

**WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE**

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]



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Japan Seizes North China

Soviet Union Also Threatened

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Answer! Where Is Rakovsky?

Where is Christian Rakovsky and what has happened to him?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TECHNOCRACY

Engineers Have New Plan To Save Bankrupt Capitalism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The Civil War in China

Dangerous Turn From Partisan War to Pitched Battles

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

Trotsky's Analysis Verified

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

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

United Front Call Issued For Unemployment Insurance

Opposition Welcomes Party Turn and Warns Against Opportunistic Tendencies

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

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

Opposition Stand Vindicated

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

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

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

The call itself proclaims that the Com-

SAVE THE MILITANT

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

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

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

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

—ARNE SWABECK.

The following contributions have been received to date:

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

mittee "proposes a meeting of representatives of workers organizations to discuss the advisability of organizing through a state-wide workers' conference to map out a legislative program in defense of our interests. We propose that such a conference, if agreed upon, is to conclude the widest possible representation of all workers' organizations, social, fraternal and benevolent and above all labor unions, irrespective of political opinions or affiliations. The workers of this state have never before been confronted with the need for united and united action as they are at the present time. Any attempt at dividing the forces of the workers at this time would be a betrayal of their interests."

Finally, the Daily Worker puts the stamp of approval on the enterprise with its concluding comment: "The need for united action of all workers of all shades of opinion and of whatever organization is desperate. The good results of such action can be seen by the typical case of the Chicago recently by a relief cut in Chicago smelting by 100,000 workers built into a united front of every shade, Communist, A. F. L. regulars and socialist."

What is said in the call of the Committee, in which as is known the Communists play the decisive role, and in the comments of the Daily Worker—we can agree with all the more easily because we have fought to have the party adopt this standpoint at a time when its policy was exactly the opposite. The step forward in the action under consideration consists in the following changes of policy:

Old Policy Dropped

1. The slogan and designation of "social-Fascism", which was theoretically false and in practice drove a wedge between the Communist and socialist workers, helping the latter's leaders to maintain their control over the ranks, is prominent by its absence. The term is not mentioned; it is not even given the courtesy of a hint.
2. The conception formerly dominant in the party that the A. F. of L. is "Fascist", that the conservative unions are "company unions", is not to be found at all.
3. The bureaucratic idea of a "united front under the revolutionary leadership of the Communist party", which simply put to the masses the ultimatum—accept Communist leadership or you get no "united front"!—is also deleted in the present case. For the first time, we have the invitation specifically sent to the "branches of the Socialist party"—the very suggestion of which would have thrown the Stalinist bureaucracy into an advanced fit of hydrophobia a year ago.

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Zinaide Trotsky

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

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

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

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

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BANQUET
for
THE MILITANT
Saturday, January 21, 9 P. M.
INTERNATIONAL WORKERS
SCHOOL HALL
126 East 16th Street
Music — Entertainment and a Good Time
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J. P. CANNON
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126 East 16th Street,
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