

# Chiang Hands Over North China to Japanese for the Asking

## Abandons Region Without Raising A Finger

By LO SEN

Plans for the proclamation of formal "autonomy" in North China were temporarily postponed on Nov. 20 following what looked very much like a deal between Chiang Kai-shek and the Japanese.

It should be clearly understood that the question involved in the North China situation at the present time is almost entirely a formal one. De facto Japanese control has existed in North China since the conclusion of the Tangku Truce in May, 1933. Ever since that time no Chinese official in North China has dared breathe without permission.

The "autonomy" movement which sprang into being only a few weeks ago was a direct product not of any sudden political change in North China itself but of Nanking's temerity in trying to make monetary and other arrangements, without consulting Japan.

### Britain Steps In

British imperialism stepped in with a plan for reasserting itself by having the Chinese dollar pegged to the pound sterling and for organizing an international loan which would relegate Japan to the position of being merely a partner in the plundering of China.

Nanking, and Chiang Kai-shek, jumped at the hope of finding a new imperialist wet nurse. The Chinese dollar was devaluated and all silver called in.

The Japanese soon showed their hand. They flatly and bluntly told Britain that no loan would be counterbalanced by Japan. They flatly and bluntly told Chiang Kai-shek and Nanking to behave or else—there would be "autonomy" in North China and perhaps a new invasion of Shanghai. In the north an "independence" movement miraculously came into being after Nanking's demand for the shipment of silver stocks southward. No Northern general had any intention of shipping good hard silver to Nanking in return for paper! And Japan stood ready to back their refusal.

### Japanese Marines March Again

In Shanghai a Japanese marine was conveniently murdered and a whole flock of "incidents" occurred. Japanese marines tramped once more through the streets of Chapei. Threats were again made that Japan would enter Shanghai to take for itself what Nanking hesitated to give.

The developments at Shanghai were not only meant as a demonstration of force to frighten Nanking but were also directly linked to the Anglo-Japanese struggle for control of Shanghai's rich foreign settlement, now dominated by British interests. Japanese demands for a bigger hand in the administration and police of the settlement were again brought forward with one hand, while with the other stinging slaps were administered to the Nanking government.

Meanwhile "autonomy" was announced for North China, to be proclaimed on Nov. 20. Under cover of specious press reports about the massing of troops to resist further Japanese incursions—a bit of window dressing Chiang needed to show his good will in the matter—Chiang moved toward a new settlement with the Japanese.

### Chiang Backs Down

He looked over his shoulder for help from Britain and America. But from London and Washington come only expressions of "concern" over Japan's new conquests. This "concern" will one day grow into a major war in the Pacific but at the moment that prospect was of no help to Chiang, who is nothing if not realistic. So Chiang started talking terms.

The first indication that an agreement was approaching came when the Japanese modified "complete autonomy" to only "financial and economic" autonomy with face-saving political sovereignty left to Nanking. But that Japan meant business was likewise made plain with the concentration of Japanese troops and planes on the border ready to move in at a moment's notice if need be.

At zero hour, noon on the 20th, no proclamation was forthcoming in Peiping. Instead at Nanking, Akira Ariyoshi, the Japanese ambassador, emerged beaming from a 2-hour talk with Chiang and announced that he was "completely reassured" concerning China's "intentions" toward Japan.

The terms of the deal remain to be divulged. They will be concealed, as usual, under the diaphanous veil of a "compromise" formula. But the latest despatches at this writing (Nov. 20) indicated that negotiations were about to open at Nanking to cover a thorough "settlement" of outstanding Sino-Japanese questions.

1,000 NEW MILITANT SUBS BY CHRISTMAS!

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

## 'Peoples Press' Sinks Ever Lower in Its Methods

The third issue of the People's Press, that new national tabloid sponsored by the Stalinists, is now being peddled on the streets. Sickened as we were by the filth of the first issue, we decided to skip the second in order to see whether the third showed signs of reform. Perhaps, after all, we were unduly harsh in our criticism, and the opening issue was simply an aberration on the part of the editors.

We hasten to report, however, that the character of the People's Press has not altered in the least. Although the third issue has a little more red paint on its cheeks and even a touch of Stalinist rouge on its lips, it remains the same journalistic prostitute.

Indeed, the paper has been going from bad to Hearst. Almost the entire contents of this issue, including news stories, photos, a full-page True Story, and the leading editorials, revolves around the Sultan of San Simeon and his personal affairs. The main headline on the front page, announcing that "Marion Davies Rushes East to Be With Hearst," treats the palpitating public to another chapter in that stirring sex-serial on "The Bad Life and Good Times of W. R. Hearst."

The leading editorial is given over to a puny peevish personal attack upon Hearst. It seems that King Features, the Hearst syndicate, refused to sell photos to the People's Press. From the photos of cities, etc., the People's Press has been printing, this doesn't seem to us so damaging an offense. However, this unjust act brings all the fighting blood of the editors to a boil. They simmer over in a savage editorial. Listen to the lions roar!

### "WILLIE'S MAD AT US!"

"Willie's mad and we are glad. We know what will please him, Sugar plums to make him sweet, And Marion to please him."

"Despite all our efforts to please everybody, William Randolph Hearst doesn't like the PEOPLE'S Press. And we try SO hard. . . ."

"His boys . . . sent our money back. . . . So we marked, 'Charge Marion Davies account,' to help the boys figure it out."

"You see Hearst lies about the best people in America. Then he poses as the Great American Husband, the Savior of the American Home, and the Patron of Clean Movies. And he lets publishers know that anyone who dares tell the story of his long affair with Marion Davies will be blasted from existence."

"Well it was a good act while it lasted but there's a new deal in American life and that means curtains for the Hearst myth. . . . Thanks to the People's Press, we now know what 'the new deal' is all about. It is to expose the private life of Hearst and defend 'the best people' against his slanderous attacks. Mrs. Whitney, Mrs. Vanderbilt, Mrs. Rockefeller, meet your valiant knights, the People's Pressmen."

We have nothing good to say for the arch-reactionary Hearst. His anti-labor and anti-Soviet activities must be exposed to the last detail. But the campaign against him must be waged upon the level of political propaganda. It is Hearst's political and economic activities that menace the working class, not his personal peccadilloes. Such keyhole peeps into his private life as the People's Press indulges in have nothing to do with the case. They can only make the untutored worker believe that Hearst acts the way he does because he is a degenerate person, not because he is an aggressive spokesman for the masters of capital. Accordingly, if Hearst led a pure moral life, he would presumably be as well-disposed toward democracy and the workers as "the best people" he slanders, such as the Rockefeller, the Whitneys and other leaders of bourgeois society.

Another streamer head on the front page reads: "Poison Candy Sold As Medicine for Children." At first glance, we thought this was

a brief statement of the paper's editorial policy. But no! It is an expose of "Ex-Lax" by Editor Kallet of "100 Million Guinea Pigs" fame. Ex-Lax, we are told, contains phenolphthalein, an irritant and a poison. Kallet, however, doesn't consider one important circumstance. So long as people continue to stomach such stuff as appears in his paper, they need strong laxatives. We do not uphold this "policy of the lesser evil." We say: boycott the sheet and you won't need laxatives after reading it.

The biggest laugh of the week is contained in the first sentence of a hot story on the Amsterdam News strike, which reads: "Hearst's reputation as a hotbed of entertainment has acquired a new luster (sic!). 'The new luster' in case you're interested is William H. Davis, husband of the owner of the Amsterdam News who, although he owns 41 percent of the stock, is presumably willing to play ball with the strikers in order to get even with his wife. That's class—angling the eternal triangle with a vengeance!"

To date, the NEW MILITANT is the only labor paper that has protested against the putrescent policy

of the People's Press. Following the lead of its big brother, the Daily Worker, the New Masses also applauded its appearance, and its attempt to apply the tabloid technique to the popular issues of the day, and "to approach politics through personalities."

### Fascist Propaganda Methods

In our opinion, such a policy is absolutely false. Marxists approach personalities through politics. This principle holds true in every field of political action and propaganda, even to the most popular printed agitational material.

There exists, however, another tendency in the world today, which believes and acts in a totally different fashion. This tendency stresses the personal side of politics to the exclusion of the real political issues involved, shouts "turn the rascals out" and "put right men" or "the strong man" in their place. It stoops to the vilest level of slander; resorts to all kinds of lies and tricks of deceit; and panders to every prejudice among the backward elements in the working and middle classes. That tendency is reactionary through and through. It has nothing in common with Marxism or the revolutionary movement. It is, indeed, its deadliest enemy.

This tendency is called Fascism. Hearst is at present its leading exponent in the United States.

The editors of the People's Press have begun by imitating the propaganda methods of the Fascists. Where will they end?

## Jim-Crow Law for Herndon

(Continued from Page 1)

Jim Crow judge likely to overlook Solicitor Lecraw's political philosophy and demands.

"If the highest courts finally sustain the outrageous class sentence passed on Angelo Herndon, the governor can free him. For this reason, the petition campaign must be intensified."

"While the Joint Committee does not control the policy of the Herndon defense, which is directed by the I.L.D., it can do a lot to help Herndon's struggle for liberation through this petition campaign, which is its primary concern. We call on all members of the N.P.L.D. and all members of other organizations who have received petition blanks from us to send them in at once with every space filled out with a bona fide signature."

Alabama Miners Win Partial Victory

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Union recognition and an agreement granting approximately half their demands were won by 17,000 miners in the Birmingham district as a result of an eight-week strike.

The miners will receive a wage increase of 20 cents a day, with increases of 4½ cents a ton for tonnage workers and 5 percent for dead work. The new agreement runs until April 1, 1937. The strike was hard fought, and at least one miner was killed.

Statement of N.P.L.D. In a statement issued subsequent to the Atlanta hearing, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, a constituent of the Joint Committee, declares:

"It is hardly likely that Judge Dorsey will fly in the face of the ruling Bourbons of Georgia by overlooking these 'good' excuses for denying a writ. Nor is this

Should the Supreme Court of the United States decide that this doctrine is the law of the land, we are through. When things get so that there is a danger that they will succeed, we won't be able to fight them in the courts. Then we will fight them somewhere else. Now is the time to fight them in the courts."

Weighty legal technicalities, with such fancy names as "the rule of stare decisis," stand in the way of Judge Dorsey granting the writ, Lecraw argued.

Whatever Dorsey decides, a long struggle is ahead. The Joint Committee for the Herndon Defense is continuing its work in aid of Herndon by circulating pamphlets and petitions.

Party branches are asked to make special efforts towards a large scale distribution. This should be done, of course, without delay and in such a manner that it can really become an important part of our campaign against imperialist war. Those branches which have not as yet forwarded their orders should do so right away. All orders are to be sent to the NEW MILITANT, 55 E. 11th St., New York City. The pamphlet retails for 10c a copy; 7c in lots of 10 or more.

Order your copies without delay!

## British Tories Sweep Election as Best "Sanctions" Party to Protect Empire

By MAURICE SPECTOR

The Baldwin government was returned to power by a majority that exceeded every expectation. The distribution by parties in the new House of Commons is:

For the National Government: Conservatives, 385; Liberal National, 32; National Labor, 8; National, 3; total, 428.

Against the government: Labor, 154; Liberal, 17; Independent Liberal, 4; Independent Labor Party, 4; Communist, 1; Independent 3; total, 183. Four seats were still in doubt when these lists were compiled.

If one considers the entire national and international background of this election, the British working class, under the leadership of the class-collaborationist, pro-"sanctions" Labor Party, has sustained a severe defeat. The increased Labor representation from the low-water mark of 52 in the elections of 1931, may be Thanksgiving fodder for the "New Leader" of this city, but it will be no occasion for mad revelry in the ranks even of the British Labor bureaucracy.

The Conservative strategists themselves, who learned their "cricket" on the playing fields of Eton, did not expect a government majority of 250. In the face of such a majority the return of the lone Stalinist Gallacher will hardly send any tremor through the Empire, particularly as the Stalinists stood for "sanctions" and the "League" as staunchly as Sir Samuel Hoare. Besides which British Communist Party representatives have a way either of deserting to the Tories like Colonel Malone, to the Labor Party like Walton Newbold and Ellen Wilkinson or feebly subsidizing at the first supercilious Tory's push like the unfortunate Parsee Saklatvala.

### Right Party for Right Job

The point cannot be too strongly stressed. If what is wanted is a party that will maintain the imperial establishment, support the present distribution of world markets, called "collective security," and enforce military sanctions, then a single-minded, strong-willed, forthright imperialist party like the Tories will get the support over the "arf-and-arf," milk-and-water, "Socialistic dilution" of these objectives by the Labor Party. The twelve million who participated in the straw vote for the League of

Nations prefer to put their trust in additions to the fleet and the air force rather than in more professors of international law.

### Role of Independent Labor Party

That there are prospects for a revolutionary party in Great Britain is indicated by the fact that the Independent Labor Party which has vacillated so badly for so long was yet able to return four members. The I.L.P. must make up its mind which route to travel or be dissipated by the C. P. For a considerable time, Maxton and Brockway have balanced themselves on a tight-rope. The stand of the I.L.P. in opposition to sanctions and its approximation to the revolutionary anti-war policy should clear the air if followed up with a clear-cut orientation on the problem of the International. Precious time has been frittered away in the attempt to establish the united front with the Stalinists. The result was demoralization of the I.L.P. The British C. P. is sterile and the problem was to engage in united front activities with the Labor Party for fruitful contacts with the masses, but the leaders of the I.L.P. adamantly insisted that they wanted a "revolutionary" united front. For a while they even utilized the "third period" concepts of the C.P. The social-patriotic rightward swing of the Comintern seems to have had a sobering effect on some leading elements of the I.L.P.

But the I.L.P. is still bound up with the London-Amsterdam Bureau of "Socialist Revolutionary Unity." That means that they are still pursuing "organic unity" of the Second and Third Internationals. If any country provides an illustration of the futility of mere unity on the basis of a program of social reformism, bourgeois democracy and social-chauvinism, surely it is Britain with its Labor Party, already overwhelmingly in fact the party of "organic unity." To imagine that the addition of the British Labor Party to the German Social Democracy to the Stalinist bureaucracy (Comintern) will somehow engender the social revolution is mysticism, not Marxism. The unity of the working class movement can only be progressive if it embarks on a program of class struggle, if it breaks with bourgeois democracy, if it is a revolutionary party.

The I.L.P. has recently been rid of the Gaster-Lovestonite (R.P.C.) clique that was striving to liquidate the I.L.P. into the C.P. The revolutionary left of the I.L.P., the Marxist Group, clearly indicates the road the party must travel—the road of the Fourth International.

We have said that the next years will be crucial, confronting the revolutionists with gigantic problems and decisions. Consider that in the half decade of the National government just gone, history inscribed on its rolls the Spanish revolution, the victory of Hitler, the Viennese insurrection, the seizure of Manchuria, the Italo-Ethiopian war. Ahead of us lie the prospects of yet greater upheavals. Japanese imperialism is systematically carving up China. The United States is carefully preparing for the great struggle in the Pacific. German rearmament proceeds apace. The Egyptian demonstrations indicate the challenge to imperialism generally contained in the colonial ferment. The capitalist world is a powder keg. The British Labor Party has given every evidence of its impotence, in the tests of office and of opposition. The I.L.P., if it takes the road of revolutionary Marxism, can become the party of socialist power.

have dismally collapsed. Hitler re-armed with the complicity of the government and the Bank of England. But the elections nevertheless give the party of National Reaction five more years of a free hand at home and abroad.

### Supports and "Deplors"

And the principal reason? At this crucial juncture of the post-war epoch the policy of the British Labor Party is in every practical essential a capitulation to the interests of British imperialism. The outstanding fact is that there is virtually nothing but a feeble protestation to distinguish the pro-"League Covenant," pro-collective security, pro-sanctions position of the Laborites from the Tories. Both the Labor Party and the Trades Congress went on record urging not only economic but military sanctions. They gave the Tories just the right ammunition for a gigantic scale in preparation for war.

The Labor Party manifesto declared that it "deplored this attempt to exploit for partisan ends a situation of grave international anxiety." But they have deplored before! The Labor Party "deplored" Lloyd George's Khaki election but they had ardently helped Lloyd George prosecute the war. They "deplored" the fake Zinoviev letter sensation which won another election for the Tories, but the Labor government had been prosecuting Communists. They "deplored" the financial panic strategy by which the Tories turned out the second Labor government in 1931; but with what right when they had themselves been preparing to cut wages and social services in the interests of economy? MacDonald was merely following out the extreme logic of his position as the leader of the Labor Party, when he entered the coalition. MacDonald's policy was always based on "continuity" instead of class struggle and "community" as against "class-consciousness." Those who believe in "continuity" and socialism by parliamentary procedure must accept the consequences. MacDonald is not the only "undone old man" in the ranks of the present and former heroes of the Second International.

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