

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

Published weekly by the New Militant Publishing Co., 55 East 11th Street, New York City.

Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES P. CANNON Editor

Subscription Rates: In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c six months. Canada and foreign: \$1.50 per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle rates: 2c per copy. Vol. 2, No. 6 (Whole No. 58)

How Stalinism Prepares For War

ONCE again, on a world scale, Stalinism launches a vast attack on the "impotent, bankrupt sect" of the Trotskyites. The degenerate scoundrels of the Comintern haul once more into action their lumbering armament of lies, corruption and slander—the sole weapons now left in their rusted and decayed storehouse of treachery and betrayal.

What a thankless and contradictory task they have, these cynical betrayers, trying hopelessly to cover their apostasy with the cloak of Marxist phrases and invocations to Lenin! On page one they must prove to the workers that the Trotskyites are wholly impotent, isolated, without influence, and falling to pieces. And on page 2, 4, 6 and 8 they must expose Trotskyism as the main danger to the working class, and the spearhead of the counter-revolution. A strange impotence, to have such power! A very curious isolation, when such a barrage is needed for protection against it!

And, alas, how often must these grave-diggers lower the coffin, heap on the earth, and pronounce the final malediction! It is a restless corpse they deal with here! Year after year it is buried deep; and, unfailingly, year after year, in truly Biblical fashion, it rises again to haunt the charnel-house of Stalinism. All the incantations of the Comintern priests, all their drawn-out medieval curses, with bell and book, cannot lay this unruly spirit to rest. No grave they dig can be deep enough to hold it.

For what they so desperately strive to bury is nothing else than the living soul of the revolution itself. And for such a task all the might of the Comintern is as powerless as the whining of a disgruntled shopkeeper.

This is the real meaning of the attack on "Trotskyism."

The present campaign, in all its deep implications, must be clearly understood, and the lesson drawn. It has its source, as articles in recent issues of the NEW MILITANT have disclosed, in the Soviet Union itself, in the very heart of Stalinism. There, in the party purge which has followed the Seventh Congress, comrade Trotsky shows that no less than 20,000 Bolshevik-Leninists—"Trotskyists"—were discovered with the party rank. And a new purge is scheduled for this Spring.

From the Soviet Union the campaign is being extended throughout the world. It has hit this country with full force during the last week, prepared for by the "Hearst and Trotsky" slander, editorial and special articles showing their filth—under the age-old theory that if enough filth is thrown, some will be bound to tick—wherever this Hydra-monster, "Trotskyism," shows one of its repellent heads. And, in this wonder world, we discover from the Daily Worker that the taint of Trotskyism has now touched Norman Thomas, Otto Bauer, Herbert Zam, Gus Tyler, and, apparently, the entire editorial board of the Socialist Call. The Communist party, that friend of humanity and (as the Daily Worker puts it) of "the entire family," with its "oligarchs" care for its newly discovered Socialist comrades, feels itself called upon to issue a kind fatherly warning—and even something of a scolding—to the erring children, against the plague which threatens them. After all, they were social-fascists only yesterday; they can hardly be expected to have attained the ripe wisdom of those who have had the long years under the guiding inspiration of the Great Teacher and Leader.

It is necessary to distinguish and analyze both the method and the fundamental content of the present campaign against "Trotskyism."

The method is directly borrowed from the method of the Hearst anti-Red campaign, which in turn is modelled on the method of bitter reactionaries from time immemorial. Hearst is an enemy of "reds"—i.e., of revolutionists. But it is naturally impossible for him to carry on a truthful campaign against them, on the basis of what revolution is actually believe and do. If he tried that, the bulk of his readers (who are predominantly working-class and lower middle class) would gradually be won over to the side of the revolutionists by Hearst's own propaganda. Consequently, his campaign must be based throughout on lies, not on truth. What Hearst must do is to try to set up in his reader a psychological and emotional antagonism against "reds". This, in

part, he accomplishes by lumping together as "reds" not only revolutionists (about whom he prints nothing but lies), but also every kind of criminal, murderer, irresponsible demagogue, labor faker, bandit, moral degenerate, crackbrained atheist, etc. Through this he hopes that his readers will develop the same emotional attitude toward "reds" that they have toward murderers, degenerate, and bandits. He would like his readers to believe that these are all "reds," and that all "reds" carry on these sorts of activities.

In an exactly similar manner, Stalinism tries to build up an emotional frenzy against Trotskyism. About genuine "Trotskyists," the Stalinists print nothing but lies—if they printed the truth, their own followers would be led toward "Trotskyism." They never, on any occasion, substantiate any charges with fact or even attempted proof, or with political analysis. They never do so, because, of course, that would be as impossible as for Hearst to substantiate his charges against "reds" in general. The Stalinists then go on to lump together, in the same paragraphs with "Trotskyists," White Guards, fascists, police spies, foreign interventionists, agents provocateurs, the murderer of Kirov, nihilists—in short, any scoundrel whom all honest workers naturally hate and despise. In this way the Stalinists hope that the workers will carry over that hate and contempt to the "Trotskyists" who are listed in the same sentence. Fortunately, workers are not so stupid and uncritical as they appear to be in the eyes of the cynical bureaucrats of the Comintern.

But the content of the present campaign is far more important than the methods which are being used. This content can only be understood as part of the preparation of the Comintern for the betrayal of the working class in the coming war.

The truth of the matter is this: The great historical events of the past three years, combined with the war crisis, are making their deep imprint on the international proletariat. A revival of revolutionary consciousness is emerging with increasing rapidity. At the same time, as authoritatively summed up in the Seventh Congress, Stalinism has gone over to social-patriotism, and is preparing for betrayal in the war. But such betrayal cannot be successfully carried out unless Stalinist social-patriotic ideas dominate ideologically the advanced workers in the "democratic" countries. Consequently, Stalinism must drive forward post-haste in its attempt to engulf the advanced strata of the labor movement.

However, the reviving revolutionary consciousness resists more and more powerfully the Stalinist policy of betrayal. It refuses to accept the Comintern doctrine that to be a friend of the Soviet Union means to be a lackey of Stalin's. It realizes ever more clearly that Stalinism itself is in the forefront of the enemies of the Soviet Union, and that to be a true friend of the Soviet Union means to be an enemy of Stalinism. It is resolved not to fight for imperialism in the war, no matter what the pleas or threats of Stalin.

Stalinism understands that its war policy can succeed only by a liquidation of the revolutionary development, or at the least by capturing it before it is fully clarified, by turning it aside into the treacherous channel of the Comintern.

The present campaign against "Trotskyism," fundamentally understood, is one aspect of this effort to liquidate the revolutionary development, to turn it aside, to harness its potential energies to the cannons of imperialism.

Neither we nor comrade Trotsky claim any proprietary right to the system of ideas which the Comintern labels "Trotskyism." The ideas that are now being attacked are the basic ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin; they are, in short, the theories, principles, and tactics of the revolutionary movement. What Stalinism is now attacking is not merely the Workers Party nor the French Bolshevik-Leninists nor any other group or party. Its attack is launched against revolutionary Marxism, against the ideas of revolutionary Marxism, whenever, however, under whatever form they appear. And it could not be otherwise: Stalinism knows that the victory of the ideas of revolutionary Marxism within the working class means the end and death of Stalinism.

Above all on the war question. How clear it is! Wherever, from whatever source, appear revolutionary criticism of Stalinist social-patriotism, the demand for the Leninist policy of revolutionary defeatism, the refusal to subordinate the working class movement to the imperialist League and imperialist France, Great Britain and the United States, at that source are a med the barbs of the Stalinists. And the label "Trotskyist"? True enough, Trotsky, and we in solidarity with him, proudly hold these principles—against imperialism on every front, against social-patriotism in every form, for revolutionary defeatism—as ours. And they are the principles likewise of Lenin and of Marx. They are the principles for which all revolutionists have fought, and will continue to fight. They are the principles of revolutionary Marxism, of the world revolution.

The career of Stalinism is drawing toward its historic close. The war will reveal it to the working class in all its poisoned corruption. The revolution, in its irresistible advance, which obstacle can only delay but never barricade, will sweep it aside, like dead ashes, from its path.

Stalinists Return to Old Love in China, Gen'l Feng

Ally and Butcher of 1927 Revolt Is Seen as Hero of 1936 Peoples Front

By LO SEN

On February 14 the Daily Worker published a "special cable" from Shanghai under the heading: "Feng Proposes Reorganization; Christian General Asks Kuomintang Decision for Defense."

"Declaring China must not flinch from boldly meeting foreign aggression and must decide to fight for national existence, Feng Yu-hsiang, 'Christian General,' made a report today before a meeting of 700 state employees and members of the Kuomintang Party in Nanking, capital of China.

"Feng is a member of the Political Bureau of the Kuomintang and has participated in groups opposing Chiang Kai-shek within and without the Kuomintang."

By not adding a single word more about Feng, his whole past record and role, his previous relations with the Comintern, the Daily Worker advertised the Stalinists' readiness, once more, to form a "united front" with this many-hued militarist who "has participated in groups opposing Chiang Kai-shek."

Preparing today to launch a new "bloc of four classes" in China, coddling and fondling Fang Cheng-wu, Hu Han-min, Feng Yu-hsiang and their ilk, the Stalinists, with cold, hard cynicism would like to blot from memory the whole tragic past of the Chinese Revolution.

They would like to dissolve from history the clotted blood of the workers and peasants who paid with their lives for Stalin's "united front" with the Feng Yu-hsiangs nearly nine years ago. After all, it would perhaps not be such a difficult job if the Daily Worker had only its own readers to deal with. Most of them don't even know a Chinese revolution ever took place!

Revolt in Stalinist Ranks

But in dumping hastily not only the more distant past but even the whole disastrous period of peasant Soviets in Central China, a period during which, Wan Min informed us at the Seventh C.I. Congress, "many of our comrades did not understand and do not understand the new situation which has arisen in China in recent years", the Stalinist cynics cannot so easily hurdle the barriers of history.

Chinese workers, whose brothers, uncles and fathers, and comrades died under the lash of the Feng Yu-hsiangs, remember with abiding bitterness the fruits of the "bloc of four classes" of 1925-27. That is one of the main reasons why the Stalinist party has never been able since to re-establish itself as the party of the Chinese proletariat. But not only among the workers—even among the remaining handfuls of the ranks of the Chinese Stalinist party, the "new line" is not being swallowed without protests and defections.

Our comrades report from China that revolt is simmering in the Stalinist ranks at the current attempt to initiate the "new line" for a new "national united front" with the same people who smashed that same united front nine years ago.

Member of Chiang's Gov't

Feng was one of the chief of these. He is today a ranking member of Chiang Kai-shek's Government in Nanking—another fact which the Daily Worker conveniently forgets to record! He is again seeking to build up his sad, depleted political capital by mouthing a few phrases against imperialism. The words are barely out of his mouth before the Stalinists leap to throw their arms around his neck and promise a complete blotting of his past if he will once more make a deal with them.

Why? The answer is contained in one more sentence of the Daily Worker report: Feng demanded that China make "a definite decision as to which nations are friends and which foes of China." Who can tell? Maybe Feng will favor, once more, an alliance with the Soviet Union. Nothing in his past, even his previous espousal of such an alliance and his subsequent "betrayal," can prevent Stalin, Dimitroff, Wan Min, Browder and Co. from embracing him once more—no matter what it means to the Chinese proletariat.

Who and what is Feng Yu-hsiang? Let us repeat here for those whose memories are conveniently short or otherwise inadequate the record of his past.

General Soft on Jesus

Feng is a militarist who rose to power in China's northwest shortly after the Great War. By a series of timely and shrewd betrayals of his superior officers and allies, he became for a time, in 1924, the ruling militarist in Peking. He appeared then in the world's headlines as the "Christian General" who taught his soldiers the homely virtues of rustic simplicity. He had learned from foreign missionaries in Szechwan in his early years how to sing hymns.

But in 1924 Feng learned that what he lacked in spiritual piety, Moscow made up in generosity. He shed his Christian skin and

joined the ranks of that peculiar species cultivated in China by Stalin and Bucharin—the Bolshevized militarist. The Holy Grail proved no match for Russian arms, Russian money, Russian advisers. Feng was quickly converted to the idea that a Russian gun in hand was worth a dozen halos in the hereafter, especially when military reverses in 1925 cut him off from all other sources of munition supply.

The Moscow Build-up

In 1926 he went to Moscow and there quickly learned all the new catchwords. They were even easier to remember, perhaps, than the Lord's Prayer. He had himself and his henchman, Yu Yu-jen (now head of the Nanking Control Yuan) photographed in the midst of admiring, backslapping Moscow functionaries. In Moscow on July 19, 1926, Feng predicted "new battles and new victories awaiting the future of the Chinese nation." He even remembered to call "special attention" to the "labor and peasant movement taking place throughout China" and announced his conviction "that in the future the proletariat will ultimately gain a victory in China." On August 19, in an interview with Pravda, Feng promised that his army would fight for "the emancipation of the nation" and the "consummation of the national revolution."

For years, while he could still get arms elsewhere, Feng had refused to throw in his lot with the Kuomintang. "But when he visited Moscow," marvelled a contemporary Japanese observer, "the Christian General allowed himself to be a disciple of Lenin before any one was aware of it." (Fase: Soviet Policy in the Orient, Peking, 1927, p. 327).

Stalin Gives Him Arms

It was all immensely easy, pleasant—and profitable. Overcome with admiration for Feng's revolutionary conversion and valor, Stalin plied him with the arms he wanted and sent him back to China to do or die, as he said he would, for the revolution.

Back among his soldiers, Feng proclaimed on September 17, 1926: "I am the son of a laborer" and announced that it would henceforth be the object of his armies "to awake the masses... sweep away the traitorous military class, break down imperialism and secure the freedom and independence of China."

Feng had thus become a full-fledged recruit in the ranks of Stalin's "reliable allies," joining in that estimable company such heroic revolutionary fighters as Chiang Kai-shek, Hu Han-min, Tang Sheng-chih and Wang Chiu-wei. Secure behind Tungkwang Pass in the great northwest, Feng gathered to himself the arms and ammunition which flowed in a steady stream of caravans down from Uрга. He listened politely to his Russian advisers and bided his time.

No Criticism of Feng Allowed

It was not long in coming. While he waited the Northern Expedition swept to the Yangtze. Chiang Kai-shek, who earlier had also learned how to unlock the doors of Russian arsenals, entered Shanghai and there, with base ingratitude, "betrayed" Stalin. He "betrayed" not his own class interests but the faith which Stalin-Bukharin & Co. had taught the Chinese workers and peasants to have in him. Tang Sheng-chih and Wang Chiu-wei, in Wuhan, had also "betrayed"—although this was not yet officially admitted in Moscow. There had not yet been time to elaborate a formula which would fix responsibility for their "defection" on shoulders other than Stalin's. But there was still Feng. He, surely, would come like Loehinvar out of his western stronghold and save the day for the "revolutionary Kuomintang." He was a solid man, Feng, close to the soil. He would not betray. Was he not even now reiterating by radio his undying fealty to the "revolutionary Kuomintang"? (Even Vincent Sheehan, who saw practically nothing, saw the immense, uncritical faith of the Stalinists in Feng!) News despatches reaching Moscow faintly suggested that Feng was ready to deal with Chiang Kai-shek than with Wuhan were indignantly refused publication. Feng was the last trump.

To suggest that he would fall down on the job was nothing but rank "liquidationism." What is worse, it was Trotskyism! That annoying thorn, Trotsky, was issuing warnings in Moscow that faith in Feng meant nothing but a repetition of the experiment with Chiang Kai-shek. (See Trotsky's note of May 28, 1927: Problems of the Chinese Revolution, p. 123-24).

The Butcher Gets to Work

A few days later, Trotsky's warnings were crushingly confirmed by events. Feng let Wuhan spend its forces in a fruitless battle with the Northerners on the fields of Chumiatien in Honan and then came down from Tungkwang pass, occupied Honan and became the arbiter of the

struggle between Chiang and Wuhan. In a conference at Chengchow on June 14 with the Wuhan leaders, he agreed with them on one point only: the workers, peasants and Communists must be crushed. (See Fischer, Soviets in World Affairs, II:669, or Anna Louise Strong's China's Millions, p. 62 et seq.)

But beyond this principled agreement, Feng wanted no further truck with Wuhan. He wanted strong allies from whom he could filch advantages, not weaklings from whom he had nothing more to gain, not even by further timely betrayals. At the conference complaints and titles were exchanged. Exactly one week later Feng crossed the province to Hsuechow where he struck an immediate bargain with Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang was now a man worth betraying. On June 22, 1927, Feng issued a denunciation of Wuhan where, he said, "merchants, traders, factory owners and landlords were oppressed by the laborers and peasants" and served an ultimatum on Wuhan for the complete elimination and extermination of the Communists. (See China Weekly Review, July 2, for text). Loehinvar had fallen down on the job.

In his subsequent career Feng did indeed betray Chiang at the first opportunity. He fought a bloody civil war against him in 1930, made a few futile stabs in 1933 at being "anti-Japanese", and this year made a new deal with Chiang which brought him back into the councils of the Kuomintang at Nanking. His latest statement, as reported by the Daily Worker, indicates a new shuffle in the rivalry for power, a new bid for popular support, which the C.I. stands ready to drum up, if it can.

Feng, Through a Stalinist's Eyes

Are Chinese workers, are honest revolutionists still in the C.P. ranks going to accept Feng once more as an "ally"—"against imperialism"? In 1928, Chin Chiu-pei (known in the International as Strachov; he

was executed by Ch'ang Kai-shek in Fukien in May, 1935) bitterly drew the balance of the game played with Feng:

"Feng Yu-hsiang," he wrote, "is a chapter for himself. A few months after his formal entry into the Kuomintang he began to execute workers and peasants. In September, 1927, he ordered the execution of 300 striking textile workers. When the workers of the Peking-Hankow Railway, having received no wages for 12 months, attempted to press for payment, he had an unknown number of them executed. He has been even more brutal in his actions against the peasantry in Honan." (Impeccor, Aug. 17, 1928).

Chiu Chiu-pei was one of the leaders of the C.P. who fled to the Comintern after 1927 despite its gross betrayal of the Chinese revolution. Would he today, if he were alive, swallow whole a new alliance with this butcher, or with this butcher's satellites and subordinates, men like Fang Chen-wu? Perhaps. Stalin smothered the blood in men's veins.

Fourth International Forces Grow in China

But Chinese workers, who may this very day be standing on the threshold of a new revival after nine years of reaction following their terrific defeat, will not take it so readily. They are not alone or without guidance. The Communist League of China is gathering strength and extending its influence at a rapid pace, although it is still small.

A new six-page bi-weekly printed mass paper, "Struggle" has made its appearance in Shanghai under the banner of the Communist League of China. With the Communist League, the Chinese section for the Fourth International, lies the hope for the future of the Chinese revolution, not with the Stalinists and their blood-stained allies.

Pickets Ti-up Akron Plant

(Continued from Page 1) er after speaker who said, "Eit'er we all go back to work Tuesday, or none of us."

The rubberworkers in other Akron plants and of course Goodyear Plant-1 are watching closely each move and it appears very probable that if a picket line is formed at Plant-2, every plant in the city will be closed.

The workers' grievances at the shops can be summarized around these points. They demand:

- 1. Abolition of Flying Squads.
- 2. Abolition of the company union-company formed scab organizations.
- 3. Restore wage cuts of recent weeks.
- 4. Rehire laid-off men.
- 5. A 30-hour week.
- 6. Union recognition.
- 7. No more speed-up.

The latest Goodyear "sitdown" came with dramatic swiftness that took the company by complete surprise and brought wide support to the workers, union and non-union.

"We'll Stop at 3!"

Lay-off notices were being explained to grumbling workers on fourth shift by a company man when a worker shouted, "We'll stop work at 3!"

Other workers took up the cry and chanted, "We'll stop work at 3!" Soon half of Plant-2 was shouting the slogan in unison while company officials fumed in rage.

Three o'clock came and everyone sat down at their machines as though by pre-arranged plans. Actually it was spontaneous.

The company agreed to talk to a committee selected by the men and composed mainly of non-unionists. A conference was scheduled at 1 p.m. the next afternoon.

Plant Closed

Meanwhile the company announced and newspapers shouted that the "sitdown" was over. Of course, the company refused to take back the men.

The news came just as the third shift, composed of ten-year service men, were ringing in for work. The entire department sat down immediately and were joined by the curving and mill rooms.

Realizing the seriousness of the situation, the company refused to let the fourth shift come into work because they knew it would join the "sitdown." Instead the plant was closed.

Acting much quicker than in the last "sitdown," union officials called department meetings and most of the workers concerned came and joined the union in addition to recording their sentiment for strike unless the 75 men were rehired.

Scabs Ineffective

Plant-1 workers, smarting under the defeat of two weeks ago when their "sitdown" was broken, are expected to join in the strike movement immediately, this involving 15,500 employees.

Telephone from various unions during the Goodyear conference gave assurance of complete support and joining with the strike, if it is called.

Naturally, complete shutdown of the plants is assured by a strike even though some workers do not join the movement for the key departments are 100 per cent unionized and very militant.

Even though scabs were brought into the plant, the highly technical nature of the key jobs which involve over 80 per cent of the employees, would make it impossible for them to handle the machinery and build tires!

The danger of the situation is in the refusal of the union leaders or their inability to understand the significance of the passing events and prepare consciously for the inevitable strike.

Unless this is remedied quickly, the magnificent fight of the workers will be diverted into pessimism and defeat for they must have correct leadership immediately to utilize the situation or various company moves will smash the movement.

Curb Rising Of Spaniards

(Continued from Page 1)

viet press limits its estimate to such terms as, that the "masses are prepared to defend their democratic liberties," "girding to fight for the improvement of the life of the workers," etc. The Soviet press is an accurate indicator of the line the Stalinists will take. Above all, no revolution in Spain! No interference with the balance of power! Maintenance of the status quo! Socialism in one country—and no other!

For the second time in five years, history is presenting to the Spanish proletariat an opportunity to overthrow the capitalist-clerical regime. The possibilities of the revolt on the Socialist and Syndicalist leadership. This same bloc which together with the Stalinists has entered the "Peoples Front," is again handing the power over to the bourgeois republicans and paving the way for speedy return of the reaction.

Reputation of the spiritous and demagogic program of the "Peoples Front." Workers' Committees of action, democratically elected in the factories, tenements and villages, to repel every threat of reaction and to compel the liberation of the political prisoners. Only such slogans, corresponding to the needs of the hour, can effectively organize the power of the working class, and remove the center of the struggle from the parliamentary theatre to the field and factory.

Already the workers are spontaneously moving in that direction. But they require the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard. The fate of Spain hangs upon the forward or under fire of such a general staff.

Prosecute Cal. Militants

(Continued from Page 1)

kill and murder them, and shot "at Plaintiffs with a double barreled shot gun."

In consequence of the alleged acts, the Plaintiffs claim that they "were rendered tired, sore and lamed... sustained severe shock and injuries to their nervous systems," but were not permanently injured. As a further element of damages, it is alleged that in consequence of the alleged assault, "a large group of persons known as Communists," became embittered against Plaintiffs and refused to do business with them and that many of them removed from the County of Sonoma "to parts unknown to Plaintiff."

The complaint was verified by Campbell on November 21, but no attempt was made to serve either of the defendants until last week. Sol Nitzberg, Petaluma chicken rancher, was served on February 13, but process servers have thus far been unable to locate Green.

porting of the Santa Rosa incident, nothing ever appeared in the public press about these alleged attacks on Catrus and Campbell. And if these men were assaulted, why did they seek to have their assailants arrested? I suppose we'll next have a suit for damages because

one of the vigilantes hurt his hands while bending Green and Nitzberg, or because he was injured while applying the tar and feathers. "This is a suit," declared Mr. Besig, "emphasizes the need for a public investigation of the Santa Rosa outrage."

Dance

Friday Eve. Feb. 28

IRVING PLAZA HALL

15th Street at Irving Place

MUSIC BY

HARLEM RYTHM MAKERS

PROFESSIONAL ENTERTAINMENT

REFRESHMENTS

TICKETS IN ADVANCE 75c, AT DOOR \$1