

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Mooney Case Now 16 Years Old

July 26 was the date of the imprisonment of the sixteenth year of Mooney's close confinement. It closed another chapter of the foulest frame-up in the long and black record of American capitalism. It marked another milestone on the longest road a man has ever trod. After sixteen years of agony Mooney still stands forth as the dauntless symbol of working class militancy. His spirit is unconquerable. In spirit he stands in the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard. He has never said in so many words that he is a Communist but his spirit matches ours and of late he has begun to talk our language, and think as we do. He is ours.

This places on us all the more directly the great task of forcing his release from the prison in which capitalism is determined he shall end his days. This places squarely on the shoulders of Communism the task of removing from the banner of the working class the stain of its failure to free Mooney. For our success or failure in this task we shall have to answer to the working class.

Again we say, that as we have said so many times in the past, that the workers the world over no longer have to be convinced of Mooney's innocence. They are profoundly convinced of that. Not out of doubt did they fight in demonstration after demonstration to demand that capitalism open its ravenous maw and let Mooney go.

If today they are not to be found in the streets battling for Mooney's freedom, it is not because doubt of his innocence has entered their minds. Their conviction is as firm as ever.

Lull in Fight is Temporary
The lull in the fight is temporary. Tomorrow the agitation and the fight will rise to new heights. Great battles are on the order of the day for the American working class. Not the least of these will be the fight to free Mooney.

Will the fight to free Mooney be conducted as an isolated struggle and thereby insure its own defeat? Or will it follow Mooney's and our advice and be made an integral part of the class fight for prisoners, and the fight to free all class war prisoners with which it is inseparably bound? That depends on us. We must teach the workers that only such a fight as we project can free Mooney. And we must convince the workers by our deeds that they should follow our leadership.

This requires of us that we break through our isolation and in doing so unite the working class on this issue. For this we need the tactic of the united front of working class organizations. We cannot look to the labor fakers who betrayed Mooney, the Socialists who hate us more than they do capitalism, the liberals, the numerous sects that dot the movement like weeds in a garden—to take the initiative in organizing the united front of the working class. While they speak of unity they live on the division of the working class. Unity will never come from them. They will do all they can to oppose and sabotage it.

The initiative must come from us. In projecting this united front we appear before the workers as the spokesmen for the unity of the whole class. And by our deeds we must prove that we not only advance the idea of unity but fight for it.

That is in the best case. Unfortunately a cancer is eating at the vitals of Communism—Stalinism. Today it is the chief obstacle the Communists have to overcome to take the first step toward unity of the working class. Stalinism has divided the ranks of the Communists. It stands in the way of their unity, the essential prerequisite to unity of the working class. Its record in the Mooney case is all too clear. We have recorded it in previous issues. Stalinism has done much to discredit Communism in the eyes of the workers and is primarily responsible for the failure of the Communists to win the leadership of the fight to free Mooney.

Opposition's Task
The fight to free Mooney must be fought against the labor fakers, against the Socialists, against the Stalinist policy of our party. That is the special task of the Left Opposition in this fight. It must open the eyes of the party rank and file to the crime being committed by the Stalinist leadership. This it has done and will continue to do. With its success are bound up the hopes and future of the whole class and its fight to free Mooney.

So now in the seventeenth year of Mooney's imprisonment we pledge the Left Opposition to renewed struggle, to greater efforts and sacrifices in the fight against capitalism—for the release of Mooney and all class war prisoners.

Whither England?

BY LEON TROTSKY
We have on hand a limited number of this striking analysis of the social forces at work in old England. If you want a copy order it at once.
Paper Cover 5c

MILITANT IN DANGER

Immediate Aid Must Be Sent if We Are not to Suspend

The issue of the Militant was printed only as a result of the most desperate measures undertaken by the office. We were able to get it out by over-exhausting our credit in every field and by a last-minute scraping together of every spare nickel we could squeeze. To allow such a situation to exist for even the briefest length of time makes the danger of suspending the Weekly Militant a matter to be dealt with immediately. Without exaggerating the situation. In the least, we must tell our readers that unless prompt and generous aid is sent us from every part of the country, we shall not be able to bring out the next issue of the Militant and in general, the Weekly publication of our paper will be seriously crippled.

The cumulative effects of the crisis upon our comrades and supporters, plus the general let-down that occurs in the summer period, have struck the Militant heavy blows. We have deliberately refrained from making alarmist appeals based upon momentary difficulties. But now we are compelled to appeal—urgently.

A Sham Turn On Barbusse

The hammerings of the Opposition on the character of the "World Congress Against War" organized under the direction of Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells, Upton Sinclair and other muddled pacifists, have finally compelled the Stalinists behind the scenes to break their silence. For months since the announcement that the Congress would be held, the International Stalinist press has either been silent, or has given an unreserved endorsement to the Congress without uttering a solitary word of criticism. So far as the working class readers of the official party papers are concerned, the Communist International has given a blanket support to the pernicious confusion on the question of fighting imperialist war which is inevitably associated with such typically pacifist, petty bourgeois movements as that of Barbusse.

The criticisms made since the inception of this movement, and the Communist position presented by us, the Left Opposition, has finally driven the Stalinists out of their retreat. In the latest issue of the "International Press Correspondence", Maurice Thorez, one of the leading French Stalinists, ventures (for the first time to our knowledge) into a mild criticism of one of the lesser pacifist lights of the Barbusse Congress, Victor Marguerite. As far as it goes, the criticism is, of course, entirely valid. For the proletarian millions to follow the course advocated by such pacifists as Marguerite, who know nothing about the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war, or who oppose it to the extent that they do know about it, would mean to render themselves impotent in the face of a new world slaughter.

But this very article by Thorez shows how the Stalinists are playing an opportunistic game of hide and seek with the whole question. Marguerite is submitted to a gentle criticism, but Barbusse and the other, more prominent spokesmen for the movement, get away unscathed, with the implication left that aside from this or that individual in the "Congress", the movement as a whole is impeccable from the revolutionary standpoint. An article by Barbusse of recent date shows how baseless is such a view. In a "Message to England" (reprinted by the Socialist Industrial Democrat of Louisiana, under date of July 2, 1932), he writes: "I thank you and gladly avail myself of the opportunity of confirming to the representatives of a great and noble nation my belief in pacifism and anti-militarism."

The other "leaders" of this movement are generally worthy of this Barbusse. They would not constitute such a dangerous source of befuddlement were it not for the initiative taken by the Communist International in promoting them, in supporting them, and in presenting their pacifist movement as an organizational center for the struggle against imperialist war.

When a similar congress was held under the auspices of the Amsterdam and Second Internationals at the Hague on December 10, 1922, the Communist representatives of the Russian trade unions—the only revolutionary organization invited—made plain from the tribune of the congress the Communist standpoint in clear contrast to that of the pacifists and social democrats. They did not play at opportunist politics, as is being done now. The Left Opposition will seek to fulfill a similar task with the Barbusse Congress. The Communist League has already notified the American Committee that it is sending three delegates to the August 8 conference in the Labor Temple, New York. The revolutionary forces there must unite to present the Communist standpoint against the middle-classness of pacifism!

Martial Law for Indiana Strike

The Governor of Indiana has declared martial law in the vicinity of the Dixie Bee Mine, in Vigo County. He has sent 1,000 National Guardsmen to enforce this order. For what purpose is all this display of martial strength?

Is the governor driving out the gangsters or the bootleggers? No! The National Guard is seldom used in that capacity. As was to be expected the N. G. is used against the workers of the district. 4,000 union miners have been engaged in an attempt to keep scabs from working in the mine. With arms in hand the union miners have driven the scabs from the colliery. In one of the encounters between the union miners and the deputy thugs, one of the union men was murdered and several injured.

The standard of living of the miners has been ground down to the starvation level. Throughout the country, even in the midst of this crisis no section of the American workers are more poverty-stricken than the miners. Every class conscious action on their part is nothing short of a revolt against hunger. The capitalist class counters with bullets, martial law and armed troops. In these small skirmishes of today can be seen the fierce battles of the not far-off future. All support to the fighting miners of Vigo County, Indiana. Down with martial law! Withdraw the National Guards!

All Eyes on Germany!

The Hitler Danger is a Danger to the Working Class of the Whole World

The working class of Germany is today facing the most serious menace in its history. Preparations are going ahead with lightning rapidity to bring the Fascist heel down upon our German class brothers.

The acts performed by the reactionary Junker government of Colonel Von Papen, the establishment of the military dictatorship over Prussia and its rule of martial law are the grand rehearsal for the bloodcurdling regime of Hitler and his Nazi hordes.

The powerful black forces arrayed for this nefarious objective can be defeated in but one way—by a solid, fighting working class united front.

It is time for thinking workers, for the Communist militants to awaken to a realization of the enormous, catastrophic danger before us. It is time to demand from the Communist party that it sound the alarm. The threat of Fascism in Germany is a threat to the existence of the Soviet Union, the threat of the maldict of world imperialism in the face of the international working class.

The events in Germany are a serious warning to the workers everywhere, they are of grave concern to the American workers as well. The alarm must resound throughout the ranks of the party, the party of the revolutionary proletariat. It must resound with tremendous force. It is our task to reach out our hands in solidarity to the German workers in their hour of trial.

Already the military is tramping with hobnails upon the backs of the German toilers. Their elementary political rights are being flouted, their meetings prohibited, their papers suppressed, the Communist party headquarters raided. The threat of illegality is already hanging over the head of the revolutionary party.

Workers are attacked, beaten and killed in the streets by armed Fascist bands, unemployment is constantly on the increase and misery and poverty are mounting to appalling proportions.

It is to this that the German prole-

Communist Gain in Reichstag Elections

Leninist United Front Tactics Vindicated

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The Fascists, of course, rose to the crest of their wave, but showed no appreciable increase in their vote over the amount Hitler received in the runoff elections in April. Both votes stand around the 13,000,000 mark. The resources of popular support for Fascism have thereby been drained. National Socialism, the party of Hitler, if it is not to disintegrate piece-meal, if it is to utilize the following it has amassed by volitional promises, by tall talk about a radical transformation of the economic

and social life—has but one way out: The immediate and forcible seizure of power.

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Communist Gains
The Communist party alone made definite gains in the elections, receiving the highest vote yet cast for Communism in Germany—5,278,004. The small but very significant and heartening parliamentary victory of the C. P. G. is full of lessons, full of indications. According to an International Press Correspondence dispatch to the New York Daily Worker, the largest increase in the Communist vote took place in Berlin and the area around it. It must be remembered that it was specifically in the province of Berlin-Brandenburg that the Communist party leadership recently made offers of united front action to the heads of the local social democracy. The S. D. P. leaders rejected the united front proposals of the Communists and it was in Berlin-Brandenburg that the Communists in this manner began to expose the treacherous, splitting character of the social democracy before the workers. The big increase of the Communist vote in Berlin-Brandenburg is a victory for the application of the Leninist united front policy, hitherto disregarded and trampled under foot by the Stalinist leadership of the C. P. G.

"The Defeat of the Trotskyists"
When the Daily Worker (August 1, 1932), greeting editorially the election advance of our German brother party, called it "a defeat . . . for the followers of Trotsky . . .", it is lying miserably, it is consciously deceiving the Communist workers. The election advance was, on the contrary, nothing more clearly than a confirmation of the correctness of the line of the International Left Opposition headed by comrade Trotsky. For it was the Left Opposition, which by its tireless propagation of the Leninist united front tactic against Fascism, by its unremitting criticism of the harmful, confusing and stupid theory of "social Fascism", by its timely evaluation of the political factors involved in the German scene—it was the Left Opposition, we repeat, which more than anything else contributed to the happy change in the course of the Communist Party of Germany, reflected in the united front actions at Berlin. This, at a time when it was slandered for its criticisms as "counter-revolutionary", when the Stalinists taunted everywhere that the social democracy were "social Fascists" and that united fronts cannot be offered to "social Fascists"; when the Stalinists (Remmele-Thaelmann) proclaimed everywhere that Fascism was not really a menace, that the Hitler movement would rapidly fall apart and collapse—But the Left Opposition does not content itself with pointing out the correctness of its policies in the past. Our chief task

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The Imperialist vultures are already now nodding their approval. The seizure of power by Fascism, if it comes to pass, will be the signal for a world-wide mobilization against the U. S. S. R. and the international working class movement. This course will proceed unhampered if the German workers are crushed. A victory for Fascism in Germany would inaugurate a period of the darkest reaction throughout the entire world!

Should it come to this? We of the International Left Opposition say: NO! A thousand times: NO! We have demanded time and again that the Communist International recognize this danger and change its fatal course, so that it will be able to meet it effectively.

The Stalin regime, however, continues to remain silent. The Communist International, in the hands of the Stalinist faction, leaves the working class of the world without a message in this most critical hour in Germany.

We call upon all militant workers to join with us in our demand that the leadership of the Communist International speak up. The Stalinist faction must not be allowed to maintain its cowardly silence. The fate of the world revolution is hanging in the balance!

The hour of decisive struggle is close at hand. To play with a situation like the present is to play with disaster. A bold step is required of the Communist Party of Germany in order not to crash into an abyss.

The Communist Party of Germany must tell the working class in all frankness that its policies of the recent past were wrong. The party must show the workers that it is sincere and earnest in the attempt to correct, in the race to make up for lost time. Only in that way can the C. P. prove to the masses that it is their genuine leader, their trusted revolutionary vanguard.

The Communist party must hammer away persistently at an appeal to the followers of the social democracy and the reformist trade unions to put their leaders to the test, by demanding of them that they join in a united front of all the proletarian organizations in the fight against Fascism. This alone will reveal the truly treacherous face of the socialist misleaders before their adherents. The masses can only learn through the tests of struggle.

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Police, Troops and Vets

Eye-Witness Account of the Wash. Massacre of the Bonuseers

On the morning of Thursday, July 28 about a hundred policemen gathered in Pennsylvania Ave. and 3rd St. (Washington proper) to evict the bonuseers from Federal property comprising four old, moldy, half-torn down, buildings and several adjacent "wreckage lots".

About noon-time there were 800 bluecoats still trying to evict the "squatters" now numbering over 5000, over 2000 of whom came over from Anacostia to help resist the eviction.

The tension between veterans and police reached the breaking point about 1:30 P. M., when several fights broke out. One officer, panicky before the rage of the veterans, fired his gun.

The brawl was on. Fists were pounding, bricks came flying at the heads of police. In the turmoil six or seven shots were fired by the police. Several Cavalry, Infantry and Tanks

At 5 P. M. about 200 cavalry and 600 infantry, under orders of President Hoover, came up Pennsylvania Avenue, sabres and bayonets flashing in the sun. Five black tanks equipped with machine guns came rumbling behind them.

The crowds along the walks heckled and jeered the military who proceeded to order the ex-soldiers out of their "dwellings". They were greeted by the bonuseers with a barrage of bricks. Cavalry and infantry quickly adjusted their gas masks, and with little or no warning, cut across the lot, throwing gas bombs in and about the buildings and shacks. The vets were taken by surprise. They scurried to a nearby lot, another bonus encampment, where they stood their ground.

Gns bombs were thrown into their midst, but the men caught them and threw them back at the approaching cavalry so that many of the horses, without gas masks, reared and bolted. A number of the horses came prancing right up on the men. The vets grabbed all the reins and jerked the horses around. Several men were pulled off their horses. The cavalry swung their sabres at the neck, arms and back.

When the soldiers at Camp Marks (Anacostia) received word in the afternoon (Continued on page 3)

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The New York Picnic

This Sunday, August 7th, the New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will hold a picnic at Tibbetts Brook Park. As at the last picnic a large group of comrades and sympathizers are expected to attend. Readers of the Militant who have attended the previous picnics of the organization do not have to be agitated to come to this one.

Attend the picnic this Sunday (August 7). Bring your friends and fellow workers. Food, refreshments, and games will be on hand. Here is a chance to meet the members and sympathizers of the Left Opposition.

The place is Tibbetts Brook Park, Plot 2. Take the I. R. T.—Woodlawn-Jerome Ave. train to the last stop, Woodlawn. At 10:30 A. M., comrades will meet there and walk to Plot 2. You can take a street-car or bus to the park.