

# THE MILITANT

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## CHINA Manifesto of the International Left Opposition

During the last few months a considerable peasant movement has again appeared in certain provinces of Southern China. Not only the world press of the proletariat, but the press of its enemies as well, is filled with the echoes of this struggle. Deceived, defeated, emasculated, the Chinese revolution still shows that it is alive. Let us hope that the time when it will again lift its proletarian head is not far off. And in order to be ready for this, we must put the problem of the Chinese revolution on the order of the day of the working class of the world.

We, the International Left Communist Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) consider it our duty to raise our voices now, in order to attract the attention of all Communists, all advanced, revolutionary workers to the task of liberating the great country of the Asiatic East, and in order to warn them at the same time against the false policy of the leading faction of the Communist International, which obviously threatens to undermine the future Chinese revolution as it ruined the revolution of 1925-27.

The symptoms of the resurrection of the Chinese revolution in the country indicate its inner forces and immense potentialities. But the task is how to transform these potentialities into reality. The first condition of success is to understand what is happening i. e., to give a Marxian definition of the moving forces and to evaluate correctly the stage which the struggle has reached at the present moment. In both these tasks the leadership of the Comintern is wrong.

### Is There a Soviet Government?

The Stalinist press is full of communications about a "Soviet Government" established in vast provinces of China under the protection of a Red Army. Workers of various countries are excitedly greeting this news. Of course! The establishment of a Soviet government in a considerable part of China and the creation of a Chinese Red Army would mean a gigantic success for the international revolution. But we must state openly and clearly: it is not yet true.

In spite of the meagerness of the information which reaches us from the vast spaces of China our Marxian understanding of the developing process enables us to reject with complete confidence the Stalinist point of view of the present events. They are false and extremely dangerous for the further development of the revolution.

The history of China has been for centuries a history of menacing uprisings of a destitute and hungry peasantry. Not less than five times in the last two thousand years have the Chinese peasants succeeded in accomplishing a complete redistribution of the landed property. Each time the process of its concentration would begin anew and continue until again the growth of the population produced a partial or general explosion. This vicious circle was an expression of economic and social stagnancy.

Only the inclusion of China in world economy opened new possibilities for the Chinese people. Capitalism invaded China from the outside. The backward Chinese bourgeoisie became an intermediary between foreign capital and the mercilessly exploited masses of their own country. The foreign imperialists together with the Chinese bourgeoisie combine the methods of capitalist exploitation with the methods of feudal oppression and enslavement through usury.

The fundamental idea of the Stalinists has been to transform the Chinese bourgeoisie into a leader of the national revolution against feudalism and imperialism. The consequences of this political strategy ruined the revolution. The Chinese proletariat paid dearly for a knowledge of the

(Continued on Page 6)

# Hoover Advises Labor Workers' United Front vs. «Optimistic» Pledges!

President Hoover has given his reply to the needs of the unemployed workers in his speech, at the bankers' convention in Cleveland. With a characteristic genius for insight, he disclosed the fact that what was wrong with many people was . . . the reduction of their incomes. And how had their incomes been reduced. The answer of the Great Engineer is: "The income of a large part of our people is not reduced by the depression but it is affected by unnecessary fears and pessimism, the result of which is to slacken the consumption of goods and discourage enterprise."

It is the proper answer from the highest official representative of the capitalist class to the workers whose wages are being cut and hours of work lengthened, to the unemployed who are starving and being evicted. The reason for the "slackening in the consumption of goods" is that the working class is "affected by unnecessary fears". The workers do not buy food and clothing, they do not—cannot!—pay their rent because . . . they are pessimistic.

Surely, it was worth while electing Hoover to the presidency in order to have this brilliant analysis of the present state of affairs, and get such soothing assurances for a working class driven desperate by the sharpening crisis.

### Hoover and Wage Cuts

Hoover's speech to the workers was a campaign speech, made at a time when the Republicans, the "party of prosperity", is being hard pressed by its political opponents. Misery is spreading among the workers and farmers of the country like a prairie fire. The coming winter looks bleak in more than one sense. An intensive wage-cutting campaign is being conducted throughout the land, actively instigated by business men and bankers, passively accepted by the capitalistic labor leaders. At the very same bankers' convention, John W. Barton, president of the national bank division of the American Bankers Association, declared that "the standard of living in America is too high" and advocated carving another pound of flesh from the bodies of the working class.

But this is an important election year, so Hoover, with the arch-hypocrisy of an

Uriah Heep, "emphatically disagreed". But what is Hoover doing to call a halt to the wage-cutting drive? Not a thing. And for cause, since he is the chairman of the capitalist class executive committee in Washington, the menial of the bankers and business men. All the "solemn pledges to maintain wage standards" have dissolved before the offensive of the bosses. No less loyal a footman of American capitalism than William Green of the A.F. of L. must publicly "regret" the increasing wage cuts, which, according to his excessively moderate figures, affected 24,700 workers in August "and cuts averaged 10.5 percent—the highest yet".

The same question can be put to Green as to Hoover. The answer is that this lackey without livery is working in the labor movement with might and main to prevent or crush the spirit of resistance rising among the workers. The Greens serve the masters of the land as effectively as the Hoovers—each in their own allotted way.

### Two Servitors of Capitalism

Green denounces the Communists, organizes pogroms against them in the trade unions, serves as informer against them to the courts of capitalism. Hoover speaks to the bankers in Cleveland on the "depression", while victims of this "depression" demonstrating in the streets for bread or work, are clubbed and bombed by Hoover's police. French royalty sarcastically told the people to eat cake if they could buy no bread. Hoover tells the people to be courageous and optimistic while they are on the rack of unemployment.

It is correct—but not as Hoover means it. The workers need to be bold and confident—bold enough to act decisively and confident that united action will bring them relief from the torments of the crisis. Why are the workers embittered but passive today? Why do they not enter in masses into open struggle against the masters of industry and finance? Because they fear defeats which disunity, and lack of organization and leadership bring in their train. The pressure of the crisis is driving tens and hundreds of thousands to the ideas and moods of struggle. What is imper-

atively required is a leadership that will give the movement a head and direct its energies profitably. Such a leadership properly belongs to the Communists, who alone represent the present and future of labor. But the Communists will establish themselves as leaders of the masses only if they can convince the masses of non-Communist workers that they are fighting for one militant line of struggle—FOR THE UNITED FRONT!

### The United Labor Front

The slogan for the united front of labor to resist the offensive of the capitalists and ameliorate the lot of the jobless, combined with a minimum program of demands for which the workers can fight (and not merely cast a vote for in November)—that is the need of the moment. That is what will set masses of workers into motion under the guidance of class conscious and far-sighted leaders. But it is precisely here that the leadership of the Communist Party has failed so miserably. Their stubborn, gross mistakes, their piling of blunder upon blunder, their capers and lunges from frigid sectarianism to the open opportunism in the election campaign—in a word, the overbrimming cup of the "third period"—threaten to lose an unprecedented opportunity for the Communist movement.

The Browders, Bedacht, Hathaways and all the lesser Harrison Georges are dealing blow after blow at the very vitals of the movement under the impulsion of the international Stalinist machine which has tossed them to the surface for a brief moment. The Communist workers in the ranks—within and outside the Party—must ward off these blows. The quicker this is done and the whole camaraderie of Stalinist leaders put where they properly belong the quicker the Communist movement is restored, the quicker the working class will be mobilized to fight in united ranks.

—S—n.

## Boris Selinitchenko

The editors of the "Bulletin of the Russian Opposition" inform us:

The Bolshevik-Leninist, comrade Selinitchenko had been confined in exile at Samarkand, where he was taken ill with tuberculosis of the larynx. His health grew worse every day. As his condition grew worse, instead of taking him to a more favorable climatic environment, the Stalinists took him to the city of Osch. Osch lies in the Kirgiz Steppes, far from the railroad, without the slightest possibility of any kind of clinical treatment. After the arrival of comrade Selinitchenko, the Oppositionists exiled there applied in a series of telegrams to the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Party, and to the G.P.U., and requested the transference of comrade Selinitchenko to other climatic conditions and pointed out that an inevitable and swift ruin threatened him in Osch. No reply was received. So the Osch exiles decided to get comrade Selinitchenko to Tashkent on their own hook, in spite of the fact that the G.P.U. could hold them responsible for "flight". Placed before an accomplished fact, the G.P.U. was compelled to transfer comrade Selinitchenko from Tashkent to the Crimea. Here, however a new series of sufferings began for the steadfast Bolshevik: free treatment was refused him, etc. The Stalinist G.P.U. has attained its aim: comrade Selinitchenko could not even last a few weeks in the Crimea, and went under.

## Danville Workers Out on Strike

A few thousand textile workers have gone out on strike in Danville, Va., under the auspices of the United Textile Workers. Elizabethton, Ware Shoals, Marion and other places where the "progressive" U.T.W. has led strikes are sufficient indication of where they intend to end up with the Danville strike. Because of that, the question must be asked:

What has happened to the National Textile Workers Union? Since the recent strike in Bessemer City, N.C., which the *Daily Worker* proudly heralded with an eight column streamer as being led by the N.T.W., only to turn around 24 hours later and admit its leadership by men who were opposed to that union, things have been strangely quiet. In fact, since the Bessemer City episode where the N.T.W. organizers were virtually run out of town, the Left wing union has not been conducting any activity whatsoever. This is in distinct contrast to the increasing influence of the United Textile Workers Union throughout the South, which has led to the present Danville situation.

In the South there is now practically no N.T.W.U. left. Only an isolated sup-

porter can be found here and there. In the rest of the textile centers practically the same condition can be found. The only cities in which any semblance of an organization is functioning is in New Bedford, Mass. and Paterson, N.J.

In New Bedford where at one time thousands of textile workers rallied under the banner of the N.T.W.U. today not much more than 200 are to be found in the organization. In Paterson even a smaller group is functioning. Everywhere else where the N.T.W.U. was developing strength and in the past had some measure of success all semblance of a union has disappeared. This includes Fall River, Mass., Passaic, N.J. and Bethlehem and Allentown, Pa.

End the Stalinist stranglehold of the N.T.W.U.! Stop the exaggeration policy and deliberate lying, of which the Bessemer City strike is only one of many cases! Allow non-supporters of the Browder machine to participate in the union work! Conduct a real broad united organization campaign to enroll the workers in the N.T.W.U.!

—FRANK BROMLEY