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COOPERATION — WITH WHOM?

(Continued from page 1)

Holland! What are the "great stakes for peace" which they hold in the Far East? These stakes are the colonial territories of French Indo-China and the Dutch colonies in Indonesia, where horrible oppression and exploitation of the native peoples prevails and where agitation against the imperialist overlords is punished with ruthless savagery. The French imperialists have, too, an unenviable record of oppression and plunder in Morocco, in Equatorial Africa and in Syria, where the bombing plane is no stranger. It was only a few short years ago that France fought a predatory war in Morocco, a war accompanied by all the frightfulness with which Japanese imperialism is now scourging China.

And our own very "peaceful" American imperialists? Can we forget the rape of the Philippines, of Haiti, Nicaragua and other Caribbean and Latin American countries, including Mexico? What, too, of the predatory activities of the Firestone Rubber Company in the little African "colony" of Liberia?

There is no need to go so far afield in order to expose the blatant hypocrisy of those "democratic" imperialist powers which now come forward to champion "peace" against the Japanese imperialist plunderers. Has not the entire history of China during the past century been a story of the despoliation of a great country by these very powers, of the oppression and terrorization of the Chinese peoples?

Can we forget the Opium Wars in the first half of the nineteenth century, the suppression of the Taipings by the "ever-victorious army" of the American General Ward, the shameful international military expedition which ravaged Peking at the beginning of the present century? Coming down to more modern times, we might recall the Nanking Road massacre in Shanghai on May 30, 1925, when British imperialist police mowed down demonstrating students and workers, followed by a similar massacre at Shameen in Canton.

Should we forget the British naval bombardment of Wanhien, Yangtze River port, in 1926? Or the bombardment of Nanking by British, American, Italian and Japanese warships in the following year?

It is the imperialist authors of all these unspeakable crimes against weaker peoples who now don the cap of righteousness and come forward to castigate the Japanese imperialist bandits!

They have no desire whatever to save China from Japan for China's sake and they say so. Their concern is over Japan's "cruel and illicit warfare against friendly nations"—meaning them-

selves and their robber interests in the Far East, which are essentially similar to those of Japan.

They want to stop the Japanese imperialist robbers from bagging China, so that they will be able to bag China themselves.

The struggle, now confined to the diplomatic field, but moving rapidly in the direction of war, is a struggle between rival camps of imperialist robbers.

The workers of America, of Britain, France, Japan, Holland and the entire world have nothing to gain from this tussle between the imperialist bandits. Whichever camp is victorious, the workers lose.

Every class conscious worker desires to aid China's struggle against Japan, since every blow struck at imperialism advances the cause of the exploited and oppressed everywhere.

But the only entente which can effectively aid China's struggle and at the same time serve the interests of the proletariat is an entente of the international working class directed against the entire world system of imperialism.

The bourgeois press in this country deceives the workers by proclaiming the "peaceful" role of American imperialism, thus preparing them for recruitment in the coming war.

Pacifists of every stripe help in the deception by creating the illusion that war can be avoided under capitalism. They sponsor such enterprises as the Ludlow amendment, which, by making a war declaration a popular decision through a referendum, seeks to insure American participation only in "just" wars.

The Stalinists brazenly line up behind the imperialist government at Washington and call upon Roosevelt "to move boldly forward, as the American people desire it, to join hands with the peaceful nations of the world..." for war against Japan.

We, too, wish to castigate the Japanese imperialists, to help drive them out of China, thus aiding the Chinese masses in the struggle for the independence of their country and for their social emancipation. This task cannot be entrusted to the American imperialists, who pursue exclusively their own robber aims in China.

Can we consider entrusting the struggle for peace to the imperialist government at Washington, when we know that war is inseparable from capitalism?

Can we for a moment dream of entrusting the defense of the interests of the American workers to the Roosevelt administration?

How, then, can it be argued, as the Stalinists do, that the working class of this country should support Roosevelt in a war against Japan on the ground that Roosevelt would be defending "peace" and at the same time serving the Chinese struggle for liberation?

The cause of peace in general, and the cause of China in particular, can be served only by the methods of the revolutionary class struggle, by uniting the workers against imperialism in all countries.

The American workers can aid China's cause only with their own forces, by stopping shipments of munitions and supplies to Japan, by preventing the landing of Japanese goods in this country.

Against the imperialists we raise the revolutionary battle cry: "Down with imperialist war!"

Against the social patriotic lackeys of the imperialists we proclaim: "No confidence in the imperialist government at Washington! Only workers' action can preserve peace and aid China!"

Chicago Workers Aid China Fight; Urge Independent Labor Action

CHICAGO, Ill. — The Chicago Office Workers Local of the United Office and Professional Workers Union, C.I.O. affiliate, at its last meeting adopted a resolution on behalf of the Chinese people in their struggle against Japanese aggression. In opposition to the policy of the Stalinists, who advocate following President Roosevelt's "anti-Japanese campaign," the resolution correctly states that labor must, by its own organized strength and independently of the United States government, organize a boycott of producers who will refuse to use in the process of manufacture, to load, ship or unload, war materials destined for Japan, or any Japanese articles used in this country.

For months, the Stalinists have been showing their "sympathy" for China by getting the union

to send delegates to do-nothing conferences like the Conference for Peace and Democracy recently held in Pittsburgh. Confronted by the left-wing Socialists with the first concrete plan for action on the part of organized labor, their only contribution was a proposal to postpone action on this resolution. The union membership, nevertheless, decided to consider the resolution—and acted overwhelmingly for its adoption.

After explaining the situation in China, the resolution proposes the following action:

"Be it hereby resolved:
"1. That we support and actively extend a producers' boycott on Japanese war materials and Japanese goods in general, said boycott to be conducted by the trade unions, and to take the form of refusal to load, transport, unload or use as raw materials

of manufacture any goods coming from or destined for Japan.

"2. That we fight for the extension of this boycott in all countries of Europe, by the trade union movement.

"3. That we support a supplementary militant consumers' boycott, which includes the organization of salespeople not to sell, as well as the organized refusal to buy, Japanese goods.

"4. That we oppose any attempt to stop shipment of war materials and general supplies to China, no matter whence such attempts may originate.

"Copy of this resolution to be sent to the International Office of the UOPWA, to all locals of the UOPWA, to the C.I.O., to its local organizations, as well as to A.F. of L. local organizations. Resolution to be published in the press of our local for general publicity."

Kuomintang Decrees Death For Strikers

By Lo Sen

Cut off from North China and the rich coastal provinces and threatened with early loss of the Canton-Hankow railway which is now his chief source of munitions supply from abroad, Chiang Kai-shek is making a new bid for more effective military aid from the Soviet Union.

The Kuomintang leadership has already proved that it can organize only defeats. It has proceeded from the beginning with the expectation of defeat, with the hope of putting up enough of a show of resistance to win Anglo-American intervention or, that failing, to elicit from the imperialist invaders "reasonable" terms for peace.

These calculations have fallen through. The heroic soldiers who gave an indication at Shanghai for three months of what might be done in self-defense if properly led and supplied and if animated by national revolutionary determination, have been abandoned and betrayed.

Policies of Defeat

The collapse of the defenses, the strewing of helpless masses of soldiery in the path of the Japanese troops, have had their result. Carrying out wholesale massacres in town after town, the Japanese have swiftly extended their sway over the entire Yangtze delta and with the imminent completion of the occupation of Shantung province they will hold all of the north and the coast from Shanhaikwan to beyond Shanghai.

These easy victories have made it increasingly impossible for Chiang Kai-shek to sue for terms now. He will seek instead the cover of Moscow and the Chinese Communist leaders for his treacherous misleadership of the Chinese defense against the invaders. The latter, instead of relentlessly exposing him and offering the masses a banner of their own around which they can rally, will rally to Chiang and enable him to strengthen his grip on the power that remains to him.

A "Left Turn"

For this, however, Chiang will have to make a "left" turn. The first steps in this direction have already been taken. Sun Fo, son of Sun Yat-sen and one of the most unscrupulous politicians in the Kuomintang hierarchy, has been reported sent to Moscow to see Stalin himself in an effort to strike a new bargain.

Wang Ching-wei and Chang Chun, two of his aides most closely identified with pro-Japanism in the Kuomintang apparatus, are being dropped. Chu Teh, Mao Tse-tung and Chow En-lai, leading Stalinists, are to be given posts in Chiang Kai-shek's government. Wang Min, a leading Communist Party spokesman, told an interviewer in Hankow this week: "We are satisfied with the present policy of stubborn resistance."

But Chiang is making his "left" turn in characteristic manner. He will lengthen the leash by which he now holds the Chinese Stalinists at his heels. But at the same time he has already served advance notice that definite limits remain.

Death For Strikers

A decree militarizing Chinese industry was adopted last week by Chiang's government. Its key provision is imposition of the death penalty for workers who strike or agitate for strikes. In other words, Chiang hopes to

utilize the strength of the masses through guerrilla warfare, the only effective tactic that can now be pursued. But he also intends to see to it that the movement is kept within the limits of military action alone.

Chiang remembers that ten years ago the weapon of mass power placed him in a position to command terms from the imperialists. He wants to make equally limited use of that weapon again. And we know in advance that the Chinese Stalinists, having already abandoned their agrarian program and pledged themselves not to mobilize the workers in their own interests, will become once again his tools.

Yet the struggle against Japanese imperialism can and will become effective only when the masses are mobilized, not under the banners of the Chinese bourgeoisie, but under the banner of their own struggle in their own interest. The present situation offers incomparable opportunities for the revival of a revolutionary mass movement and the emergence of a revolutionary party which will know how to break the grip of the foreign exploiters by driving the native exploiters to the wall at the same time.

Road to Victory

The Chinese bourgeoisie is resisting the Japanese invasion because it realizes that Japanese imperialism will leave it no shred of its nominal sovereignty and no corner to participate in the exploitation of the Chinese masses. Mme. Chiang Kai-shek made this quite plain recently when she wrote that Japan "wants to make coolies of us all." But the events of the last six months, certainly, if not the entire history of the last 15 years, have proved the incapacity of the Chinese bourgeoisie to wage an effective struggle against imperialism, even in its own behalf.

The revolutionary party in China today will collaborate in the military struggle with Chiang Kai-shek or anybody else but it will not abdicate for a single instant its complete political independence and its right to propagate its own ideas and its own political program and to subject the military and political leadership of the bourgeois Kuomintang to pitiless exposure before the masses. This road and this road alone can lead to the defeat of Japanese imperialism.

For Democratic Rights

In China the workers have to fight back against decrees that condemn them to death if they try to prevent the bosses from loading the cost of the war on their shoulders. They have to fight for the broadest democratic rights. They have to organize their own ranks solidly enough to fight against the inevitable betrayal by those who now lead them. They have to be inculcated with the sharpest distrust and suspicion of the Kuomintang leaders who for ten years drained them of their life's blood and now, with the help of the Stalinists demand their docile submission under the hammer blows of the Japanese imperialist robbers.

In this country we have to extend the inadequate weapon of a consumers' boycott into a workers' boycott, refusal to load or handle Japanese goods and munitions and supplies going to Japan. This is the most effective way we can help the Chinese masses in their struggle and at the same time advance our own.