

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

ARMY RULE IN THE PHILIPPINES . . .

In the modern world the crude methods of direct and brutal colonial oppression by the "advanced" imperialist nations are resorted to only as a final means when more subtle methods fail. It is far easier and no more costly for the foreign exploiters to strike a mutually helpful bargain with the native bourgeoisie and its representatives. In Cuba the puppets Mendicta and Battista take their orders from the American capitalists through the United States Minister. In the Philippines the figure-head Quezon will take his orders from the "military adviser" McArthur, whose appointment to that post has just been announced. In the very way in which the news is made public, there is revealed the "open secret" that the election of Quezon was a pre-determined, cut-and-dried affair. The elections have only just been completed and yet it is stated that Quezon, precisely Quezon, had called for the appointment of General McArthur last summer. This is obviously revealed only now, after the elections, since it might have embarrassed Quezon in his campaigning. The United States Army, with commendable courtesy and in a spirit of cooperation, has graciously consented to transfer the former Chief of Staff to this new service, to help supervise the organization of the national defense forces for the new "commonwealth" government of the Philippine Islands. Under McArthur's rule the work of militarizing the Islands and the adjacent possessions will go forward to completion. The Philippines will be made a strong naval and air base for use in the coming war with Japan.

Gentleman's Agreement

Not that the threat of this war has again reached the acute stage. On the contrary, it suits the aims of both countries at this time to cultivate each other's friendship. Thus Ambassador Saito has just arrived at a 'gentleman's agreement' with Washington to limit the volume of textiles to be exported by Japan to the Philippine market. This was done in order to avoid the imposing of an additional 50 to 75 per cent duty on Japanese goods entering the Philippines. The Japanese have even agreed to accept a smaller quota than the 52 per cent they had captured in 1934. This avoidance of a trade war in textiles may be extended to the general exports of the rapidly expanding Japanese capitalism to the United States and its possessions. But lest it be inferred that the threat of war in the Pacific area is abating, one has only to glance at the enormous imports of scrap steel and other forms of

steel from the United States to Japan. The latter has increased her average takings of these vital materials by 800 percent. This means that in the last thirty months Japan has imported more of this war material than in the previous eight years combined. Despite the rise in price that has resulted, the rate of import has, if anything, increased.

ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

What is of greater importance to both the Soviet Union and to U. S. imperialism, there are rumors of a revival of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Speculation concerning the mission of the English economist Leith-Ross in the Far East centers on this interpretation. With the naval race in full swing as the result of the scrapping of the Washington naval truce, the English find themselves more exposed than ever to attack in and from the Far East. The Italian threat to the Mediterranean line of communications that is like a sacred cow to British imperialism, only serves the more to emphasize England's weakness at the far end of these communications in Singapore. An alliance with Japan would serve to check the threat of the latter to build a canal through Siam that would "short-circuit" Singapore and shorten the route to India by two or three days. Japan would be given assurances against America and would police the Far East for the interests of both imperialists. Japan could then feel free to launch her attack finally against the Soviet Union. The resumption of this Far Eastern alliance would be in line with England's policy with respect to Germany; that is, of encouraging Hitler to expand eastwards at the expense of the Soviet Union.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

All these machinations of the imperialist robbers are directly and violently opposed to the vital interests of the world proletariat. This is the manner in which the bourgeoisie propose to maintain the system of exploitation, against the physical and economic well-being of the working class. The organizer and leader of the British Labor Party, Herbert Morrison, defending his betrayal of the working class by the support of British imperialism, says: "We are not interested in the struggles of rival imperialists and we are not going to be drawn into them." Such an ostrich policy places the workers in chains and hands them over to imperialist slaughter. On the contrary, we are vitally interested to oppose by revolutionary means all the machinations of all imperialists.

Side Lights on the "New Turn" of the Stalinists

By HENRY THURMAN

Manuilsky

D. Z. Manuilsky, reporting on "The Results of Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union," began by pointing out that since the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, the complete victory of socialism in the Soviet Union as well as the second great victory over world capitalism since the October Revolution has been achieved. "We have realized," Manuilsky is quoted as saying, "what the best minds of mankind formerly dreamed of, socialism."

Here the Daily Worker resorts to a curious journalistic trick, unsurpassed in cunning, in order to confuse and mislead its readers. It outlines Manuilsky's characterization of the Stalinist struggle against the Left Opposition, and follows on the heels of this with:

"Then Manuilsky described how the party had repelled the attacks of the Opposition who expressed the interests of the rich peasants, opposed the high tempo of industrialization, and the development of Soviet collective farms."

Now obviously the spokesman must be here referring to the bloc of the Right, not the Left who fought for the struggle against the Kulak, urged a higher tempo of industrialization, and advocated collectivization for the peasantry. But the Daily Worker cleverly presents a juxtaposition of texts that will be sure to lead the uninformed astray.

The assembly of learned parrots permitted the crowding disgrace, the strangling of all discussion. Manuilsky ended his distorted report with a tribute to "our Stalin the great, wise, beloved leader of mankind," and the Daily Worker concludes smugly:

from discussion. Amidst loud applause, the Congress unanimously agreed." But then, why not?

Broun

One good turn deserves another. Heywood Broun gives the Stalinists a boost, and they in turn have made a comradely gesture to the Workers Party. It all happened like this. Broun wrote a column exonerating the Stalinists from all suspicion of intentions to undermine capitalism in the United States. He implies that Stalin just can't muzzle the movement for revolution in this country because of the Workers Party.

"As a matter of fact there exists in America a small but highly articulate group which contends that they are the real custodians of true Communism, since they follow the teachings of Trotsky and totally reject the leadership of Stalin. How could a Russian Ambassador promise to silence them? And our own Mr. A. J. Muste, who was once head of the federation's labor college, frankly advocates the overthrow of the government by armed force but without benefit of orders from Russia."

Broun then proceeds to give a reformist whitewash of the C. P., absolving it from the accusation of revolutionism.

"But what are the revolutionary things which Earl Browder, American citizen, said in Russia? . . . If these are subversive utterances please pick out my wall and bring squad."

Eager to show that they are really good reformists, not bad revolutionists, the Stalinists have accepted Broun's whitewash with glee. The Daily Worker has given its approval. And in Cleveland the grateful innocents have proudly pasted Broun's column up in the middle of the show-window in the Workers Bookshop!

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THE MASS TRIAL OF A "LABOR MAYOR"

My wife said, 'Oh, Daddy, I'm hit.' Just then Mrs. Thompson turned around to help her and that tear gas bomb exploded right in her face alongside of my wife and she went down."

Testimony of Hendrickson

Mr. Hendrickson was sworn in, he testified that he was a machinist and draftsman, and had been at the Flour City plant "out of curiosity." Excerpts from his story: "All of a sudden it seemed like everybody broke out and started throwing bombs. The cops on the other side of the street ran across the street (toward us) and we broke up and ran. I ran toward 26th street and a policeman came around the corner just then and I run squarely into him and he hit me on the head and we both fell down and I got away and I heard him say 'Get that guy.' I turned the corner and I heard a shot. I didn't pay any attention until I was running by a house over on 26th Avenue and a fellow says, 'There is blood running down your leg.' And then they took me to the hospital."

Parade of Pickets

After some further examination in which Mrs. Ebert produced the bullet and several other slugs dug out of the furniture, the defense declined to cross examine. Eliza Bischler, who also lives near the plant was sworn in and told the usual harrowing tale, his wife also took the stand and related:

"There was no disturbance . . . the pickets were parading and singing this 'Solidarity Forever.' . . . All of a sudden there was a shot, and more shots, tear gas. . . . About this time there was a young man, a man in the thirties I imagine, he tried to cross the railroad tracks and a policeman pushed him first and because he didn't fall kicked him, kicked him just as hard as he possibly could, and then hit him again and then hit him over the head with a club."

Engene Benjamin being sworn in testified that he lived only three quarters of a block from the Flour City Plant.

Address of Heisler

The trial opened with an address for the prosecution by Attorney Heisler who said: "I have defended many cases many times before a jury where workers or farmers were charged with the commission of a certain crime, but this is the first time I have ever appeared in the role of the prosecution."

"However I believe, the prosecution is on the side of the people this time, and therefore I shall conduct the prosecution in a manner that is not very often done by City or State Attorneys."

"We shall present your testimony by witnesses that shall not be prepared by the prosecution, because I met these witnesses for the first time four hours ago. Most of the witnesses were not known to the prosecution up to this afternoon. The only instructions which were given the witnesses were that they shall come here and tell their story, tell the truth irrespective of where the guilt may fall."

Gustave Beck was sworn in by Clerk of the Court Roseland. Mr. Heisler opened the direct examination:

Q. Your name is Gustave Beck? A. Yes.

Q. What is your occupation, Mr. Beck? A. Machinist.

Q. I call your attention to Wednesday last about 11 o'clock in the evening, were you present on or about 26th or 27th Street in the neighborhood of the Flour City Metal Works? A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell the court and the jury in your own words what happened after you arrived and until you left the place? A. Well, I came down to the corner of 26th Street and I saw some people parading up and down the place. They paraded three or four times and as far as any violence was concerned on the part of the people parading there, I didn't see anything that was wrong. . . . Then the cops started to shoot those gas bombs right into the mob and I got some of it right into my own face, so I got out of there. . . . I walked across the street and a cop pushed me in the ribs and says, "Go on, run, you son-of-a-bitch," and I says I couldn't because I have a sore leg and then one of them started to club me and I got across the street where I had my car parked and

Another Eye-witness

Mrs. Ebert, a householder who has lived in Minneapolis for twenty years, who is located just across from the Flour City plant, was sworn in.

Q. Did you have anything to do with the strike? A. No.

Q. Were you on the picket line, Mrs. Ebert? A. No, I don't know what that means; I didn't know what it means.

Q. You say before the police started to shoot the people were standing in the street in front of your house. . . .? A. Yes, I'll tell you how I saw it. I saw people standing there like in my church. I belong to the Pentecost Church. It was on the corner like it was in my church.

Q. The people were as quiet as they were inside your church? A. Yes. . . . It was so quiet I didn't know a strike was there. Then I heard a shot, I thought it was something else and then it came a second time, several of the same kind of shots and then there came right there on the corner where I live, people standing all quiet, a rush and my heart almost stopped beating. The people around 26th

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Street started to run up in my yard and I bet I had 100 people there. One of the cars then came close to the house, then I took the people inside so they could get away from this. Then comes the police with shot guns, running, I don't know how many, about fifteen or twenty of them, and then shots. I started back in my house and started to pray to God. . . . that no souls should be harmed in my house."

I want to be sure I'm telling you right now, I don't want to be confused. The police were shooting and I heard screams and swearing. . . . and an ambulance or some automobile was taking two people right from between my house and the house next to me. Right on the porch they were shot. Then after that it was so quiet I thought everything was over until I went to the window, I went up to the window and then I stepped to the side and then there was a pain in my arm. It was a shot from the window.

Spectator Wounded

Mrs. Ray Thompson, who was wounded during the riot, was next sworn in. She testified that she had nothing to do with the strike, that she was just passing by a block away from the plant after twelve, more than an hour after the first police outbreak:

"I was with five others, my sister was one of them, and she met her son and stopped to tell him he had better go home. He said, 'Mother, here come the armored cars, you had better run.' So we left the street and went in between houses about 33 feet from the street and I happened to notice an armored car went by. I turned around and my sister was lying on the ground. She had been shot and then something hit me in the face."

Many other witnesses were called. All had the same story of absolute unprovoked attack by the police, of a regular police riot that went on for more than an hour with unrestrained brutality. . . .

While the jury was out a vote was taken among the assembled workers and a resolution condemning the police responsible for the massacre and demanding the removal of every officer who participated was adopted. The jury found the defendants guilty, the sole jury, incidentally, that could find anything but a white-wash for the mayor or his police, although the evidence against them was overwhelming. . . . but then, this was a working class jury.

Japan's Advance in China

By LO SEN

Four years ago this week the armed forces of Japanese imperialism swept into Manchuria. As now with Ethiopia, the best the League of Nations could propose was a plan for imperialist collaboration in the control and exploitation of China's northeastern provinces (the Lytton Report). Like Italy, Japanese imperialism thumbed its nose at the League's proposals and proceeded with its plans for the extension of its empire on continental Asia.

Japan's advance into China was in its way as great a threat to British imperialism as Italy's projected attack on Ethiopia. But in the Far East two other factors intervened which led Britain to give Japan a free hand. The first was Britain's desire to support a Japanese offensive against the Soviet Union. The second was Britain's inability to meet with American imperialism on common ground against Japan. Dollar diplomacy, hopeful that Japan would break her neck in an attack on the USSR, contented itself for the time being with the Stimson doctrine and proceeded with its military and naval program for an eventual clash in the Pacific.

That is why Japan was able to proceed, virtually unhindered, in its continental conquests. Since Britain was content to lay low, the League of Nations patiently took it on the chin, staggered a little and carried on. Today, because Italy's plans for expansion in Africa far more directly affects the so-called lifelines of the British Empire and because they are more directly linked to a tense and complicated pattern of antagonisms in Europe itself, Britain is massing its might to fight it out if necessary and therefore the League is permitted to make or threaten to make use of its sanction powers.

Japanese Offensive

Meanwhile Japan has proceeded methodically with the realization of its own "manifest destiny". Manchukuo was established. Pu Yi was put on a new Manchu throne. A further attack drove the Japanese line of penetration into North China itself. A whole network of political military and trade agents was spread over Inner Mongolia with a view to its eventual incorporation into the new Manchu "state". Most recently the remnants of Chinese control over the provinces north of the Yellow River were disposed of and new pressure brought to bear on the Nanking Government for compliance. Japanese demands for political, military and economic control are a hundred times more sweeping than the famous "Twenty-One Demands" of 1915.

In the face of this invasion the Kuomintang, political instrument of the Chinese bourgeoisie, has consistently capitulated and begged only that the invaders leave it a scrap or a bone for itself. This capitulation has been accompanied by savage measures of repression against groups and individuals in the country who have tried to organize resistance to the imperialist invasion. The boycott in 1931-32, accompanied by considerable ferment among the petty bourgeoisie and among the workers, was smashed by the Nanking Government at the demand of Japanese imperialism. All fantastic propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, the failure of revolutionary forces to grasp and develop this spontaneous burst of national revolutionary sentiment stands mute and terrible witness to the bankruptcy and failure of Stalinism in China. Only the absence of a strongly organized movement in the urban, industrial centers made it possible for the Kuomintang to give free entry to Japan and to turn its forces on the peasant Red Armies bottled up in the mountains of Central China. Only the continued absence of these proletarian forces made it possible for the Kuomintang to continue its relentless war against the peasants and eventually to drive their forces to the remote provinces of the West.

Task of New Revolutionary Party

Try as they may, the Stalinists cannot stretch the position of the embattled Red Armies of the Szechwan—Kansai—Shensi borders to the decisive sectors of Central China. In the key urban, industrial centers the proletarian movement has been left to its fate. Without a resurgent movement of the working class the struggle of the peasants against the landlords and the nationalist sentiments of sections of the petty bourgeoisie remain without outlet. Here lies the task of the new revolutionary party that has to be built in China; to find its way once again to the workers, to help them raise their heads and to put themselves in the van of a revolutionary alliance capable of smashing the Kuomintang reaction and of offering resistance to the continued offensive of Japanese imperialism.

To this there is no short cut. The new turn of the Comintern (Stalinism) we now begin calling it (shouldn't we) expresses itself in China in the readiness of the Stalinist Party to throw in its lot once more with any groups of politicians and militarists willing to use anti-imperialist phrases in their scramble for power. This promises new defeats and new disasters. To the youthful and struggling Communist League of China falls today the mighty task of rebuilding the cadres of the Chinese proletariat for tomorrow's revolutionary struggles.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

L.I.D., NEW YORK—

Question: The Stalinist press (see the New Masses for Aug. 20) in order to support the Stalin-Laval pact, quotes Lenin in the effect that he would not hesitate a single second to come to the same kind of an 'agreement' with the German imperialist robbers as he had reached with the French against the Germans, etc. What is the source of this quotation?

Answer: The quotation was taken from Lenin's "A Letter to American Workers." (See the comment on this by Trotsky in his article in the NEW INTERNATIONALIST for August, entitled "An Open Letter to the French Workers.") Following its customary practice of deceiving the workers, the New Masses does not quote the entire section of Lenin's pamphlet dealing with his "agreement" with the French imperialists. Otherwise it would be clear that Stalin-Laval could get no encouragement from it.

Lenin first explains the exact nature of his "agreement": "When the German imperialist robbers in February, 1918, threw their armies against defenseless, demobilized Russia, which staked its hopes upon the international solidarity of the proletariat before the international revolution had completely ripened, I did not hesitate for a moment to come to a certain 'agreement' with the French monarchists. The French captain Sadoul, who sympathized in words with the Bolsheviks while in deeds a faithful servant of French imperialism, brought the French officer de Lubersac to me. 'I am a monarchist. My only purpose is the defeat of Germany,' de Lubersac declared to me. 'That goes without saying (cela va sans dire),' I replied. But this by no means prevented me from coming to an 'agreement' with de Lubersac concerning certain services that French officers, experts in explosives, were ready to render by blowing up railroad tracks in order to prevent the advance of German troops against us. This was an example of an 'agreement' of which every class-conscious worker will approve, an agreement in the interests of Socialism. We shook hands with the French monarchist although we knew that each of us would readily hang his 'partner'. But for a time our interests coincided. To throw back the rapacious advancing Germans we made use of the equally rapacious counter-interests of the other imperialists, thereby serving the interests of the Russian and the international Socialist revolution. In this way we served the interests of the working class of Russia and other countries, we strengthened the proletariat and weakened the bourgeoisie of the whole world, we used the justified practice of maneuvering, necessary in EVERY war, of shifting and waiting for the moment when the rapidly growing proletarian revolution in a number of advanced countries had ripened."

What was the nature of Lenin's "agreement" therefore? To blow up bridges. Did Lenin, as Stalin now does, tell the French workers that they should not fight against the capitalists of their own country, because the French were his "allies" against Germany? He did nothing of the sort, and no thoughtful worker will find any equality between his "agreement" and Stalin's.

Immediately following the section of the article above quoted comes that part which is quoted by the New Masses: "And despite all the wretched howling of the sharks of Anglo-French and American imperialism, despite all the calumnies they have showered upon us, despite all the millions spent for bribing the right Socialist-Revolutionary, Menshevik and other social-patriotic newspapers, I WOULD NOT HESITATE A SINGLE SECOND to come to the SAME KIND of an 'agreement' with the German imperialist robbers, should an attack upon Russia by Anglo-French troops demand it. . ." (All quotations are from the International Publishers, 1934 edition. Emphasis in original.)

It is interesting to note that the miserable editors of the New Masses are crawling here in a double sense: First because of the difficulties in apologizing for Stalin before the workers, and secondly because, having, on the previous week been confused as to what was to be the new "line," they used the wrong apology and had to make a correction. In order to avoid embarrassment the article was buried as an "editorial comment" in the "Correspondence" section, the apology being made by saying that the ". . . editorial last week—is wrong, since it is open to misinterpretation (!!!)!"

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