

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR
Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Stalin and the Chinese Revolution

-- Facts and Documents --

(Continued from Previous Issue)

6. How Did The Shanghai Overtures Occur?

In this connection we have the extraordinarily valuable testimony of a witness and participant, the Stalinite Chitarov, who arrived from China on the eve of the 15th Congress and who appeared with his information at the Congress. The most important points of his narrative have been deleted by Stalin from the Minutes with the consent of Chitarov himself; one cannot make the truth public if it so crushingly proves all the accusations of the Opposition directed against Stalin. Let us give the floor to Chitarov (Sixteenth Session of the XV Congress of the C. P. S. U., December 11, 1927):

"The first bloody wound had been inflicted upon the Chinese Revolution in Shanghai by the execution of the Shanghai workers, April 11-12.

"I would like to speak in greater detail about this Shanghai overtures insofar as I know that in our Party there is little known about it. In Shanghai there existed for a period of 21 days the so-called, People's Government, in which the Communists had a majority. We can therefore say that for 21 days Shanghai had a Communist government. This Communist government, however, manifested complete inactivity in spite of the fact that the overtures by Chiang Kai-Shek was expected from day to day.

"The Communist government, in the first place, did not begin to work for a long time under the excuse that, on the one hand, the bourgeois part of the government does not want to get to work, sabotaging it—and, on the other hand,—because the Wuhan government did not approve the composition of the Shanghai government. From the activity of this government three decrees are known, and one of them, by the way, speaks of the preparation of a triumphal reception for Chiang Kai-Shek who was expected to arrive in Shanghai.

In Shanghai at this time the relations between the army and the workers grew sharp. It is known, for instance, that the army (that is, the Chiang Kai-Shek officers—L. T.) consciously drove the workers into slaughter. The army for a period of several days stood at the gates of Shanghai, did not want to enter the city because they knew that the workers were battling against the Shan Duns, and wanted the workers to be bled in this struggle. They expected to enter later. Afterward the army did enter Shanghai. But among these soldiers there was one division that sympathized with the workers—the first division of the Canton army; the commander, Say-O, was in disfavor with Chiang Kai-Shek, who knew about his sympathies to the mass movement, because this Say-O himself came from the ranks. He was at first the commander of a company and presently he commanded a division.

"Say-O came to the comrades in Shanghai and told them that there was a military overtures in preparation, that Chiang Kai-Shek summoned him to headquarters, gave him an extraordinarily cold reception and that he, Say-O, will not go there any longer because he is afraid of a trap. Chiang Kai-Shek proposed to Say-O to get out of the city with his division and to go to the front; and he, Say-O, proposed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party to agree with him not to subordinate himself to the order of Chiang Kai-Shek. He was ready to remain in Shanghai and together with the Shanghai workers to fight against the military overtures that was in preparation. To these our responsible leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, Chen Du Hsiui included, declared that they know about the overtures that is in preparation, but that they do not want a premature conflict with Chiang Kai-Shek and that they proposed to Say-O that either he goes to the front or that he retires, in order to prove his loyalty to Chiang Kai-Shek. The First Division was left out of Shanghai, the city was occupied by the Second Division of Bai-Sung Gee and, two days later, the Shanghai workers were shot down."

Why was this truly stirring narrative left out of the Minutes (P. 32)? Because it was not at all a question of the Chinese Communist Party but of the Polit Bureau of the Soviet Union.

On May 24, 1927, Stalin spoke at the Plenum of the E. C. C. I.:

"The Opposition is dissatisfied because the Shanghai workers did not enter into a decisive battle against the imperialists and their myrmidons. But it does not understand that the revolution in China cannot develop at a fast tempo. It does not understand that one cannot take up a decisive struggle under unfavorable conditions. The Opposition does not understand that to avoid a decisive struggle under unfavorable conditions (when it can be avoided),—means to make easier the work of the enemies of the revolution..."

"This section of Stalin's speech is titled: 'The Mistakes of the Opposition'. In the Shanghai tragedy Stalin found mistakes... of the Opposition. In real-

ity the Opposition at that time did not yet know the concrete circumstances of the situation in Shanghai, that is, it did not know how much more favorable the situation remained for the workers in March and the beginning of April in spite of all the mistakes and errors of the leadership of the Comintern. Even from the consciously concealed story of Chitarov it is clear that the situation could have been saved even at this time. The workers in Shanghai are in power. They are partly armed. There is a complete possibility of arming them incomparably better. Chiang Kai-Shek's army is unreliable. There are parts where even the commanding staff is on the side of the workers. But everything and everyone is paralyzed at the top. We must not prepare for the decisive struggle with Chiang Kai-Shek, but for a triumphant reception to him. Because Stalin gave his categorical directives from Moscow: 'not only to resist his ally, Chiang Kai-Shek, but on the contrary, to prove loyalty to him. How? Lie down on the back and raise all four paws.

In the May Plenum of the E. C. C. I. Stalin on technical tactical grounds still defend this terrible abandonment of positions without a struggle, which led to the crushing of the proletariat in the revolution. Half a year later, at the XV Congress of the C. P. S. U., Stalin already kept silent. The delegates at the Congress extended Chitarov's time to give him a chance to end his narrative which simply gave them. But Stalin found a very simple way out of it, by deleting Chitarov's narrative from the Minutes. We publish here this truly historic document for the first time.

Let us note additionally one interesting circumstance: While smearing up the course of events as much as possible and concealing the truly guilty ones, Chitarov singles out the responsibility of Chen Du Hsiui whom, on the contrary, the Stalinists until then had defended in every way against the Opposition, because he had merely carried out their directives. But at this time it was already becoming clear that comrade Chen Du Hsiui would not agree to play the role of a silent scapegoat, that he wanted openly to analyze the reasons for this catastrophe. All the hounds of the Comintern were let loose upon him, not for the mistakes fatal to the revolution but because he did not agree to deceive the workers and to be a cover for Stalin.

7. The Organizers of the "Influx of Workers and Peasants Blood"

The leading organ of the Comintern wrote on March 18, 1927, about three weeks prior to the Shanghai overtures: "The leadership of the Kuo Min Tang is at present ill with a lack of revolutionary workers and peasants blood. The Chinese Communist Party must aid in the influx of this blood, and then the situation will radically change."

What an ominous play of the words! The Kuo Min Tang is in "need of workers and peasants blood". The "aid" was rendered in the fullest measure: in April-May, Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Chin-Wei received a sufficient "influx" of workers and peasants blood. In regard to the Chiang Kai-Shek chapter of the Stalinist policy the eight Plenum (May, 1927) declared: "The E. C. C. I. assumes that the tactic of the block with the national bourgeoisie in the already declining period of the revolution was absolutely correct. As historic justification of this tactic even (!) this one northern expedition serves..."

8. Stalin Repeats His Experiment With the "Left" Kuo Min Tang

Further on, the following remarkable point is left out of Chitarov's speech: "After the Shanghai coup, it has become clear to everyone that a new epoch is beginning in the Chinese Revolution: that the bourgeoisie is retreating from the revolution. This was recognized and immediately so stated. But one thing was left out of sight in connection with this,—that if the bourgeoisie retreats from the revolution, the Wuhan government did not even think of leaving the bourgeoisie. Unfortunately among the majority of our comrades this was not understood; they had illusions in respect to the Wuhan government. They considered the Wuhan government at most an image, a prototype of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". (The omission is on page 33).

"After the Wuhan overtures it became clear that the bourgeoisie is retreating..." This would be ridiculous if it had not sounded tragic. When Chiang Kai-Shek slayed the revolution in the face of the workers disarmed by Stalin, then the penetrating strategists finally "understood" that the bourgeoisie is "retreat-

ing". But having recognized that his friend Chiang Kai-Shek is retreating, Stalin ordered the Chinese Communists to subordinate themselves to that same Wuhan government which, according to Chitarov's information at the 15th Congress, "did not even think of leaving the bourgeoisie". Unfortunately "our comrades did not understand this". What comrades? Borodin, who was hanging on to Stalin's telegraph wires? Chitarov does not mention any names. The Chinese Revolution is dear to him, but his hide—still dearer.

However, let us listen to Stalin: "Chiang Kai-Shek's coup d'Etat means that in south China there will from now on be two camps, two governments, two armies, two centers: The center of the revolution in Wuhan and the center of the counter-revolution in Nanking."

Is it clear where the center of the revolution is? In Wuhan! "This means that the revolutionary Kuo Min Tang in Wuhan, leading a decisive struggle against militarism and imperialism, will in reality be transformed into an organ of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"...

Now we finally know what the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry looks like!

"From this it further follows," Stalin continues, "that the policy of close collaboration of the Lefts and the Communists inside the Kuo Min Tang acquires a particular force and a particular significance at the present stage... that without such a collaboration the victory of the revolution is impossible". ("Problems of the Chinese Revolution", pages 125-27).

Without the collaboration of the counter-revolutionary bandits of the "Left" Kuo Min Tang, "the victory of the revolution is impossible!" This is how Stalin step after step,—in Canton, in Shanghai, in Hankow—assured the victory of the revolution.

9. Against the Opposition—For the Kuo Min Tang!

How did the Comintern view the "Left" Kuo Min Tang? The VIII Plenum of the E. C. C. I. gave a clear answer to this question in its struggle against the Opposition.

"The E. C. C. I. rejects with all its determination the demand to leave the Kuo Min Tang... The Kuo Min Tang in China is precisely that specific form of organization, where the proletariat collaborates directly with the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry."

In this manner the E. C. C. I. quite correctly saw in the Kuo Min Tang, the realization of the Stalinist idea of the "two-class workers and peasants party".

The not-known Patur, who was at first a minister under Patur and afterward carried out Stalin's directives in China, wrote in May, 1927 in the theoretical organ of the C. C. of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"Our Russian Opposition, as is known, also considers it necessary for the Communists to leave the Kuo Min Tang. A consistent defense of this viewpoint would lead the adherents of the policy to leave the Kuo Min Tang, to the famous formula proclaimed by comrade Trotsky in 1917: 'Without a Czar, but a labor government,' which for China might have been changed in form: 'without the militarists, but a labor government'. To such consistent defenders for leaving the Kuo Min Tang, we have no occasion to listen". (Proletarian Revolution, page 54.)

The slogan of Stalin-Rafes was: "Without the workers, but with Chiang Kai-Shek". "Without the peasants, but with Wang Chin-Wei!" "Against the Opposition, but for the Kuo Min Tang!"

10. Stalin Once Again Disarms the Chinese Workers and Peasants

What was the policy of the leadership during the Wuhan period of the revolution? Let us listen to the Stalinite Chitarov on this question. Here is what we read in the minutes of the 15th Congress: "What was the policy of the C. C. of the Communist Party at this time, during this whole (Wuhan) period? The policy of the C. C. of the Communist Party was carried on under the slogan of retreat..."

"Under the slogan of retreat"—in the revolutionary period, at the moment of the highest tension of the revolutionary struggle: the Communist Party works and under this slogan surrenders one position after another without a battle. To this surrender of positions belongs: the agreement to subordinate all the trade unions, all the peasant unions and other revolutionary organizations of the Kuo Min Tang; the refusal of independent action without the permission of the central committee of the Kuo Min Tang; the decision for the voluntary disarming of the workers' pickets in Hankow; the dissolution of the pioneer organizations in

\* A Ukrainian White Guard general. \*\* In reference to this nonsense see L. Trotsky, "The Permanent Revolution" Pioneer Publishers, New York, page 84.

The Geneva Disarmament Bluff

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trial proletariat, crushed from all directions, also victims of capitalism, militarism and war.

Pacifism is the only way in which this group finds it possible, with its limited consciousness of today, to express its resentment and opposition to capitalist warfare. Students, overwhelmingly from the middle class, make up the "militant" section of the pacifist movement. But, when all is said and done, they will answer the call of "Tommy Atkins" and the "doughboy". Until these elements, the petit-bourgeois, grasp the class outlook, the proletarian concept of the causes of war, their movement is doomed to sterility.

The Fundamental Struggle: For Capitalism or Communism

And lastly, there is the outstanding contradiction, the historical contradiction between the imperialist powers of the world and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. For this the "Disarmament Conference" has no solution except war. And it is this war against the Workers' Republic, based upon the fundamental contradiction of capitalism and Communism, that the capitalist powers are preparing. There is no answer to the existence side by side of a capitalist world and a country aiming for the abolition of all forms of capitalist exploitation and ideology, except a struggle between them for supremacy. That can only be by the destruction of one and the victory of the other on a world scale. This economic, social and political contradiction in the world today—a capitalist world and a Soviet Russia—can find no solution, nor even a beginning of one, in a League of Nations, the Kellogg Pact, or Disarmament Conferences. The answer can only be: the domination of international capitalism or international Communism.

Stalin, Litvinoff, et al, under the aegis of the League of Nations, have most unfortunately assisted in the sowing of illusions of pacifist nonsense, of fraudulent peace talk, by being a signatory to the Kellogg Pact, a capitalist instrument aimed, in the last analysis, at clipping the wings of the Soviet Republic, disarming and destroying it. The propagation by the Soviet Union of the theory of peaceful co-habitation side by side, indefinitely, of the Soviet Republic and the capitalist world only plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie and the working class which must see the problem of war and peace as a class problem.

Pacifism—A Middle Class Movement

Pacifism, which finds its greatest expression and hope in "disarmament conference", League of Nations, etc., has been swelling its forces numerically. In all countries pacifist movements have grown. Yet the pacifist movement is impotent to solve the problem of militarism and war. Pacifism represents the outlook of the middle class, the petty-bourgeoisie; it represents the flower of its idealism. We find here a diffused economic class, declassed elements too, caught between the main classes of society, the capitalist class and the indus-

try. The future lies, not with pacifism, but in a recognition by the working class of the world that it must prepare for the impending final struggles between the workers and the capitalists. Not pacifism—but class war. Not "national security and defense"—not social-patriotism and nationalism—but international solidarity and organization of the proletariat.

The Geneva Conference will settle nothing; it has not the power to settle anything. Geneva will only serve further to expose the futility of pacifism, the impotence of the League of Nations, the rapacity of the imperialist powers, their unwillingness to give up any part of their spoils. The only thing peaceful at Geneva will be its peaceful waters. Otherwise, it will only reveal the imperialist contradictions once again and be a warning to the proletariat to be on guard.

—MARTIN ABERN.

Mother Mooney Denounces Gov. Rolph

(Writings from St. Joseph's Hospital, Tom Mooney's Mother, Mary Mooney, sent a letter to Gov. Rolph requesting pardon for her son. Excerpts from it follow:

St. Joseph's Hospital, San Francisco, Calif. December 13, 1931

"Governor James Rolph, Jr. State Capitol, Sacramento, California. Dear Governor: Sure and I'm sick and in the hospital or I'd come to see you myself to talk to you about my son, Tom Mooney, so I'm writin' you this letter. In all the long years since my boy was in prison, I've never bothered any Governors, as I thought I'd look like I wanted pity and I didn't and don't want any now. And I want my boy to get a square deal like any other man and it's up to you to give it to him.

Governor Rolph, I came to this country from old Ireland before you was born. I've lived here over sixty years. I raised my children to be honest. Our whole family was hard-workin' people. Tom was the oldest child; he worked his head off to help the rest of us. His father died when Tom was a small boy. He never in his life did anything that wasn't honest. Sure, I was because he was honest and a brave boy and stood up like a man to fight for his own people, the workin' people, that they framed on him and putty near hanged him. Faith, and I'm proud of my son because he wouldn't sell himself to nobody for money or an easy job. That's the way I brought him up. My son was framed on by the corporashuns because he fought for the workin' people. They wanted him out of the way. Take the main witness in the case: Oxman. Sure, and I told the court when he was walkin' out of the court after he swore my boy's life away for a few dollars "You're lyin' on my boy and tryin' to put the rope around his neck..." He never answered me, but hung his head for shame.

You're the fourth governor since my boy went to jail and his putty black hair turned gray. He became an old

man in jail. Sure and it's the sixteenth Christmas he'll be spendin' in jail. Now it looks like you're usin' my boy for a football like all the other governor did. You kick him to Mr. Sullivan and I guess he'll kick him back to you. You say I'll take three or four months to look over the facts. Faith, and it makes me old Irish heart sick to hear that old blarney. Sure, any schoolboy could know all the facts in three or four hours. And you were mayor when it happened and marched in the parade and sure should know all the facts.

Three or four months might not be long for you, Governor, or for Mr. Sullivan, but it's a long time for me what's been writin' for over fifteen years and for my boy what's had almost sixteen years stolen from his life.

Motherly yours, (Signed) Mrs. Mary Mooney"

Entertainment In New York for Young Spartacus

An Entertainment and Dance for the benefit of Young Spartacus, official organ of the Youth Section, Communist League of America (Opposition), will be held on Saturday, January 9th, 1932, beginning at 8 P. M., at the headquarters of the League, 84 East 10th Street.

The Youth Committee in charge promises a very lively and entertaining Musical and other features, as well as excellent refreshments have been provided. All workers are cordially invited to attend the Young Spartacus entertainment, Saturday, January 9th. The affair is under the auspices of the New York Section of the Communist League (Opposition).

IMPRISONED FOR CHALKING COMMUNIST SLOGANS SHANGHAI, Nov. 20 (Fenpeccor) Two and one half years in prison for chalking Communist slogans on a wall! Such was the sentence meted out to young Lee Kwong-pan in the First District Court here. The student claimed he was only reading the slogans when arrested, but police evidence to the contrary was accepted by the court which proceeded to inflict the outrageous penalty. Two printers, Loh Zung-pao and Yu Shu-ching were sentenced to six months each for "publishing a reactionary paper called the Shanghai Sin Pao", an anti-Nanking organ.