

WORKERS  
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UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 23, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.  
VOLUME V, NO. 23 [WHOLE NO. 119] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1932 PRICE 5 CENTS

## For a Communist Campaign in the Elections

The Communist Party of the U. S. A. has just held its Nominating Convention in Chicago. As evidence of intense and large scale preparation for the election struggle, the Nominating Convention marks a big step forward for the party in the field of parliamentary activity. It speaks well for a real attempt to put the Communist party on the political map, to place it as the official symbol of Communism before the eyes of the whole country. At the present juncture of events, this is doubly significant and important.

For nearly three years, the economic crisis, initiated by the Wall Street crash of October 1929, has held this country and the rest of the world with it, completely under its sway. The allurements of "prosperity", of the "full dinner pail", have been gradually worn off. The main burden of the depression has been constantly shifted to the backs of the workers, wage cut following upon wage cut and unemployment gripping hundreds of thousands and millions of proletarian families. All the fake solutions pointing to prosperity around the corner, all the public works ruses of the capitalist class have come to naught. Awd by the prospect of a discontented mass slowly moving into action, the bourgeois politicians have even gone so far as to mumble something about federal relief, about the "dole" hitherto held taboo by the masters.

**The Central Issue: Unemployment**  
The central problem created by the economic crisis, the problem of unemployment looms up as the main, the only real issue of the current election campaign. The plank writers and the key-noters of the bourgeois parties are all busy hatching plans of how best to cover up the issue by lip service to relief measures that will not cost their class very much. Wagner, Roosevelt, Garner, Young and even some of the Republican batsmen have included clauses dealing with this question in their speeches and proposals. It is their aim to strew enough sand in the eyes of the American workers to keep them from finding the way to their class leader, to the Communist party.

The efforts of the capitalists to find a way out of the crisis have smashed up against the contradictions inherent within their system. Their Reconstruction Finance Corporation, their public works panaceas have left the depression just as grave as ever. They have not contributed one whit to procure jobs for the workers, to ease the situation of the toiling masses. The profit system, the system of accumulating capital for the benefit of a restricted few brings with it anarchy in the sphere of production. Goods, commodities are produced without consideration or respect to the needs of society. Factories are built up to make machinery in quantities for which there are not sufficient markets. Products are manufactured which the underpaid and unemployed wage slaves are unable to purchase. Still, wages continue to be cut, still the backward countries that furnish the markets are hogged by the various imperialist nations. Capitalism is stifled by its own laws of production and distribution, by its profit greed.

All attempts at national "solutions" buck up against the international trade barriers. The markets, the colonial countries, the fields of imperialist exploitation have long ago been divided up among the robber capitalist nations. War, war for markets and profits faces the crisis-ridden capitalist world.

**The Communist Task in the Elections**  
These are the conditions under which the party of the working class is entering the election fight. Although we greet the serious attempt of the Nominating Convention to draw the Communist party as a real factor into the political life of the country, we cannot but disagree with the general methods with which the party leadership is proceeding to do this.

In the first place, the Stalinist leadership struggles for immediate demands, or as the platform puts it, to gain "concessions now from the capitalist parties". We reject this conception as thoroughly opportunist. For Bolshevism, for revolutionists, the election struggle is in the main a means of educating the workers of the country on the Communist program and its final aim. Immediate demands are for us by-products of the struggle, they are important only in so far as they constitute stepping stones to the ultimate ends of our fight, only in so far as they demonstrate our readiness to fight together with the rest of the working class at each step in its political development.

In utilizing the election campaign for revolutionary ends, it is absolutely essential to put forward the slogan of the Soviet United States of America, the slogan of the Proletarian Dictatorship. The propaganda of the party, its main task in the campaign, must revolve around an explanation of this slogan, giving it concrete content which the workers' way out of the crisis which the Communists oppose to the solution of the capitalists—increased wage cuts and

exploitation, redoubled oppression of the working class organization, war.

**For Internationalism in the Struggle**  
During the election struggle, taking place at this period of deepest crisis, the class party of the proletariat has the very best opportunity of contrasting the socialist system of production to the anarchic system of the capitalists, of contrasting the internationalist solidarity of the working class to the nationalist aims of the bourgeoisie. This is the time to concretely pose the interests of the world revolution—which has for its purpose the establishment of socialist planning on the basis of an international division of labor—as the workers' solution of the crisis and the war danger it brings with it.

The capitalists and their political representatives do everything in their power to discredit the living symbol of world revolution, of socialist construction—the Soviet Union. They are plotting war against the workers' state. In the course of the election campaign the Communists have an excellent opportunity of holding up the example of the Soviet Union in its true light, of contrasting the successes of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. with the miserable conditions capitalism furnishes for the workers in the U. S. A. This can be done all the more successfully by linking up the defense of the Soviet Union, its example of successful socialist construction, with the central problem of unemployment right here in the country.

**The Demand for Long Term Credits**  
By putting forward the demand of recognition and long term credits to the Soviet Union, the party can teach the workers of America their community of interests with the workers of Russia. The Soviet Union, occupied in the tremendous task of building up its industry, needs credits from the U. S. government with which to buy machinery produced in American factories. Orders from Soviet Russia means work for hundreds and thousands of unemployed American workers. The slogan of long term credits to the Soviets as a measure of relief for unemployment is a vital question of the American proletariat which allows for excellent opportunities to make the Communist program vivid before the masses. It is a slogan that must find a prominent place in the Communist election campaign, together with the demands for workers' unemployment insurance and relief, and for the six hour day.

The platform put forward by the Stalinist leadership of the party is full of

## Mr. Seabury «Exposes» Tammany-Walker

The city of New York, the metropolis of the world, is engaged in one of its very regular scandals in which muck-raking, corruption, righteous indignation and outright cynicism are all mixed up in a bottle labelled—Tammany. After many months, in which time "the lion of reform", Sam Seabury, has been occupied in cleaning up the shady places in the city government, and unearthing the "tin boxes" where the custodians of city affairs deposit their somewhat doubtful earnings, last week the dapper night club mayor, of beer parade fame was put on the witness stand to answer for some peculiar items on his bank account.

Nobody was very much startled by Seabury's revelations concerning the bribes and "gifts" received by Walker in the course of his glamorous tenure of office. The population of New York seems to have grown apathetic to the doings and undings of Tammany. The prevailing sentiment can be summed up in the following words: "If Jimmy is smart enough to get the boodle, more power to him. If I were in his place I'd do the same." Nevertheless, with all the recent talk about balancing the budget, efficient government, city planning, etc., it is interesting to recount some of the adventures of James J. Walker.

We all remember the regal style in which Walker cruised the Atlantic, comfortably ensconced in the imperial suite of the S. S. Berengaria. For trips to Europe other sources of income than the meagre \$40,000 per annum, which is the Mayor's salary, are required. But the resourceful Jimmy had no trouble in finding these. It appears that the Equitable Coach Company wanted a franchise to run buses on the streets of New York. Jimmy wanted a trip to Europe—two and two makes four. On August 9, 1927 Walker signed the bill for the franchise. On August 10, he left for Europe with a \$10,000 letter of credit made out in his name and backed up with the cash supplied by J. Allen Smith, political contact man for the Equitable. The hustle and bustle of New York, as can be seen, allows no time for procrastination.

The exploits of our good mayor, however, do not end with his European voyage. It appears that a certain Mr. Sisto, a taxi cab financier, presented Walker with a small "gift" of \$28,535 worth of bonds. Why? Because his interests

## Scottsboro Boys' Execution Stayed

Compelled by mass working class pressure, the United States Supreme Court has granted the appeal of the I. L. D. for a review of the case of the seven Scottsboro boys framed on the fake charge of rape and sentence to death by electrocution.

This automatically stays the legal lynching set for June 24, to November 10, when the Supreme Court convenes. Never before has the lie been thrown so effectively into the faces of the reformists and legalists, who have minimized the effect and importance of the organized mass protest of the workers on behalf of their imprisoned class comrades.

Workers, not only in America, but in every country and on every continent on the globe: in Australia, Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America showed their solidarity with the nine Negro boys, whom American capitalists singled out to lynch legally in the boss courts of the South.

The partial victory of the workers in this case should serve as a lesson to the entire working class of America and particularly the Negro workers, that it is only the Communists who will lead them in their struggles and fight their fights. It should also serve as a lesson to the class conscious Negro workers of America that no abstract struggle for Negro rights will solve their problems in the South or any other place. The reformist and legalist betrayals of the colored gentlemen of the N. A. A. C. P.'s offer the oppressed Negro masses nothing but exploitation.

The struggle is not yet over. This partial victory must be the harbinger of greater victories to come. The fight is not yet over. There must be no let-down in the demonstrations and protests that are to be carried on until the nine Negro boys are unconditionally released to join us in the ranks of the workers fighting for the final emancipation—the emancipation of the black and white workers as a class.

..... shortcomings typical of their centrist character. We shall yet have occasion to point them out and to offer our corrections of them. Nevertheless, the Left Opposition will campaign for the ticket of the Communist party, for Foster and Ford, with all the forces at its disposal. It will support the workers' party against the parties of the bourgeoisie by working for, and by conducting, a genuine Communist election struggle.

## Andres Nin Arrested in Barcelona

**BULLETIN**  
In the wave of arrests that is sweeping Spain to-day, comrade Andres Nin, leader of the Spanish Left Opposition and well known Communist has been arrested along with twenty other Oppositionists in a raid the police made on the offices of El Soviet, our official organ in Spain. With strikes spreading like wildfire throughout the length and breadth of Spain the government wants to recapitulate the movement by terrorizing its most conscious spearhead—which to the surprise and dismay of the Stalinists turns out to be the Left Opposition.

Once more we receive the news from Madrid that our comrade Henri Lacroix, an indefatigable fighter, has been arrested again on May 9, together with comrades Alberto and Eugenio Fernandez of the Civil Guards of Messrs. Caballero and

# Bruening Government Falls!

## German Working Class Faced with Immediate Fascist Onslaught

Outstanding in the week's news for the working class is the powerful new push to the Right in German politics. The Bruening cabinet, the cabinet of bourgeois uncertainty, whose main support was the "toleration" of the reformist mass organizations, the Free Trade Unions and the social democratic party, has collapsed.

The downfall has come about as a result of the refusal of the industrial bourgeoisie and the landowners to comply with the plans of the Clerical Centrist chancellor, namely, to balance the budget with new taxes and to ally the unrest of the evergrowing unemployed army with the scheme of a back-to-the-farm movement which involves the breaking up of the big estates of the East Prussian Junkers.

The bourgeoisie is determined not to cede a single step more, to go the full length of its fight for self-preservation by a ruthless life and death struggle against the proletariat.

According to well informed bourgeois press circles, the dismissal of the cabinet was plotted by military cliques with an understanding reaching out to the Hitler forces. The new cabinet, headed by the notorious Hohenzollern militarist Lieutenant Colonel Von Papen, is a typical army-Junker combine of the purest reactionary stripe. It has not the slightest basis of parliamentary support and appears to be what is generally termed a stop-gap government personally selected by the Prussian Field Marshall, President Von Hindenburg. It is generally conceded that it is a temporary set-up destined to a short-lived existence. But even this temporary existence is conditioned by toleration on the part of the Nazis in the Reichstag, which body is to be convoked shortly. The "toleration" of the Fascists is openly avowed to be based upon three conditions. First, that it call for new Reichstag elections within the shortest possible time. Secondly, that it raise the ban on the Nazi Storm Troops, recently proscribed by ex-Minister of the Interior, Groener. Thirdly, that it will impose no new taxes and no new emergency decrees which might hinder the broad propaganda activities of the Hitlerites. It is indisputable that all these conditions will be fulfilled.

The call for new elections is inevitable, since, with the elimination of Bruening and the Centre party from power, no government with parliamentary support can be found. That the second demand will be complied with is evident already from the ruling of the Reich's Supreme Court on the evidence submitted by the Prussian Ministry of Interior, gathered in its March raids on the Nazi headquarters. The ruling exonerates the Hitler party completely of "illegal or subversive" activities and in this manner prepares the lifting of the ban on the Storm Troops.

The Von Papen cabinet will easily agree to the third condition as well, which is apparent from its composition and from the necessity to present a united Right wing front before the foreign powers at the Lausanne conference. The Junker government is, therefore, the direct harbinger of Fascist rule in Germany. It is the government not merely of the preparation, but of the most immediate organization of the National Socialist seizure of power. The Nazis are jubilant everywhere. Forgotten are the bitter hostilities between their chief and the old Field Marshall in the recent presidential elections. Cries of "Hail, Hindenburg!" mix with cries of "Hail Hitler!" in their demonstrations. Der Angriff, the Berlin organ of the Brown

Shirts greets the action of Hindenburg as a banner day for National Socialism. The new move, which makes the Fascist overturn an imminent danger, has cut the ground entirely from under the feet of the reformists. The talk of the "lesser evil" is exploded by facts. The social democratic leaders have arrived at an impasse just as the full blast of the Fascist overwhelming majority of the workers are under their sway. The masses are as yet to be found in the organizations of the betrayers, whose line of class collaboration, of kowtowing to the masters, has prepared the road for the Fascist reaction.

The bankrupt social democracy must be pushed against the wall and forced to show its full face to all the workers, if the catastrophe is to be averted, if the Fascist onslaught is to be repulsed by the German working class. There is only one way in which this can be done. That is: by an offer of the party of the working class, the Communist party, to the social democratic and trade union organizations for the immediate formation of the proletarian united front of direct struggle.

The German party has been prevented from taking this step all along by the stupid Stalinist theory of "social Fascism", by its isolationist, ultimatum policy of the "Red United Front under the leadership of the Communist Party". The disastrous experiences of the recent elections have, however, awakened broad sections of the membership to the isolation and self-obstruction resulting from the Stalinist policies. A half-turn in the direction of the policy proposed by comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition has been forced upon the Thaelmann leadership, as we reported in the last issue of *The Militant*. Rote Fahne, the central organ of the C. P. G. wrote editorially on April 28, after the Prussian elections:

"The main thing now is to assemble all the class forces of the proletariat and the working masses in the red united front and again go into the offensive against the capitalist dictatorship and defeat Fascism."

"We publish today at the head of our newspaper the appeal of the C. C. and the R. T. U. O.-Committee in which the party and the R. T. U. O. express their willingness to join with all lower union functionaries and shop-committee mem-

bers, with all organizations which wish to fight honestly against reduction in wages, to carry through common measures for the struggle for workers' demands in the shops.

"While we are in sharpest struggle against the government of Braun-Sterling, against the policy of emergency measures dictatorship and their clearing the road for Hitler, we Communists stand as mortal enemies of Hitler fascism. We will do everything with the help of proletarian class forces in order to block its way to government power, in order to break its terror and through a new red advance of the working class to give it a decisive blow"

The party leadership has pledged itself to do everything, then, to block the way of Fascism to government power. It has declared its willingness to join with all organizations who honestly want to fight for this end. If the turn is in any way to be sincere and fruitful for the party, it must draw it to its logical conclusion and pose the question of common struggle before the reformist leaders as well as before the organizations.

There can be no doubt that the workers in the social democratic organization honestly want to fight together with the Communists against the Fascists, against wage reductions, for the workers' demands in the shops. If their honest desire is to be transformed into forceful action, the test must be put to the leaders whom they have given their mandate. Whether the S. P. leaders accept or reject a sincere united front appeal from the Communists is immaterial. In any case, the workers in their following will be drawn closer to their natural leader, to the Communist party in the course of common action. Therein alone lies the solution for the workers in the present situation.

The decisive hour is very close. No time is to be lost. Not only the fate of the German proletariat, the fate of the fortress of the world revolution—the Soviet Union—the fate of the international working class is at stake. We warn again: the reaction engendered by the coming into power of Hitler will not confine itself to the boundaries of Germany. It is the task of every Communist to strive with might and main that this should not come about.

—SAM GORDON.

## The C.P. Nominating Convention at Chicago

The Communist Party nomination convention, held at Chicago, May 29-30, met with a response which again testifies to the power of penetration of the ideas of Communism. 1,200 delegates, of whom more than 120 were Negroes assembled at the People's Auditorium and confirmed the party nomination of Foster and Ford and adopted the proposed platform without any change and without any serious discussion of what a Communist election platform should be. Under the manner of procedure pursued nothing else could be expected.

Yet the outstanding fact advancing to the forefront, by virtue of the convention held, is that Communism is becoming an ever growing challenge to capitalism even within its own stronghold. The sentiment of the delegates therefore runs naturally and unanimously in the direction of building this challenge in to a real power.

But otherwise the pressure of the economic crisis and its mass unemploy-

ment reflected itself so much upon the delegation that the speeches, from the keynote down to the humblest rank and fier downed one main tenor—"hunger, hunger, hunger". It thereby appeared more like just a gathering of unemployed than a convention to take up seriously the tasks of a Communist party in a parliamentary election. Neither the party leaders present, nor the platform presented, made any exception to this procedure. While the latter—to which we shall return later—does expose the proposed capitalist way out of the crisis and summons the working class to fight against the capitalist offensive and its war preparations, it failed to lay the fundamental connecting link in the struggle for the immediate demands contained and the inevitable revolutionary objective which the Communist party must set out clearly both during and after election campaigns.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that about the only criticism and concrete proposals made at the convention were, one advanced by the spokesman of the war veterans for incorporation into the platform of the questionable demand for the soldiers bonus, and another advanced by delegate Alexander of New York proposing to incorporate into the platform the demand for expulsion of the Japanese imperialist agent (the ambassador) from this country. The latter proposal brought down the house in applause, but it did not—thank the Lord—find its way into the platform. Neither did the former proposal, but it nevertheless became embodied into a special resolution and thus remained an official act of the convention.

It is not at all strange either that practically every convention speaker should repeat, following the example of the keynote, that the Communist election campaign must have as its basis the united front of all workers. This, however, is an aside down approach to the question. A working class united front, to be serious, can mean only unity of various workers organizations, regardless of political or ideological influence by which they may be dominated, for certain specific objects, at first of necessity elementary in character. A Communist election campaign, on the other hand, must be conducted specifically under the banner of the Communist party asking the working class support to advance the objects of Communism.

## Government Repression in Spain Hits Left Opposition

Our comrades were arrested while posting bills announcing the reappearance of the weekly newspaper of the Spanish Opposition *El Soviet*. The Spanish bourgeoisie is not deceived or misled by the odious calumnies of the Stalinists in Spain and elsewhere. The Spanish Left Communists are in the first line trenches of the struggle for the unity of the Communist party against the bourgeoisie; the "democratic" reaction is trying to crush its action by arresting its militants in order to prevent the appearance of its paper etc. It will not succeed.

Although our comrades were seriously ill, they were detained for three days in a very damp dungeon, held incommunicado without lights, no beds, no food. Eugenio Fernandez had a fever of 104 degrees. Despite our comrades' demand for a visit by a physician none came. Not the least protection was given them against the bitter cold. Afterwards, our comrades were isolated and separated. In actuality they are held in prison without even being indicted. This is the treatment the bourgeoisie hands out to the counter revolutionary Trotskyites."

And what is the International Red Aid doing? Nothing! In insulting Opposi-

tionists, in slandering comrade Trotsky, the I. R. A. and its press are in the first rank, but in aiding Oppositionists struck down by the bourgeoisie they do not raise a finger. Comrades! Have you ever read an article in the *Labor Defender* where they protest against the terror which is visited upon Oppositionists in China, in Indo-China, in Greece, in Bulgaria, in Spain, etc.? No, you have only read shameful calumnies against the "Trotskyites".

After the temporary lull which has followed upon the turbulent events in

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