

WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

THE MILITANT

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

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Strike Spreads to Biggest New York Hotels

LEON TROTSKY Towards the Catastrophe

In view of the increasing tension in the Far East, we are herewith reprinting an important extract from the corrected version of comrade Leon Trotsky's recent article on Japan and the Soviet Union...

Struck Hotels

Here are some of the most important of the 50 hotels and restaurants on strike: Waldorf-Astoria, New Weston, Astor, Lincoln, Barbizon Plaza, Sherry-Netherlands, Savoy Plaza, 5th Ave., Essex House, Colomade Club, Casino de Paris, Lombardie, N. Y. Athletic Club, St. Moritz, Pierre, Breslin, Ambassador Boesette, Biltmore, Montclair, Lafayette, Biltmore, Biz Tower, Madison, Great Northern, Lexington, Park Central, Barclay, La Rue (settled), Paradise, Basque (settled), Warwick, Dorsey, Delmonico, Westbury, Pennsylvania, Piccadilly, Mayfair House, Park Lane, Taft, Biltmore, New Yorker, Longchamps, Weylin, Old Plaza, Colony Club, Drake, Bristol, The Forty E. 60th St., and the St. Regis.

'Ballyhoo' Won't Cook Dinners

RECOGNITION OF THE UNION 40 HOUR WEEK MINIMUM \$20 A WEEK FOR THE LOWEST PAID WORKERS. These are the demands of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union and this is why thousands of men and women have slammed the sweatshop kitchen doors behind them in the biggest strike New York hotels have ever known.

20,000 Out

At the moment of going to press, figures gathered by The Militant's reporters show that at least 20,000 workers are now on strike. Incomplete returns indicate that 10,000 more in houses not yet pulled are organized, have indicated their approval of the strike and are only awaiting the completion of strike preparations.

Service Crippled As Strike Ranks Swell

The general strike is sweeping the hotels from one end of New York to the other. This report of success can already be made when the strike is not yet three days old and the wave has hardly reached its peak.

Fifty of City's Most Important Hotels Successfully Struck by Amalgamated Food Workers

This is the statement made today by B. J. Field, secretary of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union. And it can be truly said that the hotel strike is moving with irresistible power, emptying kitchens and dining rooms of one important hotel in the city after another.

Thousands Surround Waldorf In First Mass Picketing Line

All day they waited in the strike hall, all prepared for a long struggle. During the afternoon the hall packed up tight, new men coming in every few minutes. By five, the fateful hour, it was jammed. The general strike was on! Upstairs, shop committees were meeting. Downstairs, they lined up for the big march to the Waldorf. At five it set out.

Boss Papers Launch Flood of Lies Against Hotel Strike

The bosses' press is busily slandering the general strike of the hotel workers. When the Waldorf men went out last week and the bosses still hoped the general strike call tips—and the next step, presumably, would be to make the workers pay the hotel for the privilege of spending twelve to sixteen hours a day feeling somebody else's

Beware: Fake Telegrams!

Forged telegrams, pretending to come from strike headquarters, were received by workers yesterday from the Dorset and other hotels. One read: "GO BACK TO WORK STOP YOUR SHOP SIGN-ED UP (signed) AMALGAMATED HOTEL AND RESTAURANT WORKERS UNION."

Japan Moves Toward War Against the Soviet Union

Caught in the toils of insoluble and ever-sharpening contradictions, the capitalist world is hurtling along the path to war with growingly accelerated speed. This is clear for all to see. It is no longer a matter of years, but of weeks—at the outside, months. The bourgeois press recognizes the imminence of the coming clash.

Japan Moves Toward War Against the Soviet Union

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Hotel Strike Spreads

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strike and shouting for union recognition.

Strike Spirit Excellent

The spirit of the strikers rises to a new pitch every day. Their thoughts are only of victory and their confidence in the triumph of the cause of the hotel workers is indomitable. This mounting enthusiasm can be no better described than by a picture of the General Strike meeting at Bryant Hall where upon wave of applause greeted the stirring calls for action by the strike organizers.

Bryant Hall with its thousands of seats and its annex was too small to house the huge throngs that packed it to capacity. Hugo Oehler, strike organizer, was in the chair. Stormy applause followed his stirring appeals for militant action as he introduced the speakers. Organizer Caldas described the history of the union from the time it was a mere handful to its present surging growth. A flurry of delight and appreciation ran through the hall as organizers Kostas and Gordon, hoarse from speaking to strikers for hours on end, made valiant but unsuccessful attempts to address the audience. It remained for Ben Gitlow, veteran labor leader, to bring down the house in cheers as he denounced the slave code proposed by the NRA for the hotel workers and his sensational exposure of the "great Oscar" Comrade James P. Cannon, special strike organizer, brought thunderous applause from the strikers in his thrilling description of the "great, wonderful union—the Amalgamated—which is giving heart and hope to the long-suffering hotel workers".

Effective Unionism

The unquestionable success of the Amalgamated in the general strike is a most fitting demonstration of the effectiveness of modern industrial unionism. No other form of union organization would be able to fling the challenge of revolt into the teeth of the Hotel bosses backed at every step by the overwhelming coffers of Wall Street.

Combating the company union, "the Guild" on the one side and the strike-breaking, disruptive tactics of the Food Workers Industrial Union, which represents a negligible minority of the hotel workers, the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union has gained the confidence of the great masses of the employees on strike and preparing for strike.

An independent organization, formed on the industrial union basis, the Amalgamated has been long noted for its progressive, militant tactics. The present strike gives new, living testimony to this long known fact. Internal democracy—the free, open election of officials, the right of every union man to speak his mind—the absence of political discrimination, has brought together progressive tendencies representing a cross-section of the militants in labor's ranks, and merged them with a rank and file bent upon struggle and not collaboration with the exploiters.

By this great strike the Amalgamated is bound to inspire the entire labor movement in the United States. More than a month ago the MILITANT stated in an editorial, "Strike the Hotels" that "in invading this field (the hotels) and establishing the firm basis of a union there, the Amalgamated has rendered a signal service to the whole movement of organized labor."

And further: "The Amalgamated has already stamped itself in the minds of the thousands of discontented hotel slaves as an organization that means business, not bluff and ballyhoo."

More ominous than the open shop or rather in cooperation with them are the wings of the blue buzzard. The NRA code for the Hotels and

Restaurants is the worst in the country. Twenty-eight cents an hour for the hotel slaves. Fifty-four hours for workers in this day and age! This code has been cynically thrust in the face of the hotel workers, without amendment. In the real sense the present strike is a blow at the NRA. It will help smash the illusions of the "New Deal". The workers in the hotels are seeing that the NRA is meant to drive their living conditions down to a level on which they will be as badly off as slaves.

One of the greatest strike-breaking, such agencies in the general strike is an organization purporting to represent the workers—Local 16 of A. F. of L. The crew that heads this outfit is the most malicious gang. They don't operate as a union but as a crew of thugs, groomed as business agents who make contracts with night-club and cafe bosses without consulting the workers' concerned.

The bosses get a union label from these agreements and the workers get the right—to pay dues and assessments to these leeches. Leading this band of racketeers, is Paul Coulicher who was kicked out of the

Lie Campaign Launched by Press

(Continued from page 1)

give it a black eye. For example, every paper has been printing dark hints that the strike is a "red plot." The American attacked the workers for being against the NRA. The American also hinted that the strike is a "Communist plot" because some of the workers on the Waldorf picket line sang "Solidarity!" They printed a statement by Saypol, lawyer of the A. F. of L. Local 16, implying that the Amalgamated is not trying to win the strike for its members but to make a revolution!

They have also tried to discredit the strikers by charging violence and intimidation. The only case of violence was when bosses' thugs beat up union delegates at the Pennsylvania. But the papers put the word violence in headlines in such a way as to make people think the strikers had used violence. They printed cook-and-bull stories about workers at the Plaza, Astor, and Park Central complaining of intimidation by the Amalgamated—but they never gave any names of such workers.

Several papers, including the World-Telegram, printed excuses for the bosses hiring thugs to beat up strikers and workers who want to strike. They call the thugs "detectives" and "guards", and vaguely hint that they were brought in after the strikers had attacked the hotel. But they give no evidence of such attacks—because there were none. When one employer locked up workers who wanted to quit, and held them in the restaurant illegally against their will, the papers wrote that he was "guarding" them against attacks by strikers.

The Tribune, reporting the Friday night meeting at Bryant Hall, quoted James P. Cannon as saying the strikers were going "into all those places that didn't strike and pull them out on the street." The idea is that the strikers are going to "violate private property", intimidate their fellow-workers and do violence. This is a lie. Cannon said the strikers would go to every place that didn't strike and get them all out. This does not mean violence or intimidation. It means using orderly means to show the other workers that they need not fear the bosses or the thugs, and that they should join the strikers' ranks.

One of the dirtiest tricks of all was pulled by the respectable Times. In its Saturday edition, after trying hard to give an impression that almost nobody is striking, it ad-

A. F. W. and is now under bond on criminal charges.

Walters are slugged and terrorized for the slightest complaint. Many of the foremost fighters of the Amalgamated are experienced union men who went through the gangster Local 16 and joined the Amalgamated in open revolt against it. Most recent in their shocking treacheries has been their application in court for an injunction restraining the Amalgamated from striking. Of a piece with this scab action is Local 16's offer to supply waiters for the strike-tied hotels and restaurants.

Revolt has already seized A. F. of L. locals against this monstrous action. Local 1, waiters and Local 329, cooks and countermen, have come out against this action. In the Casino de Paree, Broadway night club, the workers were ordered by the boss to join Local 16. The workers refused and took out cards in the Amalgamated instead. They were discharged by the proprietor who immediately obtained Local 16 aid to keep the hotel running by scabs. Their attempt to mobilize workers from the Paradise, Hollywood and Palais Royale to break the strike in the Casino de Paree met with dismal failure. The waiters in these hotels refused to scab.

The government, through the medium of Sir John Gilmour, has warned the organizers of the march that they are assuming grave responsibilities but both the leadership of the I. L. P. and the C. P. have expressed their determination to meet this challenge with the hunger marches solidly behind them. As the new bill contains a direct threat to the trade unions, the marchers are assured of substantial support despite the hostile attitude of the Labour party and trade union officials who are against such militant action, favoring their usual remedy for all problems, namely, parliamentary protests.

Problem of Third International

But the hunger march occupies only a part of the attention of the I. L. P., the other part being directed towards the preparation for their annual conference which takes place at Easter and which will decide the future course of the party. Having broken from the Labour party and the Second International, the I. L. P. was faced with the problem of choosing a new road. Two approaches were made to the Third International and while the first overture resulted in a united front with the British Communist Party, the second brought forth an invitation to join the Communist International as a sympathizing party with a consultative vote.

In between times, however, the I. L. P. leaders had wandered further afield in their search for a new home and arrived at the Conference of the Left Parties in Paris. They also opened the columns of their official organ, the New Leader, to comrade Trotsky as well as to Thalheimer; but an invitation to Manuilsky made upon two occasions received neither a contribution nor an acknowledgment. But if Manuilsky remained silent as a tomb, the British Communist Party became as noisy as a raging lion. For days on end, the columns of the Daily Worker have been adorned with choice abuse. Fenner Brockway, secretary of the I. L. P., was denounced as a "hound of war and Fascism", while comrade Trotsky and Lovestone are described as "international riff-raff", "corrupt ruffians", etc. This brand of journalism was calculated to turn the I. L. P. rank and file against its leaders who have now made one more attempt to arrive at an understanding with the Comintern.

In this latest communication with Moscow the I. L. P. defines what it considers to be the three primary political duties of the socialist. (1) The defense of the U. S. S. R. by all means available. (2) The creation of the broadest possible united front of all militant workers in the struggle against capitalist reaction, Fascism and war. (3) The national and international unity of revolutionary socialists. After asking a nine-point question upon the difference in obligations of a sympathizing party as distinct from affiliated membership of the C. I., the letter goes on to express the I. L. P.

by all appearances a decided and courageous leader" (interview with Walter Duranty). Litvinov echoes his master. L. M. Kaganovich, addressing a recent conference of the Communist Party of the province and city of Moscow, said "it was the policy of the Soviet Union, which wanted only peace, to cooperate with the nations opposed to war. On this account he particularly welcomed the re-establishment of relations with the United States" (N. Y. Times, January 23).

But while Roosevelt is hailed in Moscow as a dove of peace, Browder and company in America never tire of denouncing him as a war-maker in the columns of the Daily Worker and elsewhere. Every move of the Roosevelt administration is characterized as a war move, its budget as a war budget.

Thus speak the contradictory and opportunist voices of Stalinism, sowing confusion where the utmost clarity is needed, preparing fresh tragedies for the proletariat. The Stalinized Soviet government and Comintern have ceased to be the authentic voices of the international revolutionary Communist movement. "Litvinov in Europe today makes Russian—not Communist—policy," wrote the London correspondent of the New York Times on January 6 (N. Y. Times, January 21) in reporting the Soviet government's offer to join Poland in guaranteeing the independence of the three Baltic States against possible German aggression. At least the bourgeoisie sees clearly.

The Stalinists are negotiating to include the Soviet Union in the almost-moribund League of Nations. Having destroyed the Comintern as the revolutionary weapon of the world proletariat they are obliged to rely more and more on combinations with capitalist powers, and have fallen into the mire of secret diplomacy from which Russian pol-

The I.L.P. and the Comintern

London.—A veritable storm blows around the camp of the British Independent Labour Party. The united front with the Communist Party has from time to time looked like falling to pieces but it still wobbles along with a patched-up unity at the bottom and a never-ceasing wrangle at the top. The immediate activities of the united front committee is the preparation of a national hunger march to London in order to protest against the new Unemployment Bill, already referred to in the Militant, and to demand the restoration of recent cuts in unemployment benefits.

The first contingent of marchers leave Scotland on January 22, and the combined forces from different parts of the country will arrive in London on February 24, where a Conference of Action will be held in order to determine the next step in the development of united front activity.

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Criticize Comintern

Then follows a vigorous criticism of the Communist International. The I. L. P. claims that the centralized structure of the C. I., complete as any military machine, was based upon a false estimate of the world situation in 1920, the prophecy of civil war being unfulfilled. It is stated that the Communist party of Russia dominates and controls the C. I. and that in consequence of errors made by the E. C. C. I., leaders and whole parties have been wrongly expelled while in order to strengthen the position of the U. S. S. R., the revolutionary movement in different countries has been sacrificed as being secondary to trading agreements, etc.

The I. L. P. then suggests three practical proposals for the reorganization of the Comintern. (1) The extension of the right (existing in the statutes but not in fact) of criticism, which today exists only for the leadership of the C. I. (2) The preparation of important decisions of the C. I. through international discussions. (3) The replacement of the actual monopoly of the C. P. S. U. in the leadership of the Comintern by a real collective international leadership based upon party representatives who are in a position to pass judgment upon the class relations in their country.

A reply to this communication is requested by February 5, so that the N. A. C. of the I. L. P. can consider the question again before the annual conference. The Daily Worker answered this latest exposition of the I. L. P., with accusations of "Trotskyism" but at the Scottish Divisional Conference of the I. L. P. held in Glasgow on January 13, a motion was moved and seconded by two Clydebank delegates calling for a Fourth International and although the motion was lost, in favor of an amendment to delay a decision until the annual conference, it is a good indication that the efforts of the Stalinists to win over the I. L. P. are meeting with a definite and well informed opposition. The reply from the Comintern is awaited with interest and fireworks are expected at the Easter Conference.

—T. C.

January 17, 1934.

Finances are needed to publish the MILITANT three times a week during the strike. Send contributions to 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C.

THE MILITANT

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ities were dragged by the Bolshevik revolution. The Geneva correspondence of the New York Times reveals that these negotiations have been going on "discreetly" for at least a year and that they are being kept "a very close secret" (N. Y. Times, January 21).

Thus important diplomatic moves are being kept hidden from the Soviet workers and the workers abroad. Why is the Soviet government able to reintroduce the old, disastrous methods of secret diplomacy? Because, as the Times' Geneva correspondent points out, "Joseph Stalin has no Senate to meet." There could be no more perfect illustration of the fact that the Soviet bureaucracy, with Stalin at its head, has destroyed the party of Lenin, lifted itself away from its proletarian base and now regards itself accountable for its actions to no one. Joseph Stalin has no Senate to meet!

After paying the dubious tribute to Litvinov that he "appreciates the League's possibilities better than any other Russian," the correspondent concludes his report with the statement: "It seems already fair to guess that Moscow is more likely to change for the sake of the Covenant than the Covenant for the sake of Moscow." This should prepare us for further capitulations to imperialism, capitulations as shameful as the Litvinov-Roosevelt pact. More and more imperative grows the necessity for a new Communist International and new Communist parties. Of the old there remain but empty husks, devoid of ideological life, politically discredited. New instruments of the revolutionary working class struggle must be forged without delay to meet the immense tasks looming ahead, to combat imperialist war and Fascist counter-revolution and organize the triumph of the proletarian revolution. —LUCIFER.

Sub Drive On

In the imperialist navies they fire the guns to salute important people and events. Our big guns have boomed a great salute to the new sub drive we announced a couple of issues ago. Just look at the beginning! The New York Local votes to get four hundred subs; Philadelphia undertakes to gather in a hundred subs; and Minneapolis—Minneapolis sets the pace by sending in fifteen dollars for sixty half-year, Club Plan subs at the new rate of twenty-five cents.

Two individual comrades have fired an excellent salute. Comrade S. in Philadelphia put the Club Plan to work with four half year subs at a quarter apiece. Right alongside him is comrade Papcun of Davenport with four half-year, Club Plan subs.

Other comrades have been busy, too. There are so many that it is impossible to list them all as we used to. We can put down only the leaders: O. Coover—5; R. Sharron—5; J. Ruby—5; A. Konikow—3; L. Goodman—3; B. E.—3. Three comrades got two subs apiece and seven got one. The total number of new subs at the beginning of the drive stands at 115.

That is a good beginning. But it is nothing, literally nothing to what can be done. At twenty-five cents for a six-months sub there is almost no limit to the number of subs we can get. Remember—in order to get the reduction from the fifty-cent rate for a half-year sub it is necessary to send them in to us here in blocks of four or more.

Build the Militant! Help circulate a Marxian paper for workers! Order for Club Plan half year sub cards for one dollar! Use the blank below!

THE MILITANT
126 East 16th Street, New York City, N. Y.

Enclosed please find \$.....for.....(four is the minimum) Club Plan half year sub cards.

Name

Address

City

State

City

Thousands in Waldorf Picketing

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acting. When the plans are outlined for the next day's campaign, a grim mood sweeps the room. Build committees, post pickets, pull shops, stop scabs! This is no picnic..... it's the general strike.....the workers' fight against the bosses for a right to stand up and like like men!

Ben Gitlow leads off. He packs in plenty in a few words. Best of all are his stories of Oscar, Oscar the Great, the darling of the fat-feeders of Park Avenue. Oscar the slave-driver. How he used to run the bar at the Geneva and hand out jobs only to men who spent plenty of money at his bar. How he used to be a partner in a brothel on Broadway. That lovely man!

Kostas tries to speak. He is too hoarse. The croak that comes out of his throat is greeted with friendly applause. Gordon, too, is worn out with the effort of months and the strain of the last few days. He manages a few words but his voice vanishes amid the same comradely applause and laughter. The hoarseness is a sign, a symbol of work done.

Secretary Gund of the A. F. W. is speaking. He mentions the A. F. of L. A wave of boos. Those strike-breakers! The Amalgamated—that's our union, the union of the General Strike.

Cannon speaks about the Union, the Amalgamated. He speaks of its racial and religious and political democracy, of its solidarity, of the grand principle of industrial unionism which brings together in one solid fighting mass the workers in every shop, every kind of worker from the most skilled down to the

least skilled, all workers together, backing each other and going on to victory together! "This is your Union! It's what you make it! Stand by the Union, build it strong, and victory must come." This is the keynote of the evening.

There is a tremendous burst of applause. The meeting is over. Somewhere the words of the song learned on the picket-line are heard. "Solidarity forever, for the union makes us strong!"

Down the rickety wooden stairs to the street. Groups of strikers in excited talk. The fight is on... no let-up now until victory comes. One young striker turns to another: "This will be good for the labor movement," he says. "All over the country," the other answers. "All over the world, I think," says the first. Yes, this strike is part of the labor movement. Fellow-worker Wright of the Dressmakers Local 22 brought that message too: "We are with you, fellow-workers, your fight is our fight."

In the street one man says "Let's go to Headquarters, there's another meeting there." His fellow-worker says it's too late. "Let's go any way." They go, and others with them. They want again to stand together, to feel their new power, the power of the union, of solidarity.

That is how the General Strike was launched in the hotel and restaurant industry of New York City, the first step to winning for the workers in the hotels and restaurants of the whole country, decent working conditions and the right to live like men and women instead of like slaves. —DIANA RICE.

Japanese Imperialism Moves Toward War Against the Soviet Union

(Continued from page 1)

gressive military Nationalist movement, strongest force in Japanese politics in the last two years, his retirement is not expected to weaken the military's domination of imperial policy.

"General Hayashi is a militarist of the same stamp and, if anything, a stronger Nationalist than General Araki."

War propaganda in Japan, which for the past two years has gone on openly and uninterrupted, with the Soviet Union plainly spoken of as the enemy, meanwhile supplements the war moves being made behind the scenes, notably the reorganization of the army in Manchuria. It includes the building of a "case" on which Japan will go to war. The Japanese foreign office protests against Soviet leaders' "violent and provocative words against Japan and Soviet newspapers' accusations that Japan is intending to invade Russian territory" (N. Y. Times, January 22) Soviet exposures of Japanese interventionist plans and protests against Japanese provocations are made to appear as "Soviet provocations." To "prove" that Japan's intentions are entirely pacific, the Tokyo police, on January 21, arrested nine Japanese reactionaries who were demonstrating before the Soviet Embassy after a mass meeting of the Junjo Kenkokukai Society, at which a resolution was adopted demanding that the Soviet Union withdrawing troops from the Manchukuo border.

A war by Japan on the Soviet Union will set not only the Far East but the whole world ablaze. The

British imperialists are alive to all the possibilities, including the Japanese threat to their Pacific possessions, and, among other preparations, they are speeding the completion of their naval and air base at Singapore, where at the present time the admirals of the British, Australian and New Zealand navies are conferring on "problems of common defense in the Far East." The London Daily Herald declares that Singapore is beginning to rival Gibraltar as a fortress. "The whole colony today is an armed camp and its defenses await only the rapid completion of the naval base to become almost impregnable." The tiny islands in the Straits of Malacca near by are nests of hidden artillery, the Daily Herald says. On one of them, Palauanti, "three of the greatest pieces of ordnance in the world, capable of outranging the biggest naval guns afloat," are said to lie hidden beneath the tufted palm trees.

"It is significant," the Daily Herald adds pointedly, "that no Japanese are permitted to pass the gates of the Singapore naval base, although other nationals are permitted to make a limited inspection of the work going on within."

United States imperialism is in no way behind its rivals in preparations for war. The huge naval construction program alone speaks eloquently on this score. At the same time, propaganda for war is being sedulously broadcast among the unemployed and starving millions of this country. The following, as a fair sample, appeared in the New York Daily News of January 15:

"The only medicine available to us, to prolong our decline instead of to bring it on faster, is to build plenty of fighting ships and load them with trained fighting men, for the emergency which is in the making...."

"If we do not make ready for the issue which is being forced on us, consciously or unconsciously, by Japan, we can expect the Decline of the West to become a sudden fall over a cliff—and to become complete a long time before Dr. Spengler's year 2000 A. D."

It should be borne in mind that this yellow tabloid, which boasts the largest circulation of any newspaper in the world, is read by thousands of workers all over America. The Daily News is taken to task by the New York Evening Post for this and other equally blatant pieces of jingoism, because, if you please, "Jingoism strengthens the pacifists more than anything they could do themselves. Jingoism, therefore, makes sane preparedness all the more difficult to achieve at the same time that it increases the war danger" (N. Y. Evening Post, Jan. 22). Thus, the aims of both papers are seen to be identical. They are both for "preparedness" and only differ as to methods for preparing the mass mind.

It is only to be expected that the ruling class and its spokesmen should do all in their power to prepare for the coming world slaughter. On the Communist movement rests the duty to combat all the activities of the imperialist warmongers. But what are we to say of Soviet representatives who are consciously lending themselves to the sowing of illusions in the minds of the workers? Since last November the Stalinists in Moscow have been disseminating the patent falsehood that the U. S. Government is opposed to war. Stalin himself has said so and has gone out of his way to laud Roosevelt as