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.

### The C.P. in the Elections

Reasons for Small Rise in Communist Vote This Year

gaged in ignoring the results of the re- blandly silent even about the word "racent presidential elections, as though the dicalization", which it never mentions, former member of the Central Executive party campaign was a mere routine mat- as if the party line had not been built Committee of the Kuo Min Tang, was ter the outcome of which is of no parti- up on this phrase for the last few years, arrested here by Settlement detectives on cular concern. To this date, there has not been a single statement from the Central Executive Committee analyzing the low Communist vote are, generally a number of raids on Communist cells the election results and summing up the speaking, based upon a strained enparty's work. The only "official" word deavor to think up something very proto be heard from the vicinity of the 13th found and complicated to explain a com-Street Sinai is the statement issued paratively simple phenomenon. The China. Eight other Chinese for whom after the elections by the party's ban- party leaders look upon the election camner-bearer, Foster, in the manner of all paign as something special, isolated, septhe defeated bourgeois candidates. Aside arated from all the other work of the from this, abysmal silence.

And there are adequate grounds for the muteness of the Stalinist chieftains. erical expression on the parliamentary reports that this or that township doubled or trebled its Communist vote (the its banner the proletarian masses all 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 sit-

crisis, in the face of genuine all-national stunts during the elections, by prominent discontentment of the masses, an inabil- candidates, leaflets, torchlight parades ity or refusal of any of the two big and the like—important and necessary bourgeois parties to cope with the burn- though they may be. It can be gained ing problem of unemployment—after all primarily and mainly in the course of this, the only proletarian political party the daily struggles in which the Comin the field is barely able to double the munists participate. extremely low vote it obtained four years

appointing vote—all other factors, like the Stalinists stand revealed as having bers of the Bureau of Public Safety disfranchizement of Negro, foreign-born barred the road to the revolutionary made a series of raids in the Settleand other workers, considered-what be- movement for tens and hundreds of thoucomes of the fantastic babblings of the sands who were being driven in that which Chen was arrested. Stalinists on the renowned "mass up- direction by the bankruptcy of the capiof the American masses? It is not for this simple, elementary lesson of the East Yuhang Road when five men were tended to say nothing—a disgraceful tinue to be impeded.

The party leaders are now busily en-| document for a Communist leader!) is

The current, unofficial explanations of party. We look upon it in the only correct and possible manner: as the numfield, which is at best a distorted and 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 Communistp arty cannot gain this After four years of an unprecedented confidence by sensational campaign

If, during these struggles, the Comcisely in such periods of crisis, when presents the interests of the proletariat, handed over to the Bureau of Public millions of workers are divorced from he will be rewarded by an expression of Safety and later transferred to Nanking industry itself and their economic power confidence in a parliamentary election. for further interrogation.... is radically diminished—that is their If the party, on the other hand, succeeds "He became a fugitive after a war ability to battle the enemy on the in- only in isolating itself from the masses rant was issued for his arrest, but his dustrial front is enfeebled-that they because of its absurd or disastrous pol-activities have never ceased, according to turn their attention to "elections". The class in the class struggle, this fact will Government officials. unusually large vote cast indicates that be reflected—as it has been—when electhe masses have by no means lost inter- tions roll around. These are axioms thorities made an application through est in parliamentary activity. Yet—the which apply—not so much (in fact, the Shanghai District Court for the ardiscontentment of the masses was re- practically not at all) to the Republicans rest of a number of Chinese wanted for flected only in the very timest dribbles so and Democrats, and very little to the Communist activities. The Special far as the Communist vote was concerned. socialists, as they do to the Communists. Branch of the S. M. P. (Settlement In the face of this unqualifiedly dis- Tested in this light, the past policies of Military Police?) in company with mem-

### Chicago Greets 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 Opposi-. . .

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 signithe organizations in an effort to bring

about a united fight in the interests of the unemployed.

The united front is a means of uniting en here from this cell.

to fight against the 50 percent reduction to unify all unemployed workers in Chicincrease and extend the relief for ALL general demands of the unemployed. Toward this aim the present organizations

Aim of United Front

all workers in a common fight against a common oppressor on an issue of ex- morning another raid was made on a treme importance to the workers. The house off Tatung Road. In a back room united front is not a permanent body in two men were found, but as soon as they which all organizations affiliated lose saw the police they jumped through an their independence and give up their separate existence. Quite the contrary, They were caught before going very far these organizations carry on their in- Literature of the usual Communist type dependent work, their right to criticism, to formulate their own opinions and ideas. The object of the united front as a result of Chen's arrest, who is is for action on one specific agreed issue. regarded as the 'father of Communism' The present united front was organized in China."

in the unemployed relief. Its object is eign imperialist press in China, not to ago to fight against this cut in relief, to has quite a different estimate of the revjobless workers andto push forward the rade Chen than have the various Browficant. It testifies to the enormous pres- must carry on a determined fight. The portance at the present moment is the N. Y. Br. Communist League of America sure of the rank and file workers upon present situation demands that this un- imminent danger to the lives of comrade (Continued on page 2)

# 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 in solence of the Stalinist leaders in this country who calumniated comrade Chen as a Kuo Min Tang agent and "counterrevolutionary 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 Peiping Government University and a Saturday night at the request of the Chinese authorities. He was taken during and has long been sought by the Government for the extensive part he played in the Communist movement throughout warrants had been issued were also apprehended and a considerable quantity of Communist literature in different languages was seized.

"Te 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 move ment 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 custory to a hospital, but will appear before the Shanghai District Court this morning when an application for his extradiction by

"On Saturday morning the Chinese au ment and French Concession during

"The police interrupted a meeting of French Police was obtained for a raid

"Shortly after midnight on Saturday open window and attempted to escape.

was located at this place. "Interesting developments are expected

As we see from this report, the for speak of the native bourgeoisie itself, olutionary quality and integrity of comders of the official party apparatus.

But what is of far more acute im-(Continued on page 2)

# Denmark

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

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

# Chen Du-Hsiu's Trotsky Sails for Start Hunger March On Washington

### United Front Can Bring Huge Movement

ington, where thousands of representatives of the callously ignored interests of the thirteen million or more unemployed in this country will greet the final both houses of Congress with their demands. It is the "historic session" iticians of both Wall Street parties plan

elections. erica's jobless for their demands. The national Hunger March is scheduled to reach Washington on December 5. ious working class organizations and West for their trek to the capital. The portant center will be represented in the present themselves to the well-fed Con-

sus. In Chemnitz workers were shot

against the international proletariat.

The Supreme Court decision is a re-

cognition of this fact. It is a concession

The Supreme Court Decision

The text of the decision states three

grounds on which the lower courts' ver-

dicts were appealed; they were not given

a fair, impartial and deliberate trial:

(2) they were denied the right of coun-

sel, with the accustomed incidents of

before juries from which qualified mem-

bers of their own race were systematic-

(Continued on page 2)

the Republic's

With the heartening example of the gressmen and Senators who foregather tens of thousands of unemployed masses to legislate for the ruling class of the who recently put the fear of their power country. That the latter are already into the hearts of the British ruling class greatly disturbed at the possibility of by their militant march on Parliament the London events being repeated in in London, arrangements are now being Washington, is revealed by the official made for a national Hunger March on and unofficial instructions emanating the capital of the United States, Wash- 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, dissession of the "lame duck" session of patches relate, the authorities will under no condition house and feed the marchers. But the lash of hunger and misery where the fathers of the country are is driving too many workers to militant even now promising to alleviate the in-action for the Hunger March to be detense, unspeakable misery of the masses feated by rules or regulations or threats by...a return to legalized beer. This is or cajolery. Not even the provocation the manner in which the capitalist pol- that the government will undoubtedly undertake during the course of the march to interpret the discontentment of the and at Washington proper, will succeed crisis-torn masses voiced in the recent in eliminating the enormous significance of this organized demonstration of Am-

With the time still left for the March, Delegations of workers elected from var- it is not only possible, but imperative, to draw into the movement the widest conferences are already on their way conceivable sections of the proletariat from the more distant sections of the and its organizations. The recently formed united front in Chicago-not constireports already indicate that every im- tuted according to the absurd and sterile formula of "united front from bearmy of hungry and ragged who will low"-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 justly hailed throughout the world as a Thousands of workers in the capitals of 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 pre-The mother of one of the boys was sent Hunger March will, by itself, lay the foundation for a powerful unem-Meetings arranged to hear her story of ployed movement after the March is over, one which will be able to continue forbidden. The secretary of state stretch- on a more extensive field the struggle ed forth a long hand to stay the tide of the million-headed army of jobless.

The comrades of the Left Opposition will take their place in the ranks of the marching militants and render the movement every possible assistance at their command. In the movement itself, we will raise the demands which in addition to those advanced by the official party -\$50 winter federal relief for each family and unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and employers-are a necessary part of the workers' demands. Especially appropriate in Washington is the demand for long-term credits to the Soviet Union and its recognition by the American government, as well as the demand for the six-hour

day and five-day week without reduction in pay. In any case, the Left Opposition and its supporters stand elbow to elbow with the militants who are advancing to Washington in an imposing political demonstration of their demands before the federal representatives of the thieves of Wall Street.

## Scottsboro--What Now?

Supreme Court Evades Issue--Workers Must Unite Forces

The decision of the United States the American proletariat. Supreme Court reversing the decision of The movement set afoot in this counthe lower courts and ordering new trials try found its echo abroad under the for seven of the Scottsboro boys has been stimulus of the International Red Aid. victory for the victims, the entire work- Europe demonstrated outside the coning class and the fighting methods and sulates of the American capitalist colusprestige of Communism. What did the Supreme Court actually decide and what down. Elsewhere police batons conductis the significance of its decision for the ed an orchestra of capitalist repression working class?

It must be remembered that the nine hounded from France's vassal states. Scottsboro boys were framed on the fake charge of raping two notorious prostithe Chinese authorities will be heard. Lutes, rushed through a farcial court of the prosperity period". It is pre- munist pursues a policy which best re- It is expected that he will be eventually procedure surrounded by a howling lynch mob and condemned to death before they of working class protest. Like King had time to draw their breaths, so to Canute of old who tried to stay the tide speak. This legal burlesque is not unhe failed. usual 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 to the mass protest. In this sense it is with its victims. Let a Negro farm a first victory. But at the same time laborer demand his wages-he is physi- it is a warning. The Supreme Court did cally assaulted by his white boss; if he not decide that the boys are innocent. resists he is accused of rape and he It carefully avoided taking up this is lynched. In its more merciful moaspect of the case. ments 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 surges" and "deep-going radicalization" talist regime and its supporters. Until Communists in a house in an alley of party, in the face of a hurricane of consultation and opportunity of preparavented a routine legal lynching. But tion for trial, and (3) they were tried nothing that Foster's statement (what election is absorbed into the conscious arrested and a large quantity of Com- the I. L. D. and the C. P. did more a combination of words deliberately in- ness of the party, its headway will con- munist literature in French, Chinese, than merely provide a legal defense. Russian and English was seized. In- They began to mobilize tens of thousands formation from that address enabled the of workers, black and white, to demand police to proceed the same afternoor to the unconditional freedom of the nine house in an alley off Yochow Road. boys. The Communists succeeded on the At this address Chen Du-Hsiu was ar- scale of the demonstrations and within LEON TROTSKY rested and more Communist documents the limits of this issue, in uniting the and literature were seized. Investigat-black and white workers. That is one tions led the police to the French Con- of the happiest aspects of this strugcession where the assistance of the gle for the lives of nne members of our on a dwelling off Route des Soeurs. One the unity of the two races which is in-Chinese and further literature were tak- dispensable to the successful rising of

### 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:

(Opposition)

ally excluded."

### of the happiest aspects of this struggle for the lives of nne members of our class. It is a long step forward toward

The Situation on the Eve of the Second Five Year Plan

(Continued from last issue) But the results obtained, no matter those sketched in the plan.

The output of coal is maintained at blast-furnaces!) the production of steel present on the level of last year, there- and rolled steel in the current year refore it has far from reached the plan mains approximately on the level of last figures set for the third year of the Five year. From the viewpoint of the general Year Plan. "The Donbas lags behind at tasks of the industrialization what dethe tailend of the most backward branch-cides, of course, is not the raw iron but es of Soviet industry", complains Pravda. the rolled stock and steel. "The tension in the fuel balance is on the increase," echoes for the Industrial- sults, which Economic Life characterizes ization (October 8, 1932).

lion tons of cast iron instead of 7.9 cause of their consequences, much more million set by the plan; 5.3 million tons dangerous lapses in quality. Following of steel instead of the 8.8 million; and the special economic press, Pravda open. finally 4 million tons of rolled steel in- ly confesses that in heavy metallurgy stead of 6.7 million. In comparison "the situation as regards the indices of with 1930 this signfies a falling off in quality is impermissible." "The defeccast iron of 2 percent; in steel of 6

percent; in rolled steel of 10 percent. For 9 months of 1932 there were prohow imposing if taken by themselves— duced 4.5 million tons of cast iron, 4.1 even if considered from the bald quan-million tons of steel, 3.5 million tons titative velwpoint—are far short of of rolled stock. Alongside of the considerable rise in the output of iron (new Side by side with these quantitive re-

as "shocking lapses" there are to be In 1931 there were produced 4.9 mil- placed extremely unfavorable and, be-(Continued on page 2)

party's call to action.

Unfortunately a great many

the extent that they believe this they

There is a growing number of class

conscious workers who will not be fooled

by this dubious maneuver of a capitalist

class made cautious by a rising tide of

working class protest. They will under-

stand that the Supreme Court is a bul-

wark against any 'left" deviations by

legislative and executive branches of the

government. They will see clearly that

clusion by the same fighting methods

which have already resulted in one vic-

tory. Encouraged by this victory they

will nevertheless see clearly the danger

points ahead. They will remember that

the retrial is scheduled for the same

court under the same judge who first

sentenced them to death. This will sig-

nify to them the necessity for an even

greater protest movement on the part of

For A Broad Movement!

These workers will look to the party

to build and organize this movement. In

this orientation they will be correct. The

victory the party has already won gives

it this right. Upon the basis of the move-

ment already built the party will have

to build a broad protest movement em-

bracing the entire working class. The

party must issue the call to build this

movement. To date the party press con-

fines itself to agitation. This is correct.

The party must issue a call for united

front conferences. The prestige it has

won will give it the entry into organi-

zations and a hearing before strata of

the class which would otherwise be in-

different to its appeal. Workers imbued

with confidence in the party because of its fight and its first victory will answer

The united fronts must be genuine.

They must be permeated with the spirit

of working class democracy. No mechan-

ical control! The workers suffering from

the stifling control of the A. F. of L.

bureaucracy will not stand for it here.

And conversely this is the opportunity

par excellence for the Communists to

teach the workers what working class

democracy really is. Let all participate

and have freedom of discussion. What should the party fear? Time and the

class struggle has given it the firmest

CHEN DU-HSIU

(Continued from page 1)

with him. Up to now, the International

Red Aid and its American section, the

International Labor Defense, have pre-

served a horrible silence on the case.

It is imperative that a genuine mass pro-

test be made in this and other countries

so that the hankmen of the Chinese

proletariat and peasantry may know that

they cannot turn our comrades over to

the executioner! Let every class conscious worker voice his elementary sol-

idarity with the prisoners by acting im-

mediately, before it is too late. Raise

the question of the Chinese comrades in

every labor organization. Demand that

the Daily Worker, the party as a whole,

and the I. L. D. commence a campaign for the endangered revolutionists!

---T. STAMM.

position. To work!

a united working class.

But it is not enough.

this call.

They are familiar

### STALINISTS TAKE MEASURES

### The Expulsion of Zinoviev

### The Lessons of the Second Expulsion of the Capitulators

Zinoviev was poised irresolutely before mittee. Joining in the struggle against the kulak as a class". Thermidorian tendencies, he took a vow beforehand: in no case to bring matters oviev and Kamenev to the program of to a pitch of facing expulsion from the party. In this spirit of going fity-fifty press informs us about the following as there was ingrained his inevitable down-"Everything, except Stalinism within those limits that would be per-

mitted by Stalin. Kamenev did absolutely everything they preferred to deliberate over this docucould in order to restore the confidence of the ruling clique in themselves and placed themselves as the direct accom- of wokers together in a united struggle in order to be assimilated into the official plices of the anti-party, counter-revolumilieu. Zinoviev made his peace with tionary group." So, Zinoviev and Kamthe theory of Socialism in one country, ceny "preferred to deliberate over the vious policy was narrow and sectarian and once again exposed "Trotskyism" document" instead of "immediately ex- and succeeded in bringing together only and even made attempts to burn in- posing" it. The accusers do not even the Communist party and its organizacense to Stalin personally. Nothing help- dare to asert that Zinoviev and Kamenev ed. The capitulators suffered, shut up, were entirely beyond considering its "ex- Communist party, the conference should and waited. And with all that they still posure". No, their crime consisted in did not succeed in hanging on to cele- their "preferring to deliberate" before brate the fifth anniversary of their own "exposing". Where, how and with whom capitulation; it seems that they were did they deliberate? Had this occurred involved in a "conspiracy", and there- during a secret session of the Right orfore were expelled from the party, perhaps to be deported or exiled.

and Kamenev got it in the neck not for liberate" with their own four eyes and their own cause and not under their own within their own four walls. As a rebanner. The warp of the list of those expelled according to the decision of press their sympathy for the platform October 9th, consists of outright Rights, of the Rights. If there was even the i. e., the followers of Rykov-Bucharin- sligtest hint in the matter about such a Tomsky. Does it mean that Left Cen-sympathy, we would have been told trism has unified with Right Centrism about it in the decision. Silence on the against the bureaucratic core? Let us matter testifies to the contrary; Zinoviev not rush to conclusions.

after Zinoviev and Kamenev, are those diately ringing up Yaroda. But in view a sharp turn for the worse." "The cost of Uglanov and Riutin, two former mem- of the fact that they nevertheless did bers of the C. E. C. Uglanov, as the gen- not telephone, Pravda feels it justified to eral secretary of the Moscow Committee ascribe to them this concept, "The enand Riutin, as the head of the Agit- emy of my enemy is-my friend." Zinoviey and Kamenev as the "traitors" in the struggle against Trotskyism; but tion of this or the other Opposition group, lagging behind; the power plants in Au-lallowed to cool down rom 3 days to their platform nevertheless is that of The Stalinist bureaucracy, of course, kulaks and bourgeois-liberals." The has long since been aware that Zin-Stalinists pretend that they are in aware oviev and Kamenev whom it had spurnthat it was on account of just this pro- ed were very much "interested" in the ept, illiterate and the uncultured exploi- horse convoys for the transportation of gram that the struggle had taken place. oppositionist trends within the party tation of the erected power stations." fuel; in February of this year the horses As then, so now only the Rights and and were reading all sorts of documents Great difficulties are being threatened in numbered 27,000, the number fell in the Lefts had positions based on prin- that were not destined for Yagoda. In the winter in the sphere of power pro- July to 14,000; and in September to ciple. The Stalinists thrived on the sops 1928, Kamenev even carried on secret from the one and the other.

began to assert that the Left Opposition negotiations were published at the time cessively behind the plan last year, turned out to be correct in its stand on by the Left Opposition. The Stalinists, showed a rise in the first half of the tractor factory in which the quantity of the question of the party regime—this however, could not decide upon expelling current year of 16 percent but in the annual castings fell from 250 acknowledged is all the more instruc- Zinoviev and Kamenev. They did not third quarter it fell below the figures of tons (quey-thousads?) "The equipment tive since none could boast of such suc- wish to compromise themselves by new last year. The industry providing food due to the absence of rudimentary and cesses in implanting the Stalinist regime scandals of repressions unless there was stuffs occupies the last place. The sup-constant technical supervision...has exas Uglanov and Riutin. However, "sol- urgent necessity. The period of economic plementary production of products for cessively deteriorated." "Defective production of products for cessively deteriorated." idarity" on the question of party dem- successe was then being inaugurated, in mass consumption which are supplied by ducts have become as high as 35 percent ocracy cannot soften the heart of the part actual, in part fictitious. Zinoviev the plants of heavy industries compose "The entire mechanism of the corpora-Left Opposition in its relation to the and Kamenev did not appear to be imme- for the eight months only 35 percent of tion is wallowing in dirt." "In the Right. Party democracy is not an abs- diately dangerous. -L. TROTSKY. | the yearly stipulation. It is not possi- foundries there is never a thought of tract ideal; least of all, is it predestined to serve as a screen for Thermidorian tendencies. And in the meantime, Uglanov and Rutin, at least in those years, represented the most out and out Thermidorian wing in the camp of the Rights.

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

On the proscribed list there are to be found Ptashny and Gorelov with a notatheir lot with the Rights, or whether we workers from day to day. have before us a falsification in order

neither is the latter. In the summary of the participants, the chief leaders of the Right Opposi- repulsive and more disgusting a picture ton are conspicuously absent. Cables to of squalor. The good "Father" preaches the bourgeois papers report that Buch- meekness and bids the unemployed await arin "has completely reestablished his better times with the presidential inparty position" and is apparently slated cumbency of his recent rival and present for the Narkompros in place of Bubnov, who is being transferred to the G. P. U.; as for Rykov, he is once again in favor, makes speeches over the radio, etc. The eveltville spends his time in primitive fact that in the list of "the conspirators" there is neither Rykov nor Bucharin nor more that of the feudal serf than that Tomsky really does make plausible some of the twentieth century machine-agetemporary bureaucratic indulgences in favor of the former leaders of the Right Opposition. But of their being reestablished in their old positions in the party, there cannot be the slightest considera-

an attempt to create "a bourgeois kulak they have three day's labor a month. done, nothing remains of a unified and organization in order to restore capital- But that is not all. The Steel Barons organized character of struggle. The ism in the U.S.S.R. and the kulak, in were the initiators of all the wage cut isolated fights-without spreading out particular." An amazing formulation! drives of the depression years and the and seeking coordination—remain impolin the reformist unions is gaining day An organization to restore "capitalism steel workers' remuneration has been tent and drown in apathy and dissipatory by day, while new Left wing forces are generate the party. and the kulak, in particular (!)". This reduced to the vanishing point. Steel is tion. "particularity" gives away the whole, the pivot industry in the Alleghany reor at least hints at it. There is no del gion. And Pittsburgh is a "one factory ating that some of those expelled, like town"—in the highest sense of the word. Slepkov and Maretsky, in the period of Activity in the steel mills sets the tune dreary and dismal years of crisis sets a spirit of militancy among the masses as an ultimate victory and to rest upon

with all his agitational radicalism, the struggle against "Trotskyism" devel Zinoviev always pulled up short before oped, after the manner of their teacher must prevent any organization from withthe actual inferences of political for- Bucharin, the idea of "the kulak's grow- drawing from the conference. We realize groups in the conference. muiae. Fighting against Stalinist policing into socialism". What stand they the strain of relations, the provocations ies in China, Zinoviev opposed to the have taken since that time, we do not that exist in such a gathering. But if all workers, unemployed and employed, these judical fossils face to face with the enacted by congress and the states. To end the break of the Communist party end the break of the Communist party know. But it is quite possible that their an effective movement is to exist and in spite of everything, rests in maintain real issues in the case. They would have with the Luo Min Tang. Exposing Stal- present guilt consists not so much in be successful, it is iecessary that no dis- ing the present united front conference in's alliance with Purcell and Citrine, their desire to "restore" the kulak as integration be permitted. The Conferin their failure to recognize Stalin's ence must be militant. It must reject the split with the Anglo-Russian Com- victories in the sphere of "liquidation of any proposal of a reactionary character.

"restoring capitalism"? The Soviet crime, "Knowing of the ocunter-revolutionary documents that were being cir- Communist party on the united front. After their capitulation, Zinoviev and the agents of the Kulak agencies, they front from below". We therefore, welment (?) and by this act alone, they ganization, the accusers would not have failed to inform us about it. Obviously, What is astounding is that Zinoviev Zinoviev and Kameney "preferred to desult of their deliberation, did they exand Kamenev, obviously, subjected the The most eminent names in the list, platform to criticism instead of imme-

prop, were in charge in the capital of The coarse strain of the accusation the struggle against the Left Opposition, against Zinoviev-Kamenev makes it posclearing every corner and by path of sible for us to conclude with assurance per were smelted; in 1931, 48 thousand hampers the operation of coke producing Trotskyism in 1926-1927. They raised a that blow was direct against them, and particularly venomous hue and cry after primarly them. Not because they evinced some political activity during the last to the ruling faction. When Uglanov period. We know nothing about it, and for the first 8 onths less than 30 thou- by millions of tons but also owers its and Riutin, as a consequence of the Stal- what is more important the C. E. C. sand tons have been smelted. What this quality. Machines of poor metal pro- the fulfillment dropped to 40 percent... inist zigzag to the Left, turned out to knows nothing about either, as is means in the manufacture of machines in duce inferior products, result in break- The basic costs are twice as high as be the chief practical organizers of the evident from the decree. But the general and of electro-technical equip- downs, force inactivity upon the working those set by the plan." The character-Right Opposition, all the official articles objective political situation has become ment in particular, requires no commen- hands, and deteriorate rapidly. and speeches harped on one and the so much worse as to make it impossible same note, "No one can deny the great for Stalin to tolerate any longer legal service rendered by Uglanov and Riutin candidates for leadership in the composi- all its successes, there is considerable of inadequate supply of fuel they are

negotiations with Bucharin reagrding the the Moscow and Leningrad regions. As early as 1928, Uglanov and Riutin possibility of a bloc. Records of these

### Chicago Left Greets United Front | Scottsboro--

Soviet Economy in Danger

tive products eat up the steel that is up this mass of commodities that are im-

of production of commodities is rising and raw material by means of bursts

sharply." Two figures will suffice: in of telegram-lightnings. The industry, as

tons, one-third of the amount set by the enterprises. Excessively high content of

gust delivered 71 percent of the energy 20 days. Here is a cirmustance illumin they were supposed to develop. For th ating to the highest degree: the metal-

Industrializaton writes about "the in-lurgical plants in the Urals had their own

duction. They have already begun in 4,000. The reason for it is lack of fod-

to quality." "The technical coefficients provised in a hurry, really meets the re-

in the use of the equipment are taking quirements of the market.

(Continued from page 1) its great task.

there is no vacillation in the struggle on the part of the leaders. The workers on the part of their leaders. This applies unnecessary to discuss the facts of the capitalist institutions. But they still It must reject any proposal or action Fight for the 6 hour day and the 5 day However, what is the relation of Zin- that will weaken, nullify and destroy the beginnings already made.

time fought for a correct united front the Soviet Union. regards to their participation in the policy. One of the main obstacles has been the erroneous conception of the culated, instead of immediately exposing Namely, their advocacy of the "united come their charge toward the correct policy which will bring larger masses for a specific aim. The success of the present conference proves that its pre tions. With the participation of the have great strength and militancy.

### Role of Socialist Party

The Left Opposition is well aware of

(Continued from page 1)

In 1929-1930, 47 thousand tons of cop-

been lowered to 90 thousand tons but

In the sphere of electrification, with

The light industry which lagged ex-

cost cae to 60 roubles.

front movement, they vacillate, retreat, ited front be maintained to carry out threaten and in the end pursue a course of betraying the interests of the workers. The Conference must see to it that The workers in the ranks of the Socialist party must resist any splitting tactics consider is the second-; and it becomes with the peaceful nature of their local too for all other reformist and labor case or the circumstances surrounding have faith in that solemn and august body

We want to reiterate: the interests of

Chicago Workers! Fight for immedi ate relief for ALL unemployed workers. week with no reduction in pay. Fight for Social Insurance. Demand the ex-

America (Opposition).

PROTOMAGIA, held last Saturday at metns to the U.S. Constitution. And it our Center, turned out to be a splendid arrives at the conclusion so obvious to success from the point of view of at- all that the boys were not represented tendance as well as the spirit shown by counsel in the courtroom at Scottsby those who gathered there. The col- boro. lection amounted to more than \$33. Many, The liberals are singing a hymn of members of the Stalinist Club, SPAR- praise to American institutions. They TACUS were present and demanded a say that the Court has redeemed the debate of the disputed questions, which prestige of capitalism. They prate elowe gladly accepted. Although we gave quently of justice and fairness and fair the role that the Socialist party and more than enough of the floor to our op- play. They are confused to the roots of its leaders have played in the struggle ponents, they declined a formal debate their thinking. And they are sowing conof the workers. The Socialist party before a mixed audience. Comrades are tusion with a producal hand. The capileaders will never enter a united front swelling the ranks of the newly-formed talist press is open wide to them now unless it is by tremendous pressure from club which is soon to obtain its own for this purpose. They are serving capitheir rank and file. Once in a united headquarters in the Greek neighborhood. talism well.

ble at present to estimate what part of

Coal, hastily mined and porly sorted,

reduces the quantity of produced metal

In the Urals, the paper apprize us

"the blast-furnaces are in fever", because

Prayda characterizes in the following

liver what does not exist.

(Continued from page 1) The text goes on to say: "The only fall for this stuff. They have seen one of the assignments which we shall Hoover in action.

and in completing its work.

the working class. The Left Opposition has for a long tension of credits and the recognition of of the victims which would tremendously MAINTAIN THE UNITED FRONT! The Chicago Branch of the

GREEK BANQUET A SUCCESS

the prosecution—". Cowardly decision!! of men who are chosen solely for their To deal with the other two would bring merit to sit in judgment on the laws to commit the Supreme Court and through will turn a deaf ear to the Communist it the capitalist class to an outright re- analysis of this decision and reject the actionary position resulting in the discreditment of this most sacred of the institutions of the capitalist class before

Or it would have had to decide in favor increase the prestige of Communism and working class activity generally. The only road it could "safely" take at the Communist League of moment was the middle road of quibbling over legal technicalities. This it the battle must still be fought to its condoes most elegantly. It makes a parade of the learned justices' erudition; it traces a devious course through certain The banquet for the benefit of the aspects of the history of American law; recently organized Greek workers' club, it juggles with definitions in and amend-

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

Why is production lowered in light metallurgy in the face of collosal investments? Because, replies Pravda, "the separate branches of a single combine are not coordinated with one another in The factories are supplied with coal their capacity." And in the meantime the task of coordinating branches has been solved by capitalist technology. And 1931 a ton of iron cost 35 roubles; in Economic Life puts it, "sits on lightning." how much more and difficult is the questhe first half of the current year the But even bolts of lightning cannot delightning of intercoordination independent enterprises and entire branches of indus-

"The cement factory in Podolsk is in dangerous straits", writes For the Indusplan. For the current year the plan has moisture and cinders in the coke not only trialization: In the first half year the production program was fulfilled approximately 60 percent, in the last months istics cited above apply in various degrees to the entire present industry. (To Be Continued)

### Communism Versus Anarchism | Chen and the other militants arrested

Communism Anarchism ALBERT GLOTZER JOSEPH COHEN Member N. E. C. Editor, Freie Arbeiter Stimme Comm. League of A. Sunday, November 27, 1932, at 3 P. M. manner the condition o the Stalingrad at 2011 W. North Avenue.

> CHICAGO CONCERT AND DANCE at 2011 W. North Ave.

### CHICAGO DEBATE

WHICH WAY FOR THE WORLD PROLETARIAT?

Sunday, November 27, 1932, 8 P. M. ADMISSION: 25 CENTS Auspices: Friends of the Militant Club

### The Left Opposition Breaks Ground in the Pittsburgh District

PITTSBURGH.—

life in the country as a whole. More the proletarians, whose only means of winding, filthy streets of Pittsburgh. Every day bears witness to new scenes tion of their former adherence to the of their misery. The furniture of evict-"Trotskyist Opposition". We have no ed families, blocks the sidewalks of the means of judging whether the matter proletarian quarters and the press con- edness prevailing, it is remarkable that join the fight. But the sad experiences concerns here two very little known Left tains full pages of eviction notices, fore- no forceful resistance has been in evidcapitulators, who subsequently threw in closures and legal action against the ence on the part of the workers here. of the past four years have made them

The utterly prostrate and dejected to fool the party. The former is by no among the unemployed, those who cannot means excluded, but in all probability find even the doubtful refuge of relatives and friends, flock to Father Cox's Shantytown: there exists no greater endorsee, the Astor Raskob man-Franklin Roosevelt. In the meantime the inhabitant of the reverend Father's Rooshandicrafts, leads a life that resembles

### The Workshop of the World-at

One-Third Capacity Conditions among the workers still at work-so to speak-are even worse.

to all the other industries. Since steel they are forced to sell on the market on capitalism, is therefore self-explained.

And yet for all the poverty and wretch-It strikes one as extremely peculiar that cautious and judicial. The number of in this very cradle of American industry, those is steadily increasing who not only in this most powerful producing section see the need of again taking up arms, of the United States, unionism and labor but who also demand to know what sort organization is at its lowest ebb. Equal- of arms to take up and how to fight. ly strange is the fact that the monopoly capitalists and bankers of the Mellon- ciples, the policies, the strategy and the U. S. Steel-Westinghouse combine have whip over the backs of a proletariat with such a splendid record of militancy as the Homestead Strike, the Great Steel Strike of 1919 and the McKeesport battles of 1922-23.

And more than that, discontent among the factory masses is literally seething. The unemployed showed their will to fight as early as the first year of the depression in the tremendous demonstrations under the leadership of the Comthe militant strikes of the clothing workers and the bakers at present, crop up The group as a whole is accused of Steel workers at the mills are lucky if all over town. But after all is said and

### The Inevitable Awakening of the Militants

eliminated from active participation in the basis of the conditions created by the various phases of the struggle, are once again showing signs of interest, are once again expressing willingness to reof passivity and inaction in the course They are weighing carefully the printactics of the various political forces in succeeded to maintain their reactionary the field. They feel that if the fight is to be taken up in earnest, it must be on firm ground.

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

### Clarification Begins in the Ranks of the Party

into motion elements of new militancy | cannot of course help but have its effect | their laurels. Before the Pittsburgh in the working class. Workers of all on the membership of the official Com- militants there now lies the task of drawshades are beginning to ask themselves munist party as well. The active com- ing the conclusions of their fight to a how such a situation can exist, what the rades in the C. P. who have, from their causes for it are. They ask these ques- daily contacts, felt the new fea- rades will inevitably have to pose the tons of themselves, not because they are tures in the situation: the general question as to the roots of the bureauaccustomed to philosophizing. It is their discontent of the broad layers of work- cracy, as to the basic causes for the Conditions of the working class in this production is flat on its back, the result very mode of every day life, it is actu- ers, the rebirth of militancy in the old Stalinist regime of blunders, crimes and most highly industrialized section of the is, in round figures, a total industrial ally their bread and butter problems that organizations reaching even into the country represent what most nearly apoutput in Western Pennsylvania of about force them to pause and to reflect on ranks of the decrepit and corrupt socialproaches a cross-section of proletarian one-third of capacity. The destitution of these questions. Militants, whom the ist party, the possibilities for important point of view of the Left Opposition and prosperity period, and the double-edged progress of Communism-have also been than 100,000 jobless fill the narrow, livelihood is their labor power, which blade of reaction characteristic of it, had obliged to review the recent past and to draw lessons therefrom.

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

But it would be altogether misleading and self-deceptive for the Communist This is the situation which after four The growth of class consciousness and workers to consider the defeat of Price

higher plane. The more thoughtful comwreckage. In doing this, they will not be able to avoid a consideration of the comrade Trotsky, representing a consistent Leninist line of struggle that foretold all the mistakes of the Stalinists and the results following from them years in advance—and with scientific Marxian precision

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

---S. G.

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