

In a recent issue of The Militant we camp. There are a total of over 130 carried an item about the heroic hunger prisoners at Verchne-Uralsk, a number strike of the Bolshevik-Leninists who of them now almost three years in jail are jailed in the isolation camp at

Verchne-Uralsk. This hunger strike, caused by the intolerable administration. lasted eighteen days, after which the jailers used forcible feeding methods on our Russian comrades, beat them and used weapons (one comrade was wounded).

Twenty-five percent of the imprisoned Oppositonists are sick with scurvy; the prevailing severe stomach ailments continue; the cells are small and over crowded (fifteen men in one narrow cell) and the isolation from freedom is complete.

The least protest of the imprisoned Bolshevik-Leninists means new reprisals, savage beatings and a dousing with the water-hose in fiercely cold weather (February, 1931). This alone sufficiently describes the administration to which the imprisoned Russian Oppositions are subjected in Stalin's jails.

The purpose of this administration is the physical annihilation of the Left Kulikow; 55. Komarowa; 56. Korsan-Opposition. The bureaucratic clique is idse; 57. Kamenezki; 58. Kirschin; 59. clearly heading for this course, with Lubitko; 60. A. Lipatow; 61. Libkin; 62. Stalin at the head, taking the place of Ph. Lapschin; 63. Langer; 64. Ida Lemthe Party and the working class. The eljan; 65. Musaj Magid; 66. Melnais; 67 little clique of Stalinistsis bending ev- P. Maluj; 68. Markus; 69. Michaileery effort to exterminate the bearers of witsch; 70. Man Newelsom; 71. Osnthe ideas of Lenin, hoping in this way to jatsch; 72. Organesow-Ter; 73. Posnanexterminate those ideas themselves.

In the isolation camps at Varchne-Uralsk and elsewhere are the flower and the future of the Bolshevik Party, its Peusner; 80. Panow; 81. Pazschwili; 82. best cadres, devoted to the end. The struggle to save these cadres of the Rus- 85. Piwner; 86. Psalmopewzew; 87. Raz; sian Opposition is at the same time a 88. Rapoport; 89. Reschetnitschenko; 90. struggle for the Communist Party, for G. Stopalow; 91. S. Slitinsky; 92. Arno Soviet Russia, for the cause of the Oct- Saakjan; 93. Sosorew; 94. Surnow; 95. ober Revolution. Not a single working Selowjan; 96. Swiridow; 97. E. Solnzew; class party comrade can or dare pass by 98. E. Tabatschnik; 99. Twattschiridse; indifferent to the fate of the Russian **Oppositionists**.

Who Are The Opposition?

to give a report of the intellectual life

that flourishes in spite of jail bars in the

ski: 107. Tschernuich: 108. Tscherepa Below is an incomplete list of the chin; 109, Lisa Schapiro; 110. S. Schei Oppositionists imprisoned in the isolalat; 111. Schemes; 112. Schkuratow; 113. tion camp at Verchne-Uralsk, with a Schpitainik; 114. Jaschwill; 115. Jako few biographical notes. Later we hope win; 116. Jakowlew; 117. W. Elzin.

The Conspiracy Against the R.R. Workers

For some weeks now negotiations he-list solution-further repressions against tween the Railroad Executives and the the workers. It is sought in increased "labor leaders" of the railroad workers unemployment, part-time work and vichave been under way for the specific ious wage-cuts which spell further impurpose of instituting wage reductions poverishment of the workers in the inor the industry as a whole. The com- dustry. These efforts of the capitalists to come forward at once and HELP.

List of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Left **Opposition)** in the Verchne-**Uralsk Prison**

Militant finds itself. To our appeals for 1. Abramski; 2. Awojan; 3. N. Aldmoney to maintain the weekly Militant, hausen ; 4. Aloiz : 5. Akopian : 6. Aronow : there has been a response sufficient to issue the weekly to date. But there is 7. Ardstein; 8. A. Askakjan; 9. Antokolno assurance or certainty that another ski; 10. Arddaschelija; 11. Asatjan; 12. week will pass before we are faced with O. Barkin; 13. Belinsik; 14. Besasjan; the necessity to give up the Weekly 15. Babajan; 16. Bersina; 17. Beradse; Militant. This is a statement of fact. 18. Brik; 19. Bulnitschew; 20. Bodrow; Now it is up to our readers and support-21. Bugon; 22. Nadjeschda Gerdobjan; ers. 23. Gorddjeew; 24. Glistowski- 25. C. Yet the need for the weekly Militant Geworkjan; 26. Grumann; 27. Gogerasis greater today than at any other time

chwili; 28. Gowendo; 29; Jefim Golub; 30. Grajew; 31. Lisa Golddberg; 32. Garbmann; 33. Hirschfeld; 34. Ph. Dingelstedt; 35. Drapkin; 36. Dwinski; 37.1 its foundations, to educate the working Donadse; 38. Saleski; 39. Saikow; 40. Ssguski; 41. Surabjan; 42. M. Iwanowa; Kremmer: 46. Koldinow: 47. Kaslas: 48 Krainu; 49. Kakusin; 50. Kwatsohadse;

51. Kessel; 52. Koputov; 53. Koltow; 54 ski; 74. Podsemski; 75. Aron Papermei

ster! 76. Leo Papermeister; 77. Paul Pa permeister; 78. N. Perewersew; 79. Ch Puschasz: 83. Popow: 84. A. Polinuk 100. Ugrjumow; 101. Ukrainzew; 102. Frumkin; 103. Flaks; 104. Fedortschenko;/105. Chelidsde; 106. Chaschzewa-

Fedor Nikolaievitch Dingelstedt-Mem-

(Continued on page 3)

masses and its leading cadres, the Communists, in the fundamentals of Commun-43. Joffe; 44. Kosolapow; 45. Klaudia ism and the program, strategy and tactics of the class-conscious workers and revolutionaries.

> The war in Manchuria raises sharply the dangers of another world war to engulf the working class and all civilization; the events in Spain; the spectre of fascism in Germany and its dangers to the international proletariat; the economic crisis that so cruelly affects the working masses-all these need such an organ as the Militant to interpret their significance and to outline a program of action for the working class in its struggle against capitalism.

Shall the Militant appear? This ques-

tion is posed definitely before our sup

porters, sympathizers and readers. We

have told our readers frankly of the ser-

ious financial situation in which the

More than ever do we need the Militant

to explain the world-wide economic and

political events that shake the world on

Official Communism, as expressed and carried out under the leadership of Stalin and the Comintern, continues to ravage the vitals of the Communist movement and to lead the working class from one defeat to another. Officialism Commun ism more and more neglects and sneers at Communist theory and moves toward the theory and practices of national socialism as against internationalism.

In all the welter and confusion, the Militant for three years now has been an ever-burning beacon light and guide to the English-speaking workers and Communists. A retreat to a semi-monthly existence again, or perhaps even worse, would be a heavy blow against the revolutionary needs of the working class and especially to the Communist movement and its regeneration on its original Communist foundations.

Now our need is great. An IMMEDI-ATE RESPONSE with substantial donations is imperative. Do not delay your assistance. IMMEDIATE SUP-PORT means the continuation of the Militant. 'We count upon our readers

many has consistently occupied the most valuable position in European capitalism. As a consequence of this, the eyes of the world have always been concentrated on Germany affairs. German conjuncture has played an effective part in the lives of all the capitalist nations. The Dawes plan, the Young plan, the Hague Conferences, the Hoover Moratorium—all involving immediately the fate of this war crippled country-have been milestones in post-war history. Today we are witnessing in Germany a regime barely short of Fascism, com parable only to the most desperate war time administration among the bourgeois governments. By official decree, the

wages of the workers are cut ten percent, prices are submitted to regulation by a dictator appointed to this office. interest rates are reduced, etc., etc Needless to say only the wage-cut decree actually remains effective. There is no tool so pliant in carrying out the orders of the Bruening Government as the re formist betrayers in the Trade Unions The American press generally admits

as much and skeptically smiles at the other decrees.

How the Bourgeoisie Copes With the Crisis

Police force and war ministry are united in the hands of one of Germany's "strong.men", the Hohenzollern General Groener. Street meetings are prohibited. Indoor political meetings can only take place in the presence of an "officer of the Law". Groener raids Communist headquarters, suspends Communist newspapers, and encourages the "marching Nationalist Youth" of the Hitler forces in their murder expeditions through the proletarian quarters. Freedom of the press is denied not only to Communists but even to the radical bourgeois intelligentsia. Carl von Ossietsky editor of the radical Weltbuehne and one of his fellow journalists have recently been convicted of "espionage", for an article published some two years ago! The reactionary supreme court at Leipzig, in the formation of which Fritz Ebert and other Social-democratic worthies, played quiet prominent parts, have discovered 'literary high-treason", with which to incarcerate . . . novelists and fiction writers sympathetic to the working class.

The unemployed army has grown to the five million mark and there is talk of instituting the Nazi propagated "Zwang sarbeit", a practice similar to that of the chain-gang-so very popular in the South of the United States-as a solu tion to the unemployed problem.

This is the way the bourgeoisie

In the political complex which consti- has been under discussion in the bank- the proletarian camp has not met with tutes the heritage of the World War, Ger. ers' testimony before the Senate Finance any degree of success similar to the one Committee this last week—have in the he has enjoyed among the declassed past been inclined to cast a not alto- bourgeois elements. Hence, the "socialgether favorable eye on Hitler and National Socialism. There are too many program have practically been shelved sacrifices at stake under a Hitler rule for the time being. Having succeeded in and American Imperialism has always rallying the papuerized petty-bourgeois been accustomed to play the hypocrit- masses around him, he quite naturally ical democrat. But less than two weeks ago we were faced with a veritable Hitler'boom in the American press.

> How is this to be explained? Quite simply: For weeks there have been strong rumors of a "Socialist-Communist alliance" in Germany, based probably on the many spontaneous and semi spontaneous united front actions of reand revolutionary workers formist against the fascist terror and no doubt also on the demagogic offer of cooperation made to the Communists by the Social-democratic leader, Breitschield, That all this happened under the pressure of the rank and file workers is indisputable. One has only to be acquainted with the daily anti-Bolshevik tirades of the Berlin Vorwaerts to realize this. The rising sentiment for united action in the German working class, the threatened crumbling of reformist influence, arou'sed the American imperialists to a

new orientation for a moment. With the apparent dissipation of the rumored possibilities of united working class action, the Hitler boom once more sub-| weak and fishing in all waters, they sided. As long as reformism and soc- even spoke of an "eastern orientation" ial-democracy can prevent militant, un- against the enemy across the Rhine. ited action on the part of the German working class, the American imperialists will withhold complete support of Fascism. In the meantime, however, the Hitler forces are steadily increasing, a continued menace to the very existence of the as yet divided German working class.

turn towards "legalism". That is, other ideological embellishments of Hitthey are staking their cards on a "peaceful" entry into the government either But how is it possible to forget the genby full control or in coalition with Bruening, with the Clerical Party. Hit- backing Hitler, how can the wave of reler is not troubled by any theories or action in Great Britian, its strength in principles. His strength lies in adapt- France, in Italy, be left out of account? ing his reactionary motives to the cur- And it is just these factors that ultimrents in the mass. His penetration into

ist", the "revolutionary", elements in his appeals to outside help to throw its weight into the balance. His aggressive tone, so familiar in referring to the French "arch-enemy" has calmed down considerably. He is negotiating, bargaining for a compromise with the foreign imperialists.

In an interview with a New York Times correspondent, Hitler cynically poses the question whether "the world" would not "prefer German universal military service"—that part of the Hitler program hardest to digest for the foreign imperialists—"to a German Red Army"? In England, his emmisary Rosenberg, according to another Times, dispatch, openly speaks of "a Germany . . throwing her whole weight for the conquest of territory needed for her colonization in Eastern and Central Europe.' And more bluntly even, he predicts that "southern Russia will be thrown open to German colonists". All of this, only to show the trend of Nazi "foreign policy". At one time, it should be remembered, when the Nazis were still very

Hitlerism: Farce or Menace?

There is a tendency among German radicals as a whole to laugh off the Fascist menace, to regard the whole Hitler movement as pure quackery. Hitlerism is a sort of "German Science" a witty journalist once remarked. When one considers the Teuton Cult, the fan-Hitler's Nazi Party has recently made tastic brand of anti-semitism and the lerism, one is inclined to agree in part. erous funds of German heavy industry (Continued on uage 2)

Marine Workers to Hold Defense Meet Attention in the movement for the

A LETTER FROM REILLY

defense of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer James Reilly, one of the original de--marine workers facing trial in the fendants in the marine workers' case, dynamite frame-up-is centering now in who was first implicated by the stoolthe preparations for a public mass meet- pigeon Hoyle and then dismissed because of an obvious descrepancy in story in regards to Reilly, is being held at the 53rd St. jail, under a thousand fendants is shown in the following letter

mittee of nine railroad presidents repre- would be much more difficult were it not senting the leading roads in the country, adamant in the beginning against any ceives from the o;cialdom of the railkind of joint discussions with the lead- way labor unions whose role is that of ers of the railroad unions over the a check upon any signs of workers' miliquestion of wage-cuts, have finally tancy and rebellion. Receiving now the agreed to such negotiations. It is quite endorsement of the government (an enlabor officials take part as the "workers' front" protesting such reductions or effecting concessions from the "captains" of the industry.

we have put up for you. The Railroad

15 per cent. We would never stand for

troduce only a 10 per cent wage-cut. In

not to continue lay-offs and keep those

ers are pushing rapidly for wage reduc-

but requesting in return the "distribution

sible.'

understandable that the Railroad Ex dorsement which was actually not needed ecutives saw that it would be to their - and the failure of which would not best interests to participate in such have prevented wage-cuts), the railroad negotiations as a pretence, in which the industry proceeds with confidence and ruthlessness. Workers Must Organize Resistance

The railroad workers, who have in the past fought some of the most mili-

for the "splendid" support that it re

Labor Officials Betray Workers tant struggles in the history of the The committee of nine presidents, on American labor movement, find them-December 21, served formal notice of selves at the present time in a weakentheir intentions to reduce wages 15 per ed condition. In 1919 the labor unions cent. The announcement is considered went on record for "government owneras official and to the labor leaders marks ship and democratic management of the a basis for discussion revolving around roads". They even favored independent "securities for the workers" in exchange political action of the workers, and for their acceptance of wage-cuts. The showed an interst in a Labor party. raising of the proposed reduction to 15 Succumbing largely to the ideology of per cent from the original proposal of union-management cooperation, the B. & 10 per cent, was instigated by the union O. plan of company unionism, the railleaders themselves, the object being to road workers are today dispersed. Their arrange a basis for "bargaining". What forces are weakened, their leaders have this actually means is that the official- betrayed them. They saw their unions dom of the railroad unions are prepared smashed, experienced a loss of rights, to accept the wage reductions of 10 per and found their wages cut constantly. cent. Their proposal that the Railroad This drive against the railroad work-Executives add 5 per cent to the original ers while resulting in sporadic strike plan is done with the aim of presenting efforts from time to time, has been carthe 10 per cent wage-cut as a victory ried through in general without resistof labor over capital and the triumph of ance on the part of the rank and file. worker-management cooperation. These But this situation cannot be expected to fakers will then turn to the railroad last. The offensive against the workers workers and say: Witness the struggle is finding a reaction in their ranks.

The railroad workers must cast aside Executives wished to reduce your wages their officialdom. If they are to effectively resist the present offensive which this; we could not betray you workers threatens their very existence they must and so we finally convinced them to in- begin now to organize a nation-wide strike movement against the wage-cut. return the Railroad Executives promise With the central slogan of the six hour day and five day week without a reat work now, on the job. That is how duction in pay, linked with the strugthe situation stands today. The employ | gle for unemployment insurance, against the speed-up system, etc., the railroad tions. The labor officials are agreeing workers have the possibilities to carry out an effective struggle. The needs of

of employment on the widest scale posthe situation demand this from the railroad workers. In this and developing The railroad industry which is sufstruggles against the railroad barons is

exhibits the decay of the capitalist sys- ment of militant unions in the railroad tem and the impossibility of "rejuven- industry. -ALBERT GLOTZER. tation". Their solution is the capital-

fering from the effects of the crisis, only involved the very existence and develop-

THE MILITANT 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

 $\bullet \bullet \bullet$ NOTICE NEW PAMPHLET ON GERMANY By L. D. TROTSKY

We have just received a brochure from L. D. Trotsky on:

"Shall Fascism Take Power?-Germany, the Key to the International Sitnation."

This important document on the momentous issue of Fascism in Germany and the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat and Communists has been translated into English and will soon be issued by us in pamphlet form, 32 pages. Every worker and Communist will want to read the masterly analysis and proposals of comrade L. D. Trotsky, the greatest living exponent of Bolshevism. pletely. to the German working class and Communist movement. The issue is raised sharply: Fascism or the struggle for political power by the working class under the leadership of the Communists. The pamphlet will sell for 10 cents. Bundles rates of five or more are seven cents per copy. Advance orders can now be placed.

Send cash, check or money order to: THE PIONEER PUBLISHERS 84 Sast 10th Street,

New York, N. Y. $\bullet \bullet \bullet$

The National Tour

The National Tour of Arne Swabeck has carried him as far west as Kansas City, Mo. and Minneapolis, Minn. Successful gatherings, reported on elsewhere, have been held in all the cities that comrade Swabeck has visited. From his engagements in Minneapolis, he will turn eastward for return meetings and a New Year's Eve banquet in Chicago and will then proceed to Pittsburgh, Pa., Youngstown and Cleveland, Ohio and thence to Philadelphia.

Balance of schedule follows: Chicago, Ill.Dec. 31 and January 1, 2, 3 Cleveland, OhioJanuary 5th

Youngstown, OhioJanuary 6th Pittsburgh, Pa.....January 7th

ing on the case which is to be held in attempting to cope with the crisis at Webster Hall, on Thursday evening, Janpresent. It is quite well known at this uary 7. A representative list of speakers time that it enjoys the loyal support of the social-democratic "opposition" in the will discuss the entire affair from all dollars bail, as a "material witness". Reichstag. The Social-democrats are, angles on this occasion. The meeting is Reilly's attitude towards the other denamely, "tolerating" the Bruening regime expected to be the starting point for a as the "lesser evil" in preference to an really popular development of the move- from him. openly fascist regime. As a result of ment through public agitation. Among this there is a great deal of commotion the speakers already scheduled to appear

in the ranks of the social-democracy and in the Webster Hall mass meeting are: its electorate. That the Communists James P. Cannon, Ben Fletcher, Ben Githave not been able to benefit by this low, A. J. Muste, Walter Starrett, Carlo situation to the full extent, is to be Tresca, Carter Hudson will be chairman. ascribed entirely to the stupid and ob- Leaflets and posters advertising the meetdurate tactical mistakes of the leader- ing have been prepared. Organizations ship, receiving their instructions from or individuals wishing to help in the the Comintern. The Nazis however have work of distributing the leaflets or who been the greatest profiteers of the gen- wish to display the posters in their headeral situation, roping ever-greater numquarters may secure them from the defense committee. bers of supporters among all the declass-

ed elements, by their political mimicry: At the meeting of the defense committhe golden mean of their compound of tee held on December 21, a sub-commitnationalism and "socialism". All the tee was appointed to organize the sendlocal elections confirm this trend com-

The World Imperialists and German Fascism

American finance and business, heavy United States investments in Germany



At the same meeting it was reported that a group of ten or twelve former class war prisoners in New York City who have served terms in various penitentiaries for their activity in the labor movement, had drawn up a joint statement appealing for labor support of the CHICAGO-On Sunday, January 3rd,

ordered printed.

1932, at 3 P. M. sharp, comrade Arne indicated marine workers and will re-Swabeck will lecture on "Trotsky's lease it for publication in the next few Views on the World Crisis". The lecture days with their names and prison re will be given at REDIFER'S HALL, 30 cords signed to it.

NO. WELLS STREET, Room 403. The The sub-committee which had been deadmission is 15 cents and the meeting is legated to interview the Civil Liberties under the auspices of the Chicago Branch Union on the case reported the decision of the Communist League of America of that organization to issue a public (Opposition). All workers are invited. statement condemning the third degree The Chicago Branch holds Open tortures inflicted on the prisoners and Forums every Saturday afternoon at 3 the use of a stool-pigeon and agent-provocateur in the case. Norman Hawkins, P. M. at its Headquarters Hall, 1435 who has acted as a provisional member No. Western Ave. The above lecture has of the defense committee at the request been transferred to Redifer's Hall because of the large crowd that is expected of two of the defendants, pending its final organization as a delegate body, to attendd.

presented his resignation from the com-On New Year's Eve, December 31st, mittee and the same was accepted. The 1931, a banquet will be given at the League Headquarters, 1435 No. Western next meeting of the defense committee Ave. for the benefit of the Militant. will take place on Monday evening, December 28, at the office of Il Martello. Philadelphia, Pa.January 9, 10. | Comrade Swabeck will be present.

December 21, 1931.

Dear Friend Cannon:

Received your letter and was sure glad to get some news from the outside. The days drag along and are quite lonesome, altho' we get the newspapers every day and I watch them pretty closely for the developments that are taking place in Germany and the Far East. How is the union making out, at present. I hope that they have enough sense to put up a fight not only in the case, but I hope that there might be a possibility of uniting all existing organizations upon a common basis for struggle against wage cuts, speeding up, etc. It is quite ing of speakers to labor organizations to an experience being locked up, with peoexplain the case. A number of requests ple whose intelligence is absolutely zero for speakers have already come in. The as far as they are concerned. The place sub-committee will now systematize the is full of married men, who are in here work and will be prepared to furnish for non-support of all descriptions. There investors in Germany since the days of speakers on request. In connection with are people here who would send their the Dawes Plan-the present state of this a draft of a circular to be sent to own mother to jail, rats of the worst labor organizations was approved and kind. Give my regards to the rest of the boys, Soderberg, etc. I have followed

the Mooney case daily but it looks as tho' he is domed to stay where he is.

So far no one has been to see me. I guess no one will be allowed to see me. That will be all this time.

> Fraternally yours. JAMES REILLY.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

By LEON TROTSKY: "Stalin and the Chinese Revolution-Facts and Documents". Contents:

"How Did The Shanghai Overturn Occur?"

"The Organizers of "The Influx of Workers and Peasants Blood."

"Stalin Repeats His Experiment With the 'Left' Kuo Min Tang".

"Against the Opposition—For the Kuo Min Tang!'

"Stalin Once More Disarms The Chinese Workers and Peasants".

"A Sojourn With Trotsky" by Albert Glotzer.

Cantonese Continue Capitalist Policy Going the Rounds in Moscow

Chinese Proletariat Must Develop Struggle for Democratic Rights

shifted to China proper with the resigna- the right of legal existence of the Com- that the Stalinist leadership leads to tion of Chiang Kai-Shek as president of munist Party of China and the Left Op- defeat after defeat of the proletariat, the Chinese Nationalist Government and position, for the convening of a Conthe rise to power of the southern Canton- stituent Assembly, democratically electese faction of the Kuo Min Tang, headed ed, with the extension of the right to by Wang Chin Wei, Eugene Chen and participate in the elections of all work-Sun Fo. The vacillation and impotence ers and exploited peasants and a safeof Chiang Kai-Shek and the Nanking guarding of their voting rights-such a faction in the face of the invasion of struggle will help swiftly to disillusion Manchuria by the Japanese, and the the workers and peasants of China in pressure from the rising wrath of the the new Nationalist Government. workers, peasants and students hastened the downfall of Chiang and Nanking. deepened socially and politically against 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 are other phases of the struggle, but Kai-Shek and Finance Minister T. V Soong, who between them controlled all This movement must be directed by the the guns and all the money-and therefore all the power.

PAGE 2

The Canton Bourgeois Clique

up their style of "Nationalist Govern- munists but by the Communists in every ment of China", but onrushing even., country. In one form or another these especially the Manchurian war, forced questions will arise sharply, as they the Nanking and Canton cliques to dis- dia in England, in Germany, in Spain, cuss "unification" of the Kuo Min Tang. etc. In each instance the Stalinized Since October "terms" have been dis- Comintern failed to permit the developcussed, and now, according to declara- ment of an independent Communist Farty tions, these have been satisfactorily arranged. The Cantonese group of the the masses. 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, Nanking. 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 finitely, assuming a revolutionary pro-Japanese bourgeoisie, with whom he had maintained friendly relations. Most of his wealth is deposited in banks of fensive position. The proletariat does the vote of a union organization. Fur-Tokyo, Japan. Chiang loves his money most of all. It is fitting that the Cantonese propose Chiang Kai-Shek as world revolution, may yet be compelled tuality, as the article points, another rested. The discharge of comrade Gaims Chairman of the Military Council. He to take an offensive step in the maintenis the most accomplished artist, thanks ance of its proletarian power and in point of view as ours in the main, re- Denver workers to hold meetings when 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

The scene of Far Eastern affairs has labor unions and political parties, for tarian revolution. It is unfortunate

The student demonstrations must 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 uncondi which has continued unabated. There these must be placed in the forefront. Chinese Communist Party, and the Communist International must give it full support. The lessons of 1925-1927 must The Cantonese already last May set be learned, not only by the Chinese Com-

in the situation. policy that could lead the struggles of

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 covetuous 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

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 inde-

but the Bolshevik core everywhere is gradually asserting its demands for correct line.

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 imperial- comrade Trotsky in his place of exile ist powers and a move against the Soviet Union. The visits of Premier Laval fishing together, the peasant turned to of France and Foreign Minister Grandi | Trotsky and began to tell him of the of Italy are likewise, as is the developing force of Fascism in Germany, before which the Communist Party of Germany peasant said, "they say that you are with its adopted policy of national soc-| dead. Is this so?" tional cessation of the White Terror ialism is impotent. The Daily Worker, reviewng the Manchuran 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 said, "they say that Stalin is dead". before the working class. It makes it more difficult to bring before the work-

For Communist Unity

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 imperalist 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.

-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. at 21st and Larimer Streets without a leatrian policy on its part, permit itself The voting was not by individuals but permit, but that the police suddenly anto be provoked and to be placed in a de- by unions, so that the vote represents nounced that meetings must be held elsenot fear the clash with imperialism. The ther, this refers to the specific resolu-Soviet Union, as the first fortress of the tion introduced by our comrade. In ac- result that several speakers were arresolution, which defended the same is the first result of the fight of the

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

(It is quite understandable why all

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

at Kadikoy, Turkey. While they were rumors traveling about Moscow.

"Do you know, comrade Trotsky", the

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 To this Trotsky shook his head and answered: "There must be some misers the essence of the problems both in take, comrade. If Stalin were dead, China and the American workers' duty then I would not be forced to live in

> thoughtful. Suddenly he exclaimed. "I remember now, they say that Lenin has

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 all of our best goods are exported." attempt to deny the preponderance of

FREE SPEECH FIGHT IN DENVER

DENVER, COLO.—Anna Gaims, speaker for the Denver Nnemployed Council, convicted of holding a street meeting without a license a few weeks is heralded in the Communist press as ago in police court, was discharged by the county court recently when her conviction was appeaeld by Carle Whitehead, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union. Testimony disclosed that the Unemployed Council and the Communists had held numerous meetings where. It was decided to continue with

meetings at the old location with the For the time being, anonymously, under the cover of the Party's oragn for the functionaries, the Propagandist. The editors of the Propagandist are accused of considering a social democratic coalition government more anti-working class

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 decribed above for its delay feebler than in Staunton. By will not operate to soften the intensity of the crisis from this point on. It is resources in the form of foreign bank on the manipulation of inflation against 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 proally in gold. The larger part of these that part of the advantage given to the duce, 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

Menace of Fascism Imperils Germany

"Peo-

(Continued from page 1)

utterly false strategy of awaiting the

coming into power and the subsequent

collapse of Fascism, has become entangl-

ed in a net of strangling contradictions-

it has attempted to outwit Hitler by

ples Revolution", "National and Social

liberation of the German people" have

been inscribed on the banner of the Ger-

man Party. The necessity of casting

off all this national-socialist rubbish

itself. The prophet of this reawakening

the struggle for our own class, means a

The Significance of the Thaelmann

Article

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 cus-

tomary terms of the Stalinist bureau-

cracy: 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.

It must be added here, that this article

imitating his mational slogans.

ately motivate the Hitler policy.

of time.

than an openly Fascist Dictatorship; they are accused of under-estimating Fascism Unfortunately, this light attitude with in the manner of the Social-democrats, regard to German Fascism, this con- of lulling the masses to sleep; they are accused of "sectarian fatalism", etc. It fidence in its inevitable corrosion from

within has also been shared by the leadmust be stressed once more that the **Propagandist** is the Party organ for the ership of the Communist Party of Germany and has served to disorientate functionaries and consequently the many workers along the path of fatalism. mouthpiece of its highest body. Thael-There is a wide-spread apathy in the mann, therefore, appears to mean seriranks of the proletariat. And this is ous business. Whether this is just anprecisely what accounts for the deadlock other factional maneuver on the part of between the forces of revolution and re- a Stalin henchman or a really sincere action in Germany. It is on the basis move, remains to be seen. But the sitof such a situation that Bruening is nation does demand an ideological reable to remain in power for any length arming of the German Party, in the first place. Any step that would aid it must be welcomed. The official Communist Party, with its

Thaelmann does not as yet, despite the correct restating of the principle of winning over the majority of the prole tariat, 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 has been gradually if not quickly | Party to extricate itself from the octopus hold of its rotten past. But if it realizes the seriousness of conditions, is Thaelmann, the leader of the C. P. then it will not do for it to conceal the He writes in an article in the theoretical same tactical fallacies under the cloak organ of the Party, Die Internationale: | of a correct statement of principle.

"For every Marxist-Leninist, it should The tactic of the working class united be self-evident, that the first requisite front is at the center of the political of Communist policy is the struggle for scene in Germany. It is a question of the winning over of our own class, of the Communists reaching the masses over the proletariat. Only after we have won backs of the decrepit social-democracy over a proletarian majority for Commun- and all its centrist by-products-like ism, can we realise the further tasks of the newly formed Socialist Labor Party attracting the allies of the proletariat -- or of a victory for reaction that will in the middle classes to the anti-capital- not stop at the borders of Soviet Russia. ist front of struggle and thereby create An enormous responsibility rests on the the premises for a popular revolution in shoulders of the German Communists. the sense of Marx and Lenin. Every Upon their action or inaction depends attempt to distort these principles, every | the fate of the world revolution.

-SAM GORDON.

rupure with Marxism, with Leninism". Swabeck Meetings in St.Louis and Stanton

ST. LOUIS-On Tuesday, December 15, comrade Arne Swabeck spoke in Staunton 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 Swabeck'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. 'Ine 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 clumpsy attacks on the Left Opposition, they were placed in the ridiculous position which discredited them. Comrade Swabeck 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 Swabeck 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 Swabeck to tant section of them, those who gather make even clearer to the workers and

furtherance of the international prole ceived the support of a large group. | and where they please. Perspectives of the Crisis in France Economic - Social Changes and Prospects

enough impressed on the Party by reality Turkey". The peasant appeared troubled and

come to life."

from Russia, one of the officials in the apparatus replied: "You see, comrade,

struggle under their leadership. A Ch nese Communist Party that recognizes the necessity for the struggle for democratic rights in this period and pre pares to fight for them, must lead and direct the whole movement.

The "Achievements" of Stalin and the Browders

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 Browders, 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 degradition and horror to which Stalin subjected the Chinese Communist Party and the proletariat. It is proper that an Earl Browder, who assisted in the betrayals 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 com- ital. In addition, by 1927 the currency pletely in the minds of the Chinese had been well stabilized, by number masses. In this period of capitalist dom- of simple methods: an increase in taxaination of China, but with a ferment tion to balance the budgdet, the refundconstantly deepening among the Chinese ing of one to three month Government masses, the struggle for democratic bills by two-year bills, some reduction rights-for free speech, free press, free of the debt of the State to the Banque

(Continued from previous isue) Special Factors in French Post-War

Crisis In addition to the relatively slow de velopment of French capitalism in general, based on the relatively high specific importance of a backward rural economy, there were several special fac tors 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 pnrposes: it re sulted 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 rebabilitation of the French currency, following a breakdown in the franc from par of 19.3 cents to 2 cents in 1926, was carried through under Poincare on a basis which shifted measured in paper frances or gold. 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 finally 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 finance cap

organization to handle short-term bills, inflationary situation. To the extent inand the accumulation of interest-bearing dicated, part of this prosperity was based balances in bills to offset the floating the French working class. debt of the French government. By this time, French capitalists were ready to porary advantages thus given tend to repatriate their foreign balances, natur- disappear. The figures just cited show balances represented the proceeds of the French industrialist by inflation and high expropriation of the petty bourgeoisie through the writing-down of the value of his savings by 80%.

As a result. French banking gold re serves, which had never been over \$900,-000,000 before the war, have 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 der present conditions of a growing inthe 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 postinflation stabilization, and actually increased from 1929 to 1930 contrary to the against 38,524 in September, 36,000 in 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 ment in French money wages, whether The following figures will illustrate this, in terms of pre-war prices as 100:

	Paper Franc			
	Ι	ndex	Index	1
French	W90Ag			18

LICHOR WEBCD,			
except Paris	1929	685	137
	1930	732	146.
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 162 in unsheltered. The comparison is even worse for the French worker because of his longer hours and lesser socwas therefore being defrauded of part during an inflationary period, while the hangover of inflation from the 1927 stab-

However, like all inflation, the temprices is being absorbed by the accompanying increase in cost of living and consequently, under conditions of effec-States.

tive trade-union resistance, in higher wages.

To this has been added the sharp in crease in tariff protection for agricultural products mentioned above. This is likewise a concealed attack on the standard

of living of the French worker, but undustrial crisis within France, the economic class struggle is loaded to the strategic advantage of the French capithrough a more aggressive program of compromises of their kind.

unemployment. At the end of October, 1931, the official reports listed 56,121 unemployed

August, an average of 2,433 for all of 1930 and an average of only 909 for front. 1929. French official unemployment

A bourgeois statistical service, the Bul-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 benefit of the capitalist class. These in France. The unstable equilibrium of possibilities may not be immediate, but ial welfare benefits. The French worker post-war France, based on a backward rural economy restraining the developof the redistribution of income as always ment and the contradictions of a counoisie, has been definitely tipped, over. ilization and a mild increase during 1930 now that France produdces more steel less closely combined with ownership helped maintain the appearance of in- than England or Germany, to take one and coexists with a highly developed Rolph on behalf of the two labor prison assemblage, for the right to organize in de France, the creation of a separate dustrial prosperity, again as usual in an index. The financial juggling whereby a capitalism.

To what extent are the workers of France, and particularly the most mili-

around the banner of Communism, pre- party members and sympathizers present pared for the inevitable sharpening of the position of the Left Opposition tothe class struggle? The effects of the ward the Party. Stalinist trade-union policy are as clear-

ly 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 prepartalist, who is now in position to carry ing for the inevitable capitulations and

wage-cutting in view of the increasing 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

In the political field, a perspective of against 1929 and a lower wage measured figures are notoriously a cruel joke. a different kind is indicated as one of although concealedly an upward move- Even Leon Blum stated recently that he the probable variants. Should capitalbelieved the number of fully unemployed ism meet with an energetic and correctin France (Sept. 1931) totalled 650,000, ly-guided working class resistance to its Mooney and Warren Billings are on the not to mention 2,500,000 partly employed. increasingly desperate efforts to solve the crisis at the cost of the workers, letin de la Societe d'Etudes et des In- another alternative would be open to it, formations Financieres, considers these an attack on the small peasant proprietfigures too high, but admits a decline of er and on the small tenant and farm 8.4% in the number of employees in fac- laborer, through such means as the tories representing, about a third of all breaking-down of the tariff wall and the the workers of France, and also that opening of French market on a competi-33% are working on short-time, which tive basis to world producers of foodwould make the latter group total about stuffs. This would mean a political strong that the Governor of Minnesota, 2,000,000. As far back as May, 1931, the 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

> they raise broad questions of revolutionary strategy which cannot be solved by a mechanical transfer of formulas try with a growing industrial bourge- and slogans from other historical settings where the agrarian problem is -B. J. FIELD. ers.

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 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 Floyd B. Olson, and the Mayor of Minneapolis, William A. Anderson, a few weeks ago sent letters to Governor James olph, 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

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR **Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements**

The British Scene

National Goverment in Sharp Attack On the Workers' Standards

from the conditions outlined in the preceding article.

The National Government, returned by a majority of voters at the General Election, is now in an extremely strong position: its huge majority in the House of Commons guarantees for the ruling class a constitutional cover for all their activities against the workers. Whatever measures are "necessary"; however strongly the Government may attack the workers' movement; however great the misery and suffering inflicted upon the ment; all can be done in the name of constitutionally elected, was given a free hand by the majority of the electors. the capitalist dictatorship, can conceal it beneath the silken glove of parliamentary democracy.

What does the immediate future threaten? Not Fascism, as some would appear to believe: that can, and perhaps will, come in England, but only when Parliamentary Government no decide the tempo of England's advance to Fascism.

National Government Lowers Workers' Standards

The policy of the National Government is one of wage-reductions, tariffs bringing higher prices, inflation, and a ruthployed drawing benefit. Part of this wages of Civil Servants, teachers, and thousand workers brought before the authorities, seventy thousand have been register and from benefit altogether.

WAR CHIEF ADMITS FAILURE AGAINST REDS

NANKING, Nov. 10 (Fenprecor)-To fight the "Red Armies" of Kiangsi Province, it is necessary to fight the people-and in this the Communist Extermination troops of the Kuo Min Tang have failed after eight months' ceaseless campaigning. Such is the gist of Nanking government.

We can now turn to the present posi-I The resistance to this attack offered tion in England: one that arises directly by some sections of the working class has been dealt with in no uncertain manner twenty-four sailors have been dismissed

from the navy for their part in the mutiny of the Atlantic Fleet; al' meetings have been stopped outside Labor Exchanges, a ruling enforced by the batoning and imprisonment of numbers of unemployed. The attack on conditions has begun and any assistance by the workers is to be crushed with all the force the employers can command. Against such an attack resistance can and will be offered by many sections workers by the policy of the Govern- of the workers and in the only way possible-strike action. But such strike ac "democracy", since the Government is tion must be general and widespread, for the old sectional methods of struggle can play no effective role in the and, whilst wielding the iron hand of present period. A sectional struggle, as a means of developing widespread strike action, certainly: but not the old longdrawn-out-certain-to-be-defeated strike of

the last few years.

Such action however demands careful of it. preparation and considerable agitation. A widespread strike can develop, of longer has the support of the middle- course, without this preliminary preparation, but only under such circum- died. One of them, who was backed by blems of the present, the correct handl- ership prepared to face up to, and preing of which will, in advance, help to pare for, all the implications of such a struggle — this idea must be spread amongst the workers.

- Prepare For Struggles

The General Strike of 1926 was lead,

and to some extent, organized by the Trade Union leaders. It represented an at that Conference he said: "We are attempt to meet the new conditions with Indians first and Princes afterwards.' less reduction in the number of unem-machinery and ideas which had grown The British Government must have up under old and very different condi- noted this sentence carefully. Hari program has been realized already: the tions. The Union leaders were more or less forced into the struggle by the of the armed forces have been reduced; employers. Faced with the need for revthe benefit of the unemployed has been olutionary mass struggle against the cut and in one week alone, out of eighty State, the Union leaders could only capitulate at the earliest possible opportunity. From then onwards the reformremoved from the unemployed exchange ists could only follow the path of American Trade Unionism and advocate collaboration with the employers as against

> gle. To expect such leaders, men who have betrayed every strike that has taken place during the last five years, to lead and organize a mass struggle against the present attack is foolish and unwarranted.

the alternative of revolutionary strug-

The recent struggle of a section of they have long coveted. the Postal Workers shows what role the union leaders will play. The Manchester a report made here today by General Postmen carried on a "go slow" strike; Ho-Ying-Ching, minister of war in the two of the leaders were suspended: the union executive protested at the suspen-

Two hundred thousand troops, Gen- sion but only on the grounds that there through first

In India The Significance of Kashmir

For the last few weeks the British | The point we are concerned to press Press and especially The Times have is that the British Government have devoted enormous space to Kashmir, an used the agitation against Hari Singh to

Indian State. The Round Table Confer- further their own ends. They have proence, which, on the surface looks far vided leaders to the movement, men who more important and is supposed to de- are prepared to lick the shoes of the cide the future destinies of India, almost British Government at any time. That passed unnoticed, and has lately been is why the agitation has been allowed relegated to a page principally devoted to to continue so long. The attitude of the correspondent of the Times, who is al-Squash Rackets and Association Footways an official of the Government shows ball. Kashmir is in the north of India. It is important as it guards one of the the hostility of the British towards Hari approaches to India on the North West Singh.

Frontier. It forms an excellent air base About the jathas, (groups of volunfrom which to wage war against the teers), who were invading Kashmir The U. S. S. R. Kashmir is the famous Times correspondent says: "They are

hcalth resort of the English in India, splendidly loyal people who supplied In it oil lies hidden. the best troops in the British Expedition-When the former ruler of Kashmir, the ary Force and will not have any dealings Maharajah Partap Singh, was told that with the Congress crowd." there was oil in his state he said, suc-Two or three weeks ago jathus began cinctly, "Let it remain there." He knew to march into Kashmir. The British that the moment oil wells were sunk the Government knew it was a breach of the control as well as the profits would have treaty between Great Britain and Kashto be passed to the British and that the mir, but it did not interfere. The Times best thing was to keep quiet about it. correspondent in the same issue which I which we have experienced so much in The oil yet lies unexploited and as the quoted above, (viz. 4-11-31) remarks: British Empire is deficient in oil the The present situation was by no means British are naturally anxious to get hold unforeseen.

Britian Wants Kashmir's Oil

There were two candidates for the From The Times we learn that "a throne of Kashmir after Partap Singh committee of inquiry has now been ap Those obsessed with the possibility of stances as will ensure its crushing de- the British Government, unfortunately pointed by the Government of India, no Fascism are apt to overlook the pro- feat. General strike action, with a lead- for the British could not secure the doubt with the Maharajah's full consent" throne and thus made the way clear for as if the Maharajan had any consent the present ruler, who, though a great to give "to deal with Moslem demands." The invading jathas demanded that the favourite of Partap Singh never found British should appoint a British minister favour with the British.

to the State. The Maharajah had to do Maharajah Hari Singh, the presen ruler, was one of the representatives of so. With the appointment of the British minister also entered the British the Princes at the last Round Table army and occupied Jammu, the winter Conference. In the course of his speech capital of Kashmir. A few days after wards The Times correspondent stated: "There is the delicate question of how long Jammu' and other points are to be occupied by the British troops." He Singh seems to have had a very short memory. Had he so quickly forgotten argues that if the British army leave the fate of his neighbour the Amir Am- Jammu the whole Moslem population manullah of Afghanistan? Ammanullah's would follow. From today's news we defiance of British authority cost him learn that the Moslem leaders are send his throne. The ruler of Kashmir is ing telegrams to the Viceroy not to even more dependent upon the British withdraw the British army. We need not indicate who these Moslems are. than was Ammanullah.

We should not be surprised if the The British are a very clever people and they have not forgotten the Indian British remained in Jammu permanently. Nearly two years ago it was published War of Independence of 1857 (known to the British as the Indian Mutiny) and in the British Press that Jammu was for they will never again take steps against sale. The Maharajah of Kashmir denied it, but the news was not without founthe Indian Princes in such a way as to antagonise the masses. They will only dation, as its source was the India Office. interfere when they profess to champion Jammu is not the only thing for which the cause of the Indian subjects, though the British Government is aiming. There in reality to gain a concession which also remains the hidden oil. Hindu-Moslem tension is always fostered by the divine power at the very moment

Living Conditions In Kashmir

Such at present is the case in Kashmir. meeting at Karachi or the Round Table We do not pretend to be the champions Conference in London. The whole atmoof Hari Singh, who is an oppressor. In a few years the iron boom of the prowhile the Bound Table Conference is

Persescution of the Left Oppositionists

(Continued from page 1) its members have been torn apart from ber of the Bolshevik Party since 1910; each other.

tee during the February revolution, parsince 1917; a Party worker since the ticpated actively in the October insurbeginning of the rebruary revolution, active in the Communist youth organizarection. Comrades Dingelstedt, Solnzev, Stoption of Petrograd, a member of the Red alov, Jakovin and Eizin are all old Party Guard during the October insurrection. members. All of them have written in-From the beginning of 1918 to the middle dependent scientific Marxian works on or 1920 comrade Newelson fought in the economic and historical questions. They are no ordinary writers; they are the young theoreticians of the Left Opposition. But their theoretical work was always tied up with political struggie. After the end of the civil war they exchanged rifle for the book, to exchange

member of the Petrograd Party Commit-

it again for the rifle when the interests of Communism demanded it. Victor Borisovitch Elzin joined the Party in 1917, and participated in the preparation and execution of the insur rection of October in Perm. In 1918 he was chairman of the executive committee of the Viatka Government. in 1919 and 1920 he was active on the Eastern front. After the liquidation of the Koitscak adventure he worked as an economist. From 1922 on he attended sessions at the Institute of Red Professors and ended this studies in 1926. Since 1923 he has belonged to the Opposition and was one of its leading workers in

Moscow, until his exile. He edited the cohected works of Trotsky. Exiled in January, 1928 by Staim, he has been in prison since 1929.

about the whole Eizin family. Boris Banner); Military Academy. Michailovitch Elzm, father of Victor Elzin, is one of the very old Bolsheviks, Party since 1917. She worked illegally and went through imprisonment and exile in the Ukraine at the time of the strugunder the Czar. He is one of the lead- gle with Denikin. n prison for night ers of the Opposition. He signed the from exile.

nrst platform document of the Opposition, the so-called "Statement of the exile, Commissar for Agriculture of the Forty-Six", which became the center of Crimean Republic. the 1923 discussion. B. M. Elzin was arrested in Summer of 1929 and has been a part of the revolutionary activities of imprisoned ever since, completely iso- the comrades named, but they give an lated, entirely alone in the Sudal jail. idea of the "Verchne-Uralskers" as a Joseph Elzin, the second son of B. M. type of Bolshevik revolutionary. They Elzin, has been in exile for more than took part in the October insurrection; two years in Old Crimea. He has tub- they took part in the civil war; they erculosis in its most acute form, and the were economic or scientific workers afdoctors assume that it means death un- ter the victory at the various fronts; less his manner of living is not changed. they struggled for seven years against A fourth member of this family of rev- the Stalinist revision of Marxism and olutionaries, the daughter, B. M. Elzina, Leninism; exiled, and jailed. Always is in exile in Siberia. The whole Elzin and under all circumstances courageous family is therefore not only under lock and devoted without limit to the cause and key under the Stalin regime, but without a thought for themselves.

The Left Opposition in Switzerland

The Left Opposition of the Communist should publish in each issue one fairly Party of Switzerland arose in Spring of long article and a number of shorter this year out of the Communist iraction items. The "Newspaper of the Left Opwhen the Indian National Congress is of the Marxist Student's Group of Zurich. In this group there had been heated discussions between Left Opposisphere in Kashmir has been created tionists and the comrades of the gen-

position of the Communist Party of Switzerland" is the title of our organ. The first issue of the Newspaper, which appeared in August, was devoted to the

ked Army, as regimental commissar, divisional political commissar and chairman of the Political department of the army. In economic work since 1923; already then a member of the Opposition. In exile since January 1928; in prison since the middle of 1929, first in Tobolsk, then in Verchne-Uralsk. J. M. Posnansky—member of the Party since 1917, and an active participant in the October insurrection in Petersburg.

man Newelson-member of the Party

At the front throughout the whole civil war; particularly as cavalry inspector at the Southern front he successfully organized the mounted forces there; wounded. In 1921 he fought before Kronstaat for the dictatorship of the protetariat. After the end of the civil war and until his exile comrade Posnansky was Trotsky's secretary (see "My Life"). Arrested in February 1928 and sent North by the G. P. U. for his attempt to follow Trotsky to Alma-Ata.

in prison since 1930. Viadimir Ivanovitch . Reschetnitchenke -member of the Party since 1917. Military worker and hero of the civil war

We ought to say a few words here decorated with the Order of the ked Musja Magid—member of the Party

Surnov-old Party member; until his

These brief items naturally give only

"extermination of the Red Menace"-is as far off as ever. General Ho minimized. Nanking sent more than 300,000 into Kiangsi, including some of the best fighting regiments at the command of the government. For three months during the early summer they were led by Chiang Kai-Shek in person who directed operations from Nanking.

The War Miister revealed in his report that the inhabitants of the 'banditridden" areas gave their wholehearted during the past few weeks shows that, support to the "bandits" and that "the government troops find it extremely dif- as the revolutionary leadership which ficult to obtain the assistance of the alone can wage effective struggle against people in securing food or in the transportation of their ammunition and military equipment". He expresses optimism, however, over the fact that "the Communists are being driven towards complete destruction". This is being accomplished, he states, not by the government troops but because "diseases of epidemic proportions have broken out in their camps and because of lack of medical help many are perishing. With the approach of the cold winter their hardships are steadily growing worse as very few of the bandits have winter clothing."

General Ho, commander of the forces which for nearly a year have been waging open warfare on millions of Chinese peasants, sagely concludes his report with the statement that "the trouble has been caused by the frequency of internal warfare and the remedy is the cessation of all civil fighting and the restoration of peace in the country."

eral Ho reported, have been march. was no inquiry carried ing and counter-marching since last before the men were suspended. They May and the announced objective then got the struggle called off on the grounds that it injured the chances of successful negotiations.

New leadership, new forms of organization, revolutionary ideas and revolutionary action are necessary in order to wage effective struggle under present day conditions.

Such a leadership can only come from the Communist Party, always providing agrarian crisis has made his condition that its policy is a correct one. The in- sitll worse. Life in a Kashmir village crease in the membership of the party is worse than hell. The houses are of to thousands of workers, it stands out the employers' attack and ultimately achieve the conquest of power. -ANGLICUS. London

(To be continued)

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letariat will make a clean sweep of him. Kashmir State was a creation of the British and when they go it, too, will disappear. The overwhelming population of Kashmir, as throughout India consists of peasants, but with this difference, that in Kashmir, 90% are Moslems. The peasant all over India including Kashmir is burdened by the debts he owes to the moneylender and

the rent he owes to the landlord. The mud; there is no ventilation, and often the whole family sleeps in one room. There is no water, no sanitation. The men have nothing but the loincloth they wear, and the women their saris. Only an infinitesimal proportion of the population can read or write, although we are der a few millions of pounds at a time. a popular agitation against the Maharajah who is notorious throughout Europe as "Mr. A."

FRENCH EVICT CHINESE

SHANGHAI, Nov. 15-(Fenprecor)-More than 1,000 poverty-stricken Chi nece occupying mudhuts along Soccawei Creek-bordering on the French Concession here, have been ordered to vacate by the French police. Two weeks is the time limit set on their evacuation under threats of forcible steps being taken to demolish the miserable hovels in which the people were seeking to achieve some protection against the coming winter. "Civically" minded social welfare groups have raised a proteest to the authorities-not demanding housing improvements-but merely asking that the paupers be permitted to remain where they are! An appeal was made to the local Kuo Min Tang branch which replied-"We will see what we can do."

HANKOW COMMUNISTS EXECUTED

HANKOW, Nov. 9 (Fenprecor)-Ten Communists were summarily and publicly executed here today on the public square after "court martial" by the Hankow Garrison Headquarters.

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meeting so that as few concessions as possible may be granted to the Indian capitalists. The British are, from long experience, masters of the game of "divide and rule." If they want to remain in India it is essential that they play off one community against another or one class against another. Pursuing this policy they have ingenuiously diverted the growing discontent of the Punjab

peasantry, due to the agrarian crisis, into a Hindu-Moslem feua. Kashmir has become the centre of this maneuver, and the target of the peasants' anger.

A few days ago the two sons of the Nizam of Hyderabad, another Indian Prince, married the daughters of the ex-Khalif of Turkey. The Nizam is a very rich prince who can (and does) squanthe British, will be declared the rightful beir to the throne of Turkey. The Ludia Office in London is already busy material with regard to Turkey.

Britain Supports Pan-Islamic Movement In India

There is a good deal of talk about the friendship between the British and has given its full support to the Pan-Islamic movement in India. In the Nizam's son, who may one day be declared the Chalif of 1slam they may find a nominal head for the Pan-Islamic movement.

Such a movement will not only create a still wider gulf between the two communities in India but will also prolong the life of British Imperialism. A successful Pan-Islamic movement might also become a great danger against the U. S. S. R. as Turkey is next door to U. S. S. R.

These are the dangers which lie at the bottom of the Kashmir affair. The whole British Imperialism is based upon "divide and rule" whether it is in India, Cyprus or Palestine. This old principle, the British are employing in a new way

and we must warn our readers to recognize this coming danger and be ready to counterbalance the movement. London, Nov. 11, 1931

eral line", in the course of which we laid our platform before the Party. Later we by no means limited ourselves to discussions, but reached workers and Party members through the sale of Oppositionist literature.

On Easter Youth Day we sold comrade Trotsky's pamphlets at the Party celepration. The Party hureaucracy was caught unawares, but by the end of the celebration, when we had sold all our pamphlets, we were insulted by some functionaries as "counter-revolutionar ies" and threatened with violence. After these events we were expelled from the Swiss Party.

We refused to be scared and continued our activity, distributing literature, carrying on discussions with workers, and after we had gained a few sympathtold that recently a few primary schools The result of this marriage may be that izers, we began to hold public lectures have been opened. No wonder there is upon the death of Mustapha Kemal and forums. The first lecture on "Fasc-Pasha, the Nizam's son, supported by ism and Social-fascism" passed without disturbance; the "general line" was silent. At the second lecture, on the "Trade Union Question", an unsuccesscollecting all possible information and ful attempt was made to disturb the meeting. Our third meeting, on the "Theory of Socialism in One Country"

was broken up by the appearance of numerous "comrades of the general line" under the leadership of a cantonal coun-

cillor (!) The Stalinists were able to the Moslems. The British Government carry through their lecture "Against Trotskyism" only after they had cleared us Oppositionists by force out of the hall. The next time they tried it again, but failed; we left the hall and finally continued our lectures elsewhere without further disturbance. This was the end

of the comedy, for the time being. Our next lecture, "On the Situation in the Swiss Communist Party", was received in a disciplined manner, although the majority of the audience were regular Party members. The same was true of the following lecture on "The German Situation". So far, we have won.

By this time we had made up our movement is led by the leaders of the minds to reach a wider audience of Pan-Islamic movement. Jammu is in Party members and workers, and from easy reach of the other countries, Afg- time to time to mimeograph and sell our hanistan, Baluchistan, etc., and therefore lectures. In this way we published an the occupation of Jammu is a nost sign- essay on "Fascism and Social-fascism" ificant act. This clearly shows that which was well received: On August 1st we distributed a leaflet among the Party members which increased the tension between us and the Party. Our first newspaper contributed further to the tension.

Publish Newspaper

We decided not to publish single ar- Zurich, Switzerland -"A". ticles, but to get out a newspaper which

situation in the Swiss Communist Party, and helped make us known among the workers throughout Switzerland.

The Kaempfer, the Communist Party paper in Zurich, could find nothing to answer except a few provocatory sentences, in which it vilified us as "agents and accomplices of the bourgeoisie". The Arbeiter-Zeitung, the Right Opposition paper in Schaffhausen, took notice of us in a cleverer way, but just as stupidly in essence.

The calm of the Party press however does not at all reflect the real feelings of the Party. Many Party comrades were undoubtedly stimulated to think by our paper. The Party mandarins are trying to work up a pogrom feeling against us, threaten us with blows, etc. The real feelings of the members of the party will be shown by future events. In the meantime, the second issue of our Newspaper has appeared, in which we state our position on the German situation. We have grown a little, a few workers have joined our group, improving its purely intellectual social composition.

Composed of Young Comrades

We are all young comrades, and therefore for the next period will go out after the youth, first of all; the Communist and the Socialist youth organizations, other youth groups, etc. Definite Oppositionist tendencies are noticeable in the Communist youth organization, and we shall not delay in encouraging them. The same is true of the Socialist youth organization, which has several hundred members. Recently we spoke at one of their meetings, issued a leaflet for the Socialist youth, and made a good impression on them. "If we become Communist at all, then we shall become Left Communists", we have often heard them say. We also have sympathetic contacts among the "Free Sport Group", a youth sport organization.

In this way we shall continue our activity, for the time being. We hope and feel sure that, if we do our work intelligently, in the course of the coming winter we shall create a substantial. firmly-organized section of the International Opposition. We shall continue to report on our activities in the International Bulletin. We ask those comrades who wish to find out more about us, to order our newspaper through the International Secretariat, and will send it regularly by mail.

-WALTER NELZ.

EDITORIAL NOTES

iet Union.

following:

emphasis).

That argument---as far as it goes---is

unassailable. The trouble with it is

that it presents only one side of the

question, it is put forward by an impro-

per agency and it is directed to the

wrong address. The slogan should be

addressed to the workers, rather than

to the bourgeois press. It should be put

advanced capitalist countries--enforced

by the demand of the workers-in order

that it may build its industry quickly

and thus strengthen the economic founda-

THE DOWNFALL OF THE VOLKSZEITUNG

PAGE 4

The retirement of Ludwig Lore from the editorship of the New York Volkszeitung signallizes the passing of the paper from the Right fringe of the Communist movement to the camp of social democracy. Dr. Lipshitz, the new editor comes from the German Social Democar tic Party and owes his election to the triumph of the Right wing socialist ele ments in the cooperative association which owns the paper. The new policy of the Volkszeitung reflects the decisive change. Half-and-half Communism which in this case—as always—prepared the way for outright socialist reformism is

finally replaced by it. This reactionary victory is a tragedy

for the paper that spoke for the workers over many decades, not without effectiveness at times and not without honor on some crucial occasions when other organs faltered and betrayed their trust. It is likewise a tragedy for the man who stood at the helm and reflected in his own person the qualities of the Volkszeitung throughout those turbulent years. Ludwig Lore was the Volkszeitung. Its strong sides and its weak sides, its inconsistencies, its good intentions and its frequently dubious per- forward by the party, instead of a cover formances were of one piece with the organization the chief function of which personality of the man. The shift of is to provide a hunting ground for carcontrol puts an end to the contradiction eerists and false friends of the Soviet in the position of the paper. In the long Union who will desert it at the first run the change will help to clarify is sign of real danger. And it should emsues that have been muddled and con- phasize also the need of the Soviet Unfused in the German-American labor ion for economic collaboration with the movement. The immediate effect will be to strengthen the reformist and reac-

tionary elements. The downfall of the Volkszeitung demonstrates once again, by an example tions of the workers' rule. close at hand, the instability and the transitory nature of in-between positions in our time. Since the world war the their own immediate material interest issue and the choice between social democracy and Communism has stood quite correct. Its practicality in this categorically. Nobody has been able to respect can be easily demonstrated. And stand between them or to reconcile them. And nobody will. Lore's Volkszeitung of the workers will move them faster, aspired toward (communism. But it was and in far greater numbers, than a thounever able to make the clean and final sand abstract arguments about the debreak with the routine, the traditions fense of the Soviet Union. But to deand the material interests that weighted velop the political implications of the it toward the past. The paper was movemnt and to strengthen its internabound up-through the shareholding co- tional spirit it is necessary to show to operative and in a hundred other ways the workers that by helping themselves -with those sections of the German they are also helping the workers of the movement for whom socialism had long ceased to be a doctrine of action. Their gthen the bonds of internationalism; to deadly conservatizing influence was upon the paper all the time, paralyzing it at participating in the great economic adevery turn with contradiction and confusion. The result was a mish-mash policy---to the right of official Communism and to the Left of social democracy. Such in its double aspect, and organizing a a position, by its nature and by the na- proletarian mass movement around it, ture of our epoch, can have only a the workers will begin to identify their

transitory influence The exceptional personality of Lore Union. This is the chief aim and the endowed this policy with an abnormal chief value of the slogan. endurance. But the life of the paper was fraught with continual crisis and a straightforward and Marxist manner final show-down was inevitable. The while the workers are being deluded with a few days. speed with which this show-down came after the retirement of Lore from the ism alone without any outside help. It editorship shows how shaky was the pol- is this harmful fiction that stands in

and the faint-hearts, would have nothing to do with Mooney. He was charged with dynamiting, and they fled in terror from the issue.

It remained for a mere handful of radicals to organize and lead the fight. The others followed, but they did not official policy. They are again beginning, come in time. If Mooney's escape from

in a cautious, surreptitious back-door the gallows was due to the handful of manner, to appropriate an idea from the militants who defended his cause against Opposition. We hear more and more talk the world-and that is the indubitable about the necessity of credits to the Sov fact-then the delay in organizing a great mass movement of defense, and the

pussy-footing policies later introduced In the New York Herald Tribune for into it, were and remain responsible for December 11th there appeared a letter from the "Friends of the Soviet Union", his long imprisonment.

signed by the national secretary, Marcel We face the same developments and the same dangers in the case of Soder-Scherer. Among other things it says the berg, Bunker, and Trajer—the union

workers who have been selected as the "The Friends of the Soviet Union to victims in the New York "dynamite day are working for the immediate recogplot". They are no longer deserted and nition of the Soviet government by the alone. The influence of their appeal United States government, free trade relations and the extension of credits. gains ground from day to day. The mili-This would bring vast Soviet orders to tant activity of the Defense Committee is putting their case on the agenda of American factories—at the rate of the labor movement. The blackguards \$1,000,000 of orders daily—and would and scoundrels who attacked the helpgive employment to hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers."

- (Oui

less prisoners in the first days of their arrest-who spread poisonous slanders against them in order to paralyze their defense-are being driven to cover. The honest and class-conscious elements in all workers' organizations are asserting themselves in favor of a united movement to defend the victims of the frame-up. The greatest danger now is that the widespread and militant movement of labor protest, which alone can save them, will come too late. As in all the cases which the labor movement has known it is a race with time. Every day

sees new forces recruited for the fight But every day likewise draws us nearer to the trial where the scales will be tipped decisively one way or the other. The labor movement of America has spoken out loud on many occasions against the frame-up system. But all too often this protest has been deferred until the prosecution has gained the ad-

vantage of a conviction on perjured evi-To appeal to the workers for a slogar dence. This was the case with Mooney of long-term credits on the ground of and Billings. It was the case with Sacco and Vanzetti, and all too many in the alleviation of unemployment is others. Let us hope it will not be the fate of Soderberg, Bunker, and Trajer. The great task in protecting the labor such an appeal to the material interest movement from this heavy blow is to speed up the fight, to extend it on all fronts and unite all forces. Then it will be a movement for victory instead of a protest against defeat.

—J. P. C.

New York Open Forum

Soviet Union. This is the way to stren-NEW YORK-"The Soviet Union and the World Crisis" was discussed by commake the workers feel that they are rade J. P. Cannon at the New York Forum of the Communist League of Amvances of the Workers' state, not merely erica (Opposition) at the Labor Temple watching them from the sidelines. By last Friday. Many Party members were present and a lively question and discussion period ensued.

Since Christmas and New Year each fall on Friday, the Open Forum has been postponed for two weeks. The Forums will be resumed again on Friday, January 8th, 1931, at 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 2nd Ave. & 14th Street. The speaker and subject will be announced in

SHANGHAI, (Fenprecor). The silk big bourgeoisie, not to hang on to them filature industry here remains in

Stalin and the Chinese Revolution

3. Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek

ed by Chiang Kai-hek in March, 1926,

and which our press passed in silence,

when the Communists were reduced to

the role of sorry supplements of the

Kuo Min Tang and even signed an obliga-

Chiang Kai-Shek—a remarkable detail

indeed !---started to insist on the accept-

ance of the Kuo Min Tang into the

revolutionary action in April, 1927.

Chiang Kai-Shek at the same time took

care to exchange portraits with Stalin.

This strengthening of the ties of friend-

ship was prepared by the journey of

mittee and one of Stalin's agents, to

Chiang Kai-Shek. Another "detail":

Bubnov's journey to Canton coincided

with the March coup d'Eetat of Chiang

Kai-Shek What about Bubnoy? He

obliged the Chinese Communists to sub-

After the Shanghai overturn, the of-

E. C. C. I., which condemned the Left

Opposition, "comrade Shao-Li-Dzi" a de-

legate from the Kuo Min Tang partici-

Tang Party pointed out that the Chi-

nese Revolution would have been meon-

SECOND ISSUE OF YOUNG

SPARTACUS IS OUT

mit and to keep quiet.

1, page 459)

After the Canton coup d'Etat, engineer-

Facts and Documents

The Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927 | advance the revolution with seven league, humor, it is at any rate not arbitrary. remains the greatest event of modern boots, if it should be subordinated to the However, let us not forget that this history after the Revolution of 1917 in ideological and political influence of the Russia. Over the problems of the Chi- Kuo Min Tang". (Ibid, page 55). nese Revolution the basic currents of In this manner the task of the Com-

Communism came to clash. The present intern consisted not in liberating the official leader of the Comintern, Stalin, workers and peasants from the influence has shown himself in full stature in the of the bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary events on the Chinese Revolution. The in subordinating them to their influence. basic documents pertaining to the Chi- This was written in the days when nese Revolution are dispersed, scattered. Chiang Kai-Shek, armed by Stalin, marchhave been forgotten, some are carefully ed, at the head of the workers and peaconcealed. sants subordinated to him, "with seven

league boots" towards . . . the Shanghai On these pages we want to reproduce coup d'Etat. the basic stages of the Chinese Revolu--

tion in the light of articles and speeches of Stalin and his closest aids, and also decisions of the Comintern, dictated by Stalin. For this purpose we use genuine texts from our archives. We particularly print the excerpts from the speech of Chitarov, a young Stalinist, at the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which were concealed from the Party by Stalin. The readers will convince themselves of the tremendous significance of the testimony of Chitarov, a young Stalinist functionarycareerist, a participant in the Chinese events, at present one of the leaders of

the Y. C. I. In order to make the facts and citations more comprehensible, we think it useful to remind the readers of the sequence of the most important events of the Chinese Revolution.

March 20th, 1926-the first overturn of Chiang Kai-Shek in Canton.

Autumn of 1926-the VII Plenum of the E C. C. I. with the participation of a Ohiang Kai Shek delegate of the Kuo Min Tang. April 13, 1927—the coup d'Etat of Chiang Kai-Shek in Shanghai.

The end of May, 1927-the counterrevolutionary overturn of the "Left" Kuo Min Tang in Wuhan. The end of May, 1927-the VIII Plen-

um of the E. C. C. I. proclaims the duty of Communists to remain within the "Left" Kuo Min Tang. August 1927-the Chinese Communist Party proclaims a course toward an up-

rising. December, 1927-the Canton insurrection.

February, 1928-the IX Plenum of the E. C. C. I. proclaims for China the course toward an armed insurrection and Sov-

July, 1928-the VI Congress of the Comintern renounces the slogan of arm- rated. Among other things the said: ed insurrection as a practical slogan.

1. The Block of Four Classes

Stalin's Chinese policy was based on a block of four classes. Here is how the Berlin organ of the Mensheviks evaluated this policy:

"Even on the tenth of April (1927) Martynov argued in Pravda quite comprehensively and . . . altogether in Menshevik style the correctness of the official position, which persisted on the necessity of retaining the 'block of four classes', not to rush with the destruction of the coalition government, in which the CHINA'S SILK INDUSTRY STAGNANT workers are in session together with the humor is thickly colored with Shanghai blood.

4. The Strategy of Lenin and the Strategy of Stalin

What tasks did Lenin pose before the comintern in relation to the backward countries?

"The necessity of a decisive struggle against the repainting of the boargeoisdemocratic liberation currents in the backward countries into the color of Communism".

In executing this the Kuo Min Tang, which had promised to establish in China "not a bourgeoisie regime", was admitted into the Comintern,

Lenin, it is understood, recognized the necessity of temporary alliances with the bourgeois-democratic movement, but he understood by this, of course, not an altion not to criticize Sun-Yat-Senism, liance with the bourgeois parties, deceiving and betraying the petit-bourgeois revolutionary democracy (the peasants and the small city folk), but an alli-Comintern: In preparing himself for the ance with the organizations and grouprole of an executioner, he wanted to ings of the masses themselves-against have the cover of world communism and the national bourgeoisie. In what form, -he achieved it. The Kuo Min Tang. then, did Lenin visualize the alliance led by Chiang Kai-Shek and Wu-Wanwith the bourgeois democracy of the colmin, was accepted into the Comintern (as onies? To these, too, he gives an answer a "sympathizing" party). While in the in his thesis written for the Second preparation of decisive counter-Congress:

"The Communist International could enter into temporary alliances with the bourgeois democracy of the colonies and backward countries, but should by no means fuse with it and must uncondition-Bubnov, a member of the Central Comally retain the independence of the proletarian movement even in its most embryonic form."

It seems that in executing the decisions of the Second Congress, the Communist Party was made to join the Kuo Min Tang and the Kuo Min Tang was admitted into the Comintern. All this in the aggregate is called Leninism.

fices of the Comintern upon Stalin's or-5. The Government of Chiang Kai-Shek der, attempted to deny that the execu-

As A Live Refutation of The State tioner Chiang Kai-Shek was still remain-How the leaders of the Communist ing a member of the Comintern. They Party of the Soviet Union evaluated the had forgotten the vote at the political government of Chiang Kai-Shek one year bureau, when all against the vote of one after the first Canton coup d'Etat (March (Trotsky) sanctioned the admission on the Kuo Min Tang into the Comintern 20, 1926) is well seen in the public with a consultative voice. They had speeches of the members of the Polit forgotten that at the VII plenum of the Bureau.

Here is how Kalinin spoke in March, 1927 at the Moscow factory Gosznak:

"All the classes in China, beginning with the proletariat and ending with the "Comrade Chiang Kai-Shek in his bourgeoisie, hate the militarists as the speech to the members of the Kuo Min puppets of foreign capital; all the classes in China equally consider the Canton government the national government of the whole of China." (Isvestia, March 6, ceivable, if it could not correctly solve

the agrarian-peasant question. What the 1927). Kuo Min Tang strives for is that there Another member of the Polit Bureau, should not be created a bourgeois dom-Rudzutak, spoke a few days later at a ination after the nationalist revolution gathering of the street car workers. The in China, as happened in the West, as Pravda report states:

we see it now in all the countries, except "Pau'sing further on the situation in the U.S.S.R.... We are all convinced, China, comrade Rudzutak points out that the revolutionary government has behind that under the leadership of the Comintern, the Kuo Min Tang will fulfill it all the classes of China". (Pravda, its historic task". (Russian Minutes Vol. March 9, 1927).

Voroshilov spoke in the same spirit more than once.

events the similar doom of other political movements of the same kind is foreshadowed. The "left" socialists (such as the Musteites) and the Right Communists (such as the Lovestone faction) which—in different degrees and under somewhat different circumstances-repeat the experience of the Volkszeitung be abolished. are marching towards the same fate. The middle ground between Communism and social democracy is quicksand.

The personal defeat of Ludwig Lore in the ruin of the paper which was his life is sad to contemplate. Among Com- liness grows more obvious with every munists, for whom political considerations are the decisive criterion, personal relations play a part that is necessarily subordinate. In that sense and for that reason we do not speak here as a friend. We went part of the way together, but our paths were not the same. In re- through all machinations. The "councent years they diverged more and more. But for all that we never lost a regard for the admirable personal qualities of national slogans of the Communist workthe man. Among the people who have ers. acquired prominence in the revolutionary labor movement of our day he has been distinguished by an integrity and dignity that is all too uncommon. He was not one of the office boys who take orders, not one of the scamps who slander for hire and advance themselves by intrigue. defeat.

HOW THEY PLAY WITH THE GREAT SLOGANS

The slogans of the Opposition travel a uniform course in the Communist In- of the frame-up conspirators of the rulternational. First they are denounced as ing class. The question: who will precounter-revolutionary; then they are vail? remains undecided. smuggled into the official policy in mutilated form and misapplied. This is happening now to the slogan advanced nearly two years ago by comrade Trotsky for economic collaboration between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union and the extension of long-term credits.

A great deal of ink was spilled in de monstrating the counter-revolutionary nature of this slogan. It was hailed on history of the Mooney case-a story that more than one occasion as the final proof is familiar to old-timers in the militant of the "complete renegacy of the Trot- labor movement, but probably new to skyites". Now things are beginning to many. In the first and most critical

itical foundation of the paper. In these the way of a genuine application of the slogan and the organization of a great international movement around it. That is why it is sneaked in. distorted and then promulgated in a polite letter to the bourgeois press by a worthless substitute organization which—out of "friendship" for the Soviet Union---ought to

presenting the slogan of the Opposition

own welfare with the fate of the Soviet

O course, one cannot talk in this

the fiction that Russia can build social-

But that is the way they do things. That is the way they play with the great | tively throttled by Japanese competition slogans. But in spite of that the slogan of economic collaboration and long-term credits corresponds to reality. Its timeaccentuation of the unemployment situation in the capitalist countries and the increasing difficulties in Soviet economy, which arise in part from the world economic crisis of capitalism. For that reason it will make its way ter-revolutionary slogan of Trotskyism' must and will become one of the inter-



A RACE WITH TIME

Police frame-ups are an integral part of American labor history, as everybody knows. Throughout the numerous In his rebellion against the regime which repititions of this phase of the class elevates this canaille Lore showed the struggle the same general pattern has character of a man and a fighter. In appeared again and again. This applies that fight we had common ground with both to the prosecutions and the defense him. It was his failure to bring the movements against them. The present right political weapons to the fight that case of the New York Marine Workers, marked off his course from ours. And in all of its aspects, presents more and from this also arises his present political more the old familiar picture. It struck the movement like a bombshell. In the

first days of panic the frame-up gang seemed to have everything their own way. Then a defense movement began; it gained momentum; and now its forces grow from day to day. But the scales are still weighted heavily on the side munist League, Vincent R. Dunne: F. L

In all this there is nothing new. We

have seen it all before in almost every detail. Even the slowness of the general labor public to recognize that it is not a "criminal case", but a direct blow at the organized labor movement, has

many historic precedents. In a chapter of Emma Goldman's autobiography she recounts the early

situation has again collided with the servatives, the respectables, the liberals

dition of chronic stagnation. Of 106 filatures in this city, which is the main centre of the China industry, only 25, employing less than 10,000 workers, are functioning at the present time, all others having suspended operations. Nearly 50,000 filature workers are unemployed and suffering great hardships. The China silk industry has been effec-

and the boycott has afforded no relief. Young Spartacus can be purchased at all newsstands, bookstores, meetings, etc. where The Militant is now sold. If you are unable to get a copy at these places,

write to Young Spartacus, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Attention ! Minneapolis **Open Forum**

The Minneapolis Branch of the Com munist League of America (Opposition) is conducting an Open Forum each Sunday afternoon at 3 P. M., at the new headquarters of the Branch as well as general public meetings on general subjects. Meetings have been held on the Spanish Revolution, the Manchurian Situation and other subjects.

Among the lectures arranged for forth are the following:

All meetings, unless otherwise men tioned are at 3 P. M.:

Sunday, January 3rd, 1932: Debate "Will A Farmer-Labor Party Emancipate the Workers?" Speaker for the Com P. speakers to be announced.

Sunday, January 10, 1932: "Tom Mooney and the American Frame-Up System;" Speaker: Carl Cowl.

Sunday, January 17, 1932: "Imperialism; What Next?. Speaker: Vincent R Dunne.

Sunday, January 24, 1932. DEBATE: "Evolution or Revolution." Speakers: Communist League and Socialist Party

-to be announced. Sunday, January 31, 1932: "The Pro-

posed Railroad Wage Reductions" Speaker: C. R. Hedlund.

All these lectures and debates will be held at the Workers Open Forum, 1530 loak a little different. The logic of the days the official labor movement, the con- East Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn., The Admission is fr

prematurely 'Socialist tasks' (Socialist ichesky Vestnick No. 8 April 23, 1927, page 4.) What did the policy of coalition with

the bourgeoisie look like? Let us bring an excerpt from the Communist International. (theoretical organ-Ed.).

"On the fifth of January 1927, the Canton government made public a new law on strikes, in which the workers are prohibited from carrying weapons at demonstrations, from arresting merchants and industrialists, from confiscating their enlarged plenum". (Russian edition, commodities, and which establishes page 219). compulsory arbitration for a series of

conflicts. This law contains paragraphs limiting the interests of the workers. But along with these paragraphs there are others, which limit the freedom of strikes more than is required by the interests of defence during a Revolutionary war'. (Communist International' 1927, No. 82, page 11).

In the rope placed upon the workers by the bourgeoisie the threads ("para graphs") favorable to the workers are traced. The shortcoming of the noose is in the fact that it is tightened more than is required by the interests of de fence" (of the Chinese bourgeoisie) This is written in the central organ of the Comintern. Who writes? Martynov. When does he write it? On the 25th of February, six weeks prior to the Shanghai blood bath.

2. The Perspectives of the Revolution According to Stalin

How did Stalin evaluate the perspec tives of the revolution led by his ally coming weeks at the Minneapolis Forum Chiang Kai-Shek? Here are the least scandalous of the declarations of Stalin (the most scandalous were not published): "The revolutionary armies in China

(that is, the armies of Chiang Kai-Shek) are the most important factor in the struggle of the Chinese workers and peasants for their liberation. For the youth paper can be seen, not the least advancement of the Cantonese mean a blow at imperialism, a blow at its corner" in the Young Worker. YOUNG agents in China, and the freedom of SPARTACUS will continue to appear reassembly, freedom of press, freedom of gularly. Copies of the first and second organization for all revolutionary elements in China in general, for the work ers in particular". ("On the Perspec tives of the Chinese Revolution" page 46).

The army of Chiang Kai-Shek is the army of workers and peasants. It car ries freedom for the whole population, "for the workers in particular". What is needed for the success of the revolution? Little: "The student youth (the revolutionary students), the working youth, the pea-

in the bourgeois sense of the word." sant youth,-all this is a force that can Communist Manifesto.

This is how matters stood at the VII plenum in the Autumn of 1926. After Truly in vain did Lenin clear the Marxian theory of the State from the the member of the Comintern, "comrade Chiang Kai-Shek", who had promised to petit-bourgeois garbage. The epigones solve all the tasks under the leadership succeeded in a short time to cover it

with twice as much refuse. of the Comintern, solved only one: pre-Even on April 5 Stalin spoke in the cisely the task of a bloody crushing of Hall of Columns in defense of the the revolution, the VIII plenum, in May, Communists femaining in the Party of 1927, declared in the resolution on the Chiang Kai-hek, and what is more, he Chinese question: denied the danger of betrayal on the part "The E. C. C. I. states that the events fully justified the programs of the VII of his ally: "Borodin is on guard!" The overturn occured exactly one week later. -L. D. TROTSKY.

Justified, and even in full! If this is (a be continued)

BOOKS BY The second, the January, issue of YOUNG SPARTACUS is out. It contains Leon Trotsky many interesting articles and educational features that are of value not only to the Communist youth, but also to the adult in the movement. There is a reprint of the historic words of Leon 1. THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD Frotsky at the time of the death of REVOLUTION Lenin, "Farewell Hyitch", an article by 86 pages, two-colored paper cover, 25c George Ray on the student role in the Introduction by Max Shachtman Communist movement. The article by Joseph Carter, on Lenin, Liebknecht, 2. THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL Luxemberg stresses the determination displayed by these revolutionary leaders A Criticism of Fundamentals in continuing the struggle in spite of Introduction by J. P. Cannon the fewness of followers that they at 140 pages, hard paper cover, -35c times had-and as the Left Opposition 3. THE SPANISH REVOLUTION is now doing. Also this issue contains 30 pages, paper cover, 10c "Lenin's Will"-the statement of Lenin's 4. THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN still hidden from the Russian Communist DANGER Party by Stalin. On current events, 64 pages, paper cover, 15c there appears an article on the Marine Workers Defense and a statement by 5. THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA Introduction by Max Eastman one of the young defendants, William Trajer. Many other interesting features 364 page book, formerly \$2.00; now \$1.00 6. MY LIFE (Autobiograhy) The first issue was well received and 600 pages, \$5.00 7. COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM The Trade Union Question

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first of all acquire political supremacy

must rise to be the leading class of the

nation, must constitute itself the nation

it is, so far, itself national, though not



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