

WORKERS  
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UNITE

# THE MILITANT



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## Bankers and Jobless Relief

The Tammany Government Machine Is Whipped into Line

For many years, the large banking interests, reported to be led by J. P. Morgan, have been attempting to force through a higher fare on the New York City subway systems (I. R. T. and B. M. T.). All the methods so typical of modern business practice have been used in their endeavor. For many years the people of this city have been bombarded with statistics as to how they would benefit by a higher fare, with a complete tabulation of the fares paid in other cities, of the relationship between the standard of living and the price paid for a subway ride, etc., etc. Now a final effort is being made this time, after all the years of preparation, the workers of the city can already begin to discern the smaller slot of the turnstile made to accommodate a thin ten cent piece.

All the subways in the city were built by the city government. After completing them, they were turned over to the private companies for operation. The important provisions of the contracts were: (1) the right of the city to recapture after due notice, and with due compensation; (2) the five cent fare; (3) the payment to the city of certain sums for its original cost—the payments to begin only after a minimum profit had been set aside for the company.

### Increased Fare Fight

It was not many years after the original contracts had been drawn up, before the companies began to fight for an increase in the fare. It must be understood that the clause pertaining to part of the profit to the city was easily done away with. The individual capitalist never cares to share his profits with anybody else, even in his own class. Subsidiary companies were organized, enormous rentals paid for property leased—all for the purpose of keeping the rate of profit well below that minimum above which part of the profit would have to be shared with the city government. This they have succeeded in doing to a great extent.

As regards raising the subway fare the task was a more difficult one. No political grouping dared take up the bankers' proposal. The issue might have been great enough to swamp any political machine out of office. The bankers bided their time; now they are ready to strike.

The bankers against the Tammany machine! How paradoxical this sounds. Yet there is an element of truth in it. The thieving Tammany politician looks upon the taxes paid into the city treasury as rightfully belonging to him. During times of prosperity the actual business men, real estate owners and bankers of the city raise no violent protest against "normal graft". After all, the Tammany machine is behaving rather well in keeping down the workers and protecting private property. However, during times such as the present, we begin to see strong protests being raised against the grafting politician, who continues to handle the "public funds" as he was taught by his predecessors.

### Cutting Down Relief

It is the bankers and large industrialists, however, who have the final say in this squabble for the diminished booty. Curtail expenses; decrease the budget. This is their war cry. Bond flotations, their weapon. The city administrators are quickly brought into line. The first thing to be chopped off is anything but the most meager sort of unemployment relief. Detroit, where some in the local government was "held out" for a little better relief, was soon brought into line. The New York banks have now refused to float the necessary bond issues to tide the city over its temporary deficit.

New York City is at present feeling the lash of the whip held by the Morgans and Otto Kahns. The whole thing started with a law that forbids the controller (treasurer) of the city to sell any short term bonds below par, or at a rate of interest higher than six percent. Ordinarily, should New York City bonds fall a little below par, the controller can raise the interest rate on the issue to be floated, thus enabling him to sell them at or above par. The city government is constantly borrowing on short term loans to tide it over until the taxes fall due. Last September the city borrowed at an interest rate of less than two percent. In the middle of December the rate to the city, for a flotation during that month, was five and one half percent, bringing it dangerously near to the 6% limit. During the past few weeks however, the New York City bonds have been depressed heavily. They are now selling below par. One need not look far for the guilty one. Short term government bonds usually remain in the direct control of the bankers. The city now needs \$90,000,000 to cover its current expenses. The bankers have agreed to advance the money (float the bond issue) only if—the city agrees to curtail expenses.

The first thing hit at was the "home relief agencies". Part of the \$90,000,000 was to go for the unemployment, "re-

lief". Already, the stations have shut down, leaving the almost 1,000,000 unemployed here, with no aid whatsoever.

### The Bankers' Idea

The bankers have a second idea in mind; they were quite frank about it—put all city enterprises on a paying basis, raise the fare on the subways. Now their time has arrived. Those who pay the fiddler call the tune. The tune is to have as its only note the clink of a ten cent piece.

The approach that will be made we might even try to predict. The politicians who have the "interests of the people" at heart—were forced to accept the increased fare by the bad bankers, who threatened to cut off the unemployment relief. Furthermore, they will say, the city as a whole will benefit, for they say nothing at the present about recapturing the lines. The probability is for a rise in the fare, followed not by a taking over by the city of the existing lines, but rather by the handing over to the old companies of the new subway built.

This is the picture of capitalist government; a sewer of vice, graft, intrigue and counter-intrigue. Only a working class revolution can sweep away the whole rotten mess. —H. P.

## Is Stalin Preparing New 1923 in Germany?

What is happening in Germany? What is the position of the Fascists? Where does the German Communist Party stand and what does it propose to do?

These questions, of such vital importance to the militant working class, and an answer to which it cannot even expect to find in the capitalist press, it now also fails to find where they should

## Russian Opposition Persecuted

### A LETTER FROM MOSCOW

... One of our incarcerated comrades, Ksavian, was wounded—without preliminary warning—by a shot in the breast. The whole solitary prison carried out a hunger strike for seventeen days. Our comrades demanded an investigation commission from the government. They were promised one. The incarcerated comrades elected a delegation of twelve men in order to discuss with this commission. The twelve elected comrades were promptly placed in solitary confinement and then transported from Verchne-Uralsk to an up-to-now unknown spot. But the investigation commission which arrived was compelled to yield in essence to the demands of our imprisoned comrades.

... These last weeks have witnessed a big wave of arrests of Oppositionists in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, Tiflis and elsewhere.

... Recently, the banned Oppositionists were dragged away from one place to a worse one. The material condition of the shipped-off comrades is extremely difficult. In spite of the shortage of labor, only a diminishing small part of our comrades are at work.

... The fact is: the further sharpening of the tactics against the Left Oppositionists, the recent arrests in Moscow, Leningrad and elsewhere, and likewise the latest article by Stalin, are objective proofs that our Opposition movement—which we ourselves, it is true, know very well—is being extended and is becoming more active.

Moscow, December 3, 1931

## New York Banquet Feb. 6

To Greet «Unser Kampf» and Three Returned Comrades

Arrangements are now being made for a banquet in New York on Saturday, February 6, which every Left wing militant will want to attend. The banquet, given by the Communist League (Opposition), will be a joint affair with all our Jewish comrades and friends, for the purpose of greeting the first issue of «Unser Kampf» (Our Struggle), official organ of the Left Opposition in the Yiddish language, and of welcoming back three of our leading comrades who have just returned and who will speak at the banquet. They are comrades Albert Glotzer, who has just returned from a trip to Europe during which he stayed for a number of weeks with comrades

Trotsky at Kadikoy; Arne Swabeck, who

## OPEN FORUM

Lecture by

ARNE SWABECK

### The Revolutionary Movement in America To-Day

Impressions of a Tour

at the Labor Temple  
14th Street and Second Avenue

Friday January 22, 1932

at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

ADMISSION: 25 Cents

Unemployed Workers Admitted Free

Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

be: in the columns of the official Communist press.

### The Advance of the Fascists

The Fascists continue to make rapid progress which is compelling recognition from all the sections of the bourgeoisie. The Hitlerites gain in arrogance with every new accession of strength. Bringing in fearfully compelled to bring into his councils the Austrian adventurer and beg him to return from the Reichstag which the blackshirts left, so that a presidential election may be avoided by an arbitrary decree to hold over Hindenburg at least until the "present disturbed situation is calmed". And Hitler, grown more cocksure with his recent successes, refuses the outstretched palm, and together with Hugenburg makes clear the determination of the Fascists to press forward until the issue is joined decisively.

Hitler does not merely have his heart set upon the conquest of power—the aim of every class party—but feels that the moment is swiftly approaching when the die will be cast. Bolshevism or Fascism—there are no other ways out for Germany right now. Towards socialist emancipation or black, long-enduring reaction—no other road is open out of Germany's present impasse. And while Hitler presses forward, the leaders of the German Communist Party are buying into the future by providing themselves with passports and visas for a quick departure when the storm breaks loose!

Breuning is giving ground to the Fascists. The social democrats, by their despicable cowardice, by their disarming of the workers, are leaving the doors wide open to the Hitlerites. The latter have thus far received no decisive check; on the contrary, their ranks are approaching a point in strength where no further gain can be expected by "legal" methods, where the unceasing conflict of interests must come to a violent solution.

And what does the Communist party say? What is it doing? From the Daily Worker, one learns absolutely nothing on these points. Every few days an inch or two of type is thrown into its columns to inform-the reader that the German party has formed a few more nuclei and gained a few more hundred members. Careful reader can glean the fact that the fate of Germany is now hanging in the balance; not only of Germany, but

(Continued on page 4)

## Japs Subsidize Russian Whites

Hire Semenov, Notorious Cossack Adventurer in Mongolian Drive

The Chamberlin incident has been officially closed. Though reluctant at first, the Japanese government has finally bowed in apology to the all-powerful American imperialism. To be sure, the conflict of imperialist interests in the Far East is by no means over. There is a good deal of bickering going on around the proposed invocation of the Nine Power Treaty by the United States and the Japanese are just as alert as before on that point.

The Nine Power Treaty is supposed to guarantee the "administrative integrity" of China and through that, the policy of the "open door" to all the Western Powers. Against the contention of the Americans that by their invasion they are transgressing the provisions of that treaty, the Japanese reply that quite on the contrary, their sole aim of intervening in Manchuria is just precisely to preserve that "administrative integrity" of the country and to make the policy of the open door secure! Active, aggressive interest in the Japanese adventure is flagging for the moment. But the Nipponese are hardly started in their march. Instead of adventures with peasant armies, the Chinese Communists must concentrate on rallying the city proletariat without which it will not be able to crush the Kuo Min Tang and successfully drive out the imperialist invaders. At one point of the process now unfolding, the interests of the Chinese masses and those of Soviet Russia will reveal their close interconnection with especial sharpness. To face such a situation confidently, it is necessary to boast less and to pay more attention to the actual course of development of the struggle.

Having pretty firmly established their hegemony by means of puppet governments in Manchuria, the Mikado's generals are slowly but consistently forging ahead, in the direction of the Great Wall on the one hand, and in that of Jehol and the other Mongolian provinces,

on the other. Due to the interference of the other capitalist governments, the Japs have not been able to increase their reinforcements in Manchuria as rapidly and as freely as they would like. Consequently they have been suffering considerable losses as a result of the inevitable and severe guerilla warfare carried on more or less successfully by the natives in a land unfamiliar and hard Military campaign, the Japanese government is clearly keeping an eye on the possibilities that might offer themselves to anti-Soviet moves in the near future.

The immediate objective of this new alignment will no doubt be the subjugation of all of Mongolia under the Japanese yoke. The link between the present Jap expedition and their future designs is the People's Republic of Mongolia, a territory on which the Ataman is already prepared to advance.

Developments in the Orient almost always bear a slow and drawn out character broken by violent jerks. But eruptions of a political character are not subject to conditions of the soil. And these self-same slow processes in the

## Condemn M. N. Roy to Exile

Manabendra Nath Roy, Right wing Communist affiliated to the Braudler group internationally has been condemned by the British imperialists in India to 12 years of deportation to a penal colony for "waging war against the king". The imperialist knot is determined to insure its holders against the seething revolt of the Indian masses no matter in what channels it flows.

Unbridgeable differences separate ourselves, the International Left Opposition from the Right wing Liquidators of Communism. But we do not for one minute hesitate to aid in their defense when they are under attack from the open class enemy.

## Stalinists Disrupt Mooney Confab

The apathy which prevails in the Illinois coal fields has been lifted to some extent by the campaign under way to demand the release of Tom Mooney. For this issue, the miners are evincing a readiness to struggle. Conferences have been organized in Staunton and Belleville. Plans are being laid and pushed for conferences in other mining centers.

These conferences are largely the result of the efforts of local militants cooperating with the St. Louis branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). The line of these conferences is based upon Mooney's August 20 appeal and the Opposition's endorsement of this appeal (Militant, 9-5-1931). It stresses the united front as the key to the problem of uniting the workers in a struggle to force Mooney's release and the release of all class war prisoners.

The Opposition delegates fight resolutely in these conferences for this policy. All attempts to exclude the I. L. D., the C. P., and the party organizations are resisted by our delegates. On the other hand, our delegates, while supporting the party's resolutions and themselves introducing resolutions against the Illinois criminal syndicalism law, are equally resolute in fighting the attempts of the Stalinists to divert the conferences along the lines of a fight against criminal syndicalism in general.

What has been the party's policy in these conferences? Caught unawares by their participation to long-winded speeches and general attacks upon all non-Communists and especially against the "counter-revolutionary" Trotskyists. But this policy acted as boomerang. Their slander discredited only themselves and by contrast with the policy, sincerity and activity of our delegates, increased the prestige of the Opposition in the eyes of the miners. It goes without saying that we use the advantage which accrues to us to redeem from discreditment the ideas of Communism.

After several months of their futile policy, the Stalinists realized that more "decisive" measures were required to wreck the campaign and to undo what had already been accomplished. On Sunday, December 27, they descended on the second session of the Staunton conference en masse. They packed the conference with delegates mobilized from Springfield, East St. Louis, and even Chicago. On one pretext after another they interrupted the proceedings with irrelevant speeches and slander. The A. F. of L. delegates voted with their feet. Delegate after delegate left. The result is best expressed perhaps in a letter from one of the local militants who has participated in all the struggles of the Illinois miners since before the war.

Japanese-Chinese-Soviet tangle are indisputably generating just such an eruption in the immediate future.

For the working class to meet such an event adequately it is absolutely necessary to continue to stress the community of interests between the Soviet Union, the world proletariat and the oppressed colonial peoples. The greatest watchfulness is required of the Soviet government to maneuver for the foreign invaders.

The Daily Worker refers to these bands of guerilla fighters as "Red partisan detachments" in connection also with high-sounding reports of more sweeping victories by the Chinese "Red Army". What greater proof the Stalinists have for this contention than for the contention—for example—that Father Cox's "army" represented the American unemployed we do not know. But then again, irresponsible and lavish boasting has ever been the bane of unprincipled political groups and of the Stalinized Comintern in particular. How sincere and interested workers are to be able to distinguish between friend and foe, between progress and retreat, how judge on the basis of experience what their revolutionary tasks are, the bureaucrats of the official Communist party and their confabing press are very little concerned about. As they sow, so will they reap.

### Semenov at Work

Harnessed by the difficulties on their path the Japanese are resorting to other methods. A dispatch to the New York Herald Tribune on January 12 reports that the notorious Russian White Guard general, Gregory Semenov is engaged in a movement to "effect the independence of the vast territory of Inner Mongolia with the sanction of Japan". The dispatch says further that Ataman Semenov "is known to have received pay from the Japanese for several years". The Cossack general claims he can raise an army of 50,000 former czarist troops as well as 100,000 Mongolian cavalrymen.

## Trotsky's 'History' to Be Out Soon

We have just been informed that the first volume of the "History of the Russian Revolution", by comrade Leon Trotsky will be off the press and ready for sale on February 27. This gigantic work written by the organizer of the insurrection will be complete in two volumes, the second of which will appear about the 1st of June of this year.

Volume one begins with the February revolution and deals with the period up to June 1917. The second volume continues from this period up to and through the October insurrection and the Bolshevik seizure of power. The books approximately 500 pages each, will contain many photographs and maps. Max Eastman translated both volumes from the Russian. They are published by Simon and Schuster Company and will sell for \$4.00 a volume or both for \$7.50.

## Marine Defense Meet

Hundreds Gather to Protest «Dynamite Plot» Frame-Up

On Thursday evening, January 7, a mass meeting in defense of Jack Soderberg, Thomas Bunker and William Trajer, victims of the harbor bosses' "dynamite plot" frame-up was held at Webster Hall. Over 500 workers attended the meeting, which was held under the auspices of the Marine Workers Defense Committee.

For the first time in years, New York workers belonging to various political tendencies met together, swayed by a feeling of genuine working class solidarity in the face of the vicious class enemy.

Comrade James P. Cannon, of the Communist League of America, (Opposition) was the first speaker at the meeting at which Carter Hudson, chairman of the Marine Workers Defense Committee presided. Comrade Cannon eloquently presented the case of three defendants, pointed out the political background and the purposes behind this latest attack of the capitalist class and appealed to the workers present to support the Marine Workers Defense Committee and its efforts to repel the designs of the bosses in this case as in others by a frank and real united front.

Other speakers included A. J. Muste, of the Conference of Progressive Labor Action, who pledged the support of his organization to the defense and its willingness to cooperate with the Committee; Ben Gitlow of the Lovestone group, who made an appeal for funds for the defense; Walter Starret of the Road to Freedom Anarchist group and Carlo Treseca, editor of Il Martello, who cited

similar frame-up cases in the history of the American working class.

All speakers were well received. Despite the manifold political shades and colors, all appeared to be united to prevent the capitalist class from taking advantage of the dissensions within the working class for their own ends. The meeting represents a commendable attempt to close the ranks in warding off the blows of government oppression of workers and workers' institutions. As such it will undoubtedly call forth more and bigger meetings and manifestations of the same sort in the future.

The official Communist party and the I. L. D. were conspicuous by their absence. But many rank and file party comrades sat in the audience. The absolute necessity of action in cases such as that of the three marine workers will not fail to awaken the workers, Communist and non-Communist, to proletarian solidarity. We hope that rank and file pressure will lead the party and the I. L. D. to realize the mistake of their passivity in this case quickly. For the sake of the working class as a whole, as well as for that of the party. Such mistakes are dearly paid for. The force of united working class defense is irresistible. It is bound to overcome all obstacles.

The first Marine Workers' Defense meeting has started the drive. It is up to every class conscious worker to contribute his bit to the fight for the release of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer. Let no one stand aside.