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## War and Social Chauvinism

Alarm Signals Against Jingoist Trends in the Communist Party

In the *Daily Worker* we read:  
"In an article in *Izvestia*, Radek said:  
"If challenged, the Soviet Union will have a right to seek temporary allies among the capitalist powers, which at the present stage do not infringe on her frontiers or interests."  
"The article implied that the United States would be the natural ally of Japanese sentiment in America."  
"Russia under such circumstances and said that there was a growing 'anti-Japan' sentiment in America."  
The *Daily Worker*, on its own account, adds in approval:  
"Not rejecting any possibility, no matter how temporary and slight it can be, to utilize the contradictions existing between the imperialists for the purpose of strengthening the position of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, in their class struggle, this proposal means a new step of the peace policy of the Soviet Union."  
Stalin, *Izvestia*, Radek and the *Daily Worker* advance this reactionary anti-Communist idea in the name of Leninism.  
In 1918 replying to the social patriots of Western Europe, in "What is a Peace Program?" Trotsky wrote:  
"Social patriotism, which is in principle, if not always in fact, the execution of social reformism to the utmost extent and its adaptation to the imperialist epoch, proposes to us in the present world catastrophe to direct the policy of the proletariat in the direction of the 'lesser evil' by joining one of the two groups. We reject this method."  
In March 1918, in his theses on Brest-Litovsk, Lenin wrote categorically:  
"Our policy must be based, not on a choice between two imperialisms, but on the possibility of strengthening the socialist revolution, or at least, on the necessity of enabling it to offer resistance until the other countries join the revolutionary movement. . . . We have always fought our own imperialism, but the overthrow of the imperialism of one country by means of an alliance with the imperialism of another, is a line of action that we reject both on reasons of principle and because we consider it inadmissible."  
There is the answer to Stalinist nationalism, made by Lenin and Trotsky three years ago!—M. S.

The problems of war put all policies and groups to the highest test. The world war submitted the international social democracy to its severest test, and the result of the slow process of opportunism which had been eating into it during the whole pre-war epoch was revealed in one illuminating flash. August 4, 1914 was not the beginning of the degeneration of the social democracy, it was the culminating point of a process of decay which had set in long before. The pre-war Left wing, whose revolutionary superiority lay in its mastery of Marxian analysis and foresight, traced the flow of social patriotic poison through the veins of the social democracy and sought to check it at every juncture.  
The same task devolves upon the revolutionist today. It is all the more imperative for our Communist movement at the present moment for two reasons: 1. the theory of socialism in one country opens the veins of the Communist parties for the free infusion of nationalist poison; 2. the sharpening of the world imperialist conflict, which has already broken out in a miniature world war in China, is posing all political questions starkly.  
That is why every Communist worker must raise a loud cry of warning against the treacherous proposals advanced in the leading editorial of the *Daily Worker* on April 12, 1932. The editorial, completely devoid of a breath of proletarian revolutionism, is one of the most disgraceful pieces of cynical flattery with chauvinism that has ever appeared in the Communist movement.  
Let it be emphasized that we are not confronted here with some accidental "American aberration. The well of inspiration from which the proposals are drawn is the official mouthpiece of the Soviet government, the Moscow *Izvestia*. According to a sensational capitalist press dispatch which the *Daily Worker* reproduces as authentic, Radek, writing in *Izvestia* on April 10, declared: "If challenged, the Soviet Union will have a right to seek temporary allies among the capitalist powers which at the present stage do not infringe on her frontiers or interests. . . . Japan would be insane under such circumstances to create new fronts and arouse against herself a great country which at present stands aside (?) in the struggle that is tearing the imperialist world to pieces."  
The article has but one meaning, as is recognized by the capitalist press and the *Daily Worker*: The Soviet Union is warning Japan against overt hostile acts with the threat of an alliance with imperialist America. We may therefore assume that in the event of a war, the Soviet Union would enter into a "temporary alliance" with Wall Street and Washington for the purpose of defending its frontiers against a Japanese invasion and . . . of helping American imperialism in turn to replace the Japanese in the domination of the Pacific and the Orient. Such an alliance, presumably, is "also" in the interests of imperialist America, the country "which at present stands aside in the struggle."  
Where is the "temporary alliance" or any other kind of alliance with the American working class, that is, with the only class in this and every other country that provides any guarantee against a successful attack upon the fortress of the proletariat? Where is even an "alliance" with the Chinese people who have a really revolutionary interest in crushing the Japanese imperialists? It does not exist in what the *Daily Worker*, with unconscious omniscience, calls a "new step in the consistent and decisive policy of the Soviet Union". What does exist is an unprecedented, reactionary, unprincipled, "diplomatic" proposal which splits right in the face of what Lenin

## OPEN FORUM

THE NEGRO QUESTION AND THE SCOTTSBORO CASE  
Lecture by  
**JAMES P. CANNON**  
on  
**FRIDAY, APRIL 22, 1932**  
at the  
**Labor Temple**  
14th Street and Second Avenue  
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Auspsices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

And if the war breaks out with a Soviet Russia-United States alliance in existence, what is to be the attitude of the revolutionary proletariat in this country? Logically, it should do everything to remove all obstacles standing in the way of the maintenance of the alliance. It should continuously refrain from disturbing the economic and political relations in the country so that the effectiveness of the American partner in the alliance is not diminished. It is, in a word, to renounce class war and embrace the policy of civil peace with its bourgeoisie. This was the Bucharinist conception, in essence, for Germany in 1923; no other meaning can be extracted from the proposal "unofficially" made in the Soviet government organ by Radek.  
The *Daily Worker*, entirely consistent with the theory of socialism in one country, which means in practice the abandonment of every revolutionary principle in the alleged interests of defending the Soviet Union from military attack, picks up the Radek thread with all its implications elaborated upon even more shamelessly. Taking Radek's cue, the editorial writer proceeds to address himself to the American ruling class in order to show it in its best imperialist interests lie in a break with Japan and an alliance with the Soviets. Yesterday's blaring headlines which announced nationalities.  
But who is to be emancipated in the newly proposed alliance? Is America to be liberated from the Japanese yoke?

## Crucial Moment Nearing in Germany!

Statement of the National Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition)

The run-off elections in Germany last Sunday revealed another substantial advance for Fascism and at the same time a considerable loss of ground for the Communist party and with it for the German workers. The results of the poll in the second ballot are a danger sign for the entire working class. Although the vote in itself is not decisive for the future of Germany—that must be settled in the last analysis, outside of the parliamentary arena—the reflection it offers the line-up of the social forces is an alarming indication of the trend of events. If this trend is to continue, it can only mean one thing: a crushing defeat of the German workers in the decisive combats to come.  
Hitler received 13,417,460 votes as against 11,389,285 on March 13. Thaelmann, the Presidential candidate of the Communist party, received 3,706,388 votes as against the 4,983,197 votes he received in the March elections. This constitutes a loss of 1,276,809 votes. Hindenburg increased his vote by more than 700,000 and Hitler his by more than 2,000,000.  
Hitler received an approximate percentage of 38.6 per cent of the total vote cast, compared with the 30.1 per cent that fell to his share in March. The Fascist gain in Berlin, in Red Berlin, amounted to 200,000 votes, while the Communist total dropped 112,000 from the figures of the first ballot. In other working class districts a similar situation is to be noted. These facts cannot and must not be overlooked. They tell the world in an altogether too clear language that the class enemy is making enormous strides forward at a time when the working class is continually gliding down from one dangerous position to another.  
What Vote Indicates  
The vote in itself is an indication that a good many workers voted for Hindenburg with the idea, as a last resort, to stave off the advance of Hitler. The inability of the official Communist party, with its absolutely dissonant policy of the "Red United Front"—which seeks to commit the workers in advance to accept its leadership—to rally the masses for a united class front against Fascism, left broad layers of workers in despair. The vote for Hindenburg appeared to them to be a way out.  
The responsibility of the social democratic traitors in this situation has already been established. It is only natural to expect the co-workers of Noske and Scheideman to create the illusion in the minds of their worker following that Hindenburg will stand up as a bulwark against Fascism. The slander of the Stalinist press that Trotsky and the Left Opposition concur in this and that we urged the workers to vote for Hindenburg is too despicable an invention to deserve any notice at all. The position of comrade Trotsky and of the Left Opposition as a whole is recorded in the pages of the periodicals of the International Left and all the attempts of the Stalinists to distort our position merely have the object of covering up their own criminal policies. It is these policies that are responsible for the terrible setback in the elections, it is these policies that endanger the very existence of the German working class.  
The Communist party is the only genuine party of the working class. Its actions, its strategy, its tactics effect the very life of the class as a whole. It is in this sense that we must mercilessly stigmatize the present policy of the German Stalinists, with all the confusion it creates through the theory of social Fascism and all the isolation it has brought the revolutionary vanguard through the slogan of the "Red United Front" under the leadership of the Communist party"—which poses before the workers a bureaucratic ultimatum instead of patiently striving to convince them of the correctness and inevitability of the Communist road—as a policy which can only prepare the defeat of the working class. The masses of German workers, alienated by this policy, have been driven by desperation to take refuge in illusions. This accounts for the loss in the Communist vote. The menace of Fascism, with the destruction of the last vestiges of labor organization that it brings with it, is staring them in the face. They feel that Fascism, above everything else, must be beaten off at all costs.  
Growing Resentment of Workers  
It can hardly be assumed that all the thousands of workers who have voted for Hindenburg see in him an actual dam against the ravages of Hitlerism. The experiences of the recent raids on the Hitlerite headquarters and the absolute refusal of the Hindenburg government to take drastic action against the provocations of the Nazis could not help but open their eyes to a great extent. The future actions of the government will only continue to enlighten the workers to the true character of the social democrats' new militarist hero. The moment the Communist party takes the step toward the creation of a genuine united front of all workers' organizations in the

fight against the Fascist danger, the social democratic workers will desert the Hindenburg Front en masse and recognize their class duty and the way to carry it out. Their present support for Hindenburg is not a firm support, it is a result of a sentiment of impotence. Only the Communist party, with a sincere class policy, can sweep away this feeling of impotence and make the working class aware of its tremendous strength.  
The German bourgeoisie, pushed to the wall by the overbearing economic crisis, surrounded by a chain of hostile capitalist nations equally seized by the crisis, will take the only road that is open to it. That is, the attack all along the line against the working class. The Bruening emergency decrees are only a beginning. To gain success at the expense of the proletariat, the German bourgeoisie must strip it to the bone. For that it is necessary to make the workers defenseless, to rob them of the possibility of common action, to destroy all their forms of organization. That is the specific task of Fascism. That is why the bourgeoisie is not aggressive against the party of Hitler, against the party which rallies under its banner the hosts of the desperate petty bourgeoisie, the bloody reserve agency of capitalism.  
The German workers will realize this more and more in the coming weeks and months. The Fascists, encouraged by their parliamentary successes, will grow more provocative, will move more rapidly toward the open seizure of power. The elections to the Prussian Diet on April 15 the advance toward the planned Nazi coup d'Etat. The more than 7,000,000 votes Hitler has polled in Prussia, the more than 800,000 votes he received in working class Berlin, the capital of Prussia, are alarm signals for the Communists.  
Only a sweeping change in the self-destructive policy of the German Communist Party can save the German working class from crushing defeat. That alone can create the possibility for a successful repulsion of the class enemy. Such a change requires a sincere offer to all working class organizations, social democratic, trade union, cooperative, etc., to join in a united front of class action against the Fascist foe, in the factories, in the streets, in militant defense organizations. Such a united front of action will make it possible for the Communists to convince the working classes even in the few short weeks or months that remain, that the only way to resist Fascism is the way that leads directly to the proletarian dictatorship. It will enable the Communists to force the social democratic fakery, who may join the united front under the pressure of their following, to show up their true colors.

Already, under the pressure from their own rank and file, Severing, Breitscheid, Braun and company are forced to feign aggression against the Nazis, to speak sharply to the Bruening government to take steps for the disbanding of the Fascist organizations. But the words of the social democratic traitors will remain empty phrases as long as they succeed in keeping their followers from being confronted by Communist criticism at every step and stage, as long as they can succeed in isolating the masses behind them, from the clear-cut and inspiring proposals of the Communists. This treacherous conduct of the social democrats can be exposed and defeated this urge for decisive action on the part of their rank and file can be given a proper outlet only by the establishment of the real, broad, class united front.  
The suicidal policy of Stalinism, the theory of social Fascism which alienates the social democratic workers, the slogan in the form of an ultimatum—the "Red United Front under the leadership of the Communist party" which paralyzes the Communist vanguard—must immediately be cast aside. A united front of all proletarian organizations, which gives each tendency in the working class the opportunity to point out its isolation before the workers, must be set up at once. The Communists must take the course of patiently explaining the inevitability of the revolutionary way out for the working class. They must fight for the support of the workers, not demand it of them with a haughty, bureaucratic command. It is not enough to call the social democratic demagogues by their name, it is necessary to defeat them, by exposure in the full view of the masses. It is not enough to claim to be the only party of the working class. It is necessary to prove it to the proletariat in action, in daily struggle with the other tendencies, so that every worker can judge for himself.  
The working hour is drawing near. The decisive class has the power to stand the test. The Communists must make them conscious of this power. Victory is attainable if the working class is guided by correct policy. The Communist party is the key to the solution. The present policy of Stalin-Thaelmann presents the greatest danger and the greatest obstacle for the German working class, for world Communism. Communists of the entire world, raise your voice against it before it is too late. Demand that the Leninist policy of the International Left Opposition be substituted for the policy of Stalin and Thaelmann. To guarantee this change of policy. Demand that the Left Opposition be readmitted into the party!  
—National Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition).

## Biased Judge Convicts Marine Workers

The three New York marine workers—Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer—who have been on trial for the past three weeks in the Court of General Sessions, were found guilty by the jury after five hours' deliberation on Monday, April 11. Sentence will be imposed on April 25th. The men were charged with a conspiracy to dynamite barges in the New York harbor in a struggle between the boat owners and the Boatmen's Union. The conviction carries with it a penalty of from twelve and one-half to twenty-five years in the penitentiary.  
One of the chief factors in the result of the trial was the flagrant unfairness manifested by Judge Allen in his rulings. Throughout the trial and especially on all the important clashes between the prosecution and the defense attorneys, the bias of the judge came into play to help the prosecution. For all who were present in the court room, the trial, as it progressed from day to day, was a graphic illustration of class justice, and likewise of the fallacy that militant workers can get a fair trial in the courts of capitalism.  
But in spite of that, the certainty of the defendants seemed to be a certainty up until the very last day of the trial. The flimsy case of the prosecution had been hammered down, and its witnesses—consisting exclusively of policemen and stool pigeons—had been thoroughly discredited. Then the prosecuting attorney backed by Judge Allen executed one of the most outrageous and illegal moves that the history of the frame-up game has yet produced. Soderberg, one of the defendants, had testified to the bestial tortures which the police had inflicted upon him at the time of his arrest, and showed to the jury the blood-stained shirt which he had worn at the time of the beating. This testimony, which supplemented that of the other defendants and of the worker Larry Murphy who had been under arrest and present at the time of the beatings, made a tremendous impression in the court room. The mute evidence of the blood-marked shirt spoke louder of all.  
The shirt shown in evidence was light grey in color. The district attorney then immediately introduced the police photograph of the defendant taken on the day of the beating. This photo showed Soderberg wearing a white shirt on that day, and the district attorney then raised a big hue and cry and charged a deliberate attempt to introduce false evidence. At the next session of the trial, just before the case was to go to the jury, the attorneys for the defense, Peter L. F. Sabbatino and Jacob Fishman prepared photographs which experts who were prepared

to take the stand to prove that a shirt of the grey color of the one introduced by the defense would show white when photographed. In addition to this Soderberg offered to put the shirt on and be re-photographed by the district attorney's own photographer to prove the contention.  
The judge presiding at the trial refused to allow this evidence to be introduced before the jury. The case went to the jury then under the cloud of an apparently deliberate introduction of falsified evidence by the defense. The district attorney skipped over all the other evidence of the trial and concentrated his speech to the jury on the incident of the shirt. He contended that since this piece of evidence has been proven false the rest of the defense testimony could be considered of the same quality. In spite of that the jury was tied up for five hours before a number of its members could be prevailed upon to the verdict of guilty. Since then it has been learned that the exclusion of the defense evidence—confirming the veracity of the defense contention about the blood-stained shirt—was the decisive factor with the jury.  
The ruling of Judge Allen on this point is already being talked about in legal circles as an absolutely indefensible and unprecedented one which violated the formal provision of the existing law. From a legal standpoint, a reversal of the verdict on this ground alone is regarded as a certainty if the case is appealed to the higher court. The chief obstacle in the way of an appeal in behalf of the defendants is the financial cost. The Marine Workers Defense Committee is now considering the matter in consultation with the defendants and the attorneys in the case.  
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## Foodworkers Roused Against Bureaucrats

NEW YORK, N. Y.  
Some time ago, the Cooperatives in which the C. P. is in control closed their restaurants and stores, allegedly for alterations. Immediately thereafter, the management of the Cooperatives issued a leaflet to all its neighborhood patrons, in which it announced a thoroughgoing reorganization of the stores and restaurants and promised "better, cleaner and cheaper service."  
Last Saturday, the cooperative restaurant on Allerton Avenue reopened. It turned out that some forty workers were fired from the various enterprises controlled by the Cooperatives. The whole force protested against this action, especially in view of the fact that new men had been hired who were not members of the Food Workers Industrial Union.  
A meeting was called at which Joseph Zack, of recent date high priest of the New York organization of the T. U. U. L. spoke for the leadership of the Food Workers Industrial Union, urging the workers present to take a "broader view" of the whole question, to consider the advantages for the moment in general if the reorganization was accepted. The workers present could not see things his way. They could not understand why a reorganization for the benefit of the whole movement must necessarily be brought about at the expense of many among them sacrificing their jobs. They could not understand how the abolition of union control in the Cooperatives would aid the movement. Many of those present spoke with passion and protested against the bureaucratic proceedings.  
Zack answered with threats of expulsion from the union and warned them that they would meet with the "fate of Trotsky." This only served to stir the indignation of the workers even more. Many shook their fists at the T. U. U. C. representatives, but the latter felt himself protected by many of the newly hired people and continued with his menaces "until the gathering adopted the decision to elect a committee for the purpose of appealing directly to the

T. U. U. L. center, to foster. With the committee elected, the meeting adjourned.  
The foodworkers of the Cooperatives have expressed their determination to act as union men act against scraps. Many even began to discuss the prospect of picketing the cooperatives. The situation among them is tense. The sentiment against the bureaucracy is at a high pitch. In the Food Workers Union as a whole, this sentiment is quickly spreading, for there is talk that the camps controlled by the party are likewise to undergo a "reorganization". The party bureaucrats are telling the workers to "mind their own business" and that they must have the interests of the movement as a whole at heart. The workers are countering the attitude of the bureaucrats with the cry: "Who built the union?" They do not want to forget the sacrifices, often bloody sacrifices, they made for their union. They feel that union conditions must begin within the enterprises under control of the party and the Communist movement. "How can we ask the bosses to recognize the union" many of them ask, "if our own workers organizations are not to recognize it?"  
The final decision of the party and the leadership of the union is still pending. The incident in the cooperatives has showed up the bureaucracy in the Stalinized party and in the revolutionary organizations controlled by it as a full grown menace. It is merely an indication of how saturated the Communist movement is with this disease. The roots of this bureaucratic growth should be exposed. All Communist workers must turn their serious attention to them.  
This disgraceful intention of the Stalinist bureaucracy must not be realized. The reaction of the foodworkers to it is a healthy reaction and deserves the support of all sincere Communists. It is high time for the party comrades to stay the hand of the bureaucrats. The outrageous action of Zack and company should be repudiated. A drive must be initiated against bureaucratism all along the line.