

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Police Attack Hunger Army

As we go to press, latest reports tell us that the hunger march is converging upon its destination—Washington, D. C. From the four corners of the United States caravans of unemployed men and women are moving towards the capital to raise their voices in the powerful resounding cry for relief and insurance for the jobless, hunger-stricken millions. Congress which opens its sessions on Dec. 5 will do all in its power to misdirect the burning needs of the masses with a gaseous debate upon whether they will be able to drown out the hunger and privation of the unemployed army by raising the alcoholic content of beer. The legislature of well-fed and smugly satisfied flunkies opens tomorrow—for the master. But the usual tranquility will no longer prevail. For through the cracks and crevices, the open windows and the open doors, there will echo a mighty shout of the hunger march that is determined to have its demands heard.

In spite of the mocking stories, in which the bought press has done everything possible to ridicule and discredit the hunger march the capitalist class is hardly so fearful or at ease. On the contrary, so fearful are they of the effects the hunger army might have upon the disoriented working class back home that they are ready at a moment's notice to abrogate the much vaunted democratic right—the right of redress and peaceful petitioning. All vacations and leaves for the Washington police force have been rescinded, and this veritable army of more than 5,000 bluecoats stand ready to answer the demands of the unemployed with police batons, tear gas and bullet. A word from Hoover and the standing army goes into action. The Executive Committee of the ruling class wants no repetition of the bonus army experience last summer.

Orders have issued from Washington for all state and city governments to use all means at their disposal "to discourage the hunger march." In compliance with this order dozens of cities have refused to shelter, let alone to feed the jobless army, in spite of the obvious empty armories and public buildings. Clashes between marchers and police have already taken place in Chester, Pa., and Wilmington, Del. In Cumberland, Md., the National Guard has been called into action to prevent the marchers from passing through the city!

Today's newspapers inform us that if the hunger army is too persistent, blood will flow on the streets of Washington. By this statement they unwittingly fix the responsibility for any bloodshed clearly upon the shoulders of the capitalist government in Washington. It also reveals so that no one can possibly misunderstand just what the attitude of the twin flunkies of the two parties of the boss class, stripped of the glowing campaign promises, is towards the unemployed millions. Bullets to those who want bread! But despite all these repressive measures the voice of the hunger marchers will be heard! The cry for relief and insurance will rise higher. Whatever happens in Washington—peace or bloodshed—the movement of the jobless will grow bigger, its voice more determined, its ranks firmer. The hunger march is but one small step that will finally lead towards the destruction of the system of misery and starvation.

It only remains for the Communists to enlarge the present narrow movement by the united front of all labor organizations until its power becomes irresistible.

The Stalinists and Trotsky's Radio Speech to America

The Stalinist press has developed a furious rage over the speech on the Russian revolution delivered by comrade Trotsky over the radio network arranged by an American company. The stream of calumny and abuse which are constantly on tap in the Stalinist editorial rooms for the special purpose of slandering the Opposition, were unleashed this time also. An identical editorial in the *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit* is filled with this stereotyped calumny. According to the hired scribblers of the apparatus, Trotsky's speech was delivered in collaboration with British imperialism, which controls the Danish government and is making good use of the "counter-revolutionist" to "poison the workers" against the U. S. S. R. Just how much credence can be put in the maliciously deliberate lies of the Stalinists, will be seen by reading the transcript of Trotsky's speech which we print below. But aside from that, the Stalinists have still failed to answer the embarrassing questions we have not

ceased to put to them. Why has every important government in Europe consistently refused to grant comrade Trotsky a visa which would enable him to take up residence in the country? Why have bourgeois republicans, yellow social democrats of all wings, reactionists and "enlightened" monarchists—in a word, all the governments to which application was made—met the request for asylum with such a united front of NO! Why has only one country permitted him to stay within its borders—reactionary Turkey, and that only by secret agreement with Stalin? Why did Czechoslovakia, where the latest attempt was made (and gave the Stalinists the occasion for their somewhat "premature" cries about the "united front between the Skoda works, French imperialism and Trotsky"), finally refuse the visa which it "promised"—if Trotsky would refrain from revolutionary action.

To answer these questions would indicate where the real united front lies. It consists in the tacit agree-

ment arrived at between the Stalinist apparatus in the U. S. S. R. on the one hand, and the bourgeois governments of the entire world on the other, to keep comrade Trotsky a prisoner in Turkey for the rest of his life. The visit to Denmark is a purely episodic interruption of this impenetrable "generosity" granted by the Danish social democracy because of the insignificance of the Communist movement and as a demagogic display of adherence to the principle of the right of political asylum.... for three months.

The speech delivered over the radio for fifteen minutes by comrade Trotsky, is reprinted here as it was received. In some parts, unfortunately, we were unable to establish the text with complete accuracy and the doubtful sections are indicated by three periods. While it is essentially correct, it should be read with that reservation in mind. Its condensed nature was, of course, conditioned by the brevity of the time allotted for the speech.

Extracts from the Speech

I will make an attempt to give the American radio audience a short exposure of my lecture on the Russian revolution. This, in two senses, is a daring enterprise. The limits of time are too narrow, and my English—my poor English—is in no proportion to my admiration for Anglo-Saxon culture. I

Delivered by Leon Trotsky and Broadcast from Copenhagen

believe your indulgence all the more since it is the first time I am addressing an audience in English.

What question does the Russian revolution raise in the mind of thinking man? First, why at all did this revolution take place? And, second, has the revolution stood the test? The fact that the proletariat reached power for the first time in such a backward country as czarist Russia seems mysterious only at first glance. In reality it is wholly in accord with its historical background. It could have been predicted, and it was predicted. Still more, on the basis of that prediction the revolutionists built up the strategy long before the deciding event.

Permit me to quote here a passage from a work of mine in 1906. I quote: "In an economically backward country, the proletariat can come to power sooner than in the economically advanced countries. The Russian revolution, in our opinion, creates such conditions under which the power can pass over to the proletariat (and with a victorious revolution it must) even before the policy

anything less than stupid and ridiculous. When a leadership fails to understand the stage and tempo of the revolutionary struggle, it understands nothing in the world. From the speeches of the workers, one gets a vivid impression of the militancy and the revolutionary strength latent in the American proletariat, waiting to be brought forward by a policy and leadership that will release it into active and intelligent channels of the class struggle. There is naturally confusion in their ranks, but they know what they want and they know that in order to get what they want they must fight. And they are willing to fight and to sacrifice. It only remains to show them the right road, to tell them how to fight.

To many of us who listened to these speeches of the workers, not unmixed with petty bourgeois confusion, it is true, the introduction of the section organizer of the Communist party appeared to come as a relief. Now we would hear a real Communist speech and all the confusion and errors would be cleared up. To our consternation, this individual piled confusion on top of confusion and it was left to us to admit that the most inexcusably stupid speech of the entire conference was made by the party's organizer, the vanguard of the proletariat.

Are the contradictions of capitalism and the problems of the working class arising out of them to be solved by the simple process of a parliamentary contest? Apparently so, since this Stalinist tells us that not only are we going to struggle now, but that when the spring elections come, the City Hall fakers will be turned on the streets. This assertion met with tumultuous applause, despite the fact that it was presented as the culmination and most important result of the movement!

Nor was this bolstering up of parliamentary illusions all. Together with this Right wing tendency, was the equally stupid Leftist solution of other "responsible" party spokesmen.

The conference was a success in spite of the leadership. Its results will be shown in the only field where the workers can effectively make progress—in the field of actual struggle. It is here that the workers will learn, and not merely from speeches and declarations. The Left Opposition is small here, but in spite of its numerical weakness, it will give these activities its fullest support.

MIMEOGRAPH WANTED

Any comrade a friend who has a mimeographing machine, in good condition, for sale at a low price, is urged to get in touch with George J. Papcun, 2224 1-2 Rockingham Road, Davenport, Iowa.

CELEBRATE NEW YEAR'S EVE

with the
Communist League of America
at
126 East 16 Street,
Watch for further announcement

Conference Seats St. Louis Opposition

ST LOUIS.—

More than 500 delegates representing 65 organizations (together with unattached delegates), attended the united front conference called by the Unemployed Councils for November 20 in St. Louis. The Communist League of America (Opposition), St. Louis branch, sent delegates and they were seated. (Question to the party bureaucrats: Why were our delegates seated in St. Louis and excluded in New York?—Ed.) Our comrades were elected on the Resolutions Committee and also on the Committee to see Mayor Miller to present the demands of the Conference. (We were also elected on the Committee of 25 to be known as the "United Front Committee".)

In so far as the conference reflected the growing militancy and determination of the masses to struggle against the brutal offensive of the capitalist class, it was a success. The mood was indeed a fighting one—a mood which with the proper policies and tactics, with a correct theoretical analysis of the task of the revolutionary party, could be utilized to bring many of them to the banner of Communism. For this, a whole series of questions must first be made clear to the workers. Lenin said about a period in the Russian revolution, that "the masses are a thousand times to the Left of us", and the conference revealed a somewhat similar situation. When one sees "Leftism" among the masses, one is not surprised but pleased, even if they may be far more to the Left than the possibilities, arising out of the objective conditions, warrant. But when this ultra-Leftist position passes over and finds unmeasured expression on the lips of the leadership, it cannot be characterized as

A Reply from Shanghai to the Stalinists Slanders on Chen Du-Hsiu's Arrests

SHANGHAI.—

From the Reuter News Agency you have probably heard some news about the Chinese Opposition. But while some of it is right, there is a good deal of untruth in the reports.

Since the organization of the Blue Shirt Society, nearly all the students from the Moscow Sun Yat Sen University have concentrated in it. They learned many things in the USSR, especially from the GPU, and they are using it faithfully, especially to strengthen Chiang Kai-Shek. According to an official report, the students misdeceived by the Stalinists number about 500. Their only task is to arrest Communists and destroy the Communist organizations. They have spread to all the important provinces of China, but their main strength is in Shanghai.

The leader of this group is Koo Song Chong (the head of the special detachment of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921) and Ma Yu Fu (a former member of the Central Committee who quit it three months after Koo.) They not only arrest Communists, but spend a great deal of money to buy up Communist militants who have a tendency to grumble. In this way, they go to the private secretary of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, by the name of Sie Su San. He is also one of the returned students from the Sun Yat Sen University. Sie told the Kuo Min Tang where comrade Chen's home was located—he being the only one who was placed. Hence, comrade Chen was ar-

rested on September 16, at a moment when he was very sick. Right after that, other militants of our Central Committee were arrested, including the famous party organizer, comrade Pan Fu-Tzu.

According to a report, Sie received 100,000 silver dollars for his work from Chiang Kai-Shek. The prisoners number nearly 30, and all the organs are destroyed.

On October 30, comrade Chen and the others were transferred to Nanking, the capital of the Kuo Min Tang government. Reuter and other news agencies declared that Chen had requested the Kuo Min Tang to take him to talk directly with Chiang about the Trotskyist movement in China. Though this rumor was refuted three days later, the Stalinists and the other anti-Communist forces continue to use this lie to fight the Opposition.

The first wave of arrests is over but the second and more extensive wave of persecution is being prepared.

The Stalinists are cynical about this loss to the forces of the revolutionary movement. They tell the Chinese workers that the Trotskyists are anti-revolutionary, that our organization is the "Left wing of the bourgeoisie." They declare that Chen Du-Hsiu's arrest is not a blow to the Chinese revolution but a matter of indifference to it. But our comrades are fighting the persecutions and looking for aid from the workers in other countries.

October 20, 1932. —H.

Delivered by Leon Trotsky and Broadcast from Copenhagen

believe your indulgence all the more since it is the first time I am addressing an audience in English.

I quote this passage to show that the theory of the Russian revolution which we advocated, preceded the October revolution by a long time.

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Arrest 2 Pittsburgh Oppositionists

PITTSBURGH.—

Two militant Left Oppositionists were arrested here last night following a mass meeting conducted by the Pittsburgh branch of the Communist League (Opposition). They have been officially charged with violating some city ordinance by spreading printed matter calling for support of the Hunger March to Washington. The meeting had been called as part of the Communist League's participation in the Unemployed United Front movement here.

The two arrested workers, comrades Pete Vonvas and Nick Lepis, have been sentenced to the workhouse without trial and are being held incommunicado at the Allegheny County penitentiary in Blaw Knox.

The International Labor Defense, although offering technical aid, has refused the request of a representative of the Communist League (Opposition), to appeal the sentence. George Martin, District Organizer of the I. L. D. explained that his organization does not pay fines as a matter of policy and considered an appeal inadvisable for reasons not stated.

YOUTH DEBATE

This coming Saturday, December 10, at 8:30 P. M. in the Labor Temple big hall the Young Spartacus Youth Club of New York will debate the Young Peoples' Socialist League on the question: **Communism vs. Socialism—which program for the working class?**

The Yipsels will be represented by Gus Tyler; the Spartacus Youth Club by Joe Carter. Last spring a similar debate was held. Those who came late will remember that they had to stand. Come early. The admission is only fifteen cents.

Opposition Ejected from Conference on Hunger March in New York

NEW YORK.—

The Joint Committee for Support of the National Hunger March which held its final ratification conference last Sunday at the Irving Plaza Hall, denied the delegation from the Communist League of America (Opposition) the right to participate in the Hunger March to Washington. This conference particularly was dominated completely and mechanically by the official party bureaucrats.

With the exception of a scant dozen or two from the Left wing A. F. L. locals, the composition of the delegates was overwhelming from the TUUL unions and the fraternal and sympathetic organizations close to the party. The flophouses, municipal lodging houses and the unemployed seamen had huge delegations. The Communist party itself was conspicuous by its absence. It had likewise abstained at the preliminary meetings.

No Serious Front

No serious attempt was made to organize a genuine united front which would embrace all the existing organizations of the working class. The result was that the Joint Committee represented, in actuality, nobody but the party and its allied organizations. This stupid and short-sighted policy serves, as usual, to play right into the hands of the reactionaries who are happy to see the movement confined to the revolutionary vanguard, without drawing in those workers not yet within the sphere of Communist influence. The "united front" now practiced by the Stalinists is not much mor-

A. F. L. Convention Talks «Radical»

Labor Discontent Forces Lip-Service to Left Measures

Two measures of great significance were adopted at the American Federation of Labor convention just concluded at Cincinnati, Ohio. It went on record for the universal adoption, without delay, of the six-hour day and five-day week, to carry with it no reduction in pay. It endorsed with only five dissenting votes, the proposal for compulsory unemployment insurance, to be inaugurated by the various states, at the cost of the owners of industry by assessing the amount of 3 percent of their total payroll. Here we have a reversal of positions formerly held, particularly in regard to the latter proposal, with a speed which left this assemblage of portly gentlemen gasping at their own audacity.

Is A. F. of L. Leadership Turning Left

This presents a picture to our imagination of superannuated troglodytes who, when coming out from their ultra-conservative dug-out, are struck by the impact of a superior force and begin to march at a pace which leaves their whole past in the shade. The question immediately occurs to us: Is the A. F. of L. leadership turning leftward? The answer, which is an emphatic NO, must, to be complete, cover several important aspects of the present situation; but it can nevertheless be summed up under the general heading: "mass pressure". Only, and that should never be forgotten, these labor "leaders", when they move forward a few inches at a time, always in doing so, lag way behind the masses.

Basically we are confronted here with the question of the changing economic structure of capitalism in its decay stage. This is beginning to leave its marks also in the United States. We have here an army of millions of unemployed the permanent aspect of which cannot escape even the trade union upper crust. Conditions have become rotten ripe for such measures as those accepted by the A. F. of L. convention. The historic significance lies not in the fact that they were accepted at this time. It lies in the fact that they could be accepted at all in this gathering in which a genuine rank and file worker would have as little chance of getting in as the proverbial snowball in hell.

These gentlemen have been used to think that the "dole" was a sad plight of Europe alone. They denounced it at their last convention held in Vancouver a year ago. They labelled it "un-American". They have always held that the Amsterdam International was too radical. But in time they will even find out that revolutionary struggles are not confined to Europe. And that will likely dawn upon them much quicker than the snails pace at which they themselves move.

Essentially their fear of the masses moving leftward is a genuine one and compels them to move. In this sense they see the handwriting on the wall. The repercussion of the capitalist crisis has already created considerable havoc within the union ranks. There is a marked and ominous loss of membership. Whole unions have been almost wiped out under the capitalist offensive. Many members were unable to meet the inflexible heavy financial obligations imposed by the

trade union bureaucracy. Many others left in utter disgust seeing none of the working class interests protected and becoming victims of countless sell-outs. The bureaucrats fear a situation of lean treasuries. They have had to face incipient revolts in many unions against their offhand wage-cut acceptances. They have witnessed militant hunger demonstrations which by the way could often have been bigger and much more powerful if the Stalinist leaders could refrain from their blind stupidity and adopt the united front policy. There is no reason to doubt that these essentially reactionary trade union leaders understand quite well how to judge the latent forces yet dormant within the American working class which is, however, potential material for the revolutionary movement once properly aroused and properly directed.

The Fear for Safety of Capitalism

But this is only the one side of the picture. On the other hand the fear of these capitalist lieutenants for the safety of the capitalist system itself is undoubtedly equally genuine. To them the

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Greek Stalinists Fail To Meet Challenge

NEW YORK.—

The sixth issue of *Communists* that appeared on Nov. 12 contained among other articles an answer to the Stalinist slanders; also a criticism concerning the conduct of the Stalinist leadership in the Greek workers Club "Spartacus". The *Empire* attempts to evade the concrete accusations of *Communists* by resorting to the time-worn slanders against every Greek Oppositionist. About comrade Pappas they are unable themselves to fabricate any calumnies because they know very well that they are so discredited that no worker will believe them. Therefore they resorted to the assistance of the Stalinist-controlled Food Workers I. U. to get a statement in order to have a certain effect, not upon the revolutionary workers of the union who voiced their support of Pappas at their last convention, but upon those workers of far cities who are not acquainted with Pappas.

About the notorious bourgeois lackey Varssadakis, they refrain from saying anything about their support to him. About *Atlantis* the Monarchist organ which benefits by their one-sidedness not a word is mentioned either although the printers of *Atlantis* refused to accept a wage cut and have been picketing its premises for the last two weeks. Not even a strike is sufficient for the Stalinists to voice vigorously an attack against *Atlantis*. The alliance is too sacred to be broken by such an insignificant event. The first week they printed a few lines on the fifth page of the *Empire* as a news report and in their last issue they don't mention a thing about the strike but simply repeat the old fables that the *National Herald* is the only anti-labor paper and the most dangerous.

The *Atlantis* was able to appear thanks to the services of the strike-breakers Chalkopoulos and Cocoris who 6 years ago performed the same honorable job for the benefit of the *National Herald*. We have always emphasized that both papers are purely bourgeois organs and as such they don't differ an iota in their anti-labor character.

The striking printers of *Atlantis* strike by confining their activities to one shop. The A. F. L. fakers will not move one finger to assist their struggle in a substantial manner. Only a militant policy and leadership can guarantee a successful struggle. The strike must be extended to the other Greek printing plants because, as they know very well, the other scab shops assist the *Atlantis* to appear regularly. Since the Greek Stalinists are reluctant to give their support lest they will harm *Atlantis*, they must accept the support of the Left Opposition. From the A. F. L. fakers they can expect no support except friendly negotiations with the bosses of *Atlantis*.

OPEN FORUM

The Negroes in America - -
National or Proletarian
Revolution?

Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Friday, December 9, 1932
128 East 16 Street,
ADMISSION: 15c
Auspices:
N. Y. Br. Communist League of America
(Opposition)

A "Moral Committee" was appointed
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