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After the British Elections Preparing the Road for Sharpened Future Struggles

"On the day when the English proletariat frees itself from the mental baseness of Fabianism, humanity, particularly in Europe, will increase in stature by at least a head." (Trotsky—"Whither England", page 91).

Unquestionably the most outstanding among the generally extra-ordinary results recorded by the British elections of Oct. 27 is the crushing blow dealt to Fabian reformism. In the immediate sense and by way of parliamentary representation, reaction gained overwhelmingly. But in its more fundamental aspect, these elections have compressed into one expression the fact that the British workers are becoming disillusioned with this insidious corrupting influence of reformism, but have not yet learned the revolutionary way out. In this respect the elections record one serious obstacle diminished.

The conservatives increased their vote from the 1929 elections by more than three millions; it gained more than 200 mandates now having 472 seats in the House of Commons out of a total of 615. In the same comparison, that is, with 1929, the Labor party lost over one and one half million votes. In the apportionment of seats in parliament they are now minus 214, having been reduced to a mere fraction of 50 members in the house. The Communist party polled a total of 74,824 votes, compared to its 50,000 votes in 25 electoral districts in 1929 and 53,000 votes in the 1924 elections.

The Labor Party Prepared for Present Situation

Undoubtedly the two years reign of the Labor government succeeded admirably in laying the foundation for what is happening now. It would be entirely inadequate to speak only of its treasonable role. In fact it performed the historical function of reformism which inevitably followed the road from a progressive position to that of reaction.

With the accelerating decline of British imperialism, altered also the position of the Labor party reformism. Thus, when the capitalist masters, in an effort to save the sinking pound, made their categorical demands for further drastic reductions in the working class standard, these people were faced with either complete submission or the revolutionary alternative. The latter, of course, his majesty's ministers would never accept, so MacDonald, Snowden and Jimmie Thomas went with the national government to "victory". The others attempted to stick to their Fabian reformism and were pretty well wiped out of parliament. This vote of Oct. 27, happening in a country with a decisive proletarian majority, represents first of all the despair caused by the miserable role of the Labor party. Only in that light can also be explained the small vote of the Communist Party. It failed to indicate the revolutionary way out.

Does Mac Donald See His Finish?

In his statement, thanking the voters for their "confidence", Mac Donald says: "The very emphasis of the response is embarrassing, but I appeal for forbearance as well as confidence. . . ." Perhaps he sees in this response already the forebodings of his being thrown away as a useless tool now that he can no more effectively serve to keep the workers under illusions. At any rate the conservatives will not be slow in taking full charge of affairs without being much hampered in parliament. Even the Lloyd George section of the liberals should not cause much more worry to its leader as it has been reduced to an extent of being pretty safe from any further splits.

One of the first issues which the conservatives can be expected to ride through rough shod will undoubtedly be their much cherished protective tariff.

As a solution to a decadent industrial system operating in a country which has now become the classic example of imperialist decline, protective tariffs ear- at best, have a very questionable value. But it will be certain to add its part in the sharpening of imperialist antagonisms in the world market and especially

so with the United States, Great Britain's main competitor. However, the conservative majority can be expected to more than repeat its infamous record of the former tenure in office, of which the trades union act became the outstanding example.

New Relations and Labors' New Road

British capitalism finds itself today already reduced to a smaller ration in world economy. That it will fight more desperately for its diminishing ration is already indicated, but the most immediate front it will seek at home. The slashes in the working class standard which have so far taken place, can be considered only the preliminary skirmishes and a prelude to what is coming. For that the way has been well prepared by the two years reign of the "labor" government. The workers at this moment, perhaps more disorganized than ever, are undoubtedly looked upon as easy victims by the conservatives who will now continue the task of their predecessors and consider the election victory a license to go to the extreme limit.

While these elections merely reflect the deep going changes now taking place in the general structure of British imperialism, in its relations to other powers on the world market, and particularly in its internal class relations, they will also undoubtedly in more than one respect mark a serious turning point. The furious conflicts for the world economic rations and for division of the world can be expected to develop at an accelerated pace. But above all, the sharpened class relations within will compel a new constellation of forces. On a whole it can easily be assumed that what now looks like a body-blow to British labor may rather prove its rebirth on a higher plane. The role of the official parliamentary labor opposition can become only a very limited one. In reality it will register a body blow to the miserable Fabian reformism, which although

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not dead, in this new situation of sharp-er class relations will be compelled to give place to a new and a revolutionary outlook. In this respect the elections can become a milestone on the road forward for British labor. To the degree to which it has become freed from the mental baseness of Fabianism, to that degree it will be able to commence its solution on the revolutionary path.

For the Communist party the future possibilities are that much more enhanced. If it can solve the very serious problems of correct policy, it has the opportunity of reviving the splendid traditions of the Chartist movement and a revival on a higher plane—the plane of the world proletarian revolution.

—A. S.

Hail 14 Years of Soviet Rule!

Fight to Preserve the Traditions of the Bolshevik October

The 14th anniversary of the Bolshevik Russian Revolution is at hand; and the proletariat of the entire world cheers the first working class to achieve power over the capitalist class. The heritage of the October Revolution, precious to the toiling millions everywhere, must be preserved.

In 1848 Marx and Engels, in the immortal Communist Manifesto, exultantly cried: "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism". With the Russian Revolution of November 1917, this spectre became a reality of the modern world, the first death-thrust of the unshattered proletarian sword in the body of imperialism.

The Proletarian Dictatorship is Established

The major act of the Russian proletariat, in the program of revolution, was the seizure of political power as a class; it established State power; it set up the dictatorship of the proletariat which, as Marx proved in the Criticism of the Gotha Program, was the necessary transition measure employed by the working class in the long, hard road toward the establishment of a genuine Communist society—a society without the exploitation of man by man and thereby without classes. The Kautskys and the Mensheviks, et al, abandoning Marx's ideas, lost their base, and since then have stood upon the ground of revisionism and reformism.

When the Russian masses, under the leadership of the Communist Party, of Lenin and Trotsky, assumed power, there began the first acts in carrying through the economic program of scientific socialism. The Russian Revolution proceeded with the social measures put forward by the early leaders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels. The

means of production and distribution were socialized and nationalized. For the first time in the modern imperialist epoch, by the act of the proletarian revolution, "Socialist production upon a pre-determined plan became henceforth possible" (Engels). Not through the lazy dreams of the Utopian socialists, but scientifically, following the basic plans of Marx and Engels, socialist construction began.

The Epoch of Wars and Revolutions

There began that experiment in humanity-building when ultimately, "The government of persons (the State) is replaced by the administration of things; and by the conduct of the processes of production." (Engels).

The Leninist estimation of the present imperialist epoch is that it is the "epoch of wars and revolutions." With the advent of the Bolshevik Revolution, the establishment of proletarian Soviet power, the two phases of the Leninist view were realized. The World War, that enormous but inevitable disaster of civilization, which forever damned capitalism in the eyes and minds of the thinking and revolutionary workers and peoples of all lands, was first given a deadly blow by the uprising of the misery-ridden workers and peasants and soldiers of Czarist Russia. The epoch of capitalist war had met its complement and master—the Proletarian Revolution. The Kerensky socialists and mensheviks—the protectors of the interests of the Russian bourgeoisie—who tried to hold back the realization of the demands of the workers and peasants met defeat. The Bolsheviks, penetrating the Soviets with the slogans of Bread, Peace and Land, won the masses to their slogans and received the mandate of the Russian people to carry through the Bolshevik program.

Carrying Out the Program of Communism

It became possible then to initiate the work of carrying out successfully the principles of Communism—a task which, as Lenin pointed out in his brochure, The Soviets At Work, would comprise the physical and intellectual efforts of the masses for decades. Its consummation would witness the complete transformation of the means of production and distribution and the outlook of man upon the world—a transvaluation of values that would raise mankind to a historical level never before conceived by man. Though begun in Soviet Russia, this objective could only be achieved on an international scale through the instruments of Communist Parties and a Communist International as guides and leaders of the working class. To this end the Communist International, with the leading spirits then of Lenin, Trotsky, Rakovsky, Zinoviev and Platten was formed in 1919.

During the fourteen years of the Russian Revolution there have been also six congresses of the Communist International. During these 14 years of proletarian power in Soviet Russia, there have been mighty achievements despite the many and persistent efforts of the Russian bourgeoisie, White Guardists and the world imperialists led by America, England and France, to smash the Soviet Power. Military intervention, civil war, sabotage, famine, etc. failed. The power of the Red Army, the fundamental acts of the socialization and nationalization of the means of production (to the fullest extent possible under the given conditions) the power above all, of the ideas and ideal of Communism, that penetrated the consciousness of the masses ever more and more, held the Soviet Power and the Communist Party firmly together through all struggles and vicissitudes.

Lenin Dies; Stalinism Rises

The death of Lenin, which came after four Congresses of the Communist International had guided the destinies

of the Soviet Union and the international proletarian movement, gave rise, under the aegis of Stalin and Bukharin, to new formulations, new ideas, false interpretations and revisionist theories of Marxism. The tremendous damage which the epigones of Lenin—the Stalinist-Bukharin school of thought—have committed to the immediate and historical interests of the Russian and also the world proletarian revolution, is here briefly outlined.

Property—land and the means of production—remain socialized in the Soviet Union. The monopoly of foreign trade, a mighty pillar for the maintenance of the proletarian dictatorship, exists. The years in which Lenin and Trotsky led the destinies of Soviet Russia, the best period of Communist leadership, have instilled millions of workers with the understanding and need of Communism. Despite the Stalinist perversions of Marxist-Leninist theories and practice and the disfiguration of Revolution, there remains tremendous ideological strength in large sections of the Communist party and the proletariat, largely unexpressed because of the suppressive methods of the Stalinist regime against the worker-Communists and Left Opposition.

Stalin and Menshevik Hopes

The revision of the doctrines of Marx and Lenin by the Stalinists has given aid and comfort to the theories of Menshevism. Menshevism insists that the zig-zags and revisions of Leninism by Stalin and Bukharin are historically inevitable, and that the present leadership of the Comintern is adapting itself accordingly. Menshevism denies that the assumption of power by the proletariat in a so-called backward country economically, as in Russia, can become the means whereby the proletariat can proceed to the introduction of socialist principles of production and distribution, and it maintains that if a working class attains political power under such conditions, the drift must be back to capitalism, in order not to "skip any stages" in the historical economic scale. But the years of the Russian Revolution under Lenin and Trotsky are a living refutation of the Mensheviks and made easier the defeat of the latter both in Soviet Russia and on a world scale. However, the official paraders of Communism, the Stalinist regime, have made simpler the tasks of the Menshevik slanderers. We cite here some factual material.

The Left Opposition has consistently discussed the issues dividing it from the Centrists and Right wing. In the 14th year of the Russian revolution, the Left Opposition finds that time has confirmed its criticism of the Stalinist Comintern and ratified the platform and perspectives of the Left Opposition both in regard to the situation in the Soviet Union and internationally.

In the year 1931 there took place the trials of the engineer specialists and Mensheviks on charges of sabotage and counter-revolutionary activity against the Soviet Government. The Opposition warned the Party against the Stalinist methods which made it so easy for Mensheviks and intellectuals of the old order to step into positions of significance, without any check, in the fields of economy and politics. The party and the Soviet Union paid the price of this "reconciliation" with window-jumping Besedovsky, the Agebekovs, the Ramzins, the "Mensheviks-Bolsheviks, and countless others.

The Opposition Platform Serves the Workers' Interests

Advances in socialist construction in the domain of industry and agriculture have been made-notable ones. The Left Opposition led the struggle, resisted for years by Stalin and Bukharin, for a vast increase in Soviet and collective farms and for a swifter industrialization policy. Under Opposition pressure the Stalinist "Left" swing began. We will not deal here with the caricature the Stalinists have made of a sound collectivization and industrialization program, but concern ourselves with the main outlines. The Five Year Plan, the first of many to come, was first advanced by the Left Opposition under Trotsky's leadership. In a fundamental, principle and programmatic sense, these and many other ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION BELONG TO THE LEFT OPPOSITION.

In respect to Soviet economy, the Left Opposition proposed the abandonment of the Stalinist policy of economic isolation, the theory of an isolated, self-sufficing Soviet economy able to build a "complete socialist society" (Stalin) with the existing economic perquisites of Russia. The Opposition insisted that the false theory of socialism in "one country, the foundation of Stalin's "theories", be discarded. The Opposition proposed a foreign trade policy that would link the needs of the Russian Revolution with the requirements of the world's workers affected by the world economic crisis. The monopoly of foreign trade by the Soviet Union would be the lever for a controlled economic collaboration with the capitalist world. Concretely, further, Trotsky proposed to this end that the Comintern initiate

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Manchurian Events and the Communists

SHANGHAI.—

The dominant event now in Far Eastern politics is the Manchurian occupation which startled the world like lightning from the blue. Japanese imperialism has carried out the wishes and plans, which it entertained for years, to subjugate Manchuria to its own territory. It chose the right moment to strike since the world economic depression has so seriously affected the United States of America and England, even as it chose the right moment during the World War to put up the famous twenty one demands upon China. The Japanese imperialists are always at work to keep China in a state of schism and discord, and to make the militarists fight each other in order to fish in the troubled waters.

After the suppression of the revolution, after the slaughter of tens of thousands of the revolutionary masses, the Nanking government is degenerating to the same fate as the former Peking government. It can offer no resistance against the aggression of foreign imperialists, except that it still uses many revolutionary phrases which are anachronistic reminiscences of the past revolution. In the face of a predatory war launched by Japan against China, the generals of the Chang Hsueh Liang group only retreated as the Japanese army advanced, and laid down arms to let the Japanese army have a free hand and complete control over the territory where they were the rulers. They look on helplessly at the Japanese bombardment, burning, pillaging and killing.

The Resistance of the Chinese Masses

The Nanking government, at the head of which stands Chiang Kai-Shek, is no better, Chiang Kai-Shek preaches "calmness" and "endurance" to the people just as the Manchurian generals practise non-resistance in delivering the people

to the claws of Japanese imperialism. A wave of indignation and fury is spreading throughout the whole of China, students are out in the streets haranguing the crowd, mass meetings are being held, anti-Japanese associations organized; the anti-Japanese boycott is to be strengthened, circulars, leaflets and placards distributed. But unfortunately the protests and resistance among the people up to now are chiefly words and sentimental phrases which are characteristic of the petty-bourgeois movement. The workers are not now participating actively in the anti-Japanese imperialism movement because they are not quite recovered from the wounds they suffered, and there are still rigorous restrictions against them.

What is to be done to beat off the foreign invasion? What will be the outcome of it? Many public and legal organizations are clamoring for a war against Japan. But a war against Japanese imperialism means a revolutionary war. It is impossible for the Kuo Min Tang government to conduct such a war because it fears the awakening of the broad masses. The only alternative for the Kuo Min Tang government is to appeal to the League of Nations and to America for interference in favor of China.

Kuo Min Tang's Shaky Position

Until now it only received a rebuff from the League of Nations. After all, the latter is quite in line with Japanese imperialism, expressing satisfaction over the sophistic Japanese explanation that the military invasion is not military occupation, etc. The only road open to the Nanking government is to negotiate directly with Japan, to put up with the loss of territory and to swallow the insult. But in the long run, will the people not be exasperated by the government's capitulation to the clattering of weapons and the unshathing of swords by Japan imperialism? The logic of events should lead to the serious shaking of the Kuo Min Tang rule and should open many possibilities for Communist agitation.

The Kuo Min Tang rule has experienced this year the most severe crisis since its advent to power in China in 1927; its inner deep antagonisms between the Chekiang and the Kwantung factions, the revolt of the Northern militarists, the peasant war in central China, the growing misery of the masses due to heavy taxation and high cost of living, the unprecedented flood disaster, and the Japanese occupation of Manchuria are bound to exert a revolutionary influence upon the masses. Here and there we hear always the bitter tone of enmity from the lowest strata of the masses against Chiang Kai Shek, Chang Hsueh Liang and the Kuo Min Tang because they advocate non-resistance to the Japanese aggression. But where is the Communist Party which can utilize successfully the hostility of the people against the Kuo Min Tang to overthrow its rule? In other words, where is the Communist Party, the only party existing in China, which is against all shades of the Kuo Min Tang?

We need to write the history of the Chinese Communist Party in the last

two years in order to understand the present situation of the Party. Between September 1930 and January 1931, there were two overturns in the Party which resulted in the complete elimination of the LI-LI-SIAN group from leadership. It was sacrificed as a scape-goat to cover the adventurous sins of the Stalinist E. C. C. I.

Influence of the Past on Present Chinese C. P.

It is really amusing to read the Comintern's letter of last November to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, condemning the policy of the LI-LI-SIAN group. The gist of the letter was that "the course of armed uprising is already decided, the significance of the establishment of the Soviet government lies in the fact that the Chinese Communist Party is on the road towards armed uprising in the big and biggest cities," but "comrade LI-LI-SIAN saw the ripening of the revolutionary situation on a national scale," and "proposed to start an armed uprising in Hankow when the Chinese Communist Party has in that area only two hundred Party members and one hundred and fifty red trade union members."

But the executor LI-LI-SIAN should have fully the right to ask the sages of the Comintern why they decided on the course of armed uprising in the big and biggest cities when they themselves, admitted in the same letter that "the rising tide of the labor movement, generally speaking, even in the decisive industrial cities (Hankow, Shanghai along Yangtze, not to mention Canton, Hongkong, Darlen, Harbin, etc.) lags behind the peasant movement. Even in Shanghai and Hankow, the spontaneous strike struggle did not develop rapidly. In the May and August demonstrations of this

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Canadian Party Leaders on Trial

Since the arrest of the nine Party leaders in Canada last August, the main efforts of the Canadian Labor Defense League have been in forming a mass defense movement; this work has found expression as the Workers' Rights and Anti-Deportation Conference.

In all leading cities of Canada where a branch of the C. L. D. L. exists, conferences have been organized for the defense of the Communist Party. In Toronto, where the headquarters of the Party are located, and where the trial will take place, a conference was organized on September 28th, which was attended by 129 delegates representing 49 organizations, and consists of an effort to form a united front of various sections of the Labor movement, as evidenced by the nature of the organizations represented, reformist unions, Labor party, fraternal and cultural bodies, and organizations sympathetic to and under the ideological control of the Party. The composition of the conference has shown that if proper tactics are adopted united front can be attained. It seems that the Party leaders are learning a few lessons from the catastrophic policies of the last few years; that the present trial means

the legality or illegality of the Communist movement, and strangulation or bureaucratic control of the defense movement would have serious repercussions harming the cause at a critical period.

The first meeting of the conference in Toronto adopted a resolution giving an analysis of the situation in Canada, of the various phases of capitalist breakdown leaving an army of 600,000 unemployed.

Instead of granting unemployment insurance to the hungry, capitalist economy "strengthens" itself by adding to its police forces, and using more outrageous methods of violence as instanced by the shooting of three striking miners in Estevan, Saskatchewan. Canada has also broken off all diplomatic and commercial relations with the U. S. S. R., and is now a leader in the Christian anti-Soviet blockade.

The Decisions of the Defense Conference

The conference accepted the Workers' Rights and Anti-Deportation Bill, and the following are its main clauses:

1. Freedom of speech and assembly for the working class
2. Protection of foreign-born and British

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PRESERVE THE WEEKLY!

We are compelled to continue our public appeal for funds to SAVE THE WEEKLY MILITANT. Donations are beginning to reach us, but they are far too small as yet to ensure the continued existence of our paper on the present basis. A policy of the utmost economy is followed scrupulously to hold the cost of publication of The Militant to the absolute minimum. No other working class publication ever was conducted on such an economical basis as is the case with the organ of the Communist League (Opposition). For this reason, our readers can feel confident that whenever a public appeal is made for The Militant, urgent and immediate necessity for bare existence and maintenance of the paper makes it so. We ask our readers to HEED OUR APPEAL TODAY AND SEND IN DONATIONS AT ONCE.

On two occasions we have started the Weekly Militant. The first time was on November 30, 1929. After seven and a half months of existence, during which the Weekly Militant demonstrated its effectiveness on various issues before the working class—the textile and coal miners' struggles, information on world events, Communist policy, etc.—we were

compelled, because of lack of funds, to discontinue the Weekly Militant. This was a hard blow to the revolutionary movement. We were determined to recover and return again to a weekly paper at the first opportunity.

On July 4, 1931 we revived the Weekly Militant and for four months now we have again issued the paper. It has been hard, but we believe that the supporters and sympathizers of the Left Opposition want to maintain the Weekly Militant at all costs. Support from each subscriber and sympathizer to the cause of the Left Communists will assure the existence of the Weekly and help to develop it on stronger foundations.

From New York a total of \$150.00 has reached The Militant since our appeal. House to house collections are being undertaken, sympathizers and subscribers visited. Chicago states that supporters there will be reached immediately.

The Militant confidently awaits the response of its readers. DON'T DELAY! SEND IN YOUR DONATION TODAY to: THE MILITANT

84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.