

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Von Papen's Elections

Our Appeal for United Front Struggle of the German Workers

BERLIN.—
Papen and Schleicher have once more proclaimed elections in accordance with the Weimar system. At first sight, this must arouse wonderment, since our new Bonapartes have made no secret of their contempt for this "new structure"—though they made good use of it in 1919. Why therefore? Because they too realize their own weakness. They also know that "the weakness of existence of the Papen government lies in the neutralization of the irreconcilable camps" as Trotsky writes in "The Only Road". And all its strivings must be directed towards getting out of this tight-rope walker's position and to find a firm meeting for itself. The development of the conjuncture on the basis of its economic program does not now give it any great hopes in this respect. Insatiable agriculture is rebelling. The foreign political rally has up to now produced only negative results. There remains, then, only the renewed attempt at combinations and maneuvers with the parties, especially the Nazis and the Center. That there have been concrete attempts made in this direction is shown by the visit of Kerl to Hindenburg, the conversations of Papen-Schaeffer, Papen-Bolz, the Nazi retreat in the Prussian parliament, as well as the reflections of the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung on September 19, for example, on the negotiations of Papen with the Bavarian People's Party:

Reconciliation Proposals

"Is there really no longer any reconciliation, a reconciliation with the understanding that it is a question of political collaboration within the framework of the national tasks which are common to the government and the National Socialist?... Irreconcilable antagonisms of today may become political alliances of expediency tomorrow, the ulterior hostility between patriots is nothing final. Perhaps the next few days will again offer opportunities of tying together some threads... Should it not be possible, precisely in Bavaria has there developed a certain tactical approach between the National Socialists and the Bavarian People's Party, to utilize this practical stipulation to building a bridge?"

Papen-Schleicher hope to carry out this maneuver with all the greater success since they may after all succeed on the basis of their program in the new elections to strengthen the German Nationalists or similar to such an extent that the absolute majority of Center-Nazis is broken.

But should all these attempts nevertheless fail, then new elections offer an excellent measure for demonstrating anew the futility of the Weimar constitution, and for ripening the ground, by means of interminable elections, for changing the constitution, for carrying on a "strategy of exhaustion".

The Papen government can engage in all these hide-and-seek maneuvers so long as there is no serious extra-parliament-

ary mass resistance. The popular referendum slogan of the Social Democratic Party, which aims at crippling any attempt at an extra-parliamentary struggle, and to postpone it, is in this respect nothing but a prop to the Papen government. It also quite corresponds with the pious belief which the S. D. P. puts in the existence of the Papen government and the imminence of a favorable conjuncture.

For the Fighting United Front

It is clear that for a revolutionary worker, the elections have only one party for which to vote: the Communist party. All experiments with non-voting for little grouplets would only help the class enemy. It is certainly just as clear that this election, more than any that preceded it, has only the significance of one demonstration out of many. The central question today is the unfolding of the extra-parliamentary struggle; the premise for it is the establishment of the united front. Consequently, there can be no question for the C. P. G. of setting into motion the election machine in the good old socialist party manner, but of doing everything for the establishment of the united front, that is, to change its tactics fundamentally. Only successes on this front, and not election votes, will represent a real value and checkmate Papen's maneuver. This is the first and most important "electoral work".
October 1932.

School Term Opens

The International Workers School was able to open the new banquet held last Saturday night. Over one hundred dollars was obtained, from a good attendance of a hundred and thirty comrades and sympathizers. This brings the total fund collected on the Three Hundred Dollar Drive up to two hundred dollars. We must obtain the remainder of this fund. This amount has enabled us to obtain the lease, make the necessary alterations on the new hall and buy part of the new equipment. We must have the remainder for chairs and other necessary needs for the school and headquarters.

The school opened its courses Monday, with a few weeks delay of the series of lectures to be delivered by Cannon on Monday and Shachtman on Wednesday. The study class and lecture are to be held at the same hour, but sufficient funds to obtain folding doors and other needs to have two meetings proceeding at once, are lacking. Just as soon as the funds are raised the series of lectures by Cannon and Shachtman will be held. Registration for these two classes is still open.

Next week we have the following classes:

- Monday, October 24, Second Lesson, Genesis of the State.—J. Weber.
- Wed., October 26, Second Lesson.—The Dialectic process of Nature—Hugo Oehler.

12th Plenum of E.C.C.I.

The Need of the Hour: a Democratically Convened Congress

We are reminded of Plenum from abroad: The long since due Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International took place in September. As the first point on the order of the day stood a report on the situation in the USSR. Upon the proposal of the Czechs and the Poles, it was decided to have a report on the situation in Germany as the first point. This report was delivered by Thaelmann, whereupon these parties protesting in the session left the hall in protest. The representative of the Communist Party of Poland then went to Stalin, who, as the "leader of the world revolution", did not even condescend to make a single appearance at the Plenum. The Polish comrade explained to him the insufferable situation presented by the fact that at the head of the second strongest party in the Comintern there should be so politically incompetent a comrade as Thaelmann. When it is reported that Stalin shifted the whole matter on to Zinoviev as the one who appointed Thaelmann to lead the German party, the characteristic irresponsibility of this "best disciple of Lenin" will stand out all the more clearly.

Why hasn't there been, to this day, a single report on this Plenum of the E. C. C. I.? Why do not the party members receive an accounting about what was said and done about the vital problems facing the international revolutionary movement today? Damnably characteristic is the present situation in the Comintern is the fact that the first intimation of the fact that the 12th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. had been held was given in a passing observation made at the end of a cabled report to the New York Times by our well-informed Walter Duranty, on the expulsion of Zinoviev, Kamenev and the others.

That the 12th Plenum had been called, was never known. What its agenda was to be, was never known. That it was

in session, was never known until Duranty was permitted to inform the readers of... the Times. The party members (as is customary in these days of Stalinist discipline) had no opportunity to discuss the problems which face such a Plenum of the E. C. C. I. They will be given precious little opportunity to discuss them now, after the fact. Without even knowing the exact nature of the decisions made in Moscow, it is unfortunately safe to say in advance that the party members will be made to swallow the latest revelation of bureaucratic ignorance and impotence.

The Daily Worker informs us now that a bombardment was started at the 12th Plenum, against the Right wing conciliator, Humbert-Droz, for the resolution he presented. We will have occasion to return to this phase of the question. But more important than these by-products of the bureaucratic jugglery which passes for political struggle in the top ranks, is the imperative necessity for a democratically prepared, democratically convened, broadly discussed Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which is now more than two years overdue. The burning need of the moment is not a machine-made Plenum of bureaucrats held in the dark of the moon, and guaranteed in advance to leave no serious trace on the movement, but a genuine Congress, prepared and held as was the custom in Lenin's days, with the fullest opportunities granted the membership, and the expelled Left Opposition, to discuss and participate in it.

Our Russian Revolution Celebration

An entertainment in celebration of the Fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, and the Fourth Year of the Militant, will be held on Saturday, November 5, at our new headquarters, 126 East 16 Street. We will begin promptly at 8 P. M.

OPEN FORUM

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28th
8 P. M.

The New Miners' Revolt

Speaker:
ARNE SWABECK
126 East 16th St.
near Irving Place
Admission: 10 Cents
Sponsor:
N. Y. Br. Communist League of America

German Organ Suppressed

The weekly paper of the German Left Opposition, *Die Permanente Revolution*, has just been suppressed by the police. The von Papen government is sharpening its struggle against the revolutionary press in general. The party daily, *Die Rote Fahne*, is now appearing permanently prohibited from appearing. The paper of the Urbahn group, *Volkswille*, has been suppressed for 13 weeks. The weekly organ of the Socialist Workers Party, *Kampfsignal*, has also felt the iron fist.

The latest victim of the Bonapartist clique in power is the organ of our German comrades. Significantly enough—and as a damning sign to the disgraceful slanders of the Stalinist calumniators—the reason given for its suppression was the article in No. 23 of *Die Permanente Revolution* which voices an energetic protest against the suppression of *Die Rote Fahne*, the central organ of the German Communist Party!

The official text of the police order, which is printed in the last issue of our German paper (one sheet upon which nothing else is permitted to appear except the decree), declares over the signature of Herr von Weidner that the motive for the suppression is that:

"Number 23 of Volume 2 of the weekly paper *Die Permanente Revolution*, in the article 'Die Rote Fahne prohibited', and which concludes with the words: 'Down with this regime which has recourse to such measures in order to veil its infamies', contains a serious insult and the intention to render contemptible the government of the Reich, according to Paragraph 6, figure 1, article 2 a a 0."

How little this arch-Bismarckian measure harmonizes with the clamours of the Stalinists about the "Trotskyist united front with Hindenburg" is self-evident....

Whatever the official reasons given for the suppression, it is a fact that the increased activity of the Left Opposition in Germany, as well as the generally acknowledged growth of popularity of the views expressed on the German situation by the Opposition and by comrade Trotsky in particular, have not given the erstwhile Prussian barons who are in power any cause for remaining inactive.

Although the suppression of *Die Permanente Revolution* has been a severe blow to our German comrades, it has nevertheless just been found possible to issue the district paper of the Saxon organization, *Der Rote Kurier*, which formerly appeared in mimeographed form, in printed form, as the "Information Paper of the Left Opposition of the German Communist Party (Bolshevik-Leninists) and the Left Party Faction Within the G. O. P. (Saxon District)". This paper is being distributed on a national scale.

Indo-China Militants Held

L'Humanite, official organ of the French Communist Party, is once again hiding the truth from its readers. Once more it is trying to draw a veil over the Left Opposition's activities in the class struggle, to keep the workers from knowing the truth about the suppressions undergone by the International Left Opposition in the course of its revolutionary advances. This time the silence of the Stalinists is more damning than ever: Fifteen militant Oppositionists of Saigon, Indo-China have been thrown in jail for leading the fight against French imperialism, a fight in which the party's role is doubly and trebly opportunist—its sole slogan being "For general amnesty!" Several weeks ago comrade Chan van Giac, secretary of the Red Aid, was sentenced to two years in prison for distributing a leaflet. But because the comrade is a "Trotskyist", the International Red Aid, which is organized to help class war prisoners regardless of political tendency, lifts not a finger in his defense.

Needle Trades Convention Gets Left

Opposition's Resolution.

Our Resolution

Presented to the Convention of the Needle Trades Industrial Union by the Needle Trades Fraction of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition).

The convention of the Industrial Union and the necessity of making adequate preparations for the coming dress strike raise once again in the most pressing manner the problem of trade union unity among the needle trades workers in general, and the Ladies' garment workers in particular. The outstanding need of the hour is the consolidation of their forces into a single organization in which the militant program and leadership of the Left wing can be fused together with the mass strength of the workers and directed effectively at the class enemy. In this question, as in all others concerning the interests of the workers, the Left wing must take the initiative and lead the way. The slogan which corresponds most directly to the requirements of the present situation, and which can move the workers more than any other, is the slogan of unity. The Industrial Union must inscribe this slogan on its banner and begin a resolute struggle for its realization.

The present division of the workers into separate organizations, with great masses unorganized and standing aside from either, plays into the hands of the bosses and their labor agents, the Right wing bureaucrats. By the division the position of the working masses is weakened and undermined. They suffer heavy encroachments on their labor conditions, wages and standards. The workers who have been forced into the Right wing union are deprived of the vitalizing influence of the Left wing and are unable to organize an effective struggle against the systematic treachery of the bureaucrats and the oppression of the bosses. On the other hand the Industrial Union, containing the most experienced and advanced militants, has been unable to mobilize a sufficient mass support to enforce its program. For this state of affairs, with all the demoralization and hardship it has brought to the workers, the boss-serving bureaucrats of the Right wing are directly responsible. It must never be forgotten that the disruption and splitting of the unions was begun by their expulsion campaigns against the Left wing and their strike-breaking attacks on the workers in collaboration with the bosses, the police and the A. P. of L. officialdom. The errors of the Left wing, however, contributed to the demoralization and facilitated the reactionary game. The sectarian policy imposed on the industrial union, and in particular the abandonment of the slogan of trade union unity, worked against the proper organization of the workers' struggle and defeated the purposes of the Left wing. It is high time now to correct these errors and to steer a new course.

One of the chief negative results of the division into rival organizations is the discouragement of wide masses of the workers in the industry and their loss of confidence in either of its reactionary leadership and policies, and the Industrial Union because of its sectarian policy and lack of mass strength to reinforce its struggles. Under other conditions these same workers, who have demonstrated their fighting qualities before, can be rallied and organized for new struggles. What is needed to revive their morale, and after that to reorganize them on a mass scale, is a sincere and genuine move for unity. In this the Left wing alone can and must take the initiative. By such a move the convention of the Industrial Union will greatly increase its influence and regain much of the prestige that has been lost by the sectarian policies and practices of the past and pave the way for a revival of the fighting spirit and organization of the needle trades masses. But it must be a real move for unity! Not a maneuver—the workers are sick of maneuvers—but a real step for the unification of forces in a single organization that will bear the stamp of genuineness on its face.

The action to be taken by the convention of the Industrial Union must proceed from a realistic appraisal of the present situation and the relation of forces. The Industrial Union must demonstrate here that it is concerned solely with the life interests of the workers; that it has no separate interests of its own and does not impose on the workers an organization fetishism; that it is not afraid to look reality in the face. This reality is the following: the flower of the needle trade militants remain faithful to the banner of the Left wing and to the Industrial Union. Its moral force in the industry, although weakened by false tactics of the leadership, remains a great and decisive factor. But it must be recognized and acknowledged that the Industrial Union did not succeed in becoming a mass organization on a scale necessary to enable it to wage a successful struggle. As a result of a combination of circumstances—the combined pressure of the bosses, police and labor

The Bureaucrats Attack

fakers, and tactical errors of the Left wing—a large section of the workers have been again pressed into right union and thousands of others have remained organized. From this it is clear that the heroic struggle of the Left wing to unite the masses into the new union—a struggle which was forced upon it in the first place by the expulsions and splitting activities of the bureaucrats—has (Continued on page 2)

Miners' Relief!

Within the span of a few brief weeks the major sections of the Illinois coal fields have become transformed into what Siberia was under the regime of the czars. In the southern part of the state the miners are compelled to go to work in the Peabody mines at the point of sheriffs' guns. Those fighting for the progressive union are ambushed. This regime has now also extended to the Taylorville region.

It is the desperate attempt of the Peabody coal company with the assistance of the Lewis machine and the state militia to break any strike against its pay cuts. But the miners of Illinois are just as militant, just as determined as at the beginning of this struggle. When pickets will stay on the picket lines without food for two days, as they have done in Taylorville, and still continue to fight, it is a battle that will not soon be over. The miners movement has been stirred to its very foundation.

There need be no doubt that they will know how to fight on. But they need the help of the whole working class. They need relief to carry on the strike. They are fighting the battle of the working class as a whole and therefore the question of what the workers in other industries will do to help them becomes a much more pressing one.

We are sure that the readers of *The Militant* will give their assistance. But it should be done in the most practical manner possible. The League has already decided to work as a unit for miners' relief, to help collect funds and clothing. We will endeavor to influence other organizations to do likewise. Our members will be active in this respect. That much we also expect from our sympathizers. We would suggest that you who read this immediately take upon yourself, in addition to what you can do directly, also to try to get others interested. Try to bring it before any workers' organization you belong to and ask your friends and comrades to do likewise. Finally we urge you to assist in this work of the organizations which have undertaken to collect funds for the Progressive Miners Relief.

All funds should be sent to the Progressive Miners of America, Gillespie, Ill.

Chen Du-Hsiu Arrested

Seven Bolshevik-Leninists Seized in Labor in Shanghai

A special cable to the New York Times of October 17 announces: "The most important Communist arrest ever made in Shanghai was carried out this morning when International Settlement police, acting on warrants issued by Chinese authorities, raided secret Communist headquarters and seized Chen Du-hsiu, secretary general of the Chinese Communist party, and six co-workers and confiscated a mass of documents and records."

The reference is obviously to our comrade Chen Du-hsiu, who was politically secretary of the party during the period of the revolutionary struggle of 1925, 1927 and who subsequently came to the conclusion, which he expressed in an open letter to the Chinese Communist, that the whole Stalin-Bucharin course during the Chinese revolution had inexorably driven the movement to its catastrophe. In that letter, he voiced his agreement with the standpoint of comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Founder of the Communist movement in China though he was, the Stalinists promptly expelled him from the party and sought to make him the scapegoat for the disastrous policy of the Comintern leaders. In the official literature he has since been denounced as a "counter-revolutionist."

At the last conference where the three Left Opposition groups in China were united, comrade Chen was elected to a prominent post. The white terror of Chiang Kai-Shek was immediately unleashed upon the young Opposition movement in a raid at which several members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists were arrested. At that time it was reported that comrade Chen was among the victims, but the information proved to be unfounded. It now appears from the Times account that in alliance with the police the foreign counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie has finally arrested Chen Du-hsiu together with six other comrades.

The Bureaucrats Attack

We go to press too early to enable us to give our readers a full report and analysis of the national convention of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union which is taking place as we write in New York. But we print below the resolution presented to the convention in the name of the needle trades fraction of the Communist League of America (Opposition). As was easily to be foreseen, the whole convention is now revolving around this resolution, if only because it has no really firm axis of its own. But there is more to say for it than that: the analysis made of the situation in the industry and the relationships of forces between the Right wing and the Left wing, together with the concrete proposals we advance in the resolution to make it possible for the Left wing to emerge from the blind alley into which the Stalinist course has led it—these are matters which so vitally concern the next future of the movement in the needle trades that the bureaucratic managers of the convention can no longer ignore them.

The convention thus far has been silent, on the floor, and hushy, on platform. As we go to press, not one of the rank and file delegates has yet spoken, even though the recently returned "president", Hyman, has attempted—in his own words—to provoke a discussion from the floor. One after another, the official union spokesmen have occupied the time of the convention with the customary absurdities on the "successes", plus the equally customary, and equally absurd, "self-criticism". Stachel, the representative of the T. U. U. L., centered his principal fire upon the "resolution of the Trotskyites", and thus set the tone for the rest of the irresponsible convention bosses. However, the slanders and misrepresentations of the Stalinists will not succeed in covering up the deep, open wounds inflicted upon the needle trades Left wing movement by the disastrous policies they have pursued, against which the Left Opposition has conducted a persistent and systematic struggle for a correct line which is summed up in our resolution. No objective consideration of our analysis and proposals can be looked for from the Hyman, Golds and Stachels. But we are confident that the thinking militants in the movement will seriously reflect upon the situation and draw the conclusions that flow inevitably from it.

ADDRESS:

FOR THE MILITANT AND THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE,
126 East 16th Street
FOR PIONEER PUBLISHERS,
84 East 10th Street

Chen Du-Hsiu Arrested

Seven Bolshevik-Leninists Seized in Labor in Shanghai

The meager reports which penetrate through to us from the illegality in which our Chinese comrades are compelled to operate, indicate that the activities of the Bolshevik-Leninists, in spite of the terror of the bourgeoisie and the violence of the Stalinists, are on the increase. The raid just carried out is objective testimony to the progress being made and the fear it arouses among the bourgeoisie.

We await with great anxiety a more detailed and authoritative report from our Chinese comrades about the fate of the arrested Bolsheviks.

In the meanwhile, we ask: "Will the International Labor Defense in this country, and the Red Aid movement internationally, continue to maintain the same disgraceful silence and indifference towards the arrest of our seven Chinese comrades as it has manifested in the cases of so many other Opposition fighters who have been arrested in the United States, Belgium, Spain, Greece, Indo-China and elsewhere?"

The Daily Worker, taking the Times report without realizing that the Stalinist bosses expelled comrade Chen two years ago as a "counter-revolutionist", first informed its readers on the front page about the arrest of the "general secretary of the party". The next day, on page 3, it made good its "mistake" by pointing out with triumphant relief that it was not the party's secretary who had been seized, but a "Trotskyist renegade". Accordingly, this relieves them of all responsibility in the matter, and makes unnecessary the appeal they made on the first day that the workers of the entire world should protest vigorously against the new crime of the Chiang Kai-Shek terror. With the lives of seven revolutionists in danger—if they are still alive—the blind factional callousness of the Stalinists can be stigmatized only as a despicable crime. We do not believe that the class conscious fighters will condone such mendacious