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Trade Relations with the U.S.S.R.

The New York Times of March 19th carried a Duranty headline in *Izvestia*, "Rumors about intention of the United States to recognize the Soviet Union." The rumors are based upon statements emanating from London reading as follows: "It is stated here that certain circles in Washington feel that recognition of Russia may establish an equilibrium of forces in the Far East." And then, if these rumors should be confirmed, the first step would be "the sending of a commission to Russia to discuss a trade agreement."

While this dispatch occupied a rather obscure place Walter Duranty is nevertheless known as one of those reporters who keeps his ear to the ground and is "wonderfully" well informed. It should not be understood in this case to mean actual possibilities of recognition. One need not put much credence in such rumors. But Duranty has proven his sagacity in representing the Stalin views as something entirely palatable to the capitalist interests and particularly to guard these interests in presenting the views. However, for the moment that is beside the point. Let us rather dwell for an instant upon the two questions of importance raised in the dispatch.

American Imperialist Aggression

1. The question of possible recognition to establish an equilibrium of forces in the Far East.

2. The question of steps following a possible recognition to discuss a trade agreement with the Soviet Union.

On the first proposition. Does the interest of the United States and of the Soviet Union in the Far East coincide, or even remotely suggest that sort of an equilibrium? Of course not. While both are obviously to Japanese aggression in China and Japan's aggression in China is because of entirely different reasons. The Soviet Union is opposed to Japanese imperialist aggression in China, not only because it may become a threat to its borders, but primarily because it is opposed to all imperialist aggression. The Soviet Union is the opponent of further partitioning in China and a friend and supporter of the revolutionary awakening of the Chinese masses. This is not at all the case of the United States. As far as this most powerful and most reactionary imperialist power is concerned it has one main object in view in attempting to counterbalance the Japanese aggression in China; namely, to, as far as possible, reserve this field for its own ruthless advance to the exclusion of all others. It has its eye on a future Chinese market, in order to climb out of the crisis on the knuckles and bones of the Chinese workers.

It is with this aim in view that the United States endeavors to appear in the hypocritical role of the friend of China—as a "defender" of a defenceless nation. Once more it is attempting to extend its imperialist domain under the mask of being a champion of peace, while feverishly preparing its armed forces for war.

"With this enormous difference of policy in the Far East of the United States and of the Soviet Union, how much more hypocritical must sound the rumors of recognition as a means of an equilibrium of forces. It is therefore much more necessary to call out to the American workers, and to the American Communist in particular, not to fall into the trap set by the pacifist "defender" of defenceless nations. The official American Communist Party has been carrying on a campaign of demonstrations against Japanese imperialist aggression in China. Naturally Communists are opposed to, and should fight against, the Japanese partitioning of China and the suppression of her people. But above all American Communists must tear this deceptive pacifist mask of the American imperialist aggressor. It is well for us to remember that the most powerful and most reactionary imperialist enemy is at home.

The Question of Soviet Trade Relations

The second important question intimated in the Duranty dispatch is the one of trade relations with the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly there are powerful American capitalist groups who turn their eyes toward the vast market in the Workers Republic; the same as there are powerful groups struggling against any relations whatever. In regard to the latter, we need only recall the recent demand made by a group of members of Congress for an embargo on all products of the Soviet Union. But to discuss this question it is necessary first of all to discard also in this instance any belief of possible overtures for trade relations as "peaceful overtures" even though they may here also carry the cover of a hypocritical mask of pacifism.

With the crisis growing in intensity it can be expected that the American imperialist will look for markets everywhere. Capitalism has no scruples. It will trade with the devil himself but will try to cheat him as all robbers do. In turning their eyes toward the Russian market these gentlemen do not for one minute fail to keep in mind their simultaneous effort to break down, if possible, its proletarian regime; to forge an armed ring around its borders. But

this is precisely one more reason why the American workers should not only recognize their common interest with their brothers of the Soviet Union but in a most effective way fight for the protection of these common interests. The Soviet Union is compelled to rely on trade with the capitalist world. It needs credits in an increasing measure to continue to build its industries.

Demand U. S. Credits to the Soviet Union
American trade with the Soviet Union grew rapidly up until the end of 1930. From a figure, both export and import included, of \$5,998,000 in 1923, to \$138,785,000 in 1930. Due to lack of credits from the United States this figure dropped in 1931 to a total of \$116,800,000. It stands to reason that only an extension of credits will again increase this figure.

Undoubtedly the first step for American workers to take to counter any mask of recognition as a cover for imperialist designs is to increasingly voice the demand for extension of large scale credits to the Soviet Union. Recently the official Communist party has become compelled to accept the Left Opposition slogan for such credits. But so far only in half-hearted manner. It should be made a live slogan.

It could be made so if the party would set to work seriously and begin an active campaign. We could well conceive of the first steps being taken through the calling of conferences throughout the country of all workers organizations, specifically including the A. F. of L. unions, and to place the proposals before them to demand the extension of credits. With

OPEN FORUM

WHERE IS AMERICAN SOCIALISM GOING?
The Socialist Party Convention and Its Left Wing
Lecture by
MAX SHACHTMAN
on
FRIDAY, APRIL 15, 1932
at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
at 8 P. M.
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 Cents
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

unemployment pressing ever heavier upon the American workers, the prospect of increasing trade would be welcomed by them. A prospect of increasing trade with the Soviet Union, of American factories producing in increasing quantities for the Soviet market and of goods being shipped to help build the industry controlled by the workers there would have a double effect here. It would powerfully emphasize the community of interests of the workers in both countries. It would thus also lay a more effective basis for actual working class defense of the Soviet Union in the present situation of ever growing war preparations. The party should not delay in taking this step.
—A. S.

Stool-pigeon Discredited at Marine Trial

The trial of the three marine workers in process at General Sessions Court, reveals clearly the false character of the case and its intent to break the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union. The prosecution is determined to entrap the union in alleged dynamite and bombing activities. It is for this purpose that it has propped up as its main witness a shady individual by the name of Hoyle, a stool-pigeon who says he was a member of the Union and who has "confessed" to all sorts of fantastic accusations launched by the District Attorney.

Just to get a picture of the kind of evidence and witnesses the prosecution relies upon, it is significant to review the cross examination of this stool-pigeon by the defense. On the stand Hoyle confessed to breaking padlocks on the powder houses of the Trap Rock Co. He posed as a shrewd detective, hunting down dangerous criminals, yet admit doing the lion's share of the work of procuring the dynamite himself.

Upon the question of the defense attorney: "Did you know you were stealing dynamite?" he answered: "When I found out (!) that I was stealing dynamite, I made up my mind to follow it and see where it went." This in itself is enough to stigmatize the stool-pigeon.

Question by the defense attorney: "When you found out that Soderberg was after dynamite, did you then decide to

mislead him?"
Answer: Yes.
Question: "Did you notify the police?"
Answer: "No."

It must be remembered that the prosecution is building up its case exclusively on the evidence of this man. Upon further cross examination it was discovered that this same Hoyle was known in the army as a notorious liar and unreliable individual. On the stand Hoyle and again contradicted himself as to his concepts of morality, etc. He told stories about a ride for dynamite in which persons participated whom he is unable to identify and whom the prosecution has never bothered to produce.

The entire evidence of the stool-pigeon bore an indisputably shady character. On Tuesday, April 5, Thomas Bunker, one of the defendants, took the stand, declared the whole "confession" of Hoyle a lie from beginning to end. Bunker said that he had not been at the time of the arrest of a member of any organization, but that he was a revolutionist and adhered to the necessity of changing the present system of society. As we go to press, Bunker is still under cross examination. A full report of the proceedings and the outcome of the trial will appear in *The Militant* next week. In the meantime Hoyle is urgently needed for the defense and all workers are requested to hurry with their contributions, care of the Marine Workers Defense Committee, 82 East 10th St., N. Y. C.

Open Letter to the C. E. C. of the U. S. S. R. -- by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

On the international arena, the situation was not much different. This Opposition fought in 1923 against the capitalist policies of Brandler who was supported on the right by Stalin; against the Stalinist theory of worker-peasant parties; against the confinement of Chinese Communism within the iron cage of the Kuo Min Tang; against the bloc of the Politburo with the clique of British strike-breakers; against the whole opportunistic, ruinous, shameful, thoroughly treacherous policy of Stalin, who for several years exchanged portraits with him on the very eve of the day when Chiang Kai-Shek instituted the blood-bath of Shanghai. You yourselves are sufficiently acquainted with the facts and know that there is not a shadow of exaggeration in my words. It is not for nothing that the history of the Chinese revolution became a prohibited book in the Soviet Union: each page of it burns the fingers of the Stalinist clique.

Wherein does our "counter-revolutionary" activity lie? Among the hundreds of present day Stalinist theoreticians (hired by the day or by the piece) who squirm like worms in the wounds of the world proletariat, there are not a few volunteers willing to change white into black, or into any other color of the rainbow. They will not change historic facts, however, nor shake the foundations of Marxism. The Left Opposition has the right to be proud of its struggle against the Stalinist faction in the U. S. S. R., in Germany, in China, in England, in all parts of the world reached by the hand of the opportunistic apparatus.

Knocking its forehead against the kulak; deceived in its calculations on friend Chiang Kai-Shek; receiving in-

stead of gratitude, a kick from the platform of opportunists, who were rescued by it, the Stalinist bureaucracy made in 1928, a whirlwind turn of 180 degrees over our heads, only to plunge into a monstrous economic and political adventurism, the accounts of which are still to be settled.

And again the Left Oppositionists—the true and only Bolshevik-Leninists in the ranks of the international proletariat—quickly and decisively came out against the bureaucratic adventurism that is armed with the resources of the workers' government. We warned against the irresponsible conversion of the five year plan into a four-year-one. Our warning has been fully confirmed. The artificial race, not prepared either theoretically, or practically, not only made it impossible to solve this rather sporting than economic problem, but deepened a series of disproportions which are now, in a purely mechanical fashion, driven into the foundation of the second five year plan. The Opposition warned against the hazardous playing with "complete collectivization" and with the idea "of the liquidation of classes" within the period of the first five year plan. Now "complete collectivization" is halted and "the liquidation of classes" during two or three intermediate stages is transferred to the new five year plan. Also in this form the problem remains a purely bureaucratic utopia. As a result of forced collectivization and the violation of basic economic proportions, the extremely difficult food and the general material conditions of the working class, remain, unfortunately, a reality.

The working class of Russia has the right to be proud of the truly great technical achievements, accomplished within the last few years. These achievements became possible only after the pressure of realities forced the bureau-

Miners Resist New Onslaught

Unification of Rebel Movements Urgent Duty of Revolutionary Party

The insurgent strike of the anthracite miners of Districts number 1 and 9 has collapsed. The men who came out are again back at work, with no gains made, browbeaten into submission by the unholy trinity of the coal operators, the U. M. W. officials and the Pennsylvania state police. Those who have been picked as the victims and blacklisted, as a punishment for the insurgency, remain locked out. The thousands of unemployed who joined in the movement are left to shift for themselves and face the continued misery of starvation.

This strike brought out all the deep seated discontent coupled with the sterling spirit of rebellion which is saturating the mine fields. But the conscious expression and conscious direction required to face the overwhelming odds was not yet at hand. The strike was entirely spontaneous in character, its program and objective not clearly defined and its leadership did not in the least rise above that level. Therefore, while the beating back of this insurgent movement, obviously records another working class defeat, it is nevertheless one of these defeats harboring lessons which can become a preparation for future success.

The leaders of this strike were not at all conscious Left wingers, not to speak of being revolutionists. But they found themselves in conflict with the degenerated, corrupt union bureaucrats, and pressed forward by a membership chafing under gross exploitation. In that sense they expressed the rebellion of the rank and file. How ruthlessly the capitalist owners of industry proceed to break down any resistance, incipient or consciously expressed, is testified to by the fact that five of these strike leaders, undoubtedly with many rank and file members suffering the same fate, were blacklisted and dismissed by the companies immediately upon the return to work. And, of course, in the trial for murder of the Harlan, Ky. strikers is yet more eloquent and more brutal testimony for those who may still have doubts.

Strikes Growing in Other Fields

Badly scattered and isolated within local fields as the miners struggles now are, and have been for quite a long time, their fighting spirit nevertheless remains undaunted. In this we have again a picture of what has been repeated so often before. While the anthracite insurgent strike suffered its set-back, new strikes are developing and growing elsewhere. In that part of the central competitive field embracing Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, and at a few other points, approximately 75,000 miners went on strike on April 1st. It has been characterized by operators and U. M. W. officials alike as a sort of a truce rather than a strike. In many respects that is true. The operators insist upon a drastic wage reduction. This the miners are dead set against and ready to fight against, so much so, that the officials have not as yet dared to enter into a wage cut agreement and are therefore biding their

time, hoping for better prospects to remain true to their role of being capitalist agents in the workers' ranks.

The "truce" as could be expected remains only so long that it benefits the operators. In Indiana, for example, it has already, at the time of this writing, been broken. The operators have issued an ultimatum to the miners and are attempting to operate with strike breakers. It is backed up by the promise of the governor of the state to have troops in readiness. Once more this verifies our contention that the capitalist exploiters can always rely upon the service of the government and its armed forces against the workers; whether or not they strike in the name of their official union or through an insurgent movement.

Serious clashes have already resulted in Indiana and likewise in Ohio. Scabs have suffered in the determined picketing of the striking miners not even protected by the tear gas bombs used by sheriffs' forces. It is therefore clear that this situation may hold very serious tests in store both in regard to the actual power of resistance of the rank and file miners and their ability to circumvent the officials' slimy maneuvers to accommodate the operators.

Can the Isolated Movements Be United?

A look at the mine fields today proves how complete the disarray and partitioning of the United Mine Workers by its corrupt officials. It has long ago ceased to be a nationally fighting unit. But should it remain so? That is the most important question. When viewing the latest isolated and localized strikes much food for thought is available for those workers who are ready to do some

serious thinking. And it is to those that we particularly address ourselves. Over a period of more than a year the miners have developed serious resistance to the capitalist onslaughts. The militancy displayed parallels their history of the past. This was manifested alike in the Pennsylvania-Ohio strikes last year of the N. M. U., in the anthracite insurgent strike, in the West Virginia strike, led by the Mustelie progressive and in the Kentucky miners strikes. It is developing in this present strike. All of them remained localized and isolated without any efforts to unite them into one movement. The official party leadership in its conduct of mine strike policy is not at all exempt from this castigation. And yet, in this lies the real problem which is becoming an ever more pressing one. For effective resistance against the operators and for a serious fight against their servile tools holding office in the U. M. W. the unification of these scattered movements developing from different directions but essentially striving toward the same objective is the first command.

What Should the National Miners Union Do?

What can so far be expected from the official party leadership is indicated in the recent National Miners Union convention. There is no trace of measures being taken toward this essential unification. It is reported that this convention was put through the gymnastics of the usual "searching self-criticism." It discovered again the many weaknesses of "underestimation" and "shortcomings" of the rank and file, of course (!)—which it summed up in "insufficient con-

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Hitler Scoffs at Threat to «Outlaw» Nazis

The press this week reports an intended ban of the National Socialist organizations on the basis of the documents seized during the raids on Nazi headquarters in Prussia, some three weeks ago. It is significant that the rumors emanate from the Prussian ministry of the interior and not from the federal government. All that is possibly true in these rumors is the fact that the social democratic workers are bringing pressure upon the socialist Severing who heads the Prussian ministry of the Interior. So far Severing has only resorted to strong phrases. The federal government remains non-committal and Severing will not by himself act without the consent of the Bruening administration.

The documents seized reveal, however, broadly and precisely outlined plans on part of the Fascists for the seizure of power.

"Among the instructions to local Nazi chiefs," says the *New York Times* reporter, "was a document calling for the names of the police, municipal officials, pastors, public school teachers, leading

Freemasons and prominent Jews. Other documents contained mobilization plans calling for data on airports, their crews and the number and type of planes. . . . What most sorely tried the patience of Herr Severing was the recurring reference in the confiscated documents to the equipment and personnel of the Prussian police and the location of their stores of arms and ammunition, as well as to the measures prescribed for safeguarding the railway service."

This is enough to indicate with what thoroughness and how seriously the Fascists are preparing for the seizure of power with the aid of army and police officials. To the news that these documents were published and that a ban against his organizations is being planned, Hitler has replied very briefly: "Bah! Piffle!"

Hitler knows very well that he has nothing to fear in so far as the interference of the bourgeois government is concerned. He knows that he already has important positions in the administration apparatus. What Hitler does fear is united action on part of the working class. He knows that a united front of the working class movement alone would strike fear into the hearts of his following. That is why he is proceeding so carefully.

Hitler's strategy at the present moment is concentrated on getting some measure of popular success with which to follow for the morale of his heterogeneous following to a decisive blow. That is one of the reasons for his "legalistic" policy. He is hoping for a sort of parliamentary victory in the Prussian elections as the proper moment to strike. It is most likely that he will continue along this line until the elections to the Prussian Diet next month. This is the element of greatest value in the present social struggle in Germany. The Fascist leaders are well aware of this.

The official party has appreciably modified its position of "strategic retreat" before Fascism. To a great extent, this has taken place under the pressure of the criticism of the Left Opposition. A further change along the same line is absolutely necessary. The united front of all workers' organizations in the fight against Fascism is imperative. No time is to be lost. The enemy is at the gates of the German proletariat. Stalinist confusionism must be brushed aside, if the proletariat of Germany and with it, the working class of the entire world, is not to suffer a defeat, the disastrous consequences of which can hardly be calculated in advance.

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