

WORKERS
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UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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It's Up to You!

We were again compelled to appear with a two page issue. The reasons for this are determined by our financial difficulties. We had no other choice. The extended size of the anniversary issue of last week meant a great effort and it also further drained our meagre financial resources. It is because of this that we address an earnest appeal to our readers, sympathizers and supporters. We have done that before, but there is this difference, that now it should be heeded more seriously and more concretely.

The only concrete way which really counts is, of course, to respond with cash. If you are up against it yourself and cannot respond much you should ask your friends to help and to donate. Even small contributions mean much to our limited resources; but naturally the substantial help enables us that much quicker to

actually get out of the difficulties and to appear with THE MILITANT regularly in size and in every other respect.

To us who are engaged in producing THE MILITANT our organ means much. It has become endeared to its readers. It has established a prestige within serious working class circles and enjoys their respect. Its actual role in the movement we have emphasized time and again. We need say nothing further in this respect. But it is necessary to reiterate with all possible emphasis that its future existence and success depends entirely upon its circle of supporters. THE MILITANT is your organ and we must put it up to you to help secure its foundation. We ask you to forward your contribution without delay to THE MILITANT, 126 East 16th Street, New York.

The C.P. in the Elections

Reasons for Small Rise in Communist Vote This Year

The party leaders are now busily engaged in ignoring the results of the recent presidential elections, as though the party campaign was a mere routine matter the outcome of which is of no particular concern. To this date, there has not been a single statement from the Central Executive Committee analyzing the election results and summing up the party's work. The only "official" word to be heard from the vicinity of the 13th Street Sinai is the statement issued after the elections by the party's banner-bearer, Foster, in the manner of all the defeated bourgeois candidates. Aside from this, abysmal silence.

And there are adequate grounds for the muteness of the Stalinist chieftains. While small holes may be stuffed up with reports that this or that township doubled or tripled its Communist vote (the formula is usually: a rise from 10 votes to 25 votes!), the fact cannot be covered up or explained away that the vote for the presidential candidates of the Communist party this year was exceedingly small in comparison with the vast possibilities contained in the whole situation.

After four years of an unprecedented crisis, in the face of genuine all-national discontentment of the masses, an inability or refusal of any of the two big bourgeois parties to cope with the burning problem of unemployment—after all this, the only proletarian political party in the field is barely able to double the extremely low vote it obtained four years ago, that is, the vote cast at the "height of the prosperity period". It is precisely in such periods of crisis, when millions of workers are divorced from industry itself and their economic power is radically diminished—that is their ability to battle the enemy on the industrial front is enfeebled—that they turn their attention to "elections". The unusually large vote cast indicates that the masses have by no means lost interest in parliamentary activity. Yet—the discontentment of the masses was reflected only in the very tiniest dribbles so far as the Communist vote was concerned.

In the face of this unqualifiedly disappointing vote—all other factors, like disfranchisement of Negro, foreign-born and other workers, considered—what becomes of the fantastic babblings of the Stalinists on the renowned "mass upsurges" and "deep-going radicalization" of the American masses? It is not for nothing that Foster's statement (what a combination of words deliberately intended to say nothing—a disgraceful

document for a Communist leader!) is blandly silent even about the word "radicalization", which it never mentions, as if the party line had not been built up on this phrase for the last few years.

The current, unofficial explanations of the low Communist vote are, generally speaking, based upon a strained endeavor to think up something very profound and complicated to explain a comparatively simple phenomenon. The party leaders look upon the election campaign as something special, isolated, separated from all the other work of the party. We look upon it in the only correct and possible manner: as the numerical expression on the parliamentary field, which is at best a distorted and limited expression, it is true, of the success the party has had in winning to its banner the proletarian masses all during the rest of the year. It is a parliamentary culmination of the party's work in the day-to-day struggles. The vote of the worker, as a rule, expresses the confidence or half-confidence he places in the party (sometimes, the individual) for whom he casts his ballot. The Communist party cannot gain this confidence by sensational campaign stunts during the elections, by prominent candidates, leaflets, torchlight parades and the like—important and necessary though they may be. It can be gained primarily and mainly in the course of the daily struggles in which the Communists participate.

If, during these struggles, the Communist pursues a policy which best represents the interests of the proletariat, he will be rewarded by an expression of confidence in a parliamentary election. If the party, on the other hand, succeeds only in isolating itself from the masses because of its absurd or disastrous policies in the class struggle, this fact will be reflected—as it has been—when elections roll around. These are axioms which apply—not so much (in fact, practically not at all) to the Republicans and Democrats, and very little to the socialists, as they do to the Communists. Tested in this light, the past policies of the Stalinists stand revealed as having barred the road to the revolutionary movement for tens and hundreds of thousands who were being driven in that direction by the bankruptcy of the capitalist regime and its supporters. Until this simple, elementary lesson of the election is absorbed into the consciousness of the party, its headway will continue to be impeded. —S.N.

Chen Du-Hsiu's Trotsky Sails for Denmark

The first details to arrive here on the recent arrest in Shanghai of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, founder of the Chinese Communist movement and leader of the Left Opposition, along with eight other Chinese comrades, are contained in a copy of the Shanghai Times, leading imperialist organ in that city. From the report in its columns is clearly visible not merely the active assistance given the reactionary Kuo Min Tang bourgeoisie by the foreign imperialists in apprehending comrade Chen, but also the fact that he has by this time probably been turned over entirely to the hands of the Chinese butchers with his life at their mercy.

The Shanghai Times report, by itself, is sufficient reply to that detestable insolence of the Stalinist leaders in this country who calumniated comrade Chen as a Kuo Min Tang agent and "counter-revolutionary Trotskyist" with the broad hint that no worker need concern himself with the task of liberating our comrade from the Chinese hangmen. We quote the following extensive extracts from the Times:

"Chen Du-Hsiu, noted Communist leader, former professor of languages at the Peking Government University and a former member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuo Min Tang, was arrested here by Settlement detectives on Saturday night at the request of the Chinese authorities. He was taken during a number of raids on Communist cells and has long been sought by the Government for the extensive part he played in the Communist movement throughout China. Eight other Chinese for whom warrants had been issued were also apprehended and a considerable quantity of Communist literature in different languages was seized.

"The arrest of Chen is regarded as one of the most important developments in the drive against Communism which has taken place in this locality for some considerable time. His whereabouts have been unknown to the authorities for many months although his activities were traced in the spread of Communism in various provinces. He is regarded as one of the main springs in the Communist machine in this country and his organizing ability has enabled the movement to spread rapidly in the interior, according to Chinese engaged in stamping out 'red' activities.

"When arrested Chen was a sick man, having been suffering from an internal illness for some time. After interrogation he was removed in custody to a hospital, but will appear before the Shanghai District Court this morning when an application for his extradition by the Chinese authorities will be heard. It is expected that he will be eventually handed over to the Bureau of Public Safety and later transferred to Nanking for further interrogation....

"He became a fugitive after a warrant was issued for his arrest, but his activities have never ceased, according to Government officials.

"On Saturday morning the Chinese authorities made an application through the Shanghai District Court for the arrest of a number of Chinese wanted for Communist activities. The Special Branch of the S. M. P. (Settlement Military Police?) in company with members of the Bureau of Public Safety made a series of raids in the Settlement and French Concession during which Chen was arrested.

"The police interrupted a meeting of Communists in a house in an alley of East Yuhang Road when five men were arrested and a large quantity of Communist literature in French, Chinese, Russian and English was seized. Information from that address enabled the police to proceed the same afternoon to a house in an alley off Yochow Road. At this address Chen Du-Hsiu was arrested and more Communist documents and literature were seized. Investigations led the police to the French Concession where the assistance of the French Police was obtained for a raid on a dwelling off Route des Soeurs. One Chinese and further literature were taken here from this cell.

"Shortly after midnight on Saturday morning another raid was made on a house off Tatung Road. In a back room two men were found, but as soon as they saw the police they jumped through an open window and attempted to escape. They were caught before going very far. Literature of the usual Communist type was located at this place.

"Interesting developments are expected as a result of Chen's arrest, who is regarded as the 'father of Communism' in China."

As we see from this report, the foreign imperialist press in China, not to speak of the native bourgeoisie itself, has quite a different estimate of the revolutionary quality and integrity of comrade Chen than have the various Browders of the official party apparatus.

But what is of far more acute importance at the present moment is the imminent danger to the lives of comrade (Continued on page 2)

Trotsky Sails for Denmark

This capitalist press prints the report that comrade Leon Trotsky, exiled for years now from the Soviet Union, has been granted a short-term visa to enter Denmark to enable him to deliver a lecture in Copenhagen on the Russian revolution. If this report is true—unlike those of the many "visas granted" in the past—then no better spokesman for the principles and ideas of Bolshevism and the October revolution could have been chosen than Trotsky to speak in this fortress of petty bourgeois socialism "gradualism". The Danish bourgeoisie and its social democratic appendage have taken care, however, to circumscribe the much-vaunted "right of asylum" to three months, after which, according to the report, comrade Trotsky will be compelled to return to the Turkish cage to which he has been confined by agreement between Kemal Pasha, and Stalin, with the tacit consent of every imperialist government in the world.

A short time ago, the Czechoslovakian government was "considering" a visa for comrade Trotsky, under which he would have been fettered and gagged in that country. Even then, it was finally not granted. This did not prevent the Stalinist press of the world from shouting hysterically about the "united front of the counter-revolutionist, Trotsky, with the vassal state of French imperialism". No doubt the same slander will be repeated now. But the militants will not be deceived: the real united front is the one made by Stalin with the foreign offices of the world to make Trotsky a perpetual prisoner in Prinkipo.

Start Hunger March On Washington

United Front Can Bring Huge Movement

With the heartening example of the tens of thousands of unemployed masses who recently put the fear of their power into the hearts of the British ruling class by their militant march on Parliament in London, arrangements are now being made for a national Hunger March on the capital of the United States, Washington, where thousands of representatives of the callously ignored interests of the thirteen million or more unemployed in this country will greet the final session of the "lame duck" session of both houses of Congress with their demands. It is the "historic session" where the fathers of the country are even now promising to alleviate the intense, unspeakable misery of the masses by... a return to legalized beer. This is the manner in which the capitalist politicians of both Wall Street parties plan to interpret the discontentment of the crisis-torn masses voiced in the recent elections.

The national Hunger March is scheduled to reach Washington on December 5. Delegations of workers elected from various working class organizations and conferences are already on their way from the more distant sections of the West for their trek to the capital. The reports already indicate that every important center will be represented in the army of hungry and ragged who will present themselves to the well-fed Congressmen and Senators who foregather to legislate for the ruling class of the country. That the latter are already greatly disturbed at the possibility of the London events being repeated in Washington, is revealed by the official and unofficial instructions emanating from the capital and those sent to the various state and municipal authorities, urging them to do everything to discourage and hinder workers from pointing in the march. In Washington itself, dispatches relate, the authorities will under no condition house and feed the marchers. But the lash of hunger and misery is driving too many workers to militant action for the Hunger March to be defeated by rules or regulations or threats or cajolery. Not even the provocation that the government will undoubtedly undertake during the course of the march and at Washington proper, will succeed in eliminating the enormous significance of this organized demonstration of America's jobless for their demands.

With the time still left for the March, it is not only possible, but imperative, to draw into the movement the widest conceivable sections of the proletariat and its organizations. The recently formed united front in Chicago—not constituted according to the absurd and sterile formula of "united front from below"—is an example of how powerful is the urge among the workers for united ranks and united action, of the loud and long-lasting echo which a genuine appeal for a united front of all working class organizations will awaken in the masses. The Communists, who are in the forefront of the present movement, cannot confine this policy to Chicago, while at the same time pursuing an opposite—and isolated—course throughout the rest of the land. The formation of such a united front, on an even wider basis, in every part of the country—a step which we of the Left Opposition have persistently defended from the very beginning—is an urgent pre-requisite for such a successful movement as will really shake the cynical frigidity of the bourgeoisie towards the unemployed and their problems. Such a united front in the present Hunger March will, by itself, lay the foundation for a powerful unemployed movement after the March is over, one which will be able to continue on a more extensive field the struggle of the million-headed army of jobless.

The comrades of the Left Opposition will take their place in the ranks of the marching militants and render the movement every possible assistance at their command. In the movement itself, we will raise the demands which in addition to those advanced by the official party—\$50 winter federal relief for each family and unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and employers—are a necessary part of the workers' demands. Especially appropriate in Washington is the demand for long-term credits to the Soviet Union and its recognition by the American government, as well as the demand for the six-hour day and five-day week without reduction in pay.

In any case, the Left Opposition and its supporters stand elbow to elbow with the militants who are advancing to Washington in an imposing political demonstration of their demands before the federal representatives of the thieves of Wall Street.

Scottsboro--What Now?

Supreme Court Evades Issue--Workers Must Unite Forces

The decision of the United States Supreme Court reversing the decision of the lower courts and ordering new trials for seven of the Scottsboro boys has been justly hailed throughout the world as a victory for the victims, the entire working class and the fighting methods and prestige of Communism. What did the Supreme Court actually decide and what is the significance of its decision for the working class?

It must be remembered that the nine Scottsboro boys were framed on the fake charge of raping two notorious prostitutes, rushed through a farcical court procedure surrounded by a howling lynch mob and condemned to death before they had time to draw their breaths, so to speak. This legal burlesque is not unusual in the South. It is the "justice" meted out to our Negro class brothers. That is their share of democracy in the Republic, when the tiger deigns to play with its victims. Let a Negro farm laborer demand his wages—he is physically assaulted by his white boss; if he resists he is accused of rape and he is lynched. In its more merciful moments capitalism puts him through the paces of a masque which it calls a trial—before disposing of him.

Communists Prevented Lynching

Only the prompt and courageous action of the I. L. D. and the Communist party, in the face of a hurricane of vented a routine legal lynching. But the I. L. D. and the C. P. did more than merely provide a legal defense. They began to mobilize tens of thousands of workers, black and white, to demand the unconditional freedom of the nine boys. The Communists succeeded on the scale of the demonstrations and within the limits of this issue, in uniting the black and white workers. That is one of the happiest aspects of this struggle for the lives of nine members of our class. It is a long step forward toward the unity of the two races which is indispensable to the successful rising of

the American proletariat. The movement set afoot in this country found its echo abroad under the stimulus of the International Red Aid. Thousands of workers in the capitals of Europe demonstrated outside the consulates of the American capitalist colossus. In Cincinnati workers were shot down. Elsewhere police batons conducted an orchestra of capitalist repression against the international proletariat. The mother of one of the boys was hounded from France's vassal states. Meetings arranged to hear her story of the Republic's savage democracy were forbidden. The secretary of state stretched forth a long hand to stay the tide of working class protest. Like King Canute of old who tried to stay the tide he failed.

The Supreme Court decision is a recognition of this fact. It is a concession to the mass protest. In this sense it is a first victory. But at the same time it is a warning. The Supreme Court did not decide that the boys are innocent. It carefully avoided taking up this aspect of the case.

The Supreme Court Decision

The text of the decision states three grounds on which the lower courts' verdicts were appealed; they were not given a fair, impartial and deliberate trial; (2) they were denied the right of counsel, with the accustomed incidents of consultation and opportunity of preparation for trial, and (3) they were tried before juries from which qualified members of their own race were systematically excluded."

(Continued on page 2)

LEON TROTSKY

Soviet Economy in Danger

The Situation on the Eve of the Second Five Year Plan

(Continued from last issue)
But the results obtained, no matter how imposing if taken by themselves—even if considered from the bald quantitative viewpoint—are far short of those sketched in the plan.

The output of coal is maintained at present on the level of last year, therefore it has far from reached the plan figures set for the third year of the Five Year Plan. "The Donbas lags behind at the tailend of the most backward branches of Soviet industry", complains Pravda. "The tension in the fuel balance is on the increase," echoes for the Industrialization (October 8, 1932).

In 1931 there were produced 4.0 million tons of cast iron instead of 7.9 million set by the plan; 5.3 million tons of steel instead of the 8.5 million; and finally 4 million tons of rolled steel instead of 6.7 million. In comparison with 1930 this signifies a falling off in cast iron of 2 percent; in steel of 6

percent; in rolled steel of 10 percent. For 9 months of 1932 there were produced 4.5 million tons of cast iron, 4.1 million tons of steel, 3.5 million tons of rolled stock. Alongside of the considerable rise in the output of iron (new blast-furnaces!) the production of steel and rolled steel in the current year remains approximately on the level of last year. From the viewpoint of the general tasks of the industrialization what decides, of course, is not the raw iron but the rolled stock and steel.

Side by side with these quantitative results, which Economic Life characterizes as "shocking lapses" there are to be placed extremely unfavorable and, because of their consequences, much more dangerous lapses in quality. Following the special economic press, Pravda openly confesses that in heavy metallurgy "the situation as regards the indices of quality is impermissible." "The defects" (Continued on page 2)

Chicago Greet United Front

Left Opposition Hails Joint Unemployment Conference

We print here a leaflet issued by the Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on its views regarding the united front recently formed by various groups in the labor movement, ranging from the Communists, to the Socialists and A. F. of L. unions, which has already succeeded in uniting tens of thousands of unemployed workers in that city for militant action in favor of their demands—a policy constantly advocated by the Left Opposition.

Fellow Workers and Comrades:—

We hail the united front of the three organizations of unemployed workers, recently organized in Chicago. The fact that Communists, Socialists, Farmer-Laborites, and reactionary as well as revolutionary trade-unionists are able to come together at this time on the specific issue of fighting for immediate relief and other unemployed demands, is significant. It testifies to the enormous pressure of the rank and file workers upon the organizations in an effort to bring

about a united fight in the interests of the unemployed.

Aim of United Front

The united front is a means of uniting all workers in a common fight against a common oppressor on an issue of extreme importance to the workers. The united front is not a permanent body in which all organizations affiliated lose their independence and give up their separate existence. Quite the contrary, these organizations carry on their independent work, their right to criticism, to formulate their own opinions and ideas. The object of the united front is for action on one specific agreed issue.

The present united front was organized to fight against the 50 percent reduction in the unemployed relief. Its object is to unify all unemployed workers in Chicago to fight against this cut in relief, to increase and extend the relief for ALL jobless workers and to push forward the general demands of the unemployed. Toward this aim the present organizations must carry on a determined fight. The present situation demands that this united front (Continued on page 2)

Int. Workers School Entertainment

Saturday, Nov. 19 - 8 p. m.
126 East 16th Street
ADMISSION: 25c

STALINISTS TAKE MEASURES

The Expulsion of Zinoviev

The Lessons of the Second Expulsion of the Capitulators

With all his agitational radicalism, Zinoviev always pulled up short before the actual inferences of political formulae. Fighting against Stalinist policies in China, Zinoviev opposed to the end the attack of the Communist party with the Mao Min Tang. Exposing Stalin's alliance with Purcell and Clitine, Zinoviev was poised irresolutely before the split with the Anglo-Russian Committee. Joining in the struggle against Thermidorian tendencies, he took a vow beforehand: in no case to bring matters to a pitch of facing expulsion from the party. In this spirit of going fifty-fifty there was ingrained his inevitable downfall. "Everything, except Stalinism within those limits that would be permitted by Stalin."

After their capitulation, Zinoviev and Kameney did absolutely everything they could in order to restore the confidence of the ruling clique in themselves and in order to be assimilated into the official milieu. Zinoviev made his peace with the theory of Socialism in one country, and once again exposed "Trotskyism" and even made attempts to burn incense to Stalin personally. Nothing helped. The capitulators suffered, shut up, and waited. And with all that they still did not succeed in hanging on to celebrate the fifth anniversary of their own capitulation; it seems that they were involved in a "conspiracy", and therefore were expelled from the party, perhaps to be deported or exiled.

What is astounding is that Zinoviev and Kameney got it in the neck not for their own cause and not under their own banner. The war of the list of those expelled according to the decision of October 9th, consists of outright Rights, i. e., the followers of Rykov-Bucharin-Tomsky. Does it mean that Left Centrism has unified with Right Centrism against the bureaucratic core? Let us not rush to conclusions.

The most eminent names in the list, after Zinoviev and Kameney, are those of Uglanov and Riutin, two former members of the C. E. C. Uglanov, as the general secretary of the Moscow Committee and Riutin, as the head of the Agitprop, were in charge in the capital of the struggle against the Left Opposition, clearing every corner and by path of Trotskyism in 1926-1927. They raised a particularly venomous hue and cry after Zinoviev and Kameney as the "traitors" to the ruling faction. When Uglanov and Riutin, as a consequence of the Stalinist zigzag to the Left, turned out to be the chief practical organizers of the Right Opposition, all the official articles and speeches harped on one and the same note: "No one can deny the great service rendered by Uglanov and Riutin in the struggle against Trotskyism; but their platform nevertheless is that of kulaks and bourgeois-liberals." The Stalinists pretend that they are in aware that it was on account of just this program that the struggle had taken place. As then, so now only the Rights and the Leftists had positions based on principle. The Stalinists thrived on the scraps from the one and the other.

As early as 1928, Uglanov and Riutin began to assert that the Left Opposition turned out to be correct in its stand on the question of the party regime—this acknowledged is all the more instructive since none could boast of such successes in implanting the Stalinist regime as Uglanov and Riutin. However, "solidarity" on the question of party democracy cannot soften the heart of the Left Opposition in its relation to the Right. Party democracy is not an abstract ideal; least of all, is it predestined to serve as a screen for Thermidorian tendencies. And in the meantime, Uglanov and Riutin, at least in those years, represented the most out and out Thermidorian wing in the camp of the Rights.

Among the participants in the conspiracy, the C. E. C. lists other leading Rights, like Slepov and Maretsky, Red professors of the Bucharin School, directors of the Komsozol and Pravda, instigators of many programmatic resolutions of the C. E. C. and authors of countless articles and brochures against "Trotskyism."

On the proscribed list there are to be found Ptashny and Gorelov with a notation of their former adherence to the "Trotskyist Opposition." We have no means of judging whether the matter concerns here two very little known Left capitulators, who subsequently threw in their lot with the Rights, or whether we have before us a falsification in order to fool the party. The former is by no means excluded, but in all probability neither is the latter.

In the summary of the participants, the chief leaders of the Right Opposition are conspicuously absent. Cables to the bourgeois papers report that Bucharin "has completely reestablished his party position" and is apparently slated for the Narkompros in place of Bubnov, who is being transferred to the G. P. U.; as for Rykov, he is once again in favor, makes speeches over the radio, etc. The fact that in the list of "the conspirators" there is neither Rykov nor Bucharin nor Tomsky really does make plausible some temporary bureaucratic indulgences in favor of the former leaders of the Right Opposition. But of their being reestablished in their old positions in the party, there cannot be the slightest consideration.

The group as a whole is accused of an attempt to create "a bourgeois kulak organization in order to restore capitalism in the U.S.S.R. and the kulak, in particular." An amazing formulation! An organization to restore "capitalism and the kulak, in particular" (!). This "particularity" gives away the whole, or at least hints at it. There is no debating that some of those expelled, like Slepov and Maretsky, in the period of

the struggle against "Trotskyism" developed, after the manner of their teacher Bucharin, the idea of "the kulak's growing into socialism." What stand they have taken since that time, we do not know. But it is quite possible that their present guilt consists not so much in their desire to "restore" the kulak as in their failure to recognize Stalin's victories in the sphere of "liquidation of the kulak as a class."

However, what is the relation of Zinoviev and Kameney to the program of "restoring capitalism"? The Soviet press informs us about the following as regards to their participation in the crime, "Knowing of the counter-revolutionary documents that were being circulated, instead of immediately exposing the agents of the Kulak agencies, they preferred to deliberate over this document (?) and by this act alone, they placed themselves as the direct accomplices of the anti-party, counter-revolutionary group." So, Zinoviev and Kameney "preferred to deliberate over the document" instead of "immediately exposing" it. The accusers do not even dare to assert that Zinoviev and Kameney were entirely beyond considering its "exposure". No, their crime consisted in their "preferring to deliberate" before "exposing". Where, how and with whom did they deliberate? Had this occurred during a secret session of the Right organization, the accusers would not have failed to inform us about it. Obviously, Zinoviev and Kameney "preferred to deliberate" with their own four eyes and within their own four walls. As a result of their deliberation, did they express their sympathy for the platform of the Rights. If there was even the slightest hint in the matter about such a matter testifies to the contrary; Zinoviev and Kameney, obviously, subjected the platform to criticism instead of immediately ringing up Yaroda. But in view of the fact that they nevertheless did not telephone, Pravda feels it justified to ascribe to them this concept, "The enemy of my enemy is—my friend."

The course strain of the accusation against Zinoviev-Kameney makes it possible for us to conclude with assurance that blow was direct against them, and primarily them. Not because they evinced some political activity during the last period. We know nothing about it, and what is more important the C. E. C. knows nothing about either, as is evident from the decree. But the objective political situation has become so much worse as to make it impossible for Stalin to tolerate any longer legal candidates for leadership in the composition of this or the other Opposition group.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, of course, has long since been aware that Zinoviev and Kameney whom it had spurned were very much "interested" in the oppositionist trends within the party and were reading all sorts of documents that were not destined for Yaroda. In 1928, Kameney even carried on secret negotiations with Bucharin regarding the possibility of a bloc. Records of these negotiations were published at the time by the Left Opposition. The Stalinists, however, could not decide upon expelling Zinoviev and Kameney. They did not wish to compromise themselves by new scandals of repressions unless there was urgent necessity. The period of economic successes was then being inaugurated, in part actual, in part fictitious. Zinoviev and Kameney did not appear to be immediately dangerous. —L. TROTSKY.

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The Left Opposition Breaks Ground in the Pittsburgh District

PITTSBURGH.—

Conditions of the working class in this most highly industrialized section of the country represent what most nearly approaches a cross-section of proletarian life in the country as a whole. More than 100,000 jobless fill the narrow, winding, filthy streets of Pittsburgh. Every day bears witness to new scenes of their misery. The furniture of evicted families, blocks the sidewalks of the proletarian quarters and the press contains full pages of eviction notices, foreclosures and legal action against the workers from day to day.

The utterly prostrate and dejected among the unemployed, those who cannot find even the doubtful refuge of relatives and friends, flock to Father Cox's Shantytown! There exists no greater repulsive and more disgusting a picture of squalor. The good "Father" preaches meekness and bids the unemployed wait better times with the presidential incumbency of his recent rival and present endorser, the Astor Raskob man—Franklin Roosevelt. In the meantime the inhabitant of the reverend Father's Rooseveltville spends his time in primitive handicrafts, leads a life that resembles more that of the feudal serf than that of the twentieth century machine-age man.

The Workshop of the World—at One-Third Capacity

Conditions among the workers still at work—so to speak—are even worse. Steel workers at the mills are lucky if they have three days' labor a month. But that is not all. The Steel Barons were the initiators of all the wage cut drives of the depression years and the steel workers' remuneration has been reduced to the vanishing point. Steel is the pivot industry in the Allegheny region. And Pittsburgh is a "one factory town"—in the highest sense of the word. Activity in the steel mills sets the tune

Chicago Left Greets United Front

(Continued from page 1)

ited front be maintained to carry out its great task.

The Conference must see to it that there is no vacillation in the struggle on the part of the leaders. The workers must prevent any organization from withdrawing from the conference. We realize the strain of relations, the provocations that exist in such a gathering. But if an effective movement is to exist and be successful, it is necessary that no disintegration be permitted. The Conference must be militant. It must reject any proposal of a reactionary character. It must reject any proposal or action that will weaken, nullify and destroy the beginnings already made.

The Left Opposition has for a long time fought for a correct united front policy. One of the main obstacles has been the erroneous conception of the Communist party on the united front. Namely, their advocacy of the "united front from below". We therefore, welcome their charge toward the correct policy which will bring larger masses of workers together in a united struggle for a specific aim. The success of the present conference proves that its previous policy was narrow and sectarian and succeeded in bringing together only the Communist party and its organizations. With the participation of the Communist party, the conference should have great strength and militancy.

Role of Socialist Party

The Left Opposition is well aware of the role that the Socialist party and its leaders have played in the struggle of the workers. The Socialist party leaders will never enter a united front unless it is by tremendous pressure from their rank and file. Once in a united

front movement, they vacillate, retreat, threaten and in the end pursue a course of betraying the interests of the workers. The workers in the ranks of the Socialist party must resist any splitting tactics on the part of their leaders. This applies too for all other reformist and labor groups in the conference.

We want to reiterate: the interests of all workers, unemployed and employed, in spite of everything, rests in maintaining the present united front conference, and in completing its work.

Chicago Workers! Fight for immediate relief for ALL unemployed workers. Fight for the 6 hour day and the 5 day week with no reduction in pay. Fight for Social Insurance. Demand the extension of credits and the recognition of the Soviet Union.

MAINTAIN THE UNITED FRONT!

The Chicago Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

GREEK BANQUET A SUCCESS

The banquet for the benefit of the recently organized Greek workers' club, PROTOMAGIA, held last Saturday at our Center, turned out to be a splendid success from the point of view of attendance as well as the spirit shown by those who gathered there. The collection amounted to more than \$33. Many members of the Stalinist Club, SPARTACUS were present and demanded a debate of the disputed questions, which we gladly accepted. Although we gave more than enough of the floor to our opponents, they declined a formal debate before a mixed audience. Comrades are swelling the ranks of the newly-formed club which is soon to obtain its own headquarters in the Greek neighborhood.

Soviet Economy in Danger

(Continued from page 1)

tive products eat up the steel that is up to quality." "The technical coefficients in the use of the equipment are taking a sharp turn for the worse." "The cost of production of commodities is rising sharply." Two figures will suffice: in 1931 a ton of iron cost 35 roubles; in the first half of the current year the cost rose to 60 roubles.

In 1929-1930, 47 thousand tons of copper were smelted; in 1931, 48 thousand tons, one-third of the amount set by the plan. For the current year the plan has been lowered to 90 thousand tons but for the first 8 months less than 30 thousand tons have been smelted. What this means in the manufacture of machines in general and of electro-technical equipment in particular, requires no commentaries.

In the sphere of electrification, with all its successes, there is considerable lagging behind; the power plants in August delivered 71 percent of the energy they were supposed to develop. For the Industrialization writes about "the inept, illiterate and the uncultured exploitation of the erected power stations." Great difficulties are being threatened in the winter in the sphere of power production. They have already begun in the Moscow and Leningrad regions.

The light industry which lagged excessively behind the plan last year, showed a rise in the first half of the current year of 16 percent but in the third quarter it fell below the figures of last year. The industry providing foodstuffs occupies the last place. The supplementary production of products for mass consumption which are supplied by the plants of heavy industries compose for the eight months only 35 percent of the yearly stipulation. It is not possi-

ble at present to estimate what part of this mass of commodities that are improvised in a hurry, really meets the requirements of the market.

The factories are supplied with coal and raw material by means of bursts of telegram-lightnings. The industry, as Economic Life puts it, "sits on lightning." But even bolts of lightning cannot deliver what does not exist.

Coal, hastily mined and poorly sorted, hampers the operation of coke producing enterprises. Excessively high content of moisture and cinders in the coke not only reduces the quantity of produced metal by millions of tons but also lowers its quality. Machines of poor metal produce inferior products, result in breakdowns, force inactivity upon the working hands, and deteriorate rapidly.

In the Urals, the paper apprize us, "the blast-furnaces are in fever", because of inadequate supply of fuel they are allowed to cool down from 3 days to 20 days. Here is a circumstance illuminating to the highest degree: the metallurgical plants in the Urals had their own horse convoys for the transportation of fuel; in February of this year the horses numbered 27,000, the number fell in July to 14,000; and in September to 4,000. The reason for it is lack of fodder.

Pravda characterizes in the following manner the condition of the Stalingrad tractor factory in which the quantity of annual castings fell from 250 to 140 tons (quency-thousands?) "The equipment, due to the absence of rudimentary and constant technical supervision...has excessively deteriorated." "Defective products have become as high as 35 percent." "The entire mechanism of the corporation is wallowing in dirt." "In the foundries there is never a thought of

into motion elements of new militancy in the working class. Workers of all shades are beginning to ask themselves how such a situation can exist, what the causes for it are. They ask these questions of themselves, not because they are accustomed to philosophizing. It is their very mode of every day life, it is actually their bread and butter problems that force them to pause and to reflect on these questions. Militants, whom the prosperity period, and the double-edged blade of reaction characteristic of it, had eliminated from active participation in the various phases of the struggle, are once again showing signs of interest, are once again expressing willingness to rejoin the fight. But the sad experiences of passivity and inaction in the course of the past four years have made them cautious and judicious. The number of those is steadily increasing who not only see the need of again taking up arms, but who also demand to know what sort of arms to take up and how to fight. They are weighing carefully the principles, the policies, the strategy and the tactics of the various political forces in the field. They feel that if the fight is to be taken up in earnest, it must be on firm ground.

Within the A. F. of L. unions, the work of the reformist fakers in lulling the masses with their treacherous policies of class collaboration is becoming exceedingly clear. And, when Green and Co. come out, finally, for such "radical" demands as unemployed insurance and "independent political action of the workers", it is because their rank and file in industrial sections like the Pittsburgh sector, are already miles ahead of them, because the workers in the shops are being made ready by conditions to shake off the fetters of the trade union bureaucracy. The prestige of what few old Left wingers still remain in the reformist unions is gaining day by day, while new Left wing forces are making their appearance.

Clarification Begins in the Ranks of the Party

The growth of class consciousness and a spirit of militancy among the masses

Scottsboro--What Now?

(Continued from page 1)

The text goes on to say: "The only one of the assignments which we shall consider is the second—; and it becomes unnecessary to discuss the facts of the case or the circumstances surrounding the prosecution—". Cowardly decision!! To deal with the other two would bring these judicial fossils face to face with the real issues in the case. They would have to commit the Supreme Court and through it the capitalist class to an outright reactionary position resulting in the discredit of this most sacred of the institutions of the capitalist class before the working class.

Or it would have had to decide in favor of the victims which would tremendously increase the prestige of Communism and working class activity generally. The only road it could "safely" take at the moment was the middle road of quibbling over legal technicalities. This it does most elegantly. It makes a parade of the learned justices' erudition; it traces a devious course through certain aspects of the history of American law; it juggles with definitions in and amendments to the U. S. Constitution. And it arrives at the conclusion so obvious to all that the boys were not represented by counsel in the courtroom at Scottsboro.

The liberals are singing a hymn of praise to American institutions. They say that the Court has redeemed the prestige of capitalism. They prate eloquently of justice and fairness and fair play. They are confused to the roots of their thinking. And they are sowing confusion with a prodigal hand. The capitalist press is open wide to them now for this purpose. They are serving capitalism well.

the next day." "Methods of handicraft are swamping continuous belt production."

Why is production lowered in light metallurgy in the face of colossal investments? Because, replies Pravda, "the separate branches of a single combine are not coordinated with one another in their capacity." And in the meantime the task of coordinating branches has been solved by capitalist technology. And how much more and difficult is the question of intercoordination independent enterprises and entire branches of industry!

"The cement factory in Podolsk is in dangerous straits", writes For the Industrialization: In the first half year the production program was fulfilled approximately 60 percent, in the last months the fulfillment dropped to 40 percent... The basic costs are twice as high as those set by the plan." The characteristics cited above apply in various degrees to the entire present industry.

(To Be Continued)

CHICAGO DEBATE

Communism Versus Anarchism

WHICH WAY FOR THE WORLD PROLETARIAT?

Communism Anarchism
ALBERT GLOTZER JOSEPH COHEN
Member N. E. C. Editor, Freie
Comm. League of A. Arbeiter Stimme
Sunday, November 27, 1932, at 3 P. M.
at 2011 W. North Avenue.
ADMISSION: 10 Cents

CHICAGO

CONCERT AND DANCE

Sunday, November 27, 1932, 8 P. M.
at 2011 W. North Ave.
ADMISSION: 25 CENTS
Auspices: Friends of the Militant Club

cannot of course help but have its effect on the membership of the official Communist party as well. The active comrades in the C. P. who have, from their daily contacts, felt the new features in the situation: the general discontent of the broad layers of workers, the rebirth of militancy in the old organizations reaching even into the ranks of the decrepit and corrupt socialist party, the possibilities for important progress of Communism—have also been obliged to review the recent past and to draw lessons therefrom.

Sporadically and in a groping, instinctive way, it is true, but nevertheless so conditioned that they have had to confront the stupid and disastrous policies of the Stalinist faction with the very facts of everyday life. The contrast between the excellent prospects for Communist work and the retrogressions and defeats engendered by the false direction of the leadership opened the minds of many party comrades to the dangers brought upon our party by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Faced at each step with persecutions for pointing out the destruction caused by the Stalinist "third period" policies; with their "united front from below only", with the sharply contrasted adventurist and opportunist sides of the unemployment work, for instance; disillusioned after many "turns" and "half-turns" which all remained on paper and which brought the party not a single step forward, the militants were led by the logic of their struggle to concentrate fire against the local bureaucracy as such. After a hard fight, the Pittsburgh rank and file finally forced the recall of the altogether discredited and incompetent bureaucrat, Carl Price, from his position as District Organizer. The Price incident cannot help but teach the party comrades the important lesson, that only by an actual and determined fight can they help regenerate the party.

But it would be altogether misleading and self-deceptive for the Communist workers to consider the defeat of Price as an ultimate victory and to rest upon

Unfortunately a great many workers fall for this stuff. They have seen Hoover in action. They are familiar with the peaceful nature of their local capitalist institutions. But they still have faith in that solemn and august body of men who are chosen solely for their merit to sit in judgment on the laws enacted by congress and the states. To the extent that they believe this they will turn a deaf ear to the Communist analysis of this decision and reject the party's call to action.

There is a growing number of class conscious workers who will not be fooled by this dubious maneuver of a capitalist class made cautious by a rising tide of working class protest. They will understand that the Supreme Court is a bulwark against any "left" deviations by legislative and executive branches of the government. They will see clearly that the battle must still be fought to its conclusion by the same fighting methods which have already resulted in one victory. Encouraged by this victory they will nevertheless see clearly the danger points ahead. They will remember that the retrial is scheduled for the same court under the same judge who first sentenced them to death. This will signify to them the necessity for an even greater protest movement on the part of a united working class.

For A Broad Movement!

These workers will look to the party to build and organize this movement. In this orientation they will be correct. The victory the party has already won gives it this right. Upon the basis of the movement already built the party will have to build a broad protest movement embracing the entire working class. The party must issue the call to build this movement. To date the party press confines itself to agitation. This is correct. But it is not enough.

The party must issue a call for united front conferences. The prestige it has won will give it the entry into organizations and a hearing before strata of the class which would otherwise be indifferent to its appeal. Workers imbued with confidence in the party because of its fight and its first victory will answer this call.

The united fronts must be genuine. They must be permeated with the spirit of working class democracy. No mechanical control! The workers suffering from the stifling control of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy will not stand for it here. And conversely this is the opportunity for excellence for the Communists to teach the workers what working class democracy really is. Let all participate and have freedom of discussion. What should the party fear? Time and the class struggle has given it the firmest position. To work!

—T. STAMM.

CHEN DU-HSIU

(Continued from page 1)

Chen and the other militants arrested with him. Up to now, the International Red Aid and its American section, the International Labor Defense, have preserved a horrible silence on the case. It is imperative that a genuine mass protest be made in this and other countries so that the hankens of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry may know that they cannot turn our comrades over to the executioner! Let every class conscious worker voice his elementary solidarity with the prisoners by acting immediately, before it is too late. Raise the question of the Chinese comrades in every labor organization. Demand that the Daily Worker, the party as a whole, and the I. L. D. commence a campaign for the endangered revolutionists!

their laurels. Before the Pittsburgh militants there now lies the task of drawing the conclusions of their fight to a higher plane. The more thoughtful comrades will inevitably have to pose the question as to the roots of the bureaucracy, as to the basic causes for the Stalinist regime of blunders, crimes and wreckage. In doing this, they will not be able to avoid a consideration of the point of view of the Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky, representing a consistent Leninist line of struggle that foretold all the mistakes of the Stalinists and the results following from them years in advance—and with scientific Marxian precision.

Whether the comrades stop to consider these questions now or not, their further experiences will require this of them. The comrades have had their lesson with bureaucrat Price. Bureaucrat Johnstone, who has been magnanimously sent down from above to make the Pittsburgh Communists forget Price, will not only serve to teach the local comrades another lesson in the fight against bureaucracy and the non-Leninist system it represents. Either way, the ideas of the Left Opposition are bound to force their way into the party ranks. The Left Opposition as such will always stand ready to render every aid possible and to fight side by side with the serious and conscientious party militants for the Leninist redressment of our Communist party.

—S. G.

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