

The Chauvinist "Anti-Japanese Campaign" of American Stalinists

It is the task of the American Party to come out in the most decisive manner against Japanese imperialism, against the latter's attack on China and seizure of Manchuria, and against its preparation for attack on the Soviet Union. This means that the party must make widespread use of all the facts of military preparation, provocation, terror, etc., on the part of Japanese imperialism, in order to arouse the masses against the threat of war and to utilize their sentiments of natural indignation against Japanese imperialism as the direct and open instigator of war, bringing out and developing these sentiments into a revolutionary struggle against war. At the same time the CPUSA must not forget that the aim of American imperialism together with other imperialist countries to smash the Soviet Union has not been in the slightest degree decreased.

Having this aim, American imperialism encourages tendencies of Japanese imperialism to make war against the Soviet Union, aiming at the same time at the weakening of the military strength of Japan.

The resolution of the ECCI on the immediate tasks of the CPUSA gave an entirely correct characterization of the international situation and the tasks of the American Party, which it described as follows:

"A new world war becomes an immediate danger. The greatest and most urgent task of the whole world proletariat and the toiling masses, above all the American proletariat, is to wage a most intensive, widespread, devoted and courageous struggle against a new imperialist war — THE STRUGGLE AGAINST AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, ITS WAR PREPARATIONS AND INTERVENTION PLANS. MUST BE THE CENTER OF THE EVERY DAY WORK OF THE PARTY AMONG THE MASSES: IN THE FACTORIES, TRADE UNIONS, IN STRIKES, AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED, NEGROES, YOUTH, AND WOMEN."

The first mistake made by the party leadership in the campaign against the menace of war and especially against the provocative acts of Japanese imperialism, was the confusion on the question of party slogans. The Communist party failed to understand that the slogan: "Out the Japanese diplomatic and commercial representatives from the United States" and "Boycott Japanese goods" should have come from the masses and the non-party working class organizations. Instead of that, these slogans were and still are advanced as slogans of the Communist party, advocated in the Daily Worker, in speeches of responsible Party representatives, and in resolutions of the Chicago Party Convention.

The party must support these slogans inasmuch as they are put forward by non-party workers and

their mass organizations who express in these one-sided and half-way slogans their sincere indignation at the robber exploits of Japanese imperialism. The Communist Party, while carrying on propaganda for its main slogans for a bolshevist method of struggle against war, cannot neglect and least of all come out against, the radical sentiments of the masses; on the contrary, it must support them and transfer them in a revolutionary manner. In cases where a mass revolutionary non-party organization which is ready to come out against the war danger, does not yet accept our Communist slogans, we must help it to formulate its protest against the threat of war even in the form of such slogans as ousting Japanese diplomatic representatives, but even in these cases the initiative must come from the non-party workers themselves.

The difference between the slogans of the Party and the slogans of the non-party mass organizations not issued by the Party itself will be clearer if we take the demand of credits for the Soviet Union or the proposals of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

The Party must support such demands when put forward by workers' mass organizations. The Communist Party must come out against and systematically expose those groups of bourgeois who fight against commercial credits to the Soviet Union, sabotage them but its stand must be POLITICAL, linking up its preparations of war against the Soviet Union and against its attacks the working class at home, unmasking the bourgeoisie with regard to these questions and mobilizing the masses to struggle against the bourgeoisie in the same way. The Communist Party cannot adopt as its slogan the concrete proposals of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva Disarmament Conference. However, the Communist Party cannot oppose them and is bound to support any mass organization coming out in their favor.

The CPUSA has not noticed this difference in slogans, and in spite of direct instructions from the ECCI, has continued up until recently to issue them as slogans of the Communist Party.

In this the leadership of the Communist Party has given evidence of its lack of understanding of the necessity for transferring the center of gravity of its work to the mobilization of the masses; instead of AROUSING THE MASSES to the struggle against the war and spurring them on to put forward by themselves even the most elementary anti-imperialist slogans, the leadership of the Party followed the path of REPLACING THE MASSES BY THE PARTY. And, notwithstanding the instructions of the ECCI, the Communist Party has continued its incorrect position resulting in inadequate mobilization of the masses against Japanese

The Significance of the Comintern Document

The document which is printed below is a glaring revelation of the policies and state of affairs in the Third International and its national sections. It is a letter sent to the leaders of the Communist party in this country by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, dated September 27, 1934. A note at the top reads: "Received N. Y. Nov. 14, 1934.—E.B. (Earl Browder)". Mimeographed for the members of the American Central Committee, it was of course never seen by the party membership.

Early in 1932, in connection with the Japanese imperialist assault upon Manchuria and Shanghai, the U. S. Stalinists launched a feverish campaign under the slogan, "Oust the Japanese Ambassador from the United States!" Those who have forgotten the articles printed at that time by the Daily Worker, will have their memories refreshed by the document below. Instead of concentrating its attack upon its "own" bourgeoisie, the American Stalinist party took upon itself the role of Councillor of State to the American ruling class. In the crudest imaginable manner, the Stalinists substituted chauvinism for a revolutionary policy. The Stalinists simply forgot the classic axiom of Karl Liebknecht: "The enemy is at home."

In condemning the whole chauvinistic campaign of the Stalinists at that time, the Militant wrote on April 16, 1932: "The American party demands of the bourgeoisie that it take steps against the Japanese which the Soviet Union has refrained from taking. But the expulsion of all diplomatic representatives is only the first of many connected steps. To break off diplomatic relations is usually the prelude to a declaration of war. The cruel logic of the party's downright chauvinistic position is that, in the event of the consistent sharpening of the conflict, it would only be stopping 'unreasonably' half-way along its chosen road if it failed to support the American bourgeoisie in declaring war against the Japanese. That is how the mercenaries of Stalinism are slowly converting the great Leninist slogan to make it read: Transform the civil war into an imperialist war."

imperialism.

The corresponding instructions from the ECCI on the question of slogans for the anti-war campaign of the party were given very soon after the CC correctly put forward the slogan "Oust the Japanese Diplomatic Representatives" and "Boycott Japanese goods". Immediately after receiving the instructions of the ECCI, the Secretariat of the CC CPUSA, on the 12 of March addressed the party organizations with a circular letter in which the instructions of the ECCI were on the whole clearly put forward.

In the circular it was stated that the slogan, "Oust the Agents of Japanese Imperialism" and "Boycott of Japan" should be raised by workers' organizations so as to create the sentiments of utmost hatred against Japanese imperialism, the spearhead of world imperialism, but should not be put forward by the party directly (AS HAD BEEN DONE). THEY SHOULD COME FROM BELOW; resolutions should be published in the press, so as to make these demands real demands.

This instruction was given to the party organizations, in the form of a short circular, but without any political explanation. There was

We pointed out further that this course was the inevitable fruit of the nationalistic theories and practices of Stalinism. As shown so sensationally in this case, Stalinism relentlessly transforms the communist parties from organizations fighting to overthrow their own bourgeoisie into departments of the foreign office of the Soviet Union whose increasingly exclusive task is a pacifist "defense" of the Soviet Union.

In other words, the policy of Browder, Weinstein and Co. was not an accidental deviation, but the logical outcome of the whole Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country".

This is proved to the hilt by the "criticism" of the E.C.C.I. itself. It is not a revolutionary condemnation of the C.P.'s "Japanese campaign". Far from it. Fundamentally, it is an endorsement of it! If anything, the Moscow secretariat only proposes to add hypocrisy and chicanery to chauvinism.

The American Stalinists evoked a storm of criticism against their campaign and the slogans under which it was carried out. The Militant, on the one side, and the Lovestonites to a lesser extent, on the other, submitted the C. P. campaign to a sharp criticism. Browder was compelled to admit that many party members had been deeply affected by this criticism. What the E.C.C.I. was concerned with was merely to put over the same chauvinist slogans, only in a less blatant and less crude form. That is why the essence of the whole Comintern "criticism" is confined to a complaint against the American C.P. putting forward the disgraceful slogans directly, under its own name. It should be done more "cleverly". The C.P. must first get one of its "mass organizations" to put forward the reactionary slogans "spontaneously". Then the C. P. must come out in support of it because . . . the masses have advanced it.

With the exception of the first introductory, which are of a general agitational nature, the letter of the E.C.C.I. is reprinted here in full. All emphasis, except the words in caps, are ours.

no serious political discussion in the Politburo or in the CC of the previous erroneous position of the CC in this question. According to the statement made by three members of the Politburo who came to the XII plenum of the ECCI, they were never informed of the ECCI instructions concerning these slogans. This information they for the first time received in Moscow. One of the comrades, incidentally heard in the beginning of April some indefinite remarks concerning such information, but in a form that did not correspond with the content of the instructions.

Also at the XIV plenum of the CC this question was not correctly presented, or explained to the Party. In the report of the reporter of the Politburo to the plenum, comrade Weinstein, this question was blurred and confused. Comrade Weinstein kept saying that "We have put forward as slogans in the campaign against war in China the slogans of 'Economic boycott' and 'Oust the Imperialists'. Why have we raised these slogans? In order to arouse a mass movement of the workers." In this no difference was brought up between these slogans as Party slogans and slogans of non-party mass organizations.

Only in one place comrade Weinstein made the remark about "putting forward these slogans from on top and not from below". But it is impossible to see what he had in mind—lower Party organizations, or non-party masses? Comrade Weinstein in his report referred to the speculations of the Social Democrats and Lovestonites on these slogans issued by the Party and presenting the slogans all the time as if they were slogans of the Party, he continued to defend them with arguments such as "Boycott and driving out of the imperialists does not actually mean war".

Comrade Browder, who devoted his speech at the Plenum almost exclusively to the question of struggle against the war danger, likewise did not make any distinction between these slogans of the Communist Party or slogans of non-party organizations. In bringing up the questions of concrete slogans of the Party for the struggle against war Comrade Browder declared: "When we brought forward the slogans very sharply and concretely, directed against Japanese imperialism which is the spearhead of the development of a world imperialist war, concretized in the form of the demand for the expulsion

of the Japanese imperialist representatives in the United States for economic boycott, many of our members did not understand this. In fact these members had a reaction against these slogans. Generally within the party was felt the influence of the Lovestonite and Trotskyist attacks against these slogans. The party was not prepared to answer the attacks made upon our slogans by the renegades and by the socialists."

And again, not stating exactly by whom these slogans should be issued, Comrade Browder spoke of them as if they should be the slogans of the Party, declared them to be correct, and called for "complete liquidation of all hesitation and all fears" and for a "bold application of the line that these slogans represent."

This presentation of the question at the Plenum of the CC shows that the Party leadership approached the directives of the ECCI in a mechanical way and, without understanding the essence of the question and without explaining it to the Party, continued to repeat its former errors. Thus in the Daily Worker of May 17 the leading articles contained in the form of a direct appeal to the workers the slogans: "Force all Japanese diplomats and commercial representatives from the United States". According to the Daily Worker May 31, Comrade Browder at the Chicago Nominating Convention of the Communist Party, in the report delivered in the name of the Central Committee of the Party "called upon the workers . . . to demonstrate against the representatives of Japanese imperialism and drive them out of the United States". According to the D.W., the Chicago Convention adopted among other resolutions, a resolution against the war danger, calling for "the driving out of the Japanese imperialists, representatives and boycott of Japanese goods". (Daily Worker, May 31). It would be well for the Daily Worker to avoid emphasizing the national instead of class aspect of the war by speaking of Japanese imperialism when describing the acts of Japanese imperialism.

The mistakes of the CPUSA in putting forward anti-Japanese slogans are closely bound up with the obvious under-estimation of the task of the Party of struggle against American imperialism. In the present concrete situation the American bourgeoisie is trying to find a way out of the crisis along the path of further attacks on the American working class; by a more intensive exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial countries; by a war against its imperialist rivals, by war against the USSR. The American bourgeoisie is now carrying out this inseparably interwoven line transforming one of these links into another. From this essence of the class policy of the American bourgeoisie at home from its preparation for war against Japan and Great Britain and its preparations

for an intervention against the U.S.S.R. It would be wrong to counterpose the rivalry of American and Japanese imperialism to the irreconcilable class hatred of the American bourgeoisie toward the U.S.S.R. It would be wrong to divorce the struggle of the American working class against American imperialism from the struggle against the menace of intervention against the Soviet Union.

In what main lines must proceed the struggle of the American Party against war? First of all, the Communist Party cannot separate the struggle against war from the class struggle against its "own" bourgeoisie. The CPUSA should regard its struggle against war as part of the general struggle against American imperialism. Agitation and propaganda of the Communist Party against pacifist and reformist prescription in the struggle against war, and exposure of the preparations of the bourgeoisie for war, should be closely linked up with the daily work of the party among the masses; should form one basic line of Communist struggle against war, the line of revolutionary mass action, the line of "STRENGTHENING, DEVELOPING, BROADENING AND SHARPENING THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION OF THE MASSES" (Lenin). Constant linking up of the daily struggles of the working class for immediate demands with the struggle against American imperialism and its preparations for war; constant raising of the political activity of the working class in these struggles; this is the principle method of POSTPONING the outbreak of war, of making it difficult for the bourgeoisie TO PREPARE FOR WAR, and should the working class not be able to frustrate the outbreak of war, of OBSTRUCTING THE CONDUCT OF WAR and creating conditions for its transformation into civil war, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat.

The revolutionary proletariat should FIRST OF ALL organize its anti-war and anti-interventionist mass struggle adapting it to the concrete internal and external situation as a struggle against ITS OWN BOURGEOISIE. The proletariat should most energetically come out in defense of the USSR not only because the Soviet Union is the fatherland of the workers, the stronghold of Socialism, but also because the USSR is a powerful factor in the struggle against war, and such a struggle is helpful in delaying the moment when the workers of the world, including the American workers are plunged into the horrors of blood and privation of a new imperialist war.

In other words, the struggle against war and intervention should be organized by the Communist Party primarily on the ground of protecting the interests of the working masses of its own country because wars are fought by the masses and at their expense.

(To Be Continued)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Egregious

"Gorman has been striking new notes in strike statements and strategy, especially for a labor leader who starts out by being non-radical. President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, making up for his egregious San Francisco error, calls upon all the forces of organized labor to back up the general textile strike. . . . S. Friedman in the latest literary darling of American socialism, Arise. "New notes," "Egregious errors." What the movement needs is an Ambrose Bierce to write a revolutionary Devil's Dictionary. There, for the convenience of socialists like Friedman, strike breaking and open and deliberate betrayals of workers will be referred to euphemistically as "egregious errors" and "new strategy"

Social-Democratic Ministers and Worms

In the effort of leading Social-Democrats to the Darwinian thesis they sometimes go to strange lengths. In his attempt to prove the horizontal and four-footed antecedence of Homo Sapiens, "comrade" Per Albin Hansson, his Swedish Majesty's Social-Democratic minister, has thrown himself prostrate before the Royal offspring—proving that it is just as easy—far easier, in fact—for a Social-Democratic minister to crawl on all fours than to stand upright like a man.

Jehova for Sinclair

Sinclair sums up his campaign to end poverty in California better than ever we could in his latest poem to the New Republic. Therein he sums up his faith in Jehova and proves that he has the Almighty's official seal: "O God my Father, and God my Friend And God my Guide to Poverty's End. Amen."

Which reminds us of a story Sin-

clair surely must have heard from his southern grandpappy. A German soldier in the Union army was caught in the act of slicing some vegetables from the bin of a secessionist house-hold and the mistress of the house shouted: "Have you no fear of the Lord?" "Neh," exclaimed the soldier, "Gott is all played out."

Angels for Amter

If Sinclair has the Almighty, himself, on his side, at least the rank and file of God's heavenly "bode are all for Israel Amter. For there's a strong rumor percolating about that Father Divine's angels are solid for the local Stalinist candidate for governor.

Tears, Tears, More Glycerine

The Republican Moses, not to be confused with his biblical forebear, has broken down and wept before the rock that is Tammany. This exhibition of elephantine humanitarianism is brought forth by the bestial attack on the two hundred or so hunger strikers who attempted to enter Albany to lay their demands before Governor Lehman. That other hunger marchers, workers and unemployed have been brutally beaten at the behest of Republican governors; that the bonus army was tear-gassed, bayoneted and burned out of Washington by a Republican president is known to all—even to Moses. But . . . the hypocrisy of a boss-class politician before election knoss-nobs.

DR. S. JOYCE

Noted Physician and Author will give informal talks on:

- WORKERS' HEALTH
- Nov. 5—Colds, Sinus Infections, Sore Throat.
- Nov. 12—Bolls, Carbuncles, Fungus Infections.
- Nov. 19—Diet and Digestion.
- Nov. 26—Obesity and Leanness.
- Dec. 2—First Aid.
- Dec. 9—Glands.
- Dec. 16—Physical Aspects of Psychic Trauma.
- Dec. 23—Kidneys.

Subscription for full course \$1. Single lecture, 15c.

Every Monday at 8 P.M.

Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second Ave.

Auspices: Spartacus Youth League.

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Another Paper Union Folds Up

Boston, Oct. 25.—At last the Stalinists decided to give up the N.T. W.I.U.—And please note, that they did not because they realize that they have been wrong, that their false policies left no other road open, nor anything to give up. Oh, no! The infallibility of Stalinism would not permit that! They take this step because they have become suddenly merciful and come to the rescue of the poor dressmakers in the I.L.G.W. How good of the Stalinist-controlled G. E.B.!

A few questions to the kind general secretary Gold: And we will go back only a brief two years.

Looking at the Record

Gold will probably recall that two years ago the dressmakers worked for starvation wages, even under worse conditions than today and needed united strength. Why was it that under your leadership, —or shall we say under the iron heel of the Profintern, the G.E.B. refused to call a united front for a single strike to gain conditions for the workers?

In Boston at a general membership meeting of cloak and dressmakers, at which Gold spoke, the present writer pointed out that the only way to gain conditions was to have one union in the industry and that the Stalinists were carrying out a wrong policy by splitting and keeping the ranks split. Was Gold lying to himself and to the workers when he exclaimed, "Workers, do not listen to Eva Winer. She is a 'Trotskyite' whose policies are wrong and counter-revolutionary. We will never give up the Industrial Union! The workers will come back to us!" (?)

And keep up they did—till they lost the bulk of the membership. The few who remained did so out of necessity. Either because they worked in the few shops then still controlled by the Stalinists or be-

cause they stubbornly believed in the slogans of their leadership.

Again, if the dressmakers need your help—and it is help you want to give them and always did—why was it that when the New York dressmakers last year under the I.L.G.W. went out in that gigantic strike which involved almost the entire trade you even then refused to face the truth break with your isolation policy and enter as a body into the I.L.G.W.? Did you still expect that the workers would come back? No, we know better.

Will the Workers "Come Back"?

In spite of the slanders against "Trotskyism" with which our Stalinist bureaucrats, the correctness of the policy laid down by the C.L.A. came to the fore again. When Koretz was sent here to discuss with us the situation in the trade in Boston I again spoke for entry into the I.L.G.W., demanding full rights as old members and help the needle workers' fight. The old reply came this time from Koretz, that they will keep up the Industrial union even with seven members, so sure were they that the workers would not gain conditions through the I.L.G.W. and would come back.

Today Gold states that the workers are very badly off. Would it not be consistent to wait till they "come back"? But no, there is now an order from afar and above to give up, and the old slogans go overboard for no other reason. Gold now becomes soft-hearted and presents the right wing with the "dress department". But the leadership? They still have a sacred mission. On the outside they will keep up the office as a bogeyman to scare the right wing leaders. The fact, however, is that the chiefs of the G.E.B. dare not face the workers. They know that they pursued this hide-and-seek policy too long to expect the workers to have any further trust in them and seek their leadership.

Discretion Better Part of Valor
The following is proof of that bravery and conviction of these

leaders: Only a week ago Koretz and Gold came to Boston to "convince" a few staunch followers to carry out the final act for them; and they found it not so easy. For these few who repeated religiously after the pope, "Do not give up, the workers will come back" so often till they began to believe it, it became difficult to face reality. What was to follow was still worse. To come face to face with the "rank and file" and lay before them the new "turn"; to attempt to undo in one evening what they had done in several years was too much for Gold and Koretz. They were not equal to the task and left Boston just a day before the meeting! Gold who had shouted phrases, and Koretz who had stayed in Boston for a period of time and educated the followers to the Stalinist slogans now took the easiest way out. In their stead they sent Gross to bring the sad news to Boston.

How did the "rank and file" react? Half of the already tiny group, left did not attend the meeting in protest against this cowardly act of Gold and Koretz. Those who did attend "learned" from Gross that the New York workers have become so passive that they do not vote any longer and are disinterested in the left wing. Truly a sad situation for the Stalinists to admit while they still consider themselves the left wing! But the workers know otherwise. The years of treacherous misleadership of the Stalinists did throw apathy into the ranks of the workers, but that will not be for long.

Led and inspired by a conscious vanguard working side by side with them, the workers will again raise their heads; organize into a strong left wing and fight for conditions. It is true, never again under the leadership of Stalinism, but with the assistance which can come only from the tested, clearheaded workers whose views history itself has vindicated.

—EVA WINER.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

Second International Begins to Crack

Faced with insoluble contradictions between the stark realities of decadent capitalism and the "theories" of gradualism and reformism based on a bourgeois democracy that is rapidly disappearing, the Second International, long dead politically, begins now to show all the signs of crumbling as a system of ideas. German fascism wiped out the largest Social Democratic party. Any remnants of this party cannot conceivably base themselves on the old forms of revisionism but must inevitably become part of a new revolutionary party still to be built. In Austria the socialist workers took up arms not only to combat fascism but to disprove conclusively all the tenets of Austro-Marxism. The vanguard of the Spanish proletariat, including the socialist workers, rallied to arms, the latter under the banner of a party that had consistently denied the validity of force and hence failed to prepare the working class for the revolutionary action that capitalism compels us to use to bring about its overthrow. The French socialists, threatened with the same fascist fate as their brothers, took to heart the fearful and inescapable lessons of Germany and Austria and broke with the outright reformists, now clearly revealed as masked reactionaries, in order to move to the left. The French party in its present state consists of a number of fractions, each with its own press, each striving for political leadership and for the final adoption of its program.

The American Socialist Party

The American Socialist party, no more than the French or the Swiss, can escape the devastating effects of the same contradictions. How can this party reconcile its support of the revolting Spanish workers, its hailing of their unsuccessful at-

tempt to bring about a workers' state by force of arms,—with a continued advocacy of nothing but peaceful and legal means in the United States? Which page of the New Leader shall one read most closely, that describing the shootings in Oviedo or that appealing for votes for Norman Thomas in the campaign to help solve all problems? And if the United States is in some strange sense different from Europe, then perhaps Thomas had better omit his constant references to the approaching danger of fascism here too. But in America also socialist workers have come to a realization that their party rests on unreal foundations. They have begun to move to the left, but this natural trend is hampered and stifled by an extremely reactionary Old Guard of petty bourgeois businessmen and professionals, including the old Forward clique and the socialist trade union bureaucracy. The Declaration of Principles adopted by the last convention represented not any clear-cut break with the past but a weak compromise, a distinct concession made by the "lefts" to the standpat reformists of the Waldman-Oncal calibre under the threat of split made by the latter. The right centrists like Thomas intended this compromise to have the effect of stopping any further tendency to go left, and at the same time to preserve the "unity" of the organization. Thomas clearly revealed that he leans upon the right wing at the same time that he wishes to control the lefts in his statement on the referendum: ". . . the one thing we socialists cannot afford to do is to allow it (results of the referendum on the Declaration of Principles) to break up our unity, destroy our discipline, or continue to distract our energy." Again, "There is room within the S. P. for considerable divergence of view on certain points, if only we will work for socialism."

—JACK WEBER.

CLEVELAND BRANCH OPEN FORUM

Sunday, Nov. 11, 2:30 P.M.:
"Bureaucracy or Democratic Centralism"
Sunday, Nov. 4, 2:30 P.M.:
"The NIRA & Strike Wave"