



Japan Seizes North China

Soviet Union Also Threatened

Events are moving rapidly in the Far East. The Japanese military expedition to carve a colonial empire out of Northern China has gotten under full swing as four Japanese armies numbering more than 10,000 soldiers are advancing with the aid of tanks, planes and artillery along a 225 mile front into the Jehol province. The Japanese assault which began with the ruthless invasion and destruction of the city of Shanhaikwan a little over a week ago, under the pretext of defensive measures toward the impotent Chinese garrison located in the above mentioned city, has turned out according to universal expectation, which the Japanese did little to conceal, to be their first move in the partition of China.

Leaving a trail of devastation and ruin in their wake the Japanese imperialists are advancing upon their long talked-of aim to add the Jehol province and possibly Inner Mongolia to their puppet state Manchukuo. In spite of the bragadocio of the Chinese generals and the Kuo Min Tang, that they would resist to the last drop of blood, the Japanese have started their march with nothing to block their way but the intense cold. As a matter of fact, Japan refuses to be deterred by any circumstances from her Chinese conquest and rumors are current that Chiang Kai-Shek is looking towards negotiations "for an amicable settlement of the dispute." Were it not for the pressure from the Chinese masses and the foreign imperialists, who have their own axe to grind (on the Chinese people) the Chiang Kai-Sheks would capitulate to Japan without even their present pretensions.

And this is borne out by innumerable facts that even the Chinese censor could not keep hidden. The invasion of Shanhaikwan was known for some time previous to its occurrence not only by Chang Hsiao Liang, commander of the garrison, but also by many far less informed journalists. And yet no attempt was made to bring reinforcements to strengthen it. On the contrary the fort was abandoned to the tender mercies of the Japs who proceeded to wipe out every Chinese-looking person that was found in the city. During the battle which lasted hardly 24 hours the need for assistance became quite apparent. Every one looked to Chiang Kai-Shek, the generalissimo of the Chinese armies—but the general was too busy fighting Communists in southern China! Every new step of this gentry, proves that it is not only unwilling but incapable of fighting the Japanese marauders. The only place where the Chinese bourgeoisie and their flunkies have shown any belligerency is in the talkfest chambers of the League of Nations. And no wonder! To call into being an effective resistance to the invaders would mean to set the Chinese masses into motion. The Chinese bourgeoisie fears, above everything else, the Chinese people. They conceive of them as a far greater enemy than all the imperialists combined. The bourgeoisie and the militarists are quite well aware that the struggle against the foreign invader might easily be turned against them as would have been the case in 1925-1927 were it not for the Menshevik policies of Stalin and Co.

But the Chinese bourgeoisie will not succeed in stifling the discontent of the toiling millions. Already widespread resentment is breaking loose against the Chinese compradors. Resolutions calling for decisive action are pouring into Nanking from all parts of the country. Mass meetings of students burning with resentment against the flagrant betrayal of Chiang, are gaining in momentum. The Japanese imperialists may yet succeed—in blowing the spark of the third Chinese revolution into flames. And that is a conflagration that has burned more than one imperialism in the past!

The Japanese adventure in northern China is fraught with the direct consequences for the workers of the world and for the Soviet Union. World war hangs in the balance. The working class must remain on the alert.

Japan is staking everything on this Chinese expedition. Despite the severe crisis shaking Japanese economy to its very foundations: despite a huge national deficit which is growing every day; despite the falling value of the yen; despite an unprecedented mass hunger and privation that is wracking every Japanese city and village, the Military is plunging the country into an ever greater crisis in pursuit of their imperialist designs. All their grandiose plans may blow up under the huge volcano that is gathering fuel in the simmering discontent of the Japanese workers and peasants. The war-crazed and avaricious militarists will stop at nothing.

Simultaneous with the Jehol invasion has come the refusal to sign the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. What a striking confirmation that is of the Left Opposition's condemnation of the Stalinist signature of the Kellogg pact, to which these "non-aggression" pacts are merely a corollary. To sign

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Answer! Where Is Rakovsky?

Where is Christian Rakovsky and what has happened to him?

Persistent rumors are abroad concerning his fate. In some quarters the horrifying report is in circulation that he has already died. Under any circumstances we would never believe a report put in that form. For if the news of his death is verified, it will not be simply because "he has died"—but because he has been assassinated by the Stalinist regime!

For more than two generations, Christian Rakovsky has enriched the annals of the revolutionary working class struggle by word and deed. Not all the hatred and persecutions of the ruling classes in half a dozen countries ever caused him to waver for an instant in his devotion to the proletariat and its cause. With his name inseparably associated the history of the militant socialist movement throughout the Balkans, to which he gave instinctively of body and soul, his time, his energy, his money, and his brilliant talents.

The indomitable soldier was at his fighting post from the first day of the Bolshevik revolution when so many of his detractors and jailers were on the other side of the barricades. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine, warrior in the fight against the counter-revolution and in the civil war, leader of the Bolshevik delegation which bearded the imperialists at the Genoa conference, ambassador of the Soviet republic to London and Paris—he has always clothed the post he occupied with a dignity, a revolutionary single-mindedness, a scintillating penetration which raised him to that eminence in the hearts of the proletariat and

the councils of the party and the International which were his beyond question in the days of Lenin.

That hatred which was inspired in the Rumanian boyars and the Czarist police against this great man who had no country but the International was transmitted to the bureaucratic apparatus which encountered in him the Left Oppositionist, the fighter against national socialism and for revolutionary internationalism. Expelled from the party together with Trotsky and the other Bolshevik-Leninists in 1927, he was immediately exiled. The last authentic news heard about Rakovsky was that he was seriously ill in Barnaul, his place of exile.

The latest information emanating from the Soviet Union gives us cause for the greatest alarm over comrade Rakovsky's fate. His courageous refusal to bend under the Stalinist repressions has only brought down on his head all the rabid persecutions of which the bureaucracy is capable. The deliberate failure to provide the exile with elementary medical attention has for some time put his life in danger. How long he would be able to last under this sort of treatment, has been an awful question in our minds for many months. The silence and lack of direct information concerning Rakovsky's position, have only increased our fears.

That is why we are compelled to cry out: Where is Christian Rakovsky? What has the Stalinist machine done with him? We will repeat our questions until an answer is given. The Communist workers will join us in this demand for the cause of Rakovsky is the cause of the whole proletariat!

TECHNOCRACY

Engineers Have New Plan To Save Bankrupt Capitalism

The engineers and technicians are gathering a mass of followers to the movement called technocracy. It is heralded as a new theory having revolutionary implications without revolution. Backing up their argument with a mass of indisputable facts which they state in a very capable manner, they explain the historical development of machine production and how the machine is displacing labor. The light they throw upon the marvelous machine development is most revealing and has positive value. But the light they throw upon the anarchy of capitalist production is nil.

Technocracy denotes the attempt of the scientists and technicians to get out of the impasse which the capitalist mode of production has arrived at without the elimination of the capitalist exploiters. Technocracy deals with the evils of the "price system", and considers the problem of "energy". Their survey in no way touches or considers the problem as an evil issuing from the field of production. This shifts the issue to the field of distribution.

When a ruling class nears its end, ideological decay and confusion mark the twilight of its decay. Such was the case when the early French materialists drove religion from pillar to post—until religion reconciled itself with the new exploiters.

Such, also, is the case with the scientists who function under the present bourgeois rule in the stage of its decay. They are floundering around advocating a thousand and one remedies. One of these widely heralded "solutions" for the "price system", for capitalism, is Technocracy. The real rulers have nothing in common with this viewpoint.

These technologists have discovered the following: "that in the last 200 years energy—that is power and machines—has multiplied man's ability to produce goods and do useful work for himself by 75 to 100 fold." In their Energy Survey of North America they have assembled many worth-while facts of the productivity of labor and its displacement, but they arrive at no conclusions, or at false conclusions.

Howard Scott says that "technology smashes the price system." Price system means capitalism. They think they

will be able to organize capitalism. Dr. N. Rautenstrauch says, "Technocracy is primarily concerned with...the problem of organizing a civilization to maintain itself on a given continental area." Of course not one word is said about how to get rid of the exploiters. They will "organize" capitalism in a vacuum.

The truth of the matter is that these technicians see the handwriting of the approaching revolution on the wall and desire to avoid it. Scott says: "Physical wealth is not measured in terms of labor, goods, or money, but in terms of energy. And with the discovery of this truth the bankers, the industrialists, the Marxists, the Fascists, the economists, the soldiers and the police are things of the past." To measure in terms of (Continued on page 3)

United Front Call Issued For Unemployment Insurance

Opposition Welcomes Party Turn and Warns Against Opportunistic Tendencies

The call issued by the New York State Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance for a conference to be held in New York City on January 22 at the Irving Plaza Hall, is a step forward which the Left Opposition cannot but welcome. Virtually from the beginning of the crisis, with its constantly growing unemployment, we have steadily advocated the establishment of a united front of all the working class organizations for the common fight to gain relief from the sufferings and hardships inflicted on the workers.

Despite the hailstorm of abuse and ridicule to which our standpoint was subjected by the official representatives of the Communist party we have held steadfastly to the view that the best way to mobilize the collective strength of the workers for the purpose of shifting the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the ruling class, was the genuine united front once practised by the Communists, but thrown overboard and denounced as "counter-revolutionary" by the Stalinists. We declared at the outset that the inexorable pressure of the facts of the class struggle would lift our point of view to the top, piercing through the calumny and suppression of the bureaucracy. We uttered our warnings to the Communist workers that the policy imposed upon the party by the leadership would isolate the movement, would reduce it to a sectarian influence over the revolutionary workers and nobody else—unless the helm was turned and the course steered in the tested direction we had charted.

Opposition Stand Vindicated

The recent united front conference in Chicago, was the first big vindication of our point of view. However grudgingly and inadequately the turn was made in the Chicago conference, it was nevertheless sufficient to inspire tens of thousands of workers with confidence in their own strength, with the conviction that now the battle conducted with closed ranks would bring concrete results. The first stiff blow at the theory and practice of "social Fascism" and the "united front from below" was dealt by the Chicago conference. The proposal for the New York conference is the second blow struck at the theories which have crippled the effectiveness of the Communist movement, and consequently of the working class movement as a whole.

The editorial comment of the *Daily Worker* (January 11, 1933) which prefaces the call of the Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief, is a far cry from the frenzy of

the "Third Period": "The preliminary conference, if agreed upon, is to inaugurate workers' fraternal organizations: local unions of whatever affiliation and workers' fraternal organizations, social and benefit organizations. Branches of the Workmen's Circle and Socialist Party are being invited."

The call itself proclaims that the Com-

SAVE THE MILITANT

In a previous issue the National Committee addressed an appeal to all members and to all friends and comrades of THE MILITANT calling attention to the great danger which now threatens our weekly organ. It was said frankly in that appeal that unless drastic measures are taken immediately the success which we have had thus far in maintaining the weekly will end with its collapse. This needs to be reiterated with all possible emphasis and to carry the addition that with this issue our financial conditions have become yet more acute.

It is no longer sufficient to speak of maintaining the weekly MILITANT in its regular appearance, the problem now is to SAVE THE MILITANT. In the solution of that problem all our comrades, all our friends and sympathizers, must take part. It is a serious task. It is an important task. It holds out no promise of personal rewards but it demands some real revolutionary sacrifice. That is what we request of you and we feel certain that such a request will not be addressed in vain to the members and supporters of the Left Opposition. We know that you have the will to display such a spirit of sacrifice and where the will exists the way can be found.

You comrades, who have followed THE MILITANT from week to week in its struggle for the Leninist path, fully appreciate the importance of saving our organ and again lodge it upon a more solid financial foundation. That the significance of its role increases from day to day, has been amply illustrated by all experiences so far. But the past will appear small compared to its future role and for that we must prepare.

To SAVE THE MILITANT the National Committee has launched a concentrated national campaign to collect a special fund of \$1,000.00, apart from the regular income of the organization. This campaign is under way. It is to terminate March 1, 1933. A number of comrades have already come forward with their contributions. We know it represented a sacrifice on their part and we know that they will help further. We must say also in all seriousness that the number of comrades participating in the contributions to date is entirely too small and has not yet at all reached the point of diminishing the danger to our weekly organ. Because of this we count firmly upon the added support of all of you who read this appeal. We expect you to put your shoulders to the wheel. We expect you to help.

—ARNE SWABECK.

The following contributions have been received to date:

| NEW YORK | |
|----------------|---------|
| Gordon | \$3.00 |
| Shulman | 5.00 |
| Cannon | 2.00 |
| Katsikis | 1.00 |
| Eckstadt | 2.00 |
| Kent | 2.00 |
| Sterling | 5.00 |
| Capells | 3.00 |
| Poulsons | 1.00 |
| Saul | 2.25 |
| Ross | 1.00 |
| Milton | 1.00 |
| Carndy | 1.00 |
| Kitt | 3.00 |
| Kaldis | 1.00 |
| Victor | 1.00 |
| Spiegel | 2.00 |
| Beardslee | 5.00 |
| Stamm | 1.00 |
| Marcus | 4.00 |
| Glee | .50 |
| CLEVELAND | |
| Branch Collect | 3.12 |
| Keller | 1.00 |
| PITTSBURGH | |
| Oklin | 1.00 |
| Sifakis | 1.00 |
| Hinich | 1.00 |
| MINNEAPOLIS | |
| Branch Collect | 11.00 |
| Total | \$67.12 |

The Civil War in China

Dangerous Turn From Partisan War to Pitched Battles

SHANGHAI—

Following the unification of the Chinese Left Opposition, it met with serious difficulties from the ruling class, in which renegacy increased the obstacles in our development. Comrade Peter, one of the outstanding militants of the Opposition, died in prison. Now, with the help of renegades, the "Blue Shirt Society" (a secret Fascist organization) and the police, have captured comrade Chen Du-Hsiu and several other militants. My next letter will give you more information about this. Here I wish only to represent my views of the status of the peasant war in China, a vital question for the coming revolution.

Trotsky's Analysis Verified

Just as I began this letter, I received comrade Trotsky's letter on the present war in China of September 22, 1932. I read it over and over again, and I am convinced that what he says is quite right. His analysis conforms with the present developments in the peasant detachments. The news you usually receive in the United States does not correspond with the facts. It is either made up of bourgeois rumors, declaring that Chiang Kai-Shek has won big victories, or else it consists of the inflated accounts by Stalinists.

Despite all this, the fact is that the peasant detachments are at present weakened and the bourgeoisie has gained some triumphs in the "extermination of the red bandits". One clear example is the fact that during its victory against the "third extermination" by the white armies, the effectiveness of the "Red Army" on the borders of Anhwei, Honan and Hupeh provinces rose to several tens of thousands, and they succeeded in seizing stores of arms and ammunition from Chiang Kai-Shek's forces. But now, they are defeated, i. e., the strong force is greatly weakened, especially when its principal troops have met with big

losses from Chiang Kai-Shek's airplane and heavy artillery fire during the recent pitched battle. One section in Western Hupeh has also suffered great losses and been compelled to leave their old localities, occupied by them for several years, and to seek another field of operation. Furthermore, the forces in Hunan and Kiangsi have also decreased and it is only on the border between Fukien and Kiangsi that the "Red Army" continues to gain one victory after another, owing to the internal conflicts of the Kuo Min Tang militarists.

Yet the present situation has changed to the disadvantage of the peasant detachments. The conflicts among the Kuo Min Tang militarists are being temporarily smoothed over on the basis of mutual advantages, and they are uniting to annihilate the rebellious troops. But we are convinced that this work of the Kuo Min Tang against the "Red Army" will prove to be more difficult than the former imagines. At the same time, the weakening of the peasant detachments will again render the contradictions within

BANQUET

for THE MILITANT

Saturday, January 21, 9 P. M.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS

SCHOOL HALL

126 East 16th Street

Music — Entertainment and a Good Time

TICKET . . . 40c

Zinaide Trotsky

From Berlin comes the shocking news of the death of Zinaide Trotsky, daughter of comrade Leon Trotsky. Hounded by the cruel persecution of the Centrist bureaucracy, she took her life, a victim to the thirst for personal vengeance that has animated Stalin in his campaign to annihilate Trotsky, his immediately family, and his best friends and associates.

Comrade Zinaide was driven to her death even though she was not actively engaged in the political movement. More than a year ago, she left her husband in Moscow and came to live with her son in the exile home of her father in Prinkipo. A year ago, suffering from lung trouble, she received permission to enter Germany for medical treatment. Some months ago, the rude and disloyal usurper deprived comrade Trotsky and his family of Soviet citizenship. Comrade Zinaide approached the Soviet Embassy in Berlin with the request that her passport be extended to enable her to continue her residence in Berlin. Her passport was taken from her by the Stalinist diplomats and a new one denied her. Legally without a country, she subsequently received notice that she was to be expelled from Germany. Last Tuesday she was found dead in her home.

Comrade Zinaide is the second of Trotsky's two daughters to die. A few years ago, the first died of pulmonary tuberculosis in a Moscow hospital, while her father was exiled in Alma-Ata. The bureaucracy kept the news from him until some time after the event, so as to deprive him of "grounds" for coming to Moscow to attend the funeral.

It is with these monstrous persecutions, medieval in their calculated cruelty, that the Stalinist apparatus seeks to break down the heroic spirit of the greatest living revolutionist, Leon Trotsky, whom they cannot fight with honest weapons. It is the same sort of persecution that drove Trotsky's most intimate friend, the noble A. A. Joffe, to put a

(Continued on page 3)

Letters from Militants

Chauvinism Among Pittsburgh Stalinists

PITTSBURGH—

Some time ago we wrote in the *Militant* of the chauvinism that is poisoning the well of our party in Pittsburgh. That was on the occasion of an attack by Jewish Stalinists against Greek Oppositionists. We said at that time that this chauvinism unfortunately does not extend to Left Oppositionists alone and warned the party of the danger.

At the present we have a telling proof of how correct our conscientious warning was. The *Iron*, the Jewish organization which is led by the Stalinists, recently leased a headquarters. In the lease signed by the Stalinists representing the *Iron* a clause is contained guaranteeing that no Negroes are to be allowed into the Headquarters! An unprecedented example of white chauvinism! A telling proof of the degeneration that Stalinism is bringing into the ranks of Communism!

In defense of their action, the Stalinists (and we can furnish the names) offer the unheard-of, most unprincipled excuse: the clause excluding the Negro workers is to continue in effect for only (only!) one month! We ask: Does the party leadership condone this action, or will they take drastic disciplinary measures against the party fraction in the *Iron*? The workers will expect an answer.

As for the Left Opposition, it does not demand "mass trials" which turn the serious problem of uprooting chauvinism into a farce. It demands disciplinary action coupled with Communist education, which is so lacking in the ranks of the party today. Only a return to Leninism—only a ruthless rejection of strangulating Stalinism—will once and for all put a stop to the degeneration of our party. The Left Opposition will fight tirelessly for a return to Leninism, for the Bolshevik training of the ranks of the Communist party.

Boston Branch Moves Forward

BOSTON—

While Boston has not been heard from in the columns of the *Militant* lately (except for the article by comrade Schechet on the ILD), there has been considerable activity in this district.

Three of our comrades are members of local ILD branches, one, comrade Schechet now serving on the executive committee of the John Reed Branch. Two comrades are very active in the Left Wing Needle Trades Union and have held several committee positions. Comrade A. Konikow has given the following lectures:

- (1) "Why is there a Shortage of Food in Russia?" on November 13, before Branch 27 of the Independent Workmen's Circle. Attendance 25.
- (2) "What does the Left Opposition Want?" on November 26 for the Independent Workmen's Circle of Peabody. Attendance 75.
- (3) "Communism versus Socialism" on Dec. 14 for the Poale-Zionist Women's Club of Dorchester. Attendance 75.
- (4) "What the Left Opposition Stands For" on December 16 for the Chelsea Labor Lyceum Forum. Attendance 65.

Comrade W. Konikow spoke before the Independent Workmen's Circle, Branch 27, on December 11th on "Communism versus Socialism", attendance 25.

At all these lectures there was much enthusiasm for the Left Opposition views and the sale of literature was good.

Through the efforts of some of our comrades the Social Science Club, a non-partisan organization for the study of Marxism, was formed three months ago, with a membership of 35. Twenty members enrolled in an intense study course in Elementary Marxian Economics. This course was a huge success. On Tuesday, Jan. 10 there will be a regular quarterly meeting of the club to which the public is invited, admission free. This meeting will be held in Tremont Temple, Room A, at 8 P. M. There will be a lecture on "Communism versus Socialism". Three new courses will be started: "History of the Three Internationals", "The Russian Revolution", and "Elementary Marxian Economics". For further information write the Secretary, 11 Keswick St., Boston, Mass.

On Jan. 13, comrade A. Konikow will debate with Louis Marcus of the Socialist Party on "Socialism versus Communism" at No. 1 Stuart St., Boston, Mass.

On Jan. 22, comrade W. Konikow will speak before Independent Workmen's Circle, Branch 27, at 12 noon, in Aperia Plaza (upper hall) on "Trotskyism, What It Stands For."

On Jan. 22, Dr. A. Konikow will speak on "Trotskyism, What It Stands For," in Huntington Chambers, Boston at 3 P. M. under the auspices of the New Thought Forum.

As a result of our activity we are glad to report the addition of two new members, with the possibility of three more joining very shortly.

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Greek Militant Expelled in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA—

On December 27, a meeting of the ILD Greek Branch of our city was scheduled to take place at the headquarters of the Greek Workers Club, *Spartacus*. Comrade Theodore Pappas suggested to comrade Caldis who happened to be in Philadelphia that day, to go to the Club and meet certain workers who are anxious to know some truths about the views of the Left Opposition. So far the only thing they knew was the continuous hurling of epithets against the Opposition.

Comrade Goodman came along with the two Greek comrades at the Club, but unfortunately no meeting and no discussion took place, the Stalinists explaining that the rainy weather prevented many workers from reaching at the Club.

Comrade Pappas was asked by many workers to provide a Greek Oppositionist from New York to debate with a Stalinist in order to be able to grasp the fundamental differences of the two viewpoints, and that they were going to propose this at the next business meeting of the Club.

The local Stalinists were panic-stricken at the appearance of comrade Caldis and the distribution of the *Militant* and *Communists* by comrade Theodore Pappas, and last week called a special meeting to take measures against the spreading of sentiments in favor of the Left Opposition.

They adopted the same splitting attitude as their New York brothers by excluding comrade Pappas from the Club. Also they held a Stalinist trial and they passed a judgment against Pappas that he can remain at the Club only if he apologizes for his past conduct and undertake the distribution of the *Impressos* for three months. Comrade Pappas told the "court" that he is willing to sell the *Impressos* for three years if they will convince him that its editors are genuine revolutionary Marxists and not incompetent mercenaries of Stalinism. Then a few of the Stalinists forced him out of the Club room and forbade him to attend it in the future because he is a "dangerous" element. Comrade Pappas bombards the Greek Stalinists with the most effective weapon at his disposal at present: the *Militant*, *Communists* and pamphlets and books of the Opposition.

Stalinists Challenged in St. Louis

ST. LOUIS, MO.

At a recent meeting of the International Labor Defense, after listening for more than an hour to a young man from Cincinnati extolling the virtues of the I. L. D., I thought it time to place a few facts before the workers present. I was given a chance for the floor in the following manner. The young man from Cincinnati, evidently very well pleased with himself, proposed a question period following his speech. Posing before the speaker's stand, he was indeed a perfect picture of self-satisfaction.

Calmly taking the floor, I said first of all that I was in complete agreement with the role and functions of the ILD, but that certain events had convinced me that the organization was too narrow and sectarian. I cited the case of Morgenstern and Goodman, members of my organization, the Communist League (Opposition) who were arrested for distributing a leaflet pointing out not only the need for the struggle for immediate demands but stressing the fact that the final solution to the problems of the working class could only be the proletarian revolution. Yet the ILD had done nothing for them. I also cited the New York marine workers' case which the ILD sabotaged. I explained that while between the official party and the Left Opposition there were disagreements of a fundamental theoretical and tactical nature, this should not enter into the question of defense. The ILD must take up the case of any worker, regardless of his organizational affiliations.

During this short speech, the bureaucrats became very nervous. When I finished, the young Stalinist from Cincinnati apologetically and shame-facedly admitted that the ILD had formerly been sectarian and had made mistakes. But he would remind the comrades (myself) that at the last convention of the ILD the formula of self-criticism had been applied, resolutions passed, and everything was hunky-dory now. From now on a Trotskyist would be treated like anybody else.

Despite the fact that the bureaucrats considered the discussion at an end, I asked for the floor again it was given to me grudgingly this time. First I asked if the selection of the National Hunger March delegates had not taken place since the "historic" convention of the ILD. Then I told them of the case of comrade Payer who, although duly elected as a Hunger March delegate from his ILD branch, had nevertheless been rejected at the last minute by a "meeting"—where it was held and by whom, only god knows—and a delegate substituted for him who was not even a member of that branch.

Glaring at me like a bull at a red shirt, the Cincinnati Stalinist, although not the chairman, called me to order and commanded me to sit down. It was at this point that the real fireworks began. I was accused of attempting to disrupt the meeting and of having been sent here for that purpose. I was accused of bringing "theoretical questions" into the ILD. They were not interested in "Trotskyism", etc. In this manner a lynching spirit was worked up and one Stalinist

rose to demand that my application for membership be rejected. The bureaucrats rather nervously corrected this move, for it was a complete substantiation of my charge of discrimination against Oppositionists.

At this point, it was decided to "explain" the case of comrade Payer. The "explanation" by Julius Pollack, party candidate for U. S. Senator from Missouri, left the audience gasping for breath. To cover up the extraordinary procedure against Payer, Pollack employed the methods of calumny and falsehood. Knowing that comrade Payer was a coward, he said, and not steered in the class struggle, it was decided that he was not the man to help fight the Washington police, for he lacks the courage to fight the St. Louis police. Believing that I would not again get the floor, I shouted out that these were falsehoods. I was however given the floor by the chairman who asked what more I had to say on that point.

In spite of the threats of a physical attack, I took the floor to nail these lies to the wall. I cited Payer's long record of militancy in the struggle, his picketing of the British Consulate, arrest during our unemployment demonstration, record in the street meetings, and the number of times he had been arrested. I demanded a retraction of the falsehoods or a working class tribunal to hear the charges.

My proposals were of course not acted upon and discussion turned to other matters. Not until the meeting ended did a private discussion take place, with the Ohio Stalinist. He condescendingly explained that he disliked getting personal with a worker, as so many workers are confused, etc. I reminded him that we were so confused that we had numberless times invited the Stalinists to debate with us, so as to bring the differences before the working class; and at all times our invitation had been declined. With workers listening, he immediately proclaimed his willingness to debate us any time. But the bureaucrats promptly became cautious when I enthusiastically accepted. "Unless we cannot find time," they added, "and you know we are busy fighting the boss class." Nevertheless, we finally decided on the subject which (if they accept) is to be: "Is Trotsky a Friend of the Soviet Union?" That this is the last we will hear from this on the matter, is more than likely.

—G. ROBERTS.

Pittsburgh Branch Progresses

PITTSBURGH NOTES

The Stalinist terror campaign against the Left Opposition is in full swing here. Not only are Oppositionists slandered and attacked on every possible occasion, but even more, the tolerant party members are intimidated by the bureaucracy. Party members are forbidden to come to Opposition meetings and classes. Party members are warned against going into the houses of Left Opposition comrades. They are even threatened with disciplinary measures for speaking to our comrades.

In the meantime, the struggles of the rank and file within the party against the national bureaucracy are proceeding unabated. Only recently, the topmost bureaucrats have been forced to make a concession to the militant Pittsburgh rank and file. They have agreed to remove all the out-of-town functionaries, outside of the D. O., from their positions and to replace them with local comrades. While this is no doubt the fruit of courageous efforts by the bulk of the militants here it is important for them not to be deceived by such a measure. For, the bureaucrats still maintain the right to appoint functionaries (instead of having them elected by the responsible bodies), so as to assure themselves in the near future to place such local workers in leading positions as will carry out their bureaucratic designs and decisions.

But the Pittsburgh rank and file is wide-awake. It is conscious of the progress it has achieved by fighting and it has already been encouraged thereby to continue fighting, to clear the road for real Leninist advances. It would not be at all surprising, if the logic of their struggle will, very soon, lead them to demand the regular election of functionaries, which is a primary element of the old Leninist system of democratic centralism, instead of the appointment from above of functionaries, which is a distinguishing feature of the Stalinist system of bureaucratic centralism. In any case, the Leninist Left Opposition stands ready to offer every aid and to fight side by side with the rank and file militants.

In the Progressive Youth Club
Militant readers are acquainted with recent developments in the Progressive Youth Club. They know of the fight that the Stalinists—acting under the guise of "non-politicals"—carried on against letting in Left Oppositionists. Some time ago, we showed that this policy plays right into the hands of reactionaries and is bound to react even against the Stalinists. That we were not far from wrong, a more recent incident goes to prove. To wit:

Last week, two leading party comrades applied for membership to the club. A reactionary clique within the club, which has been thriving on the foolish struggle of the Stalinists against us, has cleverly used the anti-proletarian "No Politics" cry of the latter against the Leninist Opposition to entrench itself firmly with a good measure of power. In fact, they have grown so powerful, that they have found it extremely easy to reject these applications of the party members, abused them as being "disruptive Communists". They were so successful in their effort that they even managed to enlist support for this reactionary action from a miseducated party member serving on the committee

Leon Trotsky

History of the Russian Revolution



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that handled the applications! The Stalinist policy worked like a boomerang! The party comrade's name is Nellie Martin and every Communist has a right to demand that she be taken to task for such unheard-of conduct. It remained, however, for the lone comrade from the Left Opposition, serving on that committee, to carry on the fight against the attack on Communism with the support of a few party sympathizers. Comrade Salov found it necessary, not only to represent the Left Opposition in this struggle, but the official party as well. And that is not so strange either. It is only natural. The conscientious party comrades will continue to discover this more and more from their own experiences: that Stalinism miseducates the Communist workers and that the Leninist Left Opposition alone educates them in a Communist sense; that Stalinism is incapable of teaching the workers to defend Communism and that the Left Opposition alone can fulfill this task; that the Left Oppositionists are the best fighters for the progress of our Communist party.

Opposition at Anti Pogrom Conference

PITTSBURGH—

In the Anti-Pogrom United Front Conference, which was called here by party auxiliary organizations, the Left Opposition was represented by a delegate in order to participate in the work. Comrade Frank Salov offered the assistance of the local League organization, speaking in its name. The delegate of the Communist League (Opposition) was seated and elected to the Conference Committee.

Arrangements are now under way to hold a mass protest meeting and a demonstration. The Pittsburgh branch of the Communist League (Opposition) calls upon all its sympathizers and friends to participate energetically in these actions and to help make them a success. While taking an active part in the work, the organization reserves for itself the right to independent criticism of all the actions taken and proposals offered by the various organizations represented in the United Front.

Hold Public Meeting

On Thursday evening, January 5, the Pittsburgh branch held a small mass meeting at the Irene Kaufman Settlement, on Centre Avenue. A representative worker crowd was on hand and listened attentively to comrade Gordon who spoke on the subject "The Communist Party and the Left Opposition."

After the lecture, there were some interesting questions and discussions from the floor, to which the speaker replied in a brief summary. The group intends to hold more meetings of this sort in the future, in order systematically to bring the viewpoint of the Left Opposition before the Pittsburgh workers.

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Czech Right Wing Collapses

Lovestone's Allies Take Final Step and Join Social Democracy

On October 16, 1932, the national conference of the Czechoslovakian Right Opposition decided upon unification with the social democracy and, together with a small number of members, it turned over to it a number of homes and other party properties which it had taken with it at the time of its expulsion. With this act, an instructive chapter in the history of Czech Communism finds its conclusion.

When in the year 1928 the Comintern leadership completed its swing from the Right-Centrist course of capitulation to Currell and Chiang Kai-Shek to the adventures of the "third period" it encountered a stiff resistance in Czechoslovakia from the party membership, all the more so as the beginning of the new course promptly produced the catastrophe of the Red Day of July 6, 1928. Stalinist diplomacy was intent upon confining the indignation of the party workers within such limits that it would not do damage to the prestige of the Comintern leadership. It permitted a criticism of the preceding opportunism in so far as it was replaced by ultra-radicalism, and guarded against a clarification of the ultra-Leftist blunders of the present. It succeeded in attributing the whole blame or the weakening of the party to the Jilek leadership, in spite of the fact that the latter had simply acted as the executors of the Moscow chiefs.

Centrism Assists Right Wing

The majority of the party membership concentrated its hopes upon the new Gottwald-Fried opposition which was overthrown from Moscow. But immediately upon the first actions of the new leadership, broad strata of the party moved away. The proclaiming of the immediately revolutionary situation at the time of the textile workers' strike, at the beginning of 1929, the bureaucratically impatient foundation of new trade unions, after the opportunistic Hais secretary of the IAV (International One Big Union) had carried the majority of the membership by surprise with the aid of organizational swindling and the police—all this swiftly strengthened the small following of the then removed party leadership and created the foundations of a new opposition.

The Gottwald party leadership, true to the Stalinist commandment, completely dropped the Leninist united front policy. The Right Opposition, at any hour of the day or night, was ready for a united front with the social democracy against the Communist party. The Right Opposition prepared the road for entry into the social democracy. But this remained concealed from many of its own members.

Even before it began to realize its goal of unification, the Opposition went through a split. A part of the deputies refused to contribute to the Opposition treasury out of their salaries. Is that how you understand democracy, that I, who do receive five times as high a salary as the average worker, should turn over half of it to the organization at a time when the others contribute a bare one—one hundredth of theirs?—said a deputy to the democratic babblers, and quit the Opposition.

When we come out for unity, then we mean above all the unity of the organizations' treasuries, for then the organizations will be all the stronger, opined old man Hais, and joined the social democratic trade unions with his organization. The German bishop Brandler was dispatched for the marriage ceremony and he even handed down a dispensation to the betrothed from the legally prescribed proclamation of the bans. The priest returned to Germany and described the Prague unification as a model of the Leninist tactic. It was indeed a model of Brandlerist policy; but it had nothing in common with Leninist trade union tactics. When Leninists come forward for the unity of the trade union movement, they put such conditions as guarantee the possibility of revolutionary agitation. The entry of the Hais organization into the social democratic trade union league was based upon a complete political capitulation to the social democracy. That was the music which Heinrich Brandler "overheard".

In the ranks of the Right Opposition could be heard soft voices which shyly criticized Hais' capitulation. But the secretariat of the Opposition remained in the Trade Union House, which now belonged to the social democracy.

The following which the Opposition leaders brought into the social democracy is slight. One part of their workers has remained indifferent, a second part capitulated to Stalinism, a third part is coming closer to the Left Opposition.

That the Czechoslovakian Right Opposition temporarily rallied a substantial number of party members around itself, that it was able for quite a time to de-

ceive itself and its ranks about the direction of its course, is to be ascribed above all to the Stalinists. For the latter conducted the struggle against the Right wing principally with the accusation that it was for agreements with social democratic leaders. They thus permitted the liquidators to utilize for their own ends the mistakes of the Centrist-led party, which rejected the united front with the leaders under any circumstances. A second fact is of still greater significance. By the reduction of the difference between themselves and the Right wing to the question of "from above or from below", "united front with the leaders or without them", the Stalinists excluded from the discussion the fundamental strategic questions.

Decline of Right Opposition

The Czech Right Opposition rose to its height in 1929, after a temporary economic boom and a series of mistakes of the Stalinists, produced a new dissemination of democratic-pacifist illusions within the Czech working class. But when the consequences of the world economic crisis violently gripped the economic life of the country, when the million and a half unemployed and partly unemployed once more had the occasion to feel the effects of the ruling social democracy's methods, when the revolutionary wave began to rise, the Right Opposition receded. At the same time, the Czech Left Opposition took shape and grew.

The general direction of the Right Opposition was: Away from the revolution, over to the social democracy. The adventurist stupidities of the Stalinists, however, drove many workers into its ranks, who did not want to capitulate to reformism but to win the social democratic workers to the revolution on the basis of partial demands. That is why the process of differentiation within the remnants of the Right Opposition, which have not been drawn over to the social democracy, is inevitable. The Left Opposition says to these workers: We understand that the treachery and characterlessness of the leader of the Right Opposition restrain you from active policy and push you towards indifference. For you, for all of us, there is but one road: Closer to the Communist Party! Fight to win it back to the policy of Lenin, under the banner of International Left Opposition!

—O. FRIEDMANN.

North China Seized

(Continued from page 1)

This innocuous pact would have been of little consequence for the Japanese imperialists. It would not have stopped the military plans by one inch of conquered territory. But what they have done is significant. They have refused to sign the pact on a flimsy pretext. Stalin, they say, has changed the industrialization plans in preparation for war. In view of the present difficulties of the five year plan, this charge is not only absurd but is a cover for Japanese provocations against the Soviet Union. The *Daily Worker* reports that four Soviet ships have been interned by the Japanese military. Japan's hostile acts are clear to all.

At the same time another significant fact comes to light. Unlike the events of last year when the conquest of Manchuria was met with anxious outcries on the part of American and other imperialists who feared for their own profits and concessions, the silence of this year has been conspicuous. Is it because the imperialist powers know in advance that Japan's rampage will this time end up in an assault upon the Soviet Union! There are strong indications that this may be the case.

The workers must be on their guard for any eventuality. They must give their support to the Chinese workers and peasants in the struggle against the Japanese plunderers and the Chiang Kai-Shek butchers of the Chinese people!

—G. C.

ANNOUNCEMENT

All *Militant* readers are urged to watch for the next issue of the paper. It will be of especial interest to all Communist Militants. It is going to be a special anniversary number devoted to three great working class leaders, Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg whose writings and deeds have blazed the trail for the Communist movement. The next issue will contain articles and reprints by well known revolutionary writers commemorating the life and analysing the deeds of these heroic fighters for the proletariat. Watch for the next issue!

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The Technocrats «Refute» Marxism

(Continued from page 1)
energy, according to Scott, will do away with classes and the class struggle, with revolution and with Marxists. Quite a large order!

Technocratic "Energy"

The whole structure of Technocracy revolves around the axis of "energy". Scott says, "Energy is defined as the capacity for doing work. All forces of heat transfer or of work done are said to involve a transfer of energy." Again: "Now energy appears in many forms but it is possible to measure them in units of work—the erg and the joule, or in units of heat, the calorie."

The "technocrats" hide behind the word "energy" every form of energy used in the present capitalist system of production. They do not make any distinction between determining factors of energy and contributing or auxiliary units of energy. Second, when they deal with human labor as a form of energy they primarily deal with one phase of the problem and ignore the other and most important phase.

The first phase of the problem of labor (energy) they deal with is its displacement by the machine. Scott says: "In other words a price system demands man-power if it is to succeed, and man-power for production steadily becomes more and more a thing of the past as the kilowatt hour takes its place." To refer to the displacement of labor or "man-power" and not to tell what effect this has upon that part of labor which is left in production, is to state the problem without stating the determining factor. The development of machines, new inventions and processes carry with them greater exploitation of labor.

Scott says kilowatt hours take the place of man-power. What really happens is that the higher composition of capital—an increase in constant capital (kilowatt hours, etc., means of production) and a decrease of variable capital (wage-labor in the form of labor) causes greater exploitation of the wage workers, a fall in the rate of profit but a rise in the mass of profit which goes not to society but to the owners of the tools of production.

If the technocracy school would realize that private ownership of the tools of production must be abolished and that social ownership must replace it, they would be a long way toward the proper utilization of the facts they have accumulated. Also this would be the opening of the door out of the blind alley they are now in. Failing this understanding their positive facts are lost or else they are utilized by reaction to mislead the workers.

Is Labor's Importance Decreasing?

Many are already using the "movement" for this purpose. But the technicians and scientists who want to be of service to mankind must see beyond the decay of capitalism into the future social system which is going through its birth stage in the Soviet Union now.

The change from hand-tool production to the machine age is viewed by the school of technocracy as the passing of man-power (labor) to kilowatt hours of energy units, etc. Where they see the replacement of man-power by machines, they conclude that the importance of man-power (labor) in a machine society diminishes. The truth is that the importance of labor in the relation of pro-

Engineers Have New Plan to Save Bankrupt Capitalism

fits and exploitation increases with machine development.

Let us restate the problem from a Marxist point of view and see what light it throws upon the school of technocracy. The foundation of the use-value (products or commodities) of every society is labor and nature. The determining factor in society is not nature but labor. The relation of labor to production and to the ownership of the means of production determines its status in that society, no matter how productive labor is.

All value, wealth of use-values in society, no matter what its form may be—buildings, machines, trains, roads, electric power, clothes, and other necessities—can be reduced, not to energy in the abstract, but to labor and natural properties, no matter if they were made by hand-tool production or machine production.

Two Debates in Chicago

Two debates are scheduled in Chicago which are of considerable importance and interest to the militants of that city, according to the announcements of the Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

On Tuesday, January 17, Norman Satir, of the Left Opposition, will debate with T. Statman, organizer for the IWW on the subject: "Communism or Syndicalism".

On the same date, Joseph Giganti, organizer of the Left Opposition will debate with M. Olay, anarchist spokesman, on the subject, "What Next for the Spanish Worker—Communism or Anarchism?" This debate will take place under the auspices of the Spartacus Workers League, at its headquarters, 1645 W. Polk Street.

Both debates deal with themes of current importance and the debaters will undoubtedly bring forward their respective sides of the question in as thorough a manner as possible, enabling those who attend to judge the merits of the disputing tendencies in the labor movement.

All Chicago militants are cordially invited to attend the debates.

duction under capitalism. The social relationship of labor is the determining factor and the form of "energy" of LABOR is the decisive factor in the energy of any and every society. This determining "factor" is what the Technocracy school ignores.

In other words, if we were to find the basis of the equation of all use-values of society we must reduce the use-values to the amount "of socially necessary labor time embodied within them." (Energy?). Constant capital (machines, buildings, raw material, power, etc.) can be reduced to congealed labor time. The other part, necessary for capitalist production and the vital part—variable capital (wage labor)—can be transformed into labor, living labor, in the process of production. All forms of energy, measured by the kilowatt hour can be reduced to so many hours of socially necessary labor time. The equation of Dr. Rautenstrauch and Peral-Reed deals with an entirely different phase of the problem and does not touch the basic factors of the present day economic problems. The problem their equation does not touch is the problem that must be solved if we are to have an orderly and planned society. Many technicians desire this but do not know how it is to be attained.

The Key to the Problem

Let us consider the "energy of technocracy" in the field of capitalist production. So many yards of linen in value equal so many pounds of wheat not because we have some arbitrary "price system" but because each can be reduced to so many hours of labor embodied within the commodities. The only way to measure all forms of energy which are the result of man's labor is to reduce them to socially necessary labor time embodied in them. This labor time is the measure of value and the key to the understanding of the problem the technicians have unearthed but have not explained properly nor solved.

To regard "energy" in the abstract and leave out of consideration the measure of its value, labor time, is to leave the ground of concrete reality and lose the key to an understanding of the class problems and the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production. To find a way out of the capitalist contradictions, it is necessary first to state the problem correctly. This Marx and the

Marxists did long ago. The displacement of man power by the machine, which is a progressive development under capitalism, was analyzed by Marx long ago and its consequences predicted. The school of technocracy has just now discovered the fact but has not yet drawn the conclusions which flow from them. What a difference between the dialectic materialist method and the bourgeois methods! And how superior it proves itself to be in analyzing and pointing the way to the solution.

Kilowatt hours, capital, commodities, or any other form of use-values can be reduced to congealed labor—to "dead labor". Under capitalism we have a system where "dead labor"—capital—controls and subjects living labor—the labor of the workers, in the process of production. Thereby capital controls the lives of the wage earners.

Only when the control of the capitalists over the means of production is broken can the workers be liberated. For this a revolution is required. Technocracy cannot solve the problem in a vacuum. It cannot eliminate the class struggle. There is no substitute for the proletarian revolution and the expropriation of the expropriators. For that reason "technocracy" remains an imposing deception.

—H. O.

ZINAIDE TROTSKY

(Continued from page 1)

bullet through his head in 1927 in protest against the Thermidorian vices of the party rulers. Three years before his death, in 1924, Trotsky's devoted secretary and collaborator, Glazman, took the same way out of the nightmare of venomous intrigue brought into the life of the party by the dominant clique. One by one—Glazman, Joffe, Butov, Heinrichsen, Silov, Blumkin, Rosanoff, and now Zinaide Trotsky—these serene but unyielding spirits have been cut down in their youth or their rich prime—tortured to death, driven to suicide, or shot in obscure courtyards. While scoundrels and parasites, ex-Petlurists and Mensheviks, scavengers and camp-followers, penetrated to the highest posts of the Soviets and the party, the bravest of the brave and the cream of Bolshevism, the organizers of the insurrection and the heroes of the Civil War, were driven out of the party and... into the grave. It is the fate reserved by Stalin for the Left Oppositionists in prison and exile, for that fearless revolutionary chief, Rakovsky, for all those who have stood unflinchingly by the side of the Bolshevik exile who incarnates the international proletarian revolution. The blood of these Bolshevik victims is on Stalin's head!

To the bereaved exile in Turkey and to his family, we send our most deeply felt sympathy. At the graveside of our dear comrade Zinaide Trotsky, the American Bolshevik-Leninists pledge themselves anew to the unceasing struggle to liberate world Communism from the monstrous regime which has devastated it and sent a new victim to a premature death.

The International Workers School of the St. Louis Branch is conducting a class in the "Fundamentals of Communism" with Martin Payer as the instructor. The class is held every Monday evening, 7:30 P. M. at the Small Club Room of the Cruden Branch Library, 14th and Cass Avenues. All Militant readers and friends are invited to attend. The admission is free.

Opposition at Anti-War Meet

Left Delegates Issue Statement at Chicago Student Conference

The present world crisis in capitalist economy, occurring as it does in the epoch of imperialism, which is at once the period of the highest development of capitalism and the period of its decay, contains within itself the seeds of war. The spread of industrial capitalism during the past half century has increased the number of capitalist powers, the antagonisms between which with the growth of monopolies, trusts and cartels have created ever-sharpening rivalries between the imperialist nations. Before the Great War it was still possible for capitalism to escape from the recurrent crises by a continuous extension of the world market. That is no longer possible. The rival imperialist powers now find it impossible to lift themselves out of the crisis by expanding the over-seas markets. Today they are shackled with a vast army of unemployed workers who are becoming increasingly impatient. In order to avoid an internal upheaval which would jeopardize their own existence, the rival imperialist powers are compelled to struggle incessantly for markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of financial control. Inevitably the disproportion between the size of the productive forces (especially of the proletariat) and the markets in the possession of the different imperialist nations causes a break, and capitalism proceeds to settle its differences on the back and with the blood of the great masses of the population, the workers. But imperialist war cannot achieve a permanent solution of the problems of economic disequilibrium. Owing to the unequal development of capitalism in different countries, a time soon comes when markets and sources of raw materials must be re-distributed and the struggle for economic hegemony appears on the order of the day once more. Obviously, therefore, imperialist wars are a product of the development of capitalist society and are inherent in it. In this epoch of socialized production, the historic task of putting an end to all wars falls upon the working class because of its indispensable role in the production process. The proletariat, itself the product of capitalist industry, is the only social force capable of overthrowing capitalism and establishing in its place the dictatorship of the proletariat which, when achieved on a world scale, lays the basis for the development of socialism. Only in such a society when the private ownership of the means of production has been abolished and class differences have disappeared, will the causes of war finally have been removed. To us, therefore, the problem of war is a problem of class conflict flowing from the extant mode of production and exchange today it is a problem for the working class because it is the workers who must do the fighting and the dying and it, the workers, leading all the oppressed masses, who alone can overthrow capitalism. Hence, we, as students, can play no independent role. While carrying on work in our respective fields, our task is essentially one of supporting the working class in its day-to-day struggle against capitalist exploitation and of helping it resist the outbreak of further imperialist wars by working with it towards the overthrow of capitalism.

While we oppose imperialist war, we affirm our support to all oppressed peoples seeking liberation from imperialist exploitation. We look upon wars of national liberation as progressive and as a step further on the road of final emancipation for the down-trodden masses. An uprising of the Chinese or Indian masses directed towards throwing off the yoke of foreign imperialism must receive our support. The struggle in the colonial countries does not end, however, with the eviction of the foreign imperialists, for the exploited masses will still have to deal with their own national capitalists. It is for this reason that the emancipation of these backward peoples can only be achieved under the leadership of revolutionary workers who must strive to extend the national revolt into a struggle for power which will eventuate in the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Imperialist war assumes increased significance for the world proletariat when it takes the form of an interventionist attack upon the USSR. The Soviet Union is the first and only Workers' State in history and as such it is the duty of every revolutionary organization to defend the achievements of the Soviet Union and to insure the continued existence of the proletarian dictatorship in that country pending the further development of the world revolution. The events of the past few years have shown precisely how the flames of war lunge at the frontiers of the Soviet Union simultaneously from the Far East and from the closer West. At the same time strangling the independence of China, Japan constructs in Manchuria fortresses from which to strike at the Soviets. On the other hand, the advance of Fascism in Germany opens up the perspective of a struggle for life or death between a Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union. The struggle against war signifies under these conditions the struggle to save the lives of dozens of millions of workers and peasants belonging to the new generation which has grown up since the Great War, to preserve all the conquests of labor and of thought, to save the first Workers' State and the whole future of humanity.

It follows naturally that we cannot support any program which condemns all wars in general. Each must be considered in its own context and from the point of view of the historical interest of the world proletariat.

Lastly, we must point out the irreconcilability between our position and that of pacifists, who, blind to the causes of armed conflict, dismiss all wars with a wave of the hand. Too long now have the masses been misled by statements such as that made by Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland at the recent Amsterdam Anti-War Conference to the effect that a wave of opposition must be raised against "Whatever war it may be, wherever it may come from and whoever it may menace". We repeat that we are opposed to such pacifist utterances and will consistently oppose adherence to a similar position at this conference. The problems of war can be discussed only on the basis of class interests.

We consider it absolutely wrong to create a permanent individual membership anti-war organization. Such an organization will only separate the struggle against war from the general struggle against capitalism.

FOR A UNITED WORKER-STUDENT YOUTH CONFERENCE

The great weakness of this Congress lies in the fact that it has segregated the student youth from the working class youth. In view of this, the Congress goes on record as favoring:

- The organization of a nation-wide united front anti-war conference of all youth organizations, worker and student.
- The organization of a preliminary conference of all leading youth organizations to prepare for such a national conference.
- The election of an executive committee of the Student Congress Against War, that will help in the work toward such an end.
- We call upon the Young Communist League, the historic leader in the struggle against imperialist war and militarism, to initiate this movement.

SIGNED:

Yetta Barshefsky, Crane College, Chgo.
B. Landau, Crane College, Chicago.
Belle Landau, Crane College, Chicago.
Daniel Shelley, University of Chicago.
Meyer Freeman, University of Toronto.
Max Caplansky, University of Toronto.
Eric Renouf, University of Toronto.
Norman Knight, University of Toronto.
Norman Satir, Chgo. Branch C. L. of A.
Irving Bern, Spartacus Y. C., Chgo.
Ruth Stamm, Hunter College, N. Y.
Walter Karsner, Hunter College, N. Y.
Mannie Galtman, Brooklyn College.
Sam Freidfeld, Tuley High, Chicago.
Walter Danylnyk, Tuley High, Chicago.
Charles Burle, Tuley High, Chicago.
H. Rosenfeld, Tuley High, Chicago.
Sally Goltz, Crane College, Chicago.
Al Glotzer, Youth Section C. L. of A.
Mannie Gottlieb, Spartacus Y. C., Des Moines, Iowa.

• • • •

By an error, the above statement was announced for publication in the last issue of the Militant. It was carried over to this issue instead. The next issue will contain a critical analysis of the proceedings of the Chicago conference.

THE HISTORY OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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will speak every Sunday evening, 8 P. M. on the following subjects in the course:

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Jan. 22 1924—The First Great Victory of the Right-Center Reaction and the Fifth Congress.

Jan. 29/32—The Triumph of the Epigones at the Sixth Congress.
Feb. 5 The Future of the Third International: Collapse or Regeneration?

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JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

The High Speed of Japanese Development

A striking feature of post-war Japanese development is its rapid tempo. Born in the epoch of imperialism, Japanese capitalism, even before it has attained full maturity, undergoes all the sicknesses of decay—the stultifying of expanding productive forces by the shrinking of markets. Its internal woes are so profound that desperate remedies are sought; hence the imperialist venture in China, a venture that not only sacrifices the lives of Japanese—and Chinese—workers for capitalist profit, but that demands for its accomplishment ever greater diversion of resources, growing budgets and mounting deficits, hence more intense exploitation of workers and peasants. The national income must be reappropriated; the middle class is taxed at the unbelievable rate of 30 percent of its earnings (every citizen with an income of \$150. or more is taxed); the workers must receive even less than their previous pittance. In short, the class struggle is intensified at a pace corresponding to the unbounded program of imperialist expansion.

But not only does Japanese imperialism accomplish forced marches in the strain of catching up with the rival powers. The working class, too, undergoes rapid transformations. In the single decade since the war, the Japanese proletariat has condensed the long experience of a whole century of British development. Today the Japanese workers are strung out along the road of development with a rear-guard of opportunists and reformists always ready to desert and betray the vanguard of Communists in time of battle.

During this decade of proletarian growth the economic and political changes have followed each other with great rapidity—a sure indication of the revolutionary possibilities. The workers have shown themselves acutely sensitive to the international labor movement, but unless a leadership is built up that is grounded in Marxian principles, the

principles of the Bolshevik-Leninists, and is at the same time, flexible in its tactics, with regard to the changing relations of forces, the results may well be disastrous for the working class.

Reformism and Opportunism

The great influence of syndicalism, later of Communism, in the post-war era forced the shrewd ruling class of Japan to avail itself of the generous assistance of reformism in attempting to trick the proletariat into following the path of "peaceful" agitation and development. The illuminating experiences of the English working class since the Chartist movement, the course followed by the revisionists in German social-democracy, the history of the second international—these lessons of betrayal were not learned in vain by Japanese politicians and capitalists. The classic method of dividing and ruling is applied in the union movement and on the political arena by the government's policy of encouraging the growth of Right wing organizations and suppressing brutally the Left wing. Thus the Yuaikai (Friendly Society of Laborers), organized in 1912 by the Christian socialist, Suzuki (the Gompers of Japan), under the patronage of one of the Elder Statesmen, was transformed into the Japanese General Federation of Labor in 1919. Its function was to combat syndicalism and divert the workers from the "dangerous" road of class struggle and mass action. Through the leadership of this federation of 46 unions with its 33,000 workers, and that of the 82,000 members of the Seamen's Union and the 42,000 members of the Naval Workers' Union, the capitalists hoped to create a division between the skilled and the unskilled, to form an aristocracy of labor, on the lines of the A. F. of L. that could be bribed into acquiescence to capitalist policy. Fortunately syndicalist influence and the lateness of development of Japanese unions, permitting their utilization of international experience, assured the formation of industrial unions. Only 9 percent of the organized

workers are in craft unions, thus eliminating the artificial and fratricidal struggles between unions over jurisdiction.

If workers too often fail to realize the decisive importance of the class controlling an organization, the employers have no illusions on this score. The bosses in Japan have organized shop committees and company unions on a wide scale. In fact they now embrace 340,000 workers, as many as have been permitted to organize in all the workers' unions combined.

The year 1919 saw the gradual spread of information concerning the Russian Revolution among the workers. The spread of Communist ideas terrified governing circles and brought on a period of white terror that has not abated to the present time. The crisis of 1920 with its mass unemployment did not help to reassure the upper class. Nor did the Kobe strike of 1921 with its great solidarity parade of 30,000 workers. In 1922 the Comintern established relations with Japanese comrades and started an illegal, underground movement. The movement has remained small but exerts a profound influence despite the committing of many blunders under Stalinist control.

The earthquake of 1923 gave the government its opportunity to behead the proletarian movement. The police and the military incited the reactionaries and their dupes among the masses to murder all Koreans under the pretext that they were responsible for the terrible conflagrations that broke out as a result of the quake. Simultaneously with the most brutal massacre of thousands of Koreans, those most exploited workers in Japan, performing the dirtiest work with the outcaste Etas, the soldiery seized hundreds of radicals of all shades and put the most prominent ones to the sword. In cruelty and cold-bloodedness this exploit of the Mikado outdid any of the Czar's pogroms of the Jews.

The Communists and the Labor Party

The promise by the government of universal suffrage in 1925 (the actual voting not to take place till 1928), started widespread agitation for the formation of working class political parties. The Right wing leaders in the unions at first looked askance at this new development, seeing in it a threat to their bureaucratic control through the organization

of a rival leadership. But the example of the British Labor Party, then coming into power, heartened them and caused the attempt of creating a political party under union auspices. This same year saw the split of the General Federation of Labor—with what aid from the Communists is not clear but quite easily to be inferred from international developments in the "third period"—into Right and Left wings, the latter including syndicalists to an even greater extent than Communists. Had the Communist party, despite the persecution and the handicaps of illegality, presented as clearly as was possible under the circumstances, their own political outlook had they differentiated themselves sharply from the opportunist elements a large section of the syndicalists could have been won over to Communism, not to speak of other Left wing workers. But the Anglo-Russian Committee, the bloc of the Chinese party with the Kuo Min Tang, in short the obliteration and dispersing of the vanguard in the mass of uncultivated workers, the voluntary yielding of initiative by the only force capable of leading the workers correctly to that force designed only to mislead—all this saw its counterpart in the attempts of the Communists, under the direction of the Comintern, to form a mass labor party.

The Peasants' Union (50,000 members) issued the call for all workers to unite in a proletarian party. In No. 16 of the Communist International may be found the attitude of the Comintern on the entire question. Vasiliev writes enthusiastically hailing the call. "Not only labor and progressive peasant elements are interested in the organization of a new party aiming at the thorough democratization of the State—the whole country demands this!" "The Communist wing of the proletarian party formulated its own platform as follows: 'The aim of the proletarian party is struggle against imperialism and the menace of imperialist wars. The slogans are: Korea's and other colonies' rights to self-determination; hands off China; those who till the land must own it; the 8 hour day; work or full maintenance for unemployed; workers' control; universal suffrage for all citizens over the age of 18; democratic liberties; abrogation of laws directed against the labor movement; abolition of the Upper Chamber and the Genro Council.'" Its immediate slogan is the

"workers' and peasants' government". Vasiliev adds naively that "after a perusal of the draft programs of action of the Left and the reformists, one is struck by the similarity of the most important points of the political and economic demands." He sees the conditions for a united front as very propitious. "Through their work within the proletarian party, the Japanese Communists will no doubt soon be able to grapple with the task of developing their ranks into a mass Leninist party with a strictly revolutionary program and iron discipline."

In No. 17 of the Communist International, after the complete fiasco of the all-embracing mass party, we find the following gem: "The reformists, after their unsuccessful attempts to balk the formation of the Proletarian Party by refusing participation, decided to achieve their sabotaging work by drawing up a program provoking the Left to a split. The latter took up a firm position, and acquiesced in making every concession if only to obtain the organization of a legal mass party. In their desire to preserve the legal physiognomy of the new party, the Left went so far that they abandoned without any reserves the demand for the independence of the colonies (they agreed to autonomy) and agreed to the abandonment of the demand for the confiscation of the land without compensation. But the reformists, who had previously come to an agreement with the police, quit the inaugural congress of the Proletarian party, declaring that they did not desire to be a weapon in the hands of the Left. The Lefts, continuing their policy of guaranteeing legality to the new party at all costs, also left the congress. The delegates of the Peasants Union and the Suiseisha remained in the congress." Of course, the police closed the congress down anyhow. But to go on: "But the reformists will not enjoy their victory for long. Even if at first the Proletarian party did not have a program of action worked out according to all the rules of Lenin, etc., even if in its program it made opportunist, reformist, false steps, all this is not so essentially important. What is important is the fundamental fact that the working and peasant masses are being brought into the proletarian party and it is also important that the objective situation of the country unrestrainedly urges the Japanese workers and peasants to decisive acts and big tasks."

From Istanbul to Copenhagen

From Istanbul to Copenhagen and back by a whole series of means of locomotion—boat, automobile, train—there is something that might have furnished an interesting theme for an able writer. Yet you cannot find even an attempt in this direction in the press: a few pen-pushers confined themselves to invented interviews, like that in the *Petit Journal*, whose correspondent, it appears, met Trotsky last year on the island of Majorca! But this indigence did not prevent the press from revealing on several occasions—by information, by distortion or by silence—its sentiments towards the various stages of the trip. Let us set down the position of those who claim to express "public opinion," the position of the capitalist governments and also the attitude of those proletarians who were encountered along the route.

Let us pass over everything which smacks of fantasy, imagination and a taste for scandal. Objective reports, or rather strict information, are rarely to be found. The Italian press preserve a prudent restraint: a few French papers did the same; the socialist *Populaire* in particular had no illusions concerning the social democratic tribune accepted by Trotsky to deliver his justification for the October against the social democracy. Not a single paper gave any sort of an objective exposition of the ideas of the Left Opposition.

The Anti-Bolshevik Fury

On the other hand, the anti-Bolshevik hatred, the fury of capitalism which has retained an ever-smarting souvenir of the October and the years of the civil war, expressed itself with a terrific violence in the canards of the various countries. In France, in the big press, it is the *Journal* that took front place by its veritable provocations. The courageous act of the Bolsheviks, showing the whole world proletariat the emptiness of the ideas of capitalist fatherland, of national defense—the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, is denounced by the *Journal* as "treason." It seeks to exploit all the chauvinistic and conservative sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie against the Russian revolution. It is quite normal on the part of an organ which was one of the most rabid supporters of czarism, of Russian loans—not out of benevolence, to be sure—and whose "patriotism" did not cause it to overlook its treasury during the war. In the Belgian press, the anti-Communist hatred expressed itself with just as much frenzy, but in addition it had that special imprint which a few grotesque provincial put upon it. In the Antwerp *Matin*, the editors deplore in an inimitable style, the police measures... because they did not permit "the cures" to reach the ears of Trotsky. In reality, the police measures could not prevent a number of shouts of sympathy form reaching our comrade.

To be sure! a number of Danish journals made a good deal of noise about comrade Trotsky's presence in Copenhagen. The "repulsive Communist," the "Bolshevik agitator," "blood covered hands"—the expressions have not changed since 1917. The reactionary Danish press gained an ally in the person of prince Aage, whose sole distinction lies in having served as an officer in the Foreign Legion. This individual found it in place to recall the noted phrase: "There is something rotten in the state of Denmark." Prince Aage never thought of the fact that among the characters of Shakespeare there are not Hamlets but also clowns and buffoons.

The Danish socialist paper, *Socialdemokrat*, at first sought to exploit the act of its government in granting a visa for eight days. It presumptuously pretended that the social democracy had made it possible for Trotsky to emerge "for an hour from the prison where his friends confined him." But Trotsky's speech put a damper on their pretensions: Trotsky was not affected by their efforts; he had remained the Communist, the warrior of October. Four years of exile had done nothing to make his lean towards democracy.

A number of papers, in Denmark and in other countries, displayed their disappointment over the fact that in his speech Trotsky did not engage in polemic against the Stalinist policy and that on the contrary he gave an exposition, based upon scientific conceptions, of Marxism, of Leninism, the most magnificent and clear-sighted justification of the Russian revolution, putting in the shade all the ritualistic and hollow phrases which the official Stalinist propaganda spreads throughout the world. Naturally, the bourgeois and the social democratic press could not appraise the indirect manner in which our comrade combatted Stalinism. Some expressed their astonishment and their discontent without restraint: "The October revolution, stage in the historical rise of humanity—this was the quintessence of the declarations. But Trotsky does not say the least little word about his conflicts with Stalin and his exile. The question must be put frankly as to why Trotsky accepted the invitation of the social democratic students..." wrote the *Hamburger Fremdeblatt* of November 2, 1932. In the report of *Socialdemokrat*, you can read: "applause which had only a polite character." "Trotsky affirmed, and it was quite superfluous, that he was a Communist." "In the first half, Trotsky bore himself as a professor delivering a lecture...but after a while, he spoke loudly and gesticulated, turning to all sides, striking the table...his voice acquired a great force. He was an impassioned agitator..." What stupor among the indolent social democrats!

Bourgeoisie and social democrats were not alone in their discontentment with Trotsky's speech. If it did not corre-

What Happened Along the Route of Trotsky's Trip?

spond with their views, it corresponded just as little with the interests of the Stalinist faction.

During his passage through France, en route to Denmark, the Stalinist *Humanite* was very reserved. The hateful campaign of the bourgeois press must certainly have dictated such an attitude to it. Let us point also to the fact that, for example, Racamond, declared to one of our comrades: "If we had anything to say to the bourgeoisie, it would be: the workers settle their differences among themselves and the bourgeoisie has nothing to do with our quarrels." We are heartily in agreement. It is more than deplorable that the TASS agency did not follow this advice. On the way back, *Humanite* contented itself with a few empty comments; it had to pay its tribute to Moscow. The bureaucracy of the French Communist Party found the way of covering itself up before its superiors: that's the only thing that mattered.

The Danish Communist paper, *Arbejdet*, bi-weekly, was obliged to give an important place to "Trotskyism." Never has the Danish party known any Left Oppositionists; isolated from the Comintern, "Trotskyism" had never been fought in this tiny party. This time, Stalinism let go in full. But not a single new argument: upbuilding of socialism, five year plan...at the meetings organized by the Danish party. Opposition comrades who had come to Copenhagen re-established the facts—in spite of the difficulties in language—and the Stalinist campaign was shot full of holes. It is from Moscow, that is, from Stalin, that the worst provocations had to come. The fear expressed in this title of *Fravda*, "The Lion Has Escaped," led Stalin to a direct and open denunciation to the international police against a so-called "international conference" of the "Trotskyists" in Copenhagen. Soviet diplomacy also made its contribution: above the interests of the proletarian state, it put the interests of the bureaucracy and the Stalinist faction.

The capitalist governments of the states through which Trotsky had to pass, conducted themselves variously, some with a measure of correctness, others with more cynicism and crudeness, but all with the same intention: guard Trotsky closely, prevent him from entering into contact with the proletarians, the Communist movements. The Italian Fascist government, which really has no need of justifying its reactionary nature, permitted itself a cheap gesture and authorized Trotsky to visit Pompei. The "democratic" and "social democratic" governments which must give guarantee to their capitalism, felt themselves obliged to act in a very strict manner. At Copenhagen, not a single day of extension of the visa; two days were left him before the departure of the boat; it was an affair of state, order was endangered. Belgium—where the social democracy has such strong positions—did not permit a single one of Trotsky's traveling companions to disembark. An illegal measure from the standpoint of bourgeois legislation itself; but what matter: a few hours of promenading would surely have put the foundations of capitalism in danger...And "democratic" France, of the right of asylum to the Gorgulovs and all the White scoundrels, not a minute more than necessary was granted. Herriot, during his visit to Russia in 1923—had promised that when he would be minister, the decree on expulsion issued against Trotsky in 1916 would be recalled if he wished to come to France. Empty promise! A sojourn in France for a few hours would have "made the mother sick." When the voyage threatened to change the pre-established plan by a single lot, there was not one government that did not cast off its mask of hypocritical politeness and reveal the fear that inspired it.

In spite of all imaginable measures, the feelings of the proletarians, of the revolutionists, showed themselves on various occasions during the voyage. We will say nothing about the comrades charged by their various sections of the Opposition to assure security; they did their duty and they laugh at what the bourgeois and the social democrats have to say about it. The bourgeois press is not accustomed to giving much space to the demonstrations of the Communist party. But for once, it changed its habits and exaggerated the hostile demonstration organized by the Stalinists during the disembarkation at Esbjerg, which was limited to a few jeering whistles and nothing more. On the other hand, it preserved silence about all the demonstrations of sympathy towards the organizer of the Red Army.

In Greece, there not only was no Stalinist demonstration at Piræus—it was the pretext invented by the Greece police for refusing Trotsky authorization to visit the city—but our Archio-Marxist comrades made demonstrations on the quai, later in accompanying Trotsky's wife, comrade N. I. Sedoff, during her visit in Athens and finally above all, the demonstration organized at night time by the Corinth nucleus and party members who during the passage of the boat through the Corinthian canal, shouted: Long live Trotsky—Long live the Commune!

In Denmark, between Esbjerg and Copenhagen, at many of the stops, railroad workers, metal workers...came to shake Trotsky's hand. A German work-er expressed his hope of seeing our comrade return to Russian right away.

We do not report Antwerp here, for the narrative is contained in the open letter to Vandervelde.

Finally, during the return, at the North Station in Paris, the engineer and fireman of the train saluted Trotsky; and in the Lyons station, while journalists and photographers waited in vain on the quai, on the other side of the train a score of railroaders came to shake Trotsky by the hand, greeting him with the "Rot Front" of the German Communists.

The voyage is at an end. Trotsky is back in Prinkipo. An important episode in the life of the Left Opposition and of the revolutionary movement has been concluded. The leader of the world proletarian revolution has spoken before thousands of auditors; his voice was carried by radio over the vast territory of the United States; by means of the film, thousands upon thousands of people will be reached. In the wall erected by world capitalism, to which the Stalinist faction brings its support in the form of calumny and falsehood, a large breach has been made. Nothing can fill it up again.

AT MARSEILLES

The return voyage of our comrade Trotsky ended according to Hoyle; the nervousness of the police, the provocations of the reactionary press—and the insults of *Humanite* showed without a doubt that Trotsky, that the ideas he embodies, remain the implacable foes of capitalism and of everything that demoralizes the proletariat.

At the moment when *Humanite* tried to besmirch our comrade, here is whom it joined in chorus: let every party comrade read these provocations in *L'Ami du Peuple* (12-5-32): "One of the greatest assassins of all times, which called himself 'Bronstein' or 'Braunstein' in the ghetto and whom the papers respectfully call M. Trotsky, has paid us the honor of a visit. It might be feared that the relatives of the Russians butchered by the Bolsheviks would not take kindly to the butcher. 'Monsieur Trotsky' was guarded by our police much more effectively than the Ukrainian Hetman Petiura and M. Doumer, president of the Republic."

"A facetious deputy has demanded from M. Herriot's ministry if the costs of this solicitude, in accordance with the Franco-Soviet pact, will be reimbursed to our poor budget by the Soviets. The reply is to appear, according to the rules, in the *Journal Officiel*."

"As 'Monsieur Trotsky' was to proceed to Copenhagen, a Danish prince who served as an officer of the Foreign Legion, became indignant that his people forgot so quickly the exploits of the monster: a Danish princess was the czarina of

Russia her two sons and tiny children were massacred by order of Trotsky. Was it necessary to repeat: 'There is something rotten in the state of Denmark'?"

At Marseilles, the boat for Istanbul had left. By force, the police sought to embark our comrade on an Italian freighter. Trotsky refused to travel 15 days in this manner. He addressed the following telegram to Herriot, Chautemps, De Monzie, with a copy to the socialist leader Blum and the party leader Thorez:

"Together with my wife, I have received authorization to pass through France, from Constantinople to Copenhagen and return. At Dunkirk, my friends informed me that by losing the boat we would be forced to remain 8 days in France, near Marseilles, which did not enter into our traveling plans. We made arrangements accordingly. Upon our arrival in Marseilles we were put on an Italian boat 'Campidoglio', in spite of the fact that this unexpected turn disorganized the new arrangements made. We ascended the boat without objection in order not to create an incident. We then learned that this boat is not indicated in our voyage and that it takes 15 days to get to Constantinople which, without speaking of the material difficulties, would be entirely prejudicial to the health of my wife and me. When I tried to explain to the special commissioner that I cannot leave on this boat, he threatened me with violent measures."

"The transit visas, even the strictest, do not signify, at least without previous formal advice, the right of the police to hold me as a prisoner and to force me to take a boat which is absolutely contrary to that indicated for my trip. I hope that the French government will prevent this abuse. I am ready to quit France by way of Italy, and I hope that the Italian government will not refuse me a transit visa through Venice, which would permit me to leave France tomorrow or the day after."

"I await your reply on the quais of Marseilles, with my wife surrounded by police chiefs. The declaration of the police chief that he can take no responsibility for the attitude of the Russian Whites cannot change my decision, which is dictated by the circumstances."

"L. TROTSKY."

"P. S.—I have just learned that the police are going to put us in a hotel in order to set us on the Italian boat by force, if the Italian land visa is not given us before our departure."

In the end, the Italian transit visas were granted. The French police, which was above all concerned with Trotsky not gaining any contact with the French workers, authorized the departure through Italy.

Humanite, by its whole attitude during the voyage, characterized itself principally by its cowardice, and devoted a few lines of information to the last incident.

—VERITE.

The Stalinist Policy in the Chinese Peasant War

(Continued from page 1)
in the ranks of the K. M. T. militarists, acute and serious.

The responsibility for the defeats of the peasant detachments is due largely to the light-mindedness of the Stalinists. First, their evaluation of the present situation in China is erroneous. In the political resolution of the latter part of 1932, the official Chinese Communist Party writes:

"In evaluating the present situation, we must point out the fact that the comparative relationship of class forces in our country has undergone a change which is wholly to the advantage of the workers and the peasantry as well as to the Red Army and the Soviet movement. The strength of each section of the Kuo Min Tang has been weakened, whereas on the contrary, the workers and peasantry and the Soviet government have grown and been consolidated. The Red Army has become a large and strong force, the Soviet power reigns over a territory of several tens of millions in population. The advance of the Red Army has brought it to lay siege around Nanchang, Chian, Wuhan and other principal and semi-principal cities. The policy actually pursued in the past of not occupying large cities, does not now harmonize with the facts. The enlarged Soviet districts must draw in the fragmentary districts into one whole, and given the advantages of political and military conditions, must occupy one or two important central cities. This will constitute the beginnings of the first triumph in one or several provinces. This is now on the order of the day for the whole party and the Soviet movement."

Policy Change Is Injurious

Here we ask the Stalinists: Is the strength of every section of the K. M. T. actually weakened? To what degree are they weakened? Only the Stalinists, who shut their eyes to the facts, do not see them. At a decisive moment, the Kuo Min Tang militarists find it quite easy to unite and to wage a brutal attack upon the armed forces of the peasantry. The exaggerations of the Stalinists do not help the peasant troops at all, on the contrary, it does them a great injury.

In the second place, the political line of the Stalinists is to have the village surround the city, to have it lead the workers, and not to have the proletariat lead the peasantry. The victories of the Stalinists come out of the military advances of the peasant detachments and not from the power of the workers, and as a result, the Stalinists are leading the party onto the road of a peasants' party.

Moreover, the political mistakes exercise an influence on the military defects. The Stalinists, in order to harmonize the situation with their false evaluation ("first triumph in one or several provinces") are giving up the guerrilla tactics which are favorable to the partisan

troops, and replacing them with pitched battles which are unfavorable to the peasant detachments, but warmly welcomed by Chiang Kai-Shek, who is able to give his heavy cannon and airplanes a more decisive role to play. In guerrilla warfare, cannon and airplanes play little part, the former being almost totally ineffective swing to tremendous weight and difficulty of transportation. This was clearly revealed in the events of Western Hupeh and on the borders of Anhwei and Honan. Before the peasant detachments adopted the tactics of pitched battles, their defeats were very few and rare. On the contrary, they always gained victories which even the bourgeois press had to acknowledge. The Stalinists became dizzy with rejoicing over these triumphs and loudly proclaimed the coming of a revolutionary situation, changing the guerrilla tactics into tactics of pitched battles. They assembled the fragmentary peasant detachments as a whole—"the Red Army"—and attacked large central cities, fighting for "the first triumph in one or several provinces." But the facts showed that the "Red Army" was not only unable to deal the enemy the fatal blow, but on the contrary, it suffered many heavy defeats and had to retreat to the Northwestern part of China.

All that we have mentioned here clearly proves the erroneousness of the Stalinist political line. Of course, Stalin himself will deny this and in a very distant future he will make somebody responsible. In the period of opportunism, the man "responsible" was Chen Du-Hsiu. In the period of putschism, it was Tsui-Tsui Bo, and during 1929-1930, it was the "Li Li San line." Who will be the scapegoat now? We do not yet know. But the clever Stalin has undoubtedly selected somebody whose name we shall soon learn. The fact is that so-called Chen Du-Hsiuism, Tsui-Tsui Boism and Li Li Sanism are, taken together, the true expression of Stalin's own line. We do not assert, of course, that no mistakes were made by Chen Du-Hsiu, Tsui-Tsui Bo and Li Li San, but their errors pale into insignificance before the "international line" of the Stalinist leadership.

It is well to note the fact that the Stalinists who charge the Left Opposition with being "liquidators", have removed the Central Committee of the Chinese party into the "Soviet districts". This proves that the Stalinists are not "liquidators" but the banner-bearers of "run-awayism". They have left behind the urban proletariat: Such a flight is no small matter. The development of the "Red Army" has brought the Stalinists to the attempt to realize the fantasy of the village laying siege to the city, that is, the line of the peasantry "leading" the workers. What will be the result of such an idea and course? This: the Chinese Communist Party will be led by the Stalinists along the road of a pea-

New York United Front

Party's New Turn in Right Direction Contains Serious Dangers

(Continued from page 1)

In a word wherever changes have been made in the party policy, as indicated above, have not only been in the right direction, but more specifically, they have been in the direction advocated by the Left Opposition during all the time when its advocacy was equivalent to little better than "Left Social-Fascism" in the eyes of the Stalinists.

But when we say above that "we can agree with" the change in policy represented by the New York conference call, we also have in mind several distinct reservations. Without setting down frankly our inability to accept the present turn unreservedly, we should be guilty of dereliction of duty. When the ruling group in the party made a sharp turn away from the opportunist Right wing course of five years ago, and swung abruptly to the Left—at that time also in the direction indicated by the Opposition—we did not make the mistake of swallowing everything uncritically. We raised our voices then to admonish the party against the infantile and extremist aspects of the Leftward turn of Centrism. The failure to heed the warning of the Opposition brought the now well-established results.

The same holds true this time also, even if in reverse order. In the first place, the party leaders have made the turn behind the back of the party. The inevitable consequence of such a practice will be revealed tomorrow: the bureaucracy will accuse the rank and file militants of having failed to carry out or understand properly the "correct general line". The militants will be unable to understand and execute the policy of the party unless the party states plainly:

(1) that there has been a turn; (2) what is the nature of the turn and the reasons for it; (3) that the policy of yesterday was false. "One uncondemned error always leads to another or prepares the ground for it." Not the least reason for the injurious consequences of the no-united-front-at-all policy of the "Third Period" was the failure to explain what was fundamentally wrong with the opportunist "united fronts" with Chiang Kai-Shek and Purcell which preceded it, and the failure to condemn them clearly. This maxim holds true in the present case with just as much vigor.

If the party fails to explain clearly why the socialist and A. F. of L. unions were social-fascist or outright Fascist yesterday, with which no united front was admissible, whereas today a united front with these elements is a "need" that brings "good results"—it will not only fail to generate concerted and intelligent action by the party members, but it will

fail also to mobilize under the banner of the united front call those non-Communist workers who, only the day before, were repulsed by the old policy.

Opportunist Aspects of Change

In the second place, we must call attention to another aspect of the change of front. The years of leadership of bureaucratic Centrism in the Communist movement have proved beyond the peradventure of a doubt that it is incapable of pursuing a consistent Leninist policy. It swings like a pendulum between Right wing opportunism and infantile ultra-Leftism. Class conscious militants cannot permit the struggle for relief from the scourge of unemployment to be confined within the narrow channels into which the reformists of all shades seek to divert it. Not only from strictly party platforms, but particularly in the united front movements, the Communists must strive patiently to enlighten the workers to the fundamental truth that purely parliamentary action is at best a secondary, auxiliary weapon. The main emphasis must always be placed upon the militant fight of the masses, in their organizations, in demonstrations, in all the forms of the struggle outside the poisoned, sterile atmosphere of capitalism's legislative halls.

With these considerations in mind, the call of the Trade Union Committee is open to the most serious criticism. The only concrete proposal for action contained in the call is expressed in the extract already quoted above. The conference is being called solely for the purpose of discussing the "advisability of carrying through a state-wide workers' conference to map out a legislative program in defense of our interests." We are not concerned with quibbling over words. Yet the whole phrase reeks with the spirit of those arch-respectable petty bourgeois "legislative campaigns" so dear to the hearts of the A. F. of L. lobbyists, or the ambitious Socialist party statesmen of the Waldman-Solomon-Thomas-Blanchard school. Whoever makes the slightest concession to this spirit, which the reactionaries and reformists have so sedulously cultivated in the minds of multitudes of workers, is doing a distinct disservice to the movement.

Without in the least ignoring or rejecting the tribune offered the workers, employed and unemployed, by the legislative chambers of the ruling class, without underestimating the value of working class demonstrations and the presentation of our demands before the state and federal capitols, our main task remains the mobilization of the workers for struggle outside the parliamentary halls of capitalism. The very first appearance in the Communist movement of any tendency to minimize or ignore the primary importance of this task, must be promptly combatted and checked. Only by the extra-parliamentary mobilization of the masses will our demands upon the legislature gain that momentum and force which will compel action by the capitalist law-makers. Any other conception is an opium dream or outright deception.

We refrain from dwelling here on other shortcomings of the call. It would have been far more in harmony with the requirements of the situation had it been issued formally to all the working class organizations directly, without resorting to the petty and ineffectual evasion of appealing only to "branches" and "locals". Furthermore, it is not correct to confine the objective of the movement to the demand for unemployment insurance. Especially now must the demands for immediate relief, for long term credits to and recognition of the Soviet Union, and the six-hour day without reduction in pay, be put forth in an unemployment program, not as disconnected demands, but as inseparable parts of a whole.

But bearing all these reservations and criticisms in mind, the fact nevertheless remains that the movement initiated by the Trade Union Committee is a distinct step forward. That the Communist League of America (Opposition) will support it, will help advance it with all the resources at its command, goes without saying. It should meet with the support of every worker, employed or unemployed, and of every working class organization.

—M. S.

Cannon Speaks at Right Wing Forum

As our readers know from the reports and analyses which the *Militant* carried, the Right wing of the Communist movement internationally is in the process of disintegration. In Czechoslovakia it has gone over bag and baggage to the social democracy. Not so long ago that redoubtable Trotsky-eater and defender of the infallible line, Bert Miller, accompanied by a small number of satellites, deserted the soiled banner of Lovestone for the shoddy progressiveness of Muste.

Now the Lovestone group is in the throes of a serious internal division over the Russian question. The people who proclaimed the correctness of the Stalinist line—for Russia—contend with the contradictions which their false position and their entire course have created. The serious situation in Soviet economy has its repercussions in the American stronghold of the Brandler International. Under the pressure of their rank and file the Lovestone leadership is resorting to maneuvers to wriggle out of their contradictory position. Giffow assails the Stalinist policies as "Trotskyist". Lovestone, still pursuing visions of power and position, is attempting to ingratiate himself with Browder, Amer and the other pillars of American Stalinism. Of this nature was his "unity" conference of last spring. For the same reasons they recently invited the Left

Opposition to speak at one of its forums. The League accepted and sent comrade Cannon to speak on—What the Left Opposition Stands For.

Comrade Cannon spoke on Sunday, January 8, to a crowd of some 300 Left Oppositionist, Lovestoneites and party and YCL members. The meeting lasted until one o'clock. In the discussion period the Weisbordites made a united front from below in attacking the Left Opposition by attempting to discredit its representative. Their stock in trade were isolated, half quotations and gossip in the Hearst "exposure" style.

Benjamin, Wolfe and Zam were the Lovestoneite heavy artillery. All three made a miserable showing. They made no effort to counterpose any point of view of their own to the presentation of our stand by comrade Cannon. What they accomplished was a terrific exposure of their bankruptcy. This was apparent to all not blinded by Lovestoneite patriotism. And even on these workers a serious impression was made by the unavailability of our position.

It is almost unnecessary to report that this meeting was entirely peaceful. Four years have not passed in vain. The black-jack and knife assaults committed against us have passed into the limbo of history. We think that the Lovestoneites will think twice before resorting again to this method of ideological argument. These are now the exclusive property of the Stalinist regime in the Comintern,