

Chiang Kai Shek Will Not Release Peasant Masses For War Against Japan

By Li Fu-jen

Chiang Kai-shek has from the beginning prosecuted the war inadequately and half-heartedly, all the while hoping to be able to make a more or less favorable deal with the Japanese imperialist moloch with the aid of British and American imperialism. Direct evidence of this attitude, and the treacherous role of the Stalinists, is now at hand in the shape of a factual editorial which appeared in the *Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury* for October 18, 1937:

"From foreign observers," says the *Post*, "who have been in this area (North China) we learn that the one-time Red Army, now known as the 8th Route Army, has had a peculiar time of it. Various apparently successful operations have not been reported to the general public, or have been reported without identification of unit or leaders, evidently because Nanking still feels indisposed to do anything which might contribute glory to its one-time foes. "What is more to the point, by Government order the former Reds have been unable to carry out their most cherished plan—the organization of a large mass of armed peasants for guerilla warfare which the Japanese might find extremely distressing. That the ex-Communists have their feet firmly planted on a mass movement is undoubted, and it would seem that they might be highly successful in reviving the technique of 1926-27 days which in large measure was employed against the Government in subsequent fighting after the party split.

"With active collaboration of Nanking, and Government supply of arms to the masses, such a thing could be done on a scale never before attempted. The efficiency of such maneuvers would be unquestioned, for an armed peasantry is the most unpleasant enemy any foe can encounter over a wide area. Japan's tactics are rigid, they call for the employment of conventional counter-tactics, and an opponent living on the soil, knowing its every characteristic, impossible to confront or to grasp, would be an opponent which would confuse and baffle Japanese mechanized and mechanized-minded armies. Many observers have said, in fact, that the launching of China-wide guerilla warfare was China's one sure answer to Japanese aggression; and there is a great deal of merit to this view, beyond a doubt.

"But Nanking is suspicious of the 8th Route Army and all its works, apparently. Orders have confined the ex-Reds to operations exclusively west of Taiyuanfu, the Shansi capital, and certainly the operations conducted by others east of Taiyuanfu have not been crowned with signal success. The Japanese and foreign observers seem agreed that lack of effective leadership and central control largely nullified the fighting spirit of the men. No general plan appears to have been followed, and in some instances the erratic back-and-forth movements have involved the abandonment of carefully prepared defenses without a struggle—a situation only one step short of the Jehol debacle when mountain defenses were never given even a preliminary test. "Few compliments can be paid what has been done north of the Yellow River thus far, on a basis of reports. Such compliments as are in order go

rather to isolated units and to the mass of the soldiery than to any coordinated planning or spirit of get together on the part of high command."

It thus emerges that China's struggle against Japanese imperialism is being actively sabotaged by Chiang Kai-shek. By order of the Nanking government, the former Red Army is prohibited from conducting guerilla warfare against the Japanese invaders. Nanking forbids the arming of the peasantry although this could be done "on a scale never before attempted." It confines the former Red Army to an area west of Taiyuanfu, well away from the scenes of military operations.

And why? Because Nanking is still "suspicious of the 8th Route Army and all its works." Suspicious, be it noted, in spite of the craven capitulation and surrender of the Stalinists! But the suspicion, in this case, is merely a reflection of Nanking's very real fear of any movement of the armed masses. Nanking and its bourgeois constituency fear and oppose the masses much more than they do Japanese imperialism. Nor are they at all confident of the ability of the Stalinists to keep the masses in check, despite Moscow assurances.

Who exposes the deadly treachery of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang government at Nanking? The Stalinists? By no means! They have kept as silent as the grave. Their mouths are sealed by the pact which Moscow has made with Chiang Kai-shek. In refusing to permit the arming of the peasants for guerilla warfare, Chiang is holding Moscow to its agreement to suppress all revolutionary initiative by the masses. That is why the *Daily Worker* can print only nauseating prattle about "united China," which simply means Stalinist unity with Chiang Kai-shek. The revelation of Chiang's sabotage of the struggle is left to a paper like the *Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury*, which is an organ of American imperialism in the

Far East, and has its own reasons for desiring a stronger struggle against Japan.

Is it any wonder that, as these lines are written, Japan's war machine is pounding forward to all its objectives, sweeping aside China's defense both in North China and at Shanghai? The legions of Japanese imperialism are being met only by such comparatively frail military defenses as the Nanking government, capitulatory in mood and treacherous in action, has been able to strew in their path. The masses are herded in the background and held immobilized by the government's military dictatorship. Not a single appeal has been addressed either by the Nanking government or its "Communist" servitors to the Japanese soldiers who are being forced to fight in the interests of their own exploiters. Chiang Kai-shek could hardly make such appeals, for he has no program which would strike any sympathetic chord in the mind of the downtrodden Japanese soldiers. And if he did make such an appeal, what Japanese soldiers would pay any attention to it? Chiang is known to the Japanese workers and peasants as the executioner of the Chinese proletariat.

And the Stalinists? They, as we know, have promised not to engage in any more revolutionary propaganda. Yet only a revolutionary appeal would reach the minds and hearts of the Japanese soldiers. Any other would ring with an inevitable hollowness.

Upon the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists rests the responsibility for building a new revolutionary party, which alone can lead the struggle to victory. The first step in this direction is to strive to win the confidence of the masses, including Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers, by tireless practical work in the present struggle, and by a consistent exposure of the treachery of the Kuomintang and the Stalinists.

A Non-Sectarian Zamite

"Attention Left Wing Socialists. A statement appeared in the *Reading Eagle* of last evening which implied that I am supporting the Right Wing Socialists. This is false. I am actively supporting the candidates of the workers' party, the Democratic Party. The statement above referred to is false and probably inserted in the paper by those who wish to mislead the voters as to the stand I have taken, as a desperate last minute, futile attempt to rescue the Right Wing Socialists from defeat. (Signed) Harry Gross."

The above advertisement appeared in the *Reading Times*, November 2. Its author is a member of the Penn. State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. The Right Wing Socialists referred to in the advertise-

ment are the members of the Reading section of the Social Democratic Federation. By "Left Wing" Gross meant the Thomas-Tyler outfit. This Gross who talks so freely about "Left Wing" Socialists while endorsing Democrats, was dug out of bed on October 2 by the Clarity members of the State Executive Committee in an attempt to get a majority for the expulsion of the Appeal members of the SEC. On that occasion he voted faithfully against the real left wing and with the Clarity leader, Mickey Harris, District Disorganizer of the S. P., on all questions. It is now reported that Herbie Zam is being sent in to "straighten out" Reading. Zam's success in "straightening out" Altman and Thomas eminently qualifies him for the job.

India's Striking Masses Are Colliding With "Own Bosses"

BOMBAY, India.—In the past seven months, since the advent of the "Popular" governments in various Indian states, widespread labor troubles and strikes have developed in one province after another. It began in Bengal with a strike of the jute workers. This was brutally crushed by the action of the ministry. A dispute then arose in the cotton industry which threatened to involve the entire population in the United Provinces. A Ghandist deal, working for a "peaceful settlement," handed the matter to a "liberal" Congress member for arbitration. The strike has not yet been settled. In the meantime 3000 cotton workers from the Cawnpore Mills have joined the strikers, bringing the total to 7000.

In Bombay, where these lines are being written, a procession of workers of the Dlum Mills last night was dispersed by the police. A huge mass demonstration was held later and militant speakers condemned the police intervention. Because of the great unrest, the Provisional Committee has appointed a Commission of Wage Inquiry.

In Madras there have been strikes in at least three of the mills. The Madras government and the Bengal Minister are spending considerable time trying to assure the workers that everything is alright, and at the same time protecting the interests of Indian and British capitalism. Adopting the deceitful language that the more experienced Western bourgeois governments have used for years to fool the workers, they speak about the maintenance of "industrial peace at any cost" and declare that "internal settlement of industrial disputes is preferable to an external settlement." The trade union leaders, many of them originating in the Stalinist Red Flag Union, are almost solidly lined up with the interests of British and Indian-boss capital. The trade union bureaucrats have disapproved many of the actions of the cotton workers, both in striking and in the conduct of

the strike. They permit the mill owners unanswered to designate the strikers as "extremists who foment class warfare." As in all "democratic" countries, so in India, the boss class weeps over the poor working folks. Really, they tell the workers, you must have unions, let us build them for you. The minister of Labor in Bengal recently said:

"It has been suggested that my policy of encouraging and giving recognition to unions is merely a subterfuge to combat active strikers. The question of subterfuge does not arise. I do not consider the agitators and trouble makers who are always ready to strike, to be representing the trade unions at all. Hitherto, these people were nothing else but a conglomeration of chronic soreheads, who are always willing to fight their employers on the basis of class warfare and disseminating class hatred... To my mind, a trade union, in order to be genuine and responsible must first accept the principle of collaboration with the employer and cooperate with him on the basis of adjustment of rights. Also it must have a leadership capable of influencing the membership."

These sentiments will undoubtedly provide for thought to those Indian workers who have hitherto had the notion that any brand of political theory, provided it professes to espouse the cause of the working class, is really fighting for its interests. It is already evident that in these struggles there is arising from the ranks a fighting new leadership, free from the poisonous class-collaboration line of the old union leaders. This new leadership will have a great task to perform. They have not only to lead the oppressed Indian masses in their daily struggle against their masters but they must give to their less-informed comrades the political guidance that will show the necessity of linking their fight with that of the western working masses. Only then will the Indian masses be free.

Milton and Beatty Speak At Successful Meets in Chicago

CHICAGO. — Two successful meetings were held in Chicago for Harry Milton, member of the International Brigade of the POUM militia, who recently returned from Spain.

On the afternoon of November 2, Milton spoke to over 100 students at the University of Chicago. He was accompanied by Henry Beatty, a former member of the Lincoln Battalion, recently resigned from the Canadian Communist Party and Young Communist League because of his opposition to the traitorous line pursued by the Stalinists in Spain.

The meeting was attacked by the YCL group on the campus and its affiliate, the American Student Union. They distributed leaflets denouncing Milton as an agent of the POUM, which in turn was an agency of Franco. Despite these attempts at sabotaging the meeting, it was extremely successful and had a good effect upon the audience made up of students.

In the evening, Milton and Beatty addressed a public meeting of 175-200 people, called by the left wing organization of the Socialist Party. At this spirited meeting, Milton traced the development of the Spanish struggle, the rise of the independent organs of power of the working

class and the subsequent destruction of these organs by the bourgeois people's front government and its most active force, the Stalinists. He recounted the May Day struggles in Barcelona, the persecution of Anarchists and Proudhonists, and the arrests and assassinations of hundreds of leading militants and revolutionaries from the ranks of the working class. Most important of all, Milton pointed out how great was the possibility of establishing the workers' state in Barcelona and the great support it would have had throughout Catalonia and the rest of Spain.

Beatty gave an account of his recall from Spain, following his disabling wounds at the front, for the purpose of propaganda in the interests of the Negrin government and the Stalinist course. He related how his speech was prepared for him by the Political Committee of the Canadian Communist Party and his subsequent refusal to carry out the line imposed upon him by the bureaucrats of the Party.

Following a period of questions and discussions, both ended their remarks with a ringing call for the 4th International. The meeting closed with the singing of the International.