

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Labor Fakery Before Congress

The A. F. of L. Bureaucrats Finally Recognize the «Dole»

The other day one hundred A. F. of L. "leaders" submitted a petition for Federal unemployment relief to President Hoover and to Congress. The one hundred marched one whole mile to the White House. It was not exactly a hunger march, this dandy crew of well-groomed portly per-capita absorbers. It must have been a rather grotesque looking affair, in the present unemployment situation.

But this is not the point. There is something else worth noting in this whole affair. For the A. F. of L. high officials it represents a considerable change of front, since the convention held at Vancouver last fall. Above all, it is important to know the reason for this change of front.

First of all, it signifies further evidence of the slowly growing pressure within the unions, of discontent caused by the ravages of unemployment. The petitioners, so humble in this role, but insolently haughty before their union membership, fear the signs of the coming discontent. They fear its becoming directed against the rulers of a system which is causing unemployment and misery. They fear its becoming expressed in genuine class consciousness. Hence they hurry to head it off if possible.

We recall the traditionally reactionary A. F. of L. policy of servile cringing before the desires of the politically distinguished to Washington. It is this which has particularly distinguished its leadership as agents of capitalism. At the Vancouver convention the assembled high salaried business agents despite the changes in the phraseology of the orators, reinforced this policy in full. They frothed at the mouth against the "dole". They went on record against unemployment insurance and any form of federal unemployment relief.

Would it now seem, in view of this petition, that the traditional A. F. of L. policy is undergoing a change. We fear it would be entirely too optimistic to have such expectations; but these gentlemen are quite alarmed at the prospect of seriously rising discontent. And that much their petition reflects very distinctly.

The petitioners ask for appropriations for direct federal relief; for cessation of wage cuts; for the five day week, for the enactment of the Norris anti-injunction bill and, of course, they also asked for the inevitable 2.75 percent beer. How disdainfully Congress ignored the plea of the humble petitioners, was shown by its adoption at this moment of a number of measures of relief to capitalism. There are the examples of the establishment of the two billion dollar reconstructing finance corporation, of the Glass banking bill, etc. On the very same day of the filing of the petition the Senate leaders girded their loins to defeat even the moderate La Follette-Costigan bill providing an appropriation of 375 million dollars for federal unemployment relief. Undoubtedly more attention would have had to be paid to the A. F. of L. heads if they had undertaken to lead a substantial section of the millions of unemployed in a march upon the White House. But that, of course, they had no intention of doing. It is precisely to prevent demonstrations, which can easily fan a flame of real protest and seriously advance demands, that the petition came forward, and came forward in the manner it did. The government need not at all take serious heed of such requests. It well knows the intentions and designs of its obedient servants.

There may be workers, however, who take this change of front at face value, thinking that it indicates a more progressive attitude and hoping that real leadership for unemployment relief can be expected from the A. F. of L. high salaried officials. Such hopes, of course, are doomed to disappointment. It is true that even these reactionaries are subject to a change of front under compulsion and pressure. They may even under such conditions take steps forward and in a progressive direction. But by their position as defenders of capitalism and hopelessly reactionary make-up any such steps would always remain far behind the actual needs of the workers. Essentially they remain a brake upon the movement and looking for the first opportunity to betray. Nevertheless, the pressure upon them, by the deepening of the crisis and by extension of the wage cut drive, will increase. This pressure would be deliberately and consciously aided, organized and directed by Left wing militants. It should be made articulate and effective, not based upon expectation of results from the official

YOUNG SPARTACUS AFFAIR
The Spartacus Youth Club of New York (formerly the Marxian Youth Club) will hold an affair for the Young Spartacus at the Millant Hall, 84 East 10th Street, on Saturday evening, February 27th. There will be entertainment, dancing and refreshments.
All youth are invited to attend this affair as well as the regular club meetings held every Sunday afternoon at 8:00 P. M. at the above address.

stunkeys but, on the contrary, as a means of further drawing the distinction between these capitalist agents and the rank and file workers, as well as a means of moving the masses ahead to build the movement.

This petition for Federal unemployment relief and what it implies should offer an added opportunity to penetrate the ranks of the A. F. of L., in building the movement for a struggle for unemployment relief. As yet however, no serious efforts have been made to extend the movement to embrace the A. F. of L. unions.

The Daily Worker, in its issue of February 11th, says editorially in commenting upon this petition: "The workers' answer should be a wider campaign for unemployment insurance, building up the fighting ranks of both employed and unemployed, fighting hunger and the rotten capitalist system which produces it. In the ranks of the A. F. of L., the movement for unemployment insurance should be made to sweep the fakery off their feet".

This is absolutely correct. But it can be made a reality in only provided the party leadership pursues a policy of the united front in every sense of the word. The opportunity for it has been available; it is becoming daily more pronounced, moreover, its acceptance and practice has become an imperative need.

The efforts of the party in the struggle for unemployment relief, while having something on the credit side of the balance sheet (for example by way of dramatization of the issue) still carry a mounting record on the debit side. The very demonstrations organized by

The Jailed Marine Workers and the I.L.D.

I have received about a dozen letters from party members as well as I. L. D. members during the last week. All these letters deal with the same question—that of the I. L. D. and its relation to the defense of the prisoners involved in the case. I have not enough stamps nor writing material to answer each letter individually so this statement of facts will serve as a reply to all those concerned. If I am judging correctly, it is evident that a misunderstanding exists in many a comrade's mind as to my personal stand on the question of the I. L. D. I shall endeavor in this statement to settle that very question once and for all—

At the time of our arrest Nov. 16, 1931 we were entirely at the mercy of the police and they knew it only too well and acted accordingly. Hence, the inhuman and beastly 3rd degree and brutal beating. Bunker at the time, asked me whether I thought the I. L. D. would come forward to defend us. I replied that I was sure they would as the organization of the I. L. D. was supposedly non-political and in any event

Oppositionist Victim of White Terror in Greece

BULLETIN

The Bourgeois press reports the secret funeral of our comrade T. Baboucoupos in Athens, Greece.

200 comrades forced their way through the police columns that were guarding the gates of the cemetery in order to bid farewell to the victim of the medieval terror that the Venizelos regime exercises against our Greek comrades.

The police forces were reinforced from the military garrison and they succeeded in arresting all our comrades whom they are deporting immediately to the island of Lesvos.

Aid in Our Circulation Drive

Slowly we are developing a group of active, militant builders. But it is yet entirely too small, and the results have therefore remained scant. To make the proverbial "power of the press" have a meaning for the Left Opposition, the first step must become an active building and extension of its circulation. And today, with several organs being published or about to appear, the extension should embrace the whole Left Opposition press. This is our immediate aim.

There are still a few months of the winter season left which offers the best opportunities among workers being more attentive, participating more in meetings, and being more easily within reach of our propaganda. We naturally depend upon our comrades to support us, to attend these gatherings, to make their contacts, to sell a copy of the Left Opposition press and to endeavor to get a new sub. When practically organized and carried on, this will also help us in replenishing our depleted treasury

OPEN FORUM

Lecture by

ARNE SWABECK

The Left Opposition and the Unity Ruse of the Lovestone Right Wing

at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue

Friday, February 19, 1932
at 8 P. M.

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

the party, regardless of the militancy displayed, have constantly decreased in working class participation. The February 4th demonstration was amaler yet than the preceding ones. That downward tendency is also the status of the movement as a whole. This has become an ineradicable record of the working class attitude toward the party leadership and its policies. And this in a situation of growing pressure from mass discontent.

Is it not clear that here a complete change of policy is necessary. Not merely a change on paper but a change in reality?

—A. S.

non-partisan. On the following day, after having appeared in the Magistrate's Court and after having pleaded not guilty it became evident to me that the I. L. D. did not intend to take the case. Realizing that we were facing the rest of our life in prison if the frame up was successful, it became evident that we must obtain legal advice somehow. I, therefore, put through a telephone call from Tombs prison to Mr. Fishman, an attorney who had successfully defended me in another case. Mr. Fishman arrived the same afternoon and upon hearing the case told me that he would see us through, fee or no fee. He has kept his promise.

On the 19th of November, three days after the arrest, I received a letter from comrades Cannon and Tresca, informing me that due to the fact that no one had seemingly come forward to defend us, they had in conjunction with other comrades retained an attorney who would call to see us. The following day, Mr. Sabatino called and has since then handled the case as chief counsel with Mr. Fishman as associate counsel. On or about the 15th of December, one month after the arrest, I received a letter from Mr. Brodsky informing me that he had been instructed by the I. L. D. to offer his legal services. I want comrades to bear in mind that this was the first offer we had from the I. L. D. and it came 32 days after our arrest. Bunker, Trajer and myself discussed the letter and it was decided that I should write Brodsky asking him to call in order to enable us to discuss the question of the committee and endeavor to find ways and means whereby the I. L. D. and the committee could get together on the question. Nothing was heard from the I. L. D. until 9 days later, when Brodsky came. I asked him how the I. L. D. could explain its attitude in view of the fact that when approached by workers shortly after the arrest they had

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World Powers at Loggerheads

Japanese Repulsed in China as Laval Cabinet Falls in Paris

The events of the last week have brought about a very noticeable shift in the relationship of forces among the powers involved in the recent struggle. The unexpected and rather remarkable resistance put up by the Chinese at centering on the Far Eastern question, Chapel has vexed the Japanese aggressors considerably. And the rather cool reception given the French delegation at Geneva, has not served to encourage Tokio any either. The French imperialists have up to the present been the only ones to play the role of apologists for Nipponese militarism.

The bold stand taken by Tardieu has, if anything, only been of service in the consolidation of Wall Street influence in Europe. Isolated internationally by their strong-headed drive for a sharp solution, the French reactionaries have suffered an internal defeat, through a combination of circumstances, by the downfall of the Laval cabinet. The inevitably more moderate regime that will succeed Laval, will not fail to take into account the desires and demands of the Washington government in continuing, under a new guise, the traditional French struggle for European hegemony. After all, the money bags will remain the determining factor in imperialist politics.

Japan, weakened already by her Far Eastern adventure and losing ground continually in her diplomatic disputes with the West, finds herself entangled in a net of strangling contradictions. On the one hand, the Manchurian expedition and the attack on Shanghai have already proved to be extremely expensive, have sapped her resources like a suction pump. A protracted stay in China can only mean the collapse of her financial structure. Discontent at home is maturing rapidly. Despite the censorship, reports of anti-war demonstrations in Tokio and in other cities have found their way into the press. The economic crisis and the unemployment it brings can only aggravate this situation for the Mikado's ministers. On the other hand, the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods has al-

ready piled up heavy losses for her industries. And it is primarily the breaking of the boycott that Tokio is concerned with at present, after the first flush of victory and the ravenous ambitions accompanying it, have dimmed. And even then, it is questionable if the imperialism of the East could repair its losses by merely lifting the boycott, as the situation stands today. At any rate, it may be safely assumed that in the coming weeks, the diplomats at Tokio will be much more "reasonable" in their negotiations with the U. S., Great Britain and the others until new factors intervene.

The temporarily successful defense of Chapel has no doubt raised the morale of the Chinese troops. That the Kuo Min Tang politicians attempt to exploit this situation is only natural. But it is not their intention to make use of it by rallying the masses for a real struggle. For them, it simply constitutes capital in the bid for the support of American financiers. Washington is not at all reluctant to come to the aid of the Chinese bourgeoisie. The centralization of China and its transformation into a stable market for American goods, has always been one of Wall Street's dreams. Any opportunity to realize this dream will be taken advantage of by United States imperialism.

But the Kuo Min Tang has not yet succeeded in establishing a stable bourgeois power in China. All the experiences of recent years have helped to strengthen the hatred of the masses of the people against the foreign robber powers, America included. They will undoubtedly look upon the Kuo Min Tang's flirtations with Wall Street, with suspicion. This fact cannot help but increase the opportunities of the Chinese Communists to build up their influence and to take the lead in the struggle, supported by the prestige and the backing of the

Soviet Union and the world proletariat. Rumors have been spread about relative to a supposed entente between the Soviet government and the Japanese with regard to the transportation of troops on the Chinese Eastern Railroad. Despite the disgustingly non-revolutionary stand of Litvinoff at Geneva, dealt with elsewhere in this issue, despite the fact that this position at the Disarmament Conference only constitutes another step in the Stalinist degeneration, it is, nevertheless, inconceivable, that there is any truth whatsoever in these rumors. Any such entente could mean only one thing in betrayal of the most elementary duty of a proletarian power—that of intransigent antagonism to the imperialists and their designs against the oppressed colonial masses.

The imperialist powers are busy preparing their households for the coming test of strength. Just how imminent this clash is, may be gathered from the parleys going on at Geneva in the ante-chambers, away from the din of oratorical bombast. These discussions have for their subject the very prosaic matter of restrictions in the use of air-craft bombing on civilians, the distances to be established between battle lines, etc. The utmost watchfulness is required of the international working class. We, too, must be prepared. The tension in Germany, in the face of the March elections, may well give vent to an explosion that will shake Europe. The outcome of the class struggle in Germany will serve as a signal for imperialist action. It is the task of the Communists to lay the ground for a successful counter-action of the proletariat. The first requisite for that is international solidarity. And it is on this point, that the Stalinist leadership in all the parties of the Comintern, and especially in the Soviet Union must be called to order.

—S. G.

The Presidential Elections in Germany

All political parties in Germany are retrenching themselves for the general presidential election to be held in March. At present the nominations are taking place and the most important parliamentary drive in the history of German politics is under way.

Hindenburg has accepted the candidacy of a "coalition" drive to defeat Fascism. He will have the support of the social democracy, the Centrist Party, the People's Party, the Economic Party and the Democratic Party. In a word, the "democratic" forces are uniting on the basis of a defense and resistance against Fascism—and Communism. At

the head of this drive stand the socialists. The object is to retain Hindenburg as the "iron man" to save the republic, and also to keep Brüning at the head of parliament.

The Fascists are orientating themselves for the drive. To them the elections do not close the question. They are confident that they can defeat this coalition even on the election field. The Nazi party and their counter-part, the Nationalist party, are grooming their ranks for a united stand against the "coalition". The Fascists are now attempting to force through Hitler's citizenship with the aim of legalizing his participation in politics and acting as a candidate for his party.

From the Needle Strike Front

The struggle of the dressmakers in New York began a week ago under the auspices of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. The Right wing controlled International Ladies Garment Workers Union postponed the calling out of its shops for more than a week, with the sole object of isolating the fight of those dressmakers who are striking under the banner of the Left wing. While the response to the Left wing was not such as would be desirable, the ranks remained intact all the time since the

The conditions of the dressmakers are now in danger—now more than ever. The Schlesinger machine will not fail to live up to its record of betrayals: It will again look for all shades of "impartial arbiters" who will help stabilize the industry at the expense of the

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which we assure all our supporters is badly needed.

This we propose to take up particularly during our coming three months' subscription drive, covering March, April and May. Our readers have noticed the special inducement offers. First, in the announcement of the theoretical organ,

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THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST REVIEW, to appear April 1st as a new addition to The Militant, the Young Spartacus, Unser Kampf, and Communists. Secondly, by the special books and pamphlets offered for new subscribers during this period. All of this material

has been published at the minimum of expense so as to provide literature of a high quality at a price workers can afford to pay. As to the quality—that we are willing to submit to our readers to judge. But we expect they will also, upon the inevitably favorable judgment, do their part to help build the Left Opposition press.

During the period of the drive, we offer for Militant subscriptions the following conditions:

One year subscription: \$2.00—a copy of The Permanent Revolution (paper bound) by L. D. Trotsky.

Six months subscription: \$1.00—a copy of The Strategy of the World Revolution (paper bound) by L. D. Trotsky.

Three months subscription: \$0.50—a copy of any one of our 10c pamphlets.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST REVIEW will appear in 48 pages, bi-monthly in the beginning. The price per copy will be 15c. Subscription will be \$1.50 for 12 issues and \$1.00 for 8 issues. Help us build the Left Opposition Press!

At the moment of this writing, the detailed plans of the combined Fascist and Nationalist front are unknown. There is a certain uneasiness in the ranks of the democratic coalition because of this. They do not know how to resist the Fascist drive. They fear the results of an election defeat of the Fascists because they understand that in such an event, Fascism will resort to an armed struggle against the government.

In this situation the role of the Communist party is of highest importance. Information from Germany demonstrates that the C. P. G. is now concentrating on the elections. Thaelmann is the party candidate for president. The party is now too, preparing for an intensive parliamentary campaign as a fight on two fronts: the fight against Fascism and against the Centre-social democratic coalition, stressing at the same time that the most important fight must be made against the Centre-social democratic coalition, and not the Fascists.

But the danger in the present situation lies in that the party sees no further than the elections. It is correct that the party should carry on the struggle on the election field. But that cannot be the final aim of the struggle. For the Communists it is more important to see further than just the parliamentary

MINNEAPOLIS
COMRADARY
for
"UNSER KAMF"
Saturday, FEBRUARY 27, 1932
9 P. M.
at the home of
J. E. L. K. I. N.
1127 Gerard Ave., N.