

Japan Set For Long Fight; Chiang-Stalin Pact A Dud

(Continued from page 1)

which followed the shooting of the British ambassador to China. Tokyo thumbed its nose at Britain's protest and the British lion has not even emitted a roar by way of answer. In the heyday of the British Empire's ascendancy a lesser incident would have led to war.

American imperialism, rising gradually to the stature of the world's dominant power, is not yet in the full stride of its march to empire destiny and therefore not ready to stake itself in a serious war with its imperialist rivals. The Neutrality Act of the Roosevelt Government is the formula of the unpreparedness of America imperialism. Washington's policy in China at this time is confined to a passive "protection of American lives and property" accompanied by vague hints that both Japan and China will be held accountable for damage to American interests.

Moscow Compromises

No threat to the Far Eastern stake of French imperialism is immediately present in the war of Japan and China. France's trade with China is infinitesimal and her principal interests are her colonial territories in Indo-China and her "concessions" at Shanghai, Hankow and Tientsin. The former are far from the scene of Sino-Japanese hostilities, while the latter, because of their location, have suffered practically no damage in the latest fighting.

The one country which was a real source of worry to the Tokyo warlords was the Soviet Union. Would Moscow, concerned for its strategic defenses in the Mongolian People's Republic, permit Japan to grab North China and Inner Mongolia? In June, Stalin framed and executed the flower of the Red Army commanding staff. The Japanese army immediately seized two strategic islands in the Amur River which indisputably belonged to the Soviet Union. In subsequent negotiations, Moscow virtually ceded control of the islands to Japan. The Tokyo warlords rightly concluded that if Moscow feared to defend "its own" territory, it certainly could not be expected to obstruct Japan's attempts to seize North China and Inner Mongolia.

Pact Meaningless

In a feeble effort to offset the advantages thus given to Japan, Moscow has now concluded a non-aggression pact with Nanking. It is a fact of common knowledge in the Far East that negotiations for the conclusion of this pact were commenced as far back as 1933, when diplomatic relations between Moscow and Nanking, ruptured in 1927, were restored. Moscow sought by this pact to hinder Nanking from making an alliance with Japan against the Soviet Union. Nanking, hoping to make a satisfactory deal with Japan, delayed signing but kept the pact in reserve as a threat to the Tokyo warlords. In signing it now, Nanking hopes to frighten Tokyo into sweet reasonableness. But, having no fundamental common interests with Moscow it will scrap the pact if opportunity occurs to make what seems a favorable agreement with Tokyo.

The Stalin government, which abandoned the German and Austrian proletariat to their fate and which today sabotages the struggle of the Spanish workers, will not intervene in the Sino-

Japanese struggle on behalf of China unless such intervention should be vitally dictated by the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. Stalinist foreign policy is still conducted within the conservative frame-work of the status quo. That which does not immediately affect the interests of the bureaucracy is no concern of Stalin.

Japan Unopposed

From this brief analysis of the positions of the principal Far Eastern powers an inescapable conclusion emerges: Japan will be able to carry through the present phase of her conquest of China without foreign hindrance. Japanese imperialism's only actual foe is the Nanking government and its armies, since the exploited masses of both China and Japan are held down by military dictatorship.

China's defeat by Japan is certain unless the defense against imperialism is wrenched from the control of the Kuomintang regime and the defense campaign transformed and enlarged into a general offensive against imperialism on all fronts. This requires the intervention of the masses under a revolutionary leadership. Nanking, if it does not succumb to a humiliating military defeat, will effect a "compromise" with Japan — a compromise which will be dictated by Anglo-American imperialism at the expense of China's sovereignty and independence, a compromise which will still further enslave China's millions.

LEWIS FOUND GUILTY BY OWN PARTISANS FOR BUYING VOTES

By John F. Dwyer

Acting on the letter published in the September 4 issue of the Appeal, inviting me to come to supper with my wife and have my head amputated, I attended the exclusive lynching party in the home of Mary Dickson in Northampton, Massachusetts. Supper started at 6 with Comrade Konikow abstaining. It was a perfectly delightful meal with Judge Pineo acting as second maid.

My trial got under way with Pineo acting as chairman and Hostess Dickson and Comrade Konikow filling out the committee. I was charged with using the word "reject" instead of "object" in expressing my feelings about the actions of the N.E.C. in the Spanish resolution. I protested that the National Office had accepted the word when Roy Burt accepted the San Francisco resolution for a referendum. But Lewis assured his committee that Burt had no intentions of sending out any such referendum and so I was found guilty of being in grammatical disagreement with the N.E.C.

Roles Reversed

The committee then recommended my expulsion and referred the matter to the next S.E.C. meeting which will be held the third Sunday in September.

The Lynn, Boston, and Worcester Locals have refused to expel their representatives on the S.E.C. and so Lewis will bring charges against the three locals on that date.

After my "intimate" and "friendly" supper trial was over we changed juries and started trial No. 2. In this trial the roles were reversed. I was the accuser

(Continued from page 1)

and Lewis the defendant. He brought his own jury from Cambridge to hear the case. I charged him with (1) buying members into a party to fight the left wing (the Salerno letter published in the Appeal of September 4), (2) using his position and the party apparatus for factional purposes, and (3) bringing false and malicious charges against a member in good standing.

Struggle and Victory

Meanwhile, the unrest in the factories developed into temporary stoppages of work, dubbed sit-downs by a reporter. They culminated at Goodyear in the five weeks strike. The rubber workers demanded and obtained the support of the CIO a week after the strike began. What started as a sit-down and walk-out of 500 out of 14,000 Goodyear workers ended in the winning of many concessions. Thousands of rubber workers in other plants,

inspired by the Goodyear struggle, joined the URWA. The union was established.

Using the weapon of sit-downs, the rubber workers continued to gain many concessions, to recruit new members, to protest against company policies, fight threats of vigilantism both in Akron and other rubber centers. Akron became the sit-down capital of America.

Success Inspiration

The gigantic sit-down wave that shook the foundations of capitalist France added fuel to the fires of the American struggles. From rubber plants they spread to other industries, especially automotive (not the least reason was that Akron militants went into the industry and agitated for sit-downs as the best method of building the United Automobile Workers of America).

The effects of these struggles were not confined to the rubber plants. This entire city of 250,000 felt the repercussions. Grade school children sat down because home assignments were too long! The badly exploited downtown store clerks sat down. Aided by rubber workers, many struggles were successful. Akron was really becoming a union town.

Tired of being robbed by the milk trust, even the farmers near Akron went on strike, 3,000 of them. They called on the progressive and left-wing unionists to help them. A farmers union was organized and the strike was won.

CIO Tops Intervene

The convention of the URWA in September 1936 marked the turning point in the history of the local union movement. Under CIO pressure, and the constant barrage of the capitalist press, the convention refused to sanction sit-downs as a weapon of the union. Likewise support of Roosevelt and of Labor's Non-Partisan League were voted.

Major attention of the leading unionists turned towards organizing the rest of the industry, after the glaring defeat at Gadsden, Ala., where Goodyear thugs smashed the union. With higher wages, better working conditions and definite limitation of production (temporary abolition of speed-up), Akron's rubber workers began to slip back into their old norms of living.

Militancy, more and more, became a reflection of the great strike struggle elsewhere. The rubber workers kept the local plants going so they could better contribute to the auto, maritime and other strike funds. A fever heat was reached again during the General Motors strike. A general strike slogan raised by revolutionary socialists won wide support. At the last minute it was called off under terrific pressure of the CIO leaders.

Bureaucrats Develop

Each problem exposed the limitations of the "progressiveness" of the progressives. A CIO adviser, Allan Haywood, was the power behind the union leaders. When he was sent elsewhere, the official union leadership suffered a severe blow. He had propped up more than one weak union official. The rubber companies, aided by the local press, took up a policy of conciliation. It had its effect. Progressives turned into conservatives. Meanwhile, the best class-conscious elements were doing organizing work elsewhere. Bureaucratic

tendencies became stronger.

Under pressure of the rubber companies, leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League, and the local press, the executive board removed B. J. Widick, left-wing socialist, as research director of the International Union. The bureaucracy continued to consolidate itself.

CLU Liquidated

Central Labor Union, under progressive domination, had done outstanding work. It was the first CLU to support sit-downs. It kept a general strike committee permanently in readiness. It gave funds generously to all strike and other labor struggles. It supported a YPSL fight against R.O.T.C. at Akron University. It refused to allow a split. William Green's demands were always thrown into a waste basket. The CLU, as the platform of the left-wing, was a thorn in the side of the developing bureaucracies.

A few weeks ago the URWA international officers agreed to allow the rubber workers to be expelled from the CLU upon another request of Green. However, a joint CIO-A.F. of L. council is being formed, sentiment for solidarity is so strong. Of course, the left-wing will be excluded, if possible, from this council.

Causes

The growth of conservatism in the local union movement came because of definite, ascertainable reasons, in addition to the specific ones already mentioned.

Foremost of the reasons was the defeat of the "Little Steel" strike. Reactionary forces took heart from labor's defeat. The wide-spread barrage of anti-union propaganda intensified, and union officials retreated before it. Roosevelt's betrayal of the workers created political uncertainty, but the CIO leaders refused to speak out.

Militancy Declines

Akron workers this summer lost their first strike since 1933. City police, heartened by the success Chicago police had in getting away with the Memorial Day massacre, prevented picket lines in the Enterprise strike.

When a rumor spread that Goodrich Local might strike, a company of National Guardsmen appeared in Akron, fully armed and ready for trouble. (Not even a strike vote had been taken. The rumor was completely false). Six months before, the appearance of guards would have signaled a general strike. But the workers kept quiet: when they had marched to Youngstown, 3,000, to fight the guards during the steel strike, union leaders ordered them home saying that Davey's guards would protect the strikers.

(Continued on page 5)

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. 1 No. 6 Saturday,
September 18th, 1937

Published every week by the
Socialist Appeal Pub. Assn.

Published at Room 1609
100 Fifth Avenue, New York

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year;
\$1.00 for 6 months. Bundle
orders 3 cents per copy. Single
copies 5 cents.

All checks and money orders
should be made out to
the Socialist Appeal.

Application for entry as
second class matter is pending.