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Trotsky on The Stalin Interview

WHAT DOES THE EXPERIENCE WITH MONGOLIA

IN STALIN's interview with Roy Howard, the most important thing from a practical standpoint is the warning that the military intervention of the U.S.S.R. is inevitable in the event of an attack by Japan on the Mongolian People's Republic. Is this warning correct in the main? In our opinion, yes. It is correct not only because in question here is the defense of a weak state against a predatory imperialist beast-for if this alone were the guiding consideration, the U.S.S.R. would be constantly at war with all the imperialist countries of the world. The Soviet Union is too weak for such a task, and in this weakness, we might immediately add, lies the only justification for the "pacifism" of its Government.

But the question of Mongolia is a question of the most immediate strategical position of Japan in the war against the US.S.R. In this domain the limits of retreat must be resolutely fixed.

A few years ago the Soviet Union surrendered to Japan the Chinese Eastern railway, a position also of extreme strategic importance. At the time this action was acclaimed by the Communist International as a voluntary expression of pacifism. As a matter of fact, it was an act of compulsion due to weakness. The Comintern had ruined the Chinese revolution of 1925-1927 by its policy of the "National Front." This untied the hands of the imperialists. By surrendering an extremely important strategical line, the Soviet Government thereby facilitated for Japan her seizures in Northern China and her present assaults against Mongolia. It should now be clear even to the blind that abstract pacifism was not involved in the surrender of the railway (if that were really the case, it would have been merely an act of stupidity and betrayal); an unfavorable relation of forces: the Chinese revolution had been annihilated, while the Red Army and the Red Fleet were not ready for the struggle.

Now, the situation has so obviously improved, in a military sense, that the Soviet Government considers it possible to resort to a categorical veto on the question of Mongolia. We can only welcome the strengthening of the position of the U.S.S.R. in the Far East, as well as the more critical attitude on the part of the Soviet Government toward the ability of Japan, torn by contradictions, to wage a major, protracted war. It should be pointed out that the Soviet bureaucracy while it is very bold toward its own toilers, easily falls into a panic when faced with imperialist opponents: the petty-bourgeois is unceremonious when dealing with the proletarian, but stands ever in awe of the big bourgeois.

The official formula of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., widely advertised by the Comintern, reads as follows: "We do not seek an inch of foreign soil, neither will we surrender an inch of our own." Yet, in the question of Mongolia, the defense of "our own soil" is not involved at all: Mongolia is an independent state. The defense of the revolution, as this small example shows, is not reducible to the defense of the frontiers. The true method of defense consists in (Continued on Page 2)

NORMAN MINI

Class War Prisoner No. 57606

"Our standing here is no accident. Our conviction is the result of the inner logic of the class struggle. But the same class struggle that results in our conviction will some day generate an irresistible wave that will sweep away forever what this court and state represents. With this knowledge we can face our sentences confidently; we know that the future belongs to us."

In the Sacramento courtroom a year ago Norman Mini stood erect and uttered these bold and memorable words to the judge who was about to sentence him on the charge of "criminal syndicalism." He and his fellow prisoners were, in reality, being punished for their activities in the strikes of the California agricultural workers of 1933-1934. All eight were given indeterminate sentences of from one

The Sacramento defendants have been behind the bars now for a full year. Mini has borne the ordeal of imprisonment, of deadening routine, and of back-breaking toil in the jute mill with the same resoluteness and cheerfu!ness that has animated all his actions in the class

This week the victims of the Sacramento conspiracy are to come before the State Parole Board for a definite determination of their sentences. The fate hangs in the balance of California class justice.

The National Sacramento Appeal Committee, which has worked tirelessly on Mini's case since it was organized on the initiative of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense last August, has been conducting a national campaign to enlist labor and liberal support behind its efforts to exert pressure upon the Board to set the sentences at the minimum. It has succeeded in mobilizing broad sections of organized labor behind the case perhaps the most powerful and representative support in any labor defense case of recent years.

Over a dozen international unions of the A. F. of L., among them the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the I. L. G. W. U., the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, the United Texti'e Workers; half a hundred Central Labor Councils throughout the country; numerous local unions and worker's organizations, and a host of prominent labor, intellectual, and liberal leaders have signed resolutions endorsing the work of the Committee and petitions calling for a reversal of the verdicts and a setting of the minimum sentence for the defendants.

The voice of organized labor and of liberal sentiment has spoken out in behalf of the Sacramento prisoners. Their demands have been brought to the attention of the Parole Board. It remains to be seen whether it will heed these demands when it meets this week-end.

Whatever the decision, on this first anniversary of their prison terms, the Worker's Party sends fraternal greetings to the Sacramento defendants and renews its pledge of solidarity with comrade Norman Mini. It calls upon all its members to continue their support of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, which will not cease until Mini is released from San Quentin, cleared of the criminal syndicalist charge, and allowed to rejoin the ranks of the revolutionaries for whom his heroic conduct has been so inspiring an example.

Behind New

Nippon Gov't Driving Toward Open Outbreak In Mongolia

A three-day pitched battle between Mongolian and Manchukuo-Japanese forces in the Lake Bor region on the Outer Mongolian border brought the ever-latent Soviet-Japanese tension boiling once more to the surface this week.

Despatches from Ulan Bator, the Mongol capital, to Moscow, described a battle in which tanks, planes, armored cars and machine guns were brought into play. Several hundred men were engaged on both sides in the fight, which ended Zeller is 2nd Arrested with the expulsion of the invading Manchukuo-Japanese troops. Moscow reports following the battle stated that additional Japanese reinforcements were being rushed to the battle area.

As has become customary during this lengthening and sharpening series of border clashes, Japanese sources have given a directly opposite version of events, invariably charging Mongol invasions of Manchukuo territory.

Japan Provokes Incidents

In fact the Japanese-Manchukuo skirmishes by claiming for themin the Mongolian frontier. March ing into what they claim is their own territory, the invaders natural- ty" against the foreign "aggressor ly meet with the Mongol guards who | Sarraut, the "Radical," at the heln have in almost every case forced of the government has been able to the invaders to retire.

Again, as usual, Tokyo disclaims knowledge of the activities of the of the Front Populaire. Like over Imperial Kwantung Army (Japan's primed actors, the leaders of ti mainland force), a convenient formula which enables the military t proceed with carefully planned provocative attacks at the border designed to test the Soviet defenses.

Last winter the Kwantung Army wanted to know whether the Soviet Union would assume responsibility for the defense of Outer Mongolia. It staged a whole series of attacks in the Lake Bor area to find out. The result was a flat declaration of warning from Moscow that it con sidered the defense of Outer Mongolia indispensable to its own defense. Diplomatic negotiations then enabruptly ceased.

treat of the military elements, the the East." army in fact emerged from the conused days of the attempted coup l'état with its hand enormously litical demands entirely accepted by the new premier, Koki Hirota.

Hirota's Policies The policies announced by Hirota, the new effort to arrive at some kind of "understanding" with Great Britain and the United States with reference to spheres of influence in the Far East (there were reports that actual negotiations to this end have already been initiated) represent another step on the steady path Japan is treading toward inevitable drive against the Sovie

The advent of Hirota meant strengthening and extension of Japan's military forces and an effort to bring an end to Japan's diplomatic isolation.

Hitler's march into the Rhine and the complete success of his maneuver showed Japanese imperialism that it need not slacken its pace but hasten it. Britain's support of Hitler and the consequent disruption of France's care, ully-laid chain of alliances, in which the Soviet Union had become a link created a situation in Europe extremely dangerous, even critical, for the Soviet Union. Japanese imperialism proceeds on that basis to new provocations on the U.S.S.R.'s easern borders, growling louder and nore boldly the threat of war.

New Support For Newsmen

widespread support, the Milwaukee battle against it, on the other. Newspaper Guild Tuesday pressed ts seventh week.

neeting over the week-end at Chi-

(Continued on Page 2)

War on S.U. Jobless to Unite in Nationwide Border Clash Army at Great Washington D. C. Congress Meeting on April 7-10

Jails Zeller, YouthLeader

As Capitalists Prepare For War

A foretaste of how democratic France will be in a war with Facist Germany is to be had in the arrest of the editor of Revolution (Fred Zeller), who according to press reports has been indicted for urging fraternization of French and German soldiers on the Rhine and thereby "inciting to disobedience and anarchy."

With war hovering closer than orces have provoked these border ever, the French bourgeoisie made the utmost use of Hitler's occupaselves territory which has always tion of the Rhineland to blur class been recognized as being well with lines at home, to squelch all dis content among the working class under the chimera of "national uniplay this game successfully only h cause of the willing cooperation Socialist and Communist parties leap to the stage in response to any noise that sounds like their cue and declaim their social-patriotic

"Union of the French Nation" So shameless have the Stalinista become that they vie with the re actionaries and the Fascists in applause for the jingo speeches of Sarrant in the Chamber of Deputies on the Rhineland crisis. In l'Humanite they echo his cry Union of the French nation for peace." This, of course, is not the peace of the victorious socialist sued and the border provocations proletariat. It is the robber peace of Versailles which they declare In the interval occurred the approvingly, was safeguarded when bloody Tokyo events of Feb. 26. the "... French government strenghrough what appeared to be a rethened its line of fortifications in

Though a furious debate rages in the press between the right and the "left" as to who serves best strengthened, its financial and po- the cause of national unity, they are all united on one thing: the danger of having revolutionists at liberty, free to point out the real cause and nature of capitalist wars, to expose the predatory designs of the capitalist class and to arouse the working class against it as the real enemy which must be defeated by revolutionary struggle.

The Sarraut government, support ed by the votes—or at the worst the abstentions—of the Stalinists and Socialists in parliament, cracked down upon Revolution, organ of the Fourth Internationalists. because it broke the common front of treachery in their appeal to the workers, peasants and soldiers of France. (Printed in the last issue of the NEW MILITANT.)

The arrest and indictment of Zeller presages the fury of the repres sion once war actually begins and indicates that its most vehement sponsors will be found in Stalinist circles. But to the Bolshevik-Leninists and the revolutionary Socialist Youth it will come neither as a surprise nor as a first experience; they have felt the heavy hand of the capitalist terror in their struggle against Fascism.

The Case of Levacoue

Levacque, a member of the Central Committee of the JS.R. has been behind prison bars for more than two months, without indictment and denied release on vail, for his courageous activity against case will serve to illustrate how the People's Front paralyzes the resistance of the workers to Fascism by signing reconciliation pacts with ating the real malefactors. MILWAUKEE, Wis. Mar. 31— the Croix de Feu on the one hand Heartened by fresh evidence of and persecuting revolutionists who their determination to smash the fiery cross at the head of the pa-

L'evacque's arrest grew out o forward with increased determina-incidents surrounding the assault kap, are in town now in order to mysterious circumstances after havtion in its strike against the Hearst of the royalist, Maurras, of the Ac-rally support for the union in its ing been questioned by the proseowned Wisconsin News for recog- tion Française, on Leon Blum, lead fight to free the men under charges cuting attorney. They were called nition of the guild as a collective er of the S.F.I.O. This attack and to help lay the basis for a bargaining agent for the underpaid aroused great indignation among broad defense movement to assist News strikers. The strike is now in the Parisian workers and on the the union in its forthcoming strug the case in order to prevent a resame night in many parts of the gles. Among the organizations par The Midwest District Guild, city they proceeded to punish the ticipating in the defense are the sure must be exerted on Gov. Sholtz ascists and royalists without wait- League for Industrial Democracy, to bring the Tampa murderers to cago, adopted a resolution heartily ing for the inevitable "don't-be-pro- Sociialist Party, Non-Partisan La- justice. Send contributions to Tamendorsing the strike and promising voked" orders of the People's Front. bor Defense and the Committee for pa Defense Committee, 112 E. 19th (Continued from Page 2)

French Gov't Militants Sweep N. Y. Socialist Primaries

Full details of the results of the New York primaries are not yet known to us as we go to press. But the contest which has aroused the greatest interest in labor ranks—the dispute between the candidates of the Old Guard and those of the Left wing Militants-is aiready obviously decided in what amounts to a sweeping victory throughout the state for the latter group. It elected the overwhelming majority of its candidates, not only in New York City but also sup

The victory of the Left wing cannot but meet with gratification on the part of every progressive worker who has followed the intensely important internal struggle in the Socialist party.

The Old Guard had at its disposal, in the present contest, not only a crew of experienced old line politicians, but the support of the powerful institutions of the conservatives. In addition, its slate was vigorously advocated by the only daily "Socialist" paper in the East, the reactionary Jewish Daily Forward, with a large circulation, as well as by the English-language organ of the conservatives, the New Leader.

Fdr a press, the Militants had only their weekly Socialist Call. In addition, the Left wing had far inferior financial resources. All this was, however, offset by the enthusiastic support given the Militants by the rank and file of the Party and the Young People's Socialist League, who made up for the handicaps by their loyal activity.

The results of the primary elections furnish ample evidence of the healthiness of the break between the Militants and the discredited Old Guard. It is now quite clear that the Socialist workers, including the enrolled voters, are ready to support a Left wing movement, particularly when the "prominent" and "respectable" fossils of conservatism have broken from the party.

The Old Guard built its whole campaign around a Red scare against the Left wing. The letter was labelled "communist," "Trotskyist" and "insurrectionist." But the barrage of the Right wing was of no avail. In point of fact, its campaign was actually a boomerang

The vote showed that the radical and Socialist workers want a vigorous, militant, revolutionary party, and have only contempt for "Red scares." They are relieved at the sight of the decrepit Old Guard separating from the party and thus taking a millstone off its

Finally, the primary elections reveal once more the truth of the good old principle: the way to meet the onslaughts of conservatives and reactionaries is not to be apologetic in defense of one's militant or revolutionary position, not to be on the defensive, not to try to cover it up with "respectable" phrases—but rather to put it forth more boldly, more clearly and consistently.

The extent of the victory of the Left wing in these primaries may be accounted for, basically, by the extent to which it maintained such a course. Its continued advance in a progressive direction depends essentially upon grasping this lesson and carrying it uncompromisingly into action.

Croppers Aid Move Trial Group Forms From Tampa

A united front Defense Committee has been formed to undertake the defense of members of the of venue had been granted the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union who have been jailed for offenses Joseph Shoemaker and the kidnapranging from "obstructing the side- ping of Sam Rogers and Eugenwalk" to "assault with intent to kill' as a result of their effort to hold meetings or for merely being present at such meetings.

Jim Ball, negro leader of the St. going away from the meeting.

Three others were arrested for 'rioting" Their "crime" consisted foregoing event at Union headquarters. Willie Hurst, chief defense be known. the Fascist and royalist bands. His witness, was murdered by a band of an affidavit for the sheriff exoner-

> union at all costs. Three union lead- rade. ers, McKinney, Sweeden and Mosthe Defense of Political Prisoners. Street, New York City.

NEW YORK, Apr. 1. - It was learned here today that a change three defendants who are being tried in Tampa for the murder of

Trial has been postponed to Apr 13, when it will be resumed at Bartow, a town near Tampa.

workers in the back as they were of clothing in their bellies which cially as "missing."

The Ku Klux Klan has just endmasked men who staged a fake ed its state-wide meeting at Jackhold-up after he had refused to sign sonville with a parade through the business district of the town under cover of night. Several hundred

> Already two men have died under "suicides" by the police.

The spotlight must be kept on currence of terror. Constant pres-

Mass Reply to New Gov't

Fighting Policy Is Prime Task of Jobless Gathering

Next week the unemployed movement in this country comes of age. After hard years of preliminary struggle, a great goal, held in mind by far-sighted leaders from the beginning, is to be realized. In a mighty Convention, to be held in Washington, D.C. April 7-10, every major unemployed organization in the country will be united in the Workers' Alliance of America.

From more than half the states of the Union, hard-fighting delegates of the National Unemployed Leagues, the present Workers' Alliance, the Unemployment Councils, the American Workers' Union, the Minnesota Workers' Alliance, and other independent organizations, will gather to forge in common a powerful instrument with which to enforce and advance the demands of the unemployed. Through the new united organization the unemployed of the United States will speak with a single voice loud enough to be heard in the remotest Committee-rooms of Congress and the darkest corners of Wall Street.

Plight of Unemployed

No time could be more fitting than the present in which to accomplish the unification of the unemployed. During the past two months the demagogic Roosevelt Administration has launched a new and vicious attack. The orders have gone out to reduce the WPA rolls by 700,000 by July. The C.C.C. is to be cut by 200,000. The State and City governments administering direct relief are attempting relentless and systematic reductions. Roosevelt, desperately anxious to has reduced the proposed budget appropriations for unemployment relief to a pitifully inadequate figare. During the past year, in the face of upsurging profits, the total figure of unemployment has remained practically stationary, and is estimated by the American Federation of Labor at a minimum of

The unemployed have learned from their own harsh experience that their answer to the united attack of reaction, of the industrialists, bankers, the police and courts and the government, must be itself united answer. They have learned that division in their own ranks. squabbles and fighting among themselves, only weaken their own position, lay them open to new inroads of the enemy, and squander their energies uselessly.

Rich Years of Struggle

Into the new organization will go the rich fund of experiences There have been at least twelve gained by the unemployed since the kidnappings of labor men in Tampa crisis of 1929. There were many Peters local of the union, has been and its vicinity within the last six lessons to be learned. There was convicted of the charge of assault years without a single conviction, first the most elementary lesson of with attempt to kill and sentenced without even arousing a mild ripple all: the need for organization, the to seven years on a prison farm of interest among the forces sworn realization that the bourgeoisie and which is the Arkansas equivalent of to maintain "law and order". There its state would grant to the unema Georgia chain gang. He was pres is a local ordinance against shark ployed masses cast off from the inent at a meeting which was raided fishing. Sharks have been fished dustrial process only what the orby deputy sheriffs who shot two out of the sea with undigested pieces ganized efforts of the unemployed themselves forced. There were then were identified as belonging to la- the long lessons in the methods of bor men who had been listed offi-struggle, the experiences which Many of the taught that no polite committees. in going to Memphis to report the crimes committed in the course of no social-service technique, no Tampa's reign of terror will never elaborate petitions would bring results for the unemployed. These, the unemployed discovered, received courteous replies, and accomplished nothing. Instead, the lessons taught. the unemployed must make their own the direct and militant meth-The planters have announced participated in full regalia with a ods of the class struggle-hunger marches, mass demonstrations, solid picket lines

> Then the unemployed began to understand more clearly that their unemployment was no temporary plague, but a permanent and insuperable condition of a rotting social order no longer able to handle the productive system which it had brought into being. From this understanding grew the realization that a longer-term view was needed. together with firmer and more lasting forms of organization. The New

(Continued on Page 2)

tions of the proletariat and of the colonial peoples in the entire world. An unfavorable relation of forces may compel, in the interests of saving the main base of the revolution, the surrender of many "inches" of soil to the enemy, as was the case in the epoch of Brest-Litovsk, and partly also in the case of the Chinese Eastern railway. And, on the contrary, a more favorable relation of forces places on the workers' state the duty to come to the assistance of the revolutionary movement in other countries, not only morally but also, if need be, with the assistance of armed force: wars of emancipation are an integral part of revolutions of emancipation.

Thus, the experience with Mongolia shatters to pieces the ideology of conservative pacifism which bases itself upon historical frontiers, as though they were the Ten Commandments. The frontiers of the U.S.S.R. are only the temporary front line trenches of the class struggle. They lack even a national justification. The Ukranian people—to take only one of many examples—is cut in two by the state boundary. Should favorable conditions arrive, the Red Army would be duty-bound to come to the aid of Western Ukraine which is under the heel of the Polish executioners. It is not difficult to imagine the gigantic impulse that would be given to the revolutionary movement in Poland and in the whole of Europe by the unification of a workers' and peasants' Ukraine. All state frontiers are only fetters upon the productive forces. The task of the proletariat is not to preserve the status quo, i.e., to perpetuate the frontiers, but on the contrary to work for their revolutionary elimination with the aim of creating the Socialist United States of Europe and of the entire world. But to make such an international policy possible, if not at present then in the future, it is imperative for the Soviet Union to free itself from the rule of the conservative bureaucracy with its religion of "socialism in one country."

WHEREIN LIES THE CAUSE OF WAR?

In reply to Howard's question as to what causes underlie the threat of war, Stalin said in accordance with tradition: "It lies in capitalism." As proof he cited the last war which "arose from the desire to divide the world." But remarkably enough, no sooner does Stalin pass from the past to the present, from dim theoretical recollections to real politics, than capitalism immediately disappears, and in its place are to be found individual evil-minded cliques that are incapable of grasping the benefits of peace. To the question of whether war is inevitable, Stalin replies, "In my opinion the positions of the friends of peace are being strengthened. The friends of peace can work openly (!), they base themselves upon the force of public opinion, and they have at their disposal such instruments as, for example (!!!), the League of Nations. This is an asset for the friends of peace . . . as for the enemies of peace, they are compelled to work secretly. This is a liability for the enemies of peace. Incidentally, it is not excluded that precisely because of this (?) they may decide upon a military adventure as an act of despair."

Thus, we find that humanity is divided not into classes, nor into imperalist states warring with each other, but into "friends" and "enemies" of peace, i.e., into saints and sinners. The cause for war (at any rate, for future if not past wars) is not capitalism that breeds irreconcilable contradictions but the ill-will of the "enemies of peace" who "work secretly," while the French, British, Belgium and other slave-owners do their work in broad daylight. But precisely because the enemies of peace, like all evil spirits, work secretly, they may, in a fit of despair, plunge into an adventure. Who needs this philosophic mush? At best it can be of service only to some old ladies' pacifist society.

As we have had the occasion to state before, the agreement between the Soviets and France gives infinitely more guarantees to France than to the Soviets. In the negotiations with Paris, Moscow evinced a lack of firmness, or, to put it more bluntly, Laval fooled Stalin. The events in connection with the Rhineland are an indisputable confirmation that, with a more realistic appraisal of the situation, Moscow could have wrung from France much more serious guarantees, in so far as pacts in general can be considered as "guarantees" in the present epoch of sharp turns in the situation, of continuous crises, break-ups and regroupments. But as we have already said, the Soviet bureaucracy shows much greater firmness in the struggle against the advanced workers than in negotiations with bourgeois diplomats.

But, no matter how he might evaluate the Franco-Soviet pact, not a single serious minded proletarian revolutionist ever denied or denies the right of the Soviet state to seek for an auxiliary support for its inviolability through a temporary agreement with the French or some other imperialism. For this purpose, however, there is not the slightest need to call black white and to rebaptize bloody brigands as "friends of peace." As an example to be emulated one might take, let us say, the new ally, the French bourgeoisie: in concluding the agreement with the Soviets the French bourgeoisie presents this action very soberly without becoming lyrical, without lavishing any compliments and even maintaining a constant undertone of warning against the Soviet Government. However bitter it may be, it is necessary to speak the truth. Laval, Sarraut, and their associates have shown a great deal more firmness and dignity in defending the interests of the bourgeois state than did Stalin and Litvinov in the service of the workers' state.

Assuredly, it is difficult to conceive a more vicious stupidity than that which divides the world brigands into friends and enemies of peace! One could still speak, in a certain sense, about the friends and enemies of status quo: but these are two entirely different things. Status quo is not the organization of "peace," but the organization of the infamous oppression exercised by a minority over the overwhelming majority of mankind. Status quo is being maintained by means of constant warfare within the sacred boundaries and beyond their precincts (England-in India and Egypt; France-in Syria; De La Rocque—in France). The difference between the two camps, which are, besides, very unstable, consists in the fact that some of the brigands think it more advisable already today to maintain the existing boundaries of oppression and enslavement with arms in hand, whereas others would prefer to blow up these boundaries sooner. This correlation of appetites and plans is itself continually changing. Italy favors a status quo in Europe but not in Africa; yet every assault upon the boundaries in Africa is immediately reflected in Europe. Hitler decided to send troops into the Rhineland. only because Mussolini had succeeded in slaughtering several thousand Abyssinians. Where should we enroll Italy: among the friends or the enemies of peace? And yet, France cherishes the friendship with Italy infinitely more than the friendship with the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, England is courting the friendship of Germany.

The "friends of peace" work in the open (who would have thought it!) and have at their disposal "such instruments as, for example, the League of Nations." What other "instruments" have the friends of peace, outside the League of Nations? Obviously, they have the Comintern and the Amsterdam-Pleyel Committee. Stalin failed to mention these auxiliary "instruments" partly because he himself does not attach any great importance to them, and partly because he did not want to frighten his interlocutor unnecessarily. But Stalin does transform completely the League of Nations, whose nose has caved in, in the full view of all mankind, into a bulwark of peace, the prop and hope of nations.

ing the bourgeois ally or the particular combination of imperialists that temporarily screens itself by the sign of the League of Nations. The crime does not lie in this or another practical deal concluded with imperialists but in the fact that both the Soviet government and the Comintern are dishonestly embellishing their episodic allies and their League; are duping the workers with slogans of disarmament and "collective security"; and thereby are transformed in action into the political agency of imperialists in relation to the working masses.

The program of the Bolshevik party drafted by Lenin in 1919 replied to all these questions with remarkable clarity and simplicity. But who thinks about this document in the Kremlin? Today, Stalin and Co. find embarrassing even the eclectic program of the Comintern compiled by Bukharin in 1928. For this reason we think it useful to quote from the program of the Bolshevik party on the question of the League of Nations and the friends of peace. Here lice. is what it states:

'The growing pressure on the part of the proletariat and especially the victories gained by the latter in various countries tend to increase the resistance of the exploiters and engender on their part the creation of new forms of the international unification of the capitalists (League of Nations, etc.), which, while organizing on a world scale the systematic exploitation of all the peoples on earth, aim their immediate efforts toward the direct suppression of the revolutionary movements of the proletariat in all countries.

"All this inevitably leads to the correlation of the civil war within the individual states with the revolutionary wars both of the proletarian countries defending themselves as well as of the oppressed peoples struggling against the yoke of the imperialist powers.

"Under these conditions the slogans of pacifism, of international disarmament under capitalism, of arbitration courts, and so on are not only a reactionary Utopia but also a downright swindle of the toilers aimed to disarm the proletariat and to distract the workers away from the task of disarming the exploiters."

It is precisely this criminal work that both Stalin and the Comintern are fulfilling: they are sowing reactionary Utopias, swindling the toilers, disarming the proletariat.

THE "COMIC MISUNDERSTANDING" WITH REGARD TO THE WORLD REVOLUTION.

Nobody compelled Stalin to satisfy Howard's thirst for knowledge on the question of the world revolution. If Stalin gave the interview as the unofficial head of the Government (and this is indicated by his statement with regard to Mongolia), then he could have simply referred his interlocutor to Dimitroff on the questions of the world revolution. But no, Stalin went into explanations. At first sight it appears entirely incomprehensible why he should have thereby compromised himself so cruelly by his cynical and, sad to say, not at all clever disquisitions about the world revolution. But he is driven onto the slippery road by an insurmountable need: he must break with the past.

What about the plans and intentions relating to the revolution? asks the visitor.

"We never (!) had such plans and intentions."

But, what about. . . .

"This is all the result of a misunderstanding." Howard: "A tragic misunderstanding?"

Stalin: "No, a comic, or, perhaps, a tragi-comical one."

It is embarrassing even to read and transcribe these lines, they are so inappropriate and indecent. For whom is this . . . wisdom intended? Even the pacifist ladies will reject it.

Asks Stalin: "What danger can the neighboring states see in the ideas of the Soviet people, if these states are really firmly placed in the saddle?" Very well, permit us to ask, what about those who are not placed firmly in the saddle? Yet, that is how matters stand in reality. Precisely because its position is precarious, the bourgeoisie fears Soviet ideas, not Stalin's ideas but those ideas that led to the creation of the Soviet state. To soothe the bourgeoisie, Stalin adduces a supplementary argument: "The export of revolution is nonsense. Every country, should it so desire, will itself achieve its own revolution, and if it does not desire it, there will be no revolution. Now, for example, our country desired to make a revolution and made it. . . ." And more of the same, in the self-same, smug, edifying tone. From the theory of socialism in one country Stalin has completely and decisively passed over to the theory of revolution in one country. If a "country" so desires—it will make it, should it not desire it—it won't make it. Now, "we," for example, desired it. . . . But before desiring it, "we" imported the ideas of Marxism from other countries and made use of foreign revolutionary experience. In the course of decades, "we" had our emigre organization in other countries which directed the revolutionary struggle in Russia. In order to give a methodic and an active character to the exchange of experience between countries and their mutual revolutionary support, "we" organized the Communist International in the vear 1919. "We" more than once proclaimed as the duty of the proletariat of a victorious country to come to the assistance of the rising peoples—with advice, material means, and, if possible, with armed force. All these ideas (incidentally, they bear the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Luxembourg, Liebknecht) are written down in the most important programmatic documents of the Bolshevik party and of the Comintern. Stalin has proclaimed that all this is a misunderstanding! A tragic one? No, a comic one. Not for nothing has Stalin recently announced that it has become "merry" to live in the Soviet Union: now even the Communist International has become transformed from a serious personage into a comedian. And how could it be otherwise, if the international character of the revolution is mere and sheer "nonsense"?

Stalin would have made a much more convincing impression upon his interlocutor, if instead of impotently calumniating the past ("we never had such plans and intentions"), he had on the contrary openly counterposed his own policy to the antiquated "plans and intentions" which have been relegated to the museum. Stalin might have read Howard the very same quotation from the program which we gave above, and then made approximately the following brief speech, "In the eyes of Lenin the League of Nations was an organization for the bloody suppression of the toilers. But we see in it an instrument of peace. Lenin spoke of the inevitability of revolutionary wars. But we consider the export of revolution-nonsense. Lenin branded the alliance between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie as a betrayal. But we are doing all in our power to drive the French proletariat onto this road. Lenin lashed the slogan of disarmament under capitalism as an infamous swindle of the toilers. But we build our entire policy upon this slogan. Your comical misunderstanding"—that is how Stalin could have concluded—"consists In the fact that you take us for the continuators of Bolshevism, whereas we are its gravediggers."

Such an explanation would have dispelled the last shreds of suspicion of the world bourgeoisie and would have definitely established Stalin's reputation as a statesman. Unfortunately, he does not dare as yet to resort to such frank language. The past binds him, the traditions hamper him, the phantom of the Opposition frightens him. We come to the assistance of Stalin. In accordance with our rule, in the given case, too, we openly say what is.

March 18. 1936.

Youth Leader Continued from Page 1) Deal helped to drive home the less

(Continued from Page 1)

In one place, on the rue Asseline, the attack on Blum, the workers mobilized spontaneously and introduced an unexpected note into the festivities. Immediately the Stalinists of this section, the 14th Arrondissement, issued a disclaimer for that their friends are their class any responsibility of this action allies, and their enemies the class while at the same time denouncing enemy. the Bolshevik-Leninists to the po-

C.P. Rats on Bolsheviks

The contents of this stool-pigeon eaflet, a fascimile of which appeared in Revolution, February 28, vere as follows:

"The Communist unit of the 14th Arrondissement warns the workers against impulsive actions very often incited by irresponsible people or provocateurs successively expelled from the Communist and from the Socialist party, who are trying to canalize in a false way the justified anger of the working class.

"Republican defense of liberties and the defense of workers cannot and must not consist in actions or expeditions which usually play the game of the fascist

The police were not slow in takrested an individual named Jonot.

It is interesting and characteristic that Populaire which filled its Youth) for their revolutionary pol- state cy on war, breathed not a word about the government agent Jonot. is an agent for the same governand it was a common enemy he was National Committee of the S.F.I.O. n expelling Bolshevik-Leninists parade on the South Side of Mil and took its time in taking action waukee, followed by a mass meetagainst Jonot. It might be r marked that the People's Front of the district followed suit in "deploring" the incidents at the rue

Questioned upon his arrest, Levthe action of the workers and had ists.' he been present he would have ento the government to insure a severe sentence. "The J.S.R.," say these rats in l'Humanite, "is under the leadership of Trotskyist ele-Committee of the J.S.R."

In Company With Royalists The baiting of revolutionists, lowever, is not the private preerve of the Stalinists, which, once with those who devote their main regretting only not having particienergies to it—the Fascists. Thus pated in them. Action Francaise, organ of the royalist group, takes up the cry of R. and B.-L.G., who no longer be-'Humanite:

"The J.S.R., or workers' militia whose leader is Marceau Pivert (an error in fact-Ed.) and whose organ is the paper Revolution, are the strong arm men of the S.F.I.O. . . . The J.S.R. admits its participation in the incidents of the rue Asseline. . . . The guilty are therefore known. They admit, they proclaim not only their participation in the crime but their deliberate intention to repeat it and they call for direct action. Has direct action become legal under the Sarraut government? When will the groups signing this press release (quoted below-Ed) and poster

What a revealing picture! The thug Maurras, who slugged Blum in the tow of Sarraut, the man over the head with a cane, remains who declared: 'Communism, that is at liberty. Levacque, the revolu- the enemy.' tionist, who supported the workers in their spontaneous action which B.L. would make the Fascists wary of any similar action in the future, is tional." cast into prison. Fascists . . . and Stalinists demand the overnment action against Levacque's organiza- ther l'Humanite nor Populaire

be dissolved?

While the Stalinists disavowed, disassociated . . . and disgraced a conference for the defense of Lethemselves by making common vacque. cause with the Royalists, the Bol- silence did not prevent the workshevik-Leninists and Revolutionary Socialist Youth sprang to the defense of Levacque, issuing the following statement to the press:

Solidarity with Levacque "The royalist assault upon Leon eaction in many working class

tricts. In the 14th particularly, uted and Paris was placarded with organizations, swelling with anger demonstrated their intention of workers' organizations have pro-

"But the Communist party be- reaucrats. ieved it its duty, too late, to dis-

TROTSKY ON THE STALIN INTERVIEW French Gov't Unemployed to Unite in (Continued from Page 1) Weakening the positions of imperialism and in strengthening the positions of imperialism and in streng

Roosevelt's pretty pre-elechave been learning who are their friends and who are their enemies

Tactics for the Jobless The unemployed have been learn-

ing the lesson of the inseparable

New Support for Newsmen

(Continued from Page 1)

financial support. Gunnar Nickolson, Milwaukee vice-president was elected permanent chairman of the district guild, and Al Haut of the Chicago Guild was made secretarytreasurer. Plans were made for organizing new guild units in the district, which now includes Milwaucee, Chicago, Rockford, Des Moines. Madison and Indianapolis.

Teachers Association Sympathetic the J.S.R. (Revolutionary Socialist of the nine teachers' colleges in the

Unmoved by the Law and Order Indeed, why should it, when Jonot cause, the guild will serve notice Staurday to the News management ment they support in parliament that its strike lines are unbroken and its support unwavering, with a betraying. The same holds for the huge demonstration Saturday noon at the News plant. Then, Saturday which acted with undignified haste night there will be a torch light ing indoors. Guildsmen will make the necessary contacts with labor organizations and other groups during the week to insure success of the demonstration.

demonstration of the anger of the acque denied his participation in workers on our organization and the events in question but stated to endeavor to direct the investigawithout hesitation that he approved tions of the police to the 'Trotsky-

"With the aid of a 'confession' couraged them and acted by their our comrade Levacque, member of side. The Stalinists immediately the Bolshevik-Leninist group and took the opportunity not to support of the Central Committee of the Levacque but to give information Revolutionary Socialist Youth was the collaborationist People's Front arrested.

ry arrest by the Sarraut-Delbos American League against War and ments whose provocative methods we have vigorously fought. Levacque is a member of the Central not even 'justified' by an iota of juridical proof.

solidarity with our comrade Levaque who courageously declared sive organizational campaign, carthat he fully approved the action begun, must be done in company of the workers at the rue Asseline, every state of the Union, and streng-

"Our two organizations, the J.S. long to the S.F.I.O., and who, besides, were expelled from it for timidity of the Socialist leaders, an declare that they approve the action of the workers of the rue As-

"We are the initiators of the slogan of workers militias.

"Our motto of action against the wild dogs of Fascism is: For one eye, both eyes, for one tooth, the entire jaw.

"We remain true to the teachings of Marx, Lenin Trotsky.

"We have nothing in common with those who betray the workers by deceiving them with 'national reconciliation' and dragging them

"Long live the JS.R. and the G. "Long live the Fourth Interna-

Intense Campaign

It goes without saying that neiprinted this release nor did the C.P. or S.P. respond to the call for But this conspiracy of ers of Paris or of France from hearing about Levacque and joining in the protest. More than 20 organizations have agreed to participate in the defense work, among them sections of the S.R.I. (Internation-Blum gave rise to a spontaneous at Red Aid, same as I.L.D. here-Ed.). 10,000 circulars were distribworkers of all tendencies and all posters. Throughout Paris and France, even as far as Geneva, punishing Royalist assassins in the tested the arrest of Levacque and scuffle that ensued on the rue As- condemned the treacherous action of the Stalinist and Socialist bu-

This agitation, although we have associate itself from this action and no direct information as yet, we are in a leastet to openly attempt to certain will be increased a hundred place the responsibility for the fold in the defense of Zeller.

unity of their interests with the working class as a whole. Perhaps the most distinctive contribution of tion promises to the "Forgotten the National Unemployed League, Men" raised in the unemployed new along with its insistence from the where a group of the Action Fran- hopes and new illusions. But three beginning on the methods of milicaise had assembled to celebrate years of Roosevelt have taught the tant mass action, was its initiation unemployed what to expect from of direct cooperation between emthe promises of the representatives ployed and unemployed workers, in of the bourgeoisie. The unemployed strikes, boycotts, demonstrations and mass picket lines.

And the unemployed have learned also that their movement cannot be effective when used as political kites for political parties or factions, whether of the bourgeoisie or the working class. They have had their taste of organizations built to get votes for ward-heelers or to send delegates to fake Congresses; and they have found that neither serves their interests.

In Washington in the unity Convention, the unemployed, represented not by highly paid officials and bureaucrats, but by those who have taken the lead in their own direct struggles, will sum up the results of a number of the chief lessons. The conclusion they have reached is that the next big step for the unemployed requires as a pre-condition aggressive, fighting unity in single national organization.

Johnson's Treachery

Unity is without question a great step forward, perhaps the greatest As an antidote to an attack on which the unemployed movement the guild by the Citizens' Law and has yet taken. It would, however, ng the hint and immediately ar- order League, stood the resolution be romantic and dangerous to imasupporting collective bargaining of sine that unity will solve all probmember of the S.F.I.O., who the Milwaukee branch of the Associ- lems. Serious difficulties remain, urned out to be a stool-pigeon and ation of Wisconsin State Teachers and are present even in the organsquealed ont only on Levacque but Colleges, a voluntary association ization of unity. It is a disruptive n some ten members of his party. which for 20 years has been recog- blow at the entire unemployed nized by the board of normal school movement that the ardent convert regents as the bargaining agent for to social-patriotism, Arnold Johncolumns with vile tirades against class-room teachers and librarians son, working under cover during recent months in the National Unemployed League, has attempted to split the NUL by calling a rump league's espousal of the Hearst Convention behind the backs of the National Executive Committee. His attempt has been sternly repudiated by all the active and functioning Leagues, but he may still try to get together in Washington next week a medley of stooge delegates. His split maneuvering must be exposed and counteracted, in order to wipe out a sore spot of the new organization at the beginning.

> Likewise must the Convention be on guard against attempts of the Stalinists to stuff the new National Committee with members from fake 'independent' organizations created overnight for bargaining purposes. And even more must the Convention reject Stalinist efforts -so noticeable at every recent Convention or Conference attended by Stalinists—to transform the new Workers' Alliance from the united, fighting class organization of the and Stalinist social-patriotism. This "We protest against this arbitra- must be no Convention of the

The Convention must look forward to three great immediate "At the same time we declare our | tasks, and must prepare the organization for facing them: An aggresrying the Workers Alliance into thening the locals particularly in the industrial centers; a rapid offensive against the Roosevelt relief program, to forestall the cutting down of work relief, increase the public works program, and raise dihaving practiced, as against the rect relief by appropriations from the Federal government; and all intransigeant class policy, loudly along the line more direct cooperation with the trade union movement in all fields, especially with the progressive industrial union forces in the American Federation of Labor. Unity gives a basis for putting such a policy into effect on a scale never before possible in the unemployed movement. By carrying it out, the unemployed will play their part in a notable advance for the working class.

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STALINTERN READY TO EMBRACE CHIANG KAI SHEK!

On March 21, 1927, the workers of Shanghai rose in a mighty insurrection. With their own arms and their own forces they defeated and expelled the garrison of Nor-Chiang Kai-shek made his triumphant entry into the city.

On April 5, 1927, in the Hall of Columns in Moscow, Stalin told fight against the bourgeoisie for the tion only of the land of "national 3,000 party functionaries that Chiang Kai-shek was "leading the ants? That the proletariat in alliarmy and cannot do otherwise but ance with the peasantry alone are lead it against the imperialists."

led his army against the workers imperialism? Do we not show them of Shanghai and with frightful how this was demonstrated to the slaughter crushed the mass move- bloody hilt in 1925-27 and a thoument which had swept him to sand times over since then?

On April 21, 1927, in his theses published in Pravda, Stalin wrote their unions and party, of peasants that the "revolutionary Kuomintang in Wuhan" (Wang Ching-wei and Co.) was "leading a decisive struggle against militarism and imperialism."

After Shanghai . . . Wuhan Exactly a month later, on May 21, soldiers led by the Wuhan generals began slaughtering the workers in Changsha and the peasants throughout Hunan province. On July 15 Wang Ching-wei and Co. formally proscribed the Communists and the trade unions and workers' heads fell in the streets, of Wuhan, the "revolutionary center" (Stalin), under the axes of the "revolutionary Kuomintang."

Government, which had been "lead- the Communist International for Nine years ago at the height of created through a new series of ing a decisive struggle against millated to and united with the government of Chiang Kai-shek at One by one, Wan Min drops all the ed "a slogan of struggle against which, through its various periods, Nanking. The power of the Kuo- myths of "Soviet China" of recent the revolutionary Kuomintang." has cut an ever-widening chasm bemintang and the generals was es- years into the bottomless pit of a When the revolutionary Kuomin- tween the Stalinist party and the tablished throughout the land and past, better forgotten.

the mass movement was crushed. That is the record, in brief, of the achievements of the "anti-imperialist united front" in China in 1925-

The Cycle of Adventurism

The Kuomintang power which four classes," has now endured nine years, nine years of unremitting terror against the workers and peasants, nine years of uninterrupted capitulation to imperialism.

Stalinism in this period played out its own cycle of disastrous adventurism and hopeless experiments with an insurgent peasant movement in the remote interior entirely habitants of Naples, who live unmeasure of freedom to the Fascist divorced from the urban proleta- der its shadow, fear an impending state in order to preserve the exriat. The working class itself, its eruption. Nothing could be more isting regime, and, above all, its organizations shattered, crushed by symbolic of the present state of own existence. Finance capital the terrific defeat it had suffered, affairs under Mussolini. The Faster remained in a state of depression cist regime caps a fiery furnace of lice protection. That is one reason month. Engineers get from \$64 to it proved incapable of leading them the change in their views. The first proved incapable of leading them the change in their views. The first proved incapable of leading them the change in their views. The first proved incapable of leading them the change in their views. The first proved incapable of leading them the change in their views. The first proved incapable of leading them the change in their views. The first proved incapable of leading them the change in their views. and political apathy, broken by desperate, heroic, isolated, defended by mendous pressure upon it, but may, goods democracy. It is cheaper in the control of the provent mean and political apathy, broken by desperate, heroic, isolated, defended are vived and powerful and in their verbal demands for sanctive control of the provent mean and political apathy, broken by desperate, heroic, isolated, defended are vived and powerful and in their verbal demands for sanctive control of the provent mean and political apathy, broken by desperate, heroic, isolated, defended are vived and powerful and in their verbal demands for sanctive control of the provent mean and political apathy, broken by desperate, heroic, isolated, defended are vived and powerful and in their verbal demands for sanctive control of the provent mean and political apathy, broken by desperate, heroic, isolated, defended are vived and powerful and in their verbal demands for sanctive control of the provent mean and political apathy, broken by desperate, heroic, isolated, defended are vived and powerful and in their verbal demands for sanctive control of the provent mean and political apathy, broken by desperate the provent mean and political apathy, broken by desperate the provent mean and political apathy. The provent mean and political apathy are provent mean and political apathy are provent mean and political apathy.

Today, precipitately and without and blow it to bits. a single backward glance, Stalinism has reverted to the same course which led in 1927 to the most mon-

Back to the Bloody Past

past and refurbished for new use. into actual fighting forces as in out of their foreign markets and hour week. This is, of course, a The lessons of the events which Italy. those same phrases accompanied nine years ago are left carefully buried with their victims.

taught that the Chinese bourgeoisie in Ethiopia has been in progress was capable of waging a struggle against imperialism. Trotsky military experts disagree as to the warned that the bourgeoisie could extent of the Italian successes, it and would only strangle the antiimperialist movement. It took the not been subjugated; Abyssinia redisasters of 1927 to reveal to Stalin- mains unconquered. Although the lowest of all capitalist countries in Bukharin the truth, if not the essence, of this warning.

"The experience of the past development," the declared in a met the Ethiopians in any decisive resolution on August 9, 1927, engagements nor have they pene-"shows plainly that the bourgeoisie is not capable of solving tain passes into the heart of the throws a glaring light upon the essities of life. (Since this data was the problems of national emancipa- country. With the rainy season conditions of the workers. We collected, prices have gone up by tion from the joke of imperialism close at hand, the campaign must quote in part: ... that it is not capable of conducting a consistent fight against vear will be necessary before the foreign imperialism and is becoming more and more inclined . . . to a their own. compromise which leaves the domination of imperialism almost completely undisturbed."

But this did not mean that the "bloc of four classes" was anything librating the conditions of the but perfectly correct or the Comintern leadership anything but im-their sufferings. Patriotic fervor peccable. Nor was it anything else when in the ensuing period it turned on the morrow of defeat to blind putschism and then to remote peasant "soviets" in the deep hinterland. Meanwhile the bourgeoides with its twin solutions and the source of the government are less policies and finds it almost impossible policies are less policies of the government are less policies are less policies of the government are less policies are less policies of the government are less policies are less policies of the government are less policies are less policies of the government are less policies p

Yet today, without gasp or stammer, the Stalinists greet the belief population, extending even into the that "a considerable section of the national bourgeoisie . . . is ever (Wan Min).

Offer Chinese Red Army in Return for At least in form and phrase, the "anti-imperialist united front" of nine years ago was supposed, in Resurrection of Disastrous 1927 Bloc

Do we then not tell the workers! thern mercenaries. Five days later and peasants that the national bour- Government of Self-Defense" into tion and the mass movement was ly adorned with dissertations on the geoisie can not and will not consistently fight imperialism? That and military authorities" are to ward with "Soviets" which proved the fight against imperialism is the join. They will propose confisca- a tragic fiction. interests of the workers and peascapable of prosecuting a successful Seven days later Chiang Kai-shek national revolutionary war against

Do we not call for the independent organization of workers in in their associations led by the urban proletariat-independent in banner and program of the vacillating and treacherous zigzags of the bourgeoisie or sections of it? That is what we tell them. The Stalinists pursue a different course.

The Stalinist Flip-Flop

"If Chiang Kai-shek really means to take up the struggle against Japan, then obviously the Soviet Government (sic) will extend to him the hand of friendship on the field of battle against Japan." (Mao Tse-tung, Daily Worker, March 30.)

A few weeks later, the Wuhan in the special Chinese number of tarian forms.

. improvement in material conend and the "extreme demands" of They will "refrain from organizing workers' control of industry, the cratic liberties." necessary conditions for which do not exist as yet."

"Return the Land"

Thus, the silent, furtive demise

tang was transformed overnight in- Chinese workers.

The Stalinists propose a "People's to an instrument of counter-revolu-

In the period of counter-revolu- and disaster. traitors" (?) and any "feudal land- tion the Opposition called for a lords" who won't say they're struggle for democratic rights cen- version of Dimitroff-Wan Min, all crisis, aggravated by Hitler's re- Second and Third Internationals. against imperialism. Workers will tered around the slogan of a Na- of this phraseology is completely armament of the Rhine. be promised "increases in wages tional Assembly. This was denounced by the Stalinists as the ditions." In the areas controlled by uttermost depths of "counter-revo- touching upon the perspectives of presumably to express the views rassment of the Stalinists. Mauthe Stalinists' own Red armies, land lutionary Trotskyism." Today the confiscation will all but come to an Stalinists, dumping their "Soviets," want the "People's Government" the workers "will be rejected." to convoke a "representative body .. elected on the basis of demo-

A Noose for the Workers

Thus once more, as a thousand times in the past, the Stalinists have been compelled to reach out of a thousand propagandist legends! for a political line laid down by The poor peasants who gleaned a "the vanguard of the counter-revomodicum of benefit in the so-called lutionary bourgeoisie". Only, as 'Soviet districts" will go back into ever, in their hands it is mangled the tender embrace of the landlords. and twisted and becomes not an and northwest. In China proper As for the workers, they are being instrument of proletarian struggle deprived of something they never but a noose for the working class. had, except in the imagination of We conceived the National Assemhacks ten thousand miles away. bly as a slogan around which the The fictitious "Soviet Government" workers could be helped once more will remain as a formal label for to raise their heads and through the Red Army command. The "So- which they could emerge as an in-A "hand of friendship" on what viets" will either disappear entirely dependent political force. The Stalterms? As outlined by Wan Min or assume grosser, even anti-prole- inists, having forsaken the workers, now want an assembly from the top, February, they represent a complete the mass movement, the Stalintern combinations, a new "bloc of four itarism and imperialism," capitu-abdication of even nominal strug-proscribed Soviets, urged by the classes." This marks a new phase gle for the revolution in China Opposition, because they represent of the Stalinist course in China

some "peculiar" way known only to Bukharin, to result in "proletarian negemony" in the revolution. The documents of the period are heaviwhich "all parties, groups, political crushed, the Stalinists came for- "perspectives of the proletariat" which, as events proved, only turned out to be perspectives of defeat

passed over. Wan Min can write a the words "trade union" once.

constitutes the main distinction beand its current reincarnation. In 1925-27 Stalinism actually had its bourgeoisies. base in the heart of a tremendous mass movement which drew milnow operating in the distant west slaughter. they have none whatever. Any base new line, will not be among the workers but possibly in sections of the petty and big bourgeoisie.

Wan Min boldly proclaims: "The people as a whole."

self with the bourgeois Kuomintang every respect with that of the Stal- cists), which now claims 800.000 ed by the bourgeoisie.

The Red Armies on the Altar

ment they represented effected a fu- course!). sion with the urban labor movement, they were doomed either to tlemen were the loudest in demandextinction or to capitulate to the ing sanctions against Mussolini. bourgeoisie, Now after six years of But today British imperialism heroic struggle against the Kuomin- wants not sanctions but negotiatang armies, featured by exploits tions with Hitler. So, while Eden of heroism and courage unexcelled speaks in the Parliament, Citrine in the history of all peasant wars, does his share at the Internation-

The Stalinists completely disemthe Chinese bourgeoisie in the ranks of the Soviet Union's allies! must always negotiate, no matter whole subsequent history proved under what circumstances it is. anything at all, it proved the incapacity of the Chinese bourgeoisie to so bitterly by the French Stalinists prosecute a national revolutionary war. It will compromise a thousand the Socialist Populaire as "a contimes with imperialism against the workers and peasants of its own country. But Stalinism, nurtured at the dry breast of socialism in one country, has lost all faith or interest in the capacities of the pro letariat, which it has done so much brace the Chiang Kai-sheks, it will seek to destory the Third Chinese

vance and we may be sure that the and urging negotiations with a Chinese bourgeoisie will in one form or another, by this or that means, secure the utmost advantage non-aggression pacts, etc. dards of living were among the work many hours overtime. It is from the promised liquidation of compromising itself in the eyes of its imperi**a**list masters.

Chinese bourgeoisie will zigzag slaughter. right and left in efforts to retrieve some of the ground lost to imperial. THE HITCH IN ORGANIC ism. We must prepare for those UNITY IN FRANCE turns by preserving the complete raised over its own redoubts. We organic unity. must stand against imperialism and against the Kuomintang betrayers fered a "reaction" against the Stal- the leadership at the time the mass-

'bloc of classes".

WORLD OF LABOR

London International Labor Conference Endorses Imperialist War Policies By JOHN G. WRIGHT

once again that they represented tween the bloc of nine years ago nothing except the imperialist policies of their respective national banne at the end of January.

The outcome of this Conference lions of the toiling population into bor lieutenants of capital merely at the irritable tone adopted by its orbit. Today the Stalinists have rephrased in "labor terms" the Leon Blum in criticizing these prono mass base whatever. Their only political formulas of the imperial posals after a long silence, and afbase rests in the insurgent, mobile st brigands who are maneuvering ter comrade Zyromski (Secretary armies of soldiers and peasants in preparation for the next world of the Seine Federation) had de-

they acquire as a result of their delegates were divided into two socialist statement." (March, 1936, camps. One group "insisted" that p. 146.) Hitler's occupation of the Rhineand warranted the strongest ac- Stalinists. But Stalin-Litvinovtion against Germany. This posi- Thorez can console themselves with Communist Party of China really tion was most clearly voiced by the fact that while their formerly can and must act as the generally Vandervelde, the leader of the Sec-staunch allies have become somerecognized leader of the Chinese ond International who demanded what lukewarm, they have made immediate sanctions, that is to say, new converts to their anti-Hitler In 1927 under the terms of the bloc the Communist Party fused it- Vandervelde's position coincided in Croix de Feu (the French Fasand restricted the trade union and inists who are the most consistent members, and which was hostile to peasant movments to the limits fixed by the bourgeoisle.

advocates of national unity and the Franco-Russian pact, has now "decisive measures" against Gerdeclared in favor of the pact, if man Fascism.

Today, the Stalinists offer their British labor leaders, with Sir Wal- an Weekly, March 20, 1936, p. resent forces, the Red Armies, up ter Citrine at the head, saw great 226). on the altar and declare their read- hope in Hitler's "peace proposals" ness to "fuse" the Reds into a and were for negotiations. The united anti-Japanese army" con-British social patriots looking as trolled by a general staff to be set usual eye to eye with their imperup by the "People's Government". | ialist masters were all for collec-When the Red Armies, consisting tive security on the basis of Nonof insurgent peasants and soldiers, Aggression Pacts, provided. . . were operating in Central China, that these are extended to include we declared that unless the move. Soviet Russia (of course! of

Only yesterday, these same gen

The British representatives were tions, but, as a matter of fact it is some time now that the French barrass themselves of any idea of labor lieutenants, with Blum, waging a revolutionary struggle in Faure and associates have undergone a change of heart on the subject of taking an intransigeant at-

If the disaster of 1927 and the with whom it is, when it is, and Eden's pronouncements, attacked in l'Humanite, were acclaimed by firmation" of the position of the Socialist party. The apparent contradiction between Vandervelde and Blum is skin deep. It is entirely the result of the different political tasks and schemes each has to execute in his particular country.

It follows as a matter of course that the two "opposing" camps had no difficulty at all in drafting combines of the Mitsui clan—and a resolution acceptable to both sides. The International Labor Conference overwhelmingly passed resolution denouncing Hitler's violation of the Locarno Treaty, view to including not only Hitler but Soviet Russia in a system of

Thus, the same people who did their work so well in the preparation for the World War in 1914. are once again prostituting the Second International, giving the the coming critical years in the Far imperialist boungeoisie guarantees East, drawing toward the inevitable in advance that the European workmoment of explosion, sections of the ing class will docilely march to the

programmatic and organizational of the French S. P. noted above is voters but by the rightward trend independence of the Chinese work- the biggest obstacle to the fusion of the working class organizations, ing class. For this the party of the of the C.P. and S.P. that has de particularly the Sakai Taisuto. Chinese workers has to be built and veloped since the time the Stalin- The appraisal of the Nitsi-Nitsi the banner of the Chinese workers ists launched their campaign for is correct in respect to the right-

Blum, Faure and Co. have sufand against those who would lead inist ballyhoo for national unity us once more into the noose of a "in action" against Germany. They observed time and again in the are now for negotiating with Hit-Skirmishes on the Manchukuo-ler. The extent of this "reaction" Mongolian border in the last ten is perhaps best illustrated by the ranks of the reformist Sakai Taisdays have assumed the proportions fact that the "Revolutionary Left" uto. The Tokyo paper Asahi preof virtual battles. The morrow of (Pivert and Co.) have gone on dicts that the groups to the left war is not far distant. In China, as record (of course, with very revo- of the reformists will succeed in to secure a job), workers are paid without amusements or clothing I elsewhere, we can guarantee a firm lutionary phrases) in favor of the splitting off sections of the letter revolutionary alliance with the So- policy of Flandin-Eden. Thus it ward moving workers from the (reckoning the lire at 8 cents). A or \$15.26 a week. With the average viet Union only by waging common is that the "left" cover serves the reformists. Both Pravda and Izskilled worker may earn as much income of the wage-earner at \$6.40 battle against the enemies of the social-patriots to dupe the workers | vestia (February 24) imply that The policy of Flandin-Eden has such a split is already in the offmodern industry does not require has to do without meat, butter, working class. China's national come into a slight contradiction ing, with the Kato Kandziu as the

On March 20, a joint conference | munication to the S.P. suggesting of the Second International and that the co-ordinating committees the Trade Union International was should meet, and that both parties But today, in the reincarnated held in London to consider the war should urge a joint meeting of the The Executive Committee of the The labor representatives of fif- S.F.I.O. turned down the proposal programmatic article without ever teen European countries, meeting to the great surprise and embarthe proletariat or even mentioning and interests of the international rice Thorez, the General Secretary working class in the face of the of the French C.P., complained The reason for this is clear and gravest war danger, gave proof bitterly about this developing coldness in his speeches at the Eighth Congress of the C.P. held at Villeur-

> The Labour Monthly summarizes his remarks as follows: "Maurice was a foregone conclusion: the la- Thorez declared himself astonished clared that they 'were a great step Just as in the League of Nations, forward, and their principles were so at the London Conference the not in contradiction to those in the

This turn is a severe blow to the only "as an inevitable reply to Hit-The second group, led by the ler." (See the Manchester Guard-

The results of the parliamentary elections held in Japan towards the end of February are a clear expression of a leftward trend on the part of the masses, which in turn is a reflection of the social and economic tension in the country.

The Japanese bourgeois papers have devoted great attention to the leap in the support for the working class and peasant parties, who have quadrupled their votes since the last elections in 1932.

The largest of the left parties is the Sakai Taisuto, a party with a hidebound reformist program. This party resulted from a merger some four years ago between the Sakai Minsuto party and the Uippor Taisuto. In 1928 both these parties, running independent tickets, had five representatives in the Japanese parliament (Sakai Minsuto-4; Nippon Taisuto-1). In 1930 Sakai Minsuto dwindled to two representatives; and the other party gained another representative, having now also two. After the merger, the united party came back to

elections, they elected 18. Further to the left of this reformist party, are "groups" of proletarians and peasants. The largest of these is the Kato Kandziu. which is Stalinist in its tendencies. All these groups elected five representatives. (They had no representatives at all in the 1932 elections; in 1930 they had a single representative, and in 1928-2.)

All the organizations together polled over 600,000 votes. This unprecedented vote, together with the defeat of the Seiyukai party—the most reactionary party of large landowners and powerful monopoly the victory of the Minseito party, which is considered as the more "liberal" party, is a clear indication of a leftward shift similar to the movement in Czarist Russia on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War. Reaction in Japan is alarmed. And the military Fascist putsch followed immediately upon the elections. However, in Japan there is not

a sign as yet of the Bolshevik cadres and leadership that obtained in Czarist Russia. The confusion and weakness in

the ranks of the working class make it possible for a bourgeois organ like the Nitsi-Nitsi to scoff at the successes of the radical organizations and to insist that these successes are to be accounted for The subtle change in the policy not by the radicalization of the

ward trend of the existing organizations. The rightward trend of es are moving to the left has been last two decades. In Japan this has resulted in a crisis in the As a result, the pleasant dreams of ists in Moscow foresee shortly a ago the French C.P. sent a com- in Japan.

LETTER FROM ITALY

emerged from that "united front," otherwise known as the "bloc of Nationalist Maniacs Driving Nation Through War into Collapse and Ruin

in the not very far future, explode

The Ethiopian Campaign

strous social catastrophe of our adventure for two reasons. First, cialism, as bourgeois commentators of 40 skilled mechanics. This man China. They seek instead a military times—the application of a mighty as the horizontal transfer of the chinase horizontal tr times—the annihilation of a mighty as the beginning of his long-promhave claimed. They represent the is about 45 years old, has been in alliance with the Chinese bourgeois revolutionary mass movement, not is a grainer to some the second of the control of the revolutionary mass movement, not ised campaign to secure the colon-by a stronger enemy recognized in any recognized in a revolutionary mass movement, not ised campaign to secure the colon-by a stronger enemy, recognized as such, but by the forces it had been to great the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and between monopoly capitalism and struggle in the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and the consummation of the capitalism. been taught to regard as its own ond, as an outlet for the energies state power. The whole of Italian of the unemployed and as a means of diverting the domestic discon-basis, not only to ensure its pertent created by the crisis into im-Removed from the shroud which perialist channels. Colonial experiments war ahead. "The wheels also covers the bodies of scores of ditions and foreign wars are timethousands of workers and peasants | honored expedients of ruling class- | "run fast. The inevitability of the massacred in its name, the "anti- es to turn the attention of the imperialist united front" is being masses from their misery. Decay- another war . . . must guide all our resurrected today in a form even ing capitalism, whether of the more vile and necessarily more gro-democratic or fascist variety, can tesque than that which it assumed solve the problem of permanent nine years ago. All the old oppor- unemployment in only one way: tunist phrases and slogans, hastily by conscripting the jobless into laditched on the morrow of the ca- bor armies as in Germany, C.C.C. tastrophe, have been lifted from the camps as in the United States, or

To date Il Duce has failed to accomplish either end. Ethiopia is materials. In 1925-1927 Stalin-Bukharin not yet in his clutches. The war for half a year. While foreign steadily into the interior and scored trated beyond the dangerous mouncome to a halt. At least another Fascists can claim Ethiopia as

The Situation at Home

Meanwhile life does not stand still either at home or in the insie ruled ruthlessly with its twin weapons, terror and capitulation to workers in the cities and country, but among other classes of the

In order to carry on the war, more energetically trying to find a Mussolini is being compelled to many skilled workers, and only eggs, wine, coffee, sugar, cheese, emancipation has become histor- with the policy of Stalin-Litvinov. | crystallizing center. The Stalinway to resist Japanese imperialism tighten the straitjacket Fascism about ten percent can be placed in salami, or oil. This will give you ically identified with the emancipa-. . ." and, moreover, "are turning clamps upon the national economy, this latter category. The average an idea of the deprivations endured tion of the oppressed toilers. Along a "single party" have been some good-sized Stalinist party to exefor a way out to the toiling masses." First the big banks were put un wage, from the statistics I was by the workers and their families this front and along no other lies what rudely disturbed. Some time cute its People's Front maneuvers der rigid governmental control; able to gather on the spot (official

According to a recent dispatch | now Il Duce threatens to do the statistics are notoriously unrelifrom Italy, Vesuvius is again same to the key industries needed able) for an Italian worker may belching forth flames and the in- for armaments. Italian capitalism is being forced to sacrifice its last the long run.

Mussolini's recent edicts concernconomy must be put on a military petuation, but as preparation for of destiny," declared Mussolini, nation's being called on to face actions."

According to all reports, the application of sanctions have severely crippled Italian economy. The small industrialists have suffered heavily from the imposition to the fact that Italy was one of to drain. Turning once more to emof sanctions. They have been shut the first countries to adopt a fortyfind it increasingly difficult to ob-1 complete fraud from the worker's Revolution as it destroyed the Sectain necessary supplies and raw standpoint. Since the forty-hour ond.

The Plight of the Masses

The burdens of the war, however, have fallen most heavily upon the working and consuming masses. themselves and their families, un-Even before the war. Italian stan-Italian armies have advanced Europe. Since the war the cost your Hoover's "share-the-work" of living has increased over fifty numerous victories, they have not percent and the end of the process is not yet in sight.

The following letter recently re-

"In answer to your request for in wages.) information about the present situation in Italy, and especially life among the industrial workers. I send you the following from my own observations in Naples, an industrial center and the scene of the embarkations for Ethiopia. "First. a few figures concerning

wages and living conditions. As you know, the average wage of be placed at about 16 cents an hour.

"The average weekly earnings of factory worker would, then, amount to about \$6.40. Women workers earn from 71 to 10 cents these Red Armies are to be handed al Conference. an hour. Clerical workers, steno-

"As an instance of the earnings ing the nationalization of the in the upper levels, here is the banks and of key industries are monthly pay envelope of a shop Mussolini ordered the Ethiopian not in the least steps towards so- foreman superintending the work

Salary\$ 70.00 Overtime (about 85 hours this month) 39.00 Total monthly salary 109.00 (from which is deducted): Income Tax $(8\frac{1}{2}\%)$ 9.25 Dues to Fascist Syndicate .40

Total direct taxes Net income for month.... 99.35 "When there is no overtime, his net income falls to \$63 a month.

"Fascist officials proudly point week was instituted without any corresponding increase in hourly pay, it was not wanted by the workers, who find themselves unable to earn enough to support less they are 'lucky' enough to

"Bearing in mind that the aver age weekly pay envelope of an industrial worker is \$6.40, let us look ceived from an Italian comrade at the prevailing prices for the necabout 25 percent without any raise

program.

Bread (1 pound)\$.06.3 Macaroni (1 pound)09.1.47.5 Meat (1 pound) Butter (1 pound) Vegetables (1 pound) Eggs (1 dozen) Milk (1 quart)12.0Coffee (1 pound) 2,80.0 Sugar (1 pound) Oil (1 quart) Cheese (1 pound)..... Salami (1 pound)...... Light and Gas (1 month) 4.80.0 Rent (1 month-2 rooms and kitchenette) 16,00.0

"The daily requirements of a family of five for decent living a minimum of 13½ cents an hour estimate to be about \$2.18 a day, (Continued on Page 4)

Build the Fourth International They are offering to do so in ad-

nothing but the Fascist version of the class struggle without unduly There can be little doubt that in

as 22½ cents an hour. However, for a forty-hour week this family Soviet Union and the enemies of the

Workers Misled as Capitalist ties from 1931—A.R.). To leave them continue in their present sta-Class Conspires Against Them By ALFREDO ROJAS Capitalist | these from 1931—A.R.). To leave them continue in their present status would mean to prolong the victory of February. But whether the

The Spanish revolution has ar- have no chance of victory. But this rived at that critical juncture, so boycott means that if the Socialist often seen in previous revolutions, Party, which is by far the main when all sections of the bourgeoisie party of the proletariat, were to lican aspirations as those which conspire to rob the proletariat of conduct an independent campaign, were victorious in February. Any the fruits of its struggle and are it could sweep the country. aided in their maneuvers by the cowardice and confusion of the offi- advantage of the situation, it is the cial leadership of the proletarian | republican bourgeoisie which seeks organizations.

forge ahead, coming ever more into tionaries for the boycott, using it direct conflict with the "left" bour- as proof conclusive that the reacgeois government of Azana. Within tionaries refuse to submit to the ers of Spain have confiscated large trary, the government is cocquetestates in three provinces.

Dividing the Landed Estates

The biggest movement on the municipal elections. land is in the province of Badajoz where, after sixty thousand workers that there is a secret understanding had surveyed the estates, but then between Azana and the reactiontented themselves merely with not win the elections, and fearing moans the end of the Republic if returned to their villages and con- aries. Knowing that the rights candrawing up plans for dividing the that the proletarian organizations, estates into small parcels and ap- even if they do not conduct an inparently had been persuaded to dependent campaign may neverthewait for the government's land-buy- less force through a proletarian ing program, two days later 25,000 majority on the joint election slate, families marched back into the es- the reactionaries may have withtates, divided them up, and are drawn in order to give the Azana pared to establish a government of already tilling the soil.

sands of land workers went on joint ticket. strike, driving many landowners from their estates; government. guards sent to drive off the workers the question is posed in the republication of prolekilled four but had to retreat. In Gerona province workers are

confiscating estates.

try-wide move on the estates.

000 families had taken over the es-

Strike Movement Aggressive The workers in the cities are also on the move. Strikes are widespread throughout Spain, in almost every case resulting in resounding victories. Typical of the feeling of the workers is the ultimatum presented to the bosses by the powerful metal workers' organization of Barcelona. Striking for gry half the time. wage increases and a 44-hour week, five months now, workers have and especially of strangers. the workers notified the bosses that been forbidden to quit their jobs The application of sanctions by granted, they will occupy the fac-

unions, hitherto sharply divided, of equality and a legal covering by the frantic efforts of the Fascists have united to force the bosses to the provision that the bosses must to keep it at white heat. People rehire all workers discharged on first get permission to discharge are beginning to wonder and ask: political grounds during the last from the Fascist syndicate, but in How long can this last? Where few years. The Azana government my experience I have not known will it end? What are we getting has not attempted to enforce the of any cases where permission was out of it Mussolini's only answer law for rehiring, and Valencia's refused. It is a mere formality and is: tighten your belts and prepare example shows that the proletariat subterfuge. This has all the ad- for another and bigger war. is beginning to take the matter into vantages of chattel slavery without its own hands.

Still Clinging to Azana

are thus coming into ever sharper | iopia! conflict with the republican government, the Socialist and Communist leadership is hanging onto the coattails of the Azana government. in the February 16 national elecrepublican-workers' slate, demanded a similar joint slate for the municipal elections which take place on April 12, The Communist an independent proletarian course in the municipal elections, the Right Wing Socialists were victorious enter a joint slate.

with the bourgeoisie in the February 16th elections defended the coalition on the grounds that it was solely for amnesty and restoration of democratic rights. This excuse no longer holds for the April 12 codoor meetings and congregating on the streets. It has sent guards and ken in by his anti-capitalist utterers. It is with this bourgeois govtion is being made.

Catholics Boycott Elections

What makes the coalition even own bitter experience what Fasmore ludicrous is the fact that the cism really is. municipal elections. They are boy- gime together. Spics

Instead of the proletariat taking to reap a harvest. The republican The city and land workers still press does not criticize the reacthe last week alone, the land work- will of the majority. On the conting with the reactionaries' demand that the government call off the

In this move, it is very likely government a pretext for forcing In the province of Seville thou- through a bourgeois majority on the

The Threat of Postponement

lican press. "La Libertad," republarian power in the Workers Alli- tution stands in the minds of Marxlican organ, declares that t"he tac- ances. Only this power can pre- ists. Even if rather less sensatic of the rightists in abstaining In Malaga workers attempting to creates a problem that deserves breaking with their already treach of Adolph Ochs and James Oneal tionalism to its logical culmination seize estates were attacked by gov- serious consideration by the government guards, two of them being ernment." It gives as the reason Communist and Socialists leaders tates of William Randolph Hearst it possible for the patriots in the murdered. These are merely frag. why the government may perhaps are trailing them. mentary reports from capitalist decide to call off the elections, that press sources, and indicate a coun-there is a possibility of a break between the republicans and the How much of this move is purely proletarian organizations over a spontaneous, is indicated by the location of seats on the election reinforcing a sharp differentiation week has gone by in the New Lead- now as compared with 1914, therestatement given to the United Press slates. "Can such a question cause in the ranks of the Socialist leader er without a venomous and mali- fore, is that now, with the aid of on March 29 by Juan Simeon Vi- a division in the Popular Front?" ship. Outstanding among the left- cious attack on the "Militant group" Stalinism, the Second International darte, secretary of the Socialist asks this bourgeois spokesman. Socialist figures is Javier Bueno, from Powers' pen. Between the can perform its reactionary role in Party executive in Badajoz. He de- "We do not believe it, we do not leader of the Asturian rebellion, pages of the New York Times and the name of "defending the Soviet clared that the workers were simply expect it, but it is necessary to treed from prison by the workers the columns of the Old Guard press Union." surveying the estates but would consider this possibility. United, after the national election. wait for the government to parcel the victory will be as decisive as At numerous mass meetings, Ja- tack upon every progressive and if not the greatest hope for a genthem out legally. Vidarte flatly that of February 16. But the gov- vier Bueno has declared his lack revolutionary current in the Social- uinely proletarian movement and ernment should reflect whether it of confidence in the Popular Front. ist movement. No social democratic struggle against the impending iming possession of the lands. Two is not convenient for the republican and has urged the workers to build idea so reactionary, no current so perialist war? for that world peace days later came the news that 25, regime to make a postponement, the Workers Alliances, embryo of sterile, no record so bankrupt, but which only international socialism Today the local governments of the soviets, as the indispensable in that powers has come pugnaciously Spain are composed of left elements strument of both the immediate and to its defense. (i.e., bourgeois republican majori- future struggles.

cotting because they know they elections or to hold them as decreed, the Popular Front should continue united on the same repubother conception (i.e., that of revolutionary class struggle-A.R.)

would be premature." In other words, the republican bourgeoisie, aided and abetted by the Stalinists and the Right wing Socialists, threaten to postpone the elections unless the workers' organizations concede the bourgeoisie a majority in the elections!

Army Held in Readiness In order to frighten the already cowardly proletarian leadership daily. into granting the republican bourgeoisie's demands, every section of threats. The republican press bethere is any danger of the republic

from the left, the army will step in, declare capitalist press dispatches. President Zamora is quot- New Leader, official organ of the ed "from reliable sources," as preany danger of a revolution.

bourgeois state power. The only This is borne out by the way answer to this bulldozing is the

A Ray of Hope

A Letter from Italy

(Continued from Page 3)

unless their demands are shortly on penalty of losing their syndicate England has given the government cards. They can however as before a heaven-sent opportunity to direct tories and run them on a socialist be fired at the will of their employ- the wrath of the masses against ers. This system of labor conscrip- England. But this patriotic fervor In Valencia, the various trade tion has been given an appearance is beginning to die down, despite any of its disadvantages. And the between the army high command Italian workers are asked to sup- and the Fascist party tops. There port the war and enlist in the army is no question but that cracks are While the land and city workers in order to abolish slavery in Eth- appearing and widening in all di-

"Why do the workers endure such intolerable conditions? They cannot for the time being do other-The republican bourgeois groups, pionage and the governmental terhaving got the best of the bargain ror make it impossible for them to speak out openly against their options by being given an absolute pressors or to strike at them. They majority of the seats on the joint bear their burdens with clenched without the greatest dangers to teeth and closed fist.

The Opposition Movement

"So far as I have been able to party immediately came out for ascertain, there is almost no orsuch a coalition. After a sharp dis- ganized opposition working underagreement within the Socialist ground against the regime among ranks, the left Socialists demanding the workers. There were a number of small revolutionary groups, organized in groups of five, operating in the utmost secrecy a few years and the Socialist party agreed to ago. But police agents succeeded in worming their way into them; The apologists for the coalition broke them up; and the revolutionists are now in prison or on the

"Many of the older workers remember the occupations of the factories during 1921-22 and retain their Socialist convictions. The alition. The "left" government, in younger generation. however, I refact, is curtailing democratic rights. gret to report, that has been Spain is under a modified form of brought up under the present remartial law decreed by Azana. The gime and stuffed with Fascist progovernment has prohibited all out- Mussolini's demagogy. They have paganda, are greatly confused by troops to put down the land work- ances; and more or less believe that the empty fist he waves at the ernment that the April 12th coali- capitalists will be brought down upon them and used to crush them. But they will learn from their

Catholics and Monarchists and "I wish I could convey to you other reactionary groups have an- the extent of the espionage system nounced that they will boycott the It is the cement that holds the re-

where, in the factories, in the res-I could safely say that over half taurants, etc. Agents provocateurs the inhabitants of Naples are hun-are constantly at work ferreting out opponents of the regime. People are "This is by no means all. For extremely distrustful of one another

"There are rumors of friction rections within the regime, although as yet they are carefully covered

"In my opinion, the critical time will come with the return of the troops from Ethiopia. Mussolini now has over 300,000 men under arms in Africa and a million in Italy. He cannot demobilize them himself. Perhaps, it will not be called

close.'. The prolongation of the Ethiopian campaign, the efforts of the effects of the economic sanctions, the heavy expenses of the war, the growing discontent among all ranks make mad." Into what bloodier adventures will he drag the Italian people before his doom is sealed?

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

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per term \$1.00 six months rates man cents per con-

DUBIOUS ALLY FOR STALINISM

government decides to postpone the HOW THE "OLD GUARD" BECOMES A "FRIEND OF THE SOVIET UNION" AS SOON AS LITVINOV PLAYS LEAGUE OF NATIONS POLITICS

By MAX SHACHTMAN

What is cheaper and easier nowpolitician so lacking in astuteness flower. as not to understand that merely by avowing himself a "friend" of from the international Stalinist officialdom an extensive measure of immunity and support for what may well be (and usually is) his entirely left who remain obtuse on this

the Soviet Union, a man who also merly had none. bears the name of "John Powers." Powers, in addition to his literary work for other reactionary papers, not only writes every week the international news column of the Socialist party's "Old Guard," but Socialist party's "Old Guard," but Second International. Why not? is in a fair way of becoming the The more "realistic" Stalin beleading theoretician of his faction.

he has laid down a drum-fire at-

Support for "Democratic" Capitalism

of the Socialist parties into cannon- inism. fodder suppliers for their respective consequently to be found today mong the teachers of social-patritomorrow between Fascist Germany and "democratic" imperialist France for a new re-division of the world. and Powers is certain to range himself on the side of the French butchers. The fact that Italy, Poland and Yugoslavia would, in all likelihood, be counted in the French "democratic" front, would make no difference to Powers. For it should be remembered that his predecessors of 1914 were not made less jingoistic in their support of the "making the world safe for demo-

eracy." "democratic" serfs.

capitalism, thinly covered with ref- ler's objectives. erences to the alleged potentialities for peace residing somewhere in the formidable danger confronting So-lits own behalf!

Soviet Union"? Is there a labor their eventual emergence into full

class, it has earned the Soviet bureaucracy the approbation of the comes, that is, the more violently Up to quite recently, Powers has he tramples under foot the teachsie conspire to consolidate the not made the slightest effort to conceal his rabid hatred of the Soviet terests of the world revolution, the Union, of communism, of every- more confidently the rulers of the is one of them.

But even more than this is invent a debacle. But instead of tionally, he has been to the estates volved. Having brought Soviet naerous "left" bourgeois allies, the what Harry Lang was to the es- in social-patriotism, Stalin makes and Abraham Cahan. It goes with- Second International to trade on out asying that especially since the the revolutionary reputation of Russharpening of the Socialist party's sia in their base work of mobiliz-The one ray of hope is that the internal struggle between the Left ing the proletariat for the coming spontaneous drive of the masses is wing and the Old Guard, hardly a war. What is new in the situation

Where lies one of the greatest, can assure? In the sweep to the Left of the militant Socialist elements in the Second International, in their logical evolution to the position of consistent revolutionary Marxism In a number of coun-Of all the ideas prevalent in the tries, these elements are moving at Second International, few are as deceptive, treacherous and fraught with calamity for the world's classic conceptions of social reformations. working class as the doctrine that the proletariat must support the latter's capitalist patriotism. "democratic" capitalist nations in a war with the Fascist countries. wing bureaucracy seeks to beat Between 1914 and 1918, identically them back, are being taken more the same conception converted most and more from the arsenal of Stal-

Powers offers a concrete instance aspects which are not consistent capitalist fatherlands. Nothing hav- of how this is being done. In the with his main argument, and thereing changed in the Old Guard of attempt to smash the Militant fore not thoroughgoing, is neverthe Second International, Powers is Group, he calls upon Stalin-Litvin-theless infinitely closer to the revov for aid and invokes their con- olutionary stand than the position with the same arguments, and even ception of the "defense of the Sootic doctrine. Let a war break out viet Union" to buttress his reactionary position.

Powers' "Concern" for Russian Revolution

"Litvinov's speech before the Allies because of the fact that the in London on Tuesday," he begins Allies because of the fact that the case of phasized again the extent to which Soviet Russia is committed to colla section of them. The League of Nations is today laboration with the League and merely a pseudonym for the so-her military allies, France and countries. Czechoslovakia, against Hitler Gernecessary for him to do so. The Jointly dominated by France, the many's war plans. For Soviet Rusnew world war is so perilously gendarme of Europe, and England, sia to pursue any other policy would slave-owner on six continents, its be to neglect criminally her very principal pre-occupation in world life interests and to jeopardize the politics in our time has been (and conquests of the revolution. After is) the preservation of the unpre- Hitler's speech announcing the adservable status quo. The status quo vance of German troops into the —the state of things as they are—|demilitarized Rhineland, there of the people, the tenseness in the means not only the infamous Ver- could be no more doubt of the aims international situation undermine sailles treaty (which formed part of of German policy. What Hitler of the stability of the Fascist state the yeast on which Hitlerism rose fered to Europe was a 25-year and drives Mussolini on to increas- to power) but also the oppressive peace guarantee in the West in exingly desperate measures. Il Duce's rule of bankrupt capitalism over change for a free hand against days are numbered. But "whom tens of millions of workers and Russia. The militarist-Fascist banthe gods would destroy, they first hundreds of millions of colonial dists of Germany have the temerity The support given the League of to despoil and dismember Russia, for collective action available," for pressed only because of considera-Nations, from the very beginning, they will not attack the rest of one simple reason: He has not the tions of an essentially secondary by the Second International has Europe. Litvinov emphasized this sightest belief that the world pro- order, only foreshadows that healmerely been another way of sup- point very well and exposed com- letarian movement, be it organized thier and truly progressive coming

and Fascism.'

The reason for Powers' newly discovered passion for the Soviet Union becomes clearer a week later. In the March 28 issue of the New Leader he lets fly a new attack on Militants. The latter are, according of 'Left wing' communism and primitive, parochial American isolationadvocated by Thomas."

As is evident from the headline, a bit from the art of Stalinist politics. Just as Trotsky is always to be at least as much consolation bracketed in the C.P. press with to the workers as it was in 1914-'White Guards and counter-revolutionists." the Old Guard has learned to bracket the Left wing with everyone and everything that is abhorren to conservative socialism. What, for example, have Trotsky and Bor- supplies the old school of socialah in common, especially on the patriots with a new argument which question at issue, the League of they did not have the benefit of Nations? Borah stands, presumably, twenty years ago: "defense of the or American isolation in principle, Soviet Union." Under cover of this for the preservation of American entirely correct slogan, all kinds capitalist rule free from commit- of scoundrels, who either never ments in Europe, so that it may gave a damn about the Soviet repursue a world imperialist policy public or who have been systemwith the maximum of latitude, atically undermining its revolution-Trotsky is opposed to the League of ary foundations, are fostering the Nations on grounds common to poison of chauvinism in the body every revolutionist, namely, because of the working class. League or not. The position taken by Norman labelled . . . a Trotskyist.

of the Second International. In with the same shibboleths and lafact, the two move in opposite directions. Thomas, for example, de-Let us quote extensively from clares that "only a socialist appeal tionalists whom they finally exrim, so that we may see the full presents real hope." If this means significance of the growing rap- that the struggle against war can Old Guard -- C. P. . proachement between the Right be condicted effectively only by Draws Closer wing of the Second International means of an independent, militant and the bureaucracy of the Third. working class movement, it is unassailable. The pontiffs of the Sec-

of Nations, the only international finding their road towards the revavailable," Powers reproaches Tho- against war and Fascism, and mas, ". . . he helps lend encourage- against the whole system of capment to the enemies of internation- italism from which these twin evils. al cooperation and gives aid and inexorably arise. comfort to Hitler.'

League's sub-soil and requiring only viet Russia both from Germany and | The argument that the working the tender and patient care of social | Japan, no Socialist aware of the | class movement is weak and must adays than to be a "Friend of the democratic cabinet ministers for realities of the situation and pos-seek assistance for its cause outsessing a sense of responsibility can | side its own immediate ranks, that criticize Soviet Russia for its pol- it must therefore support the The Soviet Union's affiliation to icy of collaboration with the League League, "however inadequate," is the League has had the same effect and of any countries whose interarging in a vicious circle. The Russia he automatically acquires in the ranks of the working class ests coincide with Soviet Russia's proletarian movement is weak preas the continued support of "the in the task of checkmating Hitler's cisely because it supports the instithieves' kitchen at Geneva" by the war conspiracy. The interests of tutions of its class enemy. The way Second International. An even self-defense justify fully the sharp to keep it weak, to keep it un-selfmore damaging effect, however, change in Soviet Russia's foreign reliant, is to teach it to continue reactionary policy? There are many And that precisely because the So- policy from ill-founded, bitter op- supporting enemy institutions. The viet Union today still stands for position to the League of Nations labor movement internationally has score, but their number diminishes the great traditions of the Russian to 'class collaboration' with the indeed been brought to the edge of revolution in the minds of the mass- League and any bourgeois govern- a treacherous swamp. It stands Among those who have recently es, and its action could only serve ments whose own interests dictate with one leg on firm soil; the other caused the number to diminish is to give the League of Bandits a the necessity of collaboration with rests on the surface of the swamp. the bourgeoisie is making dire the new recruit to the "friends" of nef credit rating where it had for- Soviet Russia. We have no hesita- By that very fact it is unbalanced, tion in saying that those Socialists and consequently weak. The Old and Communists of the Left who Guard of the Second International, in-Litvinov policy in the League of assail Russia's legitimate policy of ardently assisted by Stalinism, Nations has brought confusion and demoralization into the working the working the work of Hitler that it is not in a firm position by then itself is to lean more heavily The Trotsky-Borah Amalgam on the swamp. And the heavier it leans in that direction, the closer it comes to toppling over into the swamp and being entirely en-

> The Second International is preparing feverishly to play the same Norman Thomas and the Socialist role in the coming war that it played in 1914. When Powers to Powers, "a curious combination writes that its ends are "the maintenance of peace, if at all possible, and the mobilization of the nations ism." His column, according to its and peoples against any military headline, is devoted to "some com- aggression by Hitler Fascism," he ments on the Trotsky-Borah policy means: when war does break out, we will mobilize the proletariat for the trenches where it may be Powers and Co. have learned quite slaughtered in the interests of the "democratic" bandits, which ought 1918 to die for "republican" France, "poor little" Belgium and "democratic" America.

gulfed by it.

The Third International not only takes the same line of policy, but

it is an association of imperialist Whoever offers an antitoxin to origands, and his opposition is en- this poison, whoever seeks to dispek tirely in conformity with his irre- it from the ranks of the proletariat, concilable antagonism to capitalist to make the latter healthy and rule in the United States, regard- strong and able to rely on and fight less of whether the latter is in the for itself, is now dismissed by both the old line bureaucracies by being

Thomas, in spite of those of its What significance must the Left wing Socialist necessarily attach to the fact that the reactionary and corrupt Old Guard of his party

The Stalinists, having completed their development towards socialond International, however, who patriotism, find that they have a have worked with might and main to demoralize the proletarian movement take the professional movement take they have a decreasing attractive power for the Left wing Socialist workers—because the professional movement take they have a decreasing attractive power for the Left wing Socialist workers—because the professional movement take they have a decreasing attractive power for the Left wing Socialist workers—because the professional movement take they have a decreasing attractive power for the Left wing Socialist workers—because the professional movement take the professional movem ment, take the position that because cause they are travelling in oppo-Council of the League of Nations the working class is prostrate and site directions. For the same reason, the Stalinists find an increascapitalist war-mongers, or at least and in action—with the reactionary Like draws unto like. For the same The Old Guard has long ago lost reason, those who are being so genany belief in the ability of the erally covered with the label of working class not only to emanci- "Trotskyism" by the reactionary pate itself, but even to fight its bureaucracies, even if not always daily battles under capitalism. The very accurately and warrantedly, working class is to be saved from must inevitably draw together also. capitalism and its ravages, by sup- Coming from different directions porting . . . capitalism and its in- though they have, traveling though stitutions. "By deriding the League they do at different paces, they are instrument for collective action olutionary proletarian struggle

The political alliance between the The League, in Powers' mind, is Old Guard social democrats and the to suggest openly that if permitted the "only international instrument Stalinists, not organizationally exporting the continued existence of rietely the true character of Hit- in the Second or Third Internation- together of all the revolutionary als, is available for collective ac- forces who understand the situation "In the light of the very real and tion or action of any other kind in and know how to draw the proper conclusions from it.

JAPAN, CHINA & THE U.S.S.R. ar Crisis in the Far Fast

I ISM REVERTS TO «BLOC OF FOUR CLASSES» IN CHINA

SPEAKER

H. R. ISAACS

Former editor, China Forum, recently returned from five years' sojourn in China. DISCUSSION OUES/TIONS Ausp.: N. Y. District, Workers Party U.S.

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