

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Mass Meet for Marine Workers Defense New Forces Join Defense Committee

A mass meeting with the most representative list of speakers that New York has seen in many years will be held at Webster Hall, 125 East 11th St., on Thursday, January 7th at 8 P. M.

The meeting is called under the auspices of the Marine Workers' Defense Committee and will be devoted to an all-sided exposure of the New York "Dynamite Plot", in which an attempt is being made to railroad John G. Soderberg, Secretary of the International Tide-water Boatmen's Union, and Thomas Bunker and William Trajer, active members of the Union, in a typical frame-up case.

A dozen or more organizations are working to support the meeting and an overflow crowd is anticipated. All the speakers billed for the meeting are well known in the New York labor movement and have spoken to New York audiences on many occasions. Carter Hudson, a member of the Executive Board of the Independent Tide-water Boatmen's Union, will preside. The speakers include, James P. Cannon, A. J. Muste, Ben. Gitlow, Carlo Tresca, Walter Starrett and Ben Fletcher.

New affiliations to the Marine Workers' Defense Committee are being registered with increasing frequency and are rapidly giving to this body the character of a broad united front movement. The committee which has previously included two Communist groups, anarchists, I. W. W.'s, the Boatmen's Union and other organizations, seated additional delegates at its meeting Monday, December 28th. W. H. Hermann and Michael Gordon, presented credentials from Carpenter's Union 2090. The City organization of the Young People's Socialist League was represented by H. Luxemburg. Maurice Goldbloom came from the Students Council of the League for Industrial Democracy and H. Stone from the Marxian Youth Club. The credentials of all the delegates were accepted and in addition, Walter Starrett, former editor of the *Road to Freedom*, was seated as a member of the committee.

The Conference for Progressive Political Action, which had sent a delegate to a previous meeting to secure information about the case and the work of the committee, has decided to participate officially in the committee and give full support to its work. The information of this decision was conveyed to the com-

mittee in a letter from A. J. Muste who is also scheduled as one of the speakers at the mass meeting on January 7th.

During the past week the work of the sub-committee in charge of the canvass of workers' organizations began to bear fruit. Herbert Capells spoke in behalf of the committee at the meeting of Carpenters Local Union 2090 and the meeting voted a donation of twenty-five dollars to the defense. Forrest Edwards, who has been delegated to represent the committee at the Conference of the Jewish Anarchists on Sunday, December 27th, made an appeal there and secured a collection of \$17.40. The sub-committee has prepared a letter which will be sent out to more than three hundred unions and other organizations this week, appealing for financial and other support for the imprisoned marine workers. It was also decided to begin a wide circularization of individual addresses in a campaign for funds. Lists are being collected and prepared for this purpose.

Following the January 7th mass meeting, which will mark a new stage in the campaign to popularize the cause of the frame-up victims, the Defense Committee plans to proceed to the calling of a broad conference of workers' organizations in behalf of the defense. A decision to that effect was made at Monday's meeting and a sub-committee elected to draft a call and work out the preliminary plans.

All the activity of the committee has been carried on under the banner of the united front of labor against the frame-up system. The correctness of this policy and the effectiveness of the appeal for the imprisoned workers was indicated by the response that has already been gained. Organizations and groups having the widest differences on many questions of principle and tactics are uniting for a common fight for the imprisoned marine workers. For the first time in years, we see the signs of a genuine united front movement taking shape. The rank and file workers in all organizations that are standing aloof should take up the fight for united action. A victorious united front struggle for Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer will give a powerful impetus to working class unity against the capitalists on other fronts.

OPEN FORUM

Trotsky at Work

Lecture by
ALBERT GLOTZER
Just Returned From A Five Weeks' Stay With Trotsky

at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
Friday, January 8, 1932
at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 Cents
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

We have received today an important and most timely article from the pen of comrade L. D. Trotsky.

The subject is:
"FOR A WORKERS UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM!"
"What Constitutes The Mistakes of the Present Policy of the Communist Party of Germany?"

The entire article will appear in the next, January 9th, issue of *The Militant*. No one will want to miss Trotsky's penetrating analysis of the significance of the events in Germany and the next tasks of the Communists.

MARTIAL LAW AT FOOCHOW

FOOCHOW, Fuiker, (Fenprecor)—In this city as throughout China, the military authorities have demonstrated the character of their opposition to Japanese aggression in Manchuria by suppressing every attempt to organize a popular anti-imperialist movement.

The recent arrival at this port of four Japanese gunboats was made the occasion for a declaration of martial law. Ostensibly aimed at preventing disturbances "likely to be created by the Japanese", it is in fact aimed at the Chinese populace.

The Geneva Disarmament Bluff

«Disarmament» Conference Will Expose Imperialist Rivalries and Aims Against the Soviet Union

On February 2, 1932, the Disarmament Conference called by the League of Nations will convene at Geneva. This conference is to give consideration to the limitation of armaments by the various powers. It will devote much talk on the need to "outlaw" war as the means employed by nations to solve their economic and political differences and rivalries.

So uncertain and cynical are the capitalist powers on the matter of disarmament or even limitation of armaments, that for a long time there has been doubt that the Conference would even be held. But it will be, and each capitalist nation has or is selecting delegates who are to lie or to sow illusions on the prospects of peace for a weary world.

Characteristically enough, President Hoover has appointed Charles G. Dawes, Ambassador to Great Britain, to be chairman of the delegation from the United States Government. Dawes is one of the outstanding jingos in this country—a noisy war-monger who carries the appellation of "Hell N' Mavia". Dawes, a bitter foe of labor and the Soviet Union. The American delegation will, however, be perfumed with pacifist flowers, among them being Mary Emma Woolley, president of Mount Holyoke College. It is the same with the delegations from other capitalist powers. The bearers of pacifist illusions in a world armed to the teeth will mingle with the gentlemen who "keep their powder dry", and the latter will prevail. Arthur Henderson of the British Labor Party will give the proper touch at Geneva through his selection as Chairman of the Conference. Thus the militarists, pacifists and the labor betrayers will make up a trinity of forces who will talk loudly against war and militarism, come to the conclusion that nothing really can be done now about the matter—and the capitalist nations will continue to strengthen their war departments.

The Cost of Militarism
Armaments and wars are very expensive affairs and no doubt the imperialist powers would like to decrease expenditures, particularly so, if by lopping off some small sums here and there, they can satisfy to some extent the demands of the workers and the petit-bourgeois middle classes for a reduction in armaments and their longing for peace. But in all these years of disarmament confabs, war "outlawry" and pacifist talk, the powers, particularly the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan have been increasing their armament

expenditures. The following figures, compiled by the World Peace Foundation from the League of Nations Armaments Year Book, give the expenditures for the fiscal year of 1930:

Government	Budget Expenditures
United States	\$ 707,425,000
France	466,960,000
Great Britain	465,255,000
Italy	248,946,500
Japan	236,861,500
Germany	171,923,040

War to maintain peace between the capitalist powers, and periods of peace to prepare for war again, are indeed costly matters—and, as always, it is the working class that carry the burdens, shoulder the guns, foot the costs—and then are honored with an "Unknown Soldier's" grave.

A Fake Disarmament Conference

And now we are to have another fake "disarmament" conference to lull the mass of people throughout the world to sleep, into a false security on the possibility of the maintenance of peace under capitalism. The Secretariat of the League of Nations has organized five commissions for this conference to deal with the land, sea, air, budgetary and political phases of the negotiations. This is the same League of Nations that has listened to the guns roaring, the cannon booming and the airplanes tossing bombs on the fields of Manchuria—and did nothing because it could not. The League is not the instrument that can solve or even diminish the capitalist rivalries. That lies in the hands of the international proletariat when it awakens to the problem and becomes conscious of its own unused power.

Since the World War there has been a growth of pacifist illusions, peace societies, declarations of "conscientious objectors" that they will not bear arms in times of war, etc., etc. All the while there has not been a day without war in some part of the globe: semi-colonial and colonial wars for national independence, capitalist warfare (Sino-Jap war in Manchuria today), wars of intervention (imperialist interventions in Soviet Russia, Nicaragua, etc.) and, lastly, the insurrection by an oppressed people against its rulers. Its highest and best expression was reached in the insurrection in Russia which brought the Bolsheviks into power and the dictatorship of the proletariat into being and by means of which the historical basis for the final elimination of exploitation and war was first laid. For with the assumption of political power by the working class which alone has no exploiting, imperialist or ulterior aims to serve, there will

in time be needed neither an oppressive or suppressive governmental apparatus with its military concomitants, etc.

The Proposal of the Soviet Union

These are times to restate fundamental class struggles on whatever front it manifests itself. An exposure of the fake disarmament aims of the capitalist powers and proofs that disarmament or peace are impossible and utopian under capitalism, is an absolute necessity if the proletariat is to be able to fight effectively against capitalist imperialism, understand the causes underlying another impending world war, and give the revolutionary answer to the imperialists.

The Soviet Union long ago showed up the hypocrisy of the capitalist nations on the issue of war or peace when it made a proposal for complete disarmament of all countries and laid its program for disarmament and peace on the table. The capitalist nations ran from this proposal as if from the plague. With a single stroke the Soviet Union demonstrated that the capitalist nations were not seriously interested in the abolition of war, but only in such measures as would maintain the capitalist system and serve to fool the working people on this scourge of humanity—capitalist war.

Imperialist Rivalries

This is an epoch when the imperialist rivalries are not lessened, but, on the contrary, approach the breaking point and can find solution only in capitalist war or proletarian revolution. It is the fear of the latter possibility in an awakening proletariat that holds off for the time being the "solution" of the first, capitalist war. Does anyone with half a mind seriously doubt that, despite all the clap-trap about the "unity and close relations of the English-speaking people", the contradictions and imperialist rivalries between Great Britain and the United States are sharpened? Or that, notwithstanding the visit of the "pacifist" Ramsay MacDonald to the United States, the economic basis for warfare between nations, with the United States and Great Britain as the outstanding rivals, has increased manifold in the past years? Only fools would deny the facts. It is one of the great capitalist contradictions that is heading the world into another convulsion.

A United States of Europe or A Soviet United States of Europe

Pacifists and other well-meaning middle-heads have raised the slogan of a United States of Europe as a solution to the war danger and other problems in Europe. Little or no consideration is given by them to the economic differences of the capitalist groupings in each of these nations that have caused these conflicts and that have no solution on the basis of a capitalist program. There are treaties and agreements between "little ententes", among the Balkan States, France and Poland, Germany and Austria, etc., but no sooner are these understandings arrived at, then others break out—each steps on another's toes.

It is hoped, therefore, that a federated or United States of Europe, a political agreement on a continental scale, could reconcile the grievances and differences. But all these agreements and proposals are based upon the continuation of the system of exploitation, of capitalist relations in the individual countries. This is an insoluble capitalist contradiction. No sooner would such a United States of Europe be formed, then it would already begin to disintegrate, to establish rival groupings and—there would be an end to the United States of Europe.

There can be a United States of Europe, but it must take the form, as L. D. Trotsky has so brilliantly demonstrated, of a SOVIET UNITED STATES OF EUROPE. In other words, there must first be the elimination of capitalist exploitation, of capitalism itself, before there can be a solution to its effects—militarism and war. The abolition of customs tariffs and similar barriers between nations can have a meaning only under such conditions. German-Austrian Anschluss, for example, therefore can (Continued on page 3)

The Struggle for Power in Germany

The center of the political stage in the present international situation is occupied by Germany. What will transpire there in the coming six months will have a direct and immediate influence upon the whole development of the world revolutionary movement. The catastrophic economic and social conditions, the collapse of the ruling parties which are enforcing extra-parliamentary measures against the proletariat, the revolutionary feelings of the masses existing alongside of a menacing growth of Fascism have created a direct revolutionary situation in Germany and raise to the foreground the question of the struggle for power.

It is axiomatic for Marxists, that without the leadership of the Communist Party, based on a policy of revolutionary struggle, the thought of the seizure of power is impossible. It requires in the Party, independence, audacity and a will to victory. The absence of such a condition in the ranks of the Party spells defeat for the proletariat. It is precisely this absent condition which makes the situation in Germany today so fraught with dangers to the international working class. The German Communist Party does not understand its task. It has falsely evaluated the present state of affairs with the result that it pursues a policy that is little short of criminal.

The Basis For Fascism

The greatest obstacle in the path of the German proletariat is Fascism. Many workers will undoubtedly question: How is it possible that in Germany there should be such a huge growth of Fascism?

The defeat of the revolutionary situation in 1923 gave rise to the present Fascist wave. Fascism in Germany, composed of the militarists, the petty-bourgeoisie, the administrators, office workers, degenerated unemployed elements (a great part of them youth), sections of the working class disgusted with the betrayals of social democracy and the capitulation of the C. P. G. and seeking new ways out of the present difficulties, receives support from the industrialists and financiers and to an extent from international capital. German capitalism remembers only too well that in 1923, had the Party pursued a correct policy, there would at the present time be no capitalism in Germany. It is with this in mind that she prepares herself against a recurrence of 1923. Fascism receives its strength from the social crisis and the weakness of the proletariat (expressed in Ger-

many in the failure of Communism to unify the working class for the conquest of power). The bourgeoisie understands the nature of Fascism. "The bourgeoisie advances its Fascist shoulder only at the moment an immediate revolutionary danger threatens the foundations of the regime itself and when the normal organs of the bourgeoisie state prove themselves insufficient. In this sense active Fascism signifies the condition of civil war on the part of capitalist society facing the rebelling proletariat. Contrarily, the bourgeoisie is forced to advance its Left, the social democratic, shoulder in a period that precedes the time of the civil war, so as to deceive the proletariat, to pacify and disintegrate it, or in a period following upon a serious and lasting victory over the proletariat". ("The Strategy of the World Revolution", L. D. Trotsky, Pioneer Publishers, New York, page 35.)

Fascist Growth And Threats
But neither the Party nor the Comintern has understood this. Confused themselves, they spread confusion in the ranks of their supporters. The lead is given by Stalin: "The social democracy is an objectively more moderate wing of Fascism". Therefore, between the Nazi and the social democracy there is no difference. Hitler is the more extreme wing, the social democracy, the moderate wing.

Within the last year the small party of Hitler has grown to be the most menacing antagonist of Communism. In the provincial elections held to date (Hamburg, Anhalt, Hesse and Stuttgart), the Fascists have won sweeping victories. They are moving forward to the seizure of governmental reins through "legal" means—awaiting the general elections to be held in the early part of 1932. But Hitler makes no effort to conceal the fact that should the moment present itself, the Fascist Party will sweep into power through a putsch. The brown shirts in the meantime transcend parliamentary activity. They are carrying on violent reprisals against the proletariat in general, and the Communist Party, the trade unions and the Social Democratic workers in particular. They invade proletarian quarters and attack workers indiscriminately with weapons. Hitler promises that the moment he comes into power he will rid the country of the "pest of Marxism". Every effort then will be utilized to destroy the revolutionary working class and the Communist movement through sheer physical violence. It appears that the experi-

ences of Italian fascism should afford deep lessons for the Comintern and its Parties. But evidently this is not so. **The Capitalist Policy of the Party**
The German Communist Party advances numerous theories regarding the Fascist danger—all of them signify capitulation, and the surrender of struggle. The Party first says: There is no Fascist danger. That is all an illusion. The German working class will never stand for the existence of a Fascist dictatorship. But, if this is not enough, the Party continues: It will be a good thing if Fascism comes to power. Such a condition would lead to the unification of the working class and lay the basis for our own seizure of power. In a word, this new theory means that before the working class can seize power it is necessary to go through the school of a Fascist dictatorship which lays the basis for the proletarian dictatorship.

In an effort to win the support of the working class against Hitler, (he recently paid a visit to Tyrol for the purpose of organizing his Fascist legions there and also to obtain aid from Mussolini and Italian Fascism), the *Rote Fahne*, official organ of the C. P. G. protests because Hitler saw fit to appeal to Italian Fascism which destroyed, "our language", "our culture", and "our traditions" in the Tyrol region. At the "cinchets front" (united front) meetings held throughout Berlin with the object of organizing "resistance" against Fascism, the Party officially invites Fascist reporters to participate in the discussions. We witness the unique spectacle of a Party speaker against Fascism and a Fascist speaker against Communism, speaking from the same rostrum. Left Opposition workers present at those meetings, who protest against such an arrangement, denounce the Fascist "reporter", and demand the floor themselves, are requested to maintain silence or be ejected from the hall by "Red Front Fighters".

For A United Front Against Fascism
Against a unified German working class the Fascists could never take power. The proletariat can successfully resist and destroy the heterogeneous Hitler movement only on the basis of a unified resistance. The Party, instead of concentrating all its efforts in the creation of a genuine united front between the Communist and social democratic workers—rejects principally and practically this essential policy. Through the theories of the "Third Period" and

(Continued on Page 2)

Trotsky Pamphlet on International Situation

We are about to go to press with a new pamphlet by comrade Trotsky. It is entitled: **GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION—SHALL FASCISM REALLY BE VICTORIOUS?** The latest work of the leader of the Left Opposition fulfills the most burning need of the moment for the revolutionary movement of the entire world. It analyzes in clear and distinct strokes the problems facing Communism and offers the Bolshevik solution to them, concentrating particularly on the Fascist danger in Germany and the revolutionary situation in that country. This new pamphlet will be out in two weeks. Every worker and Communist should read it. It is being printed by the Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th St. Order your copy now. The price is ten cents for the individual copy and seven cents for bundle orders.

JAPS USE RUSSIAN WHITE GUARDS TO PROVOKE SOVIETS

HARBIN, MANCHURIA, Nov 1. (Fenprecor)—Japanese attempts to provoke the Soviet Union have been forced out into the open this week by the arrest of a White Guard named Ushakov, who was captured by the Chinese authorities at a small station along the Chinese Eastern Railway. Documents and letters were found on the man proving his connection with the Japanese military mission and proving the reported connivance between the Japanese and White Russians with a view to creating disturbances on the Chinese Eastern Railway and otherwise provoking the Soviet authorities into action.

Ataman, Semenoff, notorious White Russian bandit leader, has been closeted with General Chang Hai-peng, Japanese "rebel" puppet in Heilungkiang and it has been reported that he is planning to remobilize his White Russian guerrilla bands to stage raids

PROTEST MEETING

Hear the Facts of the New York Dynamite Plot'

Three Members of the Independent Tide-Water Boatmen's Union Face 40 Years In Prison!
John Soderberg, Thomas Bunker and William Trajer Are Being Framed Because They Dared Organize The Harbor Boatmen.

RALLY TO THEIR DEFENSE!

ON
Thursday, January 7, 1932 - at 8 P.M.

AT
Webster Hall
125 East 11th Street

SPEAKERS:

J.P. Cannon - C. Tresca - B. Gitlow - B. Fletcher
A.J. Muste and W. Starrett
CARTER HUDSON, Chairman

Admission: FREE

Auspices: Marine Workers Defense Committee

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