

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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The Meaning of the Elections

A Victory for Capitalism; A Defeat for Official Communism

On November 3rd, the vast majority of the voting population in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and other sections of the country marched to the polls and cast once again a ballot of confidence in, and retention of, the capitalist system. Reaction and conservatism remain in the saddle, though here a democratic, there a republican rider, sits in the saddle.

Prior to the elections, The Militant (10-24-31) said:

"The elections will serve as a barometer of the maturity of the American working class, to what point it has been heightened under the impact of the disillusioning post-'prosperity' crisis. . . . The elections will not create the rising temper of the proletariat; they will register it within the narrow confines of the ballot box . . . provided . . . the workers mobilize their voting strength behind the candidates of the only revolutionary party in the field—the Communist Party."

The Capitalists Win Again

The votes cast in the elections did indicate some things, but not the desired ones. The votes did demonstrate, by and large, the swing of the voters back to the Democratic Party. With this shift, the electors aimed to demonstrate their resentment, and that of the mass of non-voters, against the outright reactionary, naked bourgeois capitalism of the Hoover administration, which offered nothing but a prayer to the mass of people during the two years of economic crisis. But fundamentally, the bourgeoisie, the petit-bourgeois middle class and the voting proletariat, cast another vote for capitalism, but proposed that another court-plaster be pasted on the open cuts.

The American masses voted for the capitalist candidates, because of lack of clarity of a program by any other contending group in the parliamentary field, and, most important, because they are not yet ready for socialism. The objective factors,—mass unemployment, the rule of King Hunger, low wages, etc.—were favorable for an increase in radical and revolutionary expression. Even though the original Hoover boast, and then only a hope, of "a chicken in every pot" found its realization in the soggy handout on the bread-line through unemployment and militarism, the opposite poles of capitalist disorganization and organization, stalked the land, the people voted capitalist.

The Bosses Look Now to the Democrats

The next House of Representatives will apparently have a slight Democratic majority and will thereby be both a plague to Hoover and an excuse for further failures and inadequacies of the Republican administration. The Democrats will demand of the "sovereign" people, in order to put over their "program", complete control of the powers of Government. Present indications are for Democratic success in the 1932 elections which will enable them to divide the spoils of victory and to function in their particular manner as the executive committee of the capitalist class.

The discontentment that exists among the masses continued the course of previous elections and canalized itself in support of the Democratic Party. But as before, apart from individual, sectional and secondary questions, the two main capitalist parties are as like as Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee in their support of the powerful financial and industrial interests of Wall Street; both parties reject with equal equanimity any genuine immediate relief on behalf of the jobless, oppose unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and government; and both parties give unqualified and enthusiastic support to Hoover's concern for the bankers' welfare, a military program, and an attack on the living standards of the working class. Thus

the workers who now voted for the Democratic ticket voted to be duped again.

The American Federation of Labor continued its former policy against independent working class political action, and in the main threw its "non-partisan" support to the Democrats.

The Elections in New York

The elections in New York City where unemployment reaches over a million, and where all sections of the labor movement seek political expression, are perhaps good examples to gauge the significance of the elections, particularly in relation to the Communists and the Communist Party.

It is the viewpoint of the Left Opposition that the working class, in taking its first steps politically, will follow simultaneously the roads of the social-democrats and the Communists. The extent to which the workers will be attracted to the program of communism as against the socialists will, apart from the objective factors of economic and social conditions, depend upon the ability of the Communists to present their program in a clear, intelligent and unambiguous manner. There is no reason at all ordinarily, so far as programs are concerned, why a worker should not be able, if he is looking for a revolutionary way out of the capitalist impasse, to make clear his preference for the Communists as against the socialists. But in the New York elections, the mish-mash program of vulgar reformism and revolutionary communism put forward by the Communist Party, made for confusion instead of clarity, and simplified the tasks of the socialists.

The Petit-Bourgeois Appeal of the Socialists

The Socialist Party of Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit made its programmatic appeal, in the main, to the disaffected petit-bourgeois, the small business man and shop-keeper, the professional man, the liberals, white-collar slaves, etc. While, no doubt, it received the votes of deluded industrial workers, it had no fundamental class approach to the workers. As is known, the acceptance of the theory of the class struggle no longer appears in its preamble. There are those elements in the Socialist Party who, looking farther ahead than their brother reformists, would prefer to have the Socialist Party appeal to and base its support on the labor bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. and the assistance it can give to develop a labor base.

But the Norman Thomas wing, steeped in the ideology and practices of liberalism, though paying lip-service now and then to the working class, does not concern itself with the capitalist system per se and the need for its abolition. Rather it devotes itself to a denunciation of and demand for a reform of the rotten manifestations of capitalism, with its sores and festers. The S. P. concerns itself with such resultant issues as Tammany corruption, graft, vice, etc. The vote for Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for Borough President of Manhattan bitterly disappointing to him, was 48, 438, (which was greater than his 1929 poll), represented, not votes for socialism, but for petit-bourgeois reformism. His own comment on the outcome of the elections was typical and true to his own and the socialist party propaganda in the campaign itself. Thomas stated that the election results were a "blow against good government . . . a triumph of organized greed . . . rampant gangsterism . . . there is no hope for clean government". Nothing is there but the words of disappointed liberalism, of a program that would put silk covering on a moth-eaten, ragged capitalism.

(Continued on page 4)

Russ Oppositionists on Hunger Strike!

We give here a brief account of the brutal measures employed by the Stalinist bureaucrats and G. P. U. agents against the Left Opposition at Verchne-Uralsk where 130 Bolshevik-Leninists are held at an isolation camp. This savage treatment of the best revolutionists and Communists is meted out to the thousands of Left Oppositionists who are exiled and imprisoned in all parts of the Soviet Union.

The disappearance of Christian Rakovsky from Barnaul, and whose present location is not known to this day, except to Stalin and his jailers, is arousing the indignation of revolutionists throughout the world. It is not known whether Rakovsky is alive or dead. This situation applies to others of the young and old Bolsheviks being persecuted by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

We demand a cessation of the persecution of the Left Opposition. The militant workers must insist upon a knowledge of Christian Rakovsky's whereabouts. Stalin and his henchmen will not be permitted to ignore or forget their brutal actions, which include imprisonment, exile and murder of revolutionary Communists. Time will yet give a reckoning.—Ed.

MOSCOW.

At the isolation camp of Verchne-Uralsk, where 130 "Trotskyists" are kept, the repression was so severe that the prisoners answered by a hunger strike. This lasted eighteen days, after which the administration restored to forcible feeding. The result was resistance, the use of brute force, shooting, with one comrade wounded, so far as we know. The treatment to which the prisoners are subjected is sufficiently described by the fact that thirty comrades are sick with scurvy.

N. M.

THE CANADIAN TRIALS AND THE LEFT OPPOSITION

See Page Two for Letter of Maurice Spector to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada.

Additional reports on the trial and its outcome, as well as an estimate of the conduct of the defendants before the court will be given by comrade Spector in subsequent issues of The Militant.

Jap War in Manchuria Menaces Soviet & World Proletariat

American Imperialists Join in Preparations for World-wide Conflagration

At this writing the state of war between Japan and China on the fields of Manchuria continues and the death toll increases. All forms of "legal" and diplomatic measures, threats of economic boycott and severance of diplomatic relations, the demands of the League of Nations, the invoking of the Kellogg Pact, have failed to deter the Japanese government from sharp military aggression and actions against the Chinese. Japanese imperialism pillages and kills. At Tientsin, U. S. infantry troops have been called out, prepared to add their bit of slaughtering.

From the start it has been clear that the Chinese National Government, directed by the policies of the Kuo Min Tang and Chiang Kai-Shek, is helpless in a military sense before the Japanese (even as are the Northern war-lords), and is compelled to call for a cessation of hostilities through the medium of the League of Nations and for open or secret support from the United States. Chiang Kai-Shek, the militarist, the murderer of tens of thousands of the Chinese masses, is suddenly become an advocate of the policy of non-resistance. Such resistance as has been directed

against the Japanese aggression, has been the result of pressure of protest from the masses, as well as from sections of the Chinese nationalist bourgeoisie who see in Japan's invasion a blow at their economic and political supremacy in Manchuria.

Behind the Smoke-screen of Japanese Imperialism

Japan, to justify her invasion of Manchuria, puts forward economic and political considerations, legal excuses (violation of treaty agreements by China, that is, the infamous 21 points) enforced upon them at the point of a pistol, historical analogies with other nations, including the United States. And, of course, and not least, are not the Japanese keeping the "Red menace" out of Manchuria! The Nipponese maintain they are in Manchuria merely to repair and protect their railroads in which they have enormous investments, and to protect their treaty rights. At the same time Japan is already directing her military operations to the south, as well as in Manchuria. Manchuria must be developed economically, says Japan; it is Japan's "manifest destiny", its economic and social necessity to do so. Their acts are neither acts of war nor intended as such. After all, the Japanese state, they are merely following the "peaceful" procedure of the United States in the latter's frequent interventions into Nicaragua, Santa Domingo, Cuba, Mexico and other South and Central American countries. The Japs therefore plainly say: What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

The United States is still proceeding discreetly, and in the main is giving its support to the Chiang Kai-Shek government from whom it is receiving and will receive much more support for Wall Street in the future, if the Kuo Min Tangists last. While the economic and physical partition of China and of Manchuria is uppermost in the minds of the imperialist powers, there must be method in the slicing. All of them are jockeying for political, diplomatic, economic and military positions for that time when the economic difficulties, ambitions and contradictions of each imperialist nation compel an attempt at a solution on the arena of capitalist war on a world scale. In the present Manchurian fighting, therefore, there are all the ingredients for immediate war on a world-wide scale, although present indications are that these developments and war skirmishes are only some of the preludes to

the impending world war crash.

Imperialist Provocations and Soviets' Policy of Peace

The Japanese are now also in the Soviet sphere of influence. All imperialist powers, and the Chinese government included, are endeavoring to place the Soviet Union into a bad and false position, to put the onus of difficulties upon the Workers' Republic, and are increasing their propaganda and preparations for an imperialistic war combination against the Soviet Republic. The Soviets are using all efforts to maintain a condition of peace, to demand the cessation of hostilities between the Japanese and Chinese governments. Everybody knows that the policy of the Soviet Union is for peace; that the workers' road is the road of peace and collaboration between the workers of all nations. The imperialists will not succeed in their campaign to provoke the Soviets into war.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union and the workers in every country are supporters and friends of the Chinese masses, and will do everything possible to enforce the resistance of the Chinese masses against the economic and military aggression of the Japanese imperialists, as well as to support the Chinese people against the blood-brothers of the Nipponese invaders, the Chinese Chiang Kai-Shek government. Manchuria and China are the property neither of the Japanese warlords nor the Chinese militarists and bourgeoisie. The American bourgeoisie, too, are sticking their hands into the bloody affair, and their paws drip with gold, coined from blood. Sales of military supplies are being made to Japan and no doubt to China too. Every factory becomes a potential arsenal. The resources of China and Manchuria belong to its mass occupants, the workers and peasants, whose main job it is to wring the necks of both the foreign and native exploiters and establish their own Soviet government.

The Dual Task of the Moment

On previous occasions The Militant has examined the causes and objectives of the Manchurian invasion by Japan; the article in The Militant (11-7-31) by comrade Niel-Sih of Shanghai has graphically portrayed the political situation in China, particularly the impotence of the Communist Party of China and the Comintern in the present situation. The official Communist movement is today paying the price of Stalinist policies,

Stalinist "victories" and Soviets" in China, by an inability to organize the Chinese workers and peasants in the dual task of resistance against the Japan invasion into Manchuria, and for the overthrow of the Chiang Kai-Shek government and all other bourgeois and war-lords in China. It is imperative, moreover, that efforts in all countries be organized to the maximum against the imperialist bourgeoisie in every nation, in order for each Communist movement best to carry out its respective tasks in defense of the Chinese revolution, against the Japanese aggression, for support and defense of the Soviet Union against any and all forms of attack, and against the war danger.

Upon the Chinese Communists, particularly its most militant, resolute and determined section, the Left Communists, devolves the task of mobilization of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism, for resistance against the invaders. The surest way to effect this is a struggle to defeat the bourgeoisie of China, to achieve the destruction of the Kuo Min Tang movement, whether that of the bloody militarists led by Chiang Kai-Shek, or the "Left" Kuo Min Tang headed by Wang Chih Wei. The intensification of the CIVIL WAR IN CHINA is the best weapon of defense against Japan. It is fundamentally that correct tactic proposed by the revolutionists in 1870 during the invasion of France by Prussia, when, as the best defense of Paris against the Prussian invaders, it was necessary and correct to work for the overthrow of the bourgeois government of Thiers and its replacement by a people's government. The Japanese Communists need to increase their struggle against the Japanese imperialists. In the last analysis, the native Chinese bourgeoisie will divide the spoils with foreign exploiters, rather than to give up everything to the masses.

Defeat the Aims of the War Lords!

In the United States all forces must be mobilized to demand that the imperialist paws of the United States be kept off China; to demand that the Japanese get out of Manchuria. War exists. It can easily spread till it engulfs the entire world. The propagation of the ideals of the Soviet Union and of the principles of Communism must be increased manifold as measures of preparation and defense of the proletariat against the objectives of the bourgeoisie.

Among the tasks and duties that fall to the lot of entire working class, and especially the American workers and revolutionists, are the exposure of the hypocritical game of the American imperialists who are getting ready, when the opportunity arises, for military action in the Manchurian situation, with the aim to advance their own interests in the guise of "protection" of China, thereby accelerating a world war. We must demand that the imperialist powers end their pillage of China.

Full support must be given to the Chinese workers and peasants in their struggle against the foreign Japanese invaders and their enemies at home—the Chinese bourgeoisie, militarists and landlords, their Kuo Min Tang agents and the Northern militarists. The Chinese Communist Party must adopt the policy by the unity of all Communist forces, particularly with the Left Opposition, and gird itself for a bitter fight against foreign and internal aggression and exploitation. The attempts to provoke the Soviet Union into war must be combated, and workers everywhere must be on guard at all times for the defense of the Workers' fatherland, the Soviet Republic. All forces must be mobilized against the world war which all the imperialist forces are preparing.

—MARTIN ABERN.

OPEN FORUM

Friday November 13, 1931

The Haymarket Martyrs
Their Tradition and their Place in History
Lecture by
JAMES P. CANNON
at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 Cents
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Sponsors: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

Next Week: Friday, November 20
THE MANCHURIAN CRISIS
Lecture by **ARNE SWABECK**

What Laval Achieved by His Visit

In the recent avalanche of diplomatic visits are concealed many ominous signs of our epoch being at the threshold of new gigantic developments. Grim indeed are the forebodings when these pillaging marauders from the world's highways come together to discuss new schemes of division and redistribution of spoils. It is easily noticeable that the American imperialist highjacker holds the very center of the stage. Most of the traveling diplomats are steering their course toward the United States.

These visits are themselves, of course, results of important developments already in the making. They are results of the increasing pressure of the world crisis upon the various capitalist powers and their attempt to find a way out by establishing a new relationship of forces. Each power is on the alert to endeavor to maintain and strengthen its place in the sun. Naturally this was also the primary intent of Premier Laval's visit to the United States. Unquestionably his visit is a part of a definitely emerging new constellation of forces which may have the most far reaching consequences, not only for the two powers involved, but for the whole of the imperialist world.

What are the Specific Relations?

The question immediately arises what is it all about? One can, of course, easily conclude that there are now many pressing problems before the main imperialist powers which they find require discussion. But discussion among robbers can become nothing else but a maneuvering for position. And so it is in this case.

Nevertheless even among bands of robbers a certain community of interests can be found. In this respect we may mention first of all the problem of inflation. These worthy diplomats still remember the dreaded spectre of the German inflation of 1923. They remember with a shudder the narrowly averted proletarian revolution. German capitalism is still financially very hard pressed. Led by Great Britain, many lesser powers have gone off the gold standard. Even the American dollar showed a few sickly symptoms. The United States and France, the two largest creditor nations, who hold between them about two thirds of the world's gold supply, have undoubtedly much at stake in such a situation.

Secondly, there is the problem of war reparations and inter-allied war debts.

To the aristocracy of finance and to their diplomatic marionettes, it is not at all a problem of the point of view of the staggering burden lodged upon the working class or upon the broad strata of the population of the debtor countries. Not at all. But they cannot ignore the plight of German capitalism. They cannot even ignore the difficulties of the British bankers. And so; while these two of the most powerful creditor countries are compelled to lend some assistance to their fellow exploiters in Germany and England to avert a complete breakdown which would inevitably drag them all in its wake, they are also, by virtue of exactly the same self-interest, continually applying the pressure which leads in that direction.

Let the workers have no illusions. Any apparent solidarity or mutual assistance of the capitalist powers is not for one minute intended in the interest of peace. Nor is there any possibility of peaceful solutions. An eventual modification of reparations or war debt payments, any assistance to prevent a too disastrous inflation will bring a further intensification of conflicts, not merely between creditor and debtor nations but also among the creditor nations themselves. It will become only an instrument in the hands of the strongest imperialist powers to further strengthen their position for the inevitable war for redistribution of the world.

The Preparation for these Conflicts

This brings us to the essence of the apparently friendly diplomatic visits of the capitalist nations. American imperialism is more definitely, assuming world hegemony. The devastating crisis is pressing it on toward a more aggressive position. New developments are taking place with lightning speed. Events of former decades are now being compressed into a short span of time. Only a few months ago American imperialism held the revolver at the head of the French bourgeoisie. Now there are clearly the preparations for a powerful block of the kings of capital of the United States and France. The latter brings along its little entente and thereby hopes to succeed in obtaining for itself from the hated uncle Sbylock a greater degree of hegemony in Europe. Representatives of other powers are still to come here. The Fascist foreign minister, after a hearty welcome in Berlin, is now on his way also to put in claims for a ration in world economy. How many may still

find a place within this powerful block cannot yet be foretold. After all, agreements among robbers stretch only so far, and last only until the victim is fleeced; then new victims have to be found. But one thing is entirely certain. The aggressively growing hegemony of American imperialism in world affairs is devoting itself diligently for this block, to first of all settle the deadly combat with its main competitor, England.

Yet above all, the American bourgeoisie is asserting its world hegemony and taking charge to strengthen the whole imperialist front against the working class, and with that against the Soviet Union. It is fully apprehensive of the tottering and decaying symptoms recently so strongly manifested within certain European capitalist countries. It is fully conscious of the effects of the crisis upon the workers and apprehensive of their rapidly growing dissatisfaction. It sees the signs of coming

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The Militant Starts on Its Fourth Year

Three years ago to the day, on November 15, 1928, the first issue of The Militant came off the press. In their official declaration to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, the three expelled members of the Central Committee, stated their intention to continue with the publication of The Militant until the Left Opposition was restored to their Party rights. For three years now, The Militant, as the chief instrument of the American Left Opposition, has carried on the struggle for the re-organization and regeneration of the Communist movement on its original Leninist basis.

Shall we be able and permitted to carry on this important work? This depends now entirely on our supporters, sympathizers and readers. We again reiterate our appeal for IMMEDIATE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.

Must we again retreat from a Weekly Militant to a semi-weekly? We count upon YOU who read this issue of The Militant to render financial support to prevent such an unfortunate step.

Give Assistance Today!

We aim TO EXPAND. The first issue of the Opposition youth paper, Young Spartacus, is about to appear. It is our

hope soon to issue a Jewish organ of the Communist League, and perhaps also a Greek paper. This is the way of the Left Opposition: to build, to grow, to increase and multiply, to gather ever more cadres and instruments about the Left Opposition. This is the way to influence the ranks of the official Communist movement, to win the Communists to the principles of the Left Opposition.

THIS WEEK we must know your answer. Make your donation TODAY for the maintenance of the Weekly Militant. Then, continue regular support through weekly, or oftener, donations.

The responses to date to our appeal are as follows:

N. Y. Branch membership	150.00
Carl Freda, New York	2.00
I. Dreyer, New York	3.00
L. J. Miller, Brooklyn	2.00
E. B., New York	5.00
Jean Allen, New York	4.00
Miscellaneous Contributions	
New York	6.05
Boston Branch	12.00
Chicago Branch	4.00
T. Bolsner, Los Angeles	10.00
Send funds to:	

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