

Class Trends in Elections

We return to the election for the purpose of discussing the class motion revealed by the election. We have already dealt with the results on the basis of the partial returns. What we are interested in is the relation of forces behind the democratic and republican parties. The relation of reform and revolution and the motion of the working class caused by the prolonged crisis.

Throughout the country and particularly in New York and New York City there has been a tendency of the voters to cross regular party lines. To cut up and down the ballots. To protest against the unbearable conditions. Tammany was hard hit by the protest vote for Hillquit and McKee.

The capitalist papers voicing the opinions of the capitalists, uphold this protest because they desire a reduction of tax and more drastic measures against the workers who menaced their return to "prosperity". The workers, says the capitalists, want a "dole" and a "bonus" and a better living standard—that "cannot" be paid if markets are to be obtained on a lower level of world competition.

The capitalist papers spoke of this protest and cutting across party lines as a return to a "sane vote" of men and women who vote for the "best man". The economic trend has swallowed up the bourgeois "individualism" and this return to voting for the best man gives the capitalists the impression this is a return to their happy past and a relief from the present which is already very unsatisfactory.

This is the bourgeois concept of the problem, but it is incorrect. In reality it is the expression of the capitalists' desires. When party lines of reaction break, the safest thing for the two party system is to talk about voting for the best man. The capitalists will always see that the democratic or republican party, or if necessary the socialist party, will have the "best man", when the beginning process of the motion of the class shifts the workers to the left, into the stream of class struggle.

The protest vote of the election, the cutting across party lines considering the many forms of disenfranchisement and counting out of the Communist party shows that the motion of the class in the last three years is to the left. An ideological change in the class is taking place following the economic changes. The capitalists desire to hold the working class into safe channels is well served by the best man theory.

The ideological hold reaction had upon the workers has been shaken. Large layers of our class have cut themselves loose. They are grouping for a way out. The molecular process has started. The crystallizing pole of reaction has lost its power. The political lag of the class is being narrowed by the present events.

Roosevelt, the "best man" was a suitable net to hold in check the bulk of discontent. It has slowed the process to the left but has not stopped the process and the centrifugal force away from reaction. So far, the new crystallizing poles of reform and revolution have not been able to pull the main whirling class motion itself. However, one thing can be said at this stage—that there will be a bitter fight between reform and revolution for the lead in transforming the centrifugal force of the class away from reaction to centripetal forces for reform and revolution. Which of the two poles, reform or revolution, will obtain the decisive lead in the coming period will to the greatest degree depend upon the Communist party, its program and tactics in the class struggle.

It is not a two cornered fight between reform and revolution, with the factions and divisions within each camp as well as between these two camps. Reaction

still has a word. More than once, in the their hold upon the masses. But more than once they have been able to transform this centrifugal force into centripetal force, subjecting the American worker ideologically to new bonds. And in this problem of regaining lost ground, the economic factors were not the only factors favoring the capitalists. The inability of the revolutionists to pose the question and answer it by Marxism, in theory and practice has done its share to help the capitalists.

In 1912 "Teddy" Roosevelt's "revolt" was able to prevent the molecular process of our class motion from moving to the next stage, to crystallizing channels. The war played its role and then in 1924 LaFollete and the "independent political actionists" repeated this service for the capitalists. F. D. Roosevelt plays his part today, as the "best man". In this latter period, after the war the American Communist were taking steps forward, but with the warped concept of Farmer-Labor party and slogan of a Labor party we helped reformism build a wall between the molecular motion of the class to the left and its crystallization into the opportunist platform.

Today the opportunist platform of 1932 of the Communist party repeats this in a different form.

This time reaction will not have such a favorable opportunity. Economics has moved ahead and does not favor the capitalists in the relation of class forces. The contradictions are far too great. The center of the axis is moving to the

left and the educated capitalists know that a regrouping and stop gap at the point of reform is a thousand times better than a crystallizing point at revolution and class struggle.

The Stalinists inability to understand the relation of reform to revolution in the American link of the world capitalist chain, although playing into the hands of reaction, nevertheless is not sufficient for the capitalists to readjust their forces on the same central axis. The driving forces of the economic contradictions are greater than the blunders of Stalinism. However, the Stalinists blunders do not enable us to make a clean sweep from reaction to revolution, rather, it helps the reformers hold these workers between reaction and revolution.

In order to take advantage of the centrifugal forces within the camp of reaction and obtain this motion around our orbit we must have a Marxian program and tactics. Living on the heritage of the October revolution has its power but in the long run cannot replace a Marxian program. If we do not correct these Stalinist blunders, in theory and practice, in time the quantity gain of reformers and the socialist will transform to "quality" for reaction. If we do correct these mistakes as a quality and QUALITY gain for the Communists will drag with it a quantity gain for the reformers but not a quality gain.

The next election like the present election will merely raise the curtain to show how successful we have been in the task of exposing the enemy and building our own structure. The present election does not speak so well for the Communists. It speaks better for social reformism.

The Stalinist Turn in Chicago

(Continued from page 1)

party workers. It was this policy that isolated the Party from the masses at the time when the party should stand at the helm of working class movement. Then how is it possible for the party which maintained up to the Chicago conference and continues to maintain even now, officially and nationally, the policy of the "united front from below", to enter into a genuine movement of this character to negotiate with the "leaders of these organizations". How did it come about that the Socialist party which has always stood in the way of genuine united actions of the working masses, likewise took part in the preparation and organization of the Chicago united front movement? The explanation is to be sought in the worker-members of these organizations who put pressure upon the leaderships and demanded an end to the trifling with their problems.

Workers Respond to Call The call for the conference signed by the three organizations met with a huge response everywhere. The masses reacted as never before, and the conference bore testimony of this fact. 750 delegates representing 350 organizations made up the conference. Included in the conference were over 40 church organizations composed entirely of unemployed workers, the Farmer-Labor Party, the A. F. of L., fraternal organizations, the TUUL. Upon the invitation of the Workers League, the Chicago branch of the Communist League sent two delegates who were seated, quite obviously only because of the presence of such a

wide variety of organizations and workers who resented any effort on the part of the party to unseat us.

The Conference had hardly convened when difficulties arose. This was to be expected. A gathering composed of so many conflicting organizations and political movements could not but go through deep antagonism and struggle. What was clear from the outset was the development of a Left wing group under the leadership of the Communist party and a Right wing group headed by the Socialists. The Left wing was in the great majority. But from the very beginning the party made the error of desiring to "capture" the conference, although it was quite clear that by virtue of numbers alone the Left wing dominated the conference. The election of a chairman brought the conference into its first crisis. Having previously agreed upon Karl Lochner, representing the Unemployed Councils, as secretary, the organizing committee referred the election of the chairman to the floor of the conference. The non-party elements proposed the election of a temporary chairman until such a time as the credential committee reported on the number of delegates. The party insisted upon a permanent chairman from the outset, and for whom everybody present at the conference, whether delegate or not, supporting the party, cast a ballot during the first vote. The farce was too obvious and upon protests from various delegates a revote cut the number of "delegates" in half. Even then the Left wing vote was in a majority.

The conference organized itself. Discussion opened. With a party member in the chair, the efforts of our comrade Edwards to take the floor were thwarted almost until the adjournment. The party was prepared to prevent our comrade from speaking and presenting our point of view to the conference.

In the main the position of the Left wing was correct at the conference. It was correct for them to warn the workers against betrayals, against vacillation and to urge a militant struggle. But when John Williamson, while speaking continued to declare that this united front conference, which included not only workers, but their organizations and their leaders, was a "united front from below" it marked a shame-faced attempt of the party to maintain its previous stupid position on the united front in the midst of a right-about change toward the correct position. In the presence of this great number of delegates, Williamson declared that "we do not unite with leaders, we unite only with the workers" while seated around one table were Lochner and Weber (the District Organizer of the Socialist), Karl Borders, representing the Party, and Dixon from the Workers League.

The Demonstration

The organization of the demonstration brought out the sharpest differences in the conference. The party was absolutely in the right when they insisted upon drawing the political lessons of this protest. And they were right when they insisted upon carrying banners for Foster and Ford. Had the party agreed to march without carrying banners in support of their presidential candidates, or in presenting political slogans, that would have marked a capitulation to the Right wing and the reactionaries. The issue as to the degree that the party wished to give the demonstration a political character, has no real bearing on the discussion. But that it was absolutely correct for the party to insist upon this point is indisputable. And here we must declare that the Workers League in lending their support to the Socialist party, which opposed any political conclusions to be drawn from the whole situation, capitulated before the Right wing and themselves became party to the splitting tactics of Borders and the Socialist party. In turn they introduced once again its petty Stalinist methods by proposing in the executive committee, that the conference return the money donation made by the Left Opposition because the "Trotskyists are a counter-revolutionary organization".

In spite of a dreaching rain, the day of the demonstration brought out between 35,000 and 50,000 workers. The demonstration was militant in character and displayed the immense possibilities inherent in the situation. Quite naturally, the party dominated the march because of its militancy, if by nothing else the workers present recognized that only the Communists could give leadership to them in their struggles. Without doubt the party gained considerably in prestige during the demonstration.

But what is of greater importance is to draw the lessons of the united front. First of all it must be established that the party made a right-about face on the question of the united front, notwithstanding the fact that it was brought about primarily because of the pressure of the unemployed workers, and in spite of its conflict with the official party position which heretofore opposed such movements.

The Opposition marched with its own banners containing the slogans: Immediate Relief for all Unemployed; Six Hour Day and Five Day Week with No Reduction in Pay; For Social Insurance, The Extension of Long Term Credits to and the Recognition of the Soviet Union. (To be continued)

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

In the midst of these cross currents, Comrade Chen developed to Communism in a series of stages, therefore with some inconsistencies. Being limited by the fact that he knows only the Japanese language (he knows English poorly), he was hampered in obtaining a thorough Marxian education. He had to lead the Chinese revolution at the time when the Comintern leadership had already passed into the hands of the epigones. His development was not supplemented and assisted in the least. He is characteristic of the constant striving for progress but the remnants of old thought also weigh upon him. At a time when the Opposition urgently needs his leadership and his political experience, when his defects might be overcome under comrade Trotsky, he has been snatched away from our midst by the KMT government—the greatest loss sustained by us in the last two years. October 27, 1932.

—NIEL-SIH.

The Arrest of Comrade Chen

(Continued from page 1)

K. M. T. is a Fascist party in its relation to the workers and poor peasants. But Chiang no longer trusts the K. M. T. and is compelled to lead an independent political existence. This is symptomatic of the fact that the K. M. T. is in the process of disintegration. Therefore the edge of the "Blue Shirts Association" is directed more against Chiang's political opponents inside the K. M. T. This association has its "blood and iron groups" in Nanking, Hankow and Shanghai, to initiate the "movement of extermination of opponents" or the "blue terror". They make secret arrests and assassinate attacks. The cadres for this "blue" movement, Chiang Kai-Shek draws from two sources: (1) the former Whampoo cadets; (2) the students from Moscow. Chiang Kai-Shek often gives high pay to those renegades and Moscow students. He often puts the question to them: How did Stalin eliminate Trotsky? His press openly advocates that he should apply the same methods to his political adversaries as Stalin did to Trotsky, or Mussolini to Nitti. There are now more than 300 Moscow students in Chiang's service. They are fighting for the non-capitalist development of China and the land to the peasants. Of course, not only Chiang Kai-Shek but other groups of the K. M. T.—under one cover or another, social democracy, peasants' and workers' party, etc.—draw recruits from the renegades from Communism. Owing to the absence of mass movement, these attempts have not come out into the open but group themselves around various magazines.

The entry of these renegades into the K. M. T. is the outcome of the Stalinist school of education. The Stalinist school suppresses free speech and free thinking, obligates the students to memorize the Marxian-Leninist catechisms mechanically, without understanding their inner connections, without remodeling the mind, only disorients the best elements in our own ranks, facilitates it for

alien leaders to adopt protective colors, and at the decisive moment,—they turn against us. The Stalinist school does not educate the new generation from the point of view of Communism, i. e., of permanent revolution, but from the point of view of vulgar democracy, i. e., class collaboration. Stalin's policy is always directed towards weakening the position of the C. P. and strengthening that of the enemy. It is disastrous indeed that during the revolutionary ascent, the Chinese party as a whole was put at the disposal of the K. M. T. and during the counter-revolutionary triumph, a part of its forces serve the K. M. T. as traitors. Re-education is needed to turn us into genuine Communist but under the blows of reaction and the prejudices sown for years, this is an extremely difficult task, which accounts for the slow progress the Chinese Opposition has been making.

Chen's Record of Struggle

Comrade Chen has been the most prominent figure in the Chinese revolutionary movement for the last fifteen years. Born in 1879 of a rich Mandarin family, he carried on revolutionary activities from the time of his youth, mainly in the literary field, as the editor of newspapers and teacher of middle schools. He was abroad in Japan several times. At that time the revolution was directed at the Manchu dynasty, and it was national and democratic. The revolution of 1911 ended in a failure, in the setting up of the military dictatorship of Yuan Shi Kai and then Tuan Chi Jui. The former capitulated before Japanese imperialism on the "21 demands"; the latter was a notorious puppet of Japan.

Comrade Chen, in distinction from the quasi-revolutionists of that time, of the Sun Yat Sen type who aimed to overthrow Yuan Shi Kai and Tuan Chi Jui by military adventures, set himself the task of winning the youth by devoted himself to propaganda work. He founded the monthly called "La Juensee" (The Youth), which played a most im-

portant role in the history of Chinese culture and social movement. In the name of science and democracy, he waged a merciless war against the teachings of Confucius which, as a tradition for 3,000 years, hindered the development of revolutionary thought among the youth. "La Juensee" also contributed to the reform of the Chinese language, to replace the old dead language in literary composition by the spoken language; this had the same significance as the replacement of Latin by the vernacular languages in Europe in the 16th century. Since then, writing is no longer for a small number of scholars but rather for the masses. This period (1916-1919) called the period of "ideological revolution and literary revolution" paved the way for the development of the anti-Japanese movement, beginning with the anti-Japanese student demonstration on May 4, 1919. During this period, comrade Chen, as dean of the Literature Department of the Peking University, was forced to resign because his literary activities aroused strong opposition among the conservative circles, just as they aroused the mass movement and revolutionized the mind of the youth.

It is characteristic that the Kuo Min Tang, at the head of which stood Sun Yat Sen, even at that time looked upon the ideological and literary revolution with suspicion, met it half-way, and followed it when it became popular. Needless to say, the K. M. T. government tries every means today to restore the dignity of Confucianism and to spread the use of dead language in writing.

At the height of the student anti-Japanese movement, comrade Chen, a former professor but an ardent revolutionist, wrote a leaflet denouncing the treacherous Tuan Chi Jui government and he—the only one to do so—distributed the leaflets in the streets of Peking in order to direct the movement against its internal foe. He was thereupon arrested and put in prison for several months. After his release, he went to Shanghai and

there he founded the Communist party in 1920, with several comrades, most of whom later became renegades and went into the K. M. T. He was arrested twice by the authorities of the French concession in 1921 and 1922. The last time he was released only because the authorities bowed to the pressure of many mass organizations.

Chen and the Epigones

In 1922, he attended the Fourth Congress of the Communist International as the delegate from the Chinese party. Later on, a leading comrade told me that he made remarkable progress when he returned to China. What an immense development he would have experienced and how easily the tragic fate that was suffered, might have been averted, had there been a correct leadership in the Comintern! His role in the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 is well known. I only wish to remind here that up to May 1927, at the 8th Plenum of the C. I., Stalin and Bucharin still defended comrade Chen's policy against the criticism of the Opposition. The Chinese Communist Party was called a model. But several months later, when the defeat of the revolution was too evident, Stalin and Bucharin suddenly threw all the responsibility upon comrade Chen. Even if their contentions were true, that comrade Chen in opposition to the "correct" directives of the C. I. had conducted a false policy, the act of Bucharin and Stalin who came out to attack him only when the revolution was approaching its tragic end, greatly resembles a Chinese expression: "Let one fall into the well and then throw stones at him". Comrade Chen was a member of the Central Committee and the general secretary of the party since its foundation and up to August 7, 1927, when he was deprived of work and made the scapegoat of the Stalin policy.

After the defeat of the Chinese revolution, comrade Chen declined the repeated invitations to go to Moscow, knowing that he had nothing to learn from the epigones. Only in 1929 did he begin to make the acquaintance of comrade Trotsky's writings on the Chinese revolution and he convinced himself of the correctness of the Opposition. Owing to such convictions and his refusal to fight against "Trotskyism", he was expelled from the party in the Fall of 1929. Since then he became the leader first of one of the factions and then of the united Opposition. He contributed all his energy, his time and his means (modest though they were), that is, all that he possesses, to the movement. The K. M. T. government put up a high reward for his arrest, but he lived in the workers' district of Shanghai, attended many meetings and directed the work, wrote articles and appeals and even supervised the technical work. In recent months, he was seriously ill, confined to bed.

A Heavy Blow

The K. M. T. has finally achieved its aim, utilizing the traitor in our ranks. He has been transferred to Nanking, and we do not know what fate is to befall him in the end. The K. M. T. government is not lacking in its desire for revenge. It is out of the question that the masses will speak, because they are in an amorphous state. But there are many influential intellectuals, scholars, professors and journalists who, in view of his past services to Chinese culture, to the revolution, and because of his emigration, urge leniency towards comrade Chen. There are slanders being deliberately spread against him by the KMT as if he had requested to see Chiang Kai-Shek. The first to "believe" such rumors are the Stalinists.

Comrade Chen's revolutionary and literary activities for the last 15 years reflect his epoch with both its strong and weak sides. It was the period of the national awakening of the petty bourgeois students and the young proletariat, and many currents of socialist and revolutionary thought of the post-war epoch found their way into China. Events developed too rapidly to allow political fighters a systematic and serious study

JAPAN Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat By Jack Weber

Japan in Manchuria Manchuria is twice the size of Japan proper but it has one-half the population. In resources it resembles closely Canada with its wide prairies, suitable for the growing of wheat and other grains. Only one-half of the arable land of Manchuria is under cultivation and yet Manchuria is already the great food granary of the East. Its cattle, timber, minerals are vastly important to Japan's economy. For this reason 77 p. c. of the total Japanese capital invested in China, is invested in Manchuria. The South Manchuria Railway and its allied concerns absorb 54 p. c. of the Manchurian investment. Its control of the economic life of Manchuria is undisputed.

In any conflict between Japan and any other power—the U. S. or Soviet Russia—Manchuria and its control would prove vital to Japanese defense. But it is also the base for further Japanese aggression. Once her power in Manchuria is consolidated, she would then penetrate into Inner and Outer Mongolia, and into the Far Eastern regions of the U. S. S. R. With utmost care, the Japanese generals are preparing for the conflict they see as inevitable with Soviet Russia. They have utilized the present crisis, when America and England are occupied with their internal woes, and when the Soviet Union is completely absorbed in its Five Year Plan, to take the first preparatory steps. Not an unimportant part was played in their decision by the growing Chinese immigration to Manchuria. In his 1927 document Premier Tanaka stated: "The num-

ber of Chinese grows so rapidly in South Manchuria that our political and economic interests sustain losses. We are compelled in the circumstances to take aggressive measures in North Manchuria in order to safeguard our prosperity in the future. But if the Chinese-Eastern Railway, belonging to Soviet Russia, develops in this district, then our new continental policy will receive a blow which will inevitably bring about conflict with Soviet Russia in the near future.—The Chinese-Eastern Railway will become ours and we shall seize Kirin just as we seized Dairen. It seems that the inevitability of crossing swords with Russia on the fields of Mongolia in order to gain possession of the wealth of North Manchuria is part of our program of national development."

Strategic Railways

Japan's feverish activities in Manchuria center about the building of three important railways, important strategically and economically. These railways are designed to permit quick concentration of troops in Manchuria as well as effective mobility in warfare. The plans for these roads were made years before the actual invasion of Manchuria. They are designed to undermine economically the Chinese-Eastern railway and to facilitate the immigration of Koreans into Manchuria. How these Koreans are to be used as tools is made abundantly clear by Tanaka: "If the Koreans come to this district we must offer them financial support through our trust societies and other financial organizations. These organizations must have property rights,

and the Koreans will be limited to the right to work upon the land. Formally, however, the Koreans must have property rights. . . . Thus we shall, unnoticed, gain the control of the best rice plantations which our immigrants, i. e., the Japanese, must receive. They will have to displace the Koreans, who in their turn, will seek new lands which, in the future, will also come into the hands of our people."

What of the Chinese Revolution?

The Japanese can succeed in their blood and iron policy aside from the jealous intervention of the other imperialists, only when the Chinese revolution fails utterly, that is, if the Chinese workers fail to take the power in the near future, leading the peasantry in revolt. The repression of such a revolution on the Japanese workers and peasants would, under present conditions, be instantaneous and profound. This problem will require our attention in a later article.

Japan and the U. S.

In its policy of imperialist expansion Japan has come into direct conflict time and again with all the other imperialist powers. But particularly is this the case with respect to the U. S. since the Russo-Jap War. Today the question of war between these two imperialist states is openly discussed in the press of the entire world. The problem of imperialist war is frequently posed by Communists in such a manner as to posit a race between the outbreak of this U. S.-Jap war and war against the Soviet Union. The Stalinist method of approaching the problem of defending the Soviet Union, taking into account this imperialist rivalry (properly so!) has led however to such incorrect and dangerous expedients as that of having the U. S. Communist party demonstrate before the Japanese consulates with the demand for expulsion of the Japanese representatives. Such a method of approach is best calculated to mislead the working class.

The population of Japan, static for

the two hundred years preceding the Restoration, has doubled during the last sixty-five years. The birth rate of Japan is so extremely high that despite the high death rate there is an annual increase of population of 750,000. Of this number less than 10 percent have been annually absorbed into industry, leaving the remainder to find a place ultimately in an agricultural economy already overburdened under the present system and unable to provide food for the people of Japan. The Japanese government has been forced to approve, tacitly, of measures for birth control and to encourage emigration. Those who emigrate, particularly to Brazil and other South American countries are given 300 yen, providing they agree to renounce their citizenship and not to return to Japan. But these measures have not helped. Nor has there been much of a movement to colonize Manchuria where the climate is too rigorous and the food too different from that to which the Jap is accustomed. The Japs prefer warmer lands where rice is readily grown. Hence their great interest in the 7,000 islands making up the Archipelago of which the Philippines form a part, sparsely populated compared to Japan itself. The Japanese government has designs also on the thousands of islands (five times the area of Japan) in the East Indian Archipelago.

The Philippines

These islands, seized by the United States at the same time that China was being threatened with partition among the European powers in 1898, form the first obstacle to Japan's "place in the sun". The islands contain iron ores but no coal, these ores now forming one source of supply for Japan. The United States is interested in exploiting the Philippines for the production of rubber, so as to break the irritating monopoly of the British and Dutch. Furthermore, the Philippines form the outpost for U. S. imperialism in the Far East. (To Be Continued)

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