to:  
THE PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
84 East 10th Street,  
New York, N. Y.

## The National Tour

The National Tour of Arne Swabeck has carried him as far west as Kansas City, Mo. and Minneapolis, Minn. Successful gatherings, reported on elsewhere, have been held in all the cities that comrade Swabeck has visited. From his engagements in Minneapolis, he will turn eastward for return meetings and a New Year's Eve banquet in Chicago and will then proceed to Pittsburgh, Pa., Youngstown and Cleveland, Ohio and thence to Philadelphia.

Balance of schedule follows:  
Chicago, Ill. .... Dec. 31 and January 1, 2, 3.  
Cleveland, Ohio .... January 5th  
Youngstown, Ohio .... January 6th  
Pittsburgh, Pa. .... January 7th  
Philadelphia, Pa. .... January 9, 10.

## Menace of Fascism Imperils Germany United Front of Masses Needed to Ward off Danger

In the political complex which constitutes the heritage of the World War, Germany has consistently occupied the most valuable position in European capitalism. As a consequence of this, the eyes of the world have always been concentrated on Germany affairs. German conjuncture has played an effective part in the lives of all the capitalist nations. The Dawes plan, the Young plan, the Hague Conferences, the Hoover Moratorium—all involving immediately the fate of this war crippled country—have been milestones in post-war history.

Today we are witnessing in Germany a regime barely short of Fascism, comparable only to the most desperate wartime administration among the bourgeois governments. By official decree, the wages of the workers are cut ten percent, prices are submitted to regulation by a dictator appointed to this office, interest rates are reduced, etc., etc. Needless to say only the wage-cut decree actually remains effective. There is no tool so pliant in carrying out the orders of the Brüning Government as the reformist betrayers in the Trade Unions. The American press generally admits as much and skeptically smiles at the other decrees.

### How the Bourgeoisie Copes With the Crisis

Police force and war ministry are united in the hands of one of Germany's "strong-men", the Hohenzollern General Groener. Street meetings are prohibited. Indoor political meetings can only take place in the presence of an "officer of the Law". Groener raids Communist headquarters, suspends Communist newspapers, and encourages the "marching Nationalist Youth" of the Hitler forces in their murder expeditions through the proletarian quarters. Freedom of the press is denied not only to Communists but even to the radical bourgeois intelligentsia. Carl von Ossietzky, editor of the radical *Weltbühne* and one of his fellow journalists have recently been convicted of "espionage" for an article published some two years ago! The reactionary supreme court at Leipzig, in the formation of which Fritz Ebert and other Social-democratic worthies, played quiet prominent parts, have discovered "literary high-treason", with which to incarcerate . . . novelists and fiction writers sympathetic to the working class. The unemployed army has grown to the five million mark and there is talk of instituting the Nazi propagated "Zwangsarbeit", a practice similar to that of the chain-gang—so very popular in the South of the United States—as a solution to the unemployed problem.

This is the way the bourgeoisie is attempting to cope with the crisis at present. It is quite well known at this time that it enjoys the loyal support of the social-democratic "opposition" in the Reichstag. The Social-democrats are, namely, "tolerating" the Brüning regime as the "lesser evil" in preference to an openly fascist regime. As a result of this there is a great deal of commotion in the ranks of the social-democracy and its electorate. That the Communists have not been able to benefit by this situation to the full extent, is to be ascribed entirely to the stupid and obturate tactical mistakes of the leadership, receiving their instructions from the Comintern. The Nazis however have been the greatest profiteers of the general situation, roping ever-greater numbers of supporters among all the declassed elements, by their political mimicry: the golden mean of their compound of nationalism and "socialism". All the local elections confirm this trend completely.

### The World Imperialists and German Fascism

American finance and business, heavy investors in Germany since the days of the Dawes Plan—the present state of United States investments in Germany

has been under discussion in the bankers' testimony before the Senate Finance Committee this last week—have in the past been inclined to cast a not altogether favorable eye on Hitler and National Socialism. There are too many sacrifices at stake under a Hitler rule and American imperialism has always been accustomed to play the hypocritical democrat. But less than two weeks ago we were faced with a veritable Hitler boom in the American press.

How is this to be explained? Quite simply: For weeks there have been strong rumors of a "Socialist-Communist alliance" in Germany, based probably on the many spontaneous and semi-spontaneous united front actions of reformist and revolutionary workers against the fascist terror and no doubt also on the demagogic offer of cooperation made to the Communists by the Social-democratic leader, Breitscheid. That all this happened under the pressure of the rank and file workers is indisputable. One has only to be acquainted with the daily anti-Bolshevik tirades of the Berlin Vorwärts to realize this. The rising sentiment for united action in the German working class, the threatened crumbling of reformist influence, aroused the American imperialists to a new orientation for a moment. With the apparent dissipation of the rumored possibilities of united working class action, the Hitler boom once more subsided. As long as reformism and social-democracy can prevent militant, united action on the part of the German working class, the American imperialists will withhold complete support of Fascism. In the meantime, however, the Hitler forces are steadily increasing, a continued menace to the very existence of the as yet divided German working class.

Hitler's Nazi Party has recently made a turn towards "legalism". That is, they are staking their cards on a "peaceful" entry into the government either by full control or in coalition with Brüning, with the Clerical Party. Hitler is not troubled by any theories or principles. His strength lies in adapting his reactionary motives to the currents in the mass. His penetration into

the proletarian camp has not met with any degree of success similar to the one he has enjoyed among the declassed bourgeois elements. Hence, the "socialist", the "revolutionary", elements in his program have practically been shelved for the time being. Having succeeded in rallying the paperized petty-bourgeois masses around him, he quite naturally appeals to outside help to throw its weight into the balance. His aggressive tone, so familiar in referring to the French "arch-enemy" has calmed down considerably. He is negotiating, bargaining for a compromise with the foreign imperialists.

In an interview with a New York Times correspondent, Hitler cynically poses the question whether "the world" would not "prefer German universal military service"—that part of the Hitler program hardest to digest for the foreign imperialists—"to a German Red Army"? In England, his emissary Rosenburg, according to another Times dispatch, openly speaks of "a Germany . . . throwing her whole weight for the conquest of territory needed for her colonization in Eastern and Central Europe." And more bluntly even, he predicts that "southern Russia will be thrown open to German colonists". All of this, only to show the trend of Nazi "foreign policy". At one time, it should be remembered, when the Nazis were still very weak and fishing in all waters, they even spoke of an "eastern orientation" against the enemy across the Rhine.

### Hitlerism: Farce or Menace?

There is a tendency among German radicals as a whole to laugh off the Fascist menace, to regard the whole Hitler movement as pure quackery. Hitlerism is a sort of "German Science", a witty journalist once remarked. When one considers the Teuton Cult, the fantastic brand of anti-semitism and the other ideological embellishments of Hitlerism, one is inclined to agree in part. But how is it possible to forget the generous funds of German heavy industry backing Hitler, how can the wave of reaction in Great Britain, its strength in France, in Italy, be left out of account? And it is just these factors that ultimately

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## The Conspiracy Against the R.R. Workers

For some weeks now negotiations between the Railroad Executives and the "labor leaders" of the railroad workers have been under way for the specific purpose of instituting wage reductions for the industry as a whole. The committee of nine railroad presidents representing the leading roads in the country, adamant in the beginning against any kind of joint discussions with the leaders of the railroad unions over the question of wage-cuts, have finally agreed to such negotiations. It is quite understandable that the Railroad Executives saw that it would be to their best interests to participate in such negotiations as a pretence, in which the labor officials take part as the "workers' front" protesting such reductions or effecting concessions from the "captains" of the industry.

### Labor Officials Betray Workers

The committee of nine presidents, on December 21, served formal notice of their intentions to reduce wages 15 per cent. The announcement is considered as official and to the labor leaders marks a basis for discussion revolving around "safeguards for the workers" in exchange for their acceptance of wage-cuts. The raising of the proposed reduction to 15 per cent from the original proposal of 10 per cent, was instigated by the union leaders themselves, the object being to arrange a basis for "bargaining". What this actually means is that the officialdom of the railroad unions are prepared to accept the wage reductions of 10 per cent. Their proposal that the Railroad Executives add 5 per cent to the original plan is done with the aim of presenting the 10 per cent wage-cut as a victory of labor over capital and the triumph of worker-management cooperation. These fakers will then turn to the railroad workers and say: "Witness the struggle we have put up for you. The Railroad Executives wished to reduce your wages 15 per cent. We would never stand for this; we could not betray you workers and so we finally convinced them to introduce only a 10 per cent wage-cut. In return the Railroad Executives promise not to continue lay-offs and keep those at work now, on the job. That is how the situation stands today. The employers are pushing rapidly for wage reductions. The labor officials are agreeing but requesting in return the "distribution of employment on the widest scale possible."

The railroad industry which is suffering from the effects of the crisis, only exhibits the decay of the capitalist system and the impossibility of "rejuvenation". Their solution is the capital-

ist solution—further repressions against the workers. It is sought in increased unemployment, part-time work and vicious wage-cuts which spell further impoverishment of the workers in the industry. These efforts of the capitalists would be much more difficult were it not for the "splendid" support that it receives from the officialdom of the railroad labor unions whose role is that of a check upon any signs of workers' militancy and rebellion. Receiving now the endorsement of the government (an endorsement which was actually not needed—and the failure of which would not have prevented wage-cuts), the railroad industry proceeds with confidence and ruthlessness.

### Workers Must Organize Resistance

The railroad workers, who have in the past fought some of the most militant struggles in the history of the American labor movement, find themselves at the present time in a weakened condition. In 1919 the labor unions went on record for "government ownership and democratic management of the roads". They even favored independent political action of the workers, and showed an interest in a Labor party. Succumbing largely to the ideology of union-management cooperation, the B. & O. plan of company unionism, the railroad workers are today dispersed. Their forces are weakened, their leaders have betrayed them. They saw their unions smashed, experienced a loss of rights, and found their wages cut constantly.

This drive against the railroad workers while resulting in sporadic strike effort from time to time, has been carried through in general without resistance on the part of the rank and file. But this situation cannot be expected to last. The offensive against the workers is finding a reaction in their ranks.

The railroad workers must cast aside their officialdom. If they are to effectively resist the present offensive which threatens their very existence they must begin now to organize a nation-wide strike movement against the wage-cut. With the central slogan of the six hour day and five day week without a reduction in pay, linked with the struggle for unemployment insurance, against the speed-up system, etc., the railroad workers have the possibilities to carry out an effective struggle. The needs of the situation demand this from the railroad workers. In this and developing struggles against the railroad barons is involved the very existence and development of militant unions in the railroad industry.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

## Marine Workers to Hold Defense Meet

Attention in the movement for the defense of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer—marine workers facing trial in the dynamite frame-up—is centering now in the preparations for a public mass meeting on the case which is to be held in Webster Hall, on Thursday evening, January 7. A representative list of speakers will discuss the entire affair from all angles on this occasion. The meeting is expected to be the starting point for a really popular development of the movement through public agitation. Among the speakers already scheduled to appear in the Webster Hall mass meeting are: James P. Cannon, Ben Fletcher, Ben Gitlow, A. J. Muste, Walter Starrett, Carlo Tresca, Carter Hudson will be chairman. Leaflets and posters advertising the meeting have been prepared. Organizations or individuals wishing to help in the work of distributing the leaflets or who wish to display the posters in their headquarters may secure them from the defense committee.

At the meeting of the defense committee held on December 21, a sub-committee was appointed to organize the sending of speakers to labor organizations to explain the case. A number of requests for speakers have already come in. The sub-committee will now systematize the work and will be prepared to furnish speakers on request. In connection with this a draft of a circular to be sent to labor organizations was approved and ordered printed.

At the same meeting it was reported that a group of ten or twelve former class war prisoners in New York City who have served terms in various penitentiaries for their activity in the labor movement, had drawn up a joint statement appealing for labor support of the indicated marine workers and will release it for publication in the next few days with their names and prison records signed to it.

The sub-committee which had been delegated to interview the Civil Liberties Union on the case reported the decision of that organization to issue a public statement condemning the third degree tortures inflicted on the prisoners and the use of a stool-pigeon and agent-provocate in the case. Norman Hawkins, who has acted as a provisional member of the defense committee at the request of two of the defendants, pending its final organization as a delegate body, presented his resignation from the committee and the same was accepted. The next meeting of the defense committee will take place on Monday evening, December 28, at the office of Il Martello.

### A LETTER FROM REILLY

James Reilly, one of the original defendants in the marine workers' case, who was first implicated by the stool-pigeon Hoyle and then dismissed because of an obvious discrepancy in his story in regards to Reilly, is being held at the 53rd St. jail, under a thousand dollars bail, as a "material witness". Reilly's attitude towards the other defendants is shown in the following letter from him.

December 21, 1931.

Dear Friend Cannon:

Received your letter and was sure glad to get some news from the outside. The days drag along and are quite lonesome, altho' we get the newspapers every day and I watch them pretty closely for the developments that are taking place in Germany and the Far East. How is the union making out at present. I hope that they have enough sense to put up a fight not only in the case, but I hope that there might be a possibility of uniting all existing organizations upon a common basis for struggle against wage cuts, speeding up, etc. It is quite an experience being locked up, with people whose intelligence is absolutely zero as far as they are concerned. The place is full of married men, who are in here for non-support of all descriptions. There are people here who would send their own mother to jail, rats of the worst kind. Give my regards to the rest of the boys, Soderberg, etc. I have followed the Mooney case daily but it looks as tho' he is doomed to stay where he is.

So far no one has been to see me. I guess no one will be allowed to see me. That will be all this time.

Fraternally yours,  
JAMES REILLY.

### IN THE NEXT ISSUE

By LEON TROTSKY: "Stalin and the Chinese Revolution—Facts and Documents". Contents:

"How Did The Shanghai Overturn Occur?"

"The Organizers of 'The Influx of Workers and Peasants Blood'."

"Stalin Repeats His Experiment With the 'Left' Kuo Min Tang."

"Against the Opposition—For the Kuo Min Tang?"

"Stalin Once More Disarms The Chinese Workers and Peasants."

"A Sojourn With Trotsky" by Albert Glotzer.

## CHICAGO Open Forum

CHICAGO—On Sunday, January 3rd, 1932, at 3 P. M. sharp, comrade Arne Swabeck will lecture on "Trotsky's Views on the World Crisis". The lecture will be given at REDIFER'S HALL, 30 NO. WELLS STREET, Room 403. The admission is 15 cents and the meeting is under the auspices of the Chicago Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). All workers are invited.

The Chicago Branch holds Open Forums every Saturday afternoon at 3 P. M. at its Headquarters Hall, 1435 No. Western Ave. The above lecture has been transferred to Redifer's Hall because of the large crowd that is expected to attend.

On New Year's Eve, December 31st, 1931, a banquet will be given at the League Headquarters, 1435 No. Western Ave. for the benefit of the *Militant*. Comrade Swabeck will be present.