

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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FOUR YEARS!

Trotsky Greeted Militant

The Revolutionary Kernel Is Assembling Around Opposition

To the Editors of the Militant.
Dear Friends:

I fear that my greetings to the fourth anniversary of the Militant will arrive a little late. But my greetings are none the less hearty because of it. All our friends on this side of the ocean value highly the work which you have carried on during this long, and yet short, period.

Can we consider ourselves satisfied with the results of our work? Of course, this question concerns not only the United States but also all the other countries in which our adherents live and struggle. To answer this question is not so simple. As yet, the Left Opposition has nowhere become a mass movement. But it has assembled the revolutionary kernel which knows what it wants. Precisely in this field are the achievements of the Militant greatest. Not so long ago the Right Opposition in a number of countries seemed to be much stronger and more deserving of attention than the Left. From the very outset, we were of the opinion that the Right wing group will experience an evolution towards the social democracy; giving up some of its elements to us and some to official Centrism. The developments of the last year have completely confirmed this prognosis. In Germany, the Brandlinites have split, a considerable minority to the Socialist Workers Party, which means to the Left social democracy. In Czechoslovakia, the Right Opposition went over to the social democracy; the minority, with the revolutionary elements, under the leadership of comrade Neurath, joined us. In Switzerland the Right Opposition is coming closer to the social democracy while among the better section of the workers sympathies are growing towards the Left Opposition. As far as can be judged from here, the Lovestone group in America can hardly boast of any successes. Their official organ, in the first place, is characterized by confusion. These people do not know what they want and are scarcely capable of foreseeing what shore they will be washed upon by the first strong wave.

In the camp of official Communism, confusion of no lesser degree. The resolutions of the Twelfth Plenum of the ECCI offer a terrible testimonial of poverty which the leadership of the Comintern issued to itself. In spite of the exceptional conditions of the economic crisis and a complete international impasse of imperialism, Communism barely

moves ahead. In some countries (Germany, Bulgaria), it registers certain purely parliamentary successes, which do not, however, correspond in any way to the scope of the social crisis. In other countries, Communism retreats before the social democracy on every field of the working class movement (France, Czechoslovakia). In all countries without exception, the cadres of official Communism are most dissatisfied, disoriented, split into separate inimical groups.

The condition of the party apparatus in the USSR bears a most menacing character. No one really trusts the leadership there and the leadership has completely lost all faith in itself. Everything that the party contains of thinking revolutionary elements, is turning towards the Left Opposition. The forces on which Stalin based himself in the struggle against us, are turning over more towards the Thermidor. The situation in the Soviet Union is an extremely difficult one. In the political chaos to which the Centrist bureaucracy has brought the party, only the Left Opposition knows what it wants.

The political life of the United States is clearly approaching a turning point. Within the near future it will become clear that when Heraclitus the Dark said, "Everything flows, everything changes", he had in mind also the republic of Hoover-Roosevelt. Old traditions, conceptions, prejudices, will go by the board. Through a period of ideological chaos and stress, the classes in American society will create for themselves a new modern ideology. A strong revolutionary kernel, welded by a uniformity of doctrine and political method, will be called upon in such a period to play a great role. The creation of such a kernel is the achievement of the Militant. So much the heartier is my greeting.

—L. TROTSKY.
Prinkipo, November 1, 1932.

OPEN FORUM

Congress and the War Debts

Speaker:
HUGO OEHLER
Friday, December 2, 1932
126 East 16 Street,
ADMISSION: 15c
Auspices:
N. Y. Br. Communist League of America
(Opposition)

Call the Scottsboro Conferences!

As day after day passes, the great opportunity to mobilize the masses of the working class to demand the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, which the Supreme Court decision gave to the Communist party, is slipping away. All eyes were on the party and the I. L. D. when the decision was handed down. The workers expected that the party would give the signal for an even greater struggle. As yet there is no struggle, and no call to build one. Are the workers to be disappointed? The answer rests with the party.

What is the reason that the party does not issue the call for united front conferences of workers' organizations? Why do they hold back?

What is there to be gained by this delay? The new trials will be held in March. No time must be lost in building a fighting movement of the black and white workers to give a great force to the legal arguments which the I. L. D. lawyers will make in the courtroom in the Spring. That is the way the working class wins its "law cases".

Every worker inside the party and outside must now raise his voice in comradesly criticism of the party for this harmful delay and urge it to issue the call for united front conferences on a national scale. Let us proceed at once to forge the weapons which can accomplish the freedom of these boys and strengthen our fight against all class persecution.

A SHANGHAI REPORT OF COM. CHEN'S ARREST

The letter below, which we have just received from our comrade in Shanghai, will serve also as a reply to the vicious police article which appeared on the question of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu a few days ago in the Daily Worker. The article of the Shanghai correspondent of the Worker, if it had any meaning at all, might have been written in the chancellor of Chiang Kai-Shek. It announced that our comrade Chen was merely going to Nanking to "interview Chiang Kai-Shek". In China, such "interviews" have a murderous meaning; the word is the cynical expression used to signify that a revolutionist is being sent to his death. The

Stalinist crime in this case lies in the fact that they are not only surrendering our noted revolutionist to the Kuo Min Tang assassins without joining in our protest, but are actually covering up the black butchers by disseminating the malicious lie that comrade Chen has been sent under military escort to... "interview Chiang Kai-Shek." "Interventions" revolutionist can remain silent in the face of this horrible piece of Stalinist police work. Demand your voice in protest and raise that party and the I. L. D. act to remove the stain they have cast on the Communist movement!—Ed.

SHANGHAI—

On October 15, the Kuo Min Tang government and British imperialism dealt a heavy blow to the Chinese section of the International Left Opposition Comrade Chen Du-Hsiu was arrested, and other arrests and raids continued for about three days. Twelve comrades were taken altogether, among them four members of the Central Committee, the rest being functionaries and technical workers. This came about, just as in May 1931, as a result of betrayal, of which there has been an epidemic in these last two years, in the official party as well as in the Left Opposition. For example, in Nanking, responsible workers went to the authorities to betray all the other comrades, so that over 30 comrades were shot. In some local organizations, the party secretary has handed to the police the other party workers. As for us, our best comrades, six of whom are members of the Central Committee, two of May arrests in 1931 took away many of them already dead in prison. The second betrayal followed in August 1931, in which five comrades, one of them a C. C. member, were arrested. There were also several individual arrests made this year.

But this time the loss to us is infinitely greater. Now nearly the whole C. C. (except for two worker-comrades) has been put in prison and you can well imagine the consequences.

Bourgeois Jubilant

The arrest of comrade Chen has called forth, both in the imperialist and in the Chinese bourgeois press a satisfaction and a wild joy. The Shanghai Times speaks of him as "the father of Communism in China". The Chinese bourgeois press speaks of his arrest as "the most important case since the drive against Communism started". Thus, in spite of the slanders of the Stalinists, in spite of the numerous arrests of Communists, the capitalist press still regards the arrest of comrade Chen as the most important one since 1927.

The Chinese Communist Party is dejected. Nobody, not even in the party ranks, knows the party leader or leaders. Several months ago, I learned that

the general secretary of the party is a youth named C. whom I knew well. He is of student origin, sent to Moscow at the end of 1926 to study as a member of the Y. C. I. First as student and then as interpreter, he remained in Moscow until 1929 or 1930, joined the party there and in 1932 he becomes the general secretary of a party which claims hundreds of thousands of members. There is nothing strange in it; he attained the post simply because he is the puppet of the Stalinist specialist on China, Miff. The party's old leaders have either gone into the "Soviet and Red Army districts", occupying posts as "people's commissars", there, or have simply been removed from responsible work, like Strakhov, or have been expelled from the party. The party is physically exterminated under the "leadership" of such Moscow students who are only capable of obeying and transmitting instructions from the Comintern to the lower organizations, and carrying on intrigues against their adversaries. Thus, a comrade in the high leading party organs once told me that the members of the Political Bureau show absolutely no initiative in the work, but only do what they are ordered. One of our own comrades from Hongkong, who just came out of prison, told me the following: in prison he met a responsible party worker who informed him that in Canton there are not even Communist elements, and in Hongkong there are only two party nuclei which consist exclusively of functionaries sent from outside by the party. Communist ideas not only cease to penetrate into the masses but they even lose their hold on the old party members. Some vie with each other in delivering their own comrades to the police: others have recanted and re-entered the Kuo Min Tang to receive jobs there.

Chiang's "Blue Shirts"

Meanwhile, Chiang Kai-Shek has found a new orientation for his policies. He no longer feels able to control the heterogeneous K. M. T. effectively and has therefore organized a Fascist organization for himself, the so-called "Blue Shirts Association". In actuality, the

Marchers Advance To Demand Relief

Broad, Militant Movement Can Win for Unemployed

Delegates of the national unemployed hunger march are converging upon Washington to demonstrate at the opening of the coming short session of Congress. They are going to demonstrate to give a great emphasis to the need for working class relief. They are the advance guard in a struggle which, of necessity, must develop into much larger proportions. Every ounce of working class energy should therefore be thrown into the scale to support this demonstration.

These hunger marchers represent something very real regardless of their present limited credentials. They represent millions of workers thrown onto the social scrap heap by a protracted and growing unemployment crisis. No security whatever for these millions has so far been provided by those who, today, rule us all. On the contrary, the changing economic structure of the country works in the opposite direction. Today, decaying capitalism throughout the world, transforms millions of workers into hungry, homeless tramps. And it is an important sign for the future when especially in the United States a section of them clearly show that they chose not to submit, but prefer the road of fighting resistance. In this sense the hunger march is a great harbinger of the future. But so far it represents directly only the militant working class section.

In a small measure the hunger march is another test to decide the future direction of working class struggle. Reform or revolution. This test will have an influence on the coming decision which the class must make. But it is also a test of policy which, in the end, will determine our success and victory. It is not the revolutionists alone who are recorded in favor of unemployment relief. The distinction between the reformists and revolutionists cannot be made that way, as the official party leaders have so often attempted to do; nor in the amount of dollars and cents demanded for relief, as they have also done. The reformist leaders of the Socialist party long ago, began speaking for the needs of the unemployed, for relief, for a measure of security through unemployment insurance. Now even the A. F. of L. leaders speak in favor of a system of unemployment insurance. But actual struggle

for its attainment is the test of the sincerity of these proposals. There has not been one step taken or proposed by the Socialist party leaders, nor, of course, by the A. F. of L. hierarchy, to obtain this mere reform measure. These elements are bitterly hostile to hunger marches and to any fighting demonstration for relief. Is not this the surest proof of their game of deception?

Actual relief can be won only by a determined fight against the opposition of the capitalist rulers, and we are here confining ourselves solely to the question of amelioration of unemployment, and not speaking at all of its solution. In this determined fight the national hunger march plays its important part. Moreover, when correctly pursued it can, in a measure, become one of the stepping stones toward reaching the revolutionary solution of the unemployment problem.

But to have any significance at all in this respect and to really play an important part in the struggle for relief such hunger marches must become an expression of the working mass as a whole, not merely of one small section. The workers under social reformist influence should be drawn in. The workers of the A. F. of L. and all unions should be drawn in. Most certainly the success of efforts in that direction will determine the success in getting relief for the class as a whole. This was very clearly demonstrated in Chicago where the official Communist party, despite its present false views of the united front policy attained a great temporary success.

It is party leaders, are the A. F. of L. leaders to be allowed to record themselves formally in favor of relief without being formally, in reality and in every other respect, put to the test in the struggle which is necessary to obtain relief? The official party has nothing to gain from confining the unemployment demonstrations to the section of the working class which it influences or controls. On the contrary, it must take the opposite road. The way to do that is through the united front policy which brings the workers' organizations together, with their leaders, or in spite of their leaders, in unity of action for specific objectives.

—A. S.

Fight for Left Opposition Proposals in Pittsburgh Hunger March Conference

PITTSBURGH—

Friday evening, Nov. 11, the United Front Hunger March Conference of Pittsburgh was held at Walton Hall. According to the report of the credentials committee, 69 delegates representing 22 organizations were present. The report said these organizations were such as the I.L.D., the IWO and also mumbled something about A. F. of L. locals.

But the names of the organizations were not given. From the faces of those present, it was, however, easy to ascertain that the vast majority were party members or members of organizations directly controlled by the party. Aside from the two delegates of the Communist League (Opposition) we know of only the two delegates of a single Unemployed Citizens Committee (Musteite?) as being non-party workers in attendance there. This is sufficient to characterize the "united front" nature of the conference as well as the new and latest turn toward "genuine united front" made by the recent Stalinist plenums on a national as well as on an international scale. Characteristic also of the caricature "united front" was the fact that in this heart of the steel industry the "representative of the steel workers" was a frail girl comrade, who herself told us that she comes from—the Hill Section, that well-known citadel of steel production.... She was the delegate of the party's Steel and Metal Workers Union, the only one to speak in its name at the conference.

The Left Opposition Takes the Floor After two very matter of fact reports, dealing with practical directives rather than with the outline of a political program of action, by comrades Kearns and Myerscough, discussion was opened. The discussion dragged along at a slow tempo for about half an hour, the participants dealing with minor questions, which though important in themselves, were in place at practical committee meetings rather than at a united front conference. It was not until the delegates of the Left Opposition took the floor that the conference became alive mainly due to the anxiety of the party bureaucrats to drown out the Leninist united front proposals of the Opposition.

Comrade Gordon took the floor for the Communist League of America (Opposition) and in the brief time allotted to him greeted the conference in the name of our organization, pledged support to its work and outlined in concise form the

Leninist united front policy of the Left Opposition on the unemployment question. After criticizing the official reporter for not drawing the highly important lessons of the Chicago hunger march, explaining the latter and calling for their application in Pittsburgh, the delegate from the League closed with a presentation of the unemployment platform of the Leninist Opposition (immediate relief, supplemented with the demands for unemployment insurance, the six-hour day without reduction in pay, long term credits to the Soviet Union, etc.). He repeated the pledge of loyal cooperation with the conference and its committee, in spite of differences in policy, and took his seat amid vigorous applause from the other delegates.

Immediately, the party fraction started with its organized attack. A certain Menken made himself ridiculous with the charge that the Opposition wanted to cooperate with the treacherous Bill Green and by slinging with some assigne slanders about the local group. A whole string of others followed with the same

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What Do the Communists Say About Mr. Duranty and Comrade Stalin?

There is no capitalist newspaper correspondent in the world today more authoritative and accurate in reporting the standpoint of the central Stalinist leadership than Mr. Walter Duranty, the highest paid foreign correspondent in the world, stationed in Moscow for years. What he writes about Russia in the conventional language of the bourgeois press is a faithful copy of what is generally left half-said or unsaid by the decisive Stalin staff.

We have pointed this out on many occasions in these columns and it has become a commonplace in the radical movement. The only ones who still deny it feverishly (and always with that hollow formality which conveys rather than the conviction of the editors of the Daily Worker). The division of labor still operative in the Stalinist machine does not permit them to acknowledge what is apparent to a child, for to do so would explode too many fictitious denials. The untrustworthiness of the Stalin staff, is confirmed by the fall-

ure of the local Stalinists to meet our challenge, i. e., to deny that Duranty's dispatches to the New York Times are used as the basis for countless "re-writes" in the Daily Worker office, which finally make their bow as "special correspondence from Moscow." It is quite well known in informed party circles (we know it from personal observation for weeks on end) that the Duranty dispatch of the morning usually re-appear in more "orthodox" language in the following day's issue of the central party organ.

If for no other reason, then, the most recent of Duranty's sensationalist dispatches are of more than ordinary interest to the Communist workers. If you want to know what is really happening in the cabinets of the Kremlin, what is really going on in the minds of Stalin & Co. (not what they say on holiday occasions), pay close attention to the informed reports of Mr. Duranty, which are read with equal avidity by the State Department officials and the members of the Central Committee of our Communist Party.

In the Times of December 20, 1932, Duranty, referring to two editorials in Pravda, official organ of the Russian party, which "throw new and interesting light on the Soviet attitude toward foreign labor unrest", remarks:

"The earlier editorial for the first time announced clearly what has become known as the Stalinist (Attention, Messrs. Lovestone and Co.—S.) doctrine—that a successful Socialist State can be established in the USSR irrespective of what happens abroad.... The editorial did not specifically disavow so-called Bolshevik propaganda—that would be too much to expect (As yet?—S.)—but made it clear that the establishment of a Socialist State in the USSR had replaced propaganda as a means and a purpose of the Kremlin policy....

As to the second editorial, Duranty writes, "the Kremlin fears the danger of war is now so great in Europe, especially Germany, that even the gains—from the Bolshevik point of view—of a social revolution disappear in comparison

with the danger of war or become actually undesirable because any grave social disturbance at the present juncture might provoke war. No other interpretation of the two Pravda editorials is possible save this strange paradox—that the Bolshevik Kremlin today regards the growth of the revolutionary movement in Europe with real anxiety."

Two days later, Mr. Duranty continues with his instructive revelations, still in the same key: "If peace can be maintained the Soviet government is confident the difficulties will be overcome and that a year or two will bring comparatively smooth sailing (Duranty's translation of Stalin-Molotov-Radetsk's "classless socialist society"—S.), but a disturbance now would be little short of disastrous. More than any country in the world the Soviet Union today finds peace desirable and almost necessary."

"For this reason a grave revolutionary outbreak in Germany or elsewhere looms

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with the danger of war or become actually undesirable because any grave social disturbance at the present juncture might provoke war. No other interpretation of the two Pravda editorials is possible save this strange paradox—that the Bolshevik Kremlin today regards the growth of the revolutionary movement in Europe with real anxiety."

The need for such united front action has existed for a long time. It was not brought about because of the opposition of the Communist party and the Socialist party. The Socialist party refused to participate in united front actions because they did not want to join in struggle with the Communist party, because they fear real struggles of the masses, because their role in the workers movement is in reality to check the militancy of the working class. The party, whose duty it was in the very beginning and at all times to initiate such united front action, was bound hand and foot by its stupid, sectarian policy of the "united front from below". This policy, based on the false conception of social Fascism, which ascribed to all other organizations and their membership a "counter-revolutionary" role, resulted in conferences organized by the party which brought to it only party organizations and party members, but no broad masses of non-

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