

# Cantonese Continue Capitalist Policy

## Chinese Proletariat Must Develop Struggle for Democratic Rights

The scene of Far Eastern affairs has shifted to China proper with the resignation of Chiang Kai-Shek as president of the Chinese Nationalist Government and the rise to power of the southern Cantonese faction of the Kuo Min Tang, headed by Wang Chin Wei, Eugene Chen and Sun Fo. The vacillation and impotence of Chiang Kai-Shek and the Nanking faction in the face of the invasion of Manchuria by the Japanese, and the pressure from the rising wrath of the workers, peasants and students hastened the downfall of Chiang and Nanking. The immediate basis of the differences between the Canton and Nanking factions, apart from opinions as to how best to continue the exploitation of the Chinese masses, was the dissatisfaction of the Cantonese clique of militarists and politicians with the complete domination of the government by general Chiang Kai-Shek and Finance Minister T. V. Soong, who between them controlled all the guns and all the money—and therefore all the power.

### The Canton Bourgeois Clique

The Cantonese already last May set up their style of "Nationalist Government of China", but onrushing events, especially the Manchurian war, forced the Nanking and Canton cliques to discuss "unification" of the Kuo Min Tang. Since October "terms" have been discussed, and now, according to declarations, these have been satisfactorily arranged. The Cantonese group of the Kuo Min Tang becomes the open face of the capitulator before the foreign imperialists and the oppressor of the masses of China. Chiang Kai-Shek and others of his faction are to be adequately cared for, however, in the redistribution of the spoils, offices and honors.

With this change of rule in China to another faction of the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang, nothing essential, as we pointed out before in the Militant, has been changed. Wang Chin Wei, Eugene Chen & Co. will talk about a more "determined" stand against the Japanese, but actually it will consist only of phrases. Their real color was again stamped when, within a day after the Cantonese were in control, troops in Nanking were shooting and killing demonstrating workers and students. Chiang Kai-Shek, of course, was particularly reluctant to proceed against the Japanese bourgeoisie, with whom he had maintained friendly relations. Most of his wealth is deposited in banks of Tokyo, Japan. Chiang loves his money most of all. It is fitting that the Cantonese propose Chiang Kai-Shek as Chairman of the Military Council. He is the most accomplished artist, thanks to Stalin, of murder of the Chinese proletariat.

In brief, the Cantonese will continue the policies of Chiang Kai-Shek, endeavoring to change the forms to meet a changing situation. There will be more talk of "democratic rights", etc., but these will only be achieved if the working masses of China develop a struggle to win them and succeed in drawing the poor peasants and students into such a struggle under their leadership. A Chinese Communist Party that recognizes the necessity for the struggle for democratic rights in this period and prepares to fight for them, must lead and direct the whole movement.

### The "Achievements" of Stalin and the Browners

It is necessary to point out that the Chiang Kai-Sheks, the Wang Chin Weis and Eugene Chens, the Right, Center and Left of the Kuo Min Tang in the period of 1925-1927, all united in the destruction and massacre of the Chinese workers and peasants. It is equally necessary to point out "that the cruel massacre of the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese Revolution at its three most important turning points . . . the party owes principally and above all to comrade Stalin" and to the lesser Stalinites, the Earl Browners, et al.

Stalin and Stalinism sowed the roots of illusion and belief of the Chinese masses in the Kuo Min Tang by demanding the subordination, politically, ideologically and organizationally of the Communist Party and the proletariat to the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang. The blood bath of the Chinese proletariat was the price paid. Behind the sword of Chiang Kai-Shek, Wang Chin Wei and Company was the approving head of Stalin and his Menshevik supporter and advisor, Martynov.

In another section of the Militant there begins the publication of "Facts and Documents on Stalin's Role in the Chinese Revolution," which comrade Trotsky has assembled. These further serve to demonstrate the terrible degradation and horror to which Stalin subjected the Chinese Communist Party and the proletariat. It is proper that an Earl Browder, who assisted in the betrayal of the Chinese workers as an agent of Stalin should condemn (*Daily Worker*, 12-19-31) Chen Du-Shu, who, becoming conscious of the crimes of Stalinism and the correctness of the criticism and program of the Left Opposition, honestly declared himself in support of the Opposition.

### The Struggle for Democratic Rights

Illusions concerning the Cantonese Kuo Min Tang must be destroyed completely in the minds of the Chinese masses. In this period of capitalist domination of China, but with a ferment constantly deepening among the Chinese masses, the struggle for democratic rights—for free speech, free press, free assembly, for the right to organize in

labor unions and political parties, for the right of legal existence of the Communist Party of China and the Left Opposition, for the convening of a Constituent Assembly, democratically elected, with the extension of the right to participate in the elections of all workers and exploited peasants and a safeguarding of their voting rights—such a struggle will help swiftly to disillusion the workers and peasants of China in the new Nationalist Government.

The student demonstrations must be deepened socially and politically against the regime of capitalism itself rather than only its worst manifestations. The proletariat and the Communist Party must be responsible for this task.

There must be demanded an unconditional cessation of the White Terror which has continued unabated. There are other phases of the struggle, but these must be placed in the forefront. This movement must be directed by the Chinese Communist Party, and the Communist International must give it full support. The lessons of 1925-1927 must be learned, not only by the Chinese Communists but by the Communists in every country. In one form or another these questions will arise sharply, as they did in England, in Germany, in Spain, etc. In each instance the Stalinized Comintern failed to permit the development of an independent Communist Party policy that could lead the struggles of the masses.

### The Soviet Union and the Imperialists

While the change of regime in China overshadows for the moment the events in Manchuria, nevertheless they must not be overlooked for one instance. The covetous eyes of American imperialism note with dismay Japan's swift moves to control Manchuria, and are also apprehensive concerning the situation in China proper. It will work with might and maintain to maintain its influence over the Kuo Min Tang led by the Canton faction, even as it did over Nanking.

The provocations against the Soviet Union by the Japanese and other capitalist powers have not abated, and the Soviet Union is being pressed sorely. As we have said before, the Soviet Union does not want war, but will not indefinitely, assuming a revolutionary proletarian policy on its part, permit itself to be provoked and to be placed in a defensive position. The proletariat does not fear the clash with imperialism. The Soviet Union, as the first fortress of the world revolution, may yet be compelled to take an offensive step in the maintenance of its proletarian power and in furtherance of the international proletariat.

That the imperialists of the world have in mind a concentrated drive against the Soviet Union cannot be doubted. They bide their time and prepare their forces. The Manchurian war is a phase, both of the contradictions between the imperialist powers and a move against the Soviet Union. The visits of Premier Laval of France and Foreign Minister Grandi of Italy are likewise, as is the developing force of Fascism in Germany, before which the Communist Party of Germany with its adopted policy of national socialism is impotent. The *Daily Worker*, reviewing the Manchurian and Chinese events, the war danger, etc., and raising slogans thereon, adds confusion upon confusion with its 36 slogans on the war danger, covering literally every issue before the working class. It makes it more difficult to bring before the workers the essence of the problems both in China and the American workers' duty in the situation.

The workers and Communists in the United States have to understand the imperialist aims of American capitalism in China and against the Soviet Union; to demand that American ships and troops get out of China; to realize that the powder of world war is being mixed by the imperialist powers, and an explosion can easily occur. But before all there must be, if our work is to be effective, a repudiation of the Stalinist policies, a clarification of program, strategy and tactics, the reinstatement of the Left Opposition into the ranks of the Comintern, and a unification of all genuine Communist forces. This is the pre-condition of a successful revolutionary struggle.

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—MARTIN ABERN.

### CORRECTION

In the article on the French C. G. T. U. Congress, printed in the *Militant*, mention is made that the resolution of the Left Opposition received one vote. The voting was not by individuals but by unions, so that the vote represents the vote of a union organization. Further, this refers to the specific resolution introduced by our comrade. In actuality, as the article points, another resolution, which defended the same point of view as ours in the main, received the support of a large group.

# Going the Rounds in Moscow

(It is quite understandable why all the jokes that make their way about the Soviet Union and in particular Moscow and Leningrad are of a political nature. There are literally hundreds of them and often they find their way outside of the Russian borders. We publish two forwarded to us by our comrades in Berlin who received them from friends in Russia—Ed.)

A Russian peasant paid a visit to comrade Trotsky in his place of exile at Kadikoy, Turkey. While they were fishing together, the peasant turned to Trotsky and began to tell him of the rumors traveling about Moscow.

"Do you know, comrade Trotsky," the peasant said, "they say that you are dead. Is this so?"

Trotsky smiled and replied: "That can't be so, comrade, because if I were dead, I would not be here fishing now." The peasant thought a moment and then beamed. "I remember now," he said, "they say that Stalin is dead."

To this Trotsky shook his head and answered: "There must be some mistake, comrade. If Stalin were dead, then I would not be forced to live in Turkey."

The peasant appeared troubled and thoughtful. Suddenly he exclaimed, "I remember now, they say that Lenin has come to life."

Trotsky only chuckled and said: "That is an error. If Lenin were to come to life, he would be here fishing with us."

In reply to a query of a worker as to the reason for Trotsky's deportation from Russia, one of the officials in the apparatus replied: "You see, comrade, all of our best goods are exported."

### FREE SPEECH FIGHT IN DENVER

DENVER, COLO.—Anna Gaims, a speaker for the Denver Unemployed Council, convicted of holding a street meeting without a license a few weeks ago in police court, was discharged by the county court recently when her conviction was appealed by Carl Whitehead, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union. Testimony disclosed that the Unemployed Council and the Communists had held numerous meetings at 21st and Larimer Streets without a permit, but that the police suddenly announced that meetings must be held elsewhere. It was decided to continue with meetings at the old location with the result that several speakers were arrested. The discharge of comrade Gaims is the first result of the fight of the Denver workers to hold meetings when and where they please.

# Menace of Fascism Imperils Germany

(Continued from page 1)

ately motivate the Hitler policy. Unfortunately, this light attitude with regard to German Fascism, this confidence in its inevitable corrosion from within has also been shared by the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany and has served to disorientate many workers along the path of fatalism. There is a wide-spread apathy in the ranks of the proletariat. And this is precisely what accounts for the deadlock between the forces of revolution and reaction in Germany. It is on the basis of such a situation that Bruening is able to remain in power for any length of time.

The official Communist Party, with its utterly false strategy of awaiting the coming into power and the subsequent collapse of Fascism, has become entangled in a net of strangling contradictions—it has attempted to outwit Hitler by imitating his national slogans. "Peoples Revolution", "National and Social Liberation of the German people" have been inscribed on the banner of the German Party. The necessity of casting off all this national-socialist rubbish has been gradually if not quickly enough impressed on the Party by reality itself. The prophet of this reawakening is Thaelmann, the leader of the C. P. He writes in an article in the theoretical organ of the Party, *Die Internationale*:

"For every Marxist-Leninist it should be self-evident, that the first requisite of Communist policy is the struggle for the winning over of our own class, of the proletariat. Only after we have won over a proletarian majority for Communism, can we realize the further tasks of attracting the allies of the proletariat in the middle classes to the anti-capitalist front of struggle and thereby create the premises for a popular revolution in the sense of Marx and Lenin. Every attempt to distort these principles, every attempt to deny the preponderance of the struggle for our own class, means a rupture with Marxism, with Leninism"

### The Significance of the Thaelmann Article

It must be added here, that this article is heralded in the Communist press as a sort of revelation. Thaelmann is not, of course, speaking in the abstract. He is attacking mistakes in the past, and he is attacking persons, in the quite customary terms of the Stalinist bureaucracy: The General Line was absolutely correct, it was applied in the wrong manner. It is significant, however, that this time not only the fourth and fifth line functionaries are under fire, but even some of the top leaders, as well.

For the time being, anonymously, under the cover of the Party's organ for the functionaries, the *Propagandist*. The editors of the *Propagandist* are accused of considering a social democratic coalition government more anti-working class

than an openly Fascist Dictatorship; they are accused of under-estimating Fascism in the manner of the Social-Democrats, of lulling the masses to sleep; they are accused of "sectarian fatalism", etc. It must be stressed "once more" that the *Propagandist* is the Party organ for the functionaries and consequently the mouthpiece of its highest body. Thaelmann, therefore, appears to mean serious business. Whether this is just another factional maneuver on the part of a Stalin henchman or a really sincere move, remains to be seen. But the situation does demand an ideological re-arming of the German Party, in the first place. Any step that would aid it must be welcomed.

Thaelmann does not as yet, despite the correct restating of the principle of winning over the majority of the proletariat, demand that the tactical mistakes be corrected; that serious efforts toward fruitful united front action with the reformist workers be made. In fact, a Breitschield is still allowed to take the initiative to such action without the slightest intention of going through with it. It is true that it is hard for the Party to extricate itself from the octopus hold of its rotten past. But if it realizes the seriousness of conditions, then it will not do for it to conceal the same tactical fallacies under the cloak of a correct statement of principle.

The tactic of the working class united front is at the center of the political scene in Germany. It is a question of Communists reaching the masses over the backs of the decrepit social-democracy and all its centrist by-products—like the newly formed Socialist Labor Party—or of a victory for reaction that will not stop at the borders of Soviet Russia. An enormous responsibility rests on the shoulders of the German Communists. Upon their action or inaction depends the fate of the world revolution.

—SAM GORDON.

# Swaback Meetings in St. Louis and Stanton

ST. LOUIS—On Tuesday, December 15, comrade Arne Swaback spoke in Stanton to an interested audience of 40 miners on the subject of "Unemployment, the 6 hour day and the Communists." The miners listened attentively to comrade Swaback's explanation of the causes of the present and past crises, the impossibility of a solution under capitalism and the need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and for a militant working class and Communist Party toward this end. The immediate demands of the six hour day, unemployment insurance, long-term credits to the Soviet Union, etc., were discussed in relation to the ultimate goal.

Questions and discussion took place, and the Stalinists who took the floor were repudiated for their slanders by a miner who said that the workers resented the official party's "splitting tactics".

### In St. Louis

The St. Louis meeting on the same subject was even more successful. The audience of workers, party members and sympathizers numbered about 150. The attempts of the Stalinists were even feeble than in Stanton. By their clumsy attacks on the Left Opposition, they were placed in the ridiculous position which discredited them. Comrade Swaback spoke for Communism, the American C. P., the Comintern and the Soviet Union and the platform of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition). When the Stalinists attacked what comrade Swaback said with slander against comrade Trotsky, the workers placed them in the same category with a "scissor-bill" who openly and vehemently defended capitalism. These incidents enabled comrade Swaback to make even clearer to the workers and party members and sympathizers present the position of the Left Opposition toward the Party.

A large batch of the *Militant* and literature were sold. A number of party members have taken the first correct step by beginning to study the issues in dispute between Stalinism and the Left Opposition. We will continue our work to win the Party members to the platform of the Left Opposition and for the unity of the Communist vanguard.

—T. STAMM.

# Mooney Protest Growing

Protests from various sources demanding the unconditional release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings are on the increase. The Minneapolis Central Labor Union, representing organized labor, recently passed a resolution to this effect and denounced the capitalist forces responsible for the frame-up and imprisonment of Mooney and Billings. The pressure from the working class of Minneapolis and the State of Minnesota on behalf of Mooney and Billings is so strong that the Governor of Minnesota, Floyd B. Olson, and the Mayor of Minneapolis, William A. Anderson, a few weeks ago sent letters to Governor James O'Connell, Jr. of California, asking that the two victims of capitalist justice be released.

On December 7 the Metal Trades Council of St. Louis and vicinity, representing 15,000 organized unionists, demanded the immediate release and unconditional pardon of Mooney.

From various parts of the country resolutions are pouring in upon Governor Rolph on behalf of the two labor prisoners.

—B. J. FIELD.

# Perspectives of the Crisis in France

## Economic - Social Changes and Prospects

(Continued from previous issue)

### Special Factors in French Post-War Crisis

In addition to the relatively slow development of French capitalism in general, based on the relatively high specific importance of a backward rural economy, there were several special factors which came into play during the period after the war, which had the effect of tending to stabilize capitalism and soften the general post-war European crisis.

1. First, the acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine, adding a comparatively highly developed industrial market, with a substantial wealth in iron ore reserves, steel mills, textile plants, chemicals and certain natural resources such as potash and petroleum.
2. From the standpoint of real physical values, the reparations received from Germany were translated into the actual rehabilitation of the areas in the north and east devastated during the war. This served two purposes: it resulted in the addition of new manufacturing capacity of higher efficiency than the average of old plants, and it provided a market for the French construction, machinery and equipment industries, absorbing a tremendous amount of labor.
3. The financial rehabilitation of the French currency, following a breakdown in the franc from par of 193 cents to 2 cents in 1926, was carried through under Poincare on a basis which shifted most of the burden from the grande bourgeoisie to the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, leaving the former in very strong financial position. The franc was firmly stabilized close to 4 cents, which was less than the world purchasing power of the franc.

The petty bourgeoisie lost eighty per cent of its savings in gold value, by the lowering of the fixed value of the franc from 20 cents to 4. On the other hand, the grande bourgeoisie, including the banks, was busy depositing its francs abroad (exporting its capital) during the inflation time. As a result, they maintained a much lower proportion of the gold values of their francs capital. In addition, by 1927 the currency had been well stabilized, by number of simple methods: an increase in taxation to balance the budget, the refunding of one to three month Government bills by two-year bills, some reduction of the debt of the State to the Banque de France, the creation of a separate

organization to handle short-term bills, and the accumulation of interest-bearing resources in the form of foreign bank balances in bills to offset the floating debt of the French government. By this time, French capitalists were ready to repatriate their foreign balances, naturally in gold. The larger part of these balances represented the proceeds of the expropriation of the petty bourgeoisie through the writing-down of the value of his savings by 80%.

As a result, French banking gold reserves, which had never been over \$900,000,000 before the war, had increased to current levels around \$2,500,000,000. At the same time, the inflation of note issues during the period of currency depreciation 1919-1926 was never fully reduced down to a figure in keeping with the general deflation program. Even during the course of 1930, while all the world was busy deflating bank credits and note circulation, the amount of French francs in circulation increased by 10 billions.

As a result, prices expressed in paper francs remained high during the post-inflation stabilization, and actually increased from 1929 to 1930 contrary to the tendency in the rest of the world. This meant, in effect, a lower wage to the French worker, measured by actual purchasing power; a wage cut for 1930 against 1929 and a lower wage measured although concealing an upward movement in French money wages, whether measured in paper francs or gold.

The following figures will illustrate this, in terms of pre-war prices as 100:

	Paper Franc	Gold Franc	Index	Index
French wages, except Paris	1929	685	137	
	1930	732	146.5	
French Wages, in Paris	1929	624	125	
	1930	668	134	

Compared with the 1930 figures for France, English wages averaged 15% of the pre-war in sheltered trades, and 16% in unsheltered. The comparison is even worse for the French worker because of his longer hours and lesser social welfare benefits. The French worker was therefore being defrauded of part of the redistribution of income as always during an inflationary period, while the hangover of inflation from the 1927 stabilization and a mild increase during 1930 helped maintain the appearance of industrial prosperity, again as usual in an

inflationary situation. To the extent indicated, part of this prosperity was based on the manipulation of inflation against the French working class.

However, like all inflation, the temporary advantages thus given tend to disappear. The figures just cited show that part of the advantage given to the French industrialist by inflation and high prices is being absorbed by the accompanying increase in cost of living and consequently, under conditions of effective trade-union resistance, in higher wages.

To this has been added the sharp increase in tariff protection for agricultural products mentioned above. This is likewise a concealed attack on the standard of living of the French worker, but under present conditions of a growing industrial crisis within France, the economic class struggle is loaded to the strategic advantage of the French capitalist, who is now in position to carry through a more aggressive program of wage-cutting in view of the increasing unemployment.

At the end of October, 1931, the official reports listed 56,121 unemployed against 38,524 in September, 36,000 in August, an average of 2,433 for all of 1930 and an average of only 909 for 1929. French official unemployment figures are notoriously a cruel joke. Even Leon Blum stated recently that he believed the number of fully unemployed in France (Sept. 1931) totalled 650,000, not to mention 2,500,000 partly employed. A bourgeois statistical service, the Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes et des Informations Financieres, considers these figures too high, but admits a decline of 8.4% in the number of employees in factories representing about a third of all the workers of France, and also that 33% are working on short-time, which would make the latter group total about 2,000,000. As far back as May, 1931, the Labor Office reported 350,000 fully unemployed and 1,000,000 on part time.

### Perspectives

These are the first effects of the deepening crisis on the status of the worker in France. The unstable equilibrium of post-war France, based on a backward rural economy restraining the development and the contradictions of a country with a growing industrial bourgeoisie, has been definitely tipped over, now that France produces more steel than England or Germany, to take one index. The financial juggling whereby a

carefully-judged degree of inflation was able to maintain industrial activity is no longer possible, as witness the contraction of banking credit and the decline in wholesale and retail prices.

It seems reasonable to expect that the full force of the crisis has not yet been felt in France, and that the specific reasons described above for its delay will not operate to soften the intensity of the crisis from this point on. It is entirely possible that the crisis may continue to grow in intensity even while a vicious campaign of wage-cuts in other countries may have restored the profits, and consequently the incentive to produce, of capitalists in other countries. The great relative financial strength of France will not ward off such a crisis, any more than it did in the United States.

To what extent are the workers of France, and particularly the most militant section of them, those who gather around the banner of Communism, prepared for the inevitable sharpening of the class struggle? The effects of the Stalinist trade-union policy are as clearly marked in France as elsewhere; the reformists of the C. G. T. are capitalizing the mistakes of the C. G. T. U., increasing their relative strength, and preparing for the inevitable capitulations and compromises of their kind.

At a time when united resistance by the working class to the attacks on its living standards by the capitalists is more essential than ever, the Left Opposition must clearly set forth the essentials of a Leninist trade-union policy, based on the correctly-applied united front.

In the political field, a perspective of a different kind is indicated as one of the probable variants. Should capitalism meet with an energetic and correctly-guided working class resistance to its increasingly desperate efforts to solve the crisis at the cost of the workers, another alternative would be open to it, an attack on the small peasant proprietor and on the small tenant and farm laborer, through such means as the breaking-down of the tariff wall and the opening of French market on a competitive basis to world producers of foodstuffs. This would mean a political struggle against a strongly-entrenched section of the petty bourgeoisie and a sharp awakening of the self-sufficient isolated peasant to the fact that he too, is in danger of impoverishment for the benefit of the capitalist class. These possibilities may not be immediate, but they raise broad questions of revolutionary strategy which cannot be solved by a mechanical transfer of formulas and slogans from other historical settings where the agrarian problem is less closely combined with ownership and coexists with a highly developed capitalism.

—B. J. FIELD.