

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
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.

Chen Du-Hsiu's Trotsky Sails for Denmark Life in Danger

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 Browners 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)

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, unspicable 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 disappointment 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.

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 stave the tide of working class protest. Like King Canute of old who tried to stave 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)

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.

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 discontent of the masses was reflected only in the very thinnest 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 elections 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. To socialists 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.

Chicago Grets 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 unite 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 un-

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OPEN FORUM

America's Role in the Coming Period

Speaker: ARNE SWABECK

Friday, NOVEMBER 25, 1932

126 East 16 Street, near Irving Place

ADMISSION: 15c

Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

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 4.9 million tons of cast iron instead of 7.9 million set by the plan; 5.3 million tons of steel instead of the 8.8 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 steel. 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 defec-

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