

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

A Shanghai View on Chinese Events

SHANGHAI, CHINA

February 16, 1932

While the principal scene of Japanese military activities in China has shifted, at least temporarily, from Manchuria to Shanghai, Manchuria remains the focusing point of Japan's colonial ambitions on the Asiatic mainland.

The current happenings in Shanghai, where major Japanese naval and military forces are endeavoring to defeat the Chinese 19th Route Army and oust it from Chapel, can be understood only in relation to the immediate pre-eminence political and Japanese imperialism, which is to expand its colonial possessions by the annexation of Manchuria and meanwhile, as a first step, to secure treaty recognition of the position it has taken there. Japanese imperialism hopes, by a display of its naval and military might, and by wreaking havoc and destruction to terrorize the yellow politicians and militarists of Nanking (now Loyang) into signing such a treaty.

The imperial and military spokesmen of the puppet Nippon have declared a new policy, their intention to respect China's territorial and administrative integrity, guaranteed by the Nine-Power Treaty, and to maintain the policy of the "open door" in Manchuria. A month of journeying through the three Eastern provinces has satisfied the writer—as it would all others with sound eyes and ears—that Manchuria has virtually ceased to be a part of China, and that the policy of the "open door" scarcely continues to exist except in the utterances of Japanese diplomats at Geneva, Washington and elsewhere.

Quite aside from the actual evidence, however, only a dullard could ever have imagined that the military campaigns have been taken in any other interests than those of Japanese imperialism. Has British imperialism ever shared the spoils of its colonial wars with its trade rivals? Have the imperialists of France, of the United States, of Italy, of Spain ever done so? Has Japan done it in the case of Korea? What basis exists, then, for supposing that Manchuria will prove an exception to the general rule? None whatever.

Since September 18, when the troops of the Japanese garrison at Kwantung marched out of the South Manchuria Railway zone and occupied Mukden and other strategic points, the war of conquest, practically unresisted, has proceeded steadily. Fresh troops and munitions have poured into Manchuria as required. With the taking of Harbin, Japanese control of Manchuria is practically complete, for the retaking of strategic points in Heilungkiang province can be accomplished at any time. General Ma Chan-shan, erstwhile Chinese national hero, has been bargaining with the Japanese military at his headquarters in Hailun for some two months or more, and is now reported to have objected to his former opponents for obstructing them at the Nouni River. He is clearly ready to strike a bargain on what he may consider favorable terms.

When I arrived at Shangkaiwan, the evacuation of Chang Hsueh-liang's armies from Manchuria had been completed. Forty-five trainloads of his troops had passed within the Great Wall during the preceding three or four days, without firing a single shot at the Japanese invaders. This was completed another chapter in the record of shameful capitulation of the Nanking government and its miserable Manchurian ally. The Japanese forces, having taken Chinchow, were advancing rapidly westward. It remained for them to ride triumphantly into Shangkaiwan on the Iron road of the Peiping-Mukden Railway to round out what has proved to be, initially, the easiest colonial conquest on record.

As an example of the cowardly refusal of those in power to even attempt to defend China's soil, of their abject surrender to Japanese aggression, I might record that on the day prior to the arrival of the Japanese forces at Shangkaiwan, a staff officer attached to the Chinese Garrison Headquarters rode out to meet the invaders, to inform them that they would meet with no resistance in the event that they desired to occupy the town. And Shangkaiwan, lying immediately south of the Great Wall is outside Manchuria. One cannot doubt that they will prove equally obliging and accommodating should the hungry maw of Japanese imperialism demand the rest of China too. The freshest example is Shanghai (Chapel) where the 19th Route Army is stubbornly resisting the Japanese forces despite the receipt of orders from Nanking to withdraw and surrender the ground without fighting.

Shangkaiwan apparently forms no part of the immediate objectives of the Japanese Army, belonging geographically to the Tientsin-Peiping area. Thus after a perfunctory inspection of the railway station and environs, the Japanese soldiers withdrew. From that station to Mukden, the whole railway line was in their hands. Before the advance westward, the staffs of all stations had fled and had been replaced by the officials and workers drawn from the South Manchuria Railway, Japanese-owned. All normal traffic on the section was obstructed and stopped and the line en-

tirely given over to the transportation of Japanese troops and military supplies. Within a fortnight, the Japanese headquarters at Mukden announced the "independence" of the section and renamed it the Shenyang-Shankaiwan Railway, at the same time guaranteeing the interest due British bondholders.

With this important railway line under their control, together with all branch and feeder lines, and now, lately, the partial seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway, jointly owned and operated by China and Soviet China with the disbanding of all Chinese administrative organs which made the slightest show of opposition and their replacement by puppet governments; with all activities, governmental and economic, supervised and controlled by the paid servants of Japanese imperialism; with all opposition stifled by military terror, what more is required to complete the picture of Manchuria as Japan's newest colonial possession? It is needless to add that the Japanese drive against Chinchow and points further west was accompanied by those acts of wanton destruction and brutality that are customarily associated with wars of colonial subjugation. Railway stations at places where positively no resistance was encountered by the Japanese troops were wantonly wrecked, and such members of the station staff as remained at their posts were brutally beaten up, in some instances seriously maimed and even killed.

In their triumphant invasion of Manchuria, the Japanese imperialists have not had things entirely their own way. First, they have been obliged to take some steps to allay the "misgivings" of their imperialist rivals, notably the United States, a task which, in the nature of the case, called for not a little ingenuity. In this field, since no other course was apparently open, they have confined themselves to hypocritical denials of any intention to annex Manchuria and to renewed pledges to maintain there, the "open door". The factual answer to the first has already been given above. Manchuria has been annexed *de facto* if not *de jure*.

As to the maintenance of the "open door" it is commonly known that at

three of the principal ports through which Manchuria's import trade flows, via: Dalren, Antung and Yinkow, goods of Japanese origin are permitted to enter at reduced tariff rates, in some cases duty free, while other foreign goods pay the officially levied duties. With the extension of Japanese control throughout Manchuria it can be expected that this system of preference, which is carried out to all Manchurian ports of entry, to the ultimate severe handicapping of trade of Japan's commercial rivals. This is but one example of Manchuria's gradually closing door. The preference enjoyed by Japanese products is at present surreptitious, but the exigencies of the economic crisis, which demands ever new trade outlets, will compel, ultimately, the official and formal sealing of a door which today stands only slightly ajar.

The second difficulty encountered one which grows constantly, is the opposition of the people over whom it seeks to become the overlord. Betrayed and deserted by the armies paid (ostensibly at any rate) to defend them, the peoples of Manchuria have been seemingly slow in developing opposition to the foreign imperialist invaders. In early January, however, the first substantial signs of an energetic partisan movement showed themselves. The remnants of the disbanded Chinese soldiery, mostly of peasant origin, dispersed their uniforms and merged themselves with their compatriots in the villages to escape detection by Japanese troops intent on their extermination as "hungerbuds" (bandits).

Forming themselves into small mobile bands, reinforced by members of the village poor, they swooped down on Japanese outposts under cover of darkness, engaged the defenders in sharp battle, often annihilating them completely, and then retreated into the night richer in arms and ammunition. In this way tremendous losses were sustained by the Japanese forces, especially those guarding small stations on the railway line between Mukden and Chinchow. Japanese reinforcements would endeavor to locate and round up the raiders as soon as it got light, but by then they had melted away into the neighboring vil-

lages from which they came, arms concealed, unidentifiable, awaiting their next opportunity.

Realizing the impossibility of tracing these annoying challengers of their might, and seriously perturbed by the losses in men and guns, the Japanese military command in Mukden have been considering punitive expeditions into the villages that flank the railway. It was proposed that in the village closest to the scene of the raid by a partisan band one adult male out of every ten should be taken out and shot as an example of others, and that this measure should be repeated after each raid. So far there have been no reports that such action has been instituted, although partisan activities increasingly harass the Japanese forces and hinder the consolidation of their initial conquest. Were such action taken it would only have the effect of strengthening and intensifying the spontaneous opposition it would aim to crush.

The growth of the partisan movement in Manchuria has had repercussions in Korea, where the movement for independence has been visibly stimulated. The Korean people have never been persuaded of the benevolence of Japanese imperialism, less so today than ever with the fresh example of Manchuria before them. At the same time the Japanese workers at home are voicing strong opposition to their masters' doings in Manchuria, and numerous huge protest demonstrations have been held in leading cities.

All these movements bid fair to hinder, possibly defeat, the realization of Japan's colonial ambitions, and all the scorpions of repression will be released to subdue them.

To counteract the growing opposition of the United States, Japan in war, assured that this will draw to her side all the imperialist powers, including the United States. It is plain that the continued "misgivings" of the State Department will shortly find expression in more concrete form than diplomatic notes of protest. Not for much longer will Japan's hollow declarations concerning her aims in Manchuria satisfy her powerful rival.

The final word, however, will rest with the revolutionary masses of the Far East, in alliance with the workers of the Soviet Union and of the whole world.

—C. FRANK GLASS.

«Stalin and His Creatures» -- The New Anti-Trotsky Campaign

The Daily Worker of March 1 presents us with a new candidate for the profitable honor of flinging mud at Trotsky. This time it is "Bill" Dunne who seeks to climb out of a recent obscurity on a multiple of his own heaping. Whatever one may think of the suitability of the candidate, one cannot deny him a certain eagerness to earn his spurs no matter how deeply he must sink to find them.

This is not the first time Dunne has joined in the "final" burial of "Trotskyism". When we were first expelled from the American party, Dunne hastened to cable from Moscow a statesman-like protest against our alleged "use of his name", apparently under the flattering illusion that the "use" of his name would be profitable to anybody. Now, laboring under the same illusion, Dunne appears to believe that if he adds his little share of abuse and calumny to the mountains of filth reared by his equally willing colleagues, Trotsky and the whole Opposition will collapse under the strain, to be deserted by the honest workers still among its crew, those honest, but apparently stupid and "misled" workers for whom every Stalinist functionary sheds tears of commiseration.

What is the occasion for this new outburst which "proves" that Trotsky "has finally joined" the counter-revolution? The interview granted by comrade Trotsky to the bourgeois press in which the views of the Opposition on the shakiness of the Stalin regime are briefly outlined, and the newspaper rumor that Trotsky is to be allowed into Czecho-Slovakia for three months. At least this is the formal occasion. In reality, the Stalinists are deeply troubled and dismayed. After years of the most venomous persecution, with all the resources of the Soviet power and the Comintern at their disposal, after periodical funerals for the Opposition, the corpse turns out to be more robust and vigorous than ever, while the ground trembles under the feet of the grave-diggers. Nothing else can explain the hysterical and brutal letter of Stalin against Slutsky and the other "Trotskyist smugglers", a letter which breaks a silence on the part of "the greatest disciple of Lenin" which the revolutionary events in Spain, the turbulent situation in Germany, and the world crisis in general have up to now sought in vain to pierce. And like the candle which splatters violently before dying out, the Stalinists have now launched a more than usually poisonous campaign against our great comrade. But like the dying candle, the smell of this campaign can already be smelled and properly classified. Dunne's splutterings are part of this campaign. He fits with admirable accuracy into the category to which comrade Trotsky referred in his interview and which makes Dunne blue in the face: "Stalin and his creatures".

What is the content (by your leave) of Dunne's abuse? Trotsky is "counter-revolution's outpost in Prinkipo". The "precise moment when the Soviet Union is faced with the sharpest offensive in the present drive of world imperialism", is chosen by Trotsky "to place himself with added venom in the imperialist camp". And, adds Dunne, for whom no secret is inviolate and nothing is obscure, "it is no mere coincidence" that France's puppet government of Czecho-Slovakia "grants Trotsky permission for a three-months' stay at the very moment he is preparing his counter-revolutionary statement". But here, we regret to report, Dunne's courage fails him. If not his courage, then his inventiveness. Why does he not conclude boldly that Trotsky is preparing to lead against the Soviet Union the same imperialist troops of Czecho-Slovakia whom he was driving out of Russia at the head of the Red Army at about the same time that Dunne was publishing Robert Minor's counter-revolutionary anarchist diatribe about how Lenin and Trotsky were "cruelly and despotically strangling the genuine Russian revolution" in Moscow? Only in this manner, we submit, would the article be properly rounded off.

We have another mild criticism to make of Dunne's article. He grows indignant over the fact that Trotsky gave his interview to the Associated Press, "one of the most useful agencies of American imperialism". Dunne is right, only he does not go far enough. He should point out that Trotsky is wrong in trying to break into a monopoly contractually owned by Stalin. We refer to the fact that TASS, the official Soviet telegraphic press agency, has an exclusive reciprocity contract with the Associated Press in this country, so that the correspondents of the former can usually be found in the offices of the latter, and the falsehoods manufactured against Trotsky, in the Stalinist forgery factory at Moscow are promptly transmitted to the American reading public by "one of the most useful agencies of American imperialism". The broadcasting of Trotsky's interview by the A. P. is really a breach of contract with Stalin, and we know of no wrier case for which Dunne should take up his hollow cudgels.

Still another suggestion: Why should Dunne get so frightened at the prospect of Trotsky coming to Czecho-Slovakia? Where is Smeral? Is he doing nothing? When it was expected two years ago that Trotsky might get a visa to France, that sterling old French patriot, Marcel Cachin, came running to Besseodovsky, yes, Besseodovsky, the man who was acting as Soviet ambassador in France after the "counter-revolutionist" Rakovsky had been expelled by Briand and Stalin. Cachin begged Besseodovsky with tears in his eyes to see Briand immediately so as to prevent the issuance of

a visa to Trotsky. We have no doubt that the Soviet ambassadors and the creatures of Stalin in England, Germany and elsewhere, did the same thing when the proposal came up there for a Trotsky visa. As is known, the social democratic governments of England and Germany, like the reactionary governments of France and Belgium, and the republican-socialist coalition of Spain, all accommodated Stalin and refused a visa. Why should Czecho-Slovakia prove to be less amenable to Stalin's request? Where is Smeral? He is no novice at negotiating with bourgeois governments on a friendly—Oh, on a most friendly—basis.

There finally remains to attempt an explanation of Dunne's terrific howling. Nobody would conceivably make such a deafening noise, even in so "noble" a cause, if there were not some other sound that had to be drowned out. For example, it is because of his past "noises" that Radek now shouts so lustily against Trotsky. Or, if you want another example, Engdahl's or Bedacht's clamor against Lovestone. As even the uninitiated will suspect, the role holds good in the present case too. In 1926, Dunne wrote back to the United States from one of his periodic trips to Moscow, and was foolish enough to express himself plainly on the internal Russian party conflict. Our readers will remember the period just after Stalin's break with Zinoviev and before the formation of the Opposition bloc. At that time there was an "interlude" in the Stalinist struggle against Trotsky and the Opposition, based upon Stalin's aspiration to bloc with the latter against Zinoviev and Kamenev. It was at this epoch that Dunne wrote with unconstrained joy: "Trotsky is back with a vengeance. His pictures and busts are displayed everywhere next to Lenin's" etc., etc. Elementary compassion for a man caught short dictates that we resist the temptation to publish in full the hymn of rejoicing Dunne penned at that time to the prospect of Trotsky coming "back with a vengeance".

The point is that this letter was always pretty much of an open secret in the party. Its existence is known to the stern party elders who never forget and rarely forgive. When Dunne's advancement to a higher rung in the hierarchic ladder is discussed in the sacred councils, some defender of the faith (a Browder, let us say, or a Hathaway) will say: "Yes, yes, but what about that letter?" There lies the secret of the terrific noise Dunne makes—not, to be sure, of the shameless vituperation, because that is a commonplace with every Stalinist creature who ekes out his place in the party today, but of the unusual loudness. Dunne is simply trying to drown out the haunting echo of his 1926 letter. Sincerely, we wish him the luck his labors merit.

The German Opposition at Work

This is the first of a series of articles on the current activities of the German Left Opposition.—Ed.

The tremendous sharpening of class conflicts in Germany, the dictatorship policy of the Bruening government, the Fascist danger on the one hand, the treacherous policy of the social democracy on the other, and finally, the false policy and helplessness of the C. P. G. have produced a powerful process of fermentation within the best sections of the C. P. G. and in the ranks of the proletariat as a whole. This process finds its partial expression in a search for a correct line of struggle. The call for a united front of the entire proletarian class in a defense against Fascism is the strongest factor in the German labor movement today.

The Communist party remains impotent in this situation. The present leadership of the party actually declines, by its false policy, to take into account the most important factor, the 'esi' of the proletarian class for a united front. The C. P. G. has succeeded, to be sure, in rallying large masses about it, but it has not succeeded in breaking down the decisive influence of the S. P. G. in the factories, in the trade unions and in the proletarian mass organizations. Thanks to the false policy of the party leadership a centrist party, the Socialist Labor Party, has been able to raise its head. For the moment, the prospect of a change in the line of the party is rather slim ("Social Fascism must first be defeated if Fascism is to be vanquished").

What did the Left Opposition do in this situation? Do the German comrades know how to intervene in the events, despite their numerical weakness? In order to evaluate the work of the

Dunne has his competitors, not a menacing once, but at least just as anxious and willing. In the new-born (or still-born?) Workers Age of March 5, 1932, another Trotsky-killing knight sallies forth with a wooden sword, Herbert Zam. The Lovestoneites, after the collapse of their attempt to argue us out of existence with blackjacks, burglars and daggers, have retired to the "ideological front". After their representatives in the Cominter and here voted with every available limb to expel Trotsky from the party and to exile him to Alma-Ata, and plumed the lowest depths of disloyalty and baseness to besmirch and calumniate the great revolutionist, they now find, with an indignation surpassing Dunne's, that "it is an act of shameful factional vengeance" for Stalin . . . to deprive Trotsky of his citizenship! Like the righteous burgher in the melodrama, they cry out to the villain: "You have shot my son. You have raped my daughter. You have shamed my spouse. You have stolen my household goods. You have burned down my farm over my head. But have a care, Sir Marmalade, some day you shall go too far!"

But this editorial comment is only put in to make Zam's revelations about "Trotsky and the Far East Crisis" more palatable. But it does not help one to digest Zam's re-warmed chopped straw, and we will not attempt to offer any of it to our readers. The "three serious errors of comrade (Ahem! Comrade!) Trotsky" are three feeble straw men laboriously fabricated by Zam and triumphantly cut down at one blow. In this Zam is only following the established tradition of his kidney. It will be recalled how Zam's elderly colleague wrote a whole booklet, a veritable American textbook against Trotskyism, to prove that unvarnished scoundrels were all the allies of Trotsky in the United States. Since Trotsky had no allies in this country at that time, Wolfe, for nothing put out, simply invented them, Trotsky, he proceeded, a few years later, after his expulsion with Lovestone and Co., to make the best of these inventions by uniting with them at the first opportunity! In this way, all were pleased: Trotsky had his revenge for Wolfe's fabrications, and Wolfe made a good profit out of Trotsky's "allies". Maybe there is something in the blood of the Lovestoneites that gives them a kick out of this way of conducting polemics. Apparently there are such people.

Zam, by the way, is not at an end. There is more to come. He concludes his breathless battle by writing: "Perhaps a closer investigation will disclose that the Trotsky Thermidor theory . . . and the Trotsky theory of Japan's peacefulness are not entirely unrelated." Bah! We are ashamed of such hesitancy. Why "perhaps"? People who "related" Trotsky to a Wrangel officer, and the Left Opposition to Chamberlain and Hoover, should have no difficulty in "relating" any two things. Stalin's creatures are not only to be found inside Stalin's party. Plenty can still be found among those eternally hopeful who aspire, on the outside, to the comforts of their lost home.

—MONYAEK.

German Opposition objectively, its past development must be taken into consideration. The complete bankruptcy of the Maslov-Rath-Fischer Opposition greatly compromised the ideas of the Left in the C. P. G. The policy conducted by the estrangement of the Left Opposition from the leadership of the party. The intrigues of Landau contributed the rest and only helped to make the Left Opposition ridiculous in the eyes of the best sections of the German working class. It was upon such premises that the Left Opposition had to resume its work in Germany. And in this work, it must be remembered, it was faced with a struggle not only against the straggle Stalinist party in Western Europe, but against the strongest right wing group in the world, the Brandler group, as well.

Political and Organizational Activity
The German Opposition has taken a position on the most important political events in so far as it lay within the realm of its ability. Before the referendum in Prussia, it took a unequivocal position against the "Red" Referendum of the Communist party (carried on in common with the Fascists) in its paper, the *Permanente Revolution*. In its Open Letter to the party it posed, on the basis of an analysis of the situation in Germany, the question of the united front as the central political problem of the C. P. G. Finally, the Left Opposition took a position toward the new centrist party, the Socialist Labor Party, in the form of these. Within this party, which is centrist in its policy, there are many youths who have placed themselves on the ground of Communism. They reject entrance into the C. P. G. on account of its false policy. At the plenum of the National Committee, a resolution "On the Situation" was adopted.

Lately, the political influence of the Left Opposition has grown appreciably in Germany. The entire press, and especially the central organ of the Communist party, *Die Rote Fahne*, is forced to take a position toward the policy of the Left Opposition. The campaign against comrade Trotsky is carried on in full swing.

Still, it must be emphasized that the organic growth of the Opposition does not at all measure up to this political influence. That is due, in large part, to the immense objective difficulties, and in part also to the subjective difficulties: the material poverty of the organization in relationship to the necessary work; a hard-fought lack of forces and others.

The first few months after the elimination of Landau and his meagre following were occupied with a tightening of the organization and with the resumption of regular activities by the various local groups. That was a period of internal consolidation for the organization. The next step was the formation of active cadres, the winning over of new members and the reconstruction of our faction inside the party. In this field, the Berlin organization, despite its relative weakness has been able to register good progress. The membership figures rose and in several districts party factions were created. Despite the enormously difficult objective conditions, the group went ahead with the preparation of open discussion meetings, at which new members were enrolled. Numerous speakers were sent out to represent our organization at various discussion meetings.

The Saxon and Hamburg groups have likewise carried on good propagandistic activity, especially of late. There too, we have been able to register an increase in membership. Especially instructive are the experiences of the Bruchsal group. In Bruchsal, there is only our organization in the field; there is no party organization. Through the application of the Leninist united front tactic, our Bruchsal comrades succeeded in establishing a proletarian class front, in which the social democratic party organization, the trade unions and all the other proletarian organizations participated. The result of this policy was that the local group was able to more than double its membership (more than a hundred); aside from this, several new local groups have been founded in the vicinity. Furthermore, new groups have been established in the following places: Beuthen, Goerlitz, Breslau, Frankfurt on the Main, the Ruhr, Oranienburg, Magdeburg, Erfurt, etc.

Literature and Press
The organization has from its inception made many efforts toward the creation of an opposition literature. The material means did not suffice for a regularly appearing newspaper. All efforts were concentrated on the publication of inexpensive pamphlets, in order to carry on our propaganda on the broadest basis. All the writings of comrade Trotsky were published in pamphlet form. From time to time, the circulation of the publications continued to grow. Several mistakes were committed in this field (the issuance of too limited a number of pamphlets, which are today entirely out of print and which cannot be re-

(Continued on page 4)